

 FACTS ON FILE LIBRARY OF WORLD HISTORY

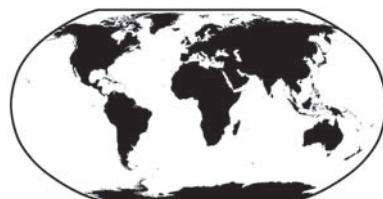
# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Edited by  
Marsha E. Ackermann  
Michael J. Schroeder  
Janice J. Terry  
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur  
Mark F. Whitters



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

THE ANCIENT WORLD  
PREHISTORIC ERAS TO 600 C.E.



VOLUME I

# **ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY**

Volume I  
**THE ANCIENT WORLD**  
Prehistoric Eras to 600 c.e.

Volume II  
**THE EXPANDING WORLD**  
600 c.e. to 1450

Volume III  
**THE FIRST GLOBAL AGE**  
1450 to 1750

Volume IV  
**AGE OF REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE**  
1750 to 1900

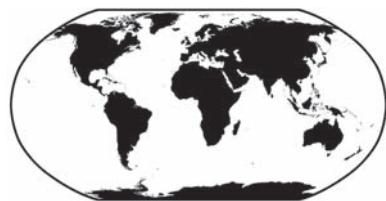
Volume V  
**CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT**  
1900 to 1950

Volume VI  
**THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD**  
1950 to the Present

Volume VII  
**PRIMARY DOCUMENTS**  
**MASTER INDEX**

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

THE ANCIENT WORLD  
PREHISTORIC ERAS TO 600 C.E.



VOLUME I

EDITED BY

Marsha E. Ackermann  
Michael J. Schroeder  
Janice J. Terry  
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur  
Mark F. Whitters

 Facts On File  
An imprint of Infobase Publishing

## **Encyclopedia of World History**

Copyright © 2008 by Marsha E. Ackermann, Michael J. Schroeder, Janice J. Terry, Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur, and Mark F. Whitters  
Maps copyright © 2008 by Infobase Publishing

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher. For information contact:

Facts On File, Inc.  
An imprint of Infobase Publishing  
132 West 31st Street  
New York NY 10001

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Encyclopedia of world history / edited by Marsha E. Ackermann . . . [et al.].

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8160-6386-4 (hc : alk. paper)

1. World history—Encyclopedias. I. Ackermann, Marsha E.

D21.E5775 2007

903—dc22

2007005158

Facts On File books are available at special discounts when purchased in bulk quantities for businesses, associations, institutions, or sales promotions. Please call our Special Sales Department in New York at (212) 967-8800 or (800) 322-8755.

You can find Facts On File on the World Wide Web at <http://www.factsonfile.com>

Maps by Dale E. Williams and Jeremy Eagle

### **Golson Books, Ltd.**

President and Editor	J. Geoffrey Golson
Design Director	Mary Jo Scibetta
Author Manager	Sue Moskowitz
Layout Editor	Kenneth W. Heller
Indexer	J S Editorial

Printed in the United States of America

VB GB 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

## Volume I

### CONTENTS

About the Editors	<i>vi</i>
Foreword	<i>vii</i>
Historical Atlas	<i>viii</i>
List of Articles	<i>ix</i>
List of Contributors	<i>xiii</i>
Chronology	<i>xvii</i>
Major Themes	<i>xxix</i>
Articles A to Z	1
Resource Guide	509
Index	513

## ABOUT THE EDITORS

Marsha E. Ackermann received a Ph.D. in American culture from the University of Michigan. She is the author of the award-winning book *Cool Comfort: America's Romance with Air-Conditioning* and has taught U.S. history and related topics at the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, and Eastern Michigan University.

Michael J. Schroeder received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Michigan and currently teaches at Eastern Michigan University. Author of the textbook *The New Immigrants: Mexican Americans*, he has published numerous articles on Latin American history.

Janice J. Terry received a Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and is professor emeritus of Middle East history at Eastern Michigan University. Her latest book is *U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Role of Lobbies and Special Interest Groups*. She is also a coauthor of the world history textbooks *The 20th Century: A Brief Global History* and *World History*.

Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur received a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan and is professor emeritus of Chinese history at Eastern Michigan University. She is a coauthor of the world history textbooks *The 20th Century: A Brief Global History* and *World History*.

Mark F. Whitters received a Ph.D. in religion and history from the Catholic University of America and currently teaches at Eastern Michigan University. His publications include *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message*.

# FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board’s Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world’s major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

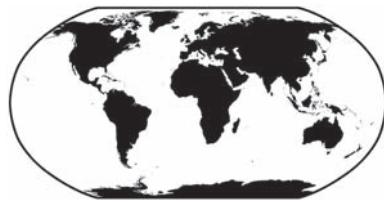
The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen for being specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as for having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally, each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

MARSHA E. ACKERMANN  
MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER  
JANICE J. TERRY  
JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR  
MARK F. WHITTERS  
Eastern Michigan University

# HISTORICAL ATLAS

## LIST OF MAPS

The World: From Prehistory to 10,000 B.C.E.	M1
The Beginning of Agriculture, 9000–500 B.C.E.	M2
Civilizations in Europe and Asia, 3500–1500 B.C.E.	M3
Ancient Mesopotamia, 3000–2000 B.C.E.	M4
Ancient Egypt, 2795–1640 B.C.E.	M5
Babylonian Empire, c. 1750–c. 1595 B.C.E.	M6
Egyptian Asiatic Empire under Tuthmosis III, 1450 B.C.E.	M7
Trade Routes of the Mycenaeans and Minoans	M8
Ancient Palestine, 925–722 B.C.E.	M9
Asian Empires, 600 B.C.E.	M10
Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, 950–539 B.C.E.	M11
The Persian Empire	M12
Greek and Phoenician Routes, c. 500 B.C.E.	M13
Persian Wars, 492–479 B.C.E.	M14
Greece during the Peloponnesian War, 431–404 B.C.E.	M15
Macedonia under Philip II, 359–336 B.C.E.	M16
The Empire of Alexander the Great, 334–323 B.C.E.	M17
Hellenistic World, c. 300 B.C.E.	M18
The Punic Wars, 264–200 B.C.E.	M19
Roman Expansion, 240 B.C.E.–30 C.E.	M20
The Mauryan Empire, 325–260 B.C.E.	M21
Palestine at the Time of Christ	M22
China during the Han Dynasty, 202 B.C.E.–250 C.E.	M23
Trade Routes of the First Century C.E.	M24
Farthest Extent of the Roman Empire, under Emperor Hadrian, 117–138 C.E.	M25
Crisis of the Third Century, 250–271 C.E.	M26
The Roman Empire under the Tetrarchy, c. 300 C.E.	M27
Parthia and the Sassanid Empire, 114–628 C.E.	M28
The Rise of Constantine, 306–324 C.E.	M29
Barbarian Invasions and Settlements	M30
Byzantine Empire under Justinian, 527–567 C.E.	M31
Major Religions in the Eastern Hemisphere, c. 600 C.E.	M32



## LIST OF ARTICLES

### A

Adrianople, Battle of (378 c.e.)  
*Aeneid*  
Aeschylus  
Aesop  
African city-states  
African religious traditions  
Ahab and Jezebel  
Akhenaten and Nefertiti  
Akkad  
Alcibiades  
Alexander the Great  
Alexandria  
Alexandrian literature  
Ambrose  
Andes: Neolithic  
Antonine emperors  
Anyang  
apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian  
Apostles, Twelve  
Arabia, pre-Islamic  
Aramaean  
Archaic Greece  
Arianism  
Aristophanes

### B

Aristotle  
Ark of the Covenant  
Armenia  
Artaxerxes  
Aryan invasion  
Ashoka  
Assyria  
Athanasius  
Athenian predemocracy  
Augustine of Hippo  
Aurelius, Marcus  
Axial Age and cyclical theories

### B

Babylon, early period  
Babylon, later periods  
Bactria  
Bamiyan Valley  
Ban Biao (Pan Piao)  
Baruch  
Basil the Great  
Benedict  
Bhagavad Gita  
Bible translations  
Boethius

### Book of the Dead

Boudicca  
Brendan the Navigator  
Buddhism in China  
Buddhist councils  
Byblos  
Byzantine-Persian wars

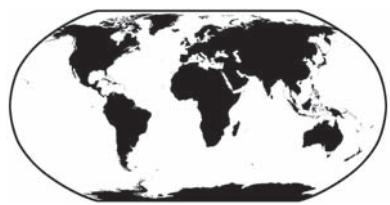
### C

Caesar, Augustus  
Caesar, Julius  
Cambyses II  
Cappadocians  
Caracalla, Edict of (212 c.e.)  
Carthage  
caste  
Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger)  
cave paintings  
Celts  
Ceylon  
Chandragupta II  
Chang'an  
choreographic poetry  
Choson  
Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)  
Christianity, early

Chrysostom, John	Eusebius	Hittites
Cicero	Ezana	Homeric epics
classical art and architecture, Greek	F	Hundred Schools of Philosophy
Classical Period, Greek	Fa Xian (Fa-hsien)	Huns
Cleisthenes	Fertile Crescent	Hurrians
Clement of Alexandria	First Americans	Hyksos
Code of Justinian	Flavian emperors	I
Confucian Classics	food gatherers and producers, prehistory	imperial cult, Roman
Confucianism as a state ideology	G	Indo-Europeans
Confucius	Gandhara	Indus civilization
Constantine the Great	Ganjin	Israel and Judah
Constantinople	Gaul	J
Coptic Christian Church	Gautama Buddha	Jainism
cuneiform	Georgia, ancient	Jerome
Cyclades	Gilgamesh	Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth
Cyril of Alexandria	Gracchi	Jewish revolts
Cyrus II	Great Wall of China	Job and theodicy
D	Greek Church	John the Baptist
Damascus and Aleppo	Greek city-states	Jomon culture
Daoism (Taoism)	Greek colonization	Josephus, Flavius
Darius I	Greek drama	Josiah
David	Greek mythology and pantheon	Judah ha-Nasi
Delphic oracle	Greek oratory and rhetoric	Judaism, early (heterodoxies)
Demosthenes	Gregory the Great	Judges
Desert Fathers and Mothers	Guangwu (Kuang-wu)	Julian the Apostate
Deuteronomy	Gupta Empire	Julio-Claudian emperors
Dharma Sutras	gymnasium and athletics	Justinian I
Diadochi	H	K
Diocletian	Hadrian	<i>Kama Sutra</i>
Dravidians	Hagia Sophia	Kanishka
Druids and Picts	Han dynasty	Kautilya
Duke of Zhou (Chou)	Hannibal	Khosrow I
Dunhuang (Tun-huang)	Han Wudi (Han Wu-ti)	Kija
E	Helena	Kingdom of God
Ebla	Helen of Troy	King's Highway and Way of the Sea
Edessa	Hellenistic art	Kush
Egeria	Hellenization	Kushan Empire
Egypt, culture and religion	heresies	L
Elam	Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon	Laozi (Lao Tzu) and Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu)
Eleusis	Herods	late barbarians
Ephesus and Chalcedon, Councils of	Hesiod	Latin Church
Ephrem	Hezekiah	Legalism
Epicureanism	hieroglyphics	legionaries
Era of Division (China)	Hindu philosophy	Leonidas
Essenes	Hippocrates, Galen, and the Greek physicians	Leo the Great
Esther, book of		libraries, ancient
Ethiopia, ancient		
Etruscans		
Euripides		

Libya	Nebuchadnezzar II	Pompeii and Herculaneum
Linear A and B	Neolithic age	Pompey
Liu Bang (Liu Pang)	Neoplatonism	Pontius Pilate
Lo-lang	Nero	pre-Socratic philosophy
Lu, Empress	Nestorius and the Nestorian Church	prophets
Lucian	New Comedy	Psalms
Luoyang (Loyang)	New Kingdom, Egypt	Pseudepigrapha and the Apocrypha
lyric poetry	Nicaea, Council of	Ptolemy
<b>M</b>	Nineveh	pyramids of Giza
Ma Yuan	Nubia	Pyrrhus
Maccabees	<b>O</b>	Pythagoras
<i>Mahabharata</i>	Odovacar	<b>Q</b>
Maotun (Mao-t'un)	Old Kingdom, Egypt	Qin (Ch'in) dynasty
Marathon, Battle of (490 B.C.E.)	Olmecs	Qumran
Marcellinus, Ammianus	Olympic Games	<b>R</b>
Mari	Oriental Orthodox Churches	<i>Ramayana</i>
Marius and Sulla	Origen	Ramses I
martyrologies	Ostracism	Ramses II
Mauryan Empire	Ostrogoths and Lombards	Ravenna
Maximus the Confessor	<b>P</b>	Red Eyebrow Rebellion
Maya: Classic Period	<i>paideia</i>	religious inclinations, prehistory
Maya: Preclassic Period	paleoanthropology	Roman Empire
Medes, Persians, Elamites	Paleolithic age	Roman golden and silver ages
Megasthenes	Palmyra	Roman historians
Mencius	Panathenaic Festival	Roman pantheon and myth
Meng Tian (Meng T'ien)	Parthenon	Roman poetry
Meroë	Pataliputra	Rome: buildings, engineers
Mesoamerica: Archaic and Preclassic Periods	Patriarchs, biblical	Rome: decline and fall
Mesoamerica: Classic Period	patricians	Rome: founding
messianism	Patrick	Rome: government
Middle Kingdom, Egypt	Paul	Rosetta Stone
migration patterns of the Americas	Pax Romana	<b>S</b>
Milan, Edict of (313 C.E.)	Peisistratus	Sadducees
Minoans	Peloponnesian War	Sakyas
Mishnah	Pericles	San and Khoi tribes
Mittani	persecutions of the church	Sanskrit
Mohenjo-Daro	Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana	Sappho
monasticism	Persian invasions	Sargon of Akkad
Moses	Persian myth	Sassanid Empire
Mozi (Mo Tzu)	Petronius	Saul
Mycenae	pharaoh	scribes
mystery cults	Pharisees	Sea Peoples
<b>N</b>	Philip of Macedon	Second Sophistic
Nabataeans	Philo	Seleucid Empire
Native Americans: chronologies and peoples	Phoenician colonies	Seneca
Native Americans: regional adaptations	pilgrimage	Septimus Severus
	Platonism	Servant Songs of Isaiah
	polis	Shang dynasty

Shintoism	Themistocles	W
Silk Road	Theodoric	Wang Mang
Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien)	Theodosius I	Wei Man (Wiman)
Simeon the Stylite	Theravada and Mahayana	Wen and Wu
Sinai, Mount	Buddhism	wisdom literature
Six Schools of classical Hindu philosophy	Three Kingdoms, China	
Socrates	Three Kingdoms, Korea	X
Soga clan	Toba (T'o-pa) dynasty	Xerxes
Sogdians	Torah	Xia (Hsia) dynasty
Solomon	Trajan	Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu)
Solon	Tripitaka	Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu)
sophism	Triumvirate	Xunzi (Hsun Tzu)
Sophocles	Troy	
Spartacus	Trung sisters	Y
Stoicism	Turabdin	Yamato clan and state
Suiko		Yao, Shun, and Yu
Sumer	U	Yayoi culture
Sunzi (Sun Tzu)	Ugarit	Yellow Emperor (Huangdi or Huang Ti)
Syracuse	Ulfilas	Yellow Turban Rebellion
Syriac culture and church	Ur	Yemen
	V	Yuezhi (Yueh-chih)
T	Vardhamana Mahavira	
Talmud	Vedas	Z
Tantrism	Vedic age	Zakkai, Yohanan ben
Teotihuacán	Vercingetorix	Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien)
Tetrarchy	Visigoth kingdom of Spain	Zhou (Chou) dynasty
Thebes		Zoroastrianism



## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

**SHELLEY ALLSOP**  
Deakin University

**MEHRDAD AMIRI**  
Independent Scholar

**JOHN H. BARNHILL**  
Independent Scholar

**JAMES S. BAUGESS**  
Columbus State Community  
College

**MELISSA BENNE**  
St. Charles Community College

**MARK AARON BOND**  
Independent Scholar

**DEWAYNE BRYANT**  
Regions University

**EMILIANO J. BUIS**  
University of Buenos Aires

**JOHN BARCLAY BURNS**  
George Mason University

**WILLIAM E. BURNS**  
George Washington University

**R. O'BRIAN CARTER**  
Berry College

**P. RICHARD CHOI**  
Andrews University

**BRIAN A. COGAN**  
Molloy College

**JUSTIN CORFIELD**  
Geelong Grammar School

**KEVIN DAUGHERTY**  
Department of Resource  
Development, Pokagon  
Band, Potawatomi  
Indians

**TIM DAVIS**  
Columbus State Community  
College

**ABBE ALLEN DEBOLT**  
Ohio University

**GEORGE RALEIGH DERR III**  
Explorer Charter School

**STEFANO FAIT**  
University of St. Andrews

**PETER FEINMAN**  
Institute of History, Archaeology,  
and Education

**SCOTT FITZSIMMONS**  
University of Calgary, Canada

**ALLEN FROMHERZ**  
University of St. Andrews

**SILVANA A. GAETA**  
University of Buenos Aires

**JOSEPH R. GERBER**  
Regis University

**MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR**  
Georgia Institute of Technology

**GERTRUDE GILLETTE**  
Ava Maria University

- JAMES A. GRADY  
Vanderbilt University
- STEPHEN GRIFFIN  
San Diego State University
- LOWELL HANDY  
American Theological Library Association
- ANGELA KIM HARKINS  
Fairfield University
- FRANKLIN T. HARKINS  
Fordham University
- ALECIA HARPER  
University of South Carolina
- MATTHEW T. HERBST  
University of California, San Diego
- JOHN HOBBINS  
Independent Scholar
- ARTHUR HOLST  
Widener University
- CORNELIA HORN  
St. Louis University
- ADAM R. HORNBUCKLE  
Independent Scholar
- JEFFREY M. HUNT  
Brown University
- JOEL ITZKOWITZ  
Wayne State University
- RUSSELL JAMES  
University of West Florida
- MARK D. JANZEN  
University of Memphis
- VICKEY KALAMBAKAL  
Independent Scholar
- DANIEL A. KEATING  
Sacred Heart Seminary
- FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH  
Independent Scholar
- BILL KTE'PI  
Independent Scholar
- JODY VACCARO LEWIS  
Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D.C.
- KIRK R. MACGREGOR  
University of Iowa
- LEO J. MAHONEY  
Mohave Community College
- JONAH B. MANCINI  
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Hebrew University
- PATIT PABAN MISHRA  
Sambalpur University
- DIEGO I. MURGUIA  
University of Buenos Aires
- JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.  
American Military University
- STEVE NAPIER  
Miami University, Ohio
- M. O'CONNOR  
Catholic University of America
- ANDREW PETTMAN  
Independent Scholar
- ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.  
St. Louis University
- ELIZABETH PURDY  
Independent Scholar
- SADHANSU S. RATH  
Sambalpur University
- KHODADAD REZAKHANI  
University of California, Los Angeles
- ANNETTE RICHARDSON  
Independent Scholar
- JAMES ROAMES  
University of Toronto
- AARON D. RUBIN  
Penn State University
- PHILIP C. SCHMITZ  
Eastern Michigan University
- M. J. SCHROEDER  
Eastern Michigan University
- MATT J. SCHUMANN  
Eastern Michigan University
- MARC SCHWARZ  
University of New Hampshire
- JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.  
University of Toledo
- GRANT R. SHAFER  
Washtenaw Community College
- TREVOR SHELLEY  
Independent Scholar
- ERIC SMITH  
Nebraska Christian College
- OLENA V. SMYNTYNA  
Mechnikov National University
- JASON A. STAPLES  
University of Calgary
- SAMAYA L. SUKHA  
University of Melbourne
- JANICE J. TERRY  
Eastern Michigan University
- LANA THOMPSON  
Florida Atlantic University

WILLIAM P. TOTH  
Bowling Green State University

S-C KEVIN TSAI  
Indiana University

DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.  
Colorado State University

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR  
Eastern Michigan University

JOHN WALSH  
Shinawatra University

ANDREW J. WASKEY  
Dalton State University

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE  
Yale University

MICHAEL WERT  
University of California, Irvine

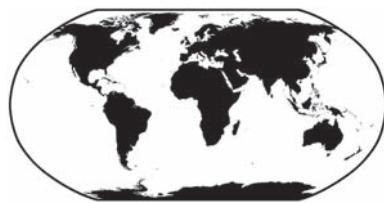
MARK F. WHITTTERS  
Eastern Michigan University

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA  
National University of Singapore

BRUCE T. YOCUM  
Independent Scholar

LILIAN H. ZIRPOLO  
Rutgers University





## CHRONOLOGY

**2,000,000 b.c.e.** First Genus *Homo* Emerges

First example of early humanoids emerge in Africa.

**1,000,000 b.c.e.** Premodern Humans Migrate out of Africa

Prehumans move from Africa into West Asia and elsewhere.

**100,000 b.c.e.** *Homo sapiens* in East Africa

*Homo sapiens* communities are established in East Africa.

**40,000 b.c.e.** Paleolithic Era

Paleolithic era lasts to about 10,000 when Mesolithic era begins.

**7000 b.c.e.** Neolithic Era in Fertile Crescent

Neolithic societies based on agriculture emerge in the Fertile Crescent, present-day Iraq and Syria.

**6000 b.c.e.** Neolithic Societies in Europe, Asia, and Western Hemisphere

Neolithic cultures spread around the world.

**5500 b.c.e.** Egyptians Weave Flax into Fabric

In Egypt, flax threads are woven together to create fabric for the first time.

**4400 b.c.e.** Horses Domesticated

The domestication of horses provides an important new mode of transportation.

**3500 b.c.e.** Cuneiform Writing

The Sumerians, in present-day Iraq, are the first group to develop a written script called cuneiform. Archaeologists have discovered thousands of clay tablets with Sumerian cuneiform writing on them.

**3500 b.c.e.** Bronze Made

Bronze is made for the first time in a process whereby copper is combined with tin to create a new metal that can be used in many tools.

**3500 b.c.e.** Sumerian Civilization

Sumerian civilization, with city-states and agriculture with irrigation systems, is established in the Fertile Crescent.

**3250 b.c.e.** Paper Made of Papyrus Reed

The first known paper is produced in Egypt.

**3200. b.c.e.** South America

Beginnings of complex societies along the northern Peruvian Pacific coast.

**3200 B.C.E. Hieroglyphic Writing**

The Egyptians develop hieroglyphic writing. This style was gradually replaced by the Greek system.

**3050–2890 B.C.E. Egypt's First Dynasty**

King Menes creates the first dynasty of Egypt and unites Egypt into a single kingdom, bringing together the two separate Lower and Upper kingdoms.

**3000 B.C.E. First Chariots**

The first known use of wheels for transport occurs in Sumer; they are used both for transport and on early chariots.

**2900 B.C.E. Great Pyramid Built**

The Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) at Giza outside present-day Cairo is built around 2900. It takes 4,000 stonemasons and as many as 100,000 laborers to build the pyramid.

**2900 B.C.E. Indus Valley**

Civilization begins in the Indus Valley. Most of the peoples of the Harappan civilization live either near or in the city of Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro.

**2700 B.C.E. *Epic of Gilgamesh***

In the Fertile Crescent, the epic poem on the founding of Uruk, the first major city, is created.

**2700 B.C.E. Founding of China**

Chinese mythical ruler Yellow Emperor becomes leader of tribes along the Yellow River plain. Chinese writers accept him as the founder of the Chinese nation.

**2700 B.C.E. Early Minoan Culture**

The Minoan civilization emerges on the island of Crete.

**2686–2613 B.C.E. Egypt's Third Dynasty**

The Third Dynasty is founded by Pharaoh Djoser.

**2613–2498 B.C.E. Egypt's Fourth Dynasty**

The Fourth Dynasty is founded by the Pharaoh Sneferu. He builds the pyramid at Dahshur.

**2350–2198 B.C.E. Three Emperors of China**

Period of the mythical Three Emperors—Yao, Shun, and Yu—whose reigns are remembered as a golden age.

**2341–2181 B.C.E. Egypt's Sixth Dynasty**

During the course of the Sixth Dynasty, the powers of the pharaoh decrease. The growing power of the nobility limits the absolute power of the Egyptian kings.

**2340 B.C.E. Sargon, King of Akkad**

Sargon builds Akkad as the new seat of government and unites all of the Sumerian cities into one centrally organized empire.

**2205–1766 B.C.E. Xia Dynasty**

Founded by Emperor Yu, it is traditionally accepted as China's first historic dynasty.

**2060 B.C.E. Third Dynasty of Ur Founded (Sumeria)**

Ur-Nammu of Ur seizes power from Utukhegal and creates a new Sumerian dynasty. Under his son Shulgi the empire of Ur extends as far as Anatolia.

**2055 B.C.E. Mentuhotep II Reunifies Egypt**

After a period of strife between the nobles and the kings known as the First Intermediate Period, King Mentuhotep reunites the kingdom under a new dynasty.

**2000 B.C.E. Great Stone Palaces at Knossos**

The stone palaces at Knossos and Malia are built on Crete at around 2000.

**2000 B.C.E. Babylonians Develop Mathematic System**

The Babylonians develop a mathematical system based on units of 60. They also divide a circle into a 360 units.

**2000 B.C.E. Preclassic Period in Maya Zones**

Permanent settlements mark the emergence of the Early Preclassic Period in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.

**1991–1786 B.C.E. Amenemhat I Founds the Middle Kingdom**

Amenemhat I reduces the power of the nobles and establishes a strong central government.

**1900 B.C.E. Cotton Used for Textiles in Asia and Fishnets in Peru**

Beginning around 1900 B.C.E., the Harappans begin growing and weaving cotton into fabric; Pacific Coast polities in central Peru continue growing and weaving cotton into fishnets, providing a maritime basis for the emergence of Andean civilizations.

**1900 B.C.E. Mycenaeans Arrive in Greece**

Around 1900 B.C.E., the Mycenaeans arrive from the north and gain control of Greece. This is the period of Greek history written about by Homer and known as the Heroic period or Mycenaean age.

<b>1900 B.C.E.</b> Middle Minoan Culture	<b>1375–1360 B.C.E.</b> Akhenaten IV
Minoan culture reaches its high point with the construction of great palaces at Phaistos.	In 1379, Akhenaten IV becomes pharaoh and the Egyptian Empire begins to weaken.
<b>1766–1122 B.C.E.</b> Shang Dynasty	<b>1300 B.C.E.</b> Andean Civilizations
The Shang dynasty under Tang the Successful replaces the Xia in 1766. The 30 kings of Shang dynasty rule a largely agricultural society that is established in the Yellow River plain.	Beginnings of complex societies in the Lake Titicaca Basin in the Andean highlands.
<b>1792 B.C.E.</b> Hammurabi Conquers Mesopotamia	<b>1288 B.C.E.</b> Ramses II Fights the Hittites
Hammurabi extends the power of Babylon over all of Mesopotamia and develops first codified law in Hammurabi's Code.	Ramses II fights to regain control of the territory seized by the Hittites. Ramses fights the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh.
<b>1720–1570 B.C.E.</b> Hyskos Dynasties XV and XVI	<b>1240 B.C.E.</b> Philistine Kingdom Established
Sensing the declining power of the Egyptian dynasties, the Hyksos invade Egypt from Syria-Palestine and establish their capital at Avaris; they rule as if they were Egyptian pharaohs.	The Philistines establish themselves in the coastal plain of present-day Israel.
<b>1500 B.C.E.</b> Aryans Conquer Harappan Civilization	<b>1240–1100 B.C.E.</b> Israelites Established
The Harappan civilization declines before 1500 due to natural causes. The weakened Harrappans are quickly conquered by northern invaders from the Eurasian steppes known as Aryans. With it the Vedic age begins.	Tradition has it that the Israelites, after escaping from Egypt, establish themselves in Canaan. The Israelites organize into 12 tribes and take control of the land through a combination of military victories and political assimilation.
<b>1500–1000 B.C.E.</b> Early Vedic Age in India	<b>1200 B.C.E.</b> Olmec Civilization in Mexico and Central America
Indo-European or Aryan peoples spread across the Indo-Gangetic plains in northern India.	Olmec culture flourishes from 1200 to 500 in Mesoamerica.
<b>1595 B.C.E.</b> Hittites Conquer Babylon, Introduce Chariot Warfare	<b>1186 B.C.E.</b> Ramses III
The Hittites, under the command of King Mursilis, combined with the Kassites, defeat the Babylonian army.	Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty, the last powerful pharaoh of Egypt.
<b>1580 B.C.E.</b> New Kingdom of Egypt	<b>1184 B.C.E.</b> Trojan War
The New Kingdom is established by the pharaoh Ahmose who forces the Hyksos out of the Nile Delta in 1570 B.C.E.	Legend has it that the Greeks unite under the command of Agamemnon and attack Troy in Asia Minor. After a long siege, the Trojans are forced to submit to the Greeks.
<b>1540 B.C.E.</b> Egyptians Defeat Nubians	<b>1140 B.C.E.</b> Second Babylonian Empire Begins
Ahmose subjugates Nubia in present-day Sudan.	After an extended period of domination by the Kassites, the second Babylonian empire emerges.
<b>1450 B.C.E.</b> Greeks Conquer Minoans	<b>1122–256 B.C.E.</b> Zhou Dynasty in China
After trading with the Minoans for a long period of time, the Mycenaeans conquer them.	King Wu defeats the Shang dynasty and establishes the Zhou dynasty.
<b>1400 B.C.E.</b> Iron Age in Western Asia	<b>1122–771 B.C.E.</b> Western Zhou
The use of iron by the Hittites gives them a military advantage.	After King Wu's death, his brother the duke of Zhou consolidates the power of the Zhou dynasty under a feudal system that operates successfully until 771.

<b>1122 B.C.E.</b> First Contact between China and Korea Kija, a Shang prince, and his followers, fleeing the Zhou conquerors, establish several settlements in Korea.	<b>814 B.C.E.</b> Carthage Founded Phoenicians, from present-day Lebanon, create a colony at Carthage, in present-day Tunisia, and it becomes an important world power in its own right.
<b>1100 B.C.E.</b> Development of Phoenician Alphabet Phoenicians inherit a script of consonants and add vowels to form a basis for an alphabet.	<b>800–300 B.C.E.</b> Upanishads Written Indian ascetics write a collection of 108 essays on philosophy that are incorporated into Hindu teachings.
<b>1100 B.C.E.</b> Hallstatt Culture Iron is used for the first time in Austria. From Austria the use of iron spreads throughout Europe.	<b>800 B.C.E.</b> Chavín Culture in Peru Chavín culture complex emerges in Peruvian Central Highlands and central Pacific coast regions.
<b>1090 B.C.E.</b> Nubia Becomes Independent With the breakup of the New Kingdom, Nubia once again becomes independent of Egypt.	<b>780–560 B.C.E.</b> Greek Colonies Established The Greeks establish a series of colonies in Asia Minor.
<b>1090 B.C.E.</b> New Kingdom Dissolved The end of the New Kingdom coincides with the end of the Ramesid dynasty, and Egypt enters a long period of turmoil.	<b>776 B.C.E.</b> First Olympic Games Sacred truces among the Greek city-states allow the gathering of athletes for regular competitions.
<b>1070 B.C.E.</b> Collapse of Assyria The Assyrian Empire collapses under the assault of Aramaeans and Babylonians.	<b>770–256 B.C.E.</b> Eastern Zhou The Zhou capital at Hao is destroyed by invading northern tribesmen. A new capital is established to the east at Luoyang, starting the Eastern Zhou period.
<b>1050 B.C.E.</b> Chavín Culture in Peru Chavín civilization begins to extend over Peru.	<b>753 B.C.E.</b> Rome Founded Tradition has it that Rome was founded in 753; its founder is Romulus, said to be the son of a princess of Alba Longa.
<b>1010 B.C.E.</b> King Saul Saul, the first king of the Israelites, is killed by the Philistines and succeeded by King David.	<b>747–716 B.C.E.</b> Kushite Conquests in Egypt The Kushite ruler Piy moves down the Nile from present-day Sudan and conquers large parts of Egypt, including Thebes and Memphis.
<b>1000 B.C.E.</b> Middle Preclassic in Maya Zones End of the Early Preclassic period and beginning of the Middle Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.	<b>722 B.C.E.</b> Kingdom of Israel Falls After a three-year siege, Samaria (the capital of Israel) falls to the Assyrians, who take some 20,000 Israelites into slavery.
<b>995 B.C.E.</b> King David Captures Jerusalem King David captures the Jebusite city of Jerusalem and makes the city the capital.	<b>707–696 B.C.E.</b> Kushite Dynastic Rule over Egypt King Shabako establishes rule over Egypt and adopts many old Egyptian customs.
<b>945–730 B.C.E.</b> Libyans Rule Egypt About 945, Libyan settlers, under Shishak, seize control of Egypt and found the Twenty-second Dynasty.	<b>660 B.C.E.</b> Empire of Japan Established According to legend, Jimmu Tenno invades Japan's main island Honshu. There he establishes himself as Japan's first emperor. He creates the Yamato family
<b>922 B.C.E.</b> King Solomon King Solomon reigns from 961 to 922. During his reign, he consolidates the kingdom of Israel.	
<b>900 B.C.E.</b> Etruria The Etruscans spread in Italy, taking control and forming a loosely connected league of cities.	

and is believed to be a direct ancestor of Japan's current emperor.	559 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great Cyrus declares himself king of both Persia and Media.
<b>650–630 B.C.E. Second Messenian War</b> The Messenians led by Aristomenes revolt against Sparta; after 20 years, Sparta subdues the rebellion and reorganizes itself into a military state.	558 B.C.E. Zoroastrianism Is Founded Zoroaster begins his work as a prophet for the religion of the Persians.
<b>650 B.C.E. Assyrians Destroy Babylon</b> An attempted revolt against the Assyrians by the Babylonians results in the destruction of Babylon.	550 B.C.E. Laozi and Daoism Laozi is the mythical founder of philosophy Daoism and reputed author of its classic the <i>Daodejing</i> .
<b>626 B.C.E. Chaldean Empire Founded by Nabopolassar</b> The Chaldeans take control of Babylon and establish a new dynasty.	540–468 B.C.E. Mahavira Founds Jainism Jainism is an extremely ascetic religion that offers an alternative to Vedism-Hinduism.
<b>621 B.C.E. Greek Lawgiver Draco</b> Athens is ruled by an oligarchy, but a nobleman, Draco, is appointed to create a code of laws.	539 B.C.E. Cyrus Takes Jerusalem Cyrus allows the Jews who had been conquered by the Babylonians to return to Jerusalem after his defeat of the Babylonians.
<b>612 B.C.E. Nineveh Captured and Assyrian Empire Ends</b> Nineveh, the capital of Babylon, is captured by a coalition of armies. The seizure of Nineveh is followed by the capture of Harran in 610, ending the Assyrian Empire.	525 B.C.E. Persians Conquer Egypt The end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty when the last pharaoh is defeated by King Cambyses II of Persia.
<b>600–300 B.C.E. Hundred Schools of Philosophy in China</b> All China's classical schools of philosophy develop during this era of political division as the Eastern Zhou kings lose power.	<b>521 B.C.E. Darius</b> Cyrus is succeeded by Darius I in 521. Darius spends the first years of his administration suppressing revolts that develop throughout the empire. Darius reorganizes the Persian Empire into separate provinces, or satraps, each with its own governor and tax system.
<b>594 B.C.E. Solon Becomes Archon</b> Athens experiences a period of social and political upheaval and Solon, an esteemed Athenian, is appointed ruler of Athens.	<b>516 B.C.E. Darius Invades Indus Valley</b> Darius invades India, capturing the Indus Valley, which is annexed to the Persian Empire.
<b>588 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar Takes Jerusalem; Babylonian Captivity</b> Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian army takes Jerusalem, destroys the Jewish Temple, and takes many Jews into captivity. He builds the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.	<b>509 B.C.E. Roman Republic Founded</b> The Roman Republic is founded, and Junius Brutus and Tarquinius serve as the first consuls of Rome.
<b>566 B.C.E. Gautama Buddha</b> Prince Siddhartha founds Buddhism, which rejects the Vedic Hindu caste system and the Vedas.	<b>508 B.C.E. Athenian Democracy Established by Cleisthenes</b> Cleisthenes is appointed ruler, enacts fundamental reforms that become the basis of the golden age of Athens, and creates the assembly made up of Athenian males.
<b>560 B.C.E. Peisistratus Rules Athens</b> Following the resignation of Solon, Athens is governed by a group of leaders. One of them is Peisistratus, who makes three attempts to seize power, finally succeeding on the third attempt.	<b>499 B.C.E. Greek City-States Revolt</b> The Ionian Greek city-states in Asian Minor revolt against Persian rule.

**490 B.C.E.** Battle of Marathon

The army of Athens and its allies meet the Persians on the plains of Marathon, about 22 miles from Athens. The decisive Greek victory at Marathon ends the immediate Persian threat.

**480 B.C.E.** Thermopylae and Salamis

The Persians' quest for world domination is stopped for the second time, allowing the flowering of Greek civilization, especially in Athens.

**479 B.C.E.** Founding of Confucianism

Confucius—China's greatest philosopher—founds the school of Confucianism, which becomes China's state philosophy in the second century B.C.E.

**470–391 B.C.E.** Moism Is Founded

Moism, a school of philosophy, is founded by Mozi. It flourishes during the Hundred Schools era in China and subsequently dies out.

**460 B.C.E.** Age of Pericles

The age of Pericles lasts from 461 (when Pericles becomes the dominant politician in Athens) until 429. It is a period of expanding democracy at home and increasing imperialism abroad.

**431–404 B.C.E.** Peloponnesian War

For 27 years, Athens and Sparta engage in warfare. The war ends with a Spartan victory.

**429 B.C.E.** Hippocratic Oath

Named after the famous Greek physician, the oath is still taken by contemporary physicians.

**400 B.C.E.** Andean Civilizations

Decline of Chavín culture complex in Central Highlands and central Pacific coast and the rise of Pukará polities in northern Titicaca Basin.

**400 B.C.E.** Late Preclassic in Maya Zones

The end of the Middle Preclassic period and beginning of the Late Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.

**400 B.C.E.** Decline of the Kush

Kushite kingdom with capital at Meroë, in present-day Sudan, begins to decline.

**399 B.C.E.** Socrates Dies

Socrates, the foremost Greek philosopher, who taught Plato, author of the *Republic*, dies. Their work had a major impact on Western thought.

**390 B.C.E.** Axum Kingdom in East Africa

Axum kingdom based in Ethiopia expands its rule and ultimately defeats the Kushite kingdom.

**371 B.C.E.** Battle at Leuctra

Sparta is defeated at the Battle of Leuctra by Epaminondas of Thebes. The defeat shatters the myth of Spartan invincibility and ends Sparta's hegemony over Greece.

**359 B.C.E.** Philip II

Philip II becomes regent of Macedonia and reorganizes the army to make it one of the strongest in Greece.

**334 B.C.E.** Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great leads a Greek army of 35,000 soldiers into battle against the Persian army led by Darius III at Granicus. Alexander's troops gain the upper hand and kill or capture half of the Persian army, which is forced to retreat.

**331 B.C.E.** Battle of Gaugamela

Darius III and the Persian Empire make a final stand in October 331 at Gaugamela near Arbela in the heart of Assyria. Nearly 1 million men face an army of 50,000 Macedonians under Alexander. Forced to flee the battlefield, Darius is pursued and eventually assassinated, thereby ending the Persian Empire.

**330 B.C.E.** Reforms of Shang

Lord Shang becomes chief minister of the state of Qin in China and begins to implement legalism as its state philosophy.

**326 B.C.E.** Mauryan Empire

The Maurya dynasty is founded in India by Chandragupta Maurya. It will unite most of the Indian subcontinent plus Afghanistan.

**321 B.C.E.** Ptolemy

Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt, defeats Antigonus at the Battle of Gaza. Ptolemy is supported by Seleucus, who goes on to reconquer Babylonia.

**300 B.C.E.** Yayoi Culture in Japan

This neolithic culture replaces the more primitive Jomon culture.

**300 B.C.E.** Euclid Publishes *Elements*

The Greek mathematician Euclid, living in Alexandria, publishes a 13-volume work called *Elements* that lays out, for the first time, the principles of geometry.

<b>300 b.c.e.</b> Bantu in Western Africa	Bantu migrations from western Africa into central and southern Africa begin and last for several hundred years; Bantu are largely agriculturalists.
<b>269–232 b.c.e.</b> Mauryan Empire	Ashoka expands the Mauryan Empire of India to its maximum. He converts to Buddhism and convenes the third Buddhist Council.
<b>265–241 b.c.e.</b> First Punic War	The First Punic War is fought between Rome and Carthage over claims to Sicily.
<b>245 b.c.e.</b> Third Syrian War	The Third Syrian War starts when Ptolemy III's sister is killed by his former wife. Ptolemy responds by invading the Seleucid Empire, advancing all the way to Bactria.
<b>240 b.c.e.</b> Archimedes Shows Value of Pi	Archimedes, the Greek mathematician, is the first to determine the value of pi. He also successfully calculates the area of a circle.
<b>218–201 b.c.e.</b> Second Punic War	Carthage and Rome fight a 17-year war. It takes place in both Italy, which is attacked by Hannibal, and then Carthage. Rome is victorious.
<b>221 b.c.e.</b> Qin State Unifies China	Qin state in northwestern China establishes a national dynasty and begins imperial age in Chinese history.
<b>216 b.c.e.</b> First Macedonian War	The first Macedonian War breaks out when Philip V of Macedonia invades Illyria. The Romans use their superior naval forces to stop the Macedonians.
<b>209 b.c.e.</b> Maotun Unites Xiongnu Tribes	The Xiongnu nomadic tribes will become dominant in the steppes and formidable foes of China for the next three centuries.
<b>206 b.c.e.</b> Xiang Yu Attempts to Unify China	With the end of the Qin dynasty, Xiang emerges as the strongest contender for leadership of China. He is defeated by Liu Bang in 202 b.c.e.
<b>202 b.c.e.</b> Han Dynasty in China	Founded by commoner Liu Bang, the Han consolidates the imperial tradition begun in the Qin dynasty.
<b>200 b.c.e.</b> Bantu Migrations in Africa	Bantu migrations from western Africa into central and southern Africa begin and last for several hundred years; Bantu are largely agriculturalists.
<b>195 b.c.e.</b> Wei Man Establishes Kingdom in North Korea	Wei Man flees China with followers and sets up rule centered at Pyongyang in Korea. His family rules until China annexes northern Korea in 109 b.c.e.
<b>195–180 b.c.e.</b> Empress Lu of China	Wife of Liu Bang, she rules as regent after his death; she attempts but fails to establish her own dynasty.
<b>149 b.c.e.</b> Third Punic War	The Roman army lands at Carthage and lays siege to the city. After a three-year siege, the Romans capture Carthage and destroy the city.
<b>149–148 b.c.e.</b> Fourth Macedonian War	The Macedonians led by Andricus rebel against Roman rule. The Romans defeat the Macedonians and make Macedonia a province of Rome.
<b>144 b.c.e.</b> Aqueducts in Rome	The Romans develop an extensive aqueduct system to bring water to Rome.
<b>141–87 b.c.e.</b> Han Wudi	His reign sees successful Chinese offensives against the Xiongnu and the beginning of Chinese dominance of Central Asia. The Silk Road flourishes and Confucianism becomes China's state ideology.
<b>138 b.c.e.</b> Zhang Qian “discovers” Central Asia for China	His epic journeys leads to Chinese interest in Central Asia and East-West trade via the Silk Road.
<b>111 b.c.e.</b> Annam Conquered by Han China	Annam (North Vietnam) comes under Chinese political rule and cultural influence.
<b>108 b.c.e.</b> Northern Korea Conquered by Han China	It comes under Chinese political rule and cultural influence.
<b>100 b.c.e.</b> Nabatean City of Petra	Nabateans, an Arab tribe, establish a thriving commercial state at Petra in present-day southern Jordan.

**91–88 B.C.E. Social War**

The Social War breaks out when Italians who are not citizens of the Roman Empire revolt.

**87 B.C.E. Sima Qian completes *The Historical Records***

Sima Qian writes the complete history of the Chinese world up to his time, which becomes the exemplar of later Chinese historical writing.

**82 B.C.E. Consul Sulla Enters Rome**

Consul Sulla returns to Rome after subduing opponents of Roman rule. Sulla is elected dictator of Rome.

**73 B.C.E. Third Servile War**

The most famous slave revolt, known as the Third Servile War, is led by the slave Spartacus, a gladiator; Spartacus and his men seize Mount Vesuvius, and thousands of slaves flock to his support.

**69 B.C.E. Cleopatra**

Cleopatra reigns as queen of Egypt from 69 to 30 B.C.E.

**65 B.C.E. Pompey's Conquest**

Roman forces under Pompey defeat Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. Pompey forces Mithridates to flee to the eastern Black Sea region and then to Armenia.

**60 B.C.E. Triumvirate**

Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Marcus Crassus form the first triumvirate to rule Rome.

**57 B.C.E. Caesar Defeats Tribes**

Julius Caesar defeats the Celtic Helveta tribes from what is present-day Switzerland at Bibracte in present-day France.

**55 B.C.E. Caesar Invades Britain**

Caesar leads Roman troops across the Straits of Dover and returns to England the next year with a larger force to defeat the Catuvellauni and establish Roman sovereignty over parts of England.

**50 B.C.E. Kingdoms of Korea Founded**

The kingdoms of Korea are founded around 50 B.C.E. There are the Koguryo in the north, Silla in the southeast, and Pakche in the southwest.

**49 B.C.E. Caesar Crosses the Rubicon**

Julius Caesar and his army cross the Rubicon in northern Italy. By crossing the Rubicon, Caesar defies

the Senate and is guilty of treason. Pompey is forced to flee as Roman soldiers flock to Caesar, who successfully gains control of all Italy.

**44 B.C.E. Caesar Assassinated**

Caesar is assassinated by a group of Roman senators that includes Marcus Brutus. The death of Caesar is followed by a power struggle between Mark Antony and Octavian.

**43 B.C.E. Cicero Assassinated**

Cicero, the great Roman orator, denounces Antony. In retaliation, Antony orders the assassination of Cicero.

**42 B.C.E. Antony Defeats Cassius**

Mark Antony battles the forces of Cassius at Philippi. Cassius is defeated and commits suicide. Twenty days later, forces under Brutus are also defeated, and Brutus commits suicide.

**37 B.C.E. Herod the Great**

Herod the Great is recognized by the Roman Senate as king of Judaea. The Hasmonean dynasty that had ruled Judaea until this period allies themselves with the Parthians, who are defeated by Mark Antony's forces.

**31 B.C.E. Battle of Actium**

Mark Antony and Octavian fight a naval battle at Actium off Epirus in western Greece. Although the battle is decisive, Antony and his love, Cleopatra, flee to Egypt, where Antony's army surrenders. Antony and Cleopatra kill themselves soon after.

**27 B.C.E. Octavian**

Octavian becomes the "Augustus," and the era of the Roman Empire begins.

c.e. The Common Era begins with the birth of Jesus Christ, although Jesus probably is born between 7 and 4 B.C.E.

**6 C.E. Herod Deposed**

Herod Archelaus is deposed by the Roman emperor Augustus.

**9 C.E. German Tribes Destroy Roman Legions**

Three Roman legions are defeated by a German army led by Ariminus, thereby ensuring German independence from Rome.

**9 C.E. Xin Dynasty**

Wang Mang usurps the Han throne, ending the Western Han dynasty and establishes the Xin dynasty.

- 18 c.e. Red Eyebrow Rebellion**  
Peasant rebellion in China contributes to the downfall of Wang Mang's usurpation.
- 25–220 c.e. Eastern Han Dynasty**  
After the death of Wang Mang, the Han dynasty is restored, called the Eastern Han.
- 30 or 33 c.e. Jesus Crucified**  
Jesus Christ is put to death by the Romans in Jerusalem.
- 39 c.e. Revolt of Trung Sisters**  
Unsuccessful revolt of Annam (North Vietnam) from Chinese rule.
- 64 c.e. Rome Burns**  
The city of Rome is nearly destroyed in a catastrophic fire. The fire is said to have been set by the emperor Nero.
- 66 c.e. Judaea Rebels against Rome**  
A rebellion breaks out in Jerusalem against Roman rule. The Romans dispatch an army from Syria to quell the revolt, but it is destroyed on the way to Jerusalem.
- 68 c.e. Year of the Four Emperors**  
Four separate emperors rule Rome.
- 70 c.e. Jerusalem Falls**  
Titus succeeds in capturing Jerusalem; he burns Jerusalem, killing or selling into slavery tens of thousands of Jews.
- 78 c.e. Kushan Empire**  
The Kushan dynasty is established by King Kanishka. It extends from Afghanistan to the Indus Valley and is the melting pot of Greco-Roman, Persian, and Indian cultures.
- 79 c.e. Mount Vesuvius Explodes**  
Mount Vesuvius erupts, destroying the Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
- 96–180 c.e. Five Good Emperors**  
Starting with Emperor Marcus Nerva, Rome is ruled by five individuals who become known as the Good Emperors.
- 100 c.e. Emergence of Moche Culture in Peru**  
Moche culture, which is hierarchical with warrior-priest kings, emerges in Peru and flourishes until approximately 700 c.e.
- 100 c.e. Terminal Preclassic Period in Maya Zones**  
The end of the Late Preclassic period and beginning of the Terminal Preclassic in the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.
- 122 c.e. Hadrian's Wall Is Built**  
The Roman emperor Hadrian orders the construction of a defensive wall stretching 70 miles across northern England to keep out the Scottish tribes.
- 132 c.e. Bar Kokhba Revolt**  
The Jews of Jerusalem rise up in rebellion in 132 after the Romans build a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Jewish Temple. The revolt is led by Simon bar Kokhba and Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph but is ultimately crushed.
- 167 c.e. German Tribes Invade Northern Italy**  
The German tribes cross the Danube River and attack the Roman Empire.
- 180 c.e. Marcus Aurelius Dies**  
Marcus Aurelius dies and is succeeded by his son, Commodus. Commodus is the first emperor since Domitian to succeed by virtue of birth, rather than by assassination.
- 184 c.e. Revolt of the Yellow Turbans**  
A peasant revolt in China contributes to the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty.
- 200 c.e. Teotihuacán in Mexico**  
Teotihuacán, a vast urban center with pyramids and public buildings in Mexico, flourishes to c. 600.
- 220 c.e. Han Dynasty ends**  
Last Han emperor is forced to abdicate.
- 220–265 c.e. Three Kingdoms in China**  
Era of wars between three regional states—Wei, Shu Han, and Wu—for control of China.
- 250 c.e. Early Classic Period in Maya Zones**  
Beginning of the Early Classic Period in the highlands and lowlands of the Maya zones of Mesoamerica.
- 265–589 c.e. Period of Division**  
Northern China is ruled after 317 by nomadic dynasties of Turkic ethnicity, while southern China remains with ethnic Chinese dynasties. Buddhism is dominant in both north and south.

**267 c.e. Queen Zenobia Rules Palmyra**

Zenobia rules rich trading entrepôt at Palmyra in northeastern present-day Syria and fights against Roman domination until her defeat in 272.

**300 c.e. Axum Kingdom in East Africa**

Axum kingdom rules Ethiopia and later much of present-day Sudan after defeating Kushites; under King 'Ezana, Ethiopia becomes a Christian country.

**320 c.e. Gupta Dynasty**

The Gupta Empire is founded by Chandragupta I. Under his successor the Gupta Empire extends to include all of northern India.

**324 c.e. Constantine the Great**

Constantine the Great initiates a civil war of succession against his potential rivals for the throne. In a series of engagements that culminates in 324 at the Battle of Adrianople (in present-day Turkey), Constantine defeats his rivals and becomes the undisputed emperor of all Rome.

**330 c.e. Byzantium**

Constantine the Great dedicates his new capital at Byzantium, renamed after himself as Constantinople.

**337 c.e. Roman Empire Divides**

Constantine dies, and the empire is divided with the Western Roman Empire governed from Rome and the Eastern Roman Empire governed by Constantinople.

**357 c.e. Battle of Argentoratum**

At the Battle of Argentoratum in 357, the Roman general Julian drives the Franks from Gaul, thus re-establishing the Rhine as the frontier of the empire.

**376–415 c.e. Chandragupta II**

India reaches its golden classical age. Both Buddhism and Hinduism flourish.

**376 c.e. Ostrogoths Invaded**

The Huns, a nomadic Mongol people, sweep in from Asia and defeat the Ostrogoth Empire.

**378 c.e. Valens Killed by Visigoths**

After their defeat by the Huns, the Visigoths seek refuge in the Roman Empire. The Roman emperor Valens gives them permission to cross the Danube as long as they agree to disarm, but the Visigoths are mistreated by Roman officials and revolt.

**405–411 c.e. Fa Xian Travels to India**

Chinese Buddhist monk travels to India, records Gupta culture, and returns to China with Buddhist manuscripts.

**407 c.e. Romans Withdraw from Britain**

Western Roman Emperor Honorius withdraws his troops from Britain.

**410 c.e. Rome Sacked by Visigoths**

After a decade of battles, the Visigoths under Alaric sack Rome in 410.

**439 c.e. Carthage Captured by Vandals**

The Roman city of Carthage is captured by Vandals under the command of Genseric, who makes Carthage his capital.

**441 c.e. First Saxon Revolt**

The first Saxon revolt against native Britons occurs in 441.

**451 c.e. Attila the Hun Defeated**

Attila faces the Visigoths and Romans together in the Battle of Chalons (Châlons). Attila is defeated and forced to withdraw.

**455 c.e. Saxons Crushes Britons**

At the Battle of Aylesford in Kent, England, the Saxons led by Hengst and Horsa defeat the Britons. This battle is an important step in the Saxon conquest of Britain.

**455 c.e. Vandals Sack Rome**

The Vandals attack and invade Rome.

**476 c.e. Western Roman Empire Ends**

The Western Roman Empire ends after Emperor Romulus Augustulus is deposed by German mercenaries at Ravenna. The German mercenaries then declare themselves rulers of Italy.

**486 c.e. Roman Occupation of Gaul Ends**

The last Roman emperor of France is defeated by Clovis I, king of the Salian Franks, and Clovis establishes the Kingdom of the Franks.

**488 c.e. Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy**

Theodoric I (the Great) invades northern Italy at the request of the Byzantine emperor. He conquers Italy and establishes the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy.

**500 c.e. Ghanaian Kingdom in West Africa**

The Ghanaian kingdom in western Africa rises to power and reaches its apogee of power in 1050.

**500 c.e. Svealand**

The first Swedish state, Svealand, is founded around 500. The Goths inhabit the southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Much of what is known about early Sweden is taken from the epic *Beowulf*, written in 700 c.e.

**500 c.e. Introduction of Zero**

Indian mathematicians revolutionize arithmetic by introducing zero (0) to number systems.

**503–557 c.e. Persian-Roman Wars**

Between 503 and 557, three successive wars—interrupted by periods of peace—are fought between the Persian Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire. In 567 a peace is reached under which Rome agrees to pay the Persians 30,000 pieces of gold annually, the borders between the empires are reaffirmed, Christian worship is to be protected in the Persian Empire, and regulations regarding trade and diplomatic relations are delineated.

**507 c.e. Kingdom of Franks**

Clovis defeats the Visigoths under Alaric II at the Battle of Vouille. The Visigoths retreat into Spain, where they retain their empire.

**530 c.e. Western Monasticism**

Saint Benedict formulates his rule, enabling monasteries in Europe to preserve treasures of civilization as the Roman Empire decays.

**532 c.e. Nika Revolt**

A popular uprising against the emperor Justinian occurs in Constantinople, but the emperor, with the support of Empress Theodora, crushes the revolt.

**537 c.e. Hagia Sophia Basilica Built**

The Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is completed. The basilica represents the apogee of Byzantine architecture. It was later made into a mosque by the Ottomans in 1450.

**550 c.e. Gupta Empire Ends**

India is disrupted by rebels and Huna invaders.

**552 c.e. Battle at Taginae**

The Byzantine army invades Italy and defeats the Ostrogoths using a combination of pikes and bows.

**552 c.e. Buddhism Introduced to Japan**

Buddhist missionaries from Korea reach Japan and begin to influence the Yamato court.

**558–650 c.e. The Avars**

The Avars, a Turkish Mongolian group, form an empire that extends from the Volga to the Hungarian plains. In 626, they lay siege to Constantinople but are forced to withdraw.

**565 c.e. Justinian the Great**

Justinian the Great dies in 565, bringing to an end 38 years of rule as leader of the Byzantine Empire. Under his stewardship, the empire expands to include all of North Africa and parts of the Middle East as well as Italy and Greece. Under Justinian, the first comprehensive compilation of Roman law is issued, known as Justinian's Code.

**572 c.e. Leovigild, King of Visigoths**

Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, reinvigorates the empire and extends Visigoth dominance over all of the Iberian Peninsula.

**581 c.e. Sui Dynasty Reunites China**

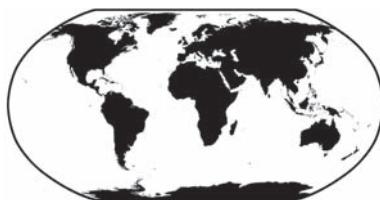
After nearly four centuries of internal divisions and strife, China reunites under the leadership of Yang Jian under the Sui dynasty. Yang uses Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism to help unite the realm.

**598 c.e. Pope Gregory Obtains 30-Year Truce**

Gregory the Great is the first monk to become pope; he controls the civil affairs of Rome and expands the power of the church. Gregory also negotiates a 30-year truce with the Lombards to ensure the independence of Rome.



# MAJOR THEMES



## Prehistoric Eras to 600 C.E.

### FOOD PRODUCTION

Survival in the face of the elements has been the struggle for most of human existence on the planet. Since their emergence, *Homo sapiens* have invested most of their time in hunting and food gathering and staying warm and dry during the periods known as the ice ages. Modern human beings migrated from their first home in Africa into Europe, Asia, Australasia, and the Americas, probably following herds of bison and mastodon, an early source of food. They were so successful in their hunting that many animal herds were reduced to the point of extinction.

As the climate changed and the ice receded, new possibilities for food production occurred. Our human ancestors began to gather edible plants and learned how to domesticate them. This was an agricultural revolution that allowed them to break free from their nomadic past and establish sedentary communities. Along with cultivating plants came the domestication of animals, probably first dogs and then livestock that would provide meat, milk products, as well as hides for clothing. Some animals became beasts of burden. In the division of labor between genders, women assumed domestic roles that included cooking, tending small animals, and weaving, while men did the farming, hunting, and herding of large animals. These new methods of food production could produce surpluses, which in turn allowed larger communities to develop, advancing civilization. Where conditions did not allow agriculture, nomadism continued. By and large, nomads existed on the fringes of the civilized world, and they failed to develop written languages. The agricultural revolution occurred first in Mesopotamia and spread afterward to Asia and Europe.

**Fertile Crescent.** Mesopotamia, or the Fertile Crescent, developed the world's first cities, so it is not surprising that wheat and barley were first cultivated there. Irrigation and the drainage of swamps also first occurred there, around 5000 B.C.E. From time immemorial the Nile River overflowed its banks bringing fertile silt and water to the narrow and prolific floodplain. When the Nile failed, social upheaval and revolution often followed.

In China, agriculture began along the Yellow River valley around 10,000 B.C.E. with the domestication of millet, barley, and other crops. Rice was first grown along the Yangtze River valley around

5000 B.C.E. and later became the staple food for much of Asia. By 3000 B.C.E. the Chinese had invented the plow, and by 400 B.C.E., iron-clad farming implements. The agricultural revolution occurred along the Indus River valley before 5000 B.C.E., where farmers cultivated wheat, barley, peas, and other crops.

Farming became common across Europe by 3500 B.C.E., but for centuries afterward, farmers worked a piece of land until the soil wore out, then simply moved on to virgin fields. Such practice is roughly the same as the “slash and burn” farming of seminomadic communities in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, still in use to the present day. A remedy for soil depletion was crop rotation: One plant replenished what another plant took from the soil the previous season. This method was practiced first in Europe around 1400 B.C.E. In the Western Hemisphere the agricultural revolution began first in Mexico, perhaps around 5000 B.C.E. The “three sisters” of diet in this part of the world—maize, beans, and squash—provided a balanced diet and source of nutrition for the indigenous people, and they required little labor to produce.

**Beasts of Burden.** The first beasts of burden to be domesticated were the donkey, the buffalo, and the camel, all by 3000 B.C.E. The llama was used in the Andes Mountains in South America. Animal husbandry lagged behind in the Americas because horses died out early in this part of the world and were only reintroduced by Europeans after 1500 C.E. Over the centuries people as far separated as the Celts and Chinese adopted the horse to great advantage. However, at first the horses were mainly used to pull war chariots; later for cavalry, and not commonly for agricultural labor.

Human diet throughout the world largely consisted of cereal grains, beans, vegetable oils, fresh vegetables and fruits, dairy products, occasional fresh meat, and fermented beverages made from either fruit or grains. Consumption of cereals came in many forms, but in Europe, the Near East, and the Americas mainly through coarse bread. White bread, made of fine wheat flour without the germ, was most highly prized throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. In 350 B.C.E. a new strain of wheat suitable for such bread was cultivated in Egypt, and Egypt and North Africa thereafter became a granary for the Mediterranean peoples. Fruits and vegetables were consumed locally. Trade and migrations introduced new plants across Eurasia and Africa and resulted in great improvements in food production. Sub-Saharan Africa produced food surpluses with the introduction of the banana by the Malay peoples (of present-day Indonesia). Because of this fortuitous event, in the fourth century B.C.E. the city-states of Nigeria were able to flourish. Another revolutionary product, sugarcane, was cultivated in India and the East Indies from 100 B.C.E., but its dissemination to Europe waited for the discovery of a process of refinement. Instead, honey and concentrated fruit were used for sweetening throughout much of the ancient world.

The New World offered a variety of plants not available in the Old World, most important maize, but also cacao, papaya, guava, avocado, pineapple, chilies, and sassafras. Several of the more common foods today originally come from the Americas: peanuts, potatoes, and tomatoes. The relationship between abundant food and community development was readily apparent in this hemisphere: Where farming flourished (Mesoamerica and South America), city-states and civilizations abounded; but where farming lagged (North America), population centers were few and less organized. The “discovery” of the Americas by Western explorers had an enormous impact on diet and nutritional resources throughout the world.

## SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Many ancient cultures were fascinated with the movement of the heavenly bodies because people thought that they exerted influence on earthly events. The ancients carefully observed astral rhythms and computed how the seasons fit this schedule. Sumer, one of the earliest Mesopotamian cities, left behind the first calendar (354 days) by 2700 B.C.E.

China had developed a calendar system very similar to the modern one by 1400 B.C.E. In Central America the Maya developed an amazingly accurate calendar that could predict eclipses and planetary conjunctions that mirrored the modern way of calculating years, based on a commonly

accepted event like the birth of Christ. Dionysius Exiguus (a Christian) invented the current dating system in the sixth century C.E.

**Metal Forging.** Copper smelting began in Catal Huyuk (perhaps the earliest city excavated, found in modern-day Turkey) before the Bronze Age. However, the people in northern Thailand were the first to make bronze (an alloy of tin and copper) around 4000 B.C.E. The first bronze foundry in China developed around 2200 B.C.E. Craftspeople among the Hittites of western Asia perfected iron making for their weapons by 1200 B.C.E.; iron work was also known in central Africa. The Iron Age reached China by 500 B.C.E. Being cheaper to produce than bronze, iron soon found widespread use in war and farming. The Chinese began casting iron a thousand years before Europeans did. At about the same time they began to cast iron the Chinese also began to make steel. Researchers have recently uncovered a Chinese belt buckle made of aluminum, showing that they began to refine this metal some 1,500 years before Europeans. In the Andes area gold smelting, used largely for jewelry, developed around 200 B.C.E. After 600 C.E. Western Hemisphere cultures also began to smelt silver and copper but never processed iron or bronze. Rubber was first found among the Chavín culture of the Andes around 1100 B.C.E.

**Scientific Tools and Speculation.** Peoples of the Near East were the first to develop writing. They used papyrus, animal skins, and clay tablets. The earliest surviving writing in China was found incised on animal bones and turtle shells and cast into bronze vessels. The Chinese invented paper around the beginning of the Common Era, a much cheaper medium than silk and less cumbersome than clay tablets or metal.

Western civilizations made strong contributions to the speculative disciplines of mathematics and sciences. The abacus was invented in the Near East around 3000 B.C.E., an indication of fascination for numbers, mathematics, and the sciences. Famous scientists include Pythagoras (500 B.C.E.), who, in addition to figuring out useful things related to triangles, developed both scientific and eccentric theories about the physical universe. Euclid (300 B.C.E.) is still studied today for his insights in geometry, and his theory profited another Greek mathematician, Aristarchus, who computed the distance between the Sun and the Moon c. 280 B.C.E. Archimedes in turn figured out pi and invented such simple machines as the lever and the pulley. Greek astronomers also made observations and deductions that were unparalleled until Galileo during the European Renaissance.

Chinese mathematicians were first to use exponential formulae and scientific notation (200 B.C.E.) and utilized several other innovations: the magnetic compass (1 C.E.), “negative numbers” (100 C.E.), and north-south, east-west parallels in maps (265 C.E.).

**Industry and Medicine.** Two civilizations used the wheel to advantage in their development. They were the Sumer (c. 3000 B.C.E.) and the Shang dynasty in China (c. 1700 B.C.E.). One practical application of the wheel is the wheelbarrow, invented by the Chinese in the first century C.E. Other “wheels” of great benefit but unrelated to transportation were the potter’s wheel, found in Mesopotamia as early as 3500 B.C.E., and the water wheel, a technology of hydrology invented around 500 B.C.E. The wheel was not used in transportation in the Western Hemisphere.

The Egyptians were the earliest glassmakers (c. 1500 B.C.E.), but by 100 B.C.E. Syria became a major exporter of high-quality glasswares. In manufacturing cloth the Chinese were the first to domesticate the silkworm and to cultivate mulberry trees during the Neolithic Period. Silk-weaving technology then spread elsewhere and by 550 C.E. had reached the Byzantine Empire. Cotton was woven and traded in the Indus River valley around 2500 B.C.E. Although cotton growing and spinning are adopted by other cultures, Indian textiles remain famous throughout the period.

The Chinese have a long and venerable history of homeopathy and natural remedies in health care. Acupuncture started in China (2500 B.C.E.). The Mesoamericans are known to have acquired a vast knowledge of the medicinal use of plants. Chroniclers in the New World listed some 1,200 indigenous medicinal plants that sprang from native treatments and traditions. The Greek world is known for its well-published and imitated physicians, as well as remedies for ailments. The famous Greek physician Hippocrates wrote the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (400 B.C.E.), a textbook for medical doctors. Other Greek physicians of note included Erasistratus of Chios who explained

heart valves (250 C.E.) and Galen (third century C.E.), whose medical writings provided advice for centuries to come.

### SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

The social structure of the earliest civilizations shows hierarchies and a concentration of power among certain elites. There were few matriarchal societies in the ancient world; most were patriarchal and polygamous among the wealthy social classes. As civilizations developed and expanded, their social structures often had to be modified. Sometimes this resulted in a decentralization of power, even on rare occasions, as in ancient Greece, in democracy. At other times changes were forced by foreign invasions.

**Egypt.** The apex of Egyptian society was the pharaoh since he (or more precisely, his “house” or the institution that he incarnated) stood as the intermediary between the world of gods and of human beings. The pharaoh’s main duty was to maintain *maat*, an apotheosized state of cosmic balance or justice for his whole realm. Pharaoh owned vast tracts of land and sometimes vied with priests for control and status. His office was hereditary and dynastic. History records one woman, Hatshepsut, who served as regent for more than 20 years until the son of the previous pharaoh could assume power.

When the Nile failed and Egyptian life was disrupted, the ruling dynasty lost credibility and provincial administrators, the priestly class, or foreigners intervened, resulting in the installing of a new dynasty. One group of outsiders who seized power sometime around 1600 B.C.E. was the Hyksos, a Semitic people. However, by 1300 B.C.E. a native dynasty had returned to power, and the outsiders were expelled. The conservative nature of Egyptian society, reinforced by the regularity of the Nile and the insularity of the land, made for few social and class changes in its long history.

**India.** Plentiful artifacts and architectural remains from the Indus River civilization survive but so far the writing has not been deciphered. The Indo-Europeans brought social and class changes when they settled in northern India around 1500 B.C.E. Their hierarchic and warlike society can be seen in the mythology narrated in their Sanskrit scripture, the Vedas. Their class structure and suppression of native peoples resulted in the imposition of the caste system that dominates Indian society to this day. Although the Indo-Europeans did not settle in southern India, they nevertheless influenced the darker-skinned Dravidian people there, who also adopted the caste system. Aryan religion was modified around 500 B.C.E. by new concepts introduced by the Upanishads and by new protest religions called Buddhism and Jainism. After reaching its maximum influence from the reign of Emperor Ashoka (c. 280 B.C.E.) to the Gupta dynasty (c. 350 C.E.), Buddhism largely faded from Indian society but spread to China and Southeast Asia.

**China.** Rulers of the Shang dynasty (c. 1700–1100 B.C.E.) established themselves as the sole intermediary between the human world and the spirit world, as did its successor, the Zhou (Chou) dynasty (c. 1100–256 B.C.E.). Zhou rulers relied on a network of feudal relations to extend the Chinese empire and claimed their right to rule under the concept called “mandate of heaven.” This was a double-edged sword as heaven rewarded virtuous rulers and punished unjust ones through giving the people the right to revolt.

The decline of Zhou power and centuries of civil wars culminated in the unification of China under the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty. The Qin unified their conquest through the imposition of absolute government power, under an ideology called Legalism. The brief experiment with Legalism made the next dynasty, Han, turn to Confucianism. Confucian society divided the people into four non-hereditary social classes: the scholar-officials, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Confucians taught that the family was the center of society. It remained China’s official ideology from the second century B.C.E. to the 20th century C.E.

Preliterate nomads along its northern frontier confronted the sedentary Chinese civilization. The most formidable among them from the late Zhou to the post-Han era were called the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu), whose defeat by the Han rulers after c. 100 B.C.E. led to the opening of the Silk Road that would link China with India, Central Asia, Persia, and Rome. In addition to the exchange of economic goods, Buddhism and some Western ideas entered China via this commercial route.

**Classical Greece.** For all the democratic reforms attributed to the ancient Greeks, only Athens and its allies accepted this form of “equality under the law,” and even then the rights were brief in duration and limited to male citizens. Because of the stubborn autonomy that each city-state claimed for itself, it is hard to sum up Greek social and class relationships. In general, Greeks despised kings, prized local identities, often quarreled among themselves, and nonetheless cooperated in matters of athletic competition. They also agreed about the superiority of the Greek language, religion, and commerce compared with those of other peoples. They rarely mixed with non-Greek “barbarians.” Non-Greek slaves, who did the work too undignified for Greeks to do, were grudgingly accepted. Family and marriage were valued because survival depended on having enough children so that the next generation would protect the city with an army and take care of the citizens in old age.

**Rome.** Early Rome overturned its Etruscan kings and became a republic dominated by a group of men who made decisions for all the citizens. These leaders were called senators, and they came from an aristocratic class called the patricians. Commoners (or plebeians) owned small plots of land and were full citizens of the early republic, but their role in government was limited to veto power of plebiscites and election of their own spokesmen, called tribunes. Class struggles led to civil wars and the disintegration of republican institutions.

As Rome acquired land outside the Italian peninsula, two changes occurred that affected Roman society: First, the patrician class benefited because successful wars increased its wealth and power; second, the old system of running Roman politics failed to cope with the new empire’s demands. The plebeians abandoned their small farms and moved to the city for economic opportunities. Rome’s leaders were increasingly compelled to provide “bread and circuses” to keep the unemployed citizens content. Popular disenchantment with the new arrangements and the leaders’ tendency to foment civil war motivated the likes of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony to experiment with new forms of government. Though the office of Caesar (a term that came to mean both emperor and demigod) proved popular, there was still an undercurrent of discontent from classes as diverse as the original patricians of the Republic days and newly acquired slaves, numbering up to one-third of the city’s population. Spartacus led a throng of disgruntled slaves in 73 B.C.E., requiring eight legions to quash the uprising. Julius Caesar, the hero of the new imperial age, was murdered in the Senate by old guard Republicans on the Ides of March, 44 B.C.E.

The Caesars adapted by expanding the opportunities for citizenship and by giving slaves and freedmen opportunities to gain wealth and improve their status. However, there is no evidence that wealth disparities diminished over the whole imperial period. The steady rise of inadequacies of the Roman religion led to the spread of Christianity among all ranks for Roman society.

**The Americas.** Mesoamerican and Andean peoples became more hierarchical and stratified as urbanization increased. Birth, lineage, and occupation determined one’s place in these civilizations. The overall class structure was pyramidal with the ruler and nobility on top, followed by a priestly class, a warrior class, merchants and traders, artisans and crafts workers, then agriculturalists, with servants and slaves on the bottom. The whole schema was cemented together by a mythology that resembled that of Shang China or pharaonic Egypt: The gods approved of the elites as guardians of the secret lore concerning such things as astronomy, calendrical calculations, and ritual, which enabled them to stay in power. While there is some evidence of lower-class discontent, the preponderance of evidence indicates that wars, invasions, and ecological bottlenecks—not internal class conflicts—were primarily responsible for the decline of classic Mesoamerican civilizations.

**Literary Classics and Monasteries.** The ability to read and write was considered almost magical by potentate and peasant alike in the ancient world. This fascination with the written text explains why those ancient religions that survived are scripture based. Reading and writing became particularly useful as cities and civilizations required more complex administration and organization. At first, writing was complicated and unwieldy (such as Egyptian hieroglyphs and Chinese pictographs), and few could master the thousands of symbols in each written language. As a result certain societies honored the scholarly class or compelled their administrators to pass literacy tests

(such as in China under the influence of Confucianism, beginning in the Han dynasty). In the New World only the Maya devised a written language utilizing a system of 800 glyphs.

Some ancient scripts evolved and became syllabic or hybrids of pictures and sounds (such as Mesopotamian cuneiform), which reduced the number of symbols from thousands to hundreds. When Ugarit reduced its symbols to 30, cuneiform became the standard script in the Near East for laws and literature. The Phoenicians were important because they perfected the alphabet letters to represent sounds. Soon the Greeks added vowels, and the alphabet as we know it was invented. The alphabet was simple enough that many could learn it and gain access to literature and history and thus power. Israel gave an institutional place to the prophet as a critic of the ruling king and priest, and the prophet's critique—once it was written down—became a powerful statement to future generations about the limits of power. Greece flourished in the fifth century B.C.E. in the arts and sciences because it too encouraged literacy among its people.

In many civilizations monastic societies were seen as separate from the secular society. The roots for Western monasticism came from Anthony of the Desert (late 300s C.E.) and the “Desert Fathers and Mothers” of Egypt (300–500 C.E.), indicating Eastern Christian influence on the Latin Church. Benedict (c. 500 C.E.) is called the father of the monastic movement in the West. His rule came at a critical time for Western civilization, because various barbarian tribes had broken through the frontiers and were destroying cities and institutions, yet the empire had taken few measures to preserve its manifold cultural heritage. The monasteries of Benedict and his followers provided an alternate society, a counterculture with its own meritocracy and value system. By the end of the period it was the monasteries that powerfully preserved culture and encouraged progress: They showed hospitality to displaced refugees, they developed and retaught agricultural techniques, they recopied precious manuscripts, and they eventually returned to recivilize the people that were once were proud Roman citizens. The only Western library of the sixth century C.E. that functioned after Rome’s decline was Benedict’s at Vivarium. Similarly, Hindus and Buddhists honored monastic institutions as well as individual ascetics.

### TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

From the beginning humans have migrated and mixed with one another. The first migration took place out of Africa to the Near East some 100,000 years ago, when humans spread across Europe and Asia. The ice ages provided land bridges for travel to parts of Oceania (60,000 B.C.E.) and North America (14,000 B.C.E.). DNA tests indicate that every human living in the far corners of the world can be traced back to a common ancestor in Africa. This prehistoric wanderlust continued after the beginning of civilization, enriching the civilization’s heritage. Archaeological records shows that the “cradles of civilization” were not so isolated.

Even the most advanced of empires had contacts with lands and peoples that they considered outsiders and inferiors. For example, Mesopotamia (3000 B.C.E.) could produce food for its burgeoning population and cities along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, but where would it obtain copper and tin for bronze making, except in far-off Cyprus? Ancient Egypt (2600 B.C.E.) acted as though it had everything it needed because of the Nile, but where would it get its wood and ivory, not to mention its slaves, except from Semitic peoples in Phoenicia and Syria? These interactions are confirmed by physical remains found by archaeologists in each of these respective sites. As history progressed and wealth and resources became more concentrated around cities, trade and cultural exchanges become more deliberate. In fact, a reliable barometer of the health of a civilization can be found in the level of trade and exchange it maintains with others.

Along with the movement of goods among the ancient cities in the river valleys of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China, there were movements of peoples and tribes that affected the balance of power and development. One of the most significant migrations for later language and cultural development involved the expansion of Indo-European peoples around 1600 B.C.E. from their homeland between the Black and Caspian Seas. For reasons unknown they moved in several directions: toward present-day Iran and India, toward the Mediterranean Sea into Europe, and toward the Middle East into Mesopotamia. Those who moved into Iran gave their land its name. By 500

B.C.E. the descendants of these Aryans, under Cyrus the Great, had conquered the largest empire the world had yet seen. In India these hierarchical foreigners replaced the Indus River valley city-states. The new society had an Indo-European language, known as Sanskrit, and its religion based on the Vedic scriptures replaced the religion of the natives.

**Cultural Penetration and Subversion.** Indo-Europeans met with stiff cultural resistance from the Dravidian people of southern India. Their harsher views moderated, and eventually the hybridization of their Vedic religion and local cultures emerged. All of these profound changes were the results of the Indo-European encounter with the peoples of India and resulted in the development of several great religions. The Indo-Europeans also moved to the south and west of their original homeland. They marched into Mesopotamia around 1600 B.C.E. and formed the Hittite Empire but could not keep control of the ever-shifting puzzle of native city-states. All that remained of the Hittite legacy was the war-making technology of chariots, war horses, and iron weapons. In the West they made an impact on the Mediterranean world, replacing the dominant Minoan civilization of Crete with their Mycenaean culture. Greek language, literature, and ethnic identity resulted with the mixing of the Mycenaeans and later immigrants called Dorians and Ionians.

The Indo-European Greek culture formed the underpinnings of modern Western civilization. Greek culture captivated the Romans, who conquered the Greeks and were in turn conquered by the higher Greek civilization. Eventually, Roman patricians insisted on their sons being educated by Greek tutors, or on sending their sons to Athens for schooling. Most important, modern Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese) came from the same Latin-Greek-Indo-European family.

Another people who profoundly influenced other civilizations through their travels were the Phoenicians, a seafaring and adventurous people from modern Lebanon who settled as far away as Britain and even navigated around the Horn of Africa. Their greatest contribution to world progress was the invention of the alphabet. With an alphabet of 24 letters, simplifying earlier writing systems of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Sumerian cuneiform, the Phoenician script was adopted by the Greeks, who incorporated vowels, and subsequently by many other cultures.

**Religious Exchanges.** Three exchanges did not involve goods or people but, rather, religions: Christian influence on Rome, Jewish influence on Islam, and Islamic influence on Europe. Christianity began in the highlands of Galilee and Judaea. It showed these roots profoundly, especially when it directly clashed with the Roman emperor cult, because of its Semitic respect for monotheism and its interpretation of a Jewish doctrine called the “kingdom of God.” Such differences led to periodic persecution and martyrdom of Christians under Roman rule. Marginalization only increased the appeal of the new religion. By 310 C.E. the Christian message had reached even the ruler Constantine, who converted to Christianity, resulting in an era of Christian expansion. The early enthusiasm of the Christian preachers had already pushed beyond the traditional territories of Diaspora Jews: India claims to have had contact with the apostle Thomas by 50 C.E., Armenia by 325 C.E., Axum in Africa by 350 C.E., Persia by 488 C.E., and western Europe by 600 C.E.

A second surprising cultural contact involved the Diaspora Jews in the Arabian Peninsula. When Jews were expelled from their homeland by Roman invasions, they often went into the Eastern world instead of the West. One place they congregated was Mecca (500 C.E.), a trading and religious center, halfway between Yemen and Egypt and at the crossroads of trade from the Persian Gulf. Here they established synagogues and dialogue with their Arab hosts, one of whom the Qur'an says was Muhammad. Much of the Qur'an presupposes the stories and ideas of the Jewish Bible.

**Exchange by Conquest.** Cultural exchanges also resulted from military conquests and empire building. Alexander the Great conducted a campaign against the Persians around 330 B.C.E. Alexander, a Macedonian, had been shaped by the Greek worldview due to his being held hostage in Greece, his compliance with Greek customs and lifestyle, his education by the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle, and his own personal mission to spread Hellenism abroad. After his lightning-like world conquest, he began to set up Greek institutions throughout his empire, demanding Greek as the lingua

franca and violently repressing certain native religions (such as Zoroastrianism). He began to demand divine homage as king in the manner of the Persians. He diminished the role of Greek city-states and increased a sense of being an “empire citizen.” He caused trade between Asia and the Mediterranean to increase markedly. His military conquest resulted in profound cultural hybridization.

Another form of exchange was caused by conquest. Since the third century B.C.E. a nomadic people called the Xiongnu had raided and warred with the sedentary Chinese. Chinese victories and expansion after c. 100 B.C.E. caused the Xiongnu to migrate westward, creating a snowball effect on the Gothic peoples who had settled on the frontiers of Rome for decades. When the Asian nomads (also known as the Huns) pushed through Hungary into Roman frontier areas in 376 C.E., the Goths fled into the Roman Empire. They first sacked Rome in 410 C.E. In 441 C.E. Attila the Hun launched a devastating attack and advanced all the way to Rome. The whole Roman order came apart, and the ensuing chaos led to the “Dark Ages.”

The Mauryan Empire at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. controlled the Indian subcontinent, but its cultural influence went far beyond it. Indian Buddhist missionaries began proselytizing in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Afghanistan, and Central Asia, bringing a new religion, as well as Indian civilization. Indian trade and cultural identity not only survived the fall of the Mauryan Empire but expanded under the Gupta Empire in the fourth century C.E. The impact of the Indians on Southeast Asia was so strong that the region was called “Indianized Asia.”

China dominated East Asia culturally and politically. Beginning in the second millennium B.C.E. Chinese civilization expanded from the Yellow River valley, assimilating various groups of peoples. Successive rulers of the Han dynasty incorporated present-day Korea and Vietnam into the Chinese empire. They also conquered areas deep in Central Asia, expelling or subjugating nomadic tribes including the Xiongnu. By the first century B.C.E. the two great empires, the Roman and Chinese, had extended dominion over much of the Eurasian world, imposing the Pax Romana and the Pax Sinica. The resultant trade and cultural interactions along the Silk Road that linked Chang'an (Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital) and Rome by land and sea and that included Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Persia, and the Middle East would survive the fall of both the Roman and Han and Gupta Empires. Trade exchanges between Asia and Europe picked up markedly after 500 B.C.E. due to several factors, among them improved roads and navigational techniques. New religions also encouraged missionaries to go abroad to spread their faiths.

Throughout Central and South America, from as early as 2000–1500 B.C.E., there are physical remains of artifacts that were made in far-away areas of the New World, thus, proof of exchange. There was by 1000 B.C.E. a network of pan-Mesoamerican communication that connected central and southern Mexico as far south as Nicaragua. These contacts spread farming innovations into new adjacent areas. It is possible that the same sharing of information occurred between the Andes urban areas and Mesoamerica. The great city of Teotihuacán (450 C.E.) in central Mexico was a hub of travel and trade. Its road network connected the city to the North American Southwest, the Mayan highlands, and west to the Pacific.

African connections to the outside world began during the reigns of several Upper Nile pharaohs, expanded under the Persian Empire and Ptolemaic dynasty, and reached a high point under the Romans, who utilized North Africa as a breadbasket region. Romanized Africa also became a base for Christian missionary activity. In fact, the church's leading early thinker, Augustine, came from modern-day Tunisia. Ancient Egypt and later the kingdom of Axum in present-day Sudan acted as important links in trade and in the transmission of ideas and technologies between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

## URBANIZATION

The founding of cities depends on several factors but none more important than an abundant supply of food and water. For this reason, in the ancient world it was common for cities to be located near rivers and coasts. Some examples of this principle at work are the cities of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Mesopotamia, the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers in China, the Indus River in India, and the

Nile River in Egypt. Other factors can also explain the location of cities. For example, Constantinople became a thriving city without either good local farmland or freshwater because of its strategic location. Aqueducts and massive cisterns were built to bring in water from afar.

Important cities had to be defensible. Examples of ancient sites that could withstand invasion were the Phoenician city of Tyre, situated on an island; Corinth in Greece had an acropolis on a high hill overlooking the harbor; and Petra in present-day Jordan, located in a desert and reachable only via a narrow and winding route through a pass. Similarly Chang'an, ancient capital of China, was protected by nearby mountain passes that held back nomadic invaders. Even cities that did not have natural defenses could survive, for example, Sparta, located on a plain, or Rome, whose seven hills above the Tiber River were not adequate for protection, because both developed formidable armies.

**Protective Walls and Impressive Monuments.** Walls and fortifications protected most ancient cities. One of the oldest cities in the world (7000 B.C.E.), Jericho was known in the Bible for its reputedly impenetrable walls that protected the 2,000 people who lived there, making it a large settlement for its day. Other cities constructed ingenious gates, towers, and moats as safeguards against enemies. Among the cities most famous for their gates were Mycenae (Agamemnon's capital, 1200 B.C.E.), which had a famous "Lion Gate," and Babylonia, which had its awesome Ishtar Gate (550 B.C.E.). Both of these gates were as much intended to impress as to defend. The Mauryan capital, Pataliputra (200 B.C.E.), reputedly had 570 towers and a moat. Moats were also used in Maya cities as early as 250 C.E.

Rulers decorated their capital cities with monuments and public works to flaunt their power and impress their residents and visitors. A good example is the colossal complex of Teotihuacán (450 C.E.), located near modern-day Mexico City. It had 200,000 residents and 600 pyramid temples (the largest one 700 feet long at its base, 215 feet high) in the city. Later, the Aztec described it as the "Place of the Gods." The bas-relief monumental art of Nineveh showed foreigners cringing in fear before Sennacherib, Assyria's king. The Egyptian pyramids of Giza were intended to solidify pharaoh's image as the keeper of *maat*, or cosmic balance. The Parthenon was built by Pericles to demonstrate Athens's preeminence among the Greek city-states in the fifth century B.C.E.

The armies and laborers who defended the cities presupposed adequate manpower. Many great states used mercenaries to staff defenses and slaves to labor on public works tasks. The first emperor of China, who unified the country in 221 B.C.E., made intolerable demands on his people to build walls, canals, and roads. Similarly, in the city of Jerusalem the biblical king Solomon put alien residents into servitude and taxed his subjects to poverty in order to build a temple, several palaces, and other huge projects. Rome relied heavily on the labor of its slaves, which totaled one-third of its population by 100 B.C.E.

**Cities of Myth and Origin.** Ur (5000 B.C.E.) was situated on the banks of the Euphrates River. Ur was a Mesopotamian religious center for centuries and the site of a famous ziggurat tower, perhaps something like the Tower of Babel. Several thousand years later it was cited in the Jewish Bible as the homeland of Abraham. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (2300 B.C.E.) were cities on the banks of the Indus River and its tributary in present-day Pakistan. Both were well populated and developed according to an urban plan.

The Shang dynasty built its capitals in the fertile, silt-enriched lands of the middle Yellow River basin of China. One capital named Ao was surrounded by a wall, 30 feet high and 65 feet wide, that took 19,000 men working 330 days a year for 18 years to build. The pharaohs ruled over Memphis and Thebes on the Nile, and their urban monuments stood as testimony to the power and prestige of Egypt. According to their own reckoning, ancient Egyptians felt no need to colonize in this period because they felt that inferior peoples would come to them from abroad for their plentiful resources and superior culture.

Some of the most spectacular ancient urban centers were in the Americas, along the Peruvian coastal plain, the central Andes Mountains, and in Mesoamerica. Each city celebrated its origin with a mythological tale. If a city was newly founded, it would claim continuity with some other well-known divine figures and traditions to buttress its quest for respect.

Differing reasons attracted people to live in cities, and they debated about how to design cities to create the “good life.” Cities answered a multitude of human needs. They offered potential for civic ennoblement (temples, schools, plays, libraries, the arts, parks, and palaces), or they could be the breeding ground of demagoguery, decadence, and disease. How to create the ideal city motivated the Hebrew prophet Zechariah (the Bible), the Greek philosopher Plato (*The Republic*), and the Mauryan political adviser Kautilya (*Arthashastra*, or *Treatise on Polity*) to give instruction about governing ideal cities.

## WARFARE

The main elements of war making were basically the same in 3500 B.C.E. as they were in 600 C.E., although the size of armies and the scope of wars increased significantly over time. Techniques and technologies may have improved, but all wars involved the combatants in hand-to-hand struggle, usually with swords and spears, and long-distance fighting using bows and arrows, in siege warfare, and in cavalry combats. The following is a short list of some techniques and technologies of warfare that showed advances over the period.

**Cavalry.** The horse came onto the battlefield pulling chariots as the Indo-Europeans moved out of their homeland in the crossroads of Europe and Central Asia. It was a remarkable innovation. Sumer was known to have used donkey-driven chariots a bit earlier (3000 B.C.E.), but the Indo-European Hittites (1400 B.C.E.) on horse chariots rode into the heartland of Sumer without challenge.

The next advance after cavalry became an important component in warfare was the invention of the stirrup by Asian nomads around 300 B.C.E. About the same time the nomadic Huns nailed a metal horseshoe on the hoofs of their animals. With these inventions horses could go farther and faster and the riders gained fuller control over their mounts.

India was the first land to use elephants in battle. Alexander the Great first encountered the war elephant in India. Later the Romans prized them highly. But elephants did not adapt well to cold. When Hannibal invaded Italy, only one elephant survived the march across the Alps.

**Infantry and Iron Weapons.** The horse did not make infantry obsolete. Improvements in providing protection for foot soldiers came with Sumer’s use of the shield (2500 B.C.E.). In Alexander the Great’s day a whole company of fighters would march into battle linked together by shields to form a moving wall. This formation is called the “phalanx.” Ordinary citizen soldiers could learn the coordination and discipline involved with the phalanx, and this esprit de corps continued into civic life and social interaction. In ancient Greece a dynamic of participatory government sprang from this expectation of battlefield accountability. When combined with Athens’s newfound opportunities on the sea, the aristocracy based on cavalry gave way to democracy based on infantry and navy. Individual body armor, used with the shield, protected soldiers in battle. By 250 B.C.E. the Chinese had developed body armor made of metal plates. The idea of “knights in shining armor” doing pitched battle is a fancy of the Middle Ages, as iron was simply too heavy and valuable for large-scale use. The Parthians (c. 250 C.E.) claimed that their horses ate Iranian mountain alfalfa and were strong enough to bear their warriors in full (though mostly noniron) armor.

The marauding Hittites inaugurated the Iron Age with iron weapons replacing bronze ones. By 1000 B.C.E. iron was common for weapons all over the Mediterranean world and spread to China after 500 B.C.E. Even the Celts had become experts at smelting and used wrought iron on the battlefield by 750 B.C.E.

**Sieges and Archers.** The Assyrians, most feared warriors of the Near East, excelled in war-making technologies and organization (extensive secret police, propaganda), crafting a united and long-lasting empire out of Mesopotamian city-states. When they advanced against the walls and gates of cities, Assyrians used battering rams and siege engines that struck terror in the hearts of the inhabitants. When their soldiers marched outside the city walls before battle, the Assyrians would race around with their chariot-driven platforms of archers and mow down their hapless opponents. For 500 years the techniques of besieging cities did not change much, until the Romans invented the catapult in 500 B.C.E., which hurled boulder and flaming fireballs against the defenses of their enemies.

The bow and arrow were among the earliest primitive weapons used throughout the world. For the Greeks of the *Iliad* the bow and arrow were despised and considered effeminate compared with hand-to-hand combat, the true test of heroes. Xerxes' Persians (490 B.C.E.) and Marcus Aurelius's Romans (170 C.E.) used archers to great advantage, as their arrows would blacken the skies before the charge of their infantry and cavalry. The Chinese found ways of perfecting aim and power with the crossbow; later the composite bow originated among the nomadic tribes of the Asian steppes. Both were more accurate and powerful than the simple bow.

**Navies.** In the 14th century B.C.E., the Achaeans (Greeks) and others took to the sea. By 1200 B.C.E. the first-known sea battle was fought: the Mediterranean Sea Peoples against the Egyptians. Assyria and India each had seagoing ships by the early 700s B.C.E. Besides the Phoenicians and possibly the Etruscans, the Athenians were one of the first states to make seafaring their mainstay. From them the use of the trireme ship (a vessel with three rows of oars) took on decisive importance in warfare. Athens survived by controlling the seas. Navies became more and more important as civilizations increased their trade and social contacts. However, for the most part ships were used for cargo transportation, raiding, and exploration. In warfare they had a limited role. Thus, the natives of Oceania put their seafaring to use in colonizing places such as Hawaii and the Easter Islands, and the Phoenicians explored Britain and rounded the Horn of Africa.



# A

## Adrianople, Battle of (378 C.E.)

On August 9, 378 C.E., the Eastern Roman army under the command of Emperor Valens attacked a Gothic army (made up of Visigoths and Ostrogoths) that had camped near the town of Adrianople (also called Hadrianopolis) and was routed. The battle is often considered the beginning of the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century.

During the 370s C.E. there was a movement of peoples from Mongolia into eastern Europe. Called the Huns, they were driven from Mongolia by the Chinese. From 372 to 376 the Huns drove the Goths westward, first from the region of the Volga and Don Rivers and then the Dnieper River. This pushed the Goths into the Danube River area and into the Eastern Roman Empire. Seeking refuge from the Huns, Emperor Valens gave the Goths permission to settle in the empire as long as they agreed to serve in the Roman army.

The Romans agreed to provide the Goths with supplies. Greedy and corrupt Roman officials tried to use the situation to their advantage by either selling supplies to the Goths that should have been free or not giving them the supplies at all. During a conference between the Visigoth leadership and Roman authorities in 377, the Romans attacked the Visigoth leaders. Some of the leaders escaped and joined with

the Ostrogoths and began raiding Roman settlements in Thrace.

Throughout July and August of 378 the Romans gained the upper hand and rounded up the Gothic forces. The majority of the Goths were finally brought to bay near the town of Adrianople. The Western and Eastern emperors had agreed to work together to deal with the Goths. Western emperor Gratian with his army was on his way to join Valens when Valens decided to attack the Goths without Gratian and his army. Moving from Adrianople against the Gothic wagon camp on August 9, Valens's attack began before his infantry had finished deploying. As the Roman cavalry charged the camp, the Gothic cavalry, having been recalled from their raids on the surrounding countryside, returned and charged the Roman cavalry and routed it from the battlefield. The combined force of Gothic infantry and cavalry then turned on the Roman infantry and slaughtered it. The Goths killed two-thirds of the Roman army, including the emperor.

It took the new emperor, THEODOSIUS I, until 383 to gain the upper hand. Theodosius was able to drive many of the Goths back north of the Danube River, while others were allowed to settle in Roman territory as Roman citizens. In the short term this ended the problems with the Goths but set the stage for problems for the Western Roman Empire. With the peace the Eastern Roman Empire gained a source of soldiers for its army. These soldiers

would eventually rebel and march against Rome. In 401 the Gothic leader Alaric led a Goth-Roman army on an invasion of Italy. The invasion was turned back in 402, and Alaric finally agreed to stop hostilities in 403. The peace only lasted until 409, when Alaric invaded Italy again and eventually captured and sacked Rome on August 24, 410 C.E.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Collins, Roger. *Early Medieval Europe, 300–1000*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999; Dupuy, R. Ernest, and Trevor N. *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military History, from 3500 B.C. to the Present*. New York: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1993; Ermatinger, James W. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004; Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; Wolfram, Herwig. *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*. Trans. by Thomas Dumlap. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## *Aeneid*

Virgil's *Aeneid* is arguably the most influential and celebrated work of Latin literature. Written in the epic meter, dactylic hexameter, the *Aeneid* follows the journey of Aeneas, son of Venus, after the fall of TROY. According to an ancient mythical tradition, Aeneas fled the burning city and landed in Italy, where he established a line of descendants who would become the Roman people.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.) draws on the works of numerous authors, such as Lucretius, Ennius, Apollonius of Rhodes, and, especially, Homer. Virgil consistently adopts Homeric style and diction (a good example of this is the first line of the poem: "I sing of arms and a man . . ."). He also re-creates entire scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Books 1 to 6 of the *Aeneid* show such close parallels to the HOMERIC EPICS that they are often called the "Virgilian *Odyssey*." Books 7 to 12, meanwhile, closely echo the *Iliad*. Virgil's use of Homeric elements goes beyond mere imitation. Virgil often places Aeneas in situations identical to those of Odysseus or Achilles, allowing Aeneas's response to those situations to differentiate him from (and sometimes surpass) his Homeric counterparts.

Virgil constructs his epic in relation to the Roman people and their cultural ideals. He defines Aeneas by the ethical quality of piety, a concept of particular im-

portance for Rome at the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition. The *Aeneid* also contains several etiological stories of interest to the Roman people, most notably that of Dido and the origin of the strife between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

The Dido episode is one of the most famous vignettes of the *Aeneid*. Dido, the queen of CARTHAGE—also known by her Phoenician name, Elyssa—aids Aeneas and his shipwrecked Trojans in Book 1. Through Venus's intervention, Dido falls desperately in love with Aeneas and wants him and his men to remain in Carthage. But a message from Jove reminds Aeneas that his fated land is in Italy. Immediately, he orders his men to depart. Dido is heartbroken over Aeneas's leaving: She builds a pyre out of Aeneas's gifts and commits suicide on it, prophesying the coming of HANNIBAL before she dies. When Aeneas descends to the Underworld in Book 4, Dido's shade refuses to speak with him.

Dido's character shows a great deal of complexity. She appears first as an amalgam of Alcinous and Arete as she hospitably receives her Trojan guests but soon becomes a Medea figure, well acquainted with magic and arcane knowledge. Dido is a sympathetic character throughout the epic, though much of how Virgil describes her would have brought to the Roman reader's mind the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (associated with Mark Antony and the civil war).

Interpretations of the *Aeneid* are numerous and far from unanimous. The *Aeneid*'s composition coincides with the end of the civil wars and the beginning of Augustus's regime. Virgil ostensibly endorses the new *princeps* by referring to him as the man who will usher in another golden age. Yet several elements of the epic might suggest that Virgil did not wholeheartedly support Augustus. Much of the debate centers on the war in Italy that occupies the second half of the epic, in which some scholars see a reference to the Battle of Perusia in 41 B.C.E., an event Augustus would have preferred to forget. Scholars also point to the end of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas kills Turnus as he pleads for his life, as unambiguously criticizing the new leadership. This anti-Augustan view of the *Aeneid* has, however, met with opposition.

Many scholars find more evidence of the *Iliad* than of Augustus's campaign in the latter half of the *Aeneid*. Others suggest that in killing Turnus, Aeneas acted appropriately for his cultural circumstances. The *Aeneid* has also been proposed to represent, not Virgil's view of Augustus, but rather the condition of the Roman people. Virgil seems to offer conflicting evidence for

his perspective on Augustan Rome and may intentionally leave the matter ambiguous so that the reader may decide for him- or herself.

The *Aeneid* was highly anticipated even before publication and has since enjoyed immense popularity. Quintilian regarded Virgil as nearly equal to Homer and credits him with having the more difficult task. Latin epic writers after Virgil looked to the *Aeneid* as their model. Statius even acknowledges that his epic, the *Thebaid*, cannot surpass that of Virgil. The *Aeneid* became a standard school text of the ancient world and was a critical part of a good education. Virgil, however, considered the work unfinished. At the time of his death he famously called for the *Aeneid* to be burned rather than published. Augustus saved the *Aeneid* from the flames and ordered its publication.

See also CAESAR, AUGUSTUS; ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH.

**Further reading:** Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; ———. “The Anger of Aeneas.” *American Journal of Philology* (v.109, 1988); James, Sharon L. “Future Perfect Feminine: Women Past and Present in Vergil’s *Aeneid*.” In Anderson, William S., and Lorina N. Quartarone, eds. *Approaches to Teaching Vergil’s Aeneid*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2002; Knauer, Georg Nicolaus. “Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Homer.” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964): 61–84; Putnam, Michael C. J. “Vergil’s *Aeneid* and the Evolution of Augustus.” In Anderson, William S., and Lorina N. Quartarone, eds. *Approaches to Teaching Vergil’s Aeneid*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2002; Thomas, Richard F. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

JEFFREY M. HUNT

## Aeschylus

(525–456 B.C.E.) Greek playwright

The son of a wealthy family in sixth century B.C.E. Attica, Aeschylus was a tragedian at a time when Greek theater was still developing from its beginnings as a form of elaborate dance. In contrast to the first dramas, performed in honor of Dionysus and under the influence of copious amounts of wine, Aeschylus’s work emphasized natural law and punishment at the hands of the gods, by examining the role of his characters in a larger world. His participation as a soldier

in the BATTLE OF MARATHON in 490 B.C.E., when the invading Persians were successfully repelled by vastly outnumbered Greek forces, probably informed his approach. *The Persians* told the story of the battle and was first performed 18 years later.

Of Aeschylus’s 70-some plays, only seven survive. They are the earliest known Greek tragedies, as he is one of only three tragedians (with EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES) whose works have survived to the modern era. *Seven against Thebes* is another battle narrative, concerning that of “the Seven” mythic heroes against Thebes in the aftermath of the death of the sons of Oedipus. *The Suppliants* is a simpler story about the daughters of Danaus fleeing a forced marriage, while the *Oresteia* is a trilogy of plays about the house of Atreus, starting with the return of Agamemnon from the Trojan War. The *Oresteia* has had enduring appeal in the modern world: 20th-century playwright Eugene O’Neill’s *Mourning Becomes Electra* was based on it, substituting the Civil War for the Trojan War in the backstory of O’Neill’s trilogy. Composers Richard Strauss and Sergey Taneyev each based operas on the *Oresteia*, and many more writers and artists have found compelling the idea of the Furies who in Aeschylus’s trilogy bring down the wrath of the gods upon Orestes for having killed his mother.

In a sense the *Oresteia* is not just the earliest surviving trilogy of Greek plays. It is also one of the earliest horror stories, with the Furies tracking Orestes by following the scent of his mother Clytemnestra’s blood, and the play’s emphasis on the idea, so resonant in horror literature and ghost stories, of the supernatural exacting horrible justice on transgressors.

Legend claims that Aeschylus met his death under the strangest of circumstances, when a passing eagle dropped a turtle on his head.

**Further reading:** Aeschylus. Various works available online. URL: <http://www.gutenberg.org/browse/authors/a#a2825>; Griffith, Mark, ed. *Aeschylus’ Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Sommerstein, Alan H. *Greek Drama and Dramatists*. London: Routledge, 2002.

BILL KTE’PI

## Aesop

(c. mid-sixth century B.C.E.) Greek writer

A slave in ancient Greece in the sixth century B.C.E., Aesop was the creator or popularizer of the genre of

fables that bear his name. Little about him is known: More than half a dozen places have claimed him as a native son, and although HERODOTUS records that he was killed by citizens of Delphi, he gives no indication of motive.

Aesop's fables were brief stories, appropriate for children and structured around a simple moral lesson. Most of them featured anthropomorphized animals—animals who spoke and acted like humans, often motivated by some exaggerated human characteristic. Unlike the animal tales of many mythic traditions—the Coyote stories of North America, for instance—Aesop's animals did not represent spiritual or divine beings, nor did they explain the nature of the world. They were comparable instead to modern children's literature and cartoons, though with an educational bent.

The fables remain some of the best-known stories in the Western world, often lending themselves to proverbs. Some of the most famous include The Fox and the Grapes, from which the idiom *sour grapes* is derived, to refer to something that, like the grapes the fox cannot reach, is assumed to be not worth the trouble; The Tortoise and the Hare, which concludes that “slow and steady wins the race” and has been adapted to a number of media, including a Disney cartoon; The Ant and the Grasshopper, the latter of which suffers through a harsh winter he had not prepared for as the ant did; and perhaps most evocatively, The Scorpion and the Frog. In this tale a scorpion asks a frog to carry him across the river, and when the frog refuses out of fear of being stung, the scorpion brushes the concern aside, pointing out that should he sting the frog, both will die as the scorpion drowns. Nonetheless, the frog's fear proves warranted—when the scorpion stings him partway across the river, he reminds the frog that such behavior is plainly the nature of a scorpion.

**Further reading:** Aesop. *Aesop's Fables*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2003; Daly, Lloyd. *Aesop Without Morals*. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961.

BILL KTE'PI

## African city-states

The emergence of African city-states began in North Africa with ancient Egypt and then later the formation of the Carthaginian empire. These civilizations are both heavily documented by written accounts, as are the other North African kingdoms of Numidia and

Mauretania. However, apart from surviving second-hand accounts from early travelers from Egypt or CARTHAGE, knowledge of city-states in the rest of Africa relies entirely on archaeological evidence. Carthage ruled the area around its capital through direct rule, and the remainder of its areas through client kings such as those of Numidia. The Numidians throwing their support behind the Romans at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E. saw the defeat of the Carthaginians, setting the scene for the destruction of Carthage itself in 146 B.C.E. Numidia had a brief period of independence before it too fell under Roman control.

The most well-known African city-states outside North Africa are thought to have emerged in modern-day Sudan and Ethiopia, with many settlements near the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, and ancient megaliths were found in southern Ethiopia. Gradually two city-states, those of MEROË (900 B.C.E.–400 C.E.) and Axum (100–1000 C.E.), emerged, both transformed from powerful cities to significant kingdoms controlling large tracts of land, relying heavily on the early use of iron.

The use of bronze and iron in war are also clearly shown by the location of some of these settlements. The remains of many ancient villages and small townships have been found in Sudan, which show that protection from attack was considerably more important than access to fertile arable land.

The other area that seems to have seen the emergence of city-states in the ancient period was in sub-Saharan West Africa. The finding of large numbers of objects and artifacts at Nok in modern-day Nigeria, which flourished from 500 B.C.E., has demonstrated the existence of a wealthy trading city on the Jos Plateau. It seems likely that there would have been other settlements and small city-states in the region, with people from that area believed to have started migrating along the western coast of modern-day Gabon, Congo, and Angola, and also inland to Lake Victoria. The major African city-state emerging toward the end of this period was Great Zimbabwe. Its stone buildings, undoubtedly replacing earlier wooden ones, provide evidence of what the society in the area had developed into by the 11th century C.E.

**Further reading:** Fage, J. D., ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa: Volume 2: From c. 500 B.C.E. to C.E. 1050*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978; ———. *A History of Africa*. London: Routledge, 1997.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## African religious traditions

Little contemporary written material has survived about religious traditions in ancient Africa, except in inscriptions by the ancient Egyptians about their beliefs and in accounts by HERODOTUS when he described the religions and folklore of North Africa.

The Egyptian beliefs involved gods and the monarchs as descendants of these deities and their representatives on earth. Many of the Egyptian gods have different forms, with some like Horus and Isis being well known, and changes in weather, climate, and the well-being of the country reflecting the relative power of particular contending deities. Briefly during the eighteenth Dynasty, the pharaoh AKHENATEN (14th century B.C.E.) tried to establish monotheism with the worship of the sun god Aten. The move eroded the power of the priests devoted to the sun-god Amun-Ra, who struck back.

After establishing a new capital at Tel el Amarna, the pharaoh died under mysterious circumstances and the old religion was restored and continued until the PTOLEMIES took over Egypt in the fourth century B.C.E., which saw the introduction of Greek gods, and later Roman gods when Egypt became a part of the Roman Empire. Although these concepts started in Egypt, similar ideas, almost certainly emanating from Egypt, can be found in Nubia and elsewhere. At MEROË in modern-day Sudan, there is evidence of worship of gods similar to the Egyptians'. It also seems likely that similar ideas flourished for many centuries at KUSH and Axum, the latter, in modern-day Ethiopia, influenced by south Arabia and introducing into Africa some deities from there.

In CARTHAGE many beliefs followed those of the Phoenicians. The deity Moloch was also said to be satisfied only by human sacrifice, with some historians suggesting that one of HANNIBAL's own brothers was sacrificed, as a child, to Moloch. Modern historians suggest that the Romans exaggerated the bloodthirsty nature of the worship of the Carthaginian deity Moloch in order to better justify their war against Carthage and that the large numbers of infant bodies found by archaeologists in a burial ground near Carthage may have been from disease rather than mass human sacrifice of small children. The kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania to the west of Carthage would have been partially influenced by Carthaginian ideas but later came to adopt Roman religious practices, both becoming parts of the Roman Empire.

Much can be surmised about religious practices in sub-Saharan Africa during this period from the

statuary found in places such as Nok, in modern-day northern Nigeria. Their carved stone statues of deities have survived, showing possible similarities with some Mediterranean concepts of Mother Earth. However, it seems more likely that ancestor worship was the most significant element of traditional African religion, as it undoubtedly was for many other early societies. Human figurines, as the hundreds of carved peoples of soapstone from Esie in southwest Nigeria and the brass heads from Ife are thought to represent ancestors, chiefs, or other actual people. At Jenné-jeno and some other nearby sites, the bones of relatives were sometimes interred within houses or burial buildings. As Islam came into the area, this dramatically changed the religious beliefs of the area.

Islam led to the building of many mosques, with cemeteries located in the grounds of these mosques or on the outskirts of cities. The graves of holy men became revered and places of pilgrimage and veneration. In some places Islam adapted to some of the local customs, but in other areas, such as Saharan Africa, it totally changed the nature of religious tradition. In some parts of West Africa there was a clash between the fundamental concepts of Islam and tribal customs, but in most areas ancestor worship was replaced by filial respect for ancestors.

**Further reading:** Charles-Picard, Gilbert and Colette. *Daily Life in Carthage at the Time of Hannibal*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961; Fage, J. D. *A History of Africa*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997; Lange, Dierk. "The Dying and the Rising God in the New Year Festival of Ife." In Lange, Dierk, ed. *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa*. Dettelbach, Germany: Roll, 2004.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Ahab and Jezebel

(9th century B.C.E.) *king and queen of Samaria*

King Ahab and Queen Jezebel were the royal couple of Israel most vilified by later biblical writers, yet it is Ahab who made Israel and its army one of the strongest on the stage of Near Eastern nations and powers in the early ninth century B.C.E. He fortified and beautified the newly founded capital of Israel, Samaria. Archaeological excavations show that during his reign cities in various regions of his kingdom were built up so that Israel could withstand attack from neighboring peoples. His reputation gained the attention of the

Phoenicians to the north so that one of their priest-kings offered his daughter Jezebel to Ahab in an arranged political marriage.

The Bible records that Ahab fought three or four wars with the dreaded ARAMEANS and won two of them. The genius of Ahab's foreign policy seems to be his peacemaking with Judah to the south, the Philistine states to the west, and Phoenicia to the north. Conserving his resources and limiting his battles allowed him to gain concessions from the Arameans.

The real challenge came from the traditional hotbed of imperial ambition, Mesopotamia. Here the fierce Assyrians were mobilizing their forces to reestablish their empire in the western end of the FERTILE CRESCENT. Only a makeshift alliance of all the kingdoms could stand in ASSYRIA's way.

The Assyrian records tell of a battlefield victory at Qarqar (853 B.C.E.) in the Orontes Valley in the coastal region of present-day Syria, but it was not decisive enough for the victors to push on toward their goal. Phoenicia was not even touched, much less Israel. Other minor losses for Israel during this time are reported in the Moabite Stone: A small region far to the southeast (present-day Jordan) seceded from the hegemony.

Ahab also knew how to run the internal affairs of a state. He relied on the new capital of Samaria to integrate the non-Israelite interest groups, chiefly the advocates of Baal and Asherah worship, while the older city of Jezreel served as residence to the traditional elements of Israelite culture. This balance suggests that Ahab allowed the building of foreign temples, though he showed some wavering attachment to the Israelite God.

The explanation for this double-mindedness, according to the Bible, was his increasing submission to his Phoenician wife, Jezebel. According to the geologies given in JOSEPHUS and other classical sources, she was the great-aunt of Dido, banished princess of Phoenicia and legendary founder of CARTHAGE. She was an ardent devotee to Baal, working behind the scenes to achieve dominance for her religion and dynasty. She tried to eliminate the all-traditional prophets in Israel and plotted against the famous prophet Elijah.

She outlived her husband by 10 years and only died when her personal staff turned against her in the face of a rebellious general. Her sons and daughter went on to rule: Ahaziah was king for two years after Ahab's death; then her son Joram ruled for eight years; her daughter Athaliah married the king of Judah, then ruthlessly killed all offspring of her own son so that she could rule for six years after her son died.

In the biblical account Elijah, the prophet of Israel, is the unadulterated light that casts the reputation of Ahab and Jezebel into dark shadows. Ahab stands as a pragmatist who compromises his faith and coexists with idolatry, while Jezebel takes on the role of a self-willed and idolatrous shrew whose drive for power undermines divinely balanced government. In the New Testament, Jezebel becomes a type of seductive false prophetess who gives license to immorality and idolatry under the cloak of religion.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Becking, Bob. *Fall of Samaria*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 1992; Thiel, Winfried. "Ahab." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, pp. 100–104. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Akhenaten and Nefertiti

(d. c. 1362 B.C.E. and fl. 14th century B.C.E.) *Egyptian rulers*

Akhenaten, the PHARAOH of the eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, was the second son of Amenhotep III (r. 1391–54 B.C.E.) and Tiy (fl. 1385 B.C.E.). His reign ushered a revolutionary period in ancient Egyptian history. Nefertiti was his beautiful and powerful queen. He was not the favored child of family and was excluded from public events at the time of his father Amenhotep III.

Akhenaten ruled with his father in coregency for a brief period. He was crowned at the temple of the god Amun, in Karnak, as Amenhotep IV. From his fifth regnal year, he changed his name to Akhenaten (Servant of the Aten). His queen was renamed as Nefer-Nefru-Aten (Beautiful Is the Beauty of Aten).

The pharaoh initiated far-reaching changes in the field of religion. He did away with 2,000 years of religious history of Egypt. In his monotheism, only Aten, the god of the solar disk, was to be worshipped. The meaning of the changed names for himself and his queen was in relation to Aten.

Even the new capital that he constructed was given the name Akhetaton (Horizon of Aten). Making Aten the "sole god" curbed the increasing power of the priesthood. Earlier Egyptians worshipped a number of gods represented in animal or human form. Particular towns had their own gods. The sun god received the new name Aten, the ancient name of the physical Sun.

The king was the link between god and the common people. Akhenaten was the leader taking his followers to a new place, where royal tombs, temples, palaces, statutes of the pharaoh, and buildings were built. In the center of the capital city, a sprawling road was built. Designed for chariot processions, it was one of the widest roads in ancient times. The capital city Akhetaton on the desert was surrounded by cliffs on three sides and to west by the river Nile. The tombs of the royal family were constructed on the valley leading toward the desert. Near the Nile, a gigantic temple for Aten was built. The wealthy lived in spacious houses enclosed by high walls. Others resided in houses built between the walled structures of the rich. About 10,000 people lived in the capital city of Akhetaton during Akhenaten's reign.

Artwork created during the reign of Akhenaten was different from thousands of years of Egyptian artistic tradition by adopting realism. Akhenaten, possibly suffering from a genetic disorder known as Marfan's syndrome, had a long head, a potbelly, a short torso, and prominent collarbones. Representations of the pharaoh did not follow the age-old tradition of a handsome man with a good physique. The sculptor portrayed what he saw in reality, presumably at the direction of Akhenaten.

The background of the exquisitely beautiful and powerful queen Nefertiti is unclear. Some believe that Queen Tiy was her mother. According to others, she was the daughter of the vizier Ay, who was a brother of Queen Tiy. Ay occasionally called himself "god's father" suggesting that he was the father-in-law of Akhenaten. She carried much importance in her husband's reign and pictures show her in the regalia of a king executing foreign prisoners by smiting them. According to some Egyptologists, she was a coregent with her husband from 1340 B.C.E. and instrumental in religious reforms.

Some Egyptian scholars believe that in the same year she fell from royal favor or might have died. Nefertiti was probably buried in the capital city, but her body has never been found. Some researchers think that she ruled for a brief period after the death of Akhenaten. She had no sons, but future king Tutankhamun was her son-in-law.

Known as the "first individual in human history," the reign of Akhenaten forms an important period in Egyptian history. Despite his revolutionary changes, Egypt reverted to earlier religious discourse after his death.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Aldred, Cyril. *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991; David, A. Rosalie. *The*

*Making of the Past: The Egyptian Kingdoms*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1975; Freed, Rita, Yvonne Markowitz, and Sue D'Auria, eds. *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999; Kemp, B. J. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 1989; Redford, Donald B. *Akhenaten: The Heretic King*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984; Reeves, Nicholas. *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2001; Shaw, I. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

PATIT PABAN MISHRA AND  
SUDHANSU S. RATH

## Akkad

Mesopotamia's first-known empire, founded at the city of Akkad, prospered from the end of the 24th century B.C.E. to the beginning of the 22nd century B.C.E. **SARGON OF AKKAD** (2334–2279 B.C.E.) established his empire at Akkad; its exact location is unknown but perhaps near modern Baghdad. His standing army allowed him to campaign from eastern Turkey to western Iran. Although it is still unclear how far he maintained permanent control, it probably ranged from northern Syria to western Iran.

His two sons succeeded him, Rimush (2278–70 B.C.E.) and Manishtushu (2269–55 B.C.E.), who had military success of their own by suppressing rebellions and campaigning from northern Syria to western Iran. Yet it was Manishtushu's son Naram-Sin (2254–18 B.C.E.) who took the empire to its pinnacle. He established and maintained control from eastern Turkey to western Iran. In contrast to his grandfather who was deified after his death, Naram-Sin claimed divinity while he was still alive.

The rule of Naram-Sin's son Shar-kali-sharri (2217–2193 B.C.E.) was mostly prosperous, but by the end of his reign the Akkadian Empire controlled only a small state in northern Babylonia. Upon Shar-kali-sharri's death anarchy ensued until order was restored by Dudu (2189–2169 B.C.E.) and Shu-Durul (2168–2154 B.C.E.), but these were more rulers of a city-state than kings of a vast empire. The demise of the Akkadian Empire can be explained by internal revolts from local governors as well as external attacks from groups such as the Gutians, Elamites, Lullubi, HURRIANS, and Amorites. The Akkadian Empire set the standard toward which Mesopotamian kings throughout the next

two millennia strove. Because of this, much literature appeared concerning the Akkadian kings, especially Sargon and Naram-Sin.

In the Sargon Legend, which draws upon his illegitimate birth, Sargon is placed in a reed basket in the Euphrates before he is drawn out by a man named Aqqi and raised as a gardener. From this humble beginning Sargon establishes himself as the king of the first Mesopotamian empire.

The King of Battle is another tale of how Sargon traveled to Purushkanda in central Turkey in order to save the merchants there from oppression. After defeating the king of the city, Nur-Daggal, the local ruler is allowed to continue to govern as long as he acknowledges Sargon as king. Naram-Sin, however, is often portrayed as incompetent and disrespectful of the gods. In The Curse of Akkad, Naram-Sin becomes frustrated because the gods will not allow him to rebuild a temple to the god Enlil, so he destroys it instead. Enlil then sends the Gutians to destroy the Akkadian Empire.

As we know, however, the Akkadian Empire continued to have 25 prosperous years under Shar-kali-sharri after the death of Naram-Sin, and the Gutians were not the only reason for the downfall of the Akkadian Empire. In fact, there is no evidence for the Gutians causing problems for the Akkadians until late in the reign of Shar-kali-sharri. Although this story had an important didactic purpose, it shows that caution must be used in reconstructing the history of the Akkadian Empire from myths and legends.

In the Cuthean Legend, Naram-Sin goes out to fight a group that has invaded the Akkadian Empire. Naram-Sin seeks an oracle about the outcome of the battle, but since it is negative, he ignores it and mocks the whole process of divination. As in The Curse of Akkad, Naram-Sin's disrespect of the gods gets him in trouble as he is defeated three times by the invaders. He finally seeks another oracle and receives a positive answer. Naram-Sin has learned his lesson: "Without divination, I will not execute punishment." Despite these tales, there are others that paint Naram-Sin in a more positive light as an effective king with superior military capabilities.

Along with a centralized government comes standardization. This included the gradual replacement of Sumerian, a non-Semitic language, with Akkadian, an East Semitic language, in administrative documents. Dating by year names, that is naming each year after a particular event such as "the year Sargon destroyed Mari," became the system used in Babylonia

until 1500 B.C.E. when it was replaced with dating by regnal years. There was also a standardized system of weights and measures. Taxes were collected from all regions of the empire in order to pay for this centralized administration.

The Akkadian ruler appointed governors in the territories the empire controlled, but many times the local ruler was just reaffirmed in his capacity. The governor would have to pledge allegiance to the Akkadian emperor and pay tribute, but at times, when the empire was weak, the local rulers could revolt and assert their own sovereignty.

This meant that the Akkadian rulers were constantly putting down rebellions. But perhaps the most important precedent started by the Akkadian Empire was the installation of Sargon's daughter Enheduanna as the high priestess of the moon god Nanna at Ur. She composed two hymns dedicated to the goddess Inanna, making her the oldest known author in Mesopotamia. This provided much needed legitimacy for the kingdom in southern Babylonia and continued to be practiced by Mesopotamian kings until the sixth century B.C.E.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ELAM; MOSES; SUMER.

**Further reading:** Franke, Sabina. "Kings of Akkad: Sargon and Naram-Sin." In Sasson, Jack, ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995; Gadd, C. J. "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion." In I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 417–463. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

JAMES ROAMES

## Alcibiades

(450–404 B.C.E.) Greek statesman and general

Alcibiades was an Athenian who was influential in the creation of turmoil in his home city that went a long way to explaining the defeat by Sparta in the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.E.). Alcibiades was a controversial and divisive figure, and his legacy in part continues to be colored by his character flaws even millennia after his death. Thucydides, Plato, and Plutarch recount the adventures of Alcibiades in their histories. Alcibiades was born into a powerful family, and his father commanded the Athenian army at the battle in which he was killed. Alcibiades was then only about seven years

old, and he became the ward of the statesman PERICLES. He subsequently entered into Athenian public life in the political and military fields. Owing in part to his background, he quickly achieved high office and served with distinction. At the Battle of Delium, he assisted SOCRATES who had been wounded and in turn benefited from the older man's advice. However, Alcibiades was too extravagant a personality to abide by the moral strictures that Socrates required of his pupils. Indeed, association with Alcibiades was later part of the charge brought against Socrates for corrupting the youth.

Alcibiades was busy establishing himself as a leading personality in the Athenian assembly, the Ekklesia, while also becoming known as a budding socialite. His family had enjoyed personal relations with Spartan interests, and he had anticipated that he could call on these connections to broker a peace agreement to end the Peloponnesian War.

However, Spartan leaders refused to countenance this personal approach and insisted on formal arrangements. Subsequently, Alcibiades pursued an anti-Sparta policy that probably perpetuated the war, arguably from a sense of pique. He organized the alliance with the Peloponnesian city-states of Argos, Elis, and Mantinea. The alliance was defeated at the Battle of Mantinea in 418, which led to Spartan dominance of the land and forced the Peloponnesian League to seek new fronts in the war.

It was the necessity of opening a new front that led to the Syracusean campaign in Sicily. Alcibiades positioned himself to be one of the leaders of this campaign, but on the verge of the expedition leaving, statues of the god Hermes were found to have been mutilated and, on rather circumstantial evidence, Alcibiades became accused of violating the Eleusinian Mysteries. He sailed with the expedition, but inquiries continued during his absence. When it was determined that he should return to Athens to answer the charges against him, Alcibiades fled to Sparta and ensured his safety by providing the Spartans with valuable military advice. He made himself less popular by supposedly seducing the wife of the king of Sparta.

Eventually the Spartans tired of Alcibiades, and he sought to make a new career for himself by courting the Persians, who saw the turmoil on the Greek mainland as a possible opportunity to expand their influence. For several years Alcibiades switched sides from Persia, to Athens, to neutrality, depending on the political winds. Brilliance of expression and savoir-faire were combined with total lack of scruples as he sought for the best advantage for himself. Finally Spartan na-

val victories secured a decisive advantage, and they took the opportunity to cause the governor of Phrygia, where Alcibiades had been taking shelter, to have him killed. Thus ended the life of one of the most vivid personalities of ancient Athens, who could surely have achieved genuine greatness if he could have married his gifts with some sense of personal integrity.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Kagan, Donald. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: Penguin, 2004; Plutarch. *Life of Alcibiades*. Trans. by John Dryden. Available online. URL: <http://classics.mit.edu> (March 2006); Thucydides. *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Trans. by Rex Warner. New York: Penguin Classics, 1954.

JOHN WALSH

## Aleppo

See DAMASCUS AND ALEPO.

## Alexander the Great

(356–323 B.C.E.) Macedonian ruler

Alexander the Great was born in a town called Pella in the summer of 356 B.C.E. His father was PHILIP OF MACEDON, and his mother was Olympias. Philip II ascended to the throne in 359 B.C.E., at the age of 24. Under Philip II, Macedonia thrived and emerged as a strong power. Philip reorganized his army into infantry phalanx using a new weapon known as the *sarissa*, which was a very long (18-foot) spear. This was a devastating force against all other armies using the standard-size spears of the time.

Alexander's birth and early childhood are unclear, related only by Plutarch, who wrote his *Life of Alexander* around 100 C.E., many centuries later. In his youth Alexander had a classical education, with ARISTOTLE as one of his teachers. One of his tutors, Lysimachus, promoted Alexander's identification with the Greek hero Achilles. Later, Philip II took another wife, Cleopatra, who bore him a son named Caranus and a daughter. This created a second heir to the throne. Olympias was a strong-willed woman who jealously guarded her son's right to succession. She had given Philip his eldest son, however, she was no longer in favor with Philip.

At the age of 18, Alexander and his father led a cavalry against the armies of Athens and THEBES, which

were fighting the last line of Greek defenses against Philip's conquest. Philip had set a trap with his maneuver and at the decisive moment, Alexander, with his cavalry, sprung the trap. This victory at the Battle of Chaeronea in August 338 completed Philip's conquest of Greece. In 336 Philip was murdered by Pausanias, a bodyguard. Upon the death of his father, Alexander and his mother, Olympias, did away with any of his political rivals who were vying for the throne. Philip's second wife and children were slain.

### ALEXANDER THE KING

Alexander became king in 336. He was an absolute ruler in Macedonia and king of the city-states of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. As a new king, he had to prove that he was as powerful a ruler as his father, Phillip II, had been. Revolts against his rule first occurred in Thrace. In the spring of 335, Alexander and his army defeated the Thracians and advanced into the Triballian kingdom across the Danube River. Alexander faced the challenge of placating the recently conquered GREEK CITY-STATES. While Alexander was in the Triballian kingdom, the Greek cities rebelled against the Macedonian rule.

The Athenian orator DEMOSTHENES spread a rumor that Alexander had been fatally wounded in an attack. News of Alexander's death sparked rebellions in other Greek states, such as Thebes. The Thebans attacked the Macedonian garrison of their city and drove out the Macedonian general Parmenio. Their victory was due to a Greek mercenary named Memnon of Rhodes. Memnon defeated Parmenio at Magnesia and pushed him back to northwest Asia Minor. Alexander

returned to Thebes after his victories and faced strong opposition from the Thebans, but Alexander defeated them swiftly.

### CAMPAIGN AGAINST PERSIA

Alexander embarked on a campaign against Persia in the spring of 334. The Persians had attacked Athens in 480, burning the sacred temples of the Acropolis and enslaving Ionian Greeks. Alexander, a Macedon, won great favor with the Greeks by uniting them against Persia. He set out with an army of 30,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and a fleet of 120 warships. The core force was the infantry phalanx, with 9,000 men armed with *sarissa*. The Persian army had about 200,000 men, including Greek mercenaries. Memnon, the Greek mercenary general, led the Persian force.

Alexander had an excellent knowledge of Persian war strategy from an early age. In the spring of 334 he crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles) into Persian territory. The Persian army stationed themselves uphill on a steep, slippery rocky terrain on the eastern bank of the river Granicus. Here they met Alexander's army for the first time in May 334. Alexander was attacked on all sides but managed to escape, though he was wounded.

The Persians left the battle, thinking they had claimed victory, and left behind only their Greek mercenaries to fight, resulting in a very high casualty rate on the Persian side. Alexander's armies advanced south along the Ionian coast. Some cities surrendered outright. Greek cities, such as Ephesus, welcomed him as a liberator from the Persians.

Memnon's forces still presented a threat to Alexander. They stationed themselves at sea, and as Alexander did not wish to join in a sea battle, they were unable to stop his advances on land. In the city of Halicarnassus, Alexander and Memnon met in battle again. Alexander took the city, burned it down, and installed Ada, his ally, as queen. The Persian cities Termessus, Aspendus, Perge, Selge, and Sagalassus were taken afterward without much difficulty. This ease of conquest continued until he reached Celaenae, where he ordered his general Antigonus to placate the region.

### "DIVINE" RULER OF ASIA

Throughout his military campaign people perceived Alexander to be divine. Even the ocean, according to legend, seemed to be servile toward him and his armies. There was a legend involving a massive knot of rope, stating that he who could unravel the knot



*Photo of a mosaic in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Pompeii, depicting Alexander the Great battling the Persian king Darius.*

would rule the world. Many had tried, while Alexander merely cut through the knot with his sword. Upon hearing this, King Gordius of Gordium surrendered his lands. The story of this divine prophecy being fulfilled spread quickly. Memnon's death was also regarded as proof of Alexander's divine quality. This hastened Alexander's progress through the Persian territories of the eastern Mediterranean, which were long-held, conquered Greek states.

The Battle of Issus in the gulf of Iskanderun was a decisive battle fought in November 333. The Persian king Darius himself led the Persians forces. Darius had a massive force, much larger than Alexander's army. Darius was brilliant, approaching Alexander's army from the rear and cutting off the army's supplies. The battle occurred on a narrow plain not large enough for the massive armies; it was fought across the steep-sided river Pinarus. This lost the advantage for the Persians, and Alexander emerged victorious as King Darius III fled.

The Battle of Issus was a turning point. Alexander moved from the Greek states that he liberated to lands inhabited by the Persians themselves. He conquered BYBLOS and Sidon unopposed. In Tyre he faced real opposition. The city fortress was on an island in the sea, and his prospects were worsened by his lack of a fleet. To his aid came liberated troops, defected from the Persian fleet. The army and the people of Tyre were defeated—most were tortured and slain, some were sold into slavery. Other coastal cities then readily surrendered.

In 331 Alexander marched on to Egypt. Egyptians welcomed him as he was freeing them from Persian control, and the city of ALEXANDRIA was founded in his name. Alexander took a journey across the desert to the temple of Zeus Ammon, where an oracle told him of his future and that he would rule the world. From Egypt, Alexander corresponded with Darius, the Persian king. Darius wanted a truce, but Alexander wanted the whole of the Persian Empire.

The same year he marched into Persia to pursue Darius. He conquered the lands around the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Alexander encountered Darius at Gaugamela and defeated the Persian army. Babylon and Susa fell, and he reaped their riches. After conquering the Persian capital of Persepolis, he rested there for a few months and then continued his pursuit of Darius. However, his own men had already assassinated Darius.

Alexander started to adopt Persian dress and customs in order to combine Greek and Persian culture as

a new, larger empire. He married Roxane, creating a queen who was not Greek, and this lost some of his Greek supporters. Still he gathered enough military support to invade India in 327. After many conquests he encountered Porus, a powerful Indian ruler, who put up a great battle near the river Hydaspes. After this his men were then reluctant to advance further into India. Alexander was seriously injured with a chest wound, and his armies retreated from India.

Alexander died on June 10, 323 B.C.E., at the age of 33. Different scenarios have been proposed for the cause of his death, which include poisoning, illness that followed a drinking party, or a relapse of the malaria he had contracted earlier.

Rumors of his illness circulated among the troops, causing them to be more and more anxious. On June 9, the generals decided to let the soldiers see their king alive one last time, and guests were admitted to his presence one at a time. Because the king was too sick to speak, he just waved his hand. The day after, Alexander was dead.

See also PERSIAN INVASIONS OF GREECE.

**Further reading:** Fox, Robin Lane. *Alexander the Great*. Malden, MA: Futura Publications, 1975; Green, Peter. *Alexander of Macedon, 356–323 B.C.: A Historical Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991; Hammond, N. G. L. *Alexander the Great, King Commander and Statesman*. Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1980; Stoneman, Richard. *Alexander the Great*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

## Alexandria

Alexandria, also known by its Arabic name al-Iskandariyya, was named after ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Alexandria was built on the Mediterranean Sea coast of Egypt at the northwest edge of the Nile Delta. The city lies on a narrow land strip between the sea and Lake Mariut (Mareotis in Greek). Alexander the Great founded the city in 331 B.C.E. He ordered Greek architect Dinocrates of Rhodes to build the city over the site of the old village of Rakhotis that was inhabited by fishermen and pirates. Alexander left the city under the charge of his general, Ptolemy (also known as Ptolemy I). The city would later become Alexander's final resting place.

After it was built, Alexandria evolved into an important economic hub in the region. It began by taking



A sphinx and pillar from the temple of the Serapis in Alexandria, Egypt. Alexandria was the commercial center of the Mediterranean.

over the trade of the city of Tyre whose economic prominence declined after an attack by Alexander. Alexandria soon surpassed CARTHAGE as well, an ancient city that was the center of civilization in the Mediterranean. Although the city rose to great prominence under the Ptolemaic rulers during the Hellenistic period, it was soon surpassed by the city of Rome. During its peak Alexandria was the commercial center of the Mediterranean. Ships from Europe, the Arab lands, and India conducted active trade in Alexandria, and this contributed to its prosperity as a leading port in the Mediterranean Basin.

The inhabitants of Alexandria consisted mainly of Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians. The Egyptians provided the bulk of the labor force. Alexandria was not only a bastion of Hellenistic civilization; it occupied a very prominent position in Jewish history as well. The Greek translation of the Old Testament in Hebrew was first produced there. Known as the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible took between 80 and 130 years to translate.

Thus, Alexandria was a major intellectual center in the Mediterranean. The city boasted two great

libraries, with huge collections, one in a temple of Zeus, and the other in a museum. As early as the third century B.C.E., the libraries housed somewhere between 500,000 and 700,000 papyri (scrolls). A university was built near the libraries, attracting renowned scholars to Alexandria. One of them was the great Greek mathematician Euclid, a master of geometry, and author of the famous work *Elements*. After Cleopatra the queen of Egypt committed suicide in 32 B.C.E., the city of Alexandria came under the rule of Octavian, later known as Augustus, the first Roman emperor. Augustus installed a prefect in Alexandria, who governed the city in his name. Trade continued to flourish in the city under the Romans especially in the product of grain.

The city went into decline under the Romans. A Jewish revolt in 116 C.E. weakened the city. It resulted in the decimation of the Jewish population residing there. Nearly a century later in 215 C.E., for reasons that are unclear, the Roman emperor Caracalla decreed that all male inhabitants be massacred, perhaps as punishment. This further undermined the city's importance in the region and was worsened by the rise of other important cultural, economic, and intellectual centers such as CONSTANTINOPLE, founded in 330 C.E. by Roman emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

In both 638 and 646 C.E. Muslim Arabs invaded the city. During this time Cairo became another rival city. Alexandria soon weakened, and it was not resurrected until the 19th century.

See also JEWISH REVOLTS; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

**Further reading:** Forster, Edward M. *Alexandria: A City and a Guide*. New York: Anchor Books, 1961; Parsons, Edward A. *The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World; Its Rise, Antiquities, and Destructions*. Amsterdam, ND: Elsevier Press, 1952; Vrettos, Theodore. *Alexandria: A City of the Western Mind*. New York: Free Press, 2001.

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

## Alexandrian literature

Alexandrian literature was very rich due to its multicultural heritage, as ALEXANDER THE GREAT's empire encompassed Europe, Asia, and Africa. Alexander's conquests opened up trade and travel routes across his empire, and ALEXANDRIA developed as a center of commerce between the Middle East, Europe, and India. The city was also known as a center of learning. Greek

was the lingua franca in Egypt for the people of different origins residing there. Due to the distinguished community of intellectuals living within the borders of Alexandria, Alexandrian literature is of high quality. The excellent libraries also attracted scholars of diverse origins to further enrich intellectual life in the vibrant city.

In 283 B.C.E. a *synodos*, formed by 30 to 50 scholars, set up a library with several wings, shelves, covered walkways, lecture theaters, and even a botanical garden. The library was built under the direction of a scholar-librarian who held the post of royal tutor appointed by the king. By the third century B.C.E. the library had an impressive collection of 400,000 mixed scrolls and 90,000 single scrolls. The earlier scrolls on which scholars wrote were made of papyrus, a product monopolized by Alexandria for a period of time. Later scholars switched to parchment when the king, in a bid to stifle competing rival libraries elsewhere, stopped exporting papyrus. These scrolls, which constitute books, were stored in linen or leather jackets.

In the library there were numerous translators, known as *charakitai*, or “scribblers.” The translators performed a vital function in transmitting the wisdom found in manuscripts that had been written in other languages in Greece, Babylon, India, and elsewhere. These manuscripts were meticulously copied and stored in the libraries of Alexandria, as the kings wished to amass all the knowledge that was available in the world of antiquity. This contributed greatly to Alexandria’s position as a center of knowledge in ancient civilization.

Among the eminent scholars based in Alexandria were Euclid (325–265 B.C.E.), the famous mathematician who composed his influential masterpiece *Elements* in the city in about 300 B.C.E. Euclid provided useful definitions of mathematical terms in *Elements*. Apollonius of Perga wrote an equally seminal work in mathematics known as *Conics*. In this work, Apollonius discussed a new approach in defining geometrical concepts. Another Apollonius—Apollonius of Rhodes, who was a mathematician and astronomer—wrote his epic *Argonautica* in about 270 B.C.E. The epic was dubbed as the first real romance and regarded as an enjoyable read as it was written for pleasure and not for any explicitly didactical purpose. Alexandrian prose was often criticized for being pedantic, ornamental, and pompous; though some perceived Alexandrian literature to be erudite and polished. The novel is said to be an invention of Alexandrian writers.

Archimedes of Syracuse (287–212 B.C.E.), the famous Hellenistic mathematician observed the rise and fall of the Nile, invented the screw, and initiated hydrostatics. The basis of calculus began in Alexandria, as it was where Archimedes started to explore the formula to calculate area and volume.

Another brilliant scholar of Alexandria was the librarian Eratosthenes who was a geographer and a mathematician. Eratosthenes correctly calculated the duration of a year, postulated that the Earth is round, and theorized that the oceans were all connected. There was also Claudius Ptolemy whose great work was *Mathematical Syntaxis (System)*, usually known by its Arabic name *Almagest*. It is an important work of trigonometry and astronomy.

From the middle of the first century C.E., Christian hostility managed to push scholars away from Alexandria. As a result the city declined as a city of learning in the Mediterranean. The library in Alexandria was destroyed during a period of civil unrest in the third century C.E. In the fourth century not only were pagan temples destroyed, but libraries were also closed down under the orders of Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria, further eroding Alexandria’s function as a bastion of literature.

See also LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

**Further reading:** Battles, Matthew. *Library, an Unquiet History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003; El-Abbadi, Mostafa. *The Life and Date of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1990; Keeley, Edmund. *Cavafy's Alexandria*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; Watson, Peter. *Ideas: A History from Fire to Freud*. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

## Ambrose

(c. 340–397 C.E.) *bishop and theologian*

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was born in Trier of the noble Aurelian family. His mother moved the family to Rome after the death of his father. Educated in rhetoric and law, Ambrose was first employed in Sirmium and then in c. 370 C.E. as governor of Milan. After the death of the Arian bishop of Milan, a violent conflict broke out in the city over whether the next bishop would be a Catholic or an Arian. Ambrose intervened to restore peace and was so admired by all that both sides accepted him as a candidate for bishop, although

he was not even baptized at the time. He was baptized and consecrated a bishop within a week. He immediately gave his wealth to the poor and devoted himself to the study of scripture and the Greek fathers of the church. As a bishop, he was famous for his preaching, which was partly responsible for the conversion of the great theologian AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, whom Ambrose baptized at Easter in 387.

Ambrose's career was heavily involved with politics. He was continually defending the position of the Catholic Church against the power of the various Roman emperors during his episcopate: Gratian, Maximus, Justina (pro-Arian mother of Valentinian II), and THEODOSIUS I.

He was able to maintain the independence of the church against the civil power in his conflicts with paganism and ARIANISM. Regarding the former, Ambrose battled with Symmachus, magistrate of Rome, over the Altar of Victory in the Senate: The emperor Gratian had removed the altar in 382, and after Gratian's death Symmachus petitioned Valentinian II for its restoration. Under Ambrose's influence, the request was denied.

Arianism received a blow when Ambrose refused to surrender a church for the use of the Arians. His decision was taken as sanctioned by heaven when—in the midst of the controversy—the bodies of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius were discovered in the church. Ambrose further strengthened the church's authority before the state in two incidents in which he took a firm stand against the emperor Theodosius I.

One incident involved the rebuilding of the synagogue at Callinicum in 388; the other had to do with the emperor's rash order that resulted in the massacre of thousands of innocent people at Thessalonica in the summer of 390. Ambrose refused to allow Theodosius to receive the sacraments until he had performed public penance for this atrocity. The reconciliation took place at Christmas 390. One reason for Ambrose's influence over Theodosius was that, unlike most Christian emperors who delayed their reception into the church until their deathbed, he had been baptized and so fell under the authority of the church in his private life.

Ambrose's knowledge of Greek enabled him to introduce much Eastern theology into the West. His works include hymns, letters, sermons, treatises on the moral life, and commentaries on scripture and on the sacraments. He was also a strong supporter of the monastic life in northern Italy.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Deferrari, Roy. *Early Christian Biographies*. Washington, DC: CUA Press, 1952; Dudden, F. Homes. *Life and Times of St. Ambrose*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1935; McLynn, Neil B. *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## Andes: Neolithic

In order to impose temporal order on the variety of cultures and civilizations that emerged in the Andes in the millennia before the Spanish invasion (early 1530s C.E.), scholars have divided Andean prehistory into “horizons” and “periods,” with horizons representing eras of relatively rapid change and periods being eras of relative stasis:

Late Horizon	1400–1533 C.E.
Late Intermediate Period	1000–1400 C.E.
Middle Horizon	600–1000 C.E.
Early Intermediate Period	100 B.C.E.–600 C.E.
Early Horizon	700–100 B.C.E.
Initial Period	1800–700 B.C.E.
Preceramic Period	3000–1800 B.C.E.
Lithic Period	>10,000–3000 B.C.E.

The boundaries between these temporal divisions are fluid and are mainly a matter of scholarly convenience and convention. Spatially, the Andes region is generally divided into coast and highlands, with these subdivided into northern, central, and southern, yielding a total of six broad geographic zones.

### ÁSPERO

The earliest evidence for the formation of complex societies in the Andes region dates to between 3200 and 2500 B.C.E. along the Pacific coast. Altogether more than 30 rivers cascade down to the Pacific from the Cordillera Occidental of the Andes, many of whose valleys held the development of complex societies during the Preceramic Period.

One of the most extensively researched of these coastal zones is the North Chico, a 30-mile-wide ribbon of coastland, just north of present-day Lima, encompassing the Huaura, Supe, Pativilca, and Fortaleza river valleys.

Archaeological excavations in the North Chico beginning in the 1940s have revealed evidence of at least

20 large settlements with monumental architecture, whose origins date to between 3200 and 1800 B.C.E. The most intensively researched of these sites are Áspero, at the mouth of the Supe River, and Caral, about 13½ miles upstream from Áspero.

It was his work at the site of Áspero that in 1975 prompted U.S. archaeologist Michael E. Moseley to propose a hypothesis conventionally called the “maritime foundations of Andean civilizations” (MFAC). According to the MFAC hypothesis, the initial formation of complex societies in the Andean region took place along the coast and was made possible through the intensive exploitation of maritime resources. This, in turn, was made possible largely through the cultivation of cotton, which was used to manufacture the nets needed to harvest the coast’s abundant fish, especially anchovies and sardines.

Evidence unearthed at Áspero and other sites in the North Chico since the 1970s strongly supports the MFAC hypothesis, though debates continue regarding the origins and characteristics of these societies. The site of Áspero presents numerous anomalous features. It contains no pottery, only a few maize cobs, and some 17 large earthen mounds, some nearly 16 feet tall.

The largest structure at the site, a flat-topped pyramid called Huaca de los Ídolos, covers some 16,145 sq. feet, upon which, it is hypothesized, Áspero’s elite undertook ritual and ceremonial displays. The site also contains some 30 to 37 acres of domestic middens (refuse areas), along with evidence that its residents were continually rebuilding the mounds and other structures. This latter characteristic is also apparent at other Pacific coast sites.

Up river from Áspero, at the site of Caral, which covers some 150 acres, investigations have revealed some 25 pyramids or mounds, one reaching 82 feet in height and covering some 247,570 sq. feet; two large, rounded, sunken ceremonial plazas; arrays of other mounds and platforms; extensive residential complexes; and evidence of long-term sedentary inhabitation. Radiocarbon dates indicate that Caral was founded before 2600 B.C.E. The same dating procedure applied to other sites in the North Chico indicates that most were founded between 3000 and 1800 B.C.E.

Middens at Caral and other North Chico sites indicate that maritime resources exploited through cotton cultivation and net manufacture were supplemented by a variety of cultigens, including legumes and squash, and by the gathering of diverse wild foods. In addition to Áspero and Caral, the most extensively researched

of these sites to date include Piedra Parada, Upaca, Huaricanga, and Porvenir and in the Casma Valley, the sites of Sechín Alto, Cerro Sechín, and Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke. All fall within what is called the Áspero tradition. Other major Preceramic Pacific coast traditions are the Valdivia tradition (on the coast of contemporary Ecuador); the El Paraíso tradition (just south of the Áspero sites); and the Chinchoros tradition (centered at the Chinchoro complex near the contemporary Peru-Chile border). Archaeological excavations at these and other Preceramic coastal sites continue, as do scholarly efforts to understand the civilizations that created them.

## HIGHLANDS

A related arena of debate among Andean archaeologists concerns the relationship between the Pacific coast settlements and the formation of complex societies in the highlands. Most scholars agree that complex societies began to emerge in the Central and South-Central Highlands soon after the florescence of complex societies in the North Chico and other coastal valleys. In the Central Highlands scholars have investigated what is called the Kotosh religious tradition at the Kotosh site. Not unlike those in the North Chico, this site includes a series of raised mounds with platforms, sunken plazas, and an array of small buildings. Sites exhibiting similar characteristics in the Central Highlands include Huaricoto, La Galgada, and Piruru.

In the South-Central Highlands the emergence of complex societies evidently began in the Lake Titicaca Basin around 1300 B.C.E. Excavations at the site of Chiripa (in present-day Bolivia) have revealed that by this date there had emerged a nucleated settlement that included an array of small rooms, built of stone, with plastered floors and walls. By 900 B.C.E. the settlement of Chiripa included a ceremonial center surrounded by residential complexes.

Between 1000 and 500 B.C.E. complex societies had emerged throughout much of the Lake Titicaca Basin. To the north the Qaluyu culture reached florescence in the five centuries after 1000 B.C.E. The Qaluyu type site, covering 17 acres, includes a large ceremonial mound, sunken plazas, and extensive residential complexes. Other Qaluyu sites in the north Titicaca Basin include Pucará, Ayaviri, and Putina.

## TITICACA BASIN

The overall trajectory of this period was marked by the decline of North Coast polities and the rise of a

series of civilizations and culture groups in the Central and Southern Highlands and Central Coast. After 1000 B.C.E. the Titicaca Basin constituted one broad locus of complex society formation. A second such locus emerged further north, in the Central Highlands and Central Coast, most commonly associated with the Chavín state and culture complex, which first emerged around 800 B.C.E. and declined some six centuries later. At the Chavín type site, Chavín de Huantar, excavations indicate a population of at least several thousand in a settlement covering some 104 acres. At the site's core lie the ruins of a large and imposing ceremonial temple, dubbed El Castillo, built in the U shape characteristic of the North Chico architectural style.

The evidence indicates that Chavín de Huantar was the political center of an expansive polity that extended through much of the Central Highlands and Central Coast. By this time exchange relations throughout the Andes and adjacent coastal regions were highly developed. These exchanges were based less on markets than on institutionalized reciprocal exchanges between extended lineage groups tracing their descent to a common ancestor, called *ayllu*, as well as between political networks resulting from the growth of state and imperial power.

Such exchanges were based on what anthropologist John Murra described in the 1970s as the “vertical archipelago,” a concept that has gained broad scholarly acceptance. In the simplest terms the basic idea is that the Andes region consists of a vertical environment and that exchanges of goods and services took place among members of *ayllus* who lived in different “resource oases” or “islands” in different altitudinal zones. From the high plateau (or *puna*, elevation higher than 11,810 feet) came wool, meat, and minerals such as gold, silver, and copper; from the upper mountain valleys (between 9,840 and 11,810 feet) came potatoes, grains, including maize and quinoa, and other crops; and from the lowlands (below 6,560 feet) came maize, cotton, coca, legumes, and many fruits and vegetables.

Scholarly consensus holds that large-scale state systems such as the Chavín built upon these lineage-based reciprocal exchange networks in order to extend their reach across vast expanses of territory without recourse to long-distance trade, as the concept of “trade” is generally understood.

For these reasons, “markets” and “trade,” as understood in European, Asian, and African contexts, played little or no role in the formation and growth of complex societies and polities in the Andean highlands

or coastal regions during the whole of the preconquest period. This was also the case with the Inca.

As Chavín declined around 400 B.C.E., there emerged in the northern Titicaca Basin, in the six centuries between 400 B.C.E. to 200 C.E., a site and polity known as the Pucará, with architectural features similar to those described above, and ceramic styles suggesting Chavín influence.

On the opposite side of the lake, in the southern Titicaca Basin during roughly the same time period, there emerged the settlement and state of Tiwanaku—again, with similar architectural features. By around 400 C.E. Tiwanaku had developed into a formidable state system. Scholarly debates continue on whether, during the period under discussion here, these were true urban centers or ceremonial sites intended principally for ritual observances and pilgrimages.

## NAZCA

Another enigmatic culture complex to emerge during the Early Intermediate Period was the Nazca, centered in the southern coastal zone around the watersheds of the Ica and Nazca Rivers. Nazca pottery styles went through at least eight distinct phases, until their decline around 600 C.E. The Nazca are especially well known for their geoglyphs, or large-scale geometric symbols etched into the coastal desert. Further north, the Moche were another important coastal culture group and state to emerge in the Early Intermediate.

The site of Moche, in the Moche River valley, has been identified as the capital of the Moche polity. Archaeologists consider Moche to have been a true city; perhaps South America’s first. The largest structure at the Moche type site, a pyramid dubbed Huaca del Sol, measures 525 by 1,115 feet at its base and stands some 131 feet tall, making it one of the Western Hemisphere’s largest preconquest monumental structures. All of these developments laid the groundwork for the subsequent emergence of two other major state systems, or empires, toward the end of the period discussed here: the Huari and the Tiwanaku.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading:** Burger, R. *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995; Haas, J., S. Pozorski, and T. Pozorski, eds. *The Origins and Development of the Andean State*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1987; Haas, J., W. Creamer, and A. Ruiz. “Dating the Late Archaic Occupation of the North Chico Region

in Peru." *Nature* 432 (2004); Moseley, M. E. *The Incas and Their Ancestors*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2001; ——— *The Maritime Foundations of Andean Civilization*. Menlo Park, CA: Cummings, 1975.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Antonine emperors

The four Antonine emperors of Rome—Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161 C.E.), MARCUS AURELIUS (r. 161–180 C.E.), Lucius Verus (r. 161–169 C.E.), and Commodus (r. 180–192 C.E.)—ruled over a time extending from the height of the PAX ROMANA to one where the Roman Empire was having increasing difficulty carrying its many burdens.

The founder of the dynasty, Antoninus Pius, was born to a family that already numbered several consuls among its members. He served for many years in the Senate and as Roman official before being adopted as successor to the emperor HADRIAN in 138 C.E. Part of the arrangement was that Antoninus would in turn adopt two boys as his heirs. One was the nephew of his wife, Annia Galeria Faustina. This was Marcus Antoninus, the future Marcus Aurelius. The other was Lucius Verus, the son of Hadrian's previous choice as successor, Lucius Aelius Caesar. When Hadrian died the same year, Antoninus succeeded peacefully. Antoninus was more than 50 when he became emperor.

The reign of Antoninus was marked by peace and by an emphasis on Italy and Roman tradition that broke with the practices of the globetrotting philhellene Hadrian. His dedication to traditionalism was one of the qualities for which the Senate gave him the title of "Pius." Antoninus also cut back on the heavy spending on public works that had marked Hadrian's reign.

Antoninus spent most of his time in Rome, by some accounts never leaving Italy during his reign. The 900th anniversary of the city's legendary founding took place in 147 C.E., and a series of coins and medallions with new designs stressing Rome's ancient roots were issued to commemorate the occasion. In foreign policy Antoninus preferred peace to war and did not lead armies himself, but the empire waged war successfully on some of its borders.

Antoninus's death was followed by a dual succession, the first in Roman history. Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius became co-emperors, although Marcus was clearly the dominant partner in the relationship. The new emperors faced many challenges. In the east, the king of Parthia hoped to take advantage of the inex-

perienced new rulers with an intervention in the buffer state of ARMENIA. Marcus sent Lucius, accompanied by a number of Rome's best generals, to deal with the Parthians. The Parthian war was successful but followed by a devastating plague and pressure from the Germanic peoples across the Danube as the Marcomanni and Quadi actually made it as far as northern Italy.

The relationship between the emperors was troubled, as Marcus's austere dedication to duty clashed with Lucius's sometimes irresponsible hedonism. Lucius died on campaign against the Germans, however, before any open break could occur, and Marcus referred to him fondly in his *Meditations*. Marcus's long campaigns against the Germans were successful, but he died before he could organize the conquered territories into Roman provinces, and his son and successor Commodus (who received the title of emperor in 177) quickly abandoned his father's conquests, returning to Rome in order to enjoy the perquisites of empire. Commodus was the first son to succeed his natural father, rather than to be adopted by an emperor, since Domitian.

The hedonistic and exhibitionistic Commodus contrasted with his grim, duty-bound father. His policy of generosity made him popular among Rome's ordinary people, particularly in the early part of his reign, but the Senate despised him. Commodus was extraordinarily arrogant, renaming the months, the Senate, the Roman people, and even Rome after himself. Unlike Marcus, Commodus had little interest in persecuting Christians, and subsequent Christian historians remembered his reign as a golden age. In 192 he was removed in the traditional fashion for "bad emperors," through an assassination plot—the first emperor since Domitian to be assassinated. Commodus left no heirs, and his death marked the end of the Antonine dynasty.

See also HADRIAN; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Birley, Anthony. *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*. London: Routledge, 2000; *De Imperatoribus Romanis*: An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors. Available online. URL: <http://www.roman-emperors.org> (September 2006).

WILLIAM E. BURNS

## Anyang

Anyang is the modern town where the last capital (Yin) of the SHANG DYNASTY (c. 1766–c. 1122 B.C.E.) of China was located. The discovery of inscribed oracle bones

there early in the 20th century and the scientific excavation of the site beginning in 1928 ended the debate on whether the Shang dynasty was historic. It is located south of the Yellow River in present-day Henan Province. The Shang dynasty, founded by Tang (T'ang) the Successful moved its capital several times until it settled at Yin in 1395 b.c.e. and remained there until its end in 1122 b.c.e. The last phase of the dynasty is therefore also called the Yin dynasty. After the city was destroyed when the dynasty was overthrown by the ZHOU DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 b.c.e.), the site was known as Yinshu, which means the “waste of Yin.”

The discovery of the Shang era ruins at Anyang came by accident. In Beijing (Peking) in 1900 an antiquarian scholar became ill, and among the ingredients for traditional medicine that were prescribed for him were fragments of old bones carrying incised marks. The apothecary called them dragon bones. This scholar and his friend made inquiries on the bones' origins and traced them to Anyang, where farmers had found them in their diggings. They began to collect the bones and decipher the writings on them, which they established as the earliest extant examples of written Chinese.

Archaeological excavations around Anyang found the foundations of palatial and other buildings but no city walls. They also found a royal cemetery with 11 large tombs, believed to belong to kings, which had all been robbed in centuries past. This authenticates ancient texts that identify 12 kings who ruled from Yin, but the last one died in his burning palace and so did not receive a royal burial. In 1976 an intact tomb belonging to Fu Hao (Lady Hao), wife of King Wuding (Wu-ting), the powerful fourth king to reign from Yin, was discovered. Although her body and the coffin had been destroyed by time and water, more than 1,600 burial objects were found, some with inscribed writing, which included her name, on elaborate bronze ritual vessels. Bronze vessels, jade, ivory, and stone carvings, and other objects show the advanced material culture of the late Shang era.

More than 20,000 pieces of inscribed oracle bones (on the scapulae of cattle and turtle shells) provide important information on Shang history. Kings frequently asked questions and sought answers from the high god Shangdi (Shang-ti) on matters such as war and peace, agriculture, weather, hunting, pregnancies of the queens, and the meaning of natural phenomena. The questions, answers, and sometimes outcome contain dates, names of the rulers, and their relationship to previous rulers, including those of the pre-Anyang era. They were preserved in royal archives. The writing is already sophisticated and must have developed over

a long period, but earlier evidence of writing has not been found. It is the ancestor of modern written Chinese and deciphering the characters and information provided from archaeological evidence has enabled historians to reconstruct Shang history.

See also WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 4th ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986; Creel, Herrlee G. *The Birth of China, a Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961; Keightley, David N. *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian

The scholarly use and understanding of the word *apocalypticism* has varied much in the history of research on these topics. The different words associated with apocalypticism each possess their own subtle connotations. The specific term, *apocalypticism*, and the many forms associated with it are derived from the first Greek word in the book of Revelation, *apokalypsis* (revelation). The noun *apocalypse* refers to the revelatory text itself. The particular worldview found within an apocalypse and the assumptions that it holds about matters concerning the “end times” is referred to as “apocalyptic eschatology.” The noun *apocalypticism* refers broadly to the historical and social context of that worldview. When scholars use the word *apocalyptic*, they typically assume a distinction between the ancient worldview and the body of literature associated with it.

Apocalypticism refers to a worldview that gave rise to a diverse body of literature generally dating from the time of the Babylonian exile down to the Roman persecutions. Characteristic elements of this literature include a revelation of heavenly secrets to a privileged intermediary and the periodization of history. In these texts the eschatological perspective of the text reinforces the expectation that the era of the author will reach its end very soon. This apocalyptic eschatology suggests that the historical setting of these writings is one of crisis and extreme suffering.

Scholars who work in the area of ancient Jewish and Christian apocalypticism are aware that Jewish apocalyptic literature survived due to ancient Christian

appropriation and interest in it. This is because Jewish apocalypticism and the literature associated with it were generally viewed unfavorably by later forms of rabbinic Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple. The lack of a developed Jewish interpretive framework for these texts accounts for part of the scholarly problem in determining the precise origins and influences of this phenomenon. Many historical questions about the social context and the use of these Jewish apocalyptic writings in ancient Jewish communities remain unclear and largely theoretical. What is certain is that Christian communities were responsible for the preservation and transmission of these writings, and they appropriated the worldview and the literary forms of Jewish apocalypticism.

Scholars have long sought to identify the origins of Jewish apocalypticism with little consensus. Many have presumed that Jewish apocalyptic eschatology grew out of earlier biblical forms of prophetic eschatology. Other scholars have proposed a Near Eastern Mesopotamian influence on Jewish apocalypticism. While there is no clear trajectory from Mesopotamian traditions to Jewish apocalyptic, and admittedly no Mesopotamian apocalypses exist, there exist some striking resemblances between the two. Some shared characteristics include an emphasis on the interpretation of mysterious signs and on predestination. The motifs of otherworldly journeys and dreams are also prominent in both Mesopotamian traditions and Jewish apocalypticism.

Other scholars have observed a Persian influence upon Jewish apocalypticism. Present in both is the struggle between light and darkness (good and evil) and the periodization of history. Identifying the relationship between Jewish apocalypticism and other traditions has been complex because some of these elements (e.g., otherworldly journeys and revelatory visions) become common to the Greco-Roman world as well. While early Jewish apocalyptic was rooted in biblical prophecy, later forms of apocalypticism from the Greek period have more in common with wisdom literature.

#### LITERARY GENRE

Scholars often make a distinction between the general phenomenon of apocalypticism and the literary genre of “apocalypse.” A group of scholars led by J. J. Collins formulated the following frequently cited definition of the literary genre of apocalypse in 1979: “‘Apocalypse’ is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, in-

sofar as it involves another, supernatural world.” Texts associated with apocalypticism are characterized by an understanding that salvation from a hostile world depends on the disclosure of divine secrets.

The only example of an apocalypse from the Hebrew Bible is the book of Daniel. Other well-known examples of apocalypses include the writings of Enoch and Jubilees and the traditions associated with them, 4 Ezra, 2 BARUCH, 3 Baruch, and Apocalypse of Abraham. Some texts from QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls present a worldview that is properly described as apocalyptic but do not qualify as examples of the literary genre (e.g., “Instruction on the Two Spirits” from the Community Rule text and the War Scroll).

The last book in the New Testament, known as the Apocalypse of John, is an example of a Christian apocalypse. The canonicity of this book was not accepted at first in the East. The book is a record of the visions of John while he was exiled on the island of Patmos and possesses a prophetic authority among Christian communities throughout history. Highly symbolic language, the presumption of a cataclysmic battle, and the disclosure of heavenly secrets to a privileged intermediary make this text a classic example of the genre. Other examples of Christian apocalypse outside the Bible include the Ascension of Isaiah and the Apocalypse of Paul.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; FERTILE CRESCENT; HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; PERSIAN MYTH; PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; SOLOMON; WISDOM LITERATURE; ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Further reading:** Collins, J. J. “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre.” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–19; ———. *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Hanson, P. D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975; VanderKam, J. C., and W. Adler, eds. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996; Yarbrough, A. *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.

ANGELA KIM HARKINS

## Apostles, Twelve

The word *disciple* is used most often in Greek philosophical circles to describe a committed follower of a master (such as SOCRATES). JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH had many such disciples, besides the 12 who

became the apostles of the church. For example, Luke 6:13 hints at the existence of a larger circle of disciples: “And when it was day, he called his *disciples*, and chose from them 12, whom he named apostles.” Among the disciples who were not chosen as the 12 were women. This is noteworthy because few masters in the time of Jesus had female disciples.

Beyond these disciples, many men and women were drawn to Jesus and followed him casually. The Gospels call them “crowds.” Jesus shared with the disciples thoughts that were kept from the crowds. For example, according to Mark, after Jesus had finished telling parables to the crowds, the disciples came to Jesus to learn their hidden meanings. The reason for this private tutoring was that the disciples were expected to develop ears and eyes to discern the true and deeper meaning of Jesus’ teachings.

The 12 who were chosen, however, followed Jesus even more fully than the other disciples by leaving behind everything they had, including their jobs and families. The 12 were allowed to witness private details of Jesus’ life not available to the other disciples. For example, only the 12 were with Jesus on the night of his arrest. According to the synoptic Gospels and Acts, the names of the 12 were Simon Peter; James, son of Zebedee; John; Andrew; Philip; Bartholomew; Matthew; Thomas; James, son of Alphaeus; Thaddaeus (Judas); Simon the Cananaean; and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus. Unlike the other names, Simon Peter, Philip, and James, son of Alphaeus, consistently occupy the same positions (first, fifth, and ninth, respectively) on the list. Based on this observation, it has been suggested that the 12 were organized into groups of four and that Peter, Philip, and James, son of Alphaeus, were their group leaders. This intriguing suggestion, however, has no hard evidence for support.

As far as we know, the 12 were all from Galilee. Peter, Andrew, James, and John were fishermen, who, except perhaps Andrew, constituted the innermost circle of Jesus’ apostles. Simon Peter was the undisputed leader of the 12. Andrew was his brother and introduced him to Jesus. According to tradition, Andrew preached in Greece, Asia Minor (Turkey), and the areas north and northwest of the Black Sea. Tradition claims that he was martyred in Patras. A late tradition claims him to be the founder of the church of CONSTANTINOPLE, the seat of the GREEK CHURCH.

James and John, sons of Zebedee, were also brothers. Possessors of a fiery temper and ambition, they asked Jesus to appoint them to sit at his left and right hand when his kingdom came. James (known also as

James the Greater to distinguish him from James, son of Alphaeus) became the first of the apostles to be martyred under Herod Agrippa I. According to tradition, James had preached in Spain before meeting his untimely death in Jerusalem. As for John, tradition claims that he was the beloved disciple who wrote the Gospel of John, the three Epistles of John, and possibly also the book of Revelation. Tradition also claims that John, having survived a boiling cauldron of oil and banishment to Patmos under Emperor Domitian for preaching the Gospel in Asia Minor, died a natural death in Ephesus in the company of Mary, mother of Jesus. Modern critical scholarship rejects most of these claims.

Philip is best remembered in the New Testament for introducing Nathaniel to Jesus and for asking Jesus to show him the Father. According to tradition, Philip’s ministry and martyrdom took place in Asia Minor. Not much is known about Bartholomew in the New Testament. According to tradition, he is the same person as Nathaniel in John 1:43–51, the man whom Jesus said was without guile. Tradition claims Bartholomew preached in ARMENIA and India, among other places.

Thomas, known also as Didymus (Twin), is best remembered as the cynical doubter who wanted to touch the scars on the hands and the body of the resurrected Jesus. Thomas is a prominent figure in the SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH, and according to tradition, he preached in India, where he was martyred. He is also credited with the Gospel of Thomas (reportedly of the Gnostics), which some scholars date to the middle of the first century C.E. Matthew was a tax collector who, according to ancient tradition, was the writer of the Gospel of Matthew. Many scholars reject this tradition, largely because of Matthew’s apparent literary dependence on Mark.

The New Testament gives virtually no information about James, son of Alphaeus (known also as James the Lesser). James and Matthew would be brothers if Matthew is Levi who is also called son of Alphaeus in Mark 2:14. Tradition makes the questionable claim that James the Lesser was a cousin of Jesus. According to one tradition, he preached in Palestine and Egypt, but according to another, he preached in Persia. Thaddaeus (of Mark 3) is probably the same figure as Judas, son of James (of Luke 6 and Acts 1). Not much is known in the New Testament about this man. According to tradition, he preached in Armenia, Syria, and Persia. In some manuscripts, his name appears as *Labbaeus*.

Simon the Cananaean is also called Simon the Zealot. It is unclear whether he was a militant type. According to some tradition, his missionary zeal took

him to North Africa, Armenia, and possibly even Britain. Judas Iscariot, the treasurer for the 12, betrayed Jesus to the Jewish authorities who were seeking to kill him. According to Matthew, Judas hanged himself afterward from guilt. After the death of Jesus, Matthias, a man about whom nothing is known in the New Testament except the name, replaced Judas. According to Armenian tradition, however, Matthias evangelized Armenia alongside Andrew, Bartholomew, Thaddaeus, and Simon the Cananaean. The fact that the disciples of Jesus felt compelled to replace Judas Iscariot with Matthias to complete the number 12 seems to indicate that the 12 were believed to be the heads of a newly constituted Israel.

Simon Peter is also referred to as Cephas in PAUL and John. It is perhaps his unaffected humanity, accompanied by unrefined manners, that endeared him to Jesus and the rest of the group. He appears to have been the spokesman for the 12. For example, on the night Jesus was transfigured, he offered to build huts for Jesus as well as Elijah and Moses, who had come to visit Jesus. The leadership of the church, however, eventually appears to have gone to James, the brother of Jesus. According to ancient tradition, Peter went to Rome, which eventually became the seat of the LATIN CHURCH, and preached there and died a martyr, crucified upside down.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS.

**Further reading:** Goodspeed, Edgar J. *The Twelve: The Story of Christ's Apostles*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1957; Wilkens, M. J. "Disciples." In J. B. Green, S. McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall, eds. *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992.

P. RICHARD CHOI

## Arabia, pre-Islamic

Arabia, which spans an area of 1.25 million sq. miles, is a rugged, arid, and inhospitable terrain. It consists mainly of a vast desert, with the exception of Yemen on the southeastern tip, a fertile region with ample rain and well suited for agriculture. The southwestern region of Arabia also has a climate conducive to agriculture. The first mention of the inhabitants of Arabia, or "Aribi," is seen in the ninth century B.C.E., in Assyrian script. The residents of northern Arabia were nomads who owned camels. In pre-Islamic

Arabia, there was no central political authority, nor was there any central ruling administrative center. Instead, there were only various Bedu (Bedouin) tribes. Individual members of a tribe were loyal to their tribe, rather than to their families.

The Bedu formed nomadic tribes who moved from place to place in order to find green pastures for their camels, sheep, and goats. Oases can be found along the perimeter of the desert, providing water for some plants to grow, especially the ubiquitous date palm. Since there was a constant shortage of green pastures for their cattle to graze in, the tribes often fought one another over the little fertile land available within Arabia, made possible by the occasional desert springs. Since warfare was a part of everyday life, all men within the tribes had to train as warriors.

By the seventh century B.C.E. Arabia was divided into about five kingdoms, namely the Ma'in, Saba, Qataban, Hadramaut, and Qahtan. These civilizations were built upon a system of agriculture, especially in southern Arabia where the wet climate and fertile soil were suitable for cultivation. Of the five kingdoms Saba was the most powerful and most developed. Until 300 C.E. the kings of the Saba kingdom consolidated the rest of the kingdoms. Inhabitants of northern Arabia spoke Arabic, while those in the south spoke Sabaic, another Semitic language. As Yemen lay along a major trade route, many merchants from the Indian Ocean passed through it in south Arabia. The south was therefore more dominant for more than a millennium as it was more economically successful and contributed much to the wealth of Arabia as a whole.

By the seventh century B.C.E. the oases in Arabia had developed into urban trading centers for the lucrative caravan trade. The agricultural base of Arabia contributed to the economy of Arabia, enabling inhabitants to switch to economic pursuits in luxury goods alongside an ongoing agrarian economy. The commercial network in Arabia was facilitated mainly by the caravan trade in Yemen, where goods from the Indian Ocean Basin in the south were transferred on to camel caravans, which then traveled to Damascus and Gaza.

Arabia dealt in the profitable products of the day—gold, frankincense, and myrrh, as well as other luxury goods. The role of the Bedu, likewise, evolved. Instead of just being military warriors engaged in tribal rivalries, they were now part of the caravan trade, serving as guardians and guides while caravans traveled within Arabia. These Bedu were different from other nomadic tribes, as they tended to settle in one place.

Assyrians, followed by the neo-Babylonians, and the Persians disturbed unity in Arabia. From the third century C.E. the Persian Sassanids and the Christian Byzantines fought over Arabia. Later on, just before the rise of Islam, there emerged two Christian Arab tribal confederations known as the Ghassanids and the Lakhmid. The city of Petra in northwest Arabia was under the control of the Byzantines (through the Ghassanids), followed by the Romans, while the northeastern city of Hira fell under Persian influence (the Lakhmid). Under the Lakhmid and Ghassanid dynasties Arab identity developed, as did the Arab language.

The central place of worship for the nomadic Bedu tribes was the Ka'ba, a cubic structure found in the city of Mecca, which houses a black stone, believed to be a piece of meteorite. The Ka'ba was the site of an annual pilgrimage in pre-Islamic Arabia. Abraham first laid the foundations of the Ka'ba. Over a millennium the function of the Ka'ba had drastically changed and just before the coming of Islam through Muhammad, idols were found within the shrine. The Bedu prayed to the idols of different gods found within. Although the various nomadic Bedu tribes often formed warring factions, within the sacred space of the Ka'ba, tribal rivalries were often put aside in respect for the place of worship. Mecca became a religious sanctuary and a neutral ground where tribal warfare was put on hold.

By the seventh century C.E., besides being an important religious site, the city of Mecca was also a significant commercial center of caravan trade, because of the rise of south Arabia as a mercantile hub. Merchants of different origins converged in the city. Just before the rise of Islam, the elite merchants of the Quraysh tribe led Mecca loosely, although it was still difficult to discern a clear form of authoritative government in Mecca. Mecca, like southern Arabia, was home to many different people of various faiths.

Different groups of people had settled in Arabia, especially in the coastal regions of Yemen, where a rich variety of religions had coexisted, having originated from India, Africa, and the rest of the Middle East. This is because of its strategic location along the merchant trade route from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They were Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians who had migrated from the surrounding region. These migrants were markedly different from the indigenous inhabitants of Arabia in that they adhered to monotheistic faiths, recognizing and worshipping only one God. Thus, the inhabitants of pre-Islamic Arabia were familiar with other monotheistic faiths prior to the coming of Islam, however, subsequent Muslim society

would refer to those living in pre-Islamic Arabia as living in *jahiliyya*, or “ignorance.”

See also SASSANID EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Cleveland, William L. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000; Imnadar, Subhash C. *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam: The Creation of Group Identity*. Madison, WI: Psychosocial Press, 2001; Mantran, Robert. *Great Dates in Islamic History*. New York: Facts On File, 1996; Von Grunebaum, Gustav E. *Classical Islam: A History, 600 A.D. to 1258 A.D.* Somerset, UK: Transaction Publishers, 2005.

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

## Aramaeans

The Aramaeans interest historians because of the two sources of information about them: the archaeological and the biblical. Part of the challenge in understanding the Aramaeans is in the effort to link both sets of data. According to the first citation, the people of ancient ISRAEL AND JUDAH consider themselves ethnic Aramaeans who became a distinct religious group as a result of their experience in Egypt. According to the second citation, the Aramaeans were a people who experienced the brunt of Assyrian aggression in the 12th century B.C.E.

The 1993 discovery of the Tel Dan Stela, an Aramaic-language stone inscription that mentions Israel and DAVID and apparently was written by Hazael, the king of Aram and the greatest Aramaean warrior, brings these two strands together in a historical and religious debate.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The historian is faced with the dilemma of determining when this people first came into existence versus when there is a historical written record about them. The Aramaeans presumably were a West Semitic-speaking people who lived in the Syrian and Upper Mesopotamian region along the Habur River and the Middle Euphrates for the bulk of the second millennium B.C.E., if not earlier.

Their first uncontested appearance in the written record occurred when Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.E.) claimed to have defeated them numerous times. They very well may be connected to the Amorites who previously had been in that area before they spread out across the ancient Near East just as the Aramaeans would do 1,000 years later.

The early stages of Aramaean history are known not through their own writings, but from what others wrote about them. When the Assyrian Empire went into decline, the Assyrian references to the Aramaeans ceased. Presumably they continued to be the primarily pastoral people that the Assyrians had first encountered and lacked the urban-based political structure of the major powers of the region. They used this time to establish themselves in a series of small polities centering in modern Syria.

The void in the record changed in 853 B.C.E. when, thanks to the Assyrians, the Aramaeans again appear in a historical inscription. They do so in the records of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), an Assyrian king who sought repeatedly to extend his empire to the west all the way to the Mediterranean Sea. His primary obstacle to achieving this goal was a coalition of peoples including Arabs, Egyptians, Israelites, and Aramaeans. According to the Assyrian inscriptions, it was Hadad-idr (Hadad-ezer, c. 880–843 B.C.E.) of Aram who led the coalition. The king was named after the leading deity of the Aramaeans, Hadad, the storm god. That deity is probably better known as Baal, a title meaning “lord,” than by his actual name.

Shalmaneser tried again in 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E. to no avail. At that point the coalition crumbled, enabling Shalmaneser to focus on the new ruler of Aram, Hazael (c. 843–803 B.C.E.), a “son of a nobody” (meaning a usurper). Even though Hazael now stood alone, ASSYRIA was unable to prevail in 841, 838, and 837 B.C.E. Shalmaneser then stopped trying. The withdrawal of Assyria from the land provided Hazael with the opportunity to expand his own rule. His success produced the pinnacle of Aramaean political power during the remaining years of the ninth century B.C.E. Hazael’s stature in the ancient Near East is attested by the Assyrian use of “House of Hazael” for the Aramaean kingdom in the eighth century B.C.E., and later Jewish historian JOSEPHUS’s discussion of Hazael’s legacy in Damascus in the first century C.E.

Eventually Assyria did prevail over Aram. Around 803 B.C.E. Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.) attacked Aram and its new king, Ben-Hadad (c. 803–775 B.C.E.), the son of Hazael. The weakening of Aram aided Israel, which enjoyed resurgence during the first half of the eighth century B.C.E. The political life of the Aramaeans soon ended when Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) absorbed all the Aramaean states into the Assyrian Empire.

In a great irony of history the Assyrians required a more flexible and accessible language through which to govern their multi-peopled empire. Their CUNEIFORM

language was inadequate for the task. Centuries earlier, perhaps around 1100 B.C.E., the Aramaeans had adopted the 22-letter Phoenician alphabet. Following the Assyrian conquest of the Aramaeans, the latter’s language was accorded special status within the empire and then became the lingua franca of the realm. Its usage continued for centuries including among the Jews.

## BIBLICAL EVIDENCE

The writers of the Jewish Bible were of mixed opinion concerning the origin of the Aramaeans. In some biblical translations they appear as *Syrians*, reflecting the Greek-derived name for their land, a name that continues to be used to this very day.

In Genesis 10:22, Aram is a grandson of Noah and son of Shem. This genealogy puts the Aramaean people in Syria on par with the Elamites (in modern Iran) and the Assyrians (in modern Iraq). By contrast in Genesis 22:19, the Aramaeans are grandsons of Abraham’s brother Nahor and thus comparable to Jacob, the grandson of Abraham. In Amos 9:7, the Aramaeans had their own exodus relationship with Yahweh from Kir (sometimes spelled *Qir*) west of the Middle Euphrates, just as Israel had had from Egypt under MOSES.

Just as the archaeological record of the Aramaeans contains information involving Israel not found in the Bible, the Bible contains information about the Aramaeans during a time of minimal archaeological information about them. Biblical scholarship has struggled to integrate the archaeological and biblical data into a single story. Examples of points of contention include

1. Do the references to the Aramaeans in the stories of biblical PATRIARCHS better fit the circumstances of the 10th century B.C.E. in the time of David and SOLOMON?
2. What was David’s relationship with the Aramaeans particularly as recounted in II Samuel 8 and 10?
3. What was Israelite king AHAB’s relationship with the Aramaeans particularly as recounted in I Kings 20 and 22?
4. What was Hazael’s relationship with Israel during the Jehu dynasty, given the contrasting comments by the Israelite prophet Elijah in I Kings 19:15–17 and his successor the prophet Elisha in II Kings 8:8–29? According to the biblical text, Elisha was right to weep when he names Hazael king of Aram, given the devastation which the new king would wreak on Israel (see II Kings 10:32, 12:17–18, 13:3). These biblical accounts do agree with the Assyrian account that Hazael was not heir to the throne.

5. What is the solution to the double murder mystery of Israelite king Jehoram and Judahite king Ahaziah: Was the murderer the Israelite usurper Jehu (II Kings 9–10) or the Aramaean king Hazael (Tel Dan Stela)?

According to the biblical record, during the last century of Aram's existence, Ramot Gilead in the Transjordan and the northern Galilee appear to have been a continual source of contention between Israel and Damascus. The biblical accounts in II Kings describe the ebb and flow to ownership of the land, with Hazael representing the pinnacle of Aramaean conquest, and Jeroboam II (c. 782–748 B.C.E.), the height of Israelite success.

During this time Assyria occasionally ventured into this arena generally to attack Aram, indirectly benefiting Israel. All this political maneuvering came to an end when Tiglath-pileser III ended the independent political existence of Aram in 732 B.C.E. Just over a decade later Israel fell to the Assyrians.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; ELAM; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Dion, Paul E. "Aramaean Tribes and Nations of First-Millennium Western Asia." In Jack M. Sassoon, ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995; Pitard, Wayne. "Aramaens." In Alfred J. Hoerth, et al., eds. *Peoples of the Old Testament World*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1998; ———. *Ancient Damascus*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987.

PETER FEINMAN

## Archaic Greece

The Archaic Period in Greek history (c. 700–500 B.C.E.) laid the groundwork for the political, economic, artistic, and philosophical achievements of the Classical Period. Perhaps one of the greatest gifts to Western civilization by the ancient Greeks was the beginning of democratic government and philosophy. The seventh century B.C.E. witnessed the decline of the old aristocratic order that had dominated Greek politics and the rise of the tyrant.

For the Greeks the term *tyrant* referred to someone who had seized power through unconstitutional means. Tyrants were often accomplished men from aristocratic families who had fallen from political grace. They rode the tide of discontent and demand for more opportunities spawned by population and

economic growth to lead the charge against the old aristocracy. In order to help solidify their positions they often encouraged trade and business and sponsored ambitious building projects throughout their city-state. Tyrannies did not last beyond the third generation as the sons and grandsons of tyrants typically lacked the political skills and base of support enjoyed by their father and grandfather.

The Archaic Period saw the continuation of Greek migration that had begun late in the Greek Dark Ages. An increase in population and the resulting land shortage combined with economic growth, primarily in trade, spurred the movement in search of new lands, colonies, and trading posts. The economic expansion brought the Greeks into extensive contact with other peoples and led to the development of Greek colonies throughout the Mediterranean, Ionia, and even into the Black Sea region.

The growing economic prosperity of the Archaic Period led to cultural changes as city-states viewed building projects, particularly of temples, as expressions of their civic wealth and pride. During this period the Greeks used with greater frequency the more graceful Ionic style in their public buildings.

Colonization and trade had brought the Greeks into more frequent contact with other great civilizations, such as Egypt. Some scholars give credit to Egypt and her development of large columned halls as influencing the Greeks and their move toward monumental architecture. The move toward monumental architecture was further encouraged as stone replaced wood in public buildings such as temples, treasuries, and the agora as it transformed from a public meeting site to a local marketplace. In addition to the use of the Ionic column, relief sculptures illustrating mythological scenes increasingly appeared on the pediments and entablatures of late sixth century B.C.E. temples.

The seventh century B.C.E. saw the rise of LYRIC POETRY, a song accompanied by a lyre. Unlike epic poetry (such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), lyric poetry is set in the present and tells the interests and passions of the author. Lyric poetry provides us with a rare insight to the travails of an individual versus the epic sagas involving entire states.

The poet Archilochus wrote a poem wishing harm to a man who had rejected the author as unsuitable for his daughter. SAPPHO, a poetess from the island of Lesbos, wrote a hymn to Aphrodite asking for assistance in a matter of love—her love for another woman. Both poems speak directly and passionately to the audience on matters of a very personal nature.



An illustration depicts life in ancient Greece: A musician plays the lyre for his audience—the seventh century B.C.E. saw the rise of lyric poetry, the performance of a song accompanied by a lyre. Such lyric poetry is set in the present and tells the interests and passions of the author.

In this period the Greeks took the creation of a practical item, pottery, and turned it into such a beautiful piece of art that it spawned cheap imitations and demand for the pieces throughout the Mediterranean. Greek pottery in the seventh century B.C.E. was dominated by Corinthian pottery and its portrayal of animal life. Athenian pottery and its portrayal of mythical themes rose to prominence in the sixth century B.C.E. The same century also saw the shift from black figures engraved on a red background to drawing red figures on a black background, which allowed for more detail and movement in their figures.

Perhaps the greatest contribution made to Western civilization by the Archaic Greeks was in the realm of ideas further developed during the Classical Period that continue to influence us, such as the search for a rational view of the universe, a “scientific” explanation for the world, and the birth of philosophy by the

cosmologists in sixth century B.C.E. Miletus. In addition, the Archaic Greeks bequeathed to humanity the concept of democratic government, wherein members of the POLIS (i.e., free men) enjoyed social liberty and freedom and willingly submitted to laws enacted directly by their fellow citizens.

See also GREEK COLONIZATION; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Freeman, Charles. *Egypt, Greece and Rome: Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999; Perry, Marvin, ed. *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007; Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

ABBE ALLEN DEBOLT

## Arianism

Arianism receives its name from Arius, a Christian priest of ALEXANDRIA who taught that the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, is not God in the same sense as the Father. He believed that the Son of God did exist before time, but that the Father created him and therefore the Son of God is not eternal like the Father. Arius was accustomed to say of the Son of God: "There was a time when he was not."

When the bishop Alexander opposed Arius, he took his case to EUSEBIUS, bishop of Nicomedia, who had the ear of Emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. In order to put an end to the disputes that arose because of Arius's teaching, Constantine called for a general council that met at Nicaea in 325 C.E. Arius and his followers were condemned by 318 bishops at Nicaea who also drew up a creed laying down the orthodox view of the Trinity. Known as the Nicene Creed, it states that the Son of God is "God from God, Light from Light, True God from True God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father . . ." The term used to express the idea that the Son of God is consubstantial, or of the "same substance," as the Father, *homoousios*, became a rallying cry for the orthodox side, expressing the unity of nature between the Father and the Son of God.

The years following the COUNCIL OF NICAEA were turbulent, in which many groups opposed the teaching of the council. The reason Arianism continued to exert influence after its condemnation was due in large part to the emperors of this period. Some were openly sympathetic to this heresy, while others—wanting political peace and unity in the empire—tried to force compromises that were unacceptable to those fighting for the Son of God's equality with the Father. Some bishops were orthodox in their understanding of the Son of God as truly God, but they were opposed to the word *homoousios* because they could not find it in scripture. Others feared that the word smacked of Sabellianism—an earlier heresy that had made no ultimate distinction between the Father and the Son of God, holding that the divine persons were merely different modes of being God.

The defender of the orthodox position was ATHANASIUS, the successor to Alexander in the diocese of Alexandria. Athanasius vigorously opposed all forms of Arianism, teaching that the Son must be God in the fullest sense since he reunites us to God through his death on the cross. One who is not truly God, he argued, cannot bring us a share in the divine life. Athanasius went into exile five times for his indefatigable defense of Nicaea. A synod held under his presidency in Alexandria in 362

rallied together the orthodox side after clearing up misunderstandings due to terminology. This synod, along with the efforts of the CAPPADOCIANS, theologians who took up the banner of orthodoxy after Athanasius's death, paved the way for the Council of Constantinople in 381, which reaffirmed the Nicene Creed and its condemnation of Arianism.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Ayres, Lewis. *Nicæa and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Williams, Rowan. *Arius: Heresy and Tradition*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1987.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## Aristophanes

(450–388 B.C.E.) *Greek playwright*

Aristophanes was a leading dramatist of ancient Athens and, owing to the quantity and quality of his works that have been preserved, is customarily recognized as being the leading comic playwright of his society and age. Greek comic drama passed through two main phases, referred to as Old Comedy and New Comedy. The transition between the two stages included Middle Comedy, which is largely conjectural, although the last work of Aristophanes is often ascribed to this stage. Old Comedy featured a chorus, which commented on the action in verse and song, mime and burlesque, as well as a sense of ribaldry, broad political satire, and farce. New Comedy dispensed with the chorus and adopted more of a sense of social realism, although this is still relative. As a representative of the end of one phase, Aristophanes was working in a time of innovation and change, and as might be expected, his works excited both favorable and unfavorable comment.

The entire canon of Aristophanes' works is not known, but it is believed to have extended to perhaps 40 works, of which 11 have survived in partial or complete forms. His career coincided with the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, and this formed the backdrop of many of his surviving major works. Aristophanes' most fantastical play is *The Birds*, which follows the adventures of a group of birds who become so disaffected by life in their home city that they leave to establish their own, which is called Cloud Cuckoo Land and is suspended between heaven and earth.

*The Birds* can be read as an attack on the rulers of Athens and the idea that people would be better off elsewhere. *Acharnians* is an earlier play, which more directly addresses the misery of war. In *Frogs* the actions of the gods are explicitly brought into the sphere of humanity as Dionysus descends into hell to retrieve a famous tragedian to produce work that could enlighten the lives of the people of Athens, given the currently woeful state of that art in the city.

See also GREEK DRAMA.

**Further reading:** Aristophanes. *Aristophanes: The Complete Plays*. Trans. and ed. by Paul Roche. New York: Penguin, 2005; Bowie, A. W. *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Strauss, Leo. *Socrates and Aristophanes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

JOHN WALSH

## Aristotle

(384–322 B.C.E.) Greek philosopher

Aristotle is one of the greatest figures in the history of Western thought. In terms of the breadth and depth of his thought, together with the quality and nature of his analysis, his contribution to a variety of fields is almost unparalleled. His areas of investigation ranged from biology to ethics and from poetics to the categorization of knowledge. Born in Stagira in northern Greece, with a doctor as a father, he studied under Plato for 20 years until Plato's death and then left to travel to Asia Minor and then the island of Lesbos.

He received a request in about 342 B.C.E. from King PHILIP OF MACEDON to supervise the education of his son ALEXANDER, who was 13 at that time. He consented and prepared to teach Alexander the superiority of Greek culture and the way in which a Homeric hero in the mold of Achilles should dominate the various barbarians to the east. Alexander went on to conquer much of the known world, although he failed to observe Aristotle's instruction to keep Greeks separate from barbarians by pursuing a policy of intermarriage and adoption of eastern cultural institutions. Alexander proved to be an obstinate student, and Aristotle's influence was slight.

Once this tutelage was completed, Aristotle retired first to Stagira and then to Athens to establish his own academy. He continued to be accompanied by former pupils of Plato such as Theophrastus. His academy became known as the Lyceum. Aristotle wrote his most

developed works at this time, but much of what has been passed down through the ages was subsequently edited, and much of his work gives the impression that it contains interpolated material and other notes. His works were translated into Latin and Arabic and became immensely influential throughout the Western world. Aristotle departed Athens for the island of Euboea in 322 B.C.E. and died that year.

## SCIENTIFIC WORKS

At the basis of Aristotle's works is his close observation of the world and his astoundingly powerful attempts to understand and reconcile the nature of observed phenomena with what might be expected. This is perhaps most easily witnessed in Aristotle's scientific works, including the *Meteorologica*, *On the Movement of Animals*, and *On Sleep and Sleeplessness*. Aristotle's works were deeply rooted in the real world, since the establishment of fact is central to the inquiry. This is the strand of Aristotle's work that was later developed by scholars such as Roger Bacon and early scientific experimenters.

## CATEGORIES

Aristotle's classification of all material phenomena into categories is contained in his work of the same name. According to this method, everything was part of substance and could be classified as such, while some individual items would be classified as an individual item. The latter are considered to be qualities rather than essential parts of substance. The ways in which Aristotle organized these categories does not always appear intuitively correct, which reflects differences in methods of thinking and language. He also distinguished between form and matter. Form is a specific configuration of matter, which is the basis or substance of all physical things. Iron is a substance or representation of matter, for example, which can be made into a sword. The sword is a potential quality of iron, and a child is potentially a fully grown person. It is in the nature of some matter, therefore, to emerge in a particular form. If form can be said to emerge from no matter, then it would do so as god.

Whether one thing is itself or another thing depends on the four causes of the universe. The material cause explains what a thing is and what is its substance; the final cause explains the purpose or reason for the object; the formal cause defines it in a specific physical form, and the efficient cause explains how it came into existence. According to Aristotle's thinking, all physical items can be explained and accounted for fully by reference to these four causes. In a similar way his exposition of the syllogism in all its possible forms

and the definition of which of these are valid and to what extent are an effort to establish a system that is inclusive and universal and is both elegant and parsimonious in construction. The syllogism is Aristotle's principal contribution to the study of logic.

### POETICS

Aristotle's methods enabled him to make a number of influential contributions to language and to discourse. His *Sophistical Refutations*, for example, analyzes the use of language to identify the forms of argument that are valid and discard false or disreputable discourse that is aimed at winning an argument rather than seeking the truth. Aristotle, like Socrates and Plato before him, was convinced of the primacy of the search for truth; no matter how uncomfortable this may prove to be. This placed him in occasional conflict with the Sophists, who were more willing to teach pupils to use philosophical discourse for self-advancement. Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* was aimed at determining the extent to which scientific reasoning rested on appropriately considered and evaluated premises that flow properly from suitable first principles. He applied the same rigorous approach to his examination of the Athenian polis and also to the study of tragedy in the *Poetics*.

The *Poetics* remains one of Aristotle's most influential works. It aims to outline the various categories of plot and chain of cause and events that are appropriate for the stage and the ways in which the various elements of theater should interact. His conception of the properly tragic character as one whose inevitable downfall is brought about by a character flaw, and that the anagnorisis, or reversal of fortune, was the plot device by which this most commonly was brought about, dominated the production of drama until the modern age.

### ARISTOTELIANISM

A number of prominent scholars and thinkers of the medieval ages, called Aristotelians, seized upon Aristotle's methods. From the time of Porphyry (260–305 C.E.), the Aristotelian method of analysis was used as a weapon to attack Christianity. This raised a theme that recurred numerous times throughout western Europe, particularly in the subsequently developed universities. While Arabic scholars generally saw no problem in utilizing the dialectical method as a tool in helping to understand the ways in which the physical universe worked, those from Christian countries faced opposition when Aristotelian thought was classified as irreligious or blasphemous. This was determined by the prevailing political

and religious environment and meant that some scholars were able to avail themselves of Aristotelian thought quite freely, while others were constrained from doing so and their insights were lost to history. Among the former are, notably, Thomas Aquinas (1225–74 C.E.), whose writings investigated the canon of Aristotle with considerable intensity and clarity.

Albertus Magnus (1200–80 C.E.), an important tutor of Aquinas, had achieved a great deal in integrating Aristotelian thought and methods into the mainstream of Christian thought in terms of responsible philosophical inquiry. Together with Roger Bacon (1220–92 C.E.), the Aristotelians made progress toward experimental science that would eventually flourish with the scientific method.

In the Islamic world Aristotelianism is perhaps best known in the person of Ibn Sina (980–1037 C.E.), the Persian physician and philosopher whose ideas perhaps came the closest of all Muslim thinkers to uniting Islamic belief with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Ibn Sina shared Aristotle's devotion to the systematic examination of natural phenomena and his support for logical determinism brought him into conflict with religious authorities. His religious beliefs tended toward the mystic, possibly as a means of resolving the difficulties inherent in the gap between observable and comprehensible phenomena and divine revelations. The eastern part of the Islamic world had enjoyed the infusion of ideas from the Hellenistic tradition for some centuries and so was better able to integrate concepts more peaceably than in, for example, the western Islamic states of the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently the beneficial impact of Aristotle's protoscientific method may be discerned in many of the scholarly works of the medieval Islamic world. This also provided a route by which ideas could be transmitted further east.

See also PLATONISM; SOPHISM.

**Further reading:** Aristotle. *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*. Ed. by J. Barnes. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995; Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. Trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Christian Classics, 1981; Bernays, Jacob. "On Catharsis." *American Imago* (v.61/3, 2004); Broadie, Sarah. "Virtue and Beyond in Plato and Aristotle." *Southern Journal of Philosophy* (v.43, 2005); Clegg, Brian. *The First Scientist: A Life of Roger Bacon*. New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2003; Halliwell, Stephen. *Aristotle's Poetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; Morewedge, Parviz. *Metaphysica of Avicenna*. New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2003; Shiff-

man, Mark. "Shaping the Language of Inquiry: Aristotle's Transformation of the Meanings of Thaumaston." *Epoche: A Journal for the History of Philosophy* (v.10/1, 2005); Weishepl, James A., ed. *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*. Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980.

JOHN WALSH

## Ark of the Covenant

The political and cult symbol of ISRAEL before the destruction of the Temple was the Ark of the Covenant. This cult object was constantly found with the Israelites and treasured by them from the time of MOSES until the time of the invasion of the Babylonians. It was a rectangular chest made of acacia wood, measuring 4 feet long by 2.5 feet wide by 2.5 feet high. The Ark was decorated and protected with gold plating and carried by poles inserted in rings at the four lower corners. There was a lid (Hebrew: *kipporet*, "mercy seat" or "propitiatory") for the top of the Ark, and perched on top of the monument were two golden angels or cherubs at either end with their wings covering the space over the Ark.

The first interpretations about the Ark were simple: It was simply the repository for the stone tablets of laws that Moses received on MOUNT SINAI. It was housed in a tent and on pilgrimage alongside the children of Israel in the desert. Ancient peoples would preserve treaties or covenants in such a fashion.

Soon, however, the Ark became charged with deeper latent powers and purposes. For one thing it was the place where the divine being would choose to make some revelation and communication with Israel. Moses would go there for his meetings with God. So the Ark became more than a receptacle for an agreement; God's presence filled the Ark. A parallel to this notion is the *qubbah*, the shrine that Arab nomads carry with them for divination and direction as they search for campsites and water. In a similar way the Ark was a supernatural protection—called a palladium—that ensured that Israel would never lose in battle. In this sense many Near Eastern cities and nations often had some token of divine protection. Similarly, the Greeks often symbolized their military invincibility through divine emblems such as Athena's breastplate in Athens and Artemis's stone in Ephesus.

When the Jerusalem temple was built under SOLOMON, the Ark took on a more complex meaning. It

had to take into account the kingdom of DAVID and Solomon, the capital city of Jerusalem, and the rituals of temple and sacrifice. So the Ark became the throne or the divine contact point for God's rule over the world. The Ark was no longer housed in a tent; it had its own inner courtroom. The angelic representation over the chest became a divine seat, or at least a footstool. Ancient artistic representations of this concept have been discovered in other cultures of the FERTILE CRESCENT: Human or divine kings are often depicted as sitting on a throne supported by winged creatures.

The Ark disappeared from Jerusalem after the Babylonians invaded in the sixth century B.C.E., but it did not disappear from later popular imagination. Some believed that Jeremiah the prophet or King JOSIAH hid it, others that angels came and took it to heaven; and to this day, Ethiopian Christians believe that they have it safeguarded in their country. That the Ark could fall into godless hands was considered to be more catastrophic than the destruction of the Temple. Whatever the cause, JOSEPHUS said that it was not present in the rebuilt temple of HEROD.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON.

**Further reading:** De Vaux, Roland. *Ancient Israel*. Vol. 2: *Religious Institutions*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965; Price, Randall. *In Search of the Ark of the Covenant*. New York: Harvest House, 2005.

MARK F. WHITTTERS

## Armenia

Located at the flashpoint between the Roman and Persian Empires, "Fortress Armenia" stretched through eastern Anatolia to the Zagros Mountains. Armenia was a kingdom established during the decline of Seleucid control. Its independence ended with its incorporation into the Roman Empire in the third century C.E. The region was inhabited after the Neolithic Period, and evidence of high culture is evident from the Early Bronze Age. Urartu was an important regional power in the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.E.

The INDO-EUROPEANS arrived from western Anatolia in this period and formed a new civilization that was Armenian-speaking and based on the local culture. The conversion of Armenia to Christianity is associated with a number of stages or traditions. The most

important one was the work of Gregory Luzavorich, the “Illuminator” (d. 325 C.E.). Armenians greatly treasure their heritage as the first nation that converted officially to the Christian faith.

Syriac Christianity first influenced Armenia: The Armenian version of the Abgar legend makes Abgar an Armenian king, and the evangelization of Addai is described as a mission to southern Armenia. The influence of Syriac literature and liturgy on Armenia remained strong even after the Greek influence, primarily from Cappadocia, and increased in the third century C.E. The Greek tradition states that Bartholomew was the apostle to the Armenians. The Abgar/Addai legend is earlier than that of Bartholomew. The traditions of the female missionaries and martyrs Rhipsime and Gaiane are among the earliest accounts of the conversion of Armenia. Tertullian (c. 200 C.E.) also mentions that there were Christians in Armenia.

The conversion of the royal house of Armenia dates officially to 301 C.E., predating the conversion of the Georgian king Gorgasali and the Ethiopian Menelik by a generation. In that year Gregory the Illuminator persuaded King Tiridates III (Trdat the Great, 252–330) to be baptized. Gregory is identified as the founder of the Christian Armenian nation and as the organizer of the Armenian Church. Gregory founded Ejmiatsin, the mother cathedral of the Armenian Church, after an apparition by Jesus Christ who descended from heaven at the site of a significant pagan temple (Ejmiatsin means “The Only-begotten Descended”). Gregory’s original church was at Vagharsapat.

The revelation to found the church at Ejmiatsin coincided with changing political circumstances. Politically, Armenians were always at the mercy of the great powers of Persia and Rome, and in 387 the Roman emperor THEODOSIUS I and the Persian emperor Shapur agreed to partition Armenia, thus ending its independence. As the site of a dominical apparition, the place of Gregory’s Episcopal see, the residence of Armenian Catholicoi, and the most important administrative center of the Armenian Church, Ejmiatsin is for Armenians a holy site on a par with the Church of the Anastasis (Resurrection) in Jerusalem or the Basilica of Bethlehem, where JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was born.

The second most important event of the formative period of Armenian history was Mesrob Mashots’s (c. 400) invention of the Armenian alphabet, which resulted in the translation of the Bible and the liturgy into Armenian and a rapid introduction of

Christian and classical works, translated from Greek and Syriac into Armenian. During the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Armenian Apostolic Church rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and remains to this day one of the non-Chalcedonian churches that adhere to the strict interpretation of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA’s “one nature of the incarnate Logos” formula. For this reason, Armenians are often erroneously and polemically labeled “Monophysites.”

See also CAPPADOCIANS; DIADOCHI (SUCCESSORS); EPHEsus AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; ROMAN EMPIRE; SELEUCID EMPIRE; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Garsoian, Nina G. *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999; Thomson, Robert W. *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*. Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994.

ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

## Artaxerxes

(5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) *Persian emperors*

The Persian Empire reached its greatest strength under DARIUS I; under the reign of the three Artaxerxes it began and concluded its decline, ending with ALEXANDER THE GREAT’s conquests in 330 B.C.E. Artaxerxes I, third son of Emperor XERXES I, acceded to the throne in 465 B.C.E. following the murder of his father and his brother Darius, who was first in line to the throne. According to JOSEPHUS, the first century C.E. Jewish historian, Artaxerxes’ pre-throne name was Cyrus. The first century B.C.E. Roman historian Plutarch adds that he was nicknamed “long-armed” due to his right arm being longer than his left. Earlier kings of the Persian Empire, namely CYRUS II, Darius, and Xerxes, were discussed in the comprehensive works of the near contemporary Greek historian HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus, but unfortunately Herodotus’s work did not cover much of Artaxerxes’ reign, and none of the reigns of later kings.

### ARTAXERXES I

The Bible refers to Artaxerxes explicitly in Ezra 4:7, in reference to a letter written by the Jews’ enemies in Samaria. Both Ezra and Nehemiah, significant figures in the later history of the biblical Israelite people, arrived in Judah in Palestine to serve the Jews there during the

reign of Artaxerxes. If this is accurate then it was Artaxerxes for whom Nehemiah was cup bearer (Nehemiah 2:1), a position that gave him close access to the king, and it was to him that Nehemiah asked for permission to go to Jerusalem to oversee the rebuilding of the city walls. A. T. Olmstead in *A History of the Persian Empire* states the opinion that it was also Artaxerxes to whom Ezra went in 458 to ask permission to take a group of Jewish exiles back to Judaea in order to reestablish proper worship (Ezra 7:1, 8:1).

During his reign Artaxerxes generally followed the administrative practices of his father Xerxes. However, it was increasingly clear was that the empire, having reached its maximum extent under Darius I, Artaxerxes' grandfather, was weakening. Undoubtedly, a key cause was the high levels of taxation, which was stripping the satrapies, the regions of the empire, of gold and silver, enriching Persia's vaults, but fostering discontent among the king's subjects. In 460 ancient Egypt rebelled, drove out the Persian tax collectors, and requested aid from Athens. The Athenians, who were looking for a fight with Persia, sent a fleet; and by 459 nearly all of Egypt was in the hands of the rebel alliance. It was probably in this turbulent period that Ezra made his application to Artaxerxes to allow a contingent of Jews to organize the worship of the returned exiles in Judaea. The Jews of Babylonia were probably some of the more loyal citizens, and since Persian policy supported organized religion, Ezra's appeal met with sympathetic ears.

In the meantime Artaxerxes sent money to the Athenians' Greek rival, Sparta, in order to counter their support of the Egyptian rebellion. Consequently, Athens was defeated at Tanagra (457), and with Judaea quieted, Artaxerxes sent his general Megabyzus at the head of a huge army down through the Levant to Egypt, taking back the country after one and a half years of siege. The resultant defeat left Athens severely weakened and demoralized. In 449 the Callian treaty was agreed between Athens and Persia in Susa, in which the parties accepted the maintenance of the status quo in Asia Minor, namely that those GREEK CITY-STATES that were in either party's control at the time of the treaty stayed under that party's control.

A few years later the general Megabyzus resigned from the army and retired to the satrapy he governed, "The land beyond the River," namely modern-day Israel, Lebanon, and Syria—and there led a revolt. Possibly it was the rebellious courage stirred up by Megabyzus's actions that led local authorities to pull down the Jerusalem walls lest there be another uprising. In 431 hos-

tilities broke out between Athens and Sparta, thereby beginning the long PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Artaxerxes decided to take a position of noninterference and made no effort to slow the course of events, ignoring the entreaties for support from both sides. Artaxerxes I died of natural causes toward the end of 424 B.C.E.

## ARTAXERXES II

Artaxerxes II, the grandson of Artaxerxes I, acceded to the throne in March 404 B.C.E. on the death of his father, Darius II. However, the following year his younger brother Cyrus began plotting his overthrow. Cyrus gathered an army, significantly including 10,000 Greek mercenaries, and marched east. Finally battle was drawn in 401 against his brother's army at Cunaxa in central Mesopotamia, but despite initial success on Cyrus's part, his rashness led to a crucial mistake that resulted in his death, and Artaxerxes won the day. This notwithstanding, the Greek mercenaries were allowed to march the thousand miles home, Artaxerxes not wanting to tackle them. This "March of the Ten Thousand" from the heart of the Persian territory became a symbol of the internal weakness of the Persian Empire at that time.

In 396 Sparta began a new war to take back control of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. While the Spartans played off one Persian satrap against another, Artaxerxes, aware of the empire's military weakness, used its vast wealth to buy an alliance with Athens, Sparta's local rival. The Athenians aided the strengthened Persian navy, successfully countering the Spartan threat, with the result that in 387–386 a peace was struck, which once again required Sparta to give up any claims to sovereignty over the Greek cities in Asia Minor.

In 405 Egypt had revolted and remained independent from Persia throughout most of Artaxerxes' reign. In 374 Artaxerxes sent a force to retake Egypt. The attempt failed, reinforcing the impression that the central authority was weakening. With rebellion rife the situation seemed to be slipping out of control and auguring the end of the empire. However, the rebels' Egyptian ally, Pharaoh Nekhtenebef, died unexpectedly in 360, leaving Egypt in chaos and the satraps of Asia Minor to face the wrath of the emperor alone. Rather than risk losing to the central authority, the rebels made peace with Artaxerxes, and many were in fact returned to their satrapies.

## ARTAXERXES III

In 358 B.C.E., after a long and moderately successful tenure, though rife with revolts, Artaxerxes II died. His son Ochus acceded to the throne taking the name

Artaxerxes III. Ochus's bloodthirsty reputation—possibly the worst in this regard of any of the Achaemenid kings—was compounded by the murder of all his relations, regardless of sex or age, soon after his accession. However, his ruthless ferocity did not stop revolts from rocking the empire. Ochus made a fresh attempt to take back Egypt in 351 but was repulsed, and this encouraged further rebellions in the western satrapies. In 339 Persia misplayed its hand with Athens by refusing Athenian aid to deal with the rising power of PHILIP OF MACEDON. Persia took on Philip alone but failed to defeat him, and in 338 Philip took overlordship of the whole of Greece.

Greece united under Philip proved impervious to Persian might, and within eight years Persepolis, the Persian royal capital and the whole empire, was to collapse at the hands of Philip's son, Alexander the Great. Ochus's physician, at the command of the powerful eunuch Bagoas, murdered Ochus, and Bagoas made Ochus's youngest son, Arses, king (338–336 B.C.E.). Arses attempted to kill the too powerful Bagoas and was killed, allowing Darius III to become king. Darius survived until his death in 330 B.C.E. at the hands of Alexander.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PHARAOH.

**Further reading:** Fensham, Charles. *The Bible: Books of Nehemiah and Ezra*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982; Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959; Yamauchi, Edwin M. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## Aryan invasion

The conquest and settlement of northern India by INDO-EUROPEANS began c. 1500 B.C.E. The event marked the end of the INDUS CIVILIZATION and altered the civilization of the subcontinent. In ancient times seminomadic peoples lived in the steppe lands of Eurasia between the Caspian and Black Seas. They were light skinned and spoke languages that belong to the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan family. They were organized into patrilineal tribes, herded cattle, knew farming, tamed horses and harnessed them to chariots, and used bronze weapons. For reasons that are not clear, the tribes split

up and began massive movements westward, southward, and southeastward to new lands around 2000 B.C.E., conquering, ruling over, and in time assimilating with the local populations. Those who settled in Europe became the ancestors of the Greeks, Latins, CELTS, and Teutons. Others settled in Anatolia and became known as the HITTITES. Another group settled in Iran (*Iran* is a cognate form of the English word *Aryan*). The most easterly group crossed the mountain passes of the Hindu Kush into the Indus River valley on the Indian subcontinent.

Many tribes who called themselves Aryas (anglicized to *Aryans*) moved into India over several centuries. While there are several theories on the decline and fall of the Indus civilization, there is no doubt that the Indus cities were destroyed or abandoned around 1500 B.C.E., at about the same time that the newcomers began to settle in the Indus region. These newcomers lived in villages in houses that did not endure. Thus, there are few archaeological remains in India of the protohistoric age between 1500–500 B.C.E. Historians must therefore rely in part on the literary traditions of the early Aryans for knowledge on the era. The earliest oral literature of the Aryans were hymns and poems composed by priests to celebrate their gods and heroes and used in religious rites and sacrifices. They were finally written down c. 600 B.C.E., when writing was created.

This great collection of poems is called the Rig-Veda, and it is written in Sanskrit, an Indo-European language. Although primarily focused on religion, there are references in the Rig-Veda to social matters and epic battles that the invaders fought and won. Some of the gods might also be deified heroes. The Rig-Veda and other later Vedas remain part of the living Hindu tradition of India.

The Aryans were initially confined to the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent but gradually spread across the north Indian plains to the Ganges River basin. By approximately 500 B.C.E. the entire northern part of the subcontinent had become part of the Aryan homeland, and Aryans dominated the earlier population.

See also VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Bryant, Edwin. *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture, The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004; Sharma, Ram Sharan. *Advent of the Aryans in India*. New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1999.

## Ashoka

(269–232 B.C.E.) ruler and statesman

Ashoka (Asoka) was the third ruler of the MAURYAN EMPIRE. Under his long rule the empire that he inherited reached its zenith territorially and culturally. Soon after his death the Mauryan Empire split up and ended. He is remembered as a great ruler in world history and the greatest ruler in India.

Chandragupta Maurya founded the Mauryan dynasty in 326 B.C.E. Both he and his son Bindusara were successful warriors, unifying northern India and part of modern Afghanistan for the first time in history. Ashoka was not Bindusara's eldest son, and there is a gap of time between his father's death and his succession, due perhaps to war with his brothers. Ashoka continued to expand the empire by conquering southward. One war against Kalinga in the southeast was particularly bloody and filled him with remorse. As a result he converted to Buddhism (from Vedic Hinduism) and renounced war as an instrument of policy. He became a vegetarian, prohibited the killing of some animals, and discouraged hunting, urging people to go on pilgrimages instead. He also built many shrines in places associated with Buddha's life. However, he honored all religions and holy men. Ashoka's son and daughter became Buddhist missionaries to CEYLON (present-day Sri Lanka); Indian missionaries to the island also brought the people the advanced arts and technology of India. Around 240 B.C.E. he called the Third Buddhist Council at PATALIPUTRA, his capital city, which completed the Buddhist canons and dealt with differences among the monastic orders.

A great deal is known about the personality and policy of Ashoka because he ordered many of his edicts, laws, and pronouncements engraved on stone pillars and rock surfaces throughout his empire and ordered his officials to read them to the public periodically as instruction. Most of the inscriptions that survived used the Brahmi script, precursor of modern Hindi, but some were in other languages, depending on the vernacular of the district. Ten inscribed pillars survive. Different animals associated with Buddhism adorned the capital of each pillar; the one with lions (the roar of lion, heard far and wide, symbolized the importance of the Buddha's teaching) is the symbol of modern India. Ashoka called the people of the empire his children and said: "At all times, whether I am eating, or in the women's apartments . . . everywhere reporters are posted so that they may inform me of the people's business. . . . For I regard the welfare of the people as my chief duty."

Ashoka lightened the laws against criminals, though he did not abolish the death penalty. He also exhorted his people to practice virtue, be honest, obey parents, and be generous to servants. He forbade some amusements as immoral and appointed morality officers to enforce proper conduct among officials and the people, allowing them even to pry into the households of his relatives. Little is known of his last years. It is also unclear who succeeded him; some sources even say that he was deposed around 232 B.C.E. In any case the Mauryan Empire soon fell into chaos and collapsed. History honors Ashoka as a remarkable man and great king. Present-day India has his lion and the wheel of Buddha's law that adorned the capital of his inscribed pillar as symbols of the nation.

See also MEGASTHENES.

**Further reading:** Bhandarkar, D. R. *Asoka*. Calcutta, India: University of Calcutta Press, 1969; Dutt, Romesh Chander. *A History of Civilization in Ancient India Based on Sanskrit Literature*. New Delhi, India: Cosmo Publishers, 2000; Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. *Asoka Maurya*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Assyria

The country of Assyria encompasses the north of Mesopotamia, made up of city-states that were politically unified after the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. Assyria derived its name from the city-state Ashur (Assur). This city was subject to the Agade king, Manishtushu, and the Ur III king, Amar-Sin. During the Ur III period, Ashur also appears as the name of the city's patron deity. Scholars have suggested that the god derived his name from the city and, indeed, may even represent the religious idealization of the city's political power.

### THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The Old Assyrian period (c. 2000–1750 B.C.E.) began when the city of Ashur regained its independence. Its royal building inscriptions are the first attested writing in Old Assyrian, an Akkadian dialect distinct from the Old Babylonian then used in southern Mesopotamia. This period also saw the institution of the *limmu*, whereby each year became named after an Assyrian official, selected by the casting of lots. The sequence

of *limmu* names is not continuous for the second millennium B.C.E., but has been completely preserved for the first millennium B.C.E. A solar eclipse (dated astronomically to 763 B.C.E.) has been dated by *limmu* and thus provides a fixed chronology for Assyrian and—by means of synchronisms—much of ancient Near Eastern history.

During the Old Assyrian period Ashur engaged extensively in long-distance trade, establishing merchant colonies at Kanesh and other Anatolian cities. Ashur imported tin from Iran and textiles from Babylonia and, in turn, exported them to Kanesh. Due to political upheavals, Kanesh was eventually destroyed, and Assyria's Anatolian trade was disrupted. Before this disaster, moreover, Ashur itself had been incorporated into the growing empire of Eshnunna.

Around the end of the 19th century B.C.E., the Amorite Shamshi-Adad I attacked the Eshnunna empire and conquered the cities of Ekallatum, Ashur, and Shekhnna (renamed Shubat-Enlil). With the defeat of MARI in 1796 B.C.E., Shamshi-Adad could rightfully boast that he "united the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates" in northern Mesopotamia. The Assyrian King List was manipulated so as to include Shamshi-Adad in the line of native rulers, despite his foreign origins.

In the new empire Shamshi-Adad reigned as "Great King" in Shubat-Enlil, delegating his elder son, Ishme-Dagan, as "king of Ekallatum" and his younger son, Yasmah-Adad, as "king of Mari." Government officials were frequently interchanged among the three courts. This mobility had the effect of homogenizing administrative practices throughout the kingdom, as well as creating loyalty to the central administration instead of to native territories. Shamshi-Adad's empire, unfortunately, did not survive him for long. A native ruler, Zimri-Lim, reclaimed Mari and King Hammurabi of Babylon eventually subjugated northern cities such as Ashur and NINEVEH.

The four centuries after Ishme-Dagan are referred to as a "dark age," when historical records are scarce. During this time the kingdom of MITTANI was founded. As it expanded its territory in northern Mesopotamia, the city-states once united under Shamshi-Adad became separate political units. The Middle Assyrian kingdom (1363–934 B.C.E.) began when Ashur-uballit I threw off the Mitannian yoke. Whereas former rulers had identified themselves with the city of Ashur, Ashur-uballit was the first to claim the title "king of the land of Assyria," implying that the region had been consolidated as a single territorial state under his reign. In his correspondence to the PHARAOH, Ashur-uballit claimed to

be a "Great King," on equal footing with the important rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Hatti.

Mitanni remained in the unenviable position of warfare on two fronts: the HITTITES from the northwest and Ashur-uballit's successors from the east. Adad-nirari I annexed much of Mitanni, extending Assyrian's western frontier just short of Carchemish. Shalmaneser I turned Mitannian territory into the Assyrian province of "Hanigalbat," governed by an Assyrian official. His reign also witnessed the first seeds of Assyria's policy on deportation: Conquered peoples were relocated away from their homeland in order to crush rebellious tendencies as well as to exploit new agricultural land for the empire.

Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered Babylon and deposed the Kassite king, Kashtiliash IV. He appointed a series of puppet kings on Babylon's throne, but a local rebellion soon returned control to the Kassites. This Assyrian monarch also set a precedent by founding a new capital, naming it after himself ("Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta"). Tukulti-Ninurta was eventually assassinated by one of his sons, and the rapid succession of the next three rulers suggests violent contention for the throne.

Stability returned to Assyria with the ascension of Ashur-resha-ishi I. Around this time the increased use of iron for armor and weapons greatly influenced the methods of Assyrian warfare. His son, Tiglath-pileser I, achieved great victories in the Syrian region and even campaigned as far as the Mediterranean. He was the first to record his military campaigns in chronological order, thus giving rise to the new genre of "Assyrian annals."

To the south conflict between Assyria and Babylonia was temporarily halted by the advent of a common enemy: the ARAMEANS. They were a nomadic Semitic people in northern Syria, who ravaged Mesopotamia in times of famine. Under this invasion Assyria lost its territory and may have been reduced to the districts of Ashur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Kilizi.

## NEO-ASSYRIAN KINGDOM

The Neo-Assyrian kingdom (934–609 B.C.E.) began with Ashur-dan II, who resumed regular military campaigns abroad after more than a century of neglect. He and his successors focused their attacks on the Aramaeans to recover areas formerly occupied by the Middle Assyrian empire. Adad-nirari II set the precedent for a "show of strength" campaign, an official procession displaying Assyria's military power, which marched around the empire and collected tribute from

the surrounding kingdoms. This monarch also installed an effective network of supply depots to provision the Assyrian army en route to distant campaigns.

Ashurnasirpal II has been considered the ideal Assyrian monarch, who personally led his army in a campaign every year of his reign. He subjected Nairu and Urartu to the north, controlled the regions of Bit-Zamani and Bit-Adini to the west, and campaigned all the way to the Mediterranean. Shalmaneser III continued his father's tradition of military aggression. From his reign to Sennacherib's (840–700 B.C.E.), the annual campaigns were so regular that they served as a secondary means of dating (i.e., the "Eponym Chronicle"). At Qarqar on the Orontes River in 853 B.C.E., Shalmaneser fought against a coalition led by DAMASCUS, which included "[King] AHAB, the Israelite."

Under Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III military strategy was honed to great effectiveness: When enemies refused to pay regular tribute, a few vulnerable cities would be taken and their inhabitants tortured by rape, mutilations, beheadings, flaying of skins, or impalement upon stakes. This "ideology of terror" was designed to discourage armed insurrection, lest Assyria exhaust its resources. As a last resort, however, the foreign state would be annexed as an Assyrian province. The strategy of forced deportations was employed with reasonable success.

For the next century Assyria experienced a decline due to weakness in its central government, as well as the military dominance of its northern neighbor, Urartu. Tiglath-pileser III (biblical "Pul"), however, restored prestige to the monarchy by curtailing the power of local governors. Instead of levying troops annually, he built up a standing professional army. Tiglath-pileser defeated the Urartians and invaded their land up to Lake Van. In the west an anti-Assyrian coalition was crushed, and the long recalcitrant Damascus was annexed. He also adopted a new policy toward Babylonia. The Assyrian monarchs had traditionally restrained their efforts to control Babylonia, in deference to the latter's antiquity as the ancestral origin of Assyria's own culture and religion. In 729 B.C.E., however, Tiglath-pileser established a precedent by deposing the Babylonian king and uniting Assyria and Babylonia in a dual monarchy.

Hebrew tradition credits Shalmaneser V with the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.E., the very last year of his reign. Two years later, however, Sargon II still had to crush a coalition led by Yaubidi of Hamath, who had fomented rebellion in Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria. The victory was depicted on relief sculptures in the newly founded royal city, Dur-Sharrukin (mod-

ern Khorsabad). After a prolonged struggle, including a defeat by the Elamites at Der (720 B.C.E.), Sargon eventually wrested the Babylonian throne from Merodach-baladan II. In 705 B.C.E., however, Sargon's body was lost in battle, prompting speculation about divine displeasure. Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, eventually decided to move the capital to Nineveh.

During his 701 B.C.E. campaign in Palestine, Sennacherib became the first Assyrian monarch to attack Judah. He also attempted various methods of controlling Babylonia. When direct rule failed, Sennacherib installed a pro-Assyrian native as puppet king. Thereafter, he delegated the control of Babylonia to his son, who was later kidnapped by the Elamites. Finally, in 689 B.C.E. he razed Babylon to the ground. Sennacherib was assassinated by two of his sons, a crime later avenged by another son, Esarhaddon. The latter was successful in his overtures to achieve reconciliation with Babylon. Esarhaddon may have overstretched Assyria's limits, however, when he invaded Egypt and conquered Memphis in 671 B.C.E.

At his death Esarhaddon divided the empire between two sons: Ashurbanipal in Assyria and Shamash-shuma-ukin in Babylonia. Egypt proved troublesome to hold, and Ashurbanipal eventually lost it to Psammetichus I. Moreover, civil war broke out between Assyria and Babylonia. The Assyrians conquered Babylon by 648 B.C.E. and invaded ELAM, which had been Babylon's ally. Although successful, the civil war had taken its toll on Assyrian forces. Also, the crippled Elam was no longer a buffer between Assyria and the expanding state of Media. In 614 B.C.E. the Medes conquered the city of Ashur. Two years later, in coalition with the Babylonians and Scythians, they overthrew Nineveh. The defeated Assyrian forces fled to Haran, but the allied armies pursued them there and effectively ended the Neo-Assyrian kingdom in 609 B.C.E.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; FERTILE CRESCENT; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

**Further reading:** Grayson, A. Kirk. "Mesopotamia, History of: History and Culture of Assyria," In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, edited by David N. Freedman, 733–755. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Oates, David. *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968; Oppenheim, A. Leo. *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Rev. by Erica Reiner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977; Saggs, H. W. F. *The Might That Was Assyria*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984.

## Athanasius

(c. 300–373 C.E.) *theologian and bishop*

Probably first a deacon (311–328 C.E.) ordained by the bishop Alexander, and Alexander's personal secretary at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325 C.E.), Athanasius was elected bishop in 328 C.E. His tenure was marked by his conflict with the Meletian Church in Egypt, and with the pro-Arian bishops within and outside his jurisdiction. Alexander did not enforce the canons of Nicaea with respect to the Meletian bishops in Egypt, and Athanasius met with strong resistance upon his insistence on the Council of Nicaea's decisions. The Meletians made cause with ARIANISM, whose strength in the East was supported by the pro-Arian CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Athanasius was dismissed from his see by a synod of bishops in Tyre in 335, and Emperor Constantine exiled him to Trier. After Constantine's death (July 22, 337) the pro-Orthodox emperor Constantine II reinstated Athanasius.

Athanasius's main opponents were now the Arians, in part because of the support they enjoyed among the conservative anti-Nicaean bishops of the East as well as in the imperial court of some of the emperors. Indeed, Athanasius's periods of exile correspond to pro-Arian emperors or caesars of the East exercising their religious policy. Athanasius was exiled again in 339 because of resentment of bishops in the east, led by EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, to Constantine II's rejection of the decision of the Synod of Tyre and because these bishops were supported by the emperor of the east, Constantius II. Following official recognition by Pope Julius I of Rome and the Council of Sardica (343), which had been convoked by Constans, the emperor of the West, Constans himself exerted pressure on Constantius II, and Athanasius was reinstated in 346.

Constantius II became sole emperor after the assassination of Constans in 350, and Constantius was free to enforce his pro-Arian policy. Synods and letters denouncing Nicaea and its strongest supporter led Athanasius to flee from arrest. From 356 to 361 he hid among the monks of Egypt, although he remained in control of the pro-Nicene clergy through an intelligence network. Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE recalled him in 361 and because of his popularity and success in unifying the pro-Nicene parties in Egypt he was forced to leave ALEXANDRIA in 363 until the death of Julian the same year permitted his return. The pro-Arian emperor Valens (364–378) exiled Athanasius in 365 but in 366 sought his support against the Goths who were sweep-

ing across North Africa, and he was reinstated on February 1. He remained bishop until his death in 373.

Athanasius's theology must be reconstructed from his works, which were composed for specific occasions such as sermons or specific problems such as commentaries, apologia, or polemical tracts particularly against the Arians. Athanasius described the qualities of God in apophatic terms (such as *inconceivable* and *uncreated*) and rejected anthropomorphism, which reflected the Alexandrine tradition and its debt to Platonist philosophy. God is the source of all creation by his will. God created and governs the world through his Logos with whom he is united from before all time. The Logos became united with humanity through the incarnation into an individual body. This incarnation was real, but Christ did not possess the human weaknesses (such as fear and passion). The incarnation was the union of the Logos with a human body; the Logos did not assume a human soul. Athanasius attempted to solve the problem of the human soul in the incarnated Logos through inclusions of this human soul and human "psychic" qualities in his definition of the human body.

See also GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; NEOPLATONISM; PHILO.

**Further reading:** Anatolios, Khaled. *Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought*. New York: Routledge, 1998; Drake, H. A. *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

## Athenian predemocracy

Ancient Athens underwent a series of governments and reforms before it became the well-known democratic city-state that epitomized the ideals and the culture of ancient Greece. During the Archaic Period, a historical time period lasting from 8000 to 1000 B.C.E., Athens was a city-state governed by a king, known as a *basis-leus*. Due to Athens's geographic position on a beautiful harbor surrounded by agriculturally rich lands, the city was able to resist invasion and to maintain and expand its influence. As Athens's trade and influence expanded, the king's powers diminished. The Areopagus, a council of Athenian nobles, slowly usurped the king's power. The council, called Areopagus for the name of the hill upon which they met, was filled with nobles who gained wealth and influence from controlling the city's wine and olive oil markets. With their in-

creased wealth they were able to exert more influence over Athens and the king.

Over time Athens became a de facto oligarchy, consisting of the Areopagus and nine elected rulers, known as archons, who were selected by the Areopagus. The archons tended to all matters of state but always had to receive approval for their decisions and actions from the Areopagus. Upon the end of their term archons became members of the Areopagus.

Since rule was controlled by the wealthy, Athenian government ineffectively addressed the issues facing commoners. Since members of the Areopagus dominated olive oil and wine production, everyday wheat farmers were unable to break into these markets. Eventually, wheat prices dropped as Athens began to trade for cheaper wheat, leaving Athenian farmers in debt and often in partial slavery.

With the city-state ripe for reform, prominent Athenians and members of the Areopagus agreed to appoint a dictator in order to reform the government and the economy. Together, they selected SOLON, a prominent Athenian lawmaker, poet, and former archon. Solon voided outstanding debts, freed many Athenians from slavery, banned slavery loans, and promoted wine and olive production by common farmers.

In the constitution that he created Solon established a four-tier class structure. The top two tiers, based on wealth, were able to serve on the Areopagus, while the third class was able to serve on an elected council of 400 citizens, if selected. This council effectively acted as a check upon the Areopagus. The lowest class was permitted to assemble and to elect some local leaders. Judicial courts were reformed, and trial by jury was introduced. As soon as the constitution was finalized Solon gave control of the government back to the Areopagus.

Although the overwhelming majority of Athenians praised his governmental reforms, Solon failed to improve the economy. Peisistratus, a military general, took control and began reforming not just the economy but also religion and culture. He supported Solon's constitution, as long as his supporters were chosen. Upon his death Peisistratus's son, Hippias, was unable to maintain control, and the Athenian ruler was overthrown by Sparta, whose government placed their own supporters in Athenian posts. The Spartans selected Isagoras to lead Athens, but he began disenfranchising too many Athenians, leading to rebellion.

Opposed by CLEISTHENES, Isagoras was eventually forced to flee. Cleisthenes enfranchised all free men in Athens and the surrounding areas and reformed the

government, allowing all male citizens to participate and to vote for a council made up of elected male citizens over the age of 30. In order to ensure that ambitious Athenians were controlled, the council was allowed to "ostracize" citizens by majority vote, banishing them from Athens for at least 10 years. With these reforms Cleisthenes effectively engineered Athens's transition to democracy.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES.

**Further reading:** Hooker, Richard. "Ancient Greece: Athens." Available online. URL:<http://www.wsu.edu> (September 2005); Sinclair, R. K. *Democracy and Participation in Athens*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

ARTHUR HOLST

## Augustine of Hippo (354–430 C.E.) bishop and theologian

Born in 354 C.E. to a pagan father and a Christian mother, (St.) Monica, in Tagaste in North Africa, Augustine received a classical education in rhetoric on the path to a career in law. During his studies at CARTHAGE in his 19th year, he read CICERO's *Hortensius* and was immediately converted to the pursuit of wisdom and truth for its own sake.

In this early period at Carthage he also became involved with the ideas of Mani and Manichaeanism, which taught that good and evil are primarily ontological realities, responsible for the unequal, tension-filled cosmos in which we live. However, the inability of their leaders to solve Augustine's problems eventually led the young teacher to distance himself from the group. Leaving the unruly students of Carthage in 383, Augustine attempted to teach at Rome only to abandon the capital in favor of a court position in Milan the following year.

This step brought him into contact with the bishop of Milan, AMBROSE, whose preaching was instrumental—along with the writings of the philosophers of NEOPLATONISM—in convincing Augustine of the truth of Christianity. He could not commit himself to the moral obligations of baptism, however, because of his inability to live a life of continence. His struggle for chastity is movingly told in his autobiographical work *Confessions*: Hearing of the heroic virtue of some contemporaries who abandoned everything to become monks, Augustine felt the same high call to absolute surrender to God but was held back by his attachment

to the flesh. However, in a moment of powerful grace which came from reading Romans 13:12–14, he was able to reject his sinful life and to choose a permanent life of chastity as a servant of God.

This decision led him first to receive baptism at Ambrose's hands (Easter 387 C.E.) and then to return to North Africa to establish a monastery in his native town of Tagaste. In 391 he was ordained a priest for the town of Hippo, followed by his consecration as bishop in 395. In his 35 years as bishop Augustine wrote numerous sermons, letters, and treatises that exhibit his penetrating grasp of the doctrines of the Catholic faith, his clear articulation of difficult problems, his charitable defense of the truth before adversaries and heretics, and his saintly life.

Augustine's theology was largely shaped by three HERESIES that he combated during his episcopacy: Manicheanism, Donatism, and Pelagianism. As a former Manichee himself, he was intent on challenging their dualistic notion of god: He argued that there is only one God, who is good and who created a good world. Evil is not a being opposed to God but a privation of the good, and therefore has no existence of itself. Physical evil is a physical imperfection whose causes are to be found in the material world. Moral evil is the result of a wrong use of free will. In fighting Donatism, Augustine dealt with an ingrained church division that held that the clerics of the church had themselves to be holy in order to perform validly the sacraments through which holiness was passed to the congregation.

In rebutting the Donatists, Augustine laid the foundation for sacramental theology for centuries to come. He insisted that the church on earth is made up of saints and sinners who struggle in the midst of temptations and trials to live a more perfect life. The church's holiness comes not from the holiness of her members but from Christ who is the head of the church. Christ imparts his holiness to the church through the sacraments, which are performed by the bishops and priests as ministers of Christ. In the sacraments Christ is the main agent, and the ministers are his hands and feet on earth, bringing the graces of the head to the members.

Augustine's last battle was in defense of grace. Pelagius, a British monk, believed that the vast majority of people were spiritually lazy. What they needed was to exert more willpower to overcome their vices and evil habits and to do good works. Pelagius denied that humans inherit original sin of their ancestor Adam, the legal guilt inherent in the sin, or its effects on the soul, namely a weakening of the will with an inclination toward sin. He believed that human nature, es-

sentially good, is capable of good and holy acts on its own. In his thought grace is only given by God as an aid to enlighten the mind in its discernment of good and evil.

For Augustine, whose own conversion was due to an immense grace of God, the attribution of goodness to the human will was tantamount to blasphemy. God and only God was holy. If humanity could accomplish any good at all, it was because God's grace—won through the merits of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH—was freely given to aid the will in choosing good. Grace strengthens the will by attracting it through innate love to what is truly good. Thus Christ's redemption not only remits the sins of one's past but continually graces the life of the believer in all his or her moral choices. In the midst of this long controversy (c. 415–430) Augustine also developed a theology of the fall of Adam, of original sin, and of predestination.

Augustine is probably best known for his *Confessions*, his autobiography up to the time of his return to North Africa, and for the *City of God*, undertaken as his response to both the pagans and the Christians after the sacking of Rome in 410, the former because they attributed it wrongly to divine retribution and the latter because their faith was shaken by the horrific event.

See also CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Augustine of Hippo. *Confessions*. New York: Knopf, 1998; Brown, P. St. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## **Aurelius, Marcus** (121–180 C.E.) Roman emperor

Marcus Aurelius was the only Roman philosopher king, author of *Meditations* and last of the “good” emperors. The PAX ROMANA began its slow collapse during his reign. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus was born on April 26 in 121 C.E. His father, praetor Marcus Annius Verus, died when Aurelius was only three months old, and his mother, Lucilla, inherited great family wealth. Emperor HADRIAN felt great empathy toward Aurelius, and Hadrian became his mentor. He made Aurelius a priest of the Salian order in 128. By age 12 Aurelius began to practice STOICISM and became extremely ascetic, scarcely sleeping and eating. Hadrian

controlled his education, having Rome's brightest citizens tutor Aurelius. He studied rhetoric and literature under M. Cornelius Fronto, who taught him Latin and remained a mentor for life. In 136 Aurelius met Apollonius the Stoic. Hadrian adopted Aurelius in 138, and he was given the title caesar in 139. Realizing his death was approaching, Hadrian arranged for the future emperor Antoninus Pius (86–161 C.E.) to adopt Aurelius along with Lucius Verus (130–169 C.E.), who became Aurelius's adoptive brother, making them joint heirs to succession.

Aurelius was betrothed in 135 to Annia Galeria Faustina, the younger daughter of Antoninus Pius and Annia Galeria Faustina the Elder. They married in 141 and had 14 children in 28 years of marriage. Only five of their children, one son, the weak and unstable Commodus (161–192), and four daughters would survive to adulthood.

By 147 Aurelius gained the power of *tribunicia potestas*, and he shared these powers with Pius. Aurelius was admitted to the Senate and held consulships in 140, 145, and 161 C.E., a rare honor for a private citizen. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus became co-emperors on March 7, 161. As co-emperors, Verus conducted battles in the east while Aurelius concentrated on fighting the ever-increasing threat from the German tribes in the north. Aurelius spent the majority of his reign fighting against the encroachment of the formidable German tribes that opposed Roman rule. Aurelius fought the Marcomanni and the Quadi, who settled in northern Italy, and the Parthenians, who moved into the east of the Roman Empire.

Marcus Aurelius instituted positive reform in various elements of Roman society, including changes to Roman civil law. Upon the advice of the revered jurist Quintus Ceridius Scaevola he abolished inhumane criminal laws and severe sentencing. In family law he alleviated the absolute patriarchy fathers held over their children. Aurelius granted women equal property rights and the right to receive property on behalf of children. He created the equivalent of modern-day trust companies enabled to distribute parental/family legacies at the age of majority. Realizing the value of children in Roman society, Aurelius endowed orphanages and hospitals. In the military he allowed promotion only through merit. During the numerous economic crises of his reign Aurelius refused to raise taxes and used his own wealth many times to cover the financial stress caused by continuous warfare. He also debased the silver coinage several times.

Returning legions serving under the command of Verus (who died in 169) brought plague to Rome from

the East. Excessive and repeated flooding destroyed the granaries, leading to starvation. Avidius Cassius (130–175), believing Aurelius was dead, unsuccessfully attempted to seize the throne in 175. He had little support once people realized Aurelius was still alive. His own men murdered him. Realizing the tragedy of Cassius's error, Aurelius would allow no harm to come to Cassius's family. The troops that Cassius had commanded once again brought plague back from the East.

During his campaigns Aurelius wrote his 12 books of *Meditations* in Greek, detailing his reflections of life. His wife Faustina died in 175 at age 45. By 177 he allowed the self-indulgent Commodus full participation in his government. Aurelius died on March 17, 180 C.E., in Vindobona, present-day Vienna, at age 58.

See also: ANTONINE EMPERORS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Briley, Antony. *Aurelius: A Biography*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987; Farquharson, Arthur S. L. *Aurelius: His Life and Times and His World*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1951; Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors: A Biographical Guide to the Rulers of Imperial Rome, 31 BC–AD 476*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985; Long, George. *The Meditations of Emperor Aurelius Antoninus*. New York: Avon, 1993.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Axial Age and cyclical theories

The Axial Age is known as a pivotal period in history that dates from 800 to 200 B.C.E. Coined in the 20th century by the philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), the *Axial Age* refers to the period of history when the following major figures, among others, emerged: CONFUCIUS; LAOZI; GAUTAMA BUDDHA; Zarathustra; the Jewish prophets Elijah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; the Greek thinkers Parmenides, Heraclitus, Plato, SOCRATES, and Archimedes; as well as the Greek tragedians. What the aforementioned individuals all have in common are their respective articulations of what have been called transcendental visions—articulations that differed greatly from the cosmological understandings of their time.

The various prophets, philosophers, and sages began to ask a rather common set of ultimate questions regarding the nature and origin of the cosmos and all its various components, including themselves and their respective communities. Their inquiries and experiences

# B



## Babylon, early period

Babylon was the most famous Mesopotamian city in antiquity, located along the Euphrates River, 55 miles southwest of modern Baghdad. Major excavations began in 1899 by the Germans and, in recent times, have been continued by Iraq's Department of Antiquities.

The city is first mentioned by the Agade king, Shar-kali-sharri (2217–2193 B.C.E.), who built two temples in Babylon. During the Ur III period (2112–2004 B.C.E.), various officials bore the title “governor of Babylon.” In the following centuries Mesopotamia experienced a large influx of west Semitic nomads, who settled into new cities or populated existing ones. The Sumerians designated these migrants as Martu (the west), from which the Akkadians derived Amurru (Amorites).

In 1894 B.C.E. the Amorite Sumu-abum founded a dynasty at Babylon. His successor, Sumu-la-el, extended Babylon’s power by capturing the city-states of Sippar, Kish, and Dilbat. Others, however, were also expanding their kingdoms. Shamshi-Adad I succeeded in conquering all of Upper Mesopotamia, including the important cities of Ashur and MARI. Rim-Sin of Larsa dominated the south, eventually annexing the longtime rival kingdom of Isin. The balance of power further depended on major city-states such as Eshnunna, Qatna, and Yamhad (Aleppo).

The Old Babylonian period began in 1792 B.C.E., with Hammurabi’s ascent to Babylon’s throne. He is perhaps best known for his Law Code, which contains

many parallels with laws in the Jewish scriptures. In Hammurabi’s first 28 years only three campaigns are recorded. Most of his time was spent building Babylon’s military defenses, economic infrastructure, and temples, as well as establishing diplomacy with foreign powers. After Shamshi-Adad died in 1782 B.C.E., Assyrian power slowly declined. Hammurabi, nonetheless, continued a defensive coalition with Rim-Sin, motivated by the proximity between their respective territories. He also formed friendly relations with Zimri-Lim, the native ruler who reclaimed Mari’s throne from Yasmah-Adad (Shamshi-Adad’s son).

From 1764 B.C.E. Hammurabi began to adopt a more aggressive military stance. A coalition of troops from ELAM, ASSYRIA, and Eshnunna was defeated by Babylon. The very next year, aided by Mari and Eshnunna, Hammurabi turned against his ally, Rim-Sin. With Larsa subjugated, the southern cities under its control capitulated to Babylon. For the first time since the great third-millennium empires, both SUMER and AKKAD were united under one kingdom. Conscious of the significance of this, Hammurabi took for himself Naram-Sin’s title “King of the Four Quarters (of the World).” Despite changes in ruling dynasties, Babylon would remain the region’s capital until the time of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Indeed, all of south Mesopotamia would later be named “Babylonia.”

Hammurabi’s ambition now turned toward Upper Mesopotamia. He betrayed Zimri-Lim and conquered Mari in 1761 B.C.E. The prologue to Hammurabi’s Law Code mentions that northern cities such as Ashur,

NINEVEH, and Tuttul were united under his control. Babylon's hegemony, however, did not survive Hammurabi for long. Barely a decade after his death his son Samsu-iluna was threatened by the invasion of the Kassites, whose homeland was in the Zagros Mountains. To the south the rise of the First Sealand dynasty encroached on Babylon's territories. For one and a half centuries Hammurabi's successors clung to a dynasty that was a mere shadow of its former glory. In 1595 B.C.E. Murshili I, king of the HITTITES, sacked Babylon, terminated its dynasty, and marked the end of the Old Babylonian period.

See also FERTILE CRESCENT; UR.

**Further reading:** Frayne, Douglas R. *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1990; Oates, Joan. *Babylon*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

## Babylon, later periods

Shortly after Murshili I, king of the HITTITES, sacked Babylon in 1595 B.C.E., political intrigue in the Hittite court compelled him to return to Hatti. Two contenders filled the sudden power vacuum in southern Mesopotamia. In the southern marshlands was a kingdom later known as the First Sealand dynasty. Its kings adopted names that suggest a proclivity to revive the ancient culture of SUMER. In the north were the Kassites, a tribal group originating from the Zagros Mountains. Already known from the time of Hammurabi, their dynasty lasted an unprecedented 576 years.

By c. 1475 B.C.E. the Kassites defeated the Sealand dynasty and ruled over all of Babylonia (southern Mesopotamia), which they called "Karduniash." The remarkable stability of Kassite rule consolidated the region's identity as a single territorial state (rather than individual city-states), a unity that persisted even after Kassite times. Although foreigners in origin, the Kassites assimilated well into the local culture, adopting native Babylonian customs, language, and religion. Several scholars have dated the Babylonian creation epic Enuma Elish to the Kassite period. This epic elevates Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, to the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon, thus reflecting the political primacy of the city of Babylon.

Under the Kassites, Babylonia became an international power. During c. 1500–1200 B.C.E. the rulers

whom PHARAOH regarded as equals were addressed as Great Kings and included the leaders of Babylonia, Hatti, MITTANI, ASSYRIA, Alashiya (Cyprus), and Arzawa (in southwest Anatolia). Their courts kept in contact by direct messenger service, using the Babylonian dialect as the lingua franca. During the reign of the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, so much gold was being imported from Egypt that, for the only time in Babylonian history, gold replaced silver as the standard for transactions. In turn, Babylonia was sought after for its trade in lapis lazuli and fine horses.

Assyria achieved its independence with the decline of Mitanni, and a succession of particularly capable kings ruled Assyria in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E.. Understandably, Babylon began to express concerns about the growing power of this near neighbor. The Kassite king implored the pharaoh not to recognize Assyrian independence and renewed alliances with the Hittites against this common enemy. Nonetheless, in less than a century the Assyrian monarch Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered Babylon and deposed King Kashtiliash IV. A series of puppet kings was appointed in Babylon, until local rebellion returned control to the Kassites. Eventually, however, the Elamites raided Babylonia and plundered such national treasures as Naram-Sin's Victory Stela, Hammurabi's Law Code, and even Marduk's cult statue from Babylon. In c. 1155 B.C.E., the Elamites deposed King Enlil-nadin-ahi, hence terminating the long-lasting Kassite dynasty.

The following period is noteworthy as the only time in Babylonian history when native dynasties ruled the region. Situated in the south, the city of Isin perhaps evaded Elamite devastation in northern Babylonia. A second Isin dynasty (1157–1026 B.C.E.) was quick to ascend Babylon's throne. The most famous of its rulers was Nebuchadnezzar I (r. 1124–03 B.C.E.), who was celebrated as a national hero for avenging ELAM's raid on Babylon and for recovering Marduk's cult statue. When the Babylonian Marduk-nadin-ahhe raided Ekallatum, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I retaliated by attacking Babylon and burning its royal palaces. Animosity between Assyria and Babylonia, however, was temporarily halted by the rise of a common threat: the ARAMEANS. These were a nomadic Semitic people in northern Syria, who ravaged Mesopotamia during times of famine, eventually contributing to the demise of the second Isin dynasty. Some scholars think that the civil upheavals narrated in the Epic of Erra describe conditions resulting from Aramaean invasions.

Northwest Babylonia was the area most debilitated by the Aramaeans, and perhaps it was natural

that native resurgence should now find its strength from the south. In any case the Second Sealand dynasty, 1026–1005 B.C.E., followed by the Kassite Bazi dynasty (1004–985 B.C.E.) and even an Elamite dynasty (984–979 B.C.E.). The few written records of 979–814 B.C.E. seem to indicate good relations between Babylonia and Assyria, which were ratified by treaty agreements.

During 814–811 B.C.E., however, the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad raided Babylonia, deported two Babylonian rulers, and reduced the region to a state of anarchy. When Assyria declined after his reign, the Chaldeans readily filled the power vacuum in Babylonia. These were a tribal people in southern Babylonia, who were more sedentary than the Aramaeans and had well assimilated into Babylonian culture. Under the leadership of Eriba-Marduk from the Bit-Yakin tribe, the Chaldeans seized Babylon from the Assyrians.

The ascension of Nabonassar (747–734 B.C.E.) marks the point when the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic canon begin their systematic account of Babylonian history. It is questionable whether this monarch himself was Chaldean, as he appeared in conflicts with both Aramaeans and Chaldeans. According to Hellenistic tradition, the Nabonassar Era was the time when astronomy became highly developed and the name Chaldean became synonymous with the avocation of astronomer. Nabonassar received strong military support from the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser III, and Babylonia may actually have come under vassalage to Assyria during this time. The growing power of the Neo-Assyrian empire resulted in a polarization of Babylonian opinion: Cities in northern Babylonia, closer to the Assyrian border, tended to be pro-Assyrian. By contrast, the Chaldeans and other southern tribes tended to be anti-Assyrian.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser saw a change in Assyrian policy toward Babylonia. With the exception of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Assyrian monarchs had traditionally restrained their efforts to control Babylonia, in deference to the latter's antiquity as the ancestral origin of Assyria's own culture and religion. In 729 B.C.E., however, Tiglath-pileser established a precedent by deposing the Babylonian king and uniting Assyria and Babylonia in a dual monarchy. Merodach-baladan II, an important sheikh from the Bit-Yakin tribe, took over Babylon after Shalmaneser V (Tiglath-pileser's son) died. This Chaldean had succeeded in buying an alliance with the Elamite army. He was to prove a recurring threat to Assyria and remembered as a hero of Babylonian nationalism. It was only after 710 B.C.E. that Sargon II re-



*By the first century B.C.E., most of the city of Babylon was in ruins. This basalt lion was photographed in 1932 in modern-day Iraq.*

asserted Assyrian supremacy and chased the Chaldeans back to the south.

The Assyrian king Sennacherib experimented with various methods of governing Babylonia. Shortly after his ascension to Babylon's throne in 703 B.C.E., he was ousted in another coup by Merodach-baladan. After defeating the Chaldean, Sennacherib tried to install a pro-Assyrian native on Babylon's throne. When this failed, the Assyrian king entrusted the control of Babylonia to his son, Ashur-nadin-shumi. Unfortunately, the crown prince was kidnapped by the Elamites, and a certain Nergal-ushezib replaced him. This Elamite stooge was, in turn, replaced by Mushezib-Marduk, a ruler of the Bit-Dakkuri tribe. In 689 B.C.E. Sennacherib razed Babylon, plundered its temples, and removed Marduk's cult statue to Assyria.

Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) preferred a strategy of conciliation. He attained a measure of peace with the Babylonians by rebuilding Babylon and undoing his father's damage. At his death Marduk's statue was returned to Babylon, and the empire was divided between two sons: Ashurbanipal in Assyria and Shamash-shuma-ukin in Babylonia. Civil war, however, soon broke out between the two kingdoms. By 648 B.C.E. the Assyrians were once again in control of Babylon. Moreover, numerous tablets and writing boards were bought or confiscated from Babylonian scholars to stock Ashurbanipal's library at NINEVEH. Among the texts were literary masterpieces such as the *Epic of GILGAMESH* and the Babylonian creation epic (*Enuma Elish*).

satrap (governor) of Bactria, Bessus, fought with Darius III against Alexander at the Battle of Guagamela, then fled with the Persian ruler. Bessus eventually killed Darius III and tried to rally his army against Alexander. After Alexander's conquest of Bactria in 328 B.C.E. Bessus was maimed and crucified.

Upon Alexander's death only five years later, Bactria—like most of his kingdom—endured civil war and strife, eventually becoming part of the Seleucid Empire set up by Alexander's military heir, Seleucus I, and his son, Antiochus I. Greek cities with temples and GYMNASIUMS were built, and mints were established. Likely, the indigenous tribes were nomadic, probably ancestors of the Tajik people.

They coexisted with the Greeks. In 255 B.C.E. Diodotus, satrap of Bactria, overthrew the Seleucids and established his own dynasty, the Diodotids. They were in turn overthrown by Euthydemus I and his descendants, the Euthydemids.

The Seleucids attempted a reconquest, described by the Greek historian Polybius, which ended in 206 B.C.E. with a marriage between the Bactrian king's son, Demetrius, and a daughter of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus III. At about the same time Sogdiana in the north became independent of Bactria.

When he assumed the Bactrian throne around 185 B.C.E., Demetrius I conquered parts of Iran, Pakistan, Punjab, and northern India. Demetrius I was killed by Eucratides, who may have been a cousin of the Seleucids. Eucratides came out the victor in a civil war between Bactria and the recently conquered Bactrian provinces in India. The last Greek ruler of Bactria was probably a descendant of Eucratides named Heliocles, who was driven away by nomadic tribes from the north and east. These tribes then absorbed Bactria into their KUSHAN EMPIRE. Demetrius I's Indo-Greek provinces remained independent for another 140 years, until 10 C.E.

Under the Kushans, Bactria was known as Tokharistan, after the Western name (Tocharian) of the Yuezhi nomads, who had emerged from central China centuries before. In the third century C.E. the Sassanids of Persia gained control. Several other changes in ownership took place until Arabs conquered the land in the seventh century C.E.

See also SOGDIANS; ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Further Reading:** Holt, Frank L. "A History in Silver and Gold." *Saudi Aramco World* (May/June 1994); ———. *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999; Tarn, W. W. *The*

*Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951.

VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

## Bamiyan Valley

The modern-day Bamiyan Valley was part of ancient Indian culture. It is one of the 34 provinces of modern-day Afghanistan and lies in the geographic center of the country. Its capital city is also called Bamiyan. Bamiyan became one of the largest cities along the SILK ROAD. Before the rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E., central Afghanistan thrived from the Silk Road merchants who passed through the valley on their way to trade with the Roman Empire, China, and India. The Bamiyan Valley provided an important passageway for caravans and merchants attempting to cross the Hindu Kush mountain range. Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang), a Chinese monk traveling through the valley in 634 C.E., reported that it contained a large population and was a center of Buddhist thought and theology. He described specifically the events and rituals he witnessed there.

As a result Bamiyan city became the center of a melting pot of cultures and religious influences. In Bamiyan elements of Greek, Persian, and Buddhist cultural influences merged into a new expression known as Greco-Buddhist art. Buddhism spread outside India along the Silk Road to Bamiyan city where it thrived in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. A Buddhist monastery was founded, along with many sculptures and carvings including several giant Buddha statues carved along the cliffs overlooking Bamiyan Valley. During the third and fourth centuries C.E. and before the introduction of Islam to this region, a large Buddhist colony inhabited the valley. At one time more than 1,000 monks lived and prayed there in caves carved into the cliffs.

From the second century C.E. until the introduction of Islam, a period of approximately five centuries, Bamiyan Valley was a western Buddhist cultural center. Islam overtook the region and dominated the valley for hundreds of years, but the statues remained until March 2001 when the Taliban in Afghanistan destroyed them with explosives. Historians marveled at their enormous size, some more than 180 feet in height, which were probably the largest representations of Buddha in the world at the time of their creation.

Bamiyan Valley was the most far-flung colony of Buddhism that took root in India with a substantially large following. The artistic and architectural remains

of Bamiyan Valley and its importance as a Buddhist center on the Silk Road, are outstanding representations of the complex combination of Indian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Sassanian ancient cultural influences.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; GANDHARA; HELLENISTIC ART.

**Further reading:** Baker, Piers H. B., and Allchin, F. Raymond. *Shahr-I Zohak and the History of the Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan*. Ankara, Turkey: B.A.R. International Series, 1991; Dupree, Nancy Hatch. *The Valley of Bamiyan*. Afghan Tourist Organization, 1967; Holt, Frank L. *Discovering the Lost History of Ancient Afghanistan (Hellenistic Bactria)*. Ancient World, 1984; Paynakh, Rahman. *Afghanistan (Ancient Aryana): Brief Review of Political and Cultural History and the Modern Development of the Country*. Unpublished, 1959; Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra. *Political History of Ancient India, from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

STEVEN NAPIER

## Ban Biao (Pan Piao)

(3–54 C.E.) historian

The Ban family was famous during the first century of the Common Era under the Eastern HAN DYNASTY in China for producing famous historians (one of them the most famous female historian and intellectual in ancient China) and a great general. Ban Biao, the father, began writing a monumental history titled the *Hanshu (Han-shu)*, *Book of Han or History of the Former Han Dynasty*. It was commissioned and produced under court patronage and was the first historical work devoted to a dynasty (the Western Han, 202 B.C.E.–23 C.E.). Although Ban Biao died long before its completion, his essay on sovereignty, which was included in the work, became a basic document on political ideas. However, most of the 100 chapters (divided into 10 volumes) of this work belonged to his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku, 32–92 C.E.). His younger sister Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao, c. 48–116 C.E.) finished the history. She was the outstanding female intellectual in early imperial China.

The classic historical work followed the organizational pattern set by the first great Chinese historian, SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEH), who wrote the *Shiji (Shih-chi)*, or *Records of the Historian*, but applied to events of a single dynastic period. Its 100 chapters were organized into separate sections consisting of 12 chapters of basic annals, eight of chronological tables, 10 of trea-

tises, and 70 of biographies and bibliography. Although critics think the prose style of this work is drier and less elegant than Sima Qian's work, subsequent historians have admired the two and have aspired to follow their examples.

Ban Zhao was educated at home, married, had children, and was widowed young. In addition to completing her father and brother's unfinished history, she was often summoned to the palace by the emperor to lecture to the empress and ladies of the court. She lectured on classical writings, history, astronomy, and mathematics. She became adviser to the empress regent and was so influential that the empress fired her own powerful brother on the basis of Ban Zhao's memorial indicting him. The same empress regent was so saddened by Ban Zhao's death that she ordered the court into mourning. Ban Zhao wrote poetry, edited, and added to a first-century C.E. work titled *Biographies of Eminent Women* and a short book of seven chapters titled *Lessons for Women* on proper behavior for ladies that was intended for her young daughters but became widely read and circulated during her lifetime and later. She was the first thinker to formulate a complete statement on feminine ethics and the idea of relative ethics. Significantly, she advocated giving girls an education up to the age of 15 to ensure intellectual compatibility between husbands and wives. After her death her daughter-in-law compiled and published her collected writing, some, including poetry and memorials, have survived.

The fourth member of this distinguished family was Ban Chao (Pan Ch'ao, 32–102 C.E.), who was the twin brother of Ban Gu. A man of action who distinguished himself as a young officer, Ban Chao was a key general who established Chinese supremacy in modern Chinese Turkestan across to Central Asia. In 92 C.E. he was appointed protector-general of the Western Regions (the Chinese name for Central Asia). As both general and diplomat he supervised affairs and protected Chinese interests in the oasis states and guarded commerce along the SILK ROAD for three decades.

In 97 C.E. he led an army all the way to the Caspian Sea and sent forward units further west that reached either the Black Sea or the Persian Gulf before turning back. In the same year he also sent an officer under his command to proceed to Da Qin (Ta Ch'in), the Chinese name for the Roman Empire. But the mission was intercepted in Parthia (modern Iran) and forbidden to proceed further. Parthia lay along the Silk Road between China and Rome and benefited from trade between the two empires. It naturally wanted to thwart any direct relations between China and Rome. As the author of

the *Hou Hanshu* (*Hou Han-shu*), or *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, wrote:

"During the Han period, however, Chang Ch'ien . . . and Pan Ch'ao . . . eventually succeeded in carrying out expansion to the far west and in bringing foreign territories into submission. Overawed by military strength and attracted by wealth, none [of the rulers of the states of the Western Regions presented] strange local products as tribute and his loved sons as hostages . . . Therefore . . . the command of the protector-general was established to exercise general authority. Those who were submissive from the very beginning received money and official seals as imperial gifts, but those who surrendered later were taken to the capital to receive punishment. Agricultural garrisons were set up in fertile fields and post stations built along the main highways. Messengers and interpreters traveled without cessation, and barbarian merchants and peddlers came to the border for trade everyday."

After three decades of service in Central Asia, for which he had been elevated to the rank of marquis, the aged general asked to retire and returned to the capital city, LUOYANG (LOYANG), where he died a month later.

**Further reading:** Dubs, Homer H. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku, a Critical Translation with Annotations*. Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1938–55; Grousset, René. *The Empire of the Steppes, A History of Central Asia*. Trans. by Naomi Walford. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994; Swann, Nancy Lee. *Pan Chao, Foremost Woman Scholar of China, First Century A.D.* New York: Century, 1932; Twitchett, Denis, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Volume I, The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Baruch

(Sixth century B.C.E.) *religious scribe and prophet*

The Bible portrays "Baruch, son of Neriah" as the companion and secretary to Jeremiah, the famous prophet at the time of the Babylonian deportation of Judah (587 B.C.E.). His dedicated service to Jeremiah brought him into the same ignominy and hardship as his master, though most likely he was born an aristocrat and received the benefit of education. He compiled two scrolls of prophecies, one for the king of Judah, which was burned later, and the other for the possession of Jer-

emiah. This latter scroll may be the core of the biblical book of Jeremiah. Baruch's role as Jeremiah's scribe may be why he is cited as author in several sequels to the book of Jeremiah. When Jeremiah was forced to flee from Jerusalem to Egypt (582 B.C.E.) in the aftermath of the Babylonian invasion, Baruch accompanied him. This is the last mentioned abode for Baruch in the Hebrew Bible, though Jeremiah elsewhere in his book promises that Baruch would survive the general turmoil but live the life of a refugee.

According to Christian biblical scholar JEROME, Baruch shared the fate of Jeremiah, who presumably died in Egypt. Later Jewish sources disagree. Rabbinic authorities assume that Baruch went to Babylon. It is here that the deuterocanonical book of Baruch (accepted by Catholic and Orthodox Christians) locates him. This book consists of several distinct parts and is probably an assortment of writings intended to encourage the scattered people of Israel in the centuries following the Babylonian invasion. An even later book called Second Baruch or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (parts of which are accepted by the Syriac Christians) shows the scribe speaking, praying, and writing mainly in the environs of Jerusalem just as the Babylonians are on the verge of conquering Jerusalem.

In this text Baruch overshadows his master. He commands Jeremiah to depart and encourage the exiles in Babylon. Afterward the stage is empty except for Baruch, who dominates the rest of the book with his visions, prayers, and instructions. The focus of Baruch's ministry in Jerusalem is the training of the surviving elders, but he increasingly addresses larger audiences, first the remaining residents of the city and then the people scattered in the Diaspora. The latter group he reaches through a letter that concludes the book.

The tradition of Baruch survived outside the rabbinic Jewish tradition. Spurious books (parts of books) attributed to Baruch have appeared in many languages, including Latin, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic. Other names for Baruch in Hebrew are Berechiah and Barachel. His name has been found on a clay seal impression, or *bulla*, reading, "[belonging] to Berechiah, son of Neriah, the scribe," a relatively rare reference to a biblical person from a contemporary non-biblical source.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; PROPHETS; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Whitters, Mark F. *The Epistle of Second Baruch*. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2008; Wright,

J. E. Baruch Ben Neriah: *From Biblical Scribe to Apocalyptic Seer*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## **Basil the Great**

(c. fourth century C.E.) *religious leader*

Basil attained a reputation in the early church for his efforts in liturgy, monasticism, and doctrine. The honors extended to him single him out among the greatest Christian teachers of his age: one of the “Three Holy Hierarchs” (the others are John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzus), one of the three “Cappadocian Fathers” (the others are his brother Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzus), and generally referred to as Basil the Great. Among the achievements credited to him are the Liturgy of St. Basil (commonly used in GREEK CHURCH services), the *Philokalia* (spiritual sayings of ORIGEN, compiled by Basil and Gregory Nazianzus), and the Rule of Basil (the constitution followed by many Orthodox monasteries), to say nothing of his untiring efforts to unite Greek culture with the Christian Church emerging from the darkness of persecution and isolation of Semitic origins.

He was born into a wealthy and devout Christian family in Pontus (modern Kayseri, Turkey) around 330 C.E. His privileged status allowed him to receive the best classical education: He sat at the feet of Libanius, a celebrated teacher of NEOPLATONISM in CONSTANTINOPLE and rubbed shoulders with the likes of JULIAN THE APOSTATE. His family, however, did not cling to their social status for they became leaders in the ascetical movement, a trend among Christians to deny themselves worldly comfort and status in order to return to spiritual priorities. Consequently, his grandmother Macrina, his parents Basil and Emilia, his sister Macrina, and his younger brothers Gregory and Peter all are venerated as saints by Christians. Though Basil had the learning of a scholar, he chose the ascetical life. His upbringing, the influence of an early teacher, and his pilgrimages to the Holy Land induced him to start his own community in Cappadocia. His brilliant friend Gregory Nazianzus and many others joined Basil in this life, attracted by young Basil’s zeal and spiritual reflection.

The new way of life begun by Basil was not intended for the spiritually elite or mystical individual. Rather Basil wanted it for all Christians, not just monks. The ideals

included corporate and private prayer, obedience to a spiritual superior, voluntary poverty, charitable outreach, and manual labor. In spite of its ascetical origins, community life was valued more than solitary life, and moderation, more than extreme individual exercises. These ideas became the core of the Rule of Basil, and they had a profound effect on BENEDICT and the Benedictines, the LATIN CHURCH counterpart to Greek monasticism.

He became bishop in 370 and so had to divide his time between monastic and more active life. He became influential among his pastoral charges for his social programs and charitable work. For example, he built a complex of buildings to serve the sick, the poor, the pilgrims, and strangers, thus he became the champion of the common person. Even the emperor Valens, an advocate for ARIANISM and not Orthodox Christianity, supported Basil’s outreach to the disadvantaged of his region. Toward the end of his life Basil became more and more absorbed in ecclesial disputes. He worked hard at building unity between the Greek and Latin Churches, as well as giving direction to theological discussions on the nature of the Trinity and the divinity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. He died in 379 C.E.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; MONASTICISM; PILGRIMAGE.

**Further reading:** Chadwick, Henry. *The Early Church*. New York: Penguin, 1990; Smith, Richard Travers. *St. Basil the Great*. New York: Kessinger Publishing, 2003.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## **Benedict**

(c. 480–c. 547 C.E.) *religious leader*

Benedict was born in Norcia, Italy. What is known of this Christian hero is drawn almost entirely from his biographer, (St.) GREGORY THE GREAT, who records the life and miracles of the great monastic founder in the second book of his *Dialogues*. Although Benedict began higher studies at Rome, the depraved lives of his fellow students led him to abandon the city and to seek solitude in the nearby mountains of Subiaco. For three years he lived in a cave as a hermit until disciples came and a community eventually formed around him. Gregory relates that the community grew into 12 monasteries of 12 monks each.

The jealousy of a neighboring priest, however, forced Benedict to leave Subiaco and to establish a monastery at Monte Cassino (c. 523 C.E.). The hill on which this monastery was established is at a strategically impor-

tant position beside the road that leads from Rome to Naples. Since no one could have occupied such a site without government approval, Benedict must have had connections at court. His fame also spread to the invading barbarians, as we learn from the story of his meeting with Totilla, the king of the Goths, who stopped to visit the man of God on his way to sack Rome. Totilla was impressed by the holiness and prophetic gifts of the abbot, which may account for his subsequent entrance into the Eternal City without destroying it. When Benedict first took possession of Monte Cassino, he found at the summit a temple to Apollo, whom the local inhabitants at the foot of the mountain were still worshipping. The holy abbot tore down the altar to Apollo, turned the temple into a chapel dedicated to the famous saint Martin, and converted the local inhabitants.

Gregory also relates that Benedict had a sister, (St.) Scholastica, who—also consecrated to virginity—would visit him once a year. When she died, Benedict laid his sister to rest in a tomb he had prepared for himself and which he would soon (within 40 days) come to share with her in death (c. 547). Benedict's greatest gift to posterity is his Rule, which outlines a way of life founded on the Holy Scriptures and on several monastic rules prior to Benedict. Benedict's life spanned a time of political upheaval in Italy, as the barbarian tribes slowly gained control of the peninsula. Within 30 years of his death the Lombards destroyed Monte Cassino. (The monastery would undergo several destructions and rebuildings in its history, down to a famous World War II bombing and subsequent reconstruction.)

The Rule of St. Benedict was followed in other monasteries at first in a mixed form, alongside other monastic rules. It began, however, slowly to supersede other rules, due primarily to its intrinsic wisdom and moderation but also to its relation to Gregory the Great and thus to Rome and to the authority of the pope. This was the case in England, which has the oldest extant copy of the Rule dating to the first half of the eighth century. And it was also an Anglo-Saxon, the missionary Boniface, who promoted the Rule of St. Benedict in the Frankish kingdom at the “German Council” of 743 on the continent. A year later Boniface founded the abbey of Fulda in Bavaria, which is the first known abbey to follow only the Rule of St. Benedict.

Its rise to universal prominence, however, was the work of Benedict of Aniane who convinced Emperor Charlemagne—who was looking for a way to unify and reform the monasteries of his realm—that Benedict's Rule was the most balanced and moderate of all the existing rules, capable of being adapted by each monastic

house, and had in its commitment to the scriptures and the liturgy the cultural element Charlemagne needed for his reform. The emperor and his successor, Louis the Pious, then imposed the Rule of St. Benedict on all the monasteries (c. 816). Benedictine monasteries flourished and spread throughout the world.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM; ROME'S FALL.

**Further reading:** Gregory the Great. *Dialogues*. Trans. by *The Fathers of the Church*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983; Kessler, Sister Ann, O.S.B. *Benedictine Men and Women of Courage: Roots and History*. Sioux Falls, SD: Pine Hill Press, 1996.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## Bhagavad Gita

The Bhagavad Gita is regarded as one of the most beautiful and influential of Hindu poems. The translation from SANSKRIT is the “Song of God.” It forms part of chapter 6 of the *MAHABHARATA* (epic of the Bharata dynasty). It was probably written in the first–second century C.E., which is later than that of the remainder of the *Mahabharata* and has an unknown author or authors. It consists of 18 verse chapters with a total of 700 verses in the Sanskrit language, each of which consists of 32 syllables. As part of one of the great epics of Indian thought expressed in the Sanskrit language (together with the *RAMAYANA*), the Bhagavad Gita has gone on to inspire a large number of adaptations to contemporaneous settings in both oral and written forms. Its characters have become deeply loved by millions, many of whom consider them to be exemplars for everyday action.

The subject matter of the Bhagavad Gita is a lengthy conversation between Prince Arjuna, an important figure in the *Mahabharata*, and Krishna, who is his charioteer and also the incarnation of the god Vishnu on Earth. Krishna uses the opportunity to expound on many important theological topics for the education of both Arjuna and the audience. The exposition is centered on, but not limited to, the concept of duty and the role that humankind is expected to play in the world. Arjuna, at the moment when the dialogue begins, is standing in the ranks of soldiers about to stage the crucial battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. He is unsure whether the forthcoming carnage is worthwhile and whether he should throw down his weapons

and surrender himself to fate. Krishna advises him that it is appropriate for man to take part in a virtuous enterprise being mindful of God and without seeking earthly rewards or power as the price for participation.

The lesson expands into the ways in which humanity can know and understand God. The Hindu concept of mystic union with God is presented as a threefold approach to transcendence, through merging with the immanent spirit of the universe, through understanding God as the ultimate state of nature, and through the transcendence of the human spirit.

The physical world, in which Krishna is addressing Arjuna, and Arjuna's interaction with the universe are both real and also a reflection of the spiritual realm in which he is expected to undertake his duties. Lord Krishna speaks of the variety of Yogas, which are the forms of unity between self and the universe that are the true goal of the individual. The role of the individual is to become closer to union with the universe through yogic practices and meditation.

Many cogent commentaries on the work have added to the significance of the Bhagavad Gita. One of the most well known is that provided by Mohandas Gandhi, who provided a series of talks to followers over a period of some months in 1926. He used the poem to enthuse his audience with the delights and fulfillment to be found in the true performance of duty. Many Western scholars and academics have also found inspiration in the work, including Carl Jung, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Aldous Huxley, and Hermann Hesse. It continues to have an important inspirational influence on believers in yogic faiths and for those who wish to continue the Indian tradition of argumentative discourse in the search for truth.

See also **HINDU PHILOSOPHY**.

**Further reading:** Dass, Ram. *Paths to God: Living the Bhagavad Gita*. New York: Harmony, 2004; Gandhi, Mohandas. *The Bhagavad Gita According to Mahatma Gandhi*. Edited by John Strohmeier. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Hills Books, 2000; Mascaro, Juan, trans. *Bhagavad Gita*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Sen, Amartya. "Argument and History." *New Republic* (v.233/6, 2005).

JOHN WALSH

## Bible translations

There are two major parts to the Bible: the Jewish scriptures, or Tanakh (largely identical to the Christian Old Testament), and the New Testament (NT), the distinc-

tively Christian scriptures. The ancient texts of these two parts developed in different ways, into the Hebrew Bible and New Testament.

### HEBREW BIBLE

The text of the Bewish Bible, which includes both Hebrew and a little Aramaic, is preserved chiefly in the Masoretic text (MT), a product of the mainstream ancient Judaism. The Hebrew Bible attained its final form sometime in the first or second century C.E., but the MT was not recorded until about 1,000 years later. The MT includes the consonants with which Hebrew and Aramaic are primarily recorded, along with a set of markers or diacritical signs indicating the vowels and the singing pattern associated with each word. The MT reflects liturgical usage, both as a sung text and in its use of various euphemisms and clarifying notes.

During the European Renaissance, with its emphasis on the need to return to the sources of learning and culture, other forms of the Hebrew text began to be studied, and this study has continued to the present time. Renaissance scholars realized that the version of the Pentateuch used in the tiny Samaritan religious communities in the Holy Land was an independent ancient witness to part of the Hebrew Bible. (A few of the differences between the MT and the Sam are the result of doctrinal changes introduced by the Samaritans.) In the middle of the 20th century a series of caves in QUMRAN near the Dead Sea were found to contain a large number of scrolls (the Dead Sea Scrolls, or DSS), many of them containing parts of the Bible. Some of the Qumran texts were identical to the MT, and some, witness to a slightly different text. The DSS biblical text is sometimes identical to that behind the Septuagint.

The ancient versions or translations fall into two groups. One group includes those that are based entirely or in part on a Hebrew text. These are the Greek (Septuagint, or LXX), the Latin (Vulgate), the Targums, and the Syriac (Peshitta). All other ancient versions are daughter versions of one of these. The versions used in the east are based on the Greek; these include various translations in Coptic, Classical Ethiopic or Geez, Armenian, and Georgian. Nearly all the pre-Reformation European versions are based on the Vulgate.

Of the four major ancient versions, the Septuagint is the most important. It is the oldest and most independent; both the Vulgate and the Peshitta are based on the Hebrew text but show some familiarity with the Septuagint. Bilingualism, the regular use of two (or more) languages by one person, was common in the ancient world, among merchants, scribes, and even com-

mon people. The bilingual presentation of a single text is found throughout the ancient Near East. There are bilingual teaching texts from ancient Mesopotamia and Anatolia; there are bilingual public inscriptions from every corner of the Near East, including Egypt. The distinctive feature of the Septuagint is that it is the earliest translation that is very long (thousands of times longer than any other ancient translation), that is purely religious in orientation (rather than educational or propagandistic), and that can claim to be literary.

The translation of the Septuagint began in the third century B.C.E. A legend preserved in various forms, including the Letter of Aristaeus, attributes the work to the desire of the Greek PTOLEMIES of Egypt to have a complete library of all world thought and literature. This legend also claims that the work was done under direct divine inspiration. Scholars believe rather that Jews undertook the work for Jews, for use in the liturgy. The portion translated in the third century C.E. was the Pentateuch, consisting of the five books of MOSES (also known as the TORAH), and the term *Septuagint* strictly applies to this portion only. (Thus some scholars use the term *Old Greek* for the rest of the ancient translation.) After the rise of Christianity, which largely used the Septuagint in worship, Jews prepared various revised versions of it for their own special use. These revisions, associated with the scholars Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, are closer to the Hebrew than the Septuagint proper, sometimes so close that they are unintelligible in Greek. ORIGEN collected all these Greek versions in his Hexapla.

The Christian community in western Europe developed out of the earlier, Eastern community and took over its scripture in a direct translation from the Septuagint. (In the GREEK CHURCH the LXX is still the officially used version of the Old Testament.) This direct translation, the Old Latin, was largely replaced by the Vulgate translation of JEROME. Scholars consult the surviving portions of the Old Latin as a witness to the Septuagint and for clues to the earliest LATIN CHURCH understanding and use of scripture. The language culturally closest to ancient Hebrew was Aramaic, which was the common language of the ancient Near East for more than a millennium, from the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.E. until the rise of Islam. There are various ancient Aramaic translations of the Bible. Those made by and for Jews are called the Targums. They are written in literary forms of Aramaic that would have been understood throughout the Jewish world prior to the rise of Islam. There are many Targums (translations), and some of the later Targums used elaborate paraphrases and offer extensive additions to the text. The chief form of Aramaic used among Christians

is Syriac, and the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible is known as the Peshitta, or Simple, text. Some portions of the Peshitta reflect knowledge not only of the Hebrew Bible but also of the Targums.

## NEW TESTAMENT

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, which is completely attested in only one form, the Greek New Testament is attested in many forms, in thousands of ancient and medieval manuscripts. The study of these manuscripts began with the 16th-century Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus, who attempted to find the best form of the text by looking for the one most commonly used. Now scholars identify the oldest text (rather than the most common) as the best form. From Erasmus's work emerged the earliest NT Greek text developed after the Reformation. This was based largely on minuscule manuscripts (late antique and medieval texts written with lower-case letters). This text, the basis of the NT in the King James Version, is known as the *textus receptus* and has largely been superseded by later textual study.

The earliest witnesses to the Greek NT include extensive quotations in the works of the fathers of the church and early translations. Translations into Syriac and Latin go back to the second century C.E.; the Syriac traditions include both the Diatessaron (a harmony of all four Gospels) as well as translations of the separate Gospels. Coptic translations emerge in the third century C.E.; the earliest are in the Sahidic dialect. Other ancient versions (Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Old Church Slavonic) are sometimes of value for the text traditions.

The best large texts of the Greek are uncial manuscripts (those written entirely in capital letters), dating to the fourth and fifth centuries. The intensive study of these during the 17th–19th centuries led to the recognition of various families of texts, into which individual manuscripts can be grouped. The Byzantine manuscript group provided the basis for the *textus receptus*, but this is inferior to the Alexandrian and Caesarean groups, which have been the basis for NT editions and translations since the late 19th century. The most important uncials, most of which are complete Bibles and thus include the LXX as well as the NT, are Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, from the fourth century C.E., and Alexandrinus and Bezae, from the fifth century C.E.

During the late 19th and 20th centuries about 100 NT papyri were discovered. These were nearly all older than the uncials and thus closer to the time of the original composition of the NT. They generally confirmed the patterns of manuscript distribution proposed during the 19th century. The papyri can be dated to the

second and third centuries C.E. None can be taken as identical to the autograph of any part of the NT; all show various changes.

See also ARAMEANS; ARMENIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; GEORGIA, ANCIENT; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Barrera, Julio Trebolle. *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible*. Trans. by W. G. E. Watson. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998; Metzger, Bruce M. *The Canon of the New Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987.

M. O'CONNOR

## Boethius

(480–c. 526 C.E.) *philosopher*

Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius was a statesman and philosopher during the reign of THEODORIC, Ostrogothic emperor of Rome. Boethius had a good classical education (educated in Athens and ALEXANDRIA) and was particularly influenced by NEOPLATONISM, ARISTOTLE and Aristotelianism, and STOICISM. He was in the midst of a project to translate and even unite Aristotle and Plato when he broke off his academic career in order to serve as an imperial consul in 510 C.E.

Power had shifted away from Italy to CONSTANTINOPLE, leaving the Italian emperor a weak rival. When Boethius was unfairly condemned for a conspiracy allied with the Constantinople authorities, he was imprisoned for a couple of years and then executed sometime between 524 and 526.

Because his writings were circulated and appreciated by many later intellectuals, Boethius has been called the pioneer of medieval thought and founder of the early Middle Ages. His knowledge of Greek made him a natural link with Greco-Roman civilization at a time when the West was losing its knowledge of Greek. His translation of Aristotle was one of the few that the West had until the days of Thomas Aquinas. His attempts to utilize Aristotle for the advantage of theology were 550 years ahead of the Scholastics. He composed *Consolation of Philosophy* while he brooded and waited for his execution in prison. He also wrote on true education (trivium and quadrivium), translations of Porphyry, and commentaries on CICERO, and his own treatises on logic, mathematics, and theology. Although questions have been raised about the authorship of several of his

works and the depth of his Christian convictions, strong evidence for his sympathies with the faith appear in five compositions (the *Opuscula sacra*, or *Theological Tractates*) written before 520. All these works show fresh vocabulary and borrowing of Greek philosophies, perhaps even excelling the ideas of AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO. The tract *De fide catholica* (*On the Catholic Faith*) tells of his objections to ARIANISM, the Sabellians, and Mani and the Manichaeans, while it confirms the ecclesial teachings. Because of its clear-cut support for the LATIN CHURCH, its authorship is often called into question.

*Consolation of Philosophy* was mandatory reading for every respectable intellectual for the next 1,000 years after Boethius. He imagines Lady Philosophy, the heroine of such religious works as the biblical book of Proverbs, consoling him in his dark night of the philosophical soul. She helps him to realize the fickleness of success and the faithfulness of divine providence. She tells him that true happiness flows from being at peace with God. If success will not crown present virtuous efforts, the balance will be restored in the next life. God stands outside of time and is present at all of our time (past, present, and future) and offers eternal life simultaneously without impeding our free will to choose virtue.

Though *Consolation* does not bring up such Christian mysteries as the incarnation, the crucifixion, and the resurrection, its fundamental premises are in line with orthodox Christian teaching. It is anchored in Augustinian foundations and may subtly show biblical and liturgical allusions.

Historians view *Consolation*, together with the *Opuscula sacra*, as evidence that Boethius turned toward religion and particularly the Christian faith as he got older. He is the first one to use the word *theology* as a technical Christian term denoting the study of the nature of God.

Because the emperor that he served was an Arian, Boethius was regarded as a Christian martyr and in Italy especially is regarded as a Catholic saint. His writings were some of the first translations made into the “vulgar” tongues (Anglo-Saxon, German, Greek, and French—all before 1300), and many great scholars of the Middle Ages continued to debate his arguments up until the time of Thomas Aquinas.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MARTYROLOGIES; WISDOM LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Green, Richard H. *The Consolation of Philosophy: Boethius*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1962.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Book of the Dead

The Egyptian Book of the Dead is a collection of texts that were used to accompany the souls of corpses into the afterlife and assist them in finding a satisfactory resting place. It should be distinguished from the Tibetan Book of the Dead, which is a Vajrayana Buddhist set of texts aimed at achieving personal enlightenment. The Egyptians were the first people to conceive of an afterlife in which human souls were judged on a primarily moralistic basis rather than on the basis of adherence to some particular religious dogma, which was more common in later peoples.

In Egyptian belief the soul progresses into the presence of the god of the dead, Osiris, when its heart is measured against the scales of truth (*maat*). If found wanting, the Eater of the Dead (Am-mut) awaits; if found to be virtuous, then the soul enters a place where eternal bliss awaits. Both coffin texts and pyramid texts were used to assist the soul to reach the court of Osiris and to pass through the truth-testing process. These texts might be inscribed onto stone in the tomb or sarcophagus, painted onto coffins, or else written onto papyrus to accompany the corpse. A total of some 200 different verses or chapters of this sort have been discovered and have been combined to make the Book of the Dead. However, no individual cache of texts has been found that contains all of the verses, and Egyptian thinkers conceived of no official canon of the Book of the Dead. Instead, individual bodies were accompanied by personalized selections of texts determined on a case-by-case basis. Sufficiently wealthy or powerful individuals could have new verses or spells written for their particular use, while others made do with existing texts.

Pyramid writings were the first of these texts and are most notably found at Saqqarah, where they were created in approximately 2400 B.C.E. The first PHARAOH to receive these texts was Unas, who was the last king of the Fifth Dynasty. The texts included hymns of praise, magical spells, and invocations of various sorts to assist the dead king. They also include valuable historic records, including a battle scene against the Bedouins, trade with Syria and Phoenicia, and the transportation of granite blocks to help build the pyramids. Subsequent pyramid texts also combine religious beliefs with what are presumed to be contemporaneous historical beliefs. Coffin texts were painted onto coffins and are first recorded during the First Intermediate Period (c. 2130–1939 B.C.E.). They are similar in nature to pyramid texts but denote a widening of the possibilities of obtaining access to the afterlife to more social classes. Texts gener-

ally were combinations of HIEROGLYPHICS representing spells and other uses of language and illustrations.

Pyramid texts most commonly featured praise for the sun god Ra, while coffin texts generally favored Osiris. The concept of the field of reeds was also subsequently introduced; in which the soul that was granted continued happy life would be expected to labor on agricultural tasks for eternity. This in turn led to the creation of magical *ushabtis*, which were small statuettes that were enchanted, it was hoped, so that they would come to life and take responsibility for this labor, leaving the soul to enjoy an eternity of ease. The belief was that the soul could be alive within the burial chamber while still laboring in the field of reeds and also touring the heavens in the company of the gods. It was considered possible for these multiple forms of reality to be experienced at the same time.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PYRAMIDS OF GIZA.

**Further reading:** Hornung, Erik. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Trans. by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999. Seleem, Ramses. *The Egyptian Book of Life: A True Translation of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, Featuring Original Texts and Hieroglyphs*. London: Watkins/Duncan Baird Publishers, 2004; Wallis Budge, E. A. *The Book of the Dead*. New York: Random House, 1995.

JOHN WALSH

## Boudicca

(c. 30–c. 61 C.E.) *Celtic military leader*

Boudicca (Boadicea) was born into the aristocracy. Little otherwise is known of her—some researchers even say that her true name is unknown, that her followers named her Boudiga for the Celtic goddess of victory, which the Romans Latinized as Boudicca.

Around 48 C.E., she became the wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni (50–60 C.E.), a Celtic tribe in modern East Anglia in eastern Britain. Boudicca bore Prasutagus two daughters. The Iceni were among the tribes that had submitted to JULIUS CAESAR after his invasions of 55 and 54 B.C.E. The Iceni prospered through trade with the Roman Empire between 65 B.C.E. and 61 C.E.

The Romans invaded Britain in 43 C.E. and made Prasutagus a client. In 60 C.E., with Roman forces busy fighting the Druids in Wales, the Iceni rebelled. Claudius, needing a quick popularity boost at home, sent 60,000 troops to GAUL. The Iceni reaffirmed their submission, and Prasutagus kept his crown. Rome gave him military

protection, funding and loans, employment, and education—as well as serfdom, slavery, and subordination.

The daughters' names are unknown, but they were teens when Prasutagus died in 60 C.E. Boudicca became either queen or regent of the Iceni and guardian of the daughters' inheritance.

Prasutagus left his daughters half his wealth, enough to cover dowries plus Roman taxes, tributes, and other expenses. He gave half his wealth to Rome to fulfill his client-ruler obligation. Nero seized all his property because it was illegal to will to others over the emperor. Rome also drove Iceni nobles from their lands, enslaved and plundered, and demanded return of money given for the upkeep of the Iceni court. Boudicca protested. The Romans took her hostage, stripped her, and "put her to the rods." Meanwhile, Roman soldiers raped the daughters. Once freed, Boudicca led the Iceni, Trinovantes, and several tribes in a rebellion that lasted several months. The Iceni minted large numbers of silver coins to finance the rising of 60–61 C.E.

Boudicca was ruthless. Her army of 100,000 proud and warlike CELTS gave no quarter. Men and women together, they had fought the Romans for centuries and earned Roman respect. Reportedly, one Roman legion refused to fight her. Boudicca's forces destroyed Londinium (London), Verulamium (St. Albans), and Camulodunum (Colchester) and killed thousands before the Roman governor, Suetonius Paullinus, crushed the rising. In the final battle the Romans massacred Celtic warriors and camp followers alike. Boudicca took poison. The rebellion killed more than 100,000 people.

After the defeat the Romans relocated the Iceni to Caistor-by-Norwich (also Caistor St. Edmunds) on the river Tas.

**Further reading:** "Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni, led a revolt against the Roman military in AD 60–61." *Athena Review* (v.1/1). Available online. URL: <http://www.athenapub.com/boudicca.htm> (May 2007); Wilson, S. "Boadicea: Queen Boudicca and the Events Leading to the Iceni Rebellion of 60 A.D." Available online. URL: [http://members.tripod.com/~ancient\\_history/boad.html](http://members.tripod.com/~ancient_history/boad.html) (May 2007).

JOHN H. BARNHILL

## **Brendan the Navigator**

(c. 484–577 C.E.) *explorer and church leader*

For centuries the legend of an Irish monk named Brendan (also called Brenainn, Brandan, or Borodan) circu-

lated among explorers and navigators of late Middle Ages Europe. Some historians speculate that Christopher Columbus might have relied on maps with St. Brendan's Isle on it, located somewhere in the Atlantic off to the far west. Others say that the 10th-century Hiberno-Latin romance called the *Voyage of Brendan* might have been on Columbus's reading list before he did his travels to the New World. The life of Brendan is mostly based on legends and secondhand reports. Thus, it is difficult to state with confidence many of the facts of his life. He was a native Irishman, born at a time when Celtic Christianity was beginning to flourish as the Roman Empire receded. His mother supposedly was Ita, an Irish saint, in County Kerry on the west coast. He was educated by Irish saints and ordained by a famous Irish bishop around the year 512 C.E. Then he began his vocation as an explorer and missionary in Ireland and Scotland and the hinterlands of western Europe.

According to legend he founded many monasteries and achieved a high place in the honor roll of Celtic spirituality, which values its heroes on the basis of supernatural feats and sanctity. One of his monasteries was Cluain Fearta in Clonfert (559 C.E.), which reportedly had 3,000 members. His own home monastery was on Mt. Brandon, Ireland's second highest peak, which today shows a ruined oratory and cells for monks.

Consistent with Celtic spirituality Brendan devised his own discipline and structure for his monasteries. He called his monks to a life of missionizing, seafaring, and exploring, an ideal for which the Irish were already known. One of the ancient Hiberno-Latin chroniclers, Adamnan (c. 10th century), corroborates this adventuresome spirit when he writes that Brendan was a fellow crew-member with Columba of Iona who sailed to the "Isles of the Blessed"—perhaps the Danish Faeroe Islands or Iceland. He is also mentioned in an ancient church litany of St. Aengus the Culdee (eighth century) as sailing with some (perhaps dozens) of his fellow monks.

The account mentioned above, *Voyage of St. Brendan*, is a travel adventure story like *Sinbad the Sailor* or the *Odyssey*. Historians have collected many such Irish tales and suggest that *Voyage* is a deliberate Christian imitation of the Virgil's great travel adventure, the *AENEID*. Most likely *Voyage* was originally written to teach Irish monks about discipline and monastic ideals but soon was translated into the European vernacular languages and read for entertainment.

The natural trajectory of his travels following winds and currents may well have landed Brendan in Canadi-

an Newfoundland 1,000 years before Columbus. The types of adventures that the *Voyage* describes can easily be situated in the North Atlantic and in the New World. The trip was replicated in modern times with a boat built in Celtic fashion. Even more recently claims have been made that Celtic symbols and alphabetical characters were found in the New World farther south in New Hampshire, Vermont, and even West Virginia.

See also CELTS; MONASTICISM; PATRICK; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Adam, David. *Desert in the Ocean: The Spiritual Journey According to St. Brendan*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000; Severin, Tim. *The Brendan Voyage*. New York: Modern Library, 2000.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Buddha

See GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

## Buddhism in China

The practice of Buddhism spread in the centuries after the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA through the actions of pilgrims, wandering evangelists, and strong believers who wished to spread the faith to remote lands and also through observation of Buddhist practices by those who traveled overseas from India and Sri Lanka. The various routes that composed the SILK ROAD were important conduits for Buddhism making its way into China, more so than the maritime routes that were more influential in the transmission of the belief into Southeast Asia. Buddhism was recorded as being present in China from the time of the HAN DYNASTY, and according to legend, the emperor Mingdi (Ming-ti, 57–75 C.E.) received a divine vision that inspired him to seek out knowledge of the Buddha from India.

Chinese monks and scholars were dispatched at regular intervals to seek out Indian knowledge and texts that could be brought back to China and translated into the Chinese language. In nearly every case, when Buddhist concepts were introduced to China they were combined with preexisting Chinese religious concepts or else were subsequently modified.

Notably, Buddhism was combined with the Daoist (Taoist) philosophy of LAOZI (LAO TZU), both to show respect to the latter and also to make the new, foreign concepts more intelligible to a Chinese audience. The

sheer size and degree of diversity within China meant that variations in interpretation inevitably occurred. Since most Chinese Buddhists had little knowledge of Pali or SANSKRIT, the rituals in which all monks recited in unison the accepted Buddhist canon had less effect than it did in India.

At times Buddhism was suppressed as a foreign religion that was interfering with native Chinese beliefs. Forced underground during such periods, the rate at which variations in philosophy developed accelerated because of difficulties in communicating with other communities of believers. A number of different schools of Buddhist thought have consequently emerged in China.

## TIANTAI (T'IENT T'AI)

Tiantai Buddhism was founded on Mount Tiantai in southeastern China by the monk Chiyi (Chih-I, 538–597 C.E.), during the Sui dynasty. It focused on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharma-pundarika-sutra*, or *Fahua-ching* in Chinese) as its central text. The Tiantai school taught that existence was real but impermanent and insubstantial and the need to adhere to the middle path in the search for personal enlightenment. Chiyi's belief was that Sakyamuni knew the entire canon of Buddhist thought at the time of his enlightenment, but it has only subsequently been released into human awareness because of the inability of people to comprehend the entirety of the message. Tiantai Buddhism was introduced into Japan at the beginning of the ninth century under the name Tendai by the monk Saicho.

## HUAYAN (HUA-YEN)

The Avatamsaka school of Buddhist thought is known as Huayan in China and Kegon in Japan. It is based on the *Avatamsaka-sutra*, which is also known as the *Garland Sutra* or *Wreath Sutra*. Huayan Buddhism is associated with the monk Fazang (Fa-tsang, 643–712 C.E.), also known as Xianshou (Hsien-shou), the third patriarch who did much to develop the lessons of the school. The basis of Huayan Buddhism is that all elements of reality depend on each other and arise because of each other, spontaneously. At every moment an infinite number of possibilities exist, and it is possible, therefore, for an infinite number of Buddhas (who can internalize all of the possible variations within a harmonious whole) to emerge into the world. Advanced training of the mind and meditation are necessary to be able to comprehend the nature of reality and of how to strive for enlightenment.

Fazang was born into a Sogdian family from CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), and the system he established

is often regarded as one of the most advanced and complete of all the schools of Buddhism to be created in China. It continues to be influential in Japan even in the modern age.

In China itself the Huayan form lost popularity as a result of the general suppression of Buddhism during the later Tang (T'ang) dynasty. It reemerged in part in the fostering of Neo-Confucianism, which flourished from the 11th century c.e.

### PURE LAND

The Pure Land form of Buddhism, known in Chinese as Qingtu (Ching-tu), is based on the *Pure Land Sutra* (*Sukhavativyuha-sutra*), which was created in the north of India in the second century c.e. The sutra concerns the process of a monk who sought enlightenment by, in part, vowing to create a pure land in which all could live happily to a long and fulfilled age. Those who practice Pure Land Buddhism commit themselves to various vows that are believed to help them achieve enlightenment.

The 18th vow in particular is significant and holds that pronouncing the name of the Buddha at the point of death is sufficient to ensure that the soul will be reborn in the Pure Land. This form of Buddhism became very popular, largely because it offered the opportunity for ordinary people to aspire to enlightenment within their own lifetime. The belief is that the monk in the *Pure Land Sutra*, whose name was Dharmakara, did achieve enlightenment and now resides in the Pure Land in the form of the Buddha Amitabha, or, in Chinese, O-mi-to-fo. There, together with the goddess Guanyin (Kuan Yin) and Mahasthamaprapta, he assists humans to achieve their goal of being reborn in the Pure Land.

Clearly the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism diverge considerably from the other forms of Buddhism taught in the past. Instead of the historical Buddha's insistence that only what can be personally evaluated and experienced can be used in the struggle for enlightenment, which is the single ultimate goal of human existence, people can rely on the benevolence of the trinity led by Amitabha and have as an ultimate goal rebirth in the paradise of the Pure Land.

### ZAN (CH'AN)

Zan Buddhism focuses on the role of meditation in the search for enlightenment. It is known as Dhyana Buddhism in Sanskrit and zen in Japan, where it reached its greatest level of popularity. The Indian monk Bodhidharma brought it to China in 520 c.e.

Zan Buddhism is centered on the belief that all living creatures have within themselves an aspect of Buddhahood and that it is possible, through intensive meditation, to realize this existence, which results in *wu*, or enlightenment. Similar to the teaching of the historical Buddha, it teaches that the realization of the presence of the internal Buddha aspect can by no means be taught or explained by anyone else but can only be appreciated through internal cultivation of consciousness. An intensive regimen of meditation was not something that many people had the opportunity to pursue, which is one reason why the Pure Land school achieved a greater level of popularity. After the death of the fifth patriarch of the Zan school, a split occurred between northern and southern adherents. The southern tendency, which was named after Huineng (Huineng), taught that enlightenment through meditation could be achieved much more swiftly and immediately than was proposed by the northern tendency. Huineng was more successful than the gradualist approach of the northern school, which eventually disappeared from China.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; DAOISM (TAOISM); THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Cleary, Thomas F. *Entry into the Inconceivable: An Introduction to Hua-Yen Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995; Gernet, Jacques. *A History of Chinese Civilization*. Trans. by J. R. Foster and Charles Hartman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Gernet, Jacques. *Buddhism in Chinese Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998; Kieschnick, John. *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003; Wright, Arthur F. *Buddhism in Chinese History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959.

JOHN WALSH

## Buddhist councils

After the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA (483 b.c.e.), monks and scholars concerned with practicing the lessons he taught met several times at formal councils at which the canon of Buddhist thought was established, the rules of monastic life were agreed, and matters of dogma and ideology were debated and confirmed. The exact number, location, and importance of the councils have been contested, but it is commonly considered that there were three early councils that were of particular importance.

## THE FIRST COUNCIL

The First Buddhist Council convened shortly after the death of the Buddha. The council was attended by 500 *arahants*, who had already achieved nirvana, the path to enlightenment. The council wished to itemize and systematize the teachings of the Buddha and was held at Rajagha, in the modern Indian state of Bihar. Of those present one of the most prominent was Ananda, who had attended the Buddha as companion and assistant for three decades. It is believed that since the monks concerned were consistent practitioners of yogic disciplines, their memories were enhanced and, thus, their ability to recall lengthy speeches and lessons with some accuracy.

Ananda, for example, is said to have recited not only every word he heard from the Buddha but also the location and circumstances under which each was uttered. Others who had also been present then confirmed Ananda's responses, where possible. The main achievements of the first council were the assembly of the aphoristic sutras under the supervision of Ananda and the collection of the *vinayas*, the rules to be followed by the *sangha*, or monkhood, under the elder Upali. At the first council, the TRIPITAKA was established and continues to be used today. The three Pitakas, or baskets, were separate receptacles in which the Buddha's teachings were categorized into discourse, discipline, and expressions of higher knowledge.

## THE SECOND COUNCIL

The Second Buddhist Council was held approximately 100 years after the death of the Buddha. It was held at Vaisali, also in the modern Indian state of Bihar. It was convened to settle the conflict that had arisen out of an ideological difference among the *sangha*. This difference was not resolved and resulted in the creation of the two major schools of Buddhist thought, the Mahayana and the Theravada.

Controversy is thought to have arisen over the 10 rules (*vinayas*) monks were obliged to follow. These included whether it was acceptable to drink sour milk after the midday meal, using a rug of an inappropriate size, accepting gold and silver as alms, and the storage of salt. The debate centered on two interpretations of the *vinayas*, one of which was much stricter than the other.

It is said that the Vaisali monks were practicing a more relaxed regime of *vinayas* than the remainder of the *sangha*, and after debate their lifestyle was ruled unlawful. In return, the Vaisali faction created its own school. This explanation ignores the issues of dogma that must have underpinned this conflict and the divi-

sion between Theravada and Mahayana forms of Buddhism has little to do with the regimen to be followed by their practitioners. The Chinese version of the original SANSKRIT report created by the Mahasanghika school, which later became the Mahayana Buddhist tradition, records that the debate concerned the nature of the *arahant* and the relationship with the physical universe.

There is little agreement as to the exact nature of the debates that took place. However, it is clear that after the second council, Buddhists divided into a number of different sects, and unity among them was no longer possible because there was no agreement on Buddha's teachings, nor of the order in which they were to be recited.

## THE THIRD COUNCIL

The Third Buddhist Council was held under the auspices of the great Buddhist patron King ASOKA (Asoka) at PATALIPUTRA, which is the modern-day Patna in India, in or around 247 B.C.E. The purpose of the council convened under Ashoka's direction was to resolve the differences between the numerous Buddhist sects that had flourished since the second council.

The council resulted in the creation of the Kathavatthu, which has become the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. A version of the Buddha's teaching, royally approved as the Vibhajjavada, was declared to be appropriate for the monks to learn and to recite once they sought out converts. This doctrine followed the Theravadin school of thought. The sending out of monk evangelists under Ashoka was of considerable importance in the dissemination of the religion.

The councils represented the attempt to resolve different interpretations of dogma through discussion rather than violence, and in this, they were largely successful. By causing the assembled monks to recite the canon they held in common in unison, they focused on what united the *sangha* rather than what set them apart.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Barua, Sumangal. *Buddhist Councils and Development of Buddhism*. Calcutta, India: Atisha Memorial Publishing, 1997; Prebish, Charles S. "A Review of Scholarship on the Buddhist Councils." *Journal of Asian Studies* (v.33/2, 1974); Seneviratna, Anuradha. *King Asoka and Buddhism*. Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1995; Thomas, Edward Joseph. *The History of Buddhist Thought*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

## Byblos

The site of ancient Byblos lies on the Lebanese coast about 25 miles north of Beirut. It has been continuously occupied since the late Neolithic Period (c. 5000 B.C.E.), and its tradition claims that it is the oldest city in the world. The Greeks gave the name Byblos to the site because they imported Egyptian papyrus, or *byblos*, through the city. The Egyptians called it Kebeny, but the name of the city was Gubal to its inhabitants, and later Gebal. Byblos persists as the name of the archaeological site, but the town's name in Arabic is Jebeil.

For centuries the location of the ancient city was forgotten until discovered by the French scholar Ernest Renan in 1860. It lay under the town of Jebeil, the walls of its houses containing inscribed stones from the city's ancient past. Between 1919 and 1924 Pierre Montet's excavations revealed the tombs of nine ancient rulers of Byblos. Maurice Dunand succeeded Montet, conducting excavations from 1925 to 1975.

The fourth-century C.E. geographer Strabo described Byblos as a "city on a height only a short distance from the sea." It had an excellent geographical situation where trade routes from north and south met. The city was built on a promontory, behind which the mountains of Lebanon came closest to the sea, providing easy access to vast forests of cedar wood and reserves of copper ore. On either side of the promontory were bays that provided natural harbors, the larger one to the south. On the north side lay the upper town, or acropolis, holding the palaces and temples. The harbors were not particularly large but quite capable of handling the goods that flowed in and out of Byblos. Exports included Canaanite wine and oil and the all-important timber.

The earliest example of the Phoenician alphabet (c. 1000 B.C.E.) is found on the sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos. Remains from nearly 3,000 years of contact with Egypt survive, including artifacts inscribed with names of pharaohs from all periods. Trade was disrupted around 2300 B.C.E. by Amorite tribes from the desert invading the coastal plain and attacking Byblos. The city soon recovered and entered on a period of great prosperity that lasted until the coming of the Sea Peoples in the 13th century B.C.E. The Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.E.) ushered in the Phoenician age of Byblos: the blend of the coastal Canaanites and the Sea Peoples. After 1000 B.C.E. the city was never completely independent of the great powers, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, and Persia.

Byblos always put trade first and submitted to its overlords, including ALEXANDER THE GREAT, to

whom it surrendered and was spared. After Alexander's conquest the city slowly adopted Greek culture and language. The arrival of the Romans in 64 B.C.E. brought three centuries of peace and prosperity to the city, along with the building of temples, theaters, and baths. Byzantine imperial rule brought a Christian bishop to the city, but there are few remains from this period. In 636 C.E. the city passed under Arab rule until taken by the crusaders in 1104. Around 1215 the crusaders built the Church of St. John the Baptist. In 1289 the city surrendered to the Mamelukes, and in the 15th century Byblos was taken over by the Ottoman Turks, under whose rule Jebeil operated as an obscure fishing port.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

**Further reading:** Gibson, John C. L. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, Vol. 3 *Phoenician Inscriptions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; Herm, Gerhard. *The Phoenicians*. New York: Book Club Associates, 1975; Markoe, Glenn E. *Peoples of the Past: Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

## Byzantine-Persian wars

In the third century C.E. the Sassanid dynasty replaced Parthian rule in the Persian Empire. Rome and Persia soon ran into conflict over disputed territorial claims, particularly in the Caucasus region. DIOCLETIAN stabilized the frontier by forcing the Persians from the region and establishing suzerainty in 299 C.E. Hostilities resumed when the Persians invaded ARMENIA, trying to regain dominance, and continued throughout much of the fourth century. In 363 Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE was killed fighting the Persians. Afterward Rome yielded territory, including Armenia. Relations remained tense (and sometimes hostile) for decades until conflict resumed in the early fifth century. Another factor that led to conflict was religion.

The Eastern Roman Empire was set on Christianity, while the SASSANID EMPIRE was set on ZOROASTRIANISM. When the Persians began to persecute Christians, Theodosius II declared war, which resulted in another treaty. In 442 relations were ameliorated when both faced the scourge of the HUNS and mobilized for defense. Peace was broken in 502 when the Persians demanded tribute and invaded Syria and Armenia.

Hostilities continued on and off throughout the sixth century, concluding in 591 with the Caucasus region returning to Roman suzerainty under Emperor Maurice.

When a military revolt led to the murder of Maurice and the installation of Phocas in 602, the Persians invaded—allegedly acting on behalf of Maurice's family. Thus began the last Byzantine-Persian war (602–629). During the war the Roman governor of Byzantine North Africa sent his son Heraclius (Herakleios) to overthrow the tyrant Phocas in 610. Despite his ability, the war turned badly for Heraclius, who became emperor in 610. Over the next decade the Persians seized Syria, Palestine, and Egypt and plundered Anatolia. Heraclius now strove to shift the war to Persia.

With the support of the patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE, he used church money to buy off the Avars (a hostile people to his north) and rebuild his army with which, in eastern Anatolia in 622, he won his first victory. Operations then focused on the Caucasus region. In 626 the Persians attempted to besiege Constantinople with the aid of the Avars and Slavs. The city withstood the Avars, while the Byzantine navy defeated the Slav boats that were to ferry the Persians to the European side.

The Byzantines credited the Virgin Mary with the defense of their city. While they turned to their faith, the Persians sought to undermine this fervor. When they had captured Jerusalem, for example, they deported Christians to Persia (including the patriarch)

and also took captive the holy relic of the True Cross. Finally, they called for Jews to resettle Jerusalem as a Jewish city.

The momentum began to shift to the Byzantines who were strengthened by an alliance with the Khazars, a Turkic people from the steppes. In 627 Heraclius defeated the Persians and led his army into Persia. Peace was established after Kavad II overthrew his father King Khosraw II. Heraclius obtained the return of the True Cross. The cost of the war was great. It was at this juncture that Islam appeared outside Arabia as the “rightly guided caliphs,” the successors of the prophet Muhammad, led the new Muslim armies out of Arabia at the very moment that Persia, having been defeated, and Byzantium, victorious but gravely damaged, could offer little resistance. Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa were soon in Muslim hands.

See also PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

**Further reading:** Haldon, J. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Treadgold, W. *A History of the Byzantine State*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

MATHEW HERBST

## Byzantium

See CONSTANTINOPLE.



# C



## **Caesar, Augustus**

(63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

*Augustus* was a title given to Octavian when he became the first emperor of the ROMAN EMPIRE and established the institutional framework that would serve Romans for 300 years. Octavian was the adopted son and heir of JULIUS CAESAR. His rule initiated the PAX ROMANA, a 200-year period of peace, which ended a century of Roman civil wars. His reign as emperor brought forth a new cultural period, which became known as the golden age of Latin literature and saw many new buildings erected in Rome. This period marked the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of imperial Rome.

Octavian was born Gaius Octavius on September 23, 63 B.C.E., in Rome. His father was Gaius Octavius, and his mother, Atia, was the niece of Julius Caesar. His grandmother Julia was Caesar's elder sister.

### **THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE**

The First TRIUMVIRATE was initially a secret, unofficial political alliance to rule Rome. It consisted of Gaius Julius Caesar (Julius Caesar); Marcus Licinius Crassus, who had suppressed the slave revolt led by Spartacus; and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY). Julius Caesar was assassinated on March 15, 44 B.C.E., the Ides of March. Julius Caesar's will revealed that Octavian

was his adopted son, the heir of his name, and heir of his considerable estate. Octavian became known as Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Upon his return to Rome Octavian discovered that Mark Antony had taken charge. They formed an alliance of three along with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, one of Caesar's most trusted allies. This Second Triumvirate was officially supported by the Roman government and was given special powers for five years. As Suetonius wrote, "the underlying motive of every campaign [after he returned to Rome] was that Augustus [Octavian] felt it his duty, above all, to avenge Caesar." The Triumvirate's first task was to draw up a list of those who had taken part in the conspiracy to kill Julius Caesar. Hundreds of people were arrested and executed, or jailed and their property declared forfeit. This removed all potential enemies. It also hugely enriched the members of the Triumvirate with money for a large army to search for two major conspirators, Cassius and Brutus. These two were defeated at the Battle of Philippi in Macedonia and committed suicide.

The Triumvirate then divided the Roman Empire among them. Lepidus moved to Africa to rule. The western part of the empire, including Italy, was in the hands of Octavian, who controlled Rome. The eastern part, which included Egypt, was under Mark Antony's control. Mark Antony had been smitten by Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, and sailed to Egypt,

becoming her lover and fathering three children with her. Needing a proper Roman wife, Mark Antony married Octavian's sister Octavia Minor in 40 B.C.E. and had two daughters, both named Antonia. Three years later, in 37 B.C.E., he deserted Octavia and lived openly with Cleopatra. Octavian, in the meantime, was building up important alliances in Rome and consolidating his power base. Mark Antony was becoming a troublesome rival to Octavian. However, to the public, Mark Antony was clearly linked with Julius Caesar's triumphs and was an important Roman military figure. Octavian allowed rumors to be spread that Mark Antony was becoming more and more an Egyptian and less a Roman. Mark Antony spread rumors that alleged that Julius Caesar had seduced Octavian. The situation became extremely nasty as Mark Antony sent many letters undermining Octavian to key Roman figures.

### THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

Octavian felt it necessary to do away with his rival, yet he and the Roman government did not wish it to be viewed as another civil war. The Senate officially declared war on Cleopatra in 32 B.C.E. and officially stripped Mark Antony of his title as triumvir.

Mark Antony and Cleopatra were anxious to prevent Octavian from reaching Egypt and moved with their forces and fleet to the west coast of Greece, in what was clearly a preparation to invade Italy itself. Octavian led his legions and fleet to Greece as well, and on September 2, 31 B.C.E., the issue was decided at the Battle of Actium. It was a massive naval battle with a total of more than 400 vessels. Agrippa, in charge of Octavian's navy, formed his fleet into a center and two wings of equal strength. Mark Antony drew up his ships in the same formation, but left 60 vessels under Cleopatra in reserve. As the two fleets clashed, Mark Antony's center panicked and fled, along with his left wing. Mark Antony realized the battle was lost and signaled to Cleopatra to escape, and he followed. Antony's entire fleet was destroyed and upon seeing this, his land legions fled in the face of Octavian's armies.

In Egypt, in 30 B.C.E., upon being told erroneously that Cleopatra had committed suicide, Mark Antony killed himself. Cleopatra was captured and told that she would be taken to Rome as a captive and taken through the streets in procession. Rather than be taken captive she committed suicide. Octavian then annexed Egypt and returned to Rome in triumph. The eastern half of the empire, loyal to Mark Antony, swore allegiance to Rome and Octavian.

Even with no major rivals, Octavian was wary of his public image and the perception of his power. Octavian had inherited the support of the plebeians, the poor of Rome, who had been the mainstay of Julius Caesar's power base in the city, and was careful to stay in the Senate's good graces. At the instigation of the Senate he became proconsul in 27 B.C.E. Later the same year the Senate invested him with the titles *princeps* and *augustus*, the latter of which he never used. In some ways the title was more a religious than a political one, whereas *Princeps* translated as "first citizen" and was used to signify a semi-imperial authority.

### THE SECOND SETTLEMENT

In 23 B.C.E. Octavian achieved what became known as the "Second Settlement," an agreement between himself and the Senate. He was invested by the Senate with the powers of a tribune. This gave him the power to call the Senate at his will and to veto any decisions they made. He had control of all soldiers in Rome and was the head of all Roman forces throughout the empire. He was also granted *imperium proconsulare maius* ("imperium over all the proconsuls"), which allowed him singly to act as he saw fit in any province and overturn the decisions of any provincial governor. In effect he now had dictatorial powers. Octavian was still treading cautiously and using a thin veneer of legitimacy. Although the ruling class could see Octavian gaining too much power, many aspects of this Second Settlement were lost on the poor of Rome who still supported him as the "defender of the people." When Octavian did not stand for election as consul in 22 B.C.E., some plebeians felt that he was being forced from power by the Senate. As a result in 22 B.C.E. and in the next two years the people only elected one consul in order to leave the other position open for Octavian. In 19 B.C.E. the Senate voted to allow Augustus to wear the insignia of a consul before them and in public. Six years later Marcus Aemilius Lepidus died. Octavian took the religious position of *pontifex maximus*, essentially as the high priest of the Roman religion.

### OCTAVIAN'S RULE

With Rome at peace Octavian instituted military reforms. He reduced the size of the army from 501,000 to 300,000. Legions were stationed at the frontiers of the empire, which kept commanders from interfering in Roman politics. He formed the Praetorian Guard, which consisted of 10 cohorts of 1,000 men. The Praetorian Guard was garrisoned in Rome, provided protection for

Octavian, and were the only soldiers allowed in Italy. With massive amounts of money flowing to the government coffers in Rome, Octavian was generous in paying the soldiers and in ensuring that veterans were able to have their own land.

Octavian overhauled the tax system to ensure as much revenue as possible. By 6 C.E. the treasury at the capital controlled the fiscal arrangements for the entire Roman Empire. He also ordered a tax census of every person in his empire. In the Bible, Luke writes: “And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world be taxed” (Luke 2:1). This is the edict that caused Joseph and Mary to go to Bethlehem where JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was born.

Money was channeled into the building of new roads throughout the empire, a system of mail delivery, and also a fire brigade and police force for Rome. In addition to his own actions, Octavian encouraged others to undertake public works. Octavian was later to boast that he “found Rome made of brick and left it in marble.” As with so many other rulers, Octavian is accused of overtaxing agriculture and spending the money on grandiose projects and games. However, he did remarkably well given that Rome was no longer invading other countries and carting their treasures home.

Octavian was a generous benefactor to the arts. He allocated much in commissions to sculptors and artists, poets and writers. This period was the golden age of Roman literature. Many epic works come to us from this time. Virgil wrote the *AENEID* about the founding of Rome by Aeneas. Later in his rule Octavian became a moralist, creating laws to try to change Roman society. He launched a morality crusade to restrict prostitution and homosexuality, as well as adultery, but in Rome this was not successful.

## THE SUCCESSION

One of the issues which overshadowed the latter part of Octavian’s reign was succession. Octavian had one child, his daughter Julia. Octavian died on August 19, 14 C.E., after adopting his stepson Tiberius Claudius, son of his third wife, Livia Drusilla. Tiberius became the next emperor, named Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Octavian was proclaimed a god. In addition the sixth month of the year, then known as Sextilis, was renamed Augustus (August) after him.

See also ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDING, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Barrett, Anthony A. *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002; Holland, Richard. *Augustus: Godfather of Europe*. Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2005; Jones, A. H. M. *Augustus*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1970; MacMullen, Ramsay. *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000; Millar, Fergus, and E. Segal, eds. *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984; Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1977; Wallace-Hadrill, A. *Augustan Rome*. London: Classical Press, 2004; Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Caesar, Julius

(100–44 B.C.E.) Roman general

Gaius Julius Caesar expanded the Roman Empire into a power that included half of Europe. According to legend, he was a descendant of Aeneas, the Trojan prince who founded Rome, himself the son of the Greek goddess Aphrodite or the Roman Venus.

### EARLY LIFE AND THE POLITICS OF ROME

Julius Caesar grew up with many political connections through his father Gaius Julius Caesar, who had been a praetor, and his uncle Gaius MARIUS, a war hero and politician who had married his father’s sister Julia. His mother was Aurelia Cotta.

The politics in Rome were embroiled between those who wanted a populous electorate, the *populares*, and those who wanted aristocratic rule, the *optimates*. Caesar’s uncle Marius was a *popularis*. In his opposition was Lucius Cornelius Sulla, an *optimatus*. Both were political leaders. These opposing political camps caused many civil wars, coups, and attempted coups. Caesar’s life, politics, and military career were directly affected by which camp was holding power.

At this time King Mithridates of Pontus, on the south coast of the Black Sea, threatened Rome’s eastern provinces. Sulla was chosen to lead his army against Mithridates. While he departed Rome to join his army, the government appointed Marius to lead the war against Mithridates. Sulla received word of this and marched on Rome and seized power. Marius fled to Africa. The appointment was returned to Sulla, and his army marched to the eastern provinces. Marius and his army then marched on Rome. He and his allies,

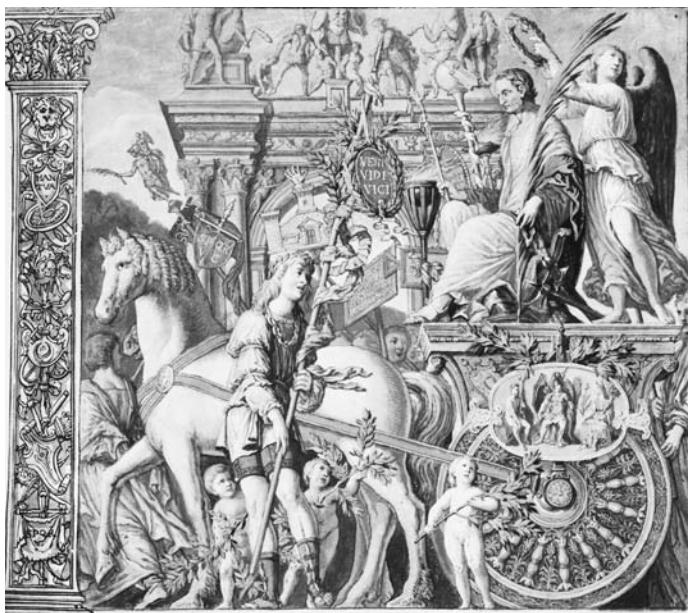


Photo of a woodcut depicting the triumph of Julius Caesar, with a sign bearing his famous slogan, “Veni, vidi, vici.”

including Lucius Cornelius Cinna, seized power. There was purge of the supporters of Sulla. Marius died in 86 B.C.E., but his faction remained in power. Julius Caesar was allied with Cinna and married his daughter Cornelia in 84 B.C.E.

Sulla was victorious in the east and marched on Rome. He waged war against the army of Marius and defeated them in 82 B.C.E. Sulla had himself declared dictator and initiated a massive purge of the *populares*. Caesar was on this list, being related to Marius and Cinna. Caesar's political appointment, inheritance, and wife's dowry was appropriated. He was in hiding but was reprieved because his mother's family had influence with Sulla.

### MILITARY CAREER

Caesar joined the army and left Rome, and became an aide of the governor of Asia. There he was involved in a military victory against Mithradates VI, king of Pontus. In this action he was awarded the *corona civica*, or Civic Crown, one of the highest Roman military decorations. Sulla retired as dictator and died in 78 B.C.E. Julius Caesar returned to Rome at this time. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, a close ally of his, had attempted a failed coup against the Sullan government. Julius Caesar sailed to Rhodes to study in 75 B.C.E. He was captured by pirates and ransomed for 50 talents of gold. Later, Caesar crucified the pirates. After this he again led an army against the king of Pontus. He went on

to Rhodes to study under Apollonius Molo, who had taught CICERO.

Caesar returned to Rome in 72 B.C.E., where he was elected as a military tribune. He then became quaestor and prepared to fulfill this position with the army in Hispania (Spain) in 69 B.C.E. He served as quaestor in western Hispania and returned to Rome and married Pompeia, the granddaughter of Sulla. He was elected *aedile*. After this Caesar was then elected *pontifex maximus*, the chief priest of Roman. He was elected praetor in 62 B.C.E. He was appointed *propraetor* in 61 B.C.E. and left Rome to govern Hispania Ulterior (Furthest Spain). In western Hispania he led the conquest of the Callaici and Lusitani people. His army hailed him as *imperator*, and he entered Rome in triumph. Caesar wanted to be consul, which was the highest office in the Republic, and entered Rome to run for consul in 60 B.C.E.

In his campaign for consul of Rome, Caesar allied himself to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY the Great), a formidable military figure with a long-term goal to get free land for his veterans to settle. Marcus Licinius Crassus, said to be the richest man in all of Rome, joined them in a three-person political alliance for power. Caesar provided the political skills, Pompey the influence, and Crassus the money. To cement the alliance, Pompey married Caesar's only daughter, Julia.

In the same year Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, who would be elected consul the year after. Their political opponents called their powerful political alliance “the three-headed monster.” This was the First Triumvirate. In 59 B.C.E. Caesar won as consul, but his opposition, Bibulus, won the other co-consul position. Caesar turned Pompey's measures into law and pushed Crassus's interests.

### THE GALLIC WARS

Caesar became proconsul of GAUL in 58 B.C.E. His Gallic Wars lasted from 58 to 49 B.C.E. Caesar began with a lightning campaign in Helvetii (modern-day Switzerland). The following year he conquered the Belgic confederacy (in modern-day Belgium) and the Nervii. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus met in Caesar's province in 56 B.C.E. to renew their TRIUMVIRATE. By now Caesar had taken great riches in battle from the Gauls. By the end of 56 B.C.E. he had decided to annex all of Gaul (modern-day France). Pompey and Crassus would be consuls the following year and promised to extend his proconsulship of Gaul for five more years. With this Caesar became even more ambitious.

In the middle of 55 B.C.E. he planned an invasion of Britain. Caesar's army marched to the river Thames and defeated a large force, capturing the fort of King Cassivelaunus and then returned to Gaul. Caesar's strong political power base was waning, however, and his alliance with Pompey was weakening. Crassus received command of the eastern armies but was defeated by the Parthians, and he died in the battle.

Gauls had united under VERCINGETORIX. In 52 B.C.E. Caesar decided to attack with a siege at Alesia, and 250,000 Gauls arrived to aid Alesia in fighting the Romans. The Romans held, and Caesar's cavalry was able to surprise the Gauls from the rear, sending them fleeing. Alesia surrendered, and the population was enslaved. In politics, there was rioting Rome and with one consul dead (Crassus), Pompey served as "consul without a colleague." With Caesar's siege of Uxellodunum in 51 B.C.E., Gaul was conquered. During his campaigns Caesar wrote seven books, which form *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*). According to Plutarch, Caesar had conquered 800 cities and subdued 300 tribes. There are figures cited that he had 1 million men and boys become Roman slaves and left another 3 million dead on battlefields.

## CIVIL WAR

Caesar was victorious as a general, but his political position was less secure. Pompey and Caesar were maneuvered into a public split, with Pompey now siding with the *optimates*. The Senate had ended Caesar's term as proconsul and ordered him to disband his army and return to Rome. Without a government position he would face charges and prosecution. It was against Roman law for any army from a province to cross the border of the river Rubicon into Italy. By law this act was a rebellion against Rome. Caesar said, "*Alea iacta est*" ("The die is cast"), and led his army across the river toward Rome on January 10, 49 B.C.E. Caesar quickly advanced to Rome with only the XIII Legion. His opponents fled Rome. Pompey's legions were stationed in Hispania. He and the Senate fled to Brundisium and sailed to the east. Caesar set up his own senate and was declared dictator by them, with Mark Antony as his equerry. He then declared a policy of clemency for all. Caesar tried to make peace with Pompey, but civil war was inevitable. Caesar knew that he had to lead his legions to Hispania, to prevent Pompey's army from traveling to the East. With Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in charge of Rome and Mark Antony in control of Italy, Caesar set off for Hispania, where he defeated an ally of Pompey and

his army. Caesar resigned as dictator and was elected consul. He then headed for Greece and on July 10, 48 B.C.E., attacked Pompey at Dyrrachium (modern-day Durres or Durazzo, the main port in Albania). Caesar narrowly escaped defeat but smashed Pompey's forces at Pharsalus in Greece on August 9.

## JULIUS CAESAR IN EGYPT

Pompey fled from Greece to Egypt, with Caesar pursuing him. When Caesar arrived in Egypt he was presented with Pompey's head. An Egyptian army officer had slain him. Caesar is reported to have wept.

Egypt was ruled from its capital city, ALEXANDRIA, by the Ptolemy dynasty, the descendants of the general of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. War had broken out in Egypt over who was to rule, between Cleopatra VII and her brother and husband Ptolemy XIII. Each had their armies and supporters. Caesar was smitten by Cleopatra's great beauty. He led his army against the opposing army and deposed Ptolemy XIII. A romance between Caesar and Cleopatra continued for many years. Caesar spent the first part of 47 B.C.E. in Egypt, leaving to attack King Pharnaces II of Pontus. His victory at the Battle of Zela in May was so quick that Caesar sent to Rome his now famous message, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" ("I came, I saw, I conquered").

## CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE SONS OF POMPEY

Evading the enemy fleet, Caesar reached the African coast and marched his army inland. Finally Caesar's forces, estimated at 40,000, took on a depleted opposition of 60,000. In February at Thapsus he defeated them, losing only 1,000 men to Metellus Scipio's 10,000. In May Caesar again returned to Rome in triumph.

The sons of Pompey, Gnaeus Pompeius and Sextus Pompeius, were rallying forces against Caesar and had raised an army in Hispania. Caesar took a small force of veterans to fight them. Once in Hispania he quickly enlisted more veterans who had settled in the region after the Ilerda campaign. He amassed an army of 40,000 to that of Pompey's sons army of 50,000–60,000 men. Caesar attacked in the Battle of Munda, on March 17, 45 B.C.E., and was able to drive Pompey's sons' men from the field. In September 45 B.C.E. Caesar returned to Rome, the unchallenged ruler of the Roman Republic, and was given the title *imperator*.

## ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR

In Rome, Caesar wrote his will, naming his great-nephew Octavian as his heir and adopting him as his son. By 44 B.C.E. Caesar had been named *dictator perpetuus*.

His opponents saw this as the end of the Republic and the political power of the aristocracy, and a conspiracy grew. The assassination plans were for March 15—the Ides of March—when Caesar would meet the Senate. There were 20 men in the conspiracy. It is thought that Brutus went along with the assassination because he thought that Caesar would end the Roman Republic. Caesar entered the Senate, and hired gladiators blocked the outside door. Trebonius detained Mark Antony with conversation. As Caesar approached the senators, he was stabbed 23 times.

The murder of Caesar so enraged many in Rome that they eagerly listened to Mark Antony give a eulogy. Mark Antony and Octavian seized power and went on to avenge the death of Caesar, defeating the forces of Brutus and the chief conspirator, Cassius, in Greece before they fell out with each other. Two years after his death, Julius Caesar was formally declared a god as *Divus Iulius* (*Divine Julius*).

See also *AENEID*; *CAESAR, AUGUSTUS*; *CATO, MARCUS PORCIUS (THE YOUNGER)*; *ROMAN HISTORIANS*; *ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS*; *ROME: GOVERNMENT*.

**Further reading:** Adcock, F. E. *Caesar as a Man of Letters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956; Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Julius Caesar and Rome*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1967; Caesar. *The Civil War*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1978; ———. *The Conquest of Gaul*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1982; Dyck, Ludwig Heinrich. “Expedition to Unknown Shores.” *Military Heritage* (April 2005); ———. “Germanic Tribe Run Amok.” *Military Heritage* (August 2004); Fuller, J. F. C. *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965; Gelzer, M. *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968; Grant, Michael. *Julius Caesar*. London: Chancellor Press, 1969; Niderost, Eric. “Caesar and Alesia.” *Military Heritage* (October 1999); Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1977; Plutarch. *Fall of the Roman Republic*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1970.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Cambyses II

(c. 560–522 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Cambyses II was the eldest son of CYRUS II, the founder of the Achaemenid (or Persian) Empire, whose father was Cambyses I. The exact date of his birth is not known but is estimated to be around 560 B.C.E., and

he was said by the Greek writer HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus to be the eldest son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, also a member of the Achaemenid ruling family. Cyrus took control of Babylonia in 539 B.C.E. and returned to Ecbatana, one of the royal capitals, leaving his son Cambyses as his representative. Cambyses made his headquarters at Sippar, a town to the north of the city of Babylon. However, following his father’s policy, he was active in taking part in the spring New Year ceremonies that took place in Babylon. For eight years, on behalf of his father, Cambyses took charge of the area of Babylonia, and the evidence we have suggests a prince hard at work in his routine duties.

In 530 B.C.E. his father, Cyrus, set off to solve problems on the northeastern border of his empire and, following Persian custom, appointed Cambyses his regent, at the same time giving him permission to be called king of Babylon. News of his father’s death in action reached Cambyses in Babylonia in September 530 B.C.E., and he assumed the full title King of Babylon, King of Lands, and by local custom married his two sisters, Atossa and Roxana.

The most significant event of Cambyses’ reign was his invasion of Egypt, which began a few years after his accession. Most likely before he left Persia for the invasion Cambyses had his brother, variously called Bardya or Smerdis, quietly killed as a precaution against his leading a rebellion in the king’s absence. Cambyses crossed the Sinai desert, Egypt’s first line of defense, and met the Egyptian army under the command of Psamtik III, at Pelusium. The battle went the Persian way not least because of the treachery of Polycrates of Samos, whose navy Psamtik erroneously thought he had secured but who on the day of combat fought for Cambyses. Heliopolis (the site of modern-day Cairo) was soon thereafter taken by siege, Psamtik fled across the river to Memphis, which early in 525 B.C.E. was also taken, and Cambyses was proclaimed the new PHARAOH.

A year later Cambyses marched south down the Nile and occupied Thebes. From there he considered invading Ethiopia but decided to stop at the border, Ethiopia becoming a vassal state. There is much debate as to how Cambyses behaved toward the religion of the Egyptians. Herodotus claims that he committed various atrocities and that this was due to Cambyses’ being mad. However, not everyone agrees with Herodotus, and it is very possible that what Herodotus records is propaganda against Cambyses after DARIUS I’s accession in 522 B.C.E.

In the spring of 522 B.C.E. a man called Gaumata, claiming to be Cambyses' brother Bardiya, seized the Achaemenid throne. Cambyses began the journey back to Persia to deal with the usurper but died early on in the journey. Whether his death was from suicide or from accidental poisoning following a sword wound is still debated.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT; MARATHON, BATTLE OF; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUZA, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1959; Wiesehofer, Josef. *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## Cappadocians (third–fourth centuries C.E.)

Cappadocia, a Roman province from 17 C.E., became Christianized in the second century C.E. Cappadocia was a rural province, and its capital Mazica, later called Caesarea, was its only major city. Characteristic of theology in Cappadocia was the early influence of ORIGEN on the third-century Cappadocian church leaders Alexander (after 212 C.E., bishop of Jerusalem and a friend of Origen) and Firmilian, the bishop of Caesarea (230–269 C.E.). Origen himself escaped to Cappadocia during the persecution of Maximinus Thrax (235–238 C.E.). His impact remained present in the work of the Cappadocian writers BASIL THE GREAT, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzus.

Basil became bishop of Caesarea in 370 C.E., having studied rhetoric and other disciplines at home in Caesarea, CONSTANTINOPLE, and Athens. In Athens he met Gregory Nazianzus, who would become a lifelong friend and ally against the neo-Arian writers Eunomius and Aetius. From a tour of the Christian monasteries in the Near East after 355 C.E., he gained his lifelong devotion to the ascetic life and concern for monastics. This experience and encouragement from his sister Macrina, who sometimes is spoken of as “the fourth Cappadocian theologian,” persuaded him to be baptized. As successor of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, Basil was active in theological, political, and ecclesiastical conflicts. His fight against the neo-Arians gained him the opposition of the Arian emperor Valens (364–378 C.E.), who di-

vided the province of Cappadocia in two. A struggle with the Arian bishop Anthimus of Tyana over the control of churches in this new province ensued. Basil ordained his brother Gregory to the see of Nyssa (nominally now under Anthimus's control). Unsuccessfully he also attempted to ordain Gregory Nazianzus to the see of Sasima. Basil was also embroiled in a controversy with the Arian bishop Eustathius of Sebaste, who had mentored Basil. Basil died in 379, leaving the resolution of the neo-Arian crisis to the two Cappadocian Gregories.

Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa (c. 331–395 C.E.) assumed the mantle of the struggle against the neo-Arians after Basil's death. His theological position was critical at the Council of Constantinople (381). There the anti-Arian emperor THEODOSIUS I declared communion with Gregory one of the conditions for orthodoxy. Gregory traveled to ARABIA and Jerusalem to mediate ecclesiastical disputes. His writings addressed questions of the Trinitarian controversies (*Against Eunomius*, *Ad Petrum*, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*) and argued against the Christology of Apollinaris (*Ad Theophilum*, *Adversus Apollinaristas*, *Antirheticus aduersus Apollinarem*). He composed a hagiobiography of his sister, the *Life of Macrina*. His theology owes much to PLATONISM, NEOPLATONISM, and Origen. His writings assert both the full divinity and the full humanity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, although in opposition to Origen and Neoplatonism he rejected the preexistence of souls. His writings exhibited great influence on the thought of speculative theologians such as JOHN DAMASCENE, Gregory Palamas, and Duns Scotus.

Basil and Gregory's friend, Gregory Nazianzus (c. 329–390), was bishop of Constantinople (379–381) and represented the imperial city at the Council of Constantinople. Gregory's opponents among the Alexandrian and Macedonian bishops objected to his appointment to Constantinople, and Gregory, citing poor health, returned to Nazianzus. He was eventually persuaded to become bishop of that city (Basil had appointed him as auxiliary bishop earlier). In 384 he left Nazianzus and returned to his family estate in Arianzus, where he devoted himself to writing until his death in 390. Gregory's *Orations* are among his most important works, most of which were delivered for festivals. As a theologian, Gregory opposed the assumptions of the Eunomians that language was a God-given system, that names were the only way of access to the essence of the thing named, and that statements about God's essence were a matter of logical inference.

Gregory contended that God is known only insofar as he has revealed himself to humanity. Like the other Cappadocians, Gregory expressed the single nature of the Trinitarian Godhead—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and the full humanity and divinity of Christ. Gregory maintained that the Son of God became human so that human beings could participate in God's divinity. Gregory's other writings include a collection of his letters, which he assembled before his death.

See also ARIANISM; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Holman, Susan R. *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Meredith, Anthony. *The Cappadocians*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995; Van Dam, Raymond. *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2003.

ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

## Caracalla, Edict of (212 C.E.)

The Roman emperor Caracalla (or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) issued the Edict of Caracalla, also known as the Constitutio Antoniniana or Edict of Antoninus, in 212 C.E. Prior to this Roman citizenship had been highly treasured and was extended only to people from Rome, children of existing citizens, and people who had served a term in the military, being gradually extended to cover all the freeborn people in the Italian peninsula. The Edict of Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to include all freeborn men throughout the Roman Empire and gave all freeborn women in the empire the same rights as Roman women.

Caracalla was born in Gaul in 186 C.E., the son of the future emperor Septimius Severus. When Caracalla was born he was called Lucius Septimius Bassianus, and when he was seven, his name was changed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to emphasize his family's connection with the late emperor MARCUS AURELIUS. *Caracalla* was a nickname given to him when he was a young man on account of the Gallic hooded tunic that he often wore. Caracalla's father had become emperor in 193 and died in 211. Caracalla and his brother Publius Septimius Antoninus Geta became co-emperors, but Caracalla was anxious to reign by himself, and Geta and his own father-in-law, Gaius

Fulvius Plautianus, were both murdered soon afterward. The method by which Caracalla came to power led to public criticism, and a satire play was produced in the city of ALEXANDRIA in Egypt. In 215 Caracalla killed a deputation from the city and then let his soldiers slaughter up to 20,000 people in Alexandria. Caracalla had once been told by his father to look after the army, and to this end he gave the legionnaires pay of 675–750 denarii (raised from 500 denarii), as well as other benefits. This was largely because the period before Caracalla became emperor had been one of significant inflation. Caracalla not only ensured that were the salaries raised, but also soldiers were partially paid in kind—with food and materials—which would obviously not be affected by price rises. This was meant not only to reward the soldiers and ensure their loyalty but also to try to get more people to join the Roman army. This has long been suggested as one of the reasons for Caracalla's edict. However, there were more pressing reasons. There had not been enough money in the treasury for the pay rise for the soldiers, so the silver content in Roman coins was lowered by a quarter. The real reason for the edict can clearly be seen as being connected with revenue raising.

Traditionally Roman citizens were freeborn people who lived in the city of Rome. In addition, descendants of Roman citizens around the empire had citizenship, along with men who had served in the army (as was the case during the Roman Republic) and also auxiliaries (from the reign of Augustus). The Romans also allowed client kings, nobles, and others to become Roman citizens. In Acts of the Apostles, Paul proclaims his Roman citizenship several times.

As well as the obvious advantages in being a Roman citizen, there were several disadvantages. All Roman citizens paid two taxes from which noncitizens were exempt. The first was inheritance taxes, which were paid by the beneficiaries on the death of somebody who left them money or property. Initially in the Roman Empire it was impractical to levy inheritance taxes on everybody, but by the time of Caracalla there was a large middle class in the empire and well-regulated methods of collecting taxes. The other tax that was levied on Roman citizens was an indirect tax when slaves were emancipated. Because of inflation, the monetary value of slaves had risen, and with growing affluence, more masters were freeing their slaves, who often continued to work for them; many slaves were able to buy their own freedom.

Caracalla was also responsible for the building of a large complex in Rome that became known as the

Baths Carthage 69 of Caracalla. However, he became increasingly unpopular with many in the Roman Empire. He was killed on April 8, 217, at Harran, Parthia. The account by Cassius Dio says that he was slain when he was relieving himself, with a single stroke of the sword.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Birley, Anthony, ed. *Lives of the Later Caesars*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1976; Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Carthage

The city of Carthage in North Africa (modern-day Tunisia) was the capital of the Carthaginian empire that controlled parts of the Mediterranean from the seventh century B.C.E. until it was destroyed in 146 B.C.E. Tradition has the city founded by Queen Dido, from Tyre, a Phoenician city in modern-day Lebanon. According to that legend, after TROY was sacked by the Greeks, Prince Aeneas fled by sea and was shipwrecked there. Queen Dido fell in love with him, but his destiny was to found Rome. Roman historians give different dates for the founding of Carthage. Timaeus gives c. 814 B.C.E., but Apion states 751 B.C.E. The earliest known tombs date from 725–700 B.C.E.

Carthage was founded for trade, which created great wealth and helped it to dominate parts of North Africa and the central and eastern Mediterranean. Metals from North Africa were traded for wine, cloth, and pottery. By the sixth century B.C.E. it was ruled by an aristocratic oligarchy through a senate.

Carthaginian trade in Sicily and Italy led to clashes with the Greeks and the ETRUSCANS. Carthage occupied the island of Ibiza off the Mediterranean coast of Iberia in 591 B.C.E., and in the 540s B.C.E. it conquered Sardinia.

The city lay on a peninsula in the gulf of Tunis. The Greek historian Appian recorded that it had three rows of walls each 45 feet tall and 30 feet wide, with barracks for 24,000 men and stables for 4,000 horses and 300 elephants. Carthage had two great harbors between the peninsula and the mainland. Large iron chains could be raised at the mouth of the harbor as protection from attacks. Vessels came from all parts of

the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts of Africa, Spain, France and Britain. They had trade in Tyrian royal purple dye, Tyrian royal blue dye, and dyed fabrics, tin for bronze, silver, gold, lumber, wine, cloth, pottery, carpets, jewelry, lamps, and other goods. Beyond this harbor was the military harbor. The entrance was narrow with a tall watchtower overlooking the harbors and sea. The Greek writer Appian reported that 220 ships could be accommodated.

The First Punic War broke out with Rome over disputes in Sicily regarding control of the city of Messana (modern, Messina, Sicily) in 265 B.C.E. The Romans sent a force to Africa. At the Battle of Tunes (Tunis) in 255 B.C.E., near the city of Carthage, the Carthaginians, with Greek mercenaries, destroyed the Roman army. The defeat of Rome left Carthage safe. Carthage was forced to leave Sicily after its navy was defeated in 241 B.C.E.

Romans captured the island of Sardinia in 238 B.C.E. Carthage then focused on Iberian Peninsula territory. There the Carthaginians built the city of New Carthage (present-day Cartagena). From there Commander Hamilcar Barca and his son HANNIBAL launched an attack on Rome in the Second Punic War in 219 B.C.E. Roman commander Scipio landed in North Africa in 204 B.C.E. Hannibal's army of 18,000 men left Italy for Carthage and raised a large army. He met the Romans and Numidians near Carthage at Zama in 202 B.C.E. Hannibal was defeated. The Romans forced the city to hand over all its warships and elephants and pay a massive indemnity to Rome. In 146 B.C.E. Roman forces leveled Carthage and then plowed the fields with salt so that no one could grow food there and rebuild. Later, Rome built Colonia Julia Carthago, the capital of Roman Africa.

See also AENEID; PHOENICIAN COLONIES; SYRACUSE.

**Further reading:** Charles-Picard, Gilbert, and Colette Charles-Picard. *Daily Life in Carthage at the Time of Hannibal*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961; ——. *The Life and Death of Carthage*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968; de Beer, Sir Gavin. *Hannibal: The Struggle for Power in the Mediterranean*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969; Khun de Prorok, Count Byron. "Ancient Carthage in the Light of Modern Excavation." *National Geographic* (April 1924); Livy. *Rome and the Mediterranean*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1976; ——. *The War with Hannibal*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1965; Warmington, B. H. *Carthage*. London: Robert Hale, 1960.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## caste

Caste, or class, is English for the Sanskrit word *varna*, which categorizes the Hindus of India into four broad classifications. The Rig-Veda, the holiest text of Hinduism, mentions many occupations and divides the Aryan people into broad categories. For example, the Hymn of the Primeval Man in the Rig-Veda says:

When they divided the Man,  
Into how many parts did they divide him?  
What was his mouth, what were his arms,  
What were his thighs and feet called?  
The brahman was his mouth,  
Of his arms was made the warrior,  
His thighs became the vaisya,  
Of his feet the sudra was born.

Early Aryan society already had class divisions. In India the class stratification became more rigid due to color consciousness—differences in skin color between the Indo-European Aryans and the indigenous peoples—thus the use of the word *varna*, which originally meant “covering,” associated with the color of the skin covering people’s bodies to differentiate the status of different categories of people. The four *varna*, or broad classifications of peoples of India, were as follows:

1. *Brahman*: priests, teachers, and intellectuals who presided at religious ceremonies, studied, and transmitted religious knowledge.
2. *Kshatriya*: warriors, princes, and political leaders, the people who spearheaded the invasion and settlement of northern India and ruled the land.
3. *Vaisya*: landowners, artisans, and all free people of Aryan society.
4. *Sudra*: *dasas*, or indigenous people, who were dark skinned and became serfs and servants.

The idea of *varna* became deeply embedded in Aryan, and later Hindu, society. When Aryan religious concepts later spread to Dravidian southern India, sharp distinctions were also enforced there between the three higher (or Aryan) castes and *sudras*.

The three high, or Aryan, castes were called “twice born,” because of a sacred thread ceremony or religious birth as they entered manhood, which gave them access to Vedic lore and rituals. *Sudras* were not eligible, which justified their exclusion from certain religious rites, and their low status. The Rig-Veda did not mention “un-

touchables” as a group of people. However, early Aryans were deeply concerned with ritual pollution, which was likely the origin of the Untouchables. A subclass of Untouchables emerged, who performed “unclean” tasks, such as handling the carcasses of dead animals, tanning, and sweeping dirt and ashes from cremation grounds.

After the late VEDIC AGE Indians defined caste much more narrowly. Besides belonging to a caste, each person belonged to a *jati*, which was defined as belonging to endogamous groups related by birth (marriage is only legitimate to members within the group), commensality (food can only be received between members of the same or a higher group), and craft exclusiveness (craft or profession can only be inherited; no one can take up another profession). Thus in operation the caste or class system was a combination of *varna* and *jati* systems.

Caste had its origins in the class and occupational groups in early Aryan society. It acquired a deep color consciousness as it broadened to include the people of the INDUS CIVILIZATION and other indigenous people the Aryans encountered as they expanded throughout northern India. It continued to develop over the succeeding centuries as a result of association between many racial groups into a single social system.

See also ARYAN INVASION; VEDAS.

**Further reading:** Dutt, Nripendra K. *Origins and Growth of Caste in India*. Calcutta, India: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968; Gupta, A. R. *Caste Hierarchy and Social Change (A Study of Myth and Reality)*. New Delhi, India: Jyotsna Prakashan, 1984; Jaiswal, Suvira. *Caste, Origin, Function and Dimension of Change*. New Delhi, India: Manohar Publications, 1998.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger) (95–46 B.C.E.) Roman statesman

The great-grandson of the legendary Marcus Porcius Cato (the Censor), the younger Cato, orphaned at an early age, received his education through his maternal uncle, Marcus Livius Drusus, and steeped his mind in STOICISM and politics. As a good practitioner of Stoic philosophy, he subjected himself to the most rigorous of physical disciplines, ate sparingly, and lived simply.

Cato’s military career began with his service in 72 B.C.E. during the Servile War against SPARTACUS and his followers. As a military tribune in Macedonia in 67 B.C.E., he served alongside his men and shared in

their hardships and sacrifices. While in Macedonia, his brother Caepio died, and he journeyed to the Middle East, probably in an attempt to assuage his grief. When Cato returned to Rome in 64 B.C.E. he won election as a quaestor, dealing with the financial interests of the Roman state. Known for his honesty and integrity, Cato discovered that former quaestors had participated in fraud and murder, and he responded to the revelations by promptly bringing the offenders to justice. He left office amid much public praise and gratitude.

In 63 B.C.E. Cato won election to the tribune of the *plebs*, an office devised to protect the plebeians (the less privileged) from arbitrary treatment by the patrician (privileged) class. Once in office Cato fought JULIUS CAESAR at every opportunity, disliking Caesar's morals and actions. Caesar, in turn, had Cato arrested for obstructionism. Once released, Cato attempted to stop Caesar from receiving a five-year appointment as a provincial governor, but to no avail. POMPEY also stood in opposition to Cato, but rather than continually battle his adversary, Pompey proposed an alliance through marriage to one of Cato's relatives. Cato, believing it was simply a way for Pompey to gain political influence, would not permit the marriage. It may have been, as Plutarch implies in his brief biography of Cato, a fatal mistake, because Pompey then married Caesar's daughter, Julia, a union that cemented the relationship between the two leaders—a relationship that eventually destroyed constitutional government in Rome.

In 58 B.C.E. Clodius, a tribune, hoping to rid Rome of the troublesome Cato, appointed him governor of Cyprus. As governor, Cato was meticulous in his record keeping and was fiscally responsible. He returned to Rome two years later amid great accolades for his service in Cyprus. In 54 B.C.E., as the First TRIUMVIRATE disintegrated, Cato became a praetor, an official in charge of judicial affairs, and used his office to halt Caesar's schemes. In 53 B.C.E. Cato lost an election for one of the two consulships and then retired from public service. When one of the consuls, Crassus, died at Carrhae that summer, Cato chose to accept Pompey as sole consul of the state. Civil war ensued in 49 B.C.E., and Caesar's army crossed the Rubicon bound for Rome. Cato took command of the Republican forces in Sicily, but outnumbered, he left the island without fighting a battle and then chose to follow Pompey to Greece.

Caesar defeated Pompey's forces at Pharsalus on August 9, 48 B.C.E., and shortly after the debacle, the Egyptians assassinated Pompey as he disembarked on their shores. Cato and the military commander, Quintus Caecilius Metellius Pius Scipio, fled to Africa and

continued to resist Caesar from Utica. Caesar pursued Cato and his allies; in February 46 B.C.E., Caesar defeated Scipio's forces at the Battle of Thapsus. When Cato received word of Scipio's defeat in 46 B.C.E., he chose to commit suicide rather than live under the rule of Caesar. Remembered for his Stoic lifestyle, integrity, and Republican ideals, Cato fought until the day of his death to preserve the Roman Republic and remains for many a model of virtue in public service.

See also ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Boatwright, Mary T., Daniel J. Gargola, and Richard J. A. Talbert. *The Romans: From Village to Empire, a History of Ancient Rome from the Earliest Times to Constantine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Chilver, G. E. F., and M. T. Griffin. "Cato the Younger." In S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; Plutarch. *Cato the Younger*. London: London Association of Classical Teachers, 1984.

JAMES S. BAUGESS

## cave paintings

The oldest known cave paintings were found in the Chauvet Cave, located in southeast France. Discovered in 1994, the cave was filled with images of diverse animal species, including rhinoceroses, cats, and bears. Radiocarbon dating showed the images to be more than 30,000 years old.

Eliette Brunel Deschamps, Jean-Marie Chauvet, and Christian Hillaire discovered the Chauvet Cave. This group previously discovered other decorated caves in the region, including Les Deux-Ouvertures, Le Cade, the Grotte du Louoi, and the Caverne de Poitiers. The Chauvet Cave stretches more than 1,700 feet, larger than any previous cave painting discovery. Some of the images they found were of bears, panthers, cacti, handprints, horses, and lions. In addition to the painted images, engravings were found, including horses and mammoths. The images were, for the most part, natural and realistic looking and easily recognizable. Perspective was used as well. Some of the walls were prepared by scraping so the images would stand out better, and scraping was also used to add contours and highlighting. In Chauvet, like most other caves with prehistoric art, it is clear that not only was there more than one artist; different paintings were done at different times, often many years apart.



Ancient Celtic dolmen were slabs of rock built to protect the dead from the elements, as this one at Poulnabroun in Ireland shows.

The Lascaux Cave, located in south-central France, was discovered in 1940. Like the Chauvet Cave, it has many chambers. The first chamber is the “Hall of Bulls,” whose walls are covered with giant bulls, cows, stags, horses, and a figure thought to be a unicorn. This cave also has an image of a dead man, the reason of which is unknown. The Lascaux painters, like those in Chauvet, took advantage of the natural coloring in rocks, allowing colors like red, black, and yellow to be used. Radiocarbon analysis puts the paintings at Lascaux between 15,000 and 13,500 B.C.E.

The Altamira Cave, located in northern Spain, was originally discovered in 1868, but it was not until 1879 that its images were noticed. It was not until 1901, when other caves were discovered, that Altamira was revisited. This time the importance of the discovery was acknowledged, as the cave contained some 100 figures, including bison, horses, deer, wild boar, and handprints.

Why prehistoric peoples decided to create images in caves is a matter of conjecture. Different theories pose that the paintings were magical, intended to exercise control over what was depicted in the images. In addition, there is the thought that these images were simply representations. Other questions include dating and authenticity. The use of carbon dating, which measures the amount of carbon 14 remaining in organic materials, charcoal, bones, or cinders, leads to an approximation of age; however, there is a margin of error.

Whatever the reason prehistoric man decided to put images on the walls of caves, it remains a fascinat-

ing aspect of human culture and nature. The majority of prehistoric cave paintings have been found in western Europe, but others have been found in Russia, Africa, Oceania, and possibly Brazil.

See also PALEOLITHIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Bahn, Paul G. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Prehistoric Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Brown, G. Baldwin. *The Art of the Cave Dweller: A Study of the Earliest Artistic Activities of Man*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T.A. Constable, 1928; Chauvet, Jean-Marie, Eliette Brunel Deschamps, and Christian Hillaire. *Dawn of Art: The Chauvet Cave—The Oldest Known Paintings in the World*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996; Luquet, G. H. *The Art and Religion of Fossil Man*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930; Moulin, Raoul-Jean. *Prehistoric Painting*. London: Heron Books, 1965.

JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

## Celts

The Celts were a tribal people of the Bronze and Iron Ages united by a common language, culture, and art. They lived throughout Europe. Most were eventually conquered by the Romans and became a part of the Roman Empire. Many unconquered areas have retained their separate language and culture for centuries. Ireland and parts of France, England, Wales, and Scotland can claim to be largely Celtic to this day. Language studies indicate that the Celts were an Indo-European group, first identified in Switzerland and Germany.

The first written references to Celts come from the Greeks in 630–600 B.C.E., who describe the Keltoi as mining and trading silver from the Iberian Peninsula. The period of Celtic history from the fifth through the first century B.C.E. is called La Tène, after a village on Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, where ancient pilings leading into the lake prompted excavations in the mid-19th century. Swords, shields, pins, razors, cauldrons, and even human remains were found buried in the silt of the lake, and many artifacts were decorated with graceful curving lines, whimsical faces, and plant motifs. The La Tène art style, since found in graves and monuments throughout the Celtic world, displayed the creativity and technical sophistication of the Celts.

Before and during the La Tène period, Celts had migrated, tribe by tribe, throughout Europe. By the seventh century B.C.E. they moved south through the Alps and into the Po Valley of Italy, where the Boii, In-

subres, and Senones tribes of Celts attacked Etruscan cities. Romans intervened as the Celts continued south but were defeated at the Battle of Allia in 390 B.C.E., after which the Senones, under the command of Brennus, sacked Rome and occupied the city for seven months. At that point Brennus accepted a bribe of 100 pounds of gold to leave, though Celtic forces harried the city for the next 50 years. Other Celtic tribes lived in the Russian steppes by the mid-fourth century B.C.E. and were well established on the Balkan borders of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's empire. They conquered Thrace and set up a Celtic dynasty to rule there through most of the third century B.C.E. This century marked the height of Celtic power and dominion. The Celts had no empire, but independent tribes, some with populations in the hundreds of thousands, controlled much of Europe from the far west to the Black Sea. To the west the miners and artisans of Britain, Ireland, Spain, and Brittany traded in metals for centuries before being identified as Celtic. The tribal names that were eventually used to identify them during the La Tène period (for instance, the Iceni and Veneti) do not reveal whether the people were indigenous or conquered indigenous groups or mixed with them. It is possible that these populations of these places considered themselves Celtic throughout the first millennium B.C.E.

Their enemies' writings describe bloodthirsty savages whose cruelty knew no bounds. However, Celtic tribes could not have existed for centuries in their lands if they did nothing but wage war. Graves and offering pits with spectacular weaponry point to a war-like people, but archaeologists find evidence of family homesteads with marked fields with grazing land. Like most Iron Age people, the Celts worshipped and sacrificed to a myriad of gods, many local and unique. Their learned class—the DRUIDS—were masters of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and history; they scorned writing and put their faith in training the memory. Celtic women had more options and independence than women in Greece or Rome; writers such as Diodorus, Siculus, and Tacitus describe women who fought as warriors or served as tribal rulers.

Celtic warriors were renowned for being terrifying, functioning as independent fighters, and seeking to enhance personal reputations for heroics and glory. Many of these fighters would prove their skills by forgoing the lightest of Celtic armor and shields. Opposing armies would often be faced with the frightening psychological warfare of fierce, crazed, unclothed long-haired barbarians. They were also known for a frightening habit of collecting heads.

Roman armies conquered the Celts or Gauls of northern Italy, warring from 225 B.C.E. through 190 B.C.E. The Dacians defeated the Celts of Bohemia in 60 B.C.E. JULIUS CAESAR took western Iberia and then chronicled his conquests of the Celts or Gauls in *The Gallic Wars*. His siege of Alesia in the Auvergne region, capturing tribal king VERCINGETORIX, completed his victories in 52 B.C.E. In the reign of Claudius, in 43 C.E., much of Britain was conquered. The Celtic queen BOUDICCA led a major, but unsuccessful, revolt in 61 C.E. After earlier wars with Rome and Pontus, Celtic Galatia was absorbed into Cappadocia in 74 C.E. and a process of Romanization in GAUL occurred as in other Celtic lands. Ireland was not conquered and remained independent and Celtic for centuries. It later adopted Christianity and writing. The few Irish books that have survived provide an account of ancient myths, poems, legal codes, and cultural practices of the Celts.

See also CARTHAGE; INDO-EUROPEANS; LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

**Further reading:** Caesar, Julius. *The Gallic War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979; Cunliffe, Barry. *The Ancient Celts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; Ellis, Peter Berresford. *The Celts: A History*. New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2004; ———. *The Druids*. London: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994; James, Simon. *The World of the Celts*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993; Wilcox, Peter. *Rome's Enemies (2:) Gallic and British Celts*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1985.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Ceylon

Ceylon was the name of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka before 1972. It is an island nation off the southeast coast of the Indian subcontinent, located in the tropics. Ceylon was also known in ancient times as Sinhale, Lanka, Lankadeepa, Simoundou, Taprobane, Serendib, and Selan. Some scholars and historians believe that Prince Vijaya migrated to Sri Lanka from Orissa, in northeastern India, sometime during the sixth century B.C.E. Some contest the date and believe the origins date back some 25,000 years more. They believe that the Indian princes, or *veddas*, ruled Sri Lanka much earlier. Ceylon's origin is discussed in the *Mahavamsa*, which gives a complete history of the region. This manuscript describes the Sinhalese kingdom started by King Vijaya and his

followers in the sixth century B.C.E. Vijaya's minister, Anuradha, founded the settlement of Anuradhamgamma, which later became known as Anuradhapura, and the center of government for Ceylon. Archaeological evidence contradicts this version by unearthing evidence of continuous established settlement in the region by peoples with knowledge of animal domestication, agriculture, and the use of metals from the 10th century B.C.E. onward.

Buddhism arrived on the island in the third century B.C.E. with the coming of Arahat Mahinda Thero, a missionary of Indian emperor ASHOKA. Buddhism thrived, and a sophisticated system of irrigation became the pillars of classical Sinhalese tribes from 200 B.C.E. until 1200 C.E.

The origin of the Tamil presence in Ceylon is unclear. South Indian princes and kings invaded Sri Lanka on a number of occasions. Occasionally, those attacks resulted in Tamil control of the island for extended periods. Many Sinhala rulers were known for expelling the Tamil invasions and reestablishing authentic Sri Lankan rule. Cinnamon, which is native to Sri Lanka, was in use in ancient Egypt in about 1500 B.C.E., suggesting that there were trading links with the island. A large settlement appears to have been founded before 900 B.C.E. at the site of Anuradhapura and signs of an Iron Age culture have been found there.

Ceylon was known to the Greeks and to the Romans, who called it Taprobane, probably after Tambapanni. In the first century B.C.E., the king sent an embassy to the Roman emperor Claudius. Anuradhapura remained Sri Lanka's royal capital until the eighth century C.E., when Polonnaruwa replaced it. Tamil people from India began to arrive in Sri Lanka as early as the third century B.C.E., and there were repeated wars between the Sinhalese and Indian invaders. For much of the first millennium C.E., the island was controlled by various Tamil princes. The island was known to the Persians and Arabs as Serendib and features in the Sindbad stories in the famous *1001 Nights*.

See also INDO-EUROPEANS; INDUS CIVILIZATION.

**Further reading:** Amunugama, E. M. C. *The History of Ancient Aryan Tribes in Sri Lanka*. J.R. Jayewardene Cultural Center, 1994; DeSilva, Chandra Richard. *Sri Lanka, A History*. New York: Advent Books, 1987; DeSilva, K. M. *A History of Sri Lanka*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981; Hettiaratchi, S. B. *Social and Cultural History of Ancient Sri Lanka*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1988.

STEVE NAPIER

## Chandragupta II

(r. c. 375–415 C.E.) Indian ruler

Chandragupta II was the third ruler of the GUPTA EMPIRE of India. He reigned when the Gupta dynasty reached its zenith of power, and Indian classical culture was at its high watermark. He ruled all northern India except the northwest and central India down to the Deccan Plateau. The Gupta dynasty was founded in 320 C.E. when a north Indian prince named Chandragupta crowned himself Great King of Kings in the ancient Mauryan capital PATALIPUTRA. The dynasty was consolidated by his son, Samudragupta, but reached its peak under the founder's grandson, Chandragupta II.

Whereas the Greek ambassador MEGASTHENES wrote an account of India under Emperor Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C.E., a Chinese Buddhist monk named FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN) did so for fifth-century C.E. India. Fa Xian traveled around India for six years during Chandragupta II's reign and recorded his impressions; his work, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, has survived. He found Pataliputra a rich city where hospitals provided care for the poor without charge. Buddhism still flourished, but Hinduism was regaining vitality. He also noted the presence of Untouchables on the edges of cities, carrying out menial tasks and having to sound gongs as they walked to warn others of their polluting presence. He admired the piety and prosperity of Indians and the leniency of Indian laws. A passage from his work said: "The king governs without decapitation or [other] corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances [of each case]... Throughout the country the people do not kill any living things, nor eat onion or garlic... they do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the market there are no butchers' shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink... [In the towns] the inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness."

The Gupta era was noted for its artistic refinement, the excellence of its bronze sculptures, and architecture, including magnificent temples and cave temples. Indian merchants and missionaries traveled widely by sea in Southeast Asia and by land via the SILK ROAD to Central Asia and China. Chandragupta II's reign represented the apogee of the Gupta dynasty.

**Further reading:** Legge, James, ed. and trans. *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. Reprint, New York: Paragon Books,

1965; Majumdar, R. C. *An Advanced History of India*. London: Macmillan, 1958.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Chang'an

Chang'an (Ch'ang-an), literally “Perpetual Peace,” was the largest city in the world of its time, boasting a population of over a million by the eighth century C.E. and covering nearly 32½ sq. miles. Chang'an actually refers to two cities. The first capital city, typically called “Han Chang'an” because of its construction during the HAN DYNASTY, was built in 202 B.C.E. The famous emperor HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI) was known to have built gorgeous palaces there. The so-called Early, or Western, Han dynasty ended in 9 C.E., and China was ruled by a Chinese nobleman, WANG MANG, whose reign lasted until 25 C.E., when rebels killed him and burned down Chang'an. The first city was abandoned and the capital of the Later, or Eastern, Han dynasty was relocated to the ancient capital city LUOYANG (LOYANG).

The capital city remained in Luoyang until the beginning of the Sui dynasty in 580 C.E. Emperor Wendi, the first of the Sui emperors, commissioned the building of a new Chang'an in 582–583 C.E., a declaration he made from the old Han Chang'an. The new Chang'an, much like its Han cousin, was built using a mix of geomancy, feng shui, matching topography to the hexagrams in the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), and comparing city design to the position of the stars. Therefore the city was split into two symmetrical halves with avenues running east to west and north to south forming wards, or city blocks. The palace city, primary residence of the emperors, was located at the northernmost point of the city, a location that represented the North Star. Buddhist monasteries were built in the southwest section of the city, the most dangerous location according to geomancy, because it was believed they helped ward off bad luck.

Directly south of the palace compound was the imperial city, which housed the administrative offices of the government, and acted as a buffer between the son of heaven and the throngs of commoners occupying 88 percent of the space in Chang'an. The residence wards included two large market areas with approximately 220 bazaars hosted in each. City officials strictly regulated these centers of trade. In addition to a standardized system of weights and measures, all products underwent strict quality control. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of

the marketplace attracted merchants, restaurant owners, and entertainers from Central Asian tribes and kingdoms such as the Uighurs and SOGDIANS.

The Tang dynasty and its capital at Chang'an began its decline during the An Lushan Rebellion of the mid-eighth century C.E. Over the next century a succession of attacks from Tibetans, rebels, mutineers, and warlords forced much of the business and its residents out of the city. In 904, the last Tang emperor fled Chang'an for Luoyang, abandoning Chang'an to the weeds. It eventually decayed and collapsed, never again serving as the capital of China.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

**Further reading:** Twitchett, Denis. *Cambridge History of China, Vol. Three: Sui and Tang China, 589–606*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; Waugh, Daniel C. “Xi'an/Chang'an.” Available online. URL: <http://www.washington.edu> (September 2005); Xiong, Victor Cunrui. *Sui-Tang Chang'an*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000.

MICHAEL WERT

## choregic poetry

Perhaps the best known of the choregic poets, Pindar (522–443 B.C.E.) drew inspiration from the early history of Greece, the Dorians, MYCENAE, and the Achaeans. Pindar was part of the great generation of Greeks who had turned back the PERSIAN INVASIONS of DARIUS I and XERXES I and witnessed the great victories of MARATHON against Darius (490 B.C.E.) and Salamis against Xerxes (480 B.C.E.). After such victories, poets like Pindar could look back with pride on the Mycenaean Age, and the HOMERIC EPICS that celebrated Agamemnon, Ulysses, and the fall of Troy.

Pindar produced some 15 books of poetry, of which unfortunately only his *Epinikia* (Victory odes) have survived. The papyrus texts in Egypt were most likely brought there after its conquest by the Greek general Ptolemy II, who took Egypt after the wars of succession that followed the death in Babylon of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 323 B.C.E.

The *Epinikia* were written largely to celebrate the athletic competitions that formed such a great part of Greek culture, much like the events found at the OLYMPIC GAMES. The very term *marathon* came from the runner who carried the news of the great victory of Marathon back to Athens, after which he collapsed and died from exhaustion.

Under the choregic system, Pindar's greatest poetic rivals were Simonides and Bacchylides. The rivalries were not just for glory but because rulers like Hiero I (478–467 B.C.E.) and Theron were wealthy patrons, who amply rewarded the poets who lauded their athletic prowess. Simonides of Ceos (c. 556–469 B.C.E.), for example, found a patron in Hipparchus of Athens. After the assassination of Hipparchus in 514 B.C.E., he fled to Thessaly where the aristocratic Scopadae and Aleuadar families befriended him. After Marathon, Simonides returned to Athens but only stayed briefly. He then journeyed to Sicily at the invitation of Hiero, where he lived until his death.

Simonides is best remembered for his poetry, and even early in his career wrote *paens* to the sun god of the Greeks, Apollo. He was an intimate of THEMISTOCLES, the architect of the great naval victory at Salamis. Themistocles could be considered the father of ancient Greek naval power.

His Greek patriotism was reflected in his verse. Simonides' philosophy was earthy and practical, as one might expect from one who had seen the best and worst of men in war. One of Simonides' best-known surviving works is "The Lamentation of Danae," in which "Danae and her infant son were confined by order of her father Acrisius in a chest and set adrift on the sea. The chest floated towards the island of Seriphos, where both were rescued by Dictys, a fisherman, and carried to Polydectes, king of the country, who received and protected them." Danae's infant son Perseus would grow up to slay the monster gorgon Medusa, who had snakes for hair and whose gaze could turn a man into stone.

Bacchylides, interestingly enough, was the nephew of Simonides: His mother was the sister of the poet. Compared to Simonides and Pindar, biographical data on Bacchylides is sparse. Among his odes the earliest can be approximately dated to 481 or 479 B.C.E.; the latest date is fixed to 452 B.C.E. Like Pindar and Simonides, he went to the court of the ruler of SYRACUSE, Hiero. Indeed, it appears that the rivalry between Bacchylides, Pindar, and Simonides was acute at the Syracusan court. Out of the work created by Bacchylides, some six dithyrambs, poems based on mythological themes, and 14 *epinikia* are known to have survived.

Considering that Hiero's victories took place in the Olympic Games, the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides became known throughout the *oecumene*, the Greek-speaking world. Hiero's victories involved horse racing, showing the importance of the horse in Greek culture and warfare. Bacchylides wrote two works on the life

of Theseus, who according to Greek mythology killed the Minotaur, the half-man, half-bull monster who lived within the labyrinth on the island of Crete.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; LYRIC POETRY.

**Further reading:** Eggenberger, David. *An Encyclopedia of Battles*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 1985; Hanson, Victor Davis. *Wars of the Ancient Greeks*. London: Cassell, 1999; Warry, John. *Warfare in the Classical World*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 2000.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Choson

The kingdoms of ancient Choson developed in Korea from the Bronze Age when tribal groups started to dominate the land between the Liao River in southern Manchuria, and the Taedong River in northern Korea. The legendary founder of the dynasty was Tan'gun, hailed by Koreans in modern-day North Korea and South Korea as the founder of their nations.

Tan'gun is claimed as an ancestor for the kingdom of ancient Choson; the term *ancient* is used to differentiate it from the Yi dynasty, which ruled 1398–1910 C.E. and used the name *Choson* for Korea. Ancient Choson from the fourth century B.C.E. was a series of tribal leagues that controlled the area from southern Manchuria to the Taedong River. It was powerful for more than 100 years at a time when China was preoccupied with what has become known as the Warring States period. A major innovation in ancient Choson that enabled the kings to maintain their independence was the use of iron. Prior to this most warriors in the region had used bronze. It is believed that the northern Chinese may have introduced iron when they were escaping the attacks of the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) or HUNS.

One of these refugees was a former Chinese general called WEI MAN (WIMAN) who had served in the Chinese state of Yan (Yen). Wei Man was the descendant of important landowners in China during the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY and had been welcomed in Choson, as he and his followers were experienced soldiers. They were given land in the north of Choson where they offered to act as frontier guards. Wei Man was given a jade insignia denoting his importance as a Korean general. As more Chinese refugees came to live on his lands, his number of potential supporters increased, and his power grew. Very soon Wei Man realized that the kingdom was

weak, and he had many supporters among the Chinese refugees who had already arrived in Choson and were either living in his lands or elsewhere in the kingdom. He also managed to get support from some local tribes who felt that they had not been well treated by the kings of Choson. In 190 B.C.E. Wei Man wrote to the rulers of Choson saying that the Chinese had invaded from several sides, and he had to guard the king. He and his supporters then moved quickly on the Choson capital of Pyongyang on the pretext of protecting the royal court against a Chinese invasion, which everybody had feared for several hundred years. Wei Man then took over the capital and the existing king, Chun, and went further south, establishing himself as King Han, which has no connection to the dynasty in China of the same name.

Wei Man, who claimed descent from the Chinese sage Qizi (Chi Tzu), used his contacts in China to ensure that the Chinese recognized him as a king, and he reciprocated by acknowledging the emperors of China. He established cordial relations with the governor of Liaodong (Liao-tung), the neighboring Chinese province. However, the tribute that Wei Man had promised to the Chinese emperor was never sent. Wei Man and his descendants had initially felt that they were well entrenched, but when the civil war ended in China and the HAN DYNASTY came to power, they faced several Chinese invasions. Diplomatic problems first arose when some Chinese rebels who had been involved in the Seven Princes' Rising in 154 B.C.E. fled to Korea. The Chinese were also sending out emissaries to some of the tribes who lived in northern Choson.

The actual dispute leading to the invasion was over tribute. A Chinese delegate visited Yu Ku (or Ugo), the grandson of Wei Man, to ask why no tribute had been paid. Furthermore, Yu Ku had tried to stop tribes that he felt were part of his kingdom from acknowledging their overlordship by the Han. This was particularly true of the tribes on lands in central and southern Korea. Yu Ku realized the situation was tricky, but having built up a relatively strong army, he prevaricated and eventually the envoy returned to China. On the return trip the envoy allowed his charioteer to kill a Korean prince who had been sent to escort him to the border. This envoy claimed that he had killed a Korean general and was applauded by the Chinese court that decorated him with the title "Protector of the Eastern Tribes of Liao Tung."

The Koreans protested, but a Chinese attack was inevitable and came in 109 B.C.E. when Emperor Wu of China sent his soldiers into Choson. Some 50,000 Chinese soldiers were dispatched by ship from Shan-

dong (Shantung), with additional troops attacking by land. The two armies were able to invade Korea, but their attacks were not coordinated, and they were unable to unite. As a result they were not able to defeat the Koreans in battle—the Koreans remained in their fortifications. With the bitter winter imminent, the Chinese sent an envoy to Yu Ku who replied that he would accept the emperor of China as his overlord but would not send his son as a messenger in case he suffered the fate of the prince killed by the previous envoy. The only initial casualty of these negotiations was the Chinese envoy who was executed when he returned empty-handed. In 189 B.C.E. the Chinese attacked the Koreans again, and this time they succeeded in seizing the kingdom and established four Chinese commanderies called Nangnang (Lolang in Chinese, Rakuro in Japanese), Chinbon, Imdun, and Hyont'o. The latter three soon lapsed into Korean areas, with the Chinese only holding on to Nangnang. There a Confucian school was established, and several historical texts were written that described some of the early events in Korean history. The CONFUCIAN CLASSICS remain an important part of Korean culture.

Over the next 400 years the Koguryo tribes of northern Korea started agitating against Chinese rule. As they rose in power, they amassed a large army and in 313 C.E. ejected the Chinese from Nangnang. In 342 C.E. the Koguryo king, Kogugwon, established his capital at Hwando just north of the Yalu River. Facing threats from China, it was soon moved to Pyongyang. There the Koguryo kingdom imported many ideas from China including Buddhism, which is seen in many of the archaeological remains discovered in recent years.

See also KIJA; THREE KINGDOMS, KOREA.

**Further reading:** Gardiner, K. J. H. *The Early History of Korea*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969; "Reflections on Studies in Ancient Korean History—Colloquium of Five Historians." *Korea Journal* (v.27/12, 1987); Suk, Kim Yong. *The Tomb of King Tangun*. Pyongyang, North Korea: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1995.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)

Gnosticism arose around the same time and place as Christianity. Some Gnostics were Christian, some Jewish, and some pagan. Gnostics believed that gnosis (Greek: "knowledge"), not faith, brought salvation.

Not education or experience, but revelation gave gnosis. This article will deal with the concept, the origins, and the varieties of Gnosticism, especially as it was expressed in Valentinianism, Marcionism, Manichaeanism, Mandaeism and at Nag Hammadi. Many other forms of Gnosticism circulated in ancient religious circles too numerous to relate here, including Sethian-Barbeloites, Ophites, Naassenes, and Hermetics.

### CONCEPT AND ORIGINS OF GNOSTICISM

The content of gnosis was that our universe arose because of a problem in a preexisting state. One version of this problem, from Iranian religion, was the meeting of two eternal antithetical realms, one of spirit, the other of matter, resulting in our universe. The more common version was that the supreme God generated lesser gods, one or more of whom created the material universe, imprisoning divinity in a material body. Understanding of the content of gnosis brings about salvation, which is the escape of the divine spark from its material prison to its divine home.

Regarding the body as evil had contradictory ethical consequences. Some Gnostics tried to deny the desires of the body by avoiding sex, meat, and alcohol. Because they considered what was done with the body unimportant, others perhaps enjoyed all three, sometimes practicing contraception to prevent trapping spirit in new bodies.

There is debate about whether Gnosticism came from Iran or from Hellenism, but it probably grew from Judaism, perhaps in response to oppression by Gentiles. The fathers of the church traced Gnosticism to Simon Magus, converted in Samaria in Acts 8.

The second century C.E. saw a proliferation of Gnosticism. Basilides, a Jewish Christian in ALEXANDRIA around 140, was called a disciple of a disciple of Simon, although Basilides claimed to be taught by the apostle Matthias or an interpreter of Peter. Irenaeus (c. 130-c. 200) tells one version of Basilides' teaching: The supreme Father emanated five beings, from the lowest of which 365 heavens descended.

The angels in the lowest created the world, with divine spirit in human bodies. The Jewish god, one of these angels, tried to make his people rule the world, but the other angels stopped him. The Father sent his Son, seemingly crucified, to free the spirit. The belief that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH only seemed to suffer and die as a human is called "docetism."

Hippolytus (c. 160–235) relates another version of Basilides' teaching: The "nonexistent" God generated a "Seed" containing three principles called "Sonships,"

of which two flew to God, but the third stayed in the Seed. Two rulers emerged from the Seed. One created the world above the Moon. A second, the Jewish god, created the world below the Moon. Jesus of Nazareth separated the mixed parts of creation. When the third Sonship has been restored to the spiritual world, God will subject the lower creation to ignorance, making it content in its inferiority.

### VALENTINIANISM

The Alexandrian Valentinus was perhaps nominated for bishop of Rome around 143 but repudiated as a heretic. Valentinians believed in a divine world, the Pleroma, of at least 30 aeons. *Aeon* means a "world," an "age," and a "god." The greatest was Abyss, who with his wife, Thought, produced the 14 remaining aeon couples.

The lowest, Sophia (Greek: "wisdom"), desired to "know" Abyss, which would have destroyed her. Sophia was protected from her desire but bore by herself a monster, Achamoth (Hebrew: "wisdom"), which was thrown out of the Pleroma.

Sophia's distress at the birth of Achamoth became matter, her repentance of her desire to know Abyss became the soul (*psyche*), and the product of Achamoth's "purification" by Jesus, a perfect being produced by all the aeons, became the spirit. Achamoth produced from psychic substance the Demiurge, who created the universe and a man of matter into whom he breathed a soul. Achamoth then secretly planted her spirit in some humans.

Valentinians distinguished three types of people, the material, certain to perish; the "psychic," to perish or be saved by their choices; and the spiritual, certain to be saved. Three Christs—spiritual, psychic, and bodily—were also hypothesized.

### MARCIONISM

Marcion, the ship-owning son of a bishop near the Black Sea, came to Rome and generously funded the church but was expelled in 144. Like Gnostics, Marcion traced matter to an inferior god, denied a real body to Jesus, and prohibited sex, wine, and meat to his followers. However, Marcion is usually not considered Gnostic. Humans were purely creatures of the inferior god and, like their creator, had no essential relation to the superior God. This god purely from compassion sent his son Jesus, dying to save the Jewish god's creatures. Denying salvation by knowledge, Marcion preached salvation by faith in Jesus.

Marcion wrote *Antitheses*, contrasting Old and New Testaments, and edited his own bible, partly mo-

tivating the formation of the Catholic Bible. Marcion omitted the Old Testament, and of the New Testament included only the gospel of Luke and 10 epistles of PAUL, removing references to the Old Testament, the creator, and Jesus' birth. Most Gnostics were loosely organized, but Marcion founded a well-organized church that may have persisted until the 10th century.

### MANICHAEANISM

Mani was born in 216 in Mesopotamia. His parents were Elkesaites, Jewish-Christian Gnostics. Mani also seemingly was influenced by another Gnostic sect called Mandaicism. Inspired by a vision of his "twin," the Holy Spirit, Mani left the Elkesaites. Mani's teaching briefly enjoyed the favor of Persian kings; however, Bahram I favored ZOROASTRIANISM, resulting in Mani's imprisonment and death in 276.

Mani's followers extended from Spain to China, where they perhaps survived until the 17th century. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO was deeply affected by Manichaeanism. In the West persecution destroyed Manichaeanism by the early Middle Ages. So-called Manichaeanism in later medieval Europe was not authentic.

The Paulicians arose in Armenia around 650 from generally Gnostic origins rather than as a specifically Manichaean refugee group. The Bogomils appeared in 10th-century Bulgaria after Paulicians were exiled in 872 in Macedonia. By the 11th century Bogomilian ideas spread to Italy and France, where the Cathars, suppressed in the Albigensian Crusade of the 13th century, espoused them.

Mani's followers presented him as the present incarnation of Zoroaster's son, of Maitreya (the future Buddha), as well as of the Holy Spirit. Mani claimed his own religion included all previous religions; and the Hebrew patriarchs, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and Paul preceded him as revealers of gnosis. Like Valentinianism, Manichaeanism has three forms of Jesus, the Jesus Splendor, Jesus of Nazareth, and Jesus *patibilis* ("suffering Jesus"), who symbolized the suffering particles of light throughout creation. Thus, whether Manichaeanism generally is Christian is questionable because it adapted itself to whatever religious environment it entered.

Like Marcion and Mandaeans, Mani did not derive evil from the supreme God but taught that the worlds of light and darkness had existed separately from eternity. In response to the attack of darkness, God created Wisdom, who bore the first Man. In battle with darkness, Man left his soul in the underworld. Then God sent Living Spirit, who, to free Man's soul, created the universe, which is a mix of particles of Man's soul and

matter from the world of darkness. The particles climb the Milky Way to the Moon, whose waxing is its filling with particles, which wait until it is full, and its waning the particles' journey to the Sun. From the Sun the particles go to the "new aeon," where they await the end of time, when they will join the world of light.

To bind the light, evil rulers, having swallowed particles, created Adam and Eve. God sent the Jesus Splendor to give Adam gnosis. Human souls with gnosis escape from their bodies upon death, but ignorant souls enter new bodies. Sufficient light having been freed, Jesus will judge the world, which will burn to purify the remaining light. Matter will then be imprisoned forever.

Mani's ethic intended to protect and liberate the imprisoned light. The Manichaean church consisted of the "chosen," who abstained from meat, wine, sex, and many other things, and "hearers," who did not. Manichaean rites included prayers, reading, music, fasting, and feasts. Central was the "table" of the chosen, the daily meal of plants containing much light, such as melons, wheat bread, and juice or water. The chosen liberated the light within these plants by consuming them. Unlike other Gnostics and like Marcion, Mani founded a well-organized church, perhaps accounting for Manichaeanism's survival after the demise of almost every other Gnostic system.

### NAG HAMMADI AND MANDAEISM

Gnosticism was known mostly through its enemies, the fathers of the church, until 1945, when peasants near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, found 13 codices containing 46 tractates. Some are previously known works, others are complete works previously known only in fragments or only by name, and many were previously unknown. Some are not Gnostic, such as Plato's *Republic* and the Acts of Peter and the Twelve, and perhaps Thomas-Christian writings. The Gospel of Thomas may as accurately record Jesus' words as the canonical Gospels. The Gospel of Truth and the Gospel of Philip are Valentinian, the Apocryphon of John is Sethian, and others are Hermetic. The Nag Hammadi writings revolutionized Gnostic studies.

Medieval persecution largely suppressed Gnosticism, and the only Gnostic sect existing today is Mandaeism, mostly in Iraq. Like Marcionism and Manichaeanism, Mandaeism teaches that the worlds of light and darkness existed independently from eternity. Unlike them, Mandaeism prescribes child bearing and meat eating.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** Jonas, Hans. *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*. 3rd ed. Boston: Beacon, 2001; Pagels, Elaine. *The Gnostic Gospels*. New York: Vintage, 1979; Rudolph, Kurt. *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*. Trans. and ed. by Robert McL. Wilson, P. W. Coxon, K. H. Kuhn. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1984.

GRANT R. SHAFER

## Christianity, early

Christianity grew out of Second Temple Judaism and inherited its most important legacy, the Jewish scripture. It also inherited much of the Jewish interpretive traditions, such as the concepts of monotheism, covenant, election, and revelation, that had shaped the interpretation of these scriptures. The New Testament (NT) writers reinterpreted these traditions, as well as the scriptures, to confirm and to bolster the conviction that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, a person of the peasant class in the Greco-Roman world, was the promised Messiah, the Son of God, who established the new covenant by his blood, inaugurated the new age of eternal life, and gave all humans—male, female, old, young, slave, free, Jews, and Gentiles—the right to receive salvation by faith.

A very able articulator of these new views was the apostle PAUL of Tarsus, a Diaspora Jew and a former persecutor of the church. After a dramatic encounter with the risen Jesus, he became convinced that the death and the resurrection of Jesus fulfilled all the promises of the Jewish scriptures. Armed with this conviction, Paul redefined Jewish monotheism in new and surprising ways. If God had chosen to reveal himself fully in the death of Jesus, Paul argued, God, like Jesus, must be a friend of sinners. “God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us” (Rom. 5:8; Revised Standard Version). No Jewish literature prior to Paul depicts God’s love toward humans in these radical terms. God was customarily viewed in Judaism as a judge who punished sinners. Judaism did not teach that God loved sinners. Paul’s teaching that the dying figure of Jesus on the cross was the most complete revelation of God’s love toward sinful humans was simply revolutionary. This radical vision of God is precisely what early Christianity came to embrace as its central conviction, and it is this conviction that caused Christianity to take root and prosper in the ancient world.

Christianity’s explosive growth, however, was due to more than just doctrines, scriptural interpretations, or its message, brilliant as they were. There were other factors aiding its growth. Perhaps the most important of these was Christianity’s aggressive missionary zeal. In fact, Christianity was the most missionary-minded religion of antiquity. Neither Judaism nor Hellenistic philosophical schools engaged in missionary activities to the degree of Christianity. All the apostles were missionaries who made evangelistic forays into the far reaches of the Roman Empire. Of early Christianity’s missionaries, the most successful was Paul. He founded churches throughout Asia Minor (Turkey) and Greece. The second factor aiding Christianity’s growth was that Christianity was an urban religion. This was a surprising development because Christianity began as a small Jewish reform movement in Galilee led by one of its peasants. Within 50 years of the death of its founder, this humble rural religious movement took root in every major urban center of the empire. Antioch on the Orontes, ALEXANDRIA, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Rome all became the major centers of Christianity’s growth and eventual domination. Ironically, the rural territories of the Roman Empire were the last to be converted to Christianity.

The urban settings of the empire offered, among others, two conditions that made Christianity attractive: openness to new ideas and ethnic diversity. The city people were open minded, and Christianity had plenty of novel ideas to offer about God, humanity, and the world. But unlike Hellenistic philosophers, Christian preachers offered a relatively simple and practical message that appealed to many different classes of people, including the illiterate. Celsus, a second-century opponent of Christianity, ridiculed Christianity for exploiting the ignorant and appealing to the disadvantaged.

More important was the ethnic diversity of the Roman cities. The cities of the empire were cosmopolitan. People came from all parts of the empire to live and work in the cities, creating a network of relations in which merchants, soldiers, and slaves frequently intermingled with one another. Christianity’s key attraction was that no particular ethnic ties bound it. It preached its message to persons of any class and ethnic origin who were willing to listen. Unlike many pagan religions, Christianity was not tied to the customs of the land and did not discriminate against anyone. For example, Mithraism, a rival religion to Christianity, did not accept women into its fellowship. Early Christianity welcomed all who chose to accept Jesus

as Lord. Early Christian preachers saw the cosmopolitan cities of the empire as offering exceptional opportunities to spread the gospel “to every nation and tribe and language and people” (Rev 14:7). Christianity had an unexplainable power to appeal to displaced people who were experiencing insecurity and distress in the major cities of the empire.

Christianity quickly established itself in North Africa in Alexandria and CARTHAGE, where the great apologists TERTULLIAN (c. 185 C.E.), ORIGEN (c. 185–254 C.E.), and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 200 C.E.) worked, all of whom played a critical role in shaping the church’s Trinitarian doctrine. The city of Rome became home to Clement (c. 96 C.E.), Justin Martyr (150 C.E.), and Pope Callistus (217–222 C.E.). The churches in these Italian and North African cities became centers from which Christianity spread and took root in the Western Roman Empire. Lyon of GAUL (France) became home to Bishop Irenaeus (160–220 C.E.), one of the greatest apologists of early Christianity, whose writings provided a rich source of information about CHRISTIAN DUALISM before the Nag Hammadi codices were discovered. Christianity also took root in the cities of the East. The powerful Christian centers Ephesus, Smyrna, and Laodicea were all important cities of Asia Minor. The Antioch of Syria on the Orontes became an ancient center of Syrian Christianity going back to the very beginning of Christianity. Antioch gave birth to the great bishop Ignatius (c. 98–117 C.E.), whose letters are a valuable source of information about Christianity in Greece and Asia at the end of the era of the TWELVE APOSTLES.

The third factor aiding Christianity’s growth was its high ethical tone and moral purpose. The Roman moral sensibilities were somewhat schizophrenic. On the one hand, Rome extolled morality and law. On the other hand, it encouraged debauchery and savage entertainments, such as gladiator fights and the circus. In the midst of the moral confusion Christianity became a clarion call of protest, particularly on behalf of women and lower-class people. Also, in contrast to the high-brow Roman intelligentsia, Christians actually tried to live a moral life rather than simply pass judgment on society. Many ordinary believers lived an exemplary moral life. This became perhaps most evident in the martyrdom of the early Christians. If apostasy represents dissatisfied customers, martyrdom represents brand loyalty. The early Christian martyrs showcased their unflinching loyalty to the Christian ideals of non-violence and moral purity before the eyes of the crowds that had come looking for a violent entertainment.

Finally, the most important factor aiding Christianity’s growth was its phenomenal efficiency. Owing mostly to Roman persecutions, the church did not possess significant assets or real estate, so no extensive and centralized administrative oversight was necessary. Also it did not take many to start a church. It took only a handful of the disciples of Jesus to form the initial bands of believers in Palestine. It took only one person, Paul, to found churches throughout Asia Minor and Greece. In cities such as Rome and Alexandria it did not even take an apostle to plant Christianity. Maintaining the newly planted churches also required little manpower. The chief reason was the simplicity of the liturgy.

Many of the original congregations were “house churches” that met in private homes and were of no more than 30 or 40 individuals each. Even in the second and third centuries, when many churches grew in size, house church continued to be the way new churches got started. In these house churches the worship consisted basically of the Eucharist, singing of hymns, reading of scripture, mutual sharing of insights, and a fellowship (*agape*) meal. Rarely did a virtuoso preacher stand in front with a polished sermon, and there were no elaborate initiation rites, as in the mystery religions. Nor was there a painful rite, like Jewish circumcision. The converts were simply baptized by water in a baptistry or a shallow river. The main “service” that Christianity provided to its adherents was *koinonia*, or “spirit-filled fellowship.” There were deacons, presbyters, bishops, synods, and even councils that looked after the growing church. The presbyters oversaw communities, and the deacons looked after the affairs of the local churches. The most important ecclesiastical office was that of the bishop, who oversaw large territories in the empire. The bishops of major cities were rather powerful. The bishops of Rome in particular, later called the pope, exercised great power, both spiritually and politically. From the middle of the first century C.E. until CONSTANTINE THE GREAT converted to Christianity and made it Rome’s official religion in 322, Christianity proliferated more or less spontaneously, where it was least controlled.

Christianity became the spawning ground of exotic ideas, later termed HERESIES. Gnosticism, Monarchialism, Montanism, and Manichaeanism are some of the names given to these exotic ideas. For a religion growing without close supervision in urban centers of the Roman Empire, mostly among Gentile converts, this was to be expected. Most of the Gentile converts to Christianity did not know the Jewish traditions that stood behind much of the NT. Their intellectual context was

Hellenistic philosophy whose general focus was nature. Consequently, the debates that flared up between the fathers of the church and their opponents were about the nature of things: the nature of divine revelation, the nature of God, the nature of Christ, the nature of the Holy Spirit, the nature of the Trinity, the nature of the church, the nature of man, and the nature of redemption—in short the nature of Christianity.

By far the most important theological controversy in early Christianity was about the nature of Christ. The NT writers, most of whom were Jews, had been only minimally concerned with the nature of Christ. Their focus was history, the work of Jesus—that he was born, died for our sins, was buried and raised on the third day, and ascended to sit at the right hand of God to reign and to intercede for the saints before God. Even the writings of the apostolic fathers, such as the Didache, the Letters of Ignatius, 1 Clement, Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which were composed at the turn of the first century C.E., continued to focus mostly on the work of Christ and its saving effect on humans. Even their discussions about the preexistence of Christ were about his work in creation and Israel's history. From the second to third centuries, however, Christian apologists shifted their attention to defining the nature of the relationship between Christ and God—whether Christ had the same nature as that of God the Father.

The “apologists,” such as Justin, Tertullian, and Irenaeus, vigorously fought for a particular conception of the faith and argued for the unity of Christ and God: Christ was uncreated and of one substance with God the Father, and Christ was fully divine and fully human. This notion of divine unity became early Christianity’s orthodox Christology. The main strategy that the apologists used was to argue that they had the true apostolic tradition and that the scriptures must be read in light of this tradition. Irenaeus accused his opponents of developing their doctrines based on obscure scriptural passages and by appealing to forgeries, like the Gospel of Judas, rather than accepting the authentic apostolic tradition. The monumental triumph of the fathers of the church’s orthodoxy came in 325 when the COUNCIL OF NICAEA declared that Christ is “very God of very God.” It was a temporary victory, however. The reality was that at the time of the Nicene Creed, there was still no widespread consensus on the nature of Christ in early Christianity, and by the end of the fourth century a new conception of Christ had taken hold in mainstream Christianity, ARIANISM.

See also GREEK CHURCH; HELLENIZATION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); LATIN CHURCH; MARTYROLO-

GIES; MESSIANISM; MYSTERY CULTS; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Bainton, Roland H. *Christendom: A Short History of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966; Kelly, John N. D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. New York: Harper and Row, 1978; Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, the Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971; Richardson, Cyril C. *Early Christian Fathers*. New York: Macmillan, 1970; Stark, Rodney. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

P. RICHARD CHOI

## Chrysostom, John

(c. 347–407 C.E.) *church leader and theologian*

John Chrysostom was bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE and perhaps the greatest preacher in the early church, earning him the title *chrysostomos* (Greek: “golden-mouthed”). John was born to Christian parents of the educated upper class in Antioch in Syria and as a young man, studied rhetoric under the distinguished philosopher of NEOPLATONISM, Libanius. Although his education and exceptional gifts prepared him for a career in law or the imperial service, John chose instead to enter the clergy. He was baptized by Bishop Melitius of Antioch around 367 C.E., became a lector (a minor church official who read scripture in the liturgy or public worship), and devoted himself to the study of scripture and theology under Diodore of Tarsus, the leader of the Antiochene school.

Before advancing further in his ecclesiastical career, John withdrew from Antioch in order to pursue the ascetic life between 372 and 378. Under a strict ascetic regimen, however, John’s health deteriorated, forcing him to return to the city. In 381 John was ordained deacon, and in 386, presbyter, or priest. The next decade was the most productive in his life and marked the beginning of his extraordinary career as a preacher and writer. The vast majority of John’s work during these years consisted of sermons addressed to the people of Antioch. It was the rhetorical skill, spiritual depth, and practical applicability of his sermons that earned John the distinguished title *chrysostom*. In contrast to many early Christian interpreters of scripture, who favored allegorical reading, John epitomized the Antiochene

school's emphasis on the literal sense. At the same time, however, his preaching aimed primarily to draw out the spiritual and moral implications of the biblical text and apply them to the lives of his hearers.

Against his wishes John was made bishop, or patriarch, of Constantinople in 398. He quickly became enmeshed in imperial and ecclesiastical politics, areas in which he possessed significantly less skill than in preaching. Through a combination of his asceticism, uncompromising zeal for moral reform, and tactless disdain for the opulence of the court, John made himself the enemy of several very prominent people, including the empress Eudoxia and Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria. In a synod held in a suburb of Chalcedon in 403, Theophilus and a number of other Egyptian bishops condemned John on 29 concocted charges, including uttering defamatory and treasonable words against the empress.

John was eventually deposed and exiled near Antioch before being banished to Comana, an isolated village of Pontus on the Black Sea. In spite of support from the people of Constantinople, Pope Innocent I, and the entire Western LATIN CHURCH, John lived out his final days in exile. He died at Comana on September 14, 407, and his body was removed to Constantinople 30 years later. In the Western church his feast day is celebrated on September 13, and in the Eastern Church on November 13.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; MONASTICISM; SECOND SOPHISTIC.

**Further reading:** Kelly, J. N. D. *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995; Mayer, Wendy, and Paul Allen. *John Chrysostom*. London: Routledge, 2000.

FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

## Cicero

(106–43 B.C.E.) *orator and statesman*

Marcus Tullius Cicero was a famous Roman orator, writer, and political leader. He was a contemporary of Sulla, POMPEY, and JULIUS CAESAR. He was born in Arpinum in the year 106 B.C.E. and died in 43 B.C.E. He followed the custom of going to Rome for his formal education, studying rhetoric, philosophy, and law. After Rome he also studied rhetoric and philosophy with the Greeks at Athens and Rhodes. The Romans

considered him a great orator, and his writing style had a strong influence on writing in the Western world. Politically and philosophically, his stand against autocratic rule and for a republican style of government has also been influential.

Cicero's family was well to do and of the landed gentry but still not of the highest social class. Nevertheless, Cicero's father made sure that Cicero and his brother, Quintus, had the best teachers in Rome. At age 16, he studied law under Mucius Scaevola, one of Rome's best lawyers. During the Social War (91–88 B.C.E.), the war between the Romans and other Italian cities over the right to citizenship, Cicero served as a soldier for a short time under Consul Pompeius Strabo. After this he began his career as a lawyer. In 82 B.C.E. he demonstrated his political courage by defending Sextus Roscius, an enemy of the dictator Sulla. He won the case and went to Greece to continue his education, returning to Rome in 77 B.C.E.

Intelligent and ambitious, he followed the Roman road map to success, working his way up through various government jobs. The government first appointed him as a quaestor (financial administrator) in Sicily in 76 B.C.E. This was also the year that he married his first wife, Terentia, who gave him property and eventually an unhappy marriage. He further made his name in the legal profession in 70 B.C.E. when he successfully prosecuted Gaius Verres, the former governor of Sicily, for corruption.

In the year 63 B.C.E. Cicero became a consul, a position that gave him the highest of Roman class distinctions: a member of the nobility. But his time in office was a time of crisis for the Republic. The bulk of the Roman army was with Pompey in the east. In the meantime, Catiline, who had run for the position of consul and lost, had put an army together with the hopes of taking over the government.

Cicero discovered the plot and had many of the conspirators arrested. The Senate decided to put some of the conspirators to death without a trial. They argued that it was a time of martial law and the government was in grave danger. Cicero went along with this and was declared Pater Patriae—Father of His Country. But not everyone was happy with the decision.

After testifying in a case against a patrician named Clodius, Cicero found his citizenship—and possibly his life—in danger. In revenge for the testimony Clodius had a law passed that stated that anyone involved with putting to death a citizen without trial should be exiled or executed. Cicero fled the country and could not safely return until the next year (57 B.C.E.). In the

meantime, Roman officials destroyed his house and confiscated his property.

Cicero, a firm believer in republican principles, did not like the trend in Roman politics toward dictatorship. Unfortunately, these were the years of the First TRIUMVIRATE of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus. Then Crassus was killed in battle, and the country was ripe for civil war. Eventually, Caesar and Pompey clashed militarily, and Pompey was killed. Caesar proclaimed himself perpetual dictator in February 44 B.C.E. Then, on the Ides of March, a group of conspirators representing those for the return of the Republic assassinated Caesar. Cicero was not a member of the conspiracy. It was the hope of all of the conspirators, as well as Cicero, that with the death of Caesar, the Roman Empire would return to a republican style government. It did not.

Instead, Mark Antony took power, increasing his political and military power. Brutus left the country; Cicero started to leave, but Brutus convinced him he should remain and use his powers to try to persuade the populace that Antony was not their answer. In response, Cicero then wrote his famous *Philippics*, a series of speeches attacking Antony. Again, the result was not the desired one.

In a complicated zigzag of power shifts, Octavian, Caesar's nephew, returned to Rome and pledged his loyalty to the republican cause. At first, he was successful in his military challenge to Antony, then in a complete reversal, Octavian struck a deal with Antony and Lepidus to create the Second Triumvirate. Part of the deal included a proscription—a death list of people who the new government felt were a threat. Cicero was on the list and was hunted and killed. His head and hands were cut off and placed in Rome as a warning to those who would write and speak against those in power.

Cicero's life and examples are evident in his writings. His letters are superb examples of clear writing as well as a prime source of historical data. In terms of influence, his thoughts have affected many, including John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; CAESAR, JULIUS; MARIUS AND SULLA; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Cicero, M. T., et al. *Cicero: Select Orations*. New York: D. McKay, 1952; Grant, Michael. *Cicero: Selected Works*. New York: Penguin, 1984; Plutarch. *Parallel Lives, Volume 7*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

WILLIAM P. TOTH

## classical art and architecture, Greek

The Greek CLASSICAL PERIOD began with a war. In 499 B.C.E. the Ionian cities along the coast of Asia Minor revolted against the Persians under whose rule they had lived. In retaliation the Persians, led by DARIUS I, crushed the rebel cities and moved against Athens and Sparta, which took part in the revolt. When the Persians moved onto the mainland in 490 B.C.E., the Athenians defeated them at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, a few miles from Athens. Darius died (486 B.C.E.) and his son XERXES I, who succeeded him, moved against Athens with an army of 200,000 soldiers, 1,200 warships, and 3,000 smaller craft, and burned the city down. As Xerxes retreated, the Athenians, aided by the Spartans, followed the Persians to Plataea, and there they defeated the Persians again.

In 477 B.C.E. the Ionian and Aegean coastal cities formed the Delian League with Athens to unite themselves against this enemy. In 454 B.C.E. the military defense treasury was moved from Delos to Athens, and the annual payments collected from each member was spent on rebuilding the city. Under the leadership of PERICLES, Athens became the world's cultural center.

### THE PARTHENON

The destruction of Athens by the Persians meant that the temples and statues of the Acropolis, the sacred hill in the city, had to be rebuilt. This major project introduced classical Greek art and architecture. The grand main gate to the new Acropolis is the Propylaea, a Doric structure constructed by Mnesicles in 437–432 B.C.E. It contained a *pinakothekē* (picture gallery), the first known in history, and a library where visitors could rest after the steep climb. Visitors would next see the impressive PARTHENON, the ultimate expression of the classical Greek architectural style. It was built by Ictinus and Callicrates in 447–432 B.C.E. Plutarch writes that the structure was dedicated to Athena Parthenos (Athena the Maiden), who was the patron goddess of Athens.

The Parthenon housed a colossal 40-foot-high statue of Athena Parthenos, who held a winged victory figure in her hand. The sculptor Phidias created the sculpture, covered with ivory and gold. It has since been destroyed.

The Parthenon is a Doric structure, which includes Ionic features, specifically the continuous frieze that originally ran along the top of the exterior. The frieze depicts a procession of figures in motion with their draperies fluttering in response to their movements.

This new art style using the expression of motion defined classical Greek art. This was a change from the earlier Greek ARCHAIC Period with its stiff, frozen style of art. The classical figures were deeply carved and twist and turn within the pictorial space. Their draperies were composed of small, repetitive folds, seemingly pulled by gravity and motion and revealing the body forms underneath. This treatment of drapery is often called the Phidian style.

The genius of Phidias's counterparts, Ictinus and Callicrates, lies in the fact that they added optical enhancements to the Parthenon to give it an impressive sculptural quality. When a viewer enters an area they expect to see a front view of a building. The structure was placed at an angle so that when entering the Acropolis through the Propylaea, the viewer looks upon the corner of the large structure, seeing both the front and the side at the same time. This enhanced the three-dimensional aspect of the building. An optical illusion was created by building a foundation, bowed higher in the center of a wall and lower at each corner, making it appear that the corners of the building are even farther away. The columns all lean uniformly inward at the top, making them appear taller than they actually are. This calculated design was done in order to give to the viewer an impression of the Parthenon as being ethereal and otherworldly in appearance. The building was painted in several bright pastel colors, which enhanced the architectural elements and allowed the relief sculptures on the exterior to be seen from a distance.

The Parthenon today is a shell of its original design. It remained intact until 1687 when Venetians shot at the structure that was then being used by the Turks to house their ammunition. The ammunition exploded, destroying a significant portion of the building.

### TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE AND ERECTHEUM

The Temple of Athena Nike, built by Callicrates in 427–424 B.C.E., stands next to the Propylaea. It is a small Ionic temple, the first on the mainland. A continuous frieze depicts the Battle of Plataea, when the Athenians defeated the Persians.

The Erechtheum, like the Temple of Athena Nike, is an Ionic temple and was built to house the statue of Athena Polias. The Erechtheum, named after the Athenian king Erechtheus, was built by Mnesicles in 421–405 B.C.E. on the site where the contest between Athena and Poseidon is said to have taken place. It is also the site of Poseidon's mythological well, believed to lie far below the building's underground crypt. To add visual interest Mnesicles added three porches. This



*The ultimate expression of the classical Greek architectural style is the Parthenon, built by Ictinus and Callicrates in 447–432 B.C.E.*

includes the famed Porch of the Maidens, where caryatids (human figure columns) are standing in *contrapposto* (counterpose; literally, a counter pose where the shoulders are leaning to an angle in one direction and the hips are angled counter to that direction). This counter-angular stance of body creates an S-shaped stance, rather than a figure standing straight and stiff. These caryatids support the architrave (a beam that extends across the columns of a temple).

### EARLY CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

*Contrapposto* was a Greek classical invention, first seen in a freestanding statue called the Kritios Boy (c. 480 B.C.E.). It was found in the Acropolis and named after the sculptor thought to have rendered it. This figure, a *kouros* (youth) type, is a transitional piece that falls somewhere between the Greek Archaic and Early Classical Periods. The male youth stands with one leg supporting him and the other leg relaxed, thus the hips are at an angle. His shoulders lean at an opposite angle. The shoulders and hips form two counter, or opposing, angles—a natural pose that represented a major breakthrough in sculpture as it implied movement. Also new in the Kritios Boy is the rejection of the usual archaic smile in favor of a neutral expression.

True early classical sculptures are the two Riace Bronzes (c. 460 B.C.E.), among the few Greek original bronze statues to have survived. Most are known only through Roman marble copies. The reason the Riace Bronzes survived is that they were on a ship that sank in the fifth century B.C.E. and only found in the 1980s. Both of these bronze figures have the fluid, seemingly live motion of their relaxed counterpose. To enhance realism

the sculptor of these pieces used glass for the eyes and silver and copper inserts to highlight the figures' teeth, lashes, lips, and nipples. Their *contrapposto* stance is more emphatic than in the Kritios Boy, as are the details of anatomy. The left arm in the Riace Bronzes moves forward to break into the viewer's space, also breaking from the rigidity of the *kouros*-type figures of the Archaic Period.

In c. 450 B.C.E. Polyclitus took the elements of these statues one step further when he rendered his Doryphoros, or Spear-Bearer, known only through Roman copies. With this work Polyclitus established the proportions for the Early Classical Period. This resulted in muscular, athletic figures. He wrote a treatise on the subject of human proportions that he based on a Pythagorean mathematical method. The ratio of these human proportions were based on the fifth finger, as a unit of measure. To him the harmonious ratio between the various elements of a sculpture were imperative.

Once *contrapposto* was fully mastered, the figure could take on any pose, including the most complex. Myron, who specialized in the depiction of athletes, rendered the Discobolos (c. 450 B.C.E.), a figure throwing the discus, the composition based on two intersecting arches.

The anonymous Dying Niobid (c. 450–440 B.C.E.), originally part of a temple pediment, shows the female on one knee as she tries to remove the arrow of Apollo from her back. She has been shot because her mother Niobe boasted of her seven sons and seven daughters during a festival in honor of Letona, Apollo's mother. As she sinks to the ground, her head, torso, and left thigh form a straight line while her lower left leg, right thigh, and arms diagonally break away from that central axis. The contortions of her arms as she tries to remove the arrow have caused her drapery to slip off to reveal her youthful nude body, becoming the earliest female nude in Greek art. Emotion is conveyed, not through grimaces, but pose, and even then the pathos is restrained. For this, the sculpture of the Early Classical Period is normally qualified as the Severe Style.

### LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

In 431 B.C.E. the PELOPONNESIAN WAR between the Peloponnesian League, headed by Sparta, and the Delian League, headed by Athens, broke out, lasting for 27 years. Sparta, with the help of the Persians, defeated the Athenians, who lost their preeminence as the strongest power in Greece. In the 350s B.C.E., PHILIP

OF MACEDON invaded the Greek cities one by one, and by the 330s B.C.E. he unified them, establishing the first European nation. Philip was murdered in 336 B.C.E., and his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT succeeded him. Alexander engaged in a conquering campaign that took him as far east as India. These events marked the Late Classical Period. In this period Skopas, Lysippos, and Praxiteles became the leading masters.

To this Late Classical Period belongs the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, built in 350 B.C.E. by Satyrus and Pythius. It is one of the seven ancient wonders of the world. The building of the colossal mausoleum was commissioned by Queen Artemisia of Caria. It was to be a worthy royal funerary monument built for Mausolus, her brother and her consort, whom she loved. Artemisia summoned the greatest of Greek masters. The Mausoleum was destroyed in the 15th and 16th centuries but has since been reconstructed in the British Museum based on ancient descriptions and including fragments from the original structure. It combined Greek Ionic elements, including voluted columns (columns capped by a spiral ornament) and a continuous frieze, with non-Greek elements like a tall base, hipped roof, and colossal scale. In between the columns were statues depicting lions, and above the roof was a chariot with the portrait of Mausolus and Artemisia by Skopas. The portrait of Mausolus still exists and presents a different view on each side, denoting that, unlike most of the sculptures of the Early Classical Period, which focused on the frontal plane, this one invites the viewer to walk around it.

The continuous frieze that crowned the monument shows a battle between the Greeks and the Amazons (an Amazonomachy), the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and chariot races. The sculptors in charge of the reliefs were Bryaxis, Leochares, Timotheus, and Skopas, the most famous. Here the figures are in higher relief, in fact, almost completely in the round, in aggressive, vigorous poses, their draperies responding more emphatically to their violent movements.

The second major figure of the Late Classical Period was Lysippos from Sikyon, Alexander the Great's official sculptor. Douris of Samos reported that Lysippos had asked the painter Eupompos where he obtained his inspiration. The painter pointed to a crowd to answer the question and then admonished the sculptor to follow nature instead of imitating other artists. His attitude reflects the Aristotelian approach of empirically observing nature and its phenomena and then replicating those observations on the pictorial or sculptural surface.

Lysippos followed the advice. His *Apoxyomenos* of c. 330 B.C.E., a copy of which is housed in the Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican, presents an athlete scraping the oil and dust off his body after a contest, a common occurrence in Greek everyday life. Lysippus introduced a new set of proportions for the depiction of the human form resulting in more slender figures than those of the Early Classical Period.

The body, when depicted, is eight, not seven, times the length of the head, supplanting the more muscular mode of representation introduced by Polyclitus a century earlier. As the arms of his figure lift to engage in the action of scraping, they break into the viewer's space and offer an unobstructed view of the torso. This feature emphasizes the sculpture's three dimensionality and grants it a greater sense of movement. Each side offers a different view, forcing onlookers to walk around to fully experience the sculpture. As the arms move forward, the back takes on a convex form, typical of the art of Lysippus.

The final major figure in art of the Late Classical Period was Praxiteles, his signature work being the *Hermes* and the *Infant Dionysus* of c. 330 B.C.E. It presents Hermes, the messenger of the gods, taking the infant Dionysus, god of wine, to the Nymphs, who reared him. In Praxiteles' work, Hermes teases Dionysus by holding up a bunch of grapes that have since broken off along with his right arm. The sculpture represents the humanization of the Greek gods and their portrayal as having the same weaknesses and faults as humans. The work uses the proportions established by Lysippos, but its elegant quality is Praxiteles' own. He achieved this by exaggerating the S curve of Hermes's body, idealizing its forms, and giving a dreamy expression to his face.

Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C.E. and his conquered lands were divided among his generals. Egypt went to Ptolemy; Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, and most of Asia Minor to Seleucus; and Macedonia and Greece to Antigonus. The outside influences brought by Alexander's conquests resulted in an art that combined Eastern and Western idioms, marking the end of the Late Classical Period and the beginning of the Hellenistic era, when less restraint and more drama were infused into art.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENISTIC ART; HELLENIZATION.

**Further reading:** Beard, Mary, and John Henderson. *Classical Art from Greece to Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Belozerskaya, Marina, and Kenneth Lapatin. *Ancient Greece: Art, Architecture, and History*. Los Angeles:

J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004; Boardman, John. *Greek Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964; Burn, Lucilla. *The British Museum Book of Greek and Roman Art*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992; Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Lawrence, A. W. *Greek Architecture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996; Osborne, Robin. *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; Sparkes, Brian A. *Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Classical Association, 1991; Spivey, Nigel Jonathan. *Greek Art*. London: Phaidon Press, 1997.

LILIAN H. ZIRPOLO

## Classical Period, Greek

The Greek Classical Period (500–323 B.C.E.) had a vast amount of influence on Western culture in terms of art, literature, philosophy, and architecture. This period occurred between the Archaic Period (800–500 B.C.E.) and Hellenistic Period (323–31 B.C.E.) and took place near the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Many renowned philosophers and writers appeared at this time, such as ARISTOTLE, EURIPIDES, and SOPHOCLES.

Greece was a collection of city-states with different forms of government. The Classical Period marked the contribution of democracy to Western civilization, with its roots in the city-state of Athens. It was an aristocrat, CLEISTHENES, who brought the ideas of democracy to Athens in 510 B.C.E. The word *democracy* comes from the Greek word *demos* meaning “the dominion of the people.” Cleisthenes’ objective was to attain more power for the Greeks in Athens, by giving the people the power to vote. Democracy for the Greeks meant that a majority of votes, taken in an assembly (which was every male’s duty when randomly chosen to attend), decided an issue. Males who did not attend a required assembly were no longer considered citizens, and their civil rights were taken away.

There were political conflicts during the Classical Period as well. The golden age, during the Classical Period, marked a time when Athens was strong. During this time the Greeks waged war on the Persians, who were a great threat with their growing military power, wealth, and size. A deadly war broke out in 479 B.C.E., during the PERSIAN INVASIONS, in which the Greeks destroyed the Persians. Although Sparta and Athens joined forces in their conquest over the Persians, hostility between the two city-states grew and eventually erupted into a war against each other, known as the PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431–404 B.C.E.). The end of the Peloponnesian War marked the end of the golden age due to the Spartans defeat of the Athenians.

Greek literature during the Classical Period brought about drama and its genres. The three tragedian playwrights were Euripides (484–406 B.C.E.), AESCHYLUS (525–456 B.C.E.), and Sophocles (496–406 B.C.E.). Euripides was known for such plays as *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.E.) and *Medea* (431 B.C.E.) and his development of the New Comedy, such as in *Alcestis*, all while bringing his realist views into drama. Aeschylus, a great poet as well as playwright, first brought a second actor to the stage. Aeschylus is known for many tragedies such as *Suppliants* (490 B.C.E.), *Agamemnon* (458 B.C.E.), and *Prometheus Bound* (456 B.C.E.). Sophocles was also a popular and talented tragedian who performed his plays at the Festival of Dionysus. Sophocles was known for writing tragedies such as his *Theban Plays*: *Antigone* (441 B.C.E.), *Oedipus Rex* (425 B.C.E.), and *Oedipus in Colonus* (401 B.C.E.) as well as *Electra* (c. 410 B.C.E.) and *Ajax* (c. 440 B.C.E.). Sophocles is noted as one of the first playwrights to bring a third actor to the stage.

Philosophy was ignited during the Classical Period because classical Greeks started to realize the importance of rational thinking and that life occurrences happened by means other than the supernatural. This redefined and pervaded philosophical thought throughout Athens. The three major philosophers of this period were SOCRATES (470–399 B.C.E.), Plato (427–347 B.C.E.), and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). Socrates taught Plato, one of his top students, his views on the world. Plato then went on to become a philosopher, and his top pupil was Aristotle. Aristotle, who developed the scientific method, went on to educate ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Much of Western philosophy has been built on these great thinkers' ideas.

Sculpture became more realistic during the Classical Period. The human form through sculpture became more precise and three dimensional, emphasizing Greek realist ideals. Phidias and Polyclitus were two popular sculptors during this time. Phidias (490–430 B.C.E.) created statues of Athena and sculptures in the PARTHENON as well as the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Polyclitus, popular during the early fifth century B.C.E., sculpted a famous statue of Hera as well as one of Doryphoros, a spear-bearer. The masterpieces of the time characterized the Greeks' use of ebony, marble, bronze, ivory, and gold.

Architecture also became more distinct and had features unique to Greece. There were three types of columns developed during this period, demonstrated by the Parthenon in Athens: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. These architectural features were named after

the cities in which they were developed. Doric is the simplest column with no ornamentation at the top. The Ionic had slightly more elaborate decorations at the top and bottom of each column. Corinthian columns were ostentatious and were highly ornamental. PHILIP OF MACEDON (381–336 B.C.E.) unified the Greeks through conquest. The Classical Period ended with the rise of Philip II's son Alexander the Great (353–323 B.C.E.) and his conquest of the Persian Empire. This led to the development of the Hellenistic culture, which blended the cultures of Greece, Indian, Persia, and Egypt.

See also: ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; CLASSICAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE, GREEK; GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA.

**Further reading:** Boardman, John. *Greek Culture: The Classical Period*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991; De Souza, Philip. *Greek and Persian Wars*. London: Osprey, 2003; Freeman, Charles. *The Greek Achievement: The Foundation of the Western World*. New York: Penguin, 2000; Grant, Michael. *The Classical Greeks*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989.

NICOLE DECARLO

## Cleisthenes

(c. 565–c. 500 B.C.E.) *Greek statesman*

Cleisthenes was an Athenian nobleman often credited with having given rise to the first democratic political structure in his native city-state. At the end of the sixth century B.C.E. he implemented various reforms that changed politics as well as life in general for the Athenian citizenry. The importance of Athenian democracy can hardly be overstated, not only because of its uniqueness and its expansion of freedom, but also because it allowed the golden age of Athenian civilization to dawn in the fifth century B.C.E. The reforms implemented by Cleisthenes in 508–507 B.C.E. brought a period of one-man rule by tyrants to an end and granted Athenian men unprecedented powers over their political community. In order to make such changes Cleisthenes first had to overcome numerous challenges and adversaries while continuing to deal with ongoing criticism. Still, some scholars argue that his reforms were largely self-serving by greatly benefiting him and his clan. Regardless to what degree Cleisthenes might have personally profited from his actions, there is little doubt that Athens did as well, while the rest of the world gained in having an early model of democracy to inspire later democratic political regimes.

Cleisthenes was born in 570 B.C.E. into the wealthy and aristocratic Alcmaeonid family. He was named after his grandfather, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, who had ruled Sicyon and who had also established a name for himself for various other deeds, including an Olympic victory in chariot racing and a yearlong competition to determine the suitor who would marry his daughter. Megacles, an important Athenian statesman, was the eventual winner of the bridal contest, and the couple's child (the younger Cleisthenes) was to follow in the family's footsteps by participating directly in Athenian politics. Raised on the HOMERIC EPICS and inspired by the notion of immortality through important individual deeds, the young Cleisthenes had no shortage of ambition and determination; however, he found himself in rather precarious times in Athens.

After the stable and rather prosperous period of rule under PEISTRATUS, who was hardly an oppressive or cruel tyrant, the situation changed drastically. Upon his death in 527 B.C.E., his son Hippias took over, and although he initially ruled in a rather passive manner, he increasingly turned to more brutal and dictatorial methods. The assassination of his brother and political confidante, Hipparchus, only made matters worse. In addition, a great deal of friction existed between the noble landowners and the farmers. The arrangement at the time forced tenant farmers to hand over a large percentage of what they produced to the landowners. The result was that much of the citizenry that lived off the land was poor, which included the majority of Athenians. The fear of politicians was that rival clans or families would attempt to rally the support of the farmers and the slaves so as to instigate a rebellion by promising to eliminate their state of destitution. Rather than attempting to address the issue, the tyrants of the past largely sought to strengthen the power of their proper family while weakening their adversaries and the people in general.

The momentum for change initially began when Cleisthenes obtained help from Sparta in overthrowing Hippias. Despite his success in forcing the tyrant to flee, Cleisthenes was unable to assume the reigns of leadership as Isagoras, a fellow nobleman and powerful politician, immediately challenged him. By proposing a number of major reforms, Cleisthenes boldly garnered support well beyond the traditional bases of support in the aristocracy. He promised that all citizens would have an opportunity to participate in government and declared them to be his companions, or *betairoi*. Realizing how powerful Cleisthenes was becoming, Isagoras, ironically enough, pleaded with the

Spartan king who had earlier helped topple Hippias. Cleomenes, king of the Spartans, obliged and sent a small force with the intention of establishing an Athenian council formed of his own supporters. No match for the approaching troops in terms of military power, Cleisthenes had no other option than to flee. Isagoras established himself as head of a new regime composed of 300 other aristocrats that was upheld with Spartan military might and influence. Tyranny had crept its way back into Athenian politics. Cleisthenes' clan, the Alcmaeonids, and numerous of his supporters were exiled from the city, and other possible hindrances to Isagoras's power were slowly dismantled. The much earlier reforms of SOLON were undermined, including the removal of the Council of Four Hundred, which was representative of the population as a whole.

Eventually the Athenians became outraged at the actions of Isagoras, whereupon rioting broke out. To the surprise of both Isagoras and Cleisthenes the situation escalated into a large-scale rebellion. For two days and two nights the people besieged Isagoras, his supporters, and the Spartans in the Acropolis. Realizing his mistake, Cleomenes arranged for a truce. The fleet-footed Isagoras managed to escape; however, his cohorts were arrested and executed. The Athenians recalled Cleisthenes from exile and requested that he implement his previously mentioned reforms and aid them in establishing a government of the people with equality for all citizens under the law (known as *isonomia*).

In order to bring about greater opportunity and equality Cleisthenes eliminated the earlier kinship clan system that was not only exclusive but conducive to domination by a single family. Whereas the city-state was previously divided into four clans along blood-lines, known as the Ionic tribes, Cleisthenes established a new system of 10 tribes that were based on one's locale of residency, or what was known as one's *deme*. The entire city-state was divided into three major regions: the city region (*asty*), the coastal region (*paralia*), and the inland region (*mesogeia*). These regions were each subdivided into 10 sections known as *trittyes*, or thirds. The 30 *trittyes* of the city-state consisted of the numerous *demes*, which seem to have numbered roughly 139 or 140. All male citizens at the age of 18 and older registered within their *deme* and this became an important association, more important than the previous *phratria*, or familial association, which further served to undermine strict blood ties.

Cleisthenes also reformed the previous Council of Four Hundred into the *boule*, a council consisting of 500 members, 50 men from each of the 10 tribes. This

institution was at the heart of the new system and served as the executive carrying out policy made by the assembly. Access to various levels of government was opened for members of society beyond the noble-blooded aristocratic class, albeit one had to have a certain amount of wealth or property. Cleisthenes also reformed the legislative body and introduced the policy of OSTRACISM. In sum, building on the earlier reforms of Solon, Cleisthenes placed the state into the corporate power of the citizens resulting in a new political dynamic in favor of greater freedom and control for the Athenian citizenry.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES.

**Further reading:** De Ste. Croix, G. E. M. *Athenian Democratic Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Foran, Charles W. *Athens from Cleisthenes to Pericles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991; O'Neil, James L. *The Origins and Development of Ancient Greek Democracy*. Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995; Stanton, G. R. *Athenian Politics c. 800–500 BC: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

TREVOR SHELLEY

## Clement of Alexandria

(c. 150–c. 215 C.E.) *religious teacher and philosopher*

Clement of ALEXANDRIA (Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus) is one of many brilliant Alexandrian theologians that arose between the first and third centuries C.E. The writings of Jewish sages such as PHILO and Sirach influenced all these Alexandrian thinkers. His teacher was supposedly Pantaenus, a noted Christian thinker who was principal of the “official” school for aspiring candidates for Christianity. (Conversion to Christianity required a rigorous initiation program in the early days.) Clement in turn took Pantaenus’s position and educated ORIGEN, the brilliant Christian polymath of the early third century C.E. Most of the speculation about Clement of Alexandria’s life comes from EUSEBIUS of Caesarea in the fourth century C.E.

In fact, Clement never cites Pantaenus, and Origen never cites Clement. Eusebius’s claim that the school was an official catechetical school does sit well with the usual picture that historians project of the usually quite private institutes that are organized around philosophers and thinkers. Eusebius was enamored with Origen and may have simply wanted him connected to the apostles who would have set up such

programs for believers. Eusebius says that Clement traveled around the Mediterranean world seeking out intellectual mentors until he found what he was looking for in Alexandria. The school he operated seems to have been set up for the rich and the educated. His writings give clues about the intellectual life of second-century Alexandria. The city was stratified into groups of “simple believers,” more advanced students of philosophy and religion to whom Clement offered instruction and advice, CHRISTIAN DUALISM and its adherents who claimed secret knowledge, and conventional pagan intellectuals and the pagan religionists who followed the MYSTERY CULTS. Clement criticized the latter groups.

The most famous extant work is a trilogy: “Exhortation,” “Instructor,” and “Miscellaneous.” The trilogy seems to address progressively select audiences. The “Exhortation” speaks to beginners and outsiders about the advantages of Christianity; the “Instructor” speaks to those who are converted and needing discipline; and the “Miscellaneous” is a patchwork of material, but at least some of it addresses those who are true “Gnostics.” While Clement writes in elegant Greek, at times he is pretentious and rambling. His main point is that knowledge of Christ as Logos brought salvation to the believer. PAIDEIA, or education, is the way to know the Logos better, and Clement’s school was to offer this education. Clement avoided the heresy of Gnosticism because he affirmed the material world as real and Christ as incarnate (fleshly), although he conceded that much of the Bible was better understood as allegory and not literal truth.

The problems people have with Clement’s thinking were many. He downplays the plain meaning of the Bible and through allegory brings in classical Greek philosophy. He fosters elitism in his preference for the secret and more mature understanding of religious knowledge. This elitism is found in the writings of later Christians (such as Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fenelon) and shows why the public resented second-century Gnostics. On the other hand, his theology is truly innovative for Christian mysticism, and individuals like the Pseudo-Dionysus, Meister Eckhart, and John Wesley found consolation in his writing.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

**Further reading:** Chadwick, Henry. *The Early Church*. New York: Penguin, 1990; Fox, Robin Lane. *Pagans and Christians*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Code of Justinian

Among the most lasting accomplishments of the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I (527–565 C.E.) was his comprehensive compilation and organization of Roman law. The emperor believed that law was as essential to the security of the empire as military power. His legal achievement (like his martial effort) was an attempt to ensure the power and legacy of his reign.

Justinian selected and changed a commission, which included Tribonian, the day's greatest legal mind, with the task of organizing the past and present laws of the empire. In 529 the commission completed its work, the Code, which arranged centuries of imperial legislation, removing that which was no longer needed. This code was revised and updated in 534. Copies were distributed throughout the empire, and only laws that were recorded in it were valid in the empire's courts. After this Justinian entrusted Tribonian and his commission with the task of compiling, editing, and organizing past legal decisions or commentaries on the laws. This work, known as the Digest, was completed in 533. It was divided into 50 books, by subject headings for easy reference. Justinian further entrusted Tribonian with the publication (534) of an official legal textbook, the Institutes, for the training of lawyers. These three parts—along with a fourth part consisting of Justinian's new laws called Novels (meaning new laws)—all written in Latin, became known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or Body of Civil Law.

This work had a profound effect on future legal procedure. The *Corpus* influenced Byzantine law down to 1453, when the Byzantine Empire fell to the Ottoman Turks. The *Corpus* largely influenced Byzantium through a later Greek legal compilation known as the *Basilika* (ninth century). In the West, Roman law was diminished by the transition to Germanic rule during the early Middle Ages. In the 11th century, however, legal scholars at the University of Bologna in Italy revived the study of Justinian's *Corpus*. In the 12th century this study led GRATIAN, a Bolognese monk, to create a systematic organization of canon law (church laws) called the *Decretum*. This study also gave birth to secular legal developments in western Europe. The Code of Justinian still heavily influences many European legal systems.

**Further reading:** Maas, Michael, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Moorhead, J. *Justinian*. London: Long-

man, 1994; Browning, R. *Justinian and Theodora*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

MATTHEW HERBST

## Confucian Classics

Since the beginning of the historic period the Chinese have held the traditions handed down from antiquity with deep awe and reverence. Works traditionally accepted as the heritage of ancient times long preceded CONFUCIUS (551–479 B.C.E.) but are nonetheless called the Confucian Classics.

The Five Confucian Classics are the most revered canonical works of the classics. They are

1. *Yi Jing (I Ching)*, or *Book of Changes*
2. *Shu Jing (Shu Ching)*, or *Book of History* or *Documents*
3. *Shi Jing (Shih Ching)*, or *Book of Odes* or *Poetry*
4. *Li Jing (Li Ching)*, or *Li Ji (Li Chi)*, or *Book of Rites*
5. *Qunqiu (Ch'un-ch'iu)*, or *Annals of Spring and Autumn*

Confucius is the author of the *Annals of Spring and Autumn*. All others are collections of ancient documents that tradition says were edited and compiled by Confucius and his disciples.

The *Yi Jing*, or *Book of Changes*, is a collection of short texts that give clues to interpreting the results of divination cast by priests by means of tortoise shells and milfoil stalks on orders from kings of the SHANG DYNASTY (c. 1700–c. 1122 B.C.E.). According to tradition, Confucius wrote a number of “wings” to these texts that elaborate on their interpretations and explain their significance. Modern historians attribute the “wings” to eras later than Confucius.

The *Shu Jing*, or *Book of History*, is a compilation of short documents. They are announcements, speeches, manifestos, and reports by ancient rulers and their ministers, beginning from the mythical ideal kings YAO, SHUN, AND YU down to the early ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 B.C.E.). Confucius, who also wrote introductions to the documents to explain their significance, supposedly edited them. Modern historians think that while the Zhou documents are authentic, ones attributed to earlier eras were written much later. The *Shi Jing*, or *Book of Poetry*, is an anthology of 300 poems. Some were folk songs, while others were

songs used by leaders for ceremonies. They date to the early Zhou period and were reputedly selected and edited by Confucius. The *Li Jing*, or *Book of Rites*, is a varied collection that includes rules on the organization of the Zhou government, a code of conduct for lords and gentlemen, and rules for important events in life such as weddings, funerals, and sacrifices. The DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU), a founding father of the Zhou dynasty, was supposedly the author of many of the documents in this classic. Again, Confucius is credited with selecting and editing the documents.

The *Qunqiu*, or *Annals of Spring and Autumn*, is a chronicle of the state of Lu between 722–481 B.C.E. and was compiled by Confucius, who came from that state. The book is important because through his choice of words Confucius gave his moral judgment of the persons and events that were chronicled. When Emperor Wu of the HAN DYNASTY made Confucianism China's official ideology around 110 B.C.E., the Five Classics gained the status of canonical works. Great Han scholars worked on publishing an official version and officially endorsed interpretation. Students studied them and official examinations that recruited government officials were based on them, producing an educated elite in Chinese society for the next 2,000 years that were welded in the same tradition.

More than a thousand years after their canonization, during the Song (Sung) dynasty (960–1279 C.E.) there was a great movement to reexamine and reinterpret Confucianism. It was called Neo-Confucianism. A leader of this movement was Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi), who lived between 1130–1200. Zhu encouraged the study of four additional texts. The Four Books are

1. *Lunyu (Lun-yu)*, or *Analects of Confucius*. A collection of Confucius's conversations and activities recorded and compiled by his students after his death. It consists of 20 chapters. They give clues to his character and ideals. For example: "Confucius said: 'At fifteen, I set my heart on learning. At thirty, I was firmly established. At forty, I had no more doubts. At fifty, I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty, I was ready to listen to it. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire without transgressing what was right.'"
2. *Mengzi (Meng Tzu)*, or *Book of Mencius*. It is a compilation of the writings of MENCIUS (372–289 B.C.E.), who was honored as the second sage of the Confucian school, second only to the master.
3. *Daxue (Ta-hsueh)*, or *Great Learning*
4. *Zhongyong (Chung-yung)*, or *Doctrine of the Mean*

*Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean* were two essays taken from the *Book of Rites*. They stress that improving the mind is the start of improving the world. As stated in the *Great Learning*: "Those in antiquity who wished to illuminate luminous virtues throughout the world would first govern their states; wishing to govern their states, they would first bring order to their families; wishing to bring order to their families they would first cultivate their own persons...."

The Five Classics and Four Books are the most revered books in China. They are also essential in Japan and Korea, countries that adopted the fundamental ideals of Chinese civilization.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Chan, W. T. *Source Book of Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960; De Bary, Wm. Theodore, et al., eds. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Vol. 1. New York, Columbia University Press, 1960.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Confucianism as a state ideology

Confucianism, originally an East Asian philosophy based upon the teachings of CONFUCIUS, has strongly influenced governmental structures and policies worldwide, particularly in China, Korea, Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Confucius, a famous Chinese philosopher who lived from 551 to 479 B.C.E., frequently expressed his thoughts in short sayings, such as those collected and preserved by his students and followers in the *Analects of Confucius*.

Confucius did much more than teach philosophy and hoped to spread his thoughts and ideas to receive the patronage of one of the many lords competing for supremacy in China, and he even hoped to persuade Chinese leaders to follow his system of thought and values. Unfortunately, Confucius failed to have his ideas accepted by key rulers of Chinese society during his lifetime, but his concepts eventually developed into a state ideology.

The development of Confucianism as a state ideology may be attributed to his followers or, to be more exact, the followers of his original followers. During a period of history in ancient China known as the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, or Thought, prominent Confucian scholars such as MENCIUS and XUNZI elaborated upon Confucian principles and spread the philosophy and its social and political influences throughout China.

Although briefly forbidden during the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), the sixth emperor of the HAN DYNASTY embraced Confucianism. He adopted the principles of Confucian thought as the basis for his government, laws, and ethics. In order to promote it he started a university to teach the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS to new generations. Confucianism remained the most influential and mainstream school of thought in China until the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) stamped it out.

Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) undertook further elaboration of Confucianism as a state ideology, and he was indentified as one of the first Neo-Confucians. Neo-Confucianism, which was more appealing not only to China but also to Korea and Japan, incorporated DAOISM (TAOISM) and Buddhist ideas to create a more all-encompassing philosophy and ideology. The two most fundamental principles of Confucian governmental thought are virtue and merit. In order to govern one must first be able to successfully govern himself. As a result, the king or leader of a government must act as a "calm center" around which society is able to develop and prosper under his direction.

Confucian thought stresses learning as an integral component of not only better governing oneself but also improving one's chances for success within society. When later dynasties began to implement Confucian governmental principles, they established civil services exams for government positions, based upon the study of the Confucian Classics. In addition, they also incorporated traditional values of ritual, filial piety, loyalty, community, and humaneness. Confucianism still influences many Asian nations.

**Further reading:** Berthrong, John H., Evelyn Nagai Berthrong, and E. Nagai-Berthrong. *Confucianism*. Oneworld Publications, 2000; Elman, Benjamin A., John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms, eds. *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*. Los Angeles: UCLA, 2002.

ARTHUR HOLST

## Confucius

(551–479 B.C.E.) Chinese philosopher

Confucius is the Latinized form for Kong Fuzi (K'ung-fu-tzu) which means Master Kong in Chinese. He came from a minor noble family from the state of Lu in modern Shandong (Shantung) Province, which had been founded by the DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU).

His father died when he was young, and his mother brought him up under humble circumstances. Confucius founded a school of philosophy called Confucianism, which stressed ethics in personal and political life and which contended for acceptance during the era called the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY in China that lasted between approximately 600 and 300 B.C.E. By 100 B.C.E. Confucianism had become China's state ideology, and Confucius was acknowledged as the Supreme Sage and Ultimate Teacher. Few people have had a greater impact on more people for two millennia.

Although many legends have grown around Confucius in later centuries, it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct a fairly accurate biography of him. Confucius had an education fitting for a gentleman. His hobbies were music and archery, but he had to make a living. He sought government service, but with a mission, which was to reform morals and bring peace. China was in an unstable state. The ZHOU DYNASTY was in decline, and the feudal lords who were contending for supremacy paid little attention to moral leadership. Thus, he had little luck finding acceptance for his ideas and turned to teaching as an instrument for reform. He was China's first professional teacher, charging tuition, but only accepting students of integrity. Whereas traditional schools for nobles turned out educated men who did their lords' bidding, Confucius expected his students to play a dynamic role in reforming the government and serving the people. He taught more than 3,000 students, among them 72 were counted disciples. Most of his students went on to teach and further his legacy, spreading his ideals and debating followers of other philosophies.

Confucius wrote a book titled the *Annals of Spring and Autumn* (*Qunqiu*), which was a chronicle of his state of Lu. The book's title gave its name to the era it covered. Its importance was his choice of words to describe people and events, called the "rectification of names," that conveyed censure or praise. According to the famous Confucian MENCIUS: "Confucius wrote the Spring and Autumn and rebellious sons and disloyal ministers were overwhelmed with consternation." This book, together with the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), or *Book of Change*; *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History*; *Shi Jing* (*Shih Ching*), or *Book of Poetry*; and *Li Jing* (*Li Ching*), or *Book of Rites*, constitute the Five Classics of the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS and are the most revered texts of the Chinese culture. Confucius and his disciples are credited with compiling and editing the other Four Books of the canon and also writing appendices to them. One of these, *Lunyu* (*Lun-yu*), or the *Analects*, which means "selected sayings," was a

collection of his sayings and conversations with his students that they gathered together sometime soon after his death. The *Analects* gives his views on things and events and paints him as a very human man focused on doing well by this world and not concerned about the divine and the next world.

Confucius saw himself not as a reformer or innovator but as a conservator and transmitter of traditional virtues. His goal was to return China to the golden ages of antiquity, to the era of the legendary sage-kings YAO, SHUN, AND YU, and more recently to the era of the wise founders of the Zhou dynasty, Kings WEN AND WU, and the Duke of Zhou. However, Confucius was a revolutionary in that to him the superior man who should lead achieved this status not by birth but by education and self-cultivation. When Confucianism was adopted as China's official ideology, this radical criterion for assessing human worth would lead to the stress of education and the implementation of an examination system for recruitment of government officials that would make China a meritocracy.

Because humans are social beings living in society, Confucius inculcated the following ideals of conduct. One was *li*, which indicated rites, ritual, or proper good conduct under all circumstances. Another was *ren* (*jen*), which demanded love and benevolence toward all beings. They should be practiced together to achieve full meaning. Since the family is the basic unit of society, Confucius also taught the virtue of *xiao* (*hsiao*), or filial piety, which is the honor and respect that children owe their parents. Confucius expounded that there are five key relationships in life, as follows: between parents and children, husband and wife, elder and younger siblings, king and subjects, and friends and neighbors. Three of the five are within the family, because family is the microcosm of society, and it is in the family that the young learn their first lessons.

The first in each of the first four relationships enjoys higher status, but that comes with greater responsibility. For example the parents must not just feed and clothe their children but inculcate moral values and set examples for the children, who should love, honor, and obey their parents. If each person in any relationship behaves correctly according to his/her position, then the rectification of names has been achieved. Beyond the family, a king who deserves the name should lead his people by good moral example and provide for their welfare; and the people should honor and serve him as they serve their parents. The only potentially equal relationship is between friends and neighbors, who should deal with one another

honorably and humanely, but here again, the younger ones should honor their elders.

Self-cultivation and personal virtue are the hallmarks of the superior man, who had the duty to serve society. Confucius did not challenge the monarchical system of government but put a heavy responsibility of those in positions of power to lead well. He said: "To govern is to set things right...If a ruler himself is upright, all will go well without orders. But if he himself is not upright, even though he gives orders they will not be obeyed...Lead the people by laws and regulate them by penalties, and the people will try to keep out of jail, but will have no sense of shame. Lead the people by virtue and restrain them by the rules of decorum, and the people will have a sense of shame and moreover will become good."

He was no prophet, sought no divine sanction for his teachings, and believed in a natural and moral order for humans. To Confucius heaven was a guiding providence and human fulfillment could only be achieved through acting in accordance with the will of heaven. How can one understand heaven's will? Confucius's answer was to study history and literature because in them one finds the collective wisdom of humanity from antiquity. He attributed the ills of his day to the neglect of the study of history and music and the observance of ritual. This is why he treasured ancient texts and why posterity attributes to Confucius and his disciples their collection into the canons. Although a man of personal piety and reverence, he did not concern himself much with otherworldly concerns. When a disciple asked him about worship of spirits, Confucius answered thus: "We don't know yet how to serve men, how can we know about serving the spirits." On death he said: "We don't know yet about life, how can we know about death?" adding, "Devote yourself to the proper demands of the people, respect the ghosts and spirits but keep them at a distance—this may be called wisdom."

Confucius's disciples continued his work of teaching, debates with other schools on philosophical principles, and of public service when possible. Among his great early disciples was Mencius, whose teachings were collected into a work that bears his name and who became honored as the Second Sage. Another was XUNZI (HSUN TZU), who also gives his name to a work. However, Xunzi is called a heterodox teacher who deviated from the true spirit of Confucianism because he argued that human nature was originally evil rather than good, as Confucius and Mencius asserted.

When China finally achieved unification in 221 B.C.E. under the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, it was under a hard-

headed and amoral philosophy called **LEGALISM**. Legalism and Confucianism were anathema to each other. The Legalist rulers of the Qin banned Confucian and other philosophical teachings and tried to burn all their books, allowing only Legalist and practical works to be studied. Many Confucian scholars were killed during the brief Qin dynasty. The demise of the Qin in 206 B.C.E. resulted in the lifting of the ban on philosophical debates. Within a hundred years the **HAN DYNASTY** (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) established **CONFUCIANISM** as a **STATE IDEOLOGY**, and Confucius was honored as the First Sage.

**Further reading:** Creel, H. G. *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*. New York: Mentor Books, 1960; Rubin, V. A. *Individual and State in Ancient China, Essays on Four Chinese Philosophers: Confucius, Mo Tzu, Shang Yang and Chuang Tzu*. Trans. by S. I. Levine. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976; Waley, Arthur, trans. *The Analects of Confucius*. New York: Random House, 1958.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Constantine the Great

(c. 285–337 C.E.) Roman emperor

The reign of Constantine the Great marked the transition from the ancient Roman Empire to medieval Europe and a decisive step in the establishment of the Christian Church as the official religion for the Greek and Latin civilizations. His view of church-state relations affected the way that European governments were constituted for centuries, and his influence had direct repercussions on the administration of such countries as Russia, ruled by czars, even until the 20th century.

Constantine was the son of Constantius and HELENA. His father was appointed in 293 C.E. as one of four co-emperors in the **TETRARCHY** set up by **DIOCLETIAN**. Diocletian chose to keep Constantius's son under surveillance as his tribune. When Diocletian retired in 305, Constantine was allowed to join his father on campaign in Scotland. His father died in Britain, and his troops proclaimed Constantine as their new Caesar.

Between 305 and 312 Constantine marshaled propaganda, troops, and resources toward taking sole power in the Western Roman Empire. He won a string of battles against the Franks and others and then marched into the Italian Peninsula with an eye on defeating his Roman rival. The key to his success was a risky battle fought outside Rome in 312. Constan-

tine claims to have seen a celestial vision there that revealed his fortune and steeled his courage. At first he said that it was the appearance of his protector god Apollo who promised him 30 years of success, with the Roman numeral XXX appearing in the sky. As Constantine grew older, he decided that this visitation was of a Christian nature and that he saw a single cross with the words *in hoc signo vince* ("in this sign conquer"). The later Christian version of the story finishes with Constantine's army marching to victory, the cross emblazoned on their shields. The place of the vision was the Milvian Bridge, now associated with the turning point of his life, his career, and the destiny of the Christian religion. Constantine thought the hand of the divine was on him, and eventually he identified the god as Christian. As a result, he began to be proactive in his support of the heretofore-persecuted faith. He restored properties to churches in the West and especially showed favor to the clergy. He met his Eastern Roman Empire counterpart and forged an agreement called the **EDICT OF MILAN** in 313 C.E., in which the Christian faith was officially permitted.

Though Constantine is portrayed as the matchless defender of the Christian faith by popularized histories, this interpretation must be taken with a grain of salt. For example, in his decrees he avoided citing specific religions or religious terms, thus he said "Supreme Sovereign" or "Highest God." He did not require that his subjects do "superstitious" (i.e., Christian) practices to show their allegiance to the empire. He kept a specialist in **NEOPLATONISM** as a personal adviser. He did not officially persecute the Greco-Roman cults, apart from a few police actions. He warned Christians against taking law into their own hands in their zeal to shut down pagan shrines. He dedicated his capital city with both pagan and Christian rites and imported into the city many works of art from pagan temples. He continued the pagan Roman tradition that the emperor was the divinely appointed mediator between the divine and the empire, thus he intervened infrequently in church disputes. In fact, he did not formally enter the church through baptism until on his deathbed, reflecting his own anxieties about the impossibilities of living a life of holiness while serving as emperor.

### EAST-WEST DISCORD

The concord with the eastern emperor did not last. In the East there was widespread mistrust of Constantine and continued harassment of Christians. War broke out, and Constantine again showed his military prowess. By 324 he became sole emperor of the whole

Roman Empire. At once Constantine began to make arrangements to set up his capital in a safer part of the empire, in Byzantium (in modern-day Turkey) on the European side of the Bosphorus. It was called New Rome, lower in rank than Italian Rome, but destined by Constantine to be upgraded over time. When he made the city his home and named it after himself, CONSTANTINOPLE, it was the sign that the safety and prestige once the possession of the Latin world had permanently migrated eastward. The light of the Roman civilization moved east, and the West began its descent into darker times.

Constantine restored many of Diocletian's reforms and renounced others. For example, he not only recognized the need for regionalized government; he set up armies to fight in the various European and Asian theaters of war. Germans and Franks entered into the higher ranks of imperial military service. These concepts paved the way for medieval society, with local lords who controlled smaller territories and personal armies. Yet, he did not accept Diocletian's idea of the

college of emperors, or Tetrarchy, and replaced it with a dynastic emperorship.

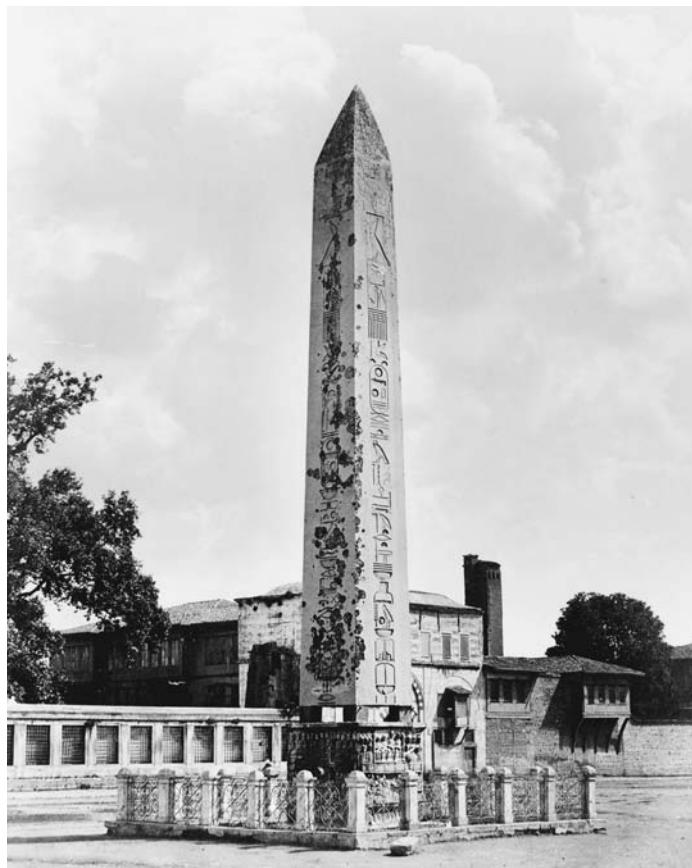
He separated the military from the civil in terms of services and duties. He set up a new currency and standardized its units, a system that lasted for 700 years. He held serfs and peasants to their social positions so that food production and imperial projects such as army campaigns, road maintenance, and city building could continue with ample supplies of food and labor. At the same time he made a conscious effort to bring Christian values into public policies so that the downtrodden would be helped and especially the clergy could be promoted to a higher public status.

The results for the Christian Church were that bishops were welcomed into his courts, Christianity spread even more rapidly, and churches were reconstructed and given proprietary rights. He took an active interest in such church-building projects as St. Peter's in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. At the same time, since Constantine saw himself as the mediator between God and his empire, he often took on the role of referee in church controversies, a role for which he was not educated. He summoned the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325) and proposed the formula to be accepted to bring unity to all the Christians in his realm. Effectively speaking, Christianity achieved a prestige in the empire that future emperors such as JULIAN THE APOSTATE could not reverse.

#### BENEFACTOR OF THE CHURCH

The last few years of Constantine's life were spent in the East, either in his capital or on campaign, although he occasionally traveled to Rome or the Rhine to secure his domain there. His military activities were confined to controlling the "barbarian" tribes along the frontier and not fighting Rome's nemesis, the SASSANID EMPIRE. Later emperors were not so fortunate. Though a civil war broke out after his death, his influence was enough to give imperial prerogatives to his descendants for the next century.

Later Christians lionized such a benefactor of the church. It did not hurt that Constantine was buried next to the Church of the Apostles and de facto numbered among them as the "13th apostle." His friend, EUSEBIUS, revered by later generations of Christians as the historian of the early church, also added luster to the image of Constantine through his biography of the man. Other intervening and contemporary sources and evaluations of Constantine were less enthusiastic. Around the ninth or 10th century, however, the reputation of Constantine soared to new heights as stories



An obelisk memorial erected to honor Constantine in the city of Constantinople, known today as Istanbul, in Turkey.

and legends abounded concerning his sanctity and supernatural acts. About 25 “lives” of Constantine have been recovered, both from the East and the West, which sing his praises beyond what was celebrated by earlier generations. As a saint in the Eastern Christian Church, his feast day is May 21.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; GREEK CHURCH; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; LATIN CHURCH; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Brown, Peter. *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; Gwatkin, H. M. “Constantine and His City.” In *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.

MARK F. WHITTTERS

## Constantinople

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT’s city lasted as the center of civilization and religion for more than 1,000 years. Of the cities of the world, only King DAVID’s city, Jerusalem, compares with its prestige and longevity. The ancient name was Byzantium. The foundation of the city dates back to the seventh century B.C.E., and was known as a place of contention during the PELOPONNESIAN WARS. Even 150 years before Constantine, the Romans had reduced the city to rubble for its insubordination and then restored it because of its strategic location. But it was Constantine who chose the city, lavishly made it his own, and destined it to be New Rome, capital of the empire.

### CONSTANTINE’S CITY

Constantine at first planned to build his city near the famous city of TROY, but he thought better of it, perhaps because of his Christian sympathies, not wanting to adulterate his new priorities with Homeric religion. Byzantium had many natural advantages: It was surrounded on three sides by water, had excellent harbors, was close to the industrial centers of Asia Minor, and was accessible to the agricultural breadbaskets of Egypt and southern Russia.

Important east-west imperial roads intersected here, including the famous Via Egnatia. The ancient city also was known for its wall, so the wall rebuilt by Constantine could fortify its landed side. Thus, the place was eminently more strategic and defendable

than the old Rome of Italy, which was not built on the sea and did not have the same natural barriers to protect it.

Constantine began his project in 324 C.E., and by 330 the new city was ready. The fortification was large enough that the boundaries encompassed empty and undeveloped areas. None of these walls survives today, but their outlines can be imagined from written records. Growth at first was modest, and the population was small. Constantine was determined to turn the city into Rome’s eastern twin. He doled out the same subsistence subsidies, endowed it with the similar civic titles and offices, and constructed the same infrastructures and monuments. A portion of the grain supposed to go to Italian Rome now went to New Rome, and eventually tens of thousands of its people depended on the free rations of food. Constantine put into place the aristocratic ranks and nomenclature, just like ancient Rome. On the higher ground he erected the acropolis, the center of community life, the site of his Great Palace and the Capitolium; nearby was the largest gathering place, the Hippodrome, where public games were held. Later all three of these locations would become the locations of wild and bloody imperial intrigues.

Colonnaded roads and markets marked out urban districts. Gates opened up to the important trade roads. New Rome even had seven hills around which the city was planned, as in Italian Rome. The city was not overtly a Christian center by Constantine’s own design. The old pagan temples already in Byzantium were left undisturbed during his reign. In fact, the dedication rites for the inauguration of the city included pagan prayers and artistic donations from pagan temples. He built no more than a few churches; the famous Church of the Holy Apostles, next to his burial spot, was not his project, but his son’s (Constantius II). Nor was the city officially the capital of the empire until the time of his son, when Constantius inaugurated the senate and set up a hierarchy of imperial offices. Now old Rome began to be superseded by New Rome, and there was no turning back. In fact within 50 years or so, the Germanic tribes would overrun the old Italian capital, and to its bitter disappointment, Constantinople would not save its predecessor.

### GROWTH AND CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

The city continued to grow prodigiously over the next 200 years. By the end of the fourth century there were some 14 churches, 52 colonnaded roads, 153 bath complexes, and many ground and underground cisterns. The need for water storage pointed to the only

thing lacking. Here the Theodosian emperors (or perhaps Valens) rectified the situation in typical Roman fashion. They engineered a remarkable system that connected water sources in the hinterland as far as 60–70 miles away with vast water reservoirs inside the city. Imperial sculptors even elaborately decorated the underground cisterns. Constantine's walls were too restrictive for the burgeoning population, so the walls were expanded and the area of the city doubled. Some 400 defensive towers were constructed along the whole wall and the shoreline. The three-arched Golden Gate, still standing, goes back to these days, as do many of the walls presently standing. Here the Council of Constantinople was held in 381 to affirm the creedal statements of the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325).

By the end of the fifth century the religious dimension of the empire registered itself more strongly. Urban monasticism developed in the city, along with an abundance of Christian artwork. In addition, Oriental and Egyptian influences started infiltrating its urban culture. Constantinople was no longer only an aspirant to the old Rome, but a new and transformed capital city in its own right. The height of the ancient city was reached under JUSTINIAN I and Theodora in the sixth century. It was the most important political, commercial, and cultural center in all of Europe. Lavish religious and imperial building occurred in this period. The monument that best defined Constantinople's glory was the HAGIA SOPHIA, a basilica that still dominates modern Istanbul's skyline. Not only was the domed structure a daring and innovative symbol of Christianity's official stature, but also it was a statement about Constantinople's own grandeur. The city probably had between 500,000 and 1 million residents. An eclectic mixture of architecture and cultures was found in the sixth-century city, imported from the far-flung corners of the globe. Even the Christianity of the emperors was more diverse than Hagia Sophia would lead the observer to believe, as the city offered sanctuary to various non-Orthodox Christians.

### MUSLIM INVASION

A plague devastated the city in 542, and half the population died. The optimism that had marked the city as it grew economically and militarily for the previous 200 years was also soon to be challenged severely by the BYZANTINE-SASSANID WARS, the unsuccessful sieges of the city by the Persians (616) and the Avars (626), and especially the rise of the Muslims in the latter part of the seventh century. The invasion of the Arabs in 717 and the loss of imperial territory to them brought the

city to the brink of disaster. Nonetheless, the Theodosian walls faithfully kept out foreigners for some 1,000 years. Ironically, there was only one exception: In 1204 the city opened up its gates to the Western crusader "allies" who turned on the city and pillaged it. The treachery caused such outrage among the Byzantines that surrender to the Muslims was countenanced as a better fate. In 1453 the demoralized city gave up to the Ottoman Muslims with hardly a skirmish.

See also DIOCLETIAN; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT; THEODOSIUS I.

**Further reading:** Brown, Peter. *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750*. History of European Civilization Library; London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; Dalrymple, William. *From the Holy Mountain*. New York: Henry Holt, 1997; Gawtkin, H. M. "Constantine and His City." In *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.

MARK F. WHITTTERS

## Coptic Christian Church

The Coptic period covers most of the first six centuries of the Common Era. *Copt* derives from the Greek word *Aegyptus*, in turn derived from *Hikaptah*, or Memphis, the original Egyptian capital. Coptic Christianity is the form that arose in Egypt in the first century C.E. By tradition Coptic Christianity began when St. Mark, the African-born gospel writer, went to ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, sometime between 48 and 61 C.E. Previously, Egyptian Christians were mostly Alexandrian Jews, and some Greeks became Christian. Between his arrival and his martyrdom in 68 C.E., Mark founded the church and converted many native Egyptians. The religion grew rapidly in its first half-century, and by the second century it spread into the rural areas. Scriptures were translated into Coptic, the local language.

The rapid conversion of Egyptians to Christianity led to Roman persecution of those who denied the emperor's divinity. An edict of 202 prohibited conversion to Christianity. An edict of 250 required all citizens to carry a certificate at all times, issued by local authorities, affirming that the bearer had sacrificed to the gods. Failure to comply resulted in punishments, including beheading, being tossed to the lions, or being burned alive. The government closed the Catechetical School of Alexandria, forcing members to meet secretly elsewhere. The state limited the number of bishops

to three. The era of persecution culminated under DIOCLETIAN (284–305). His election as emperor began the Coptic Anno Martyrum, year of the martyrs.

Despite the persecution, the church flourished. The third century saw the formation of the church hierarchy, from the patriarch in Alexandria to the lowest priest and the monks residing in the eastern and western deserts. The Catechetical School succeeded Alexandria's library and museum, which were world renowned even before Christianity. Located in the School of Alexandria, the library held millions of papyrus scrolls, all the knowledge of the ancient world. Ptolemy Soter established the library in 323 B.C.E. The school was the site where 70 Jewish scholars created the Septuagint when they translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek in 270 B.C.E. These same scholars set the order of books in the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. Beginning as a scientific and literary institution, the library evolved into a university for philosophy and theology.

The Catechetical School of Alexandria was the earliest major Christian theological school. The Catechetical School housed and taught the scholars who provided the philosophical underpinnings of Christianity. The school's first dean, Pantaenus (d. 190 C.E.), headed a school whose faculty included Athenagoras, Clement, Didymus, and ORIGEN. Pantaenus was replaced by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, noted for his work in converting educated Greeks to Christianity. Origen (c. 215) was a philosopher and biblical scholar who wrote more than 6,000 commentaries on Old and New Testament books as well as homilies that are the oldest known Christian preaching. He is known as the father of theology. Following Origen was Dionysius (the Great) of Alexandria, who became patriarch of the church (246–264). Didymus the Blind lost sight at age four but mastered grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, music, poetry, mathematics, and memorized the testaments. His pupils included Gregory Nazianzus, JEROME, Palladius, and Rufinus the historian. Didymus devised a system of engraved writing, 1,500 years before the creation of Braille. These scholars made the Catechetical School a center of Christian learning and a magnet for scholars from around the world. The Catechetical School was the birthplace of the question-and-answer method of commentary.

While enduring Diocletian's persecutions, the Coptic Church had to deal with the Arian heresy, which denied the divinity of Jesus because man had a beginning and God is eternal. Although Arius was excommunicated, he continued to preach and converted two

Libyan bishops and the Nicomedian EUSEBIUS. ARIANISM spread through Egypt, LIBYA, Palestine, and Asia Minor before finally reaching the attention of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Followers of Arius and Constantine fought in Alexandria and Nicomedia, leading the emperor to call the approximately 1,800 bishops to Nicaea to settle the dispute.

The COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325), the first ecclesiastical council sanctioned by the emperor, included only six Western bishops because the heresy had not reached Europe. It involved more than 300 bishops from the East, representing all Christian traditions. At Nicaea, Arius chanted his beliefs, supported by dance bands and singers. ATHANASIUS, representing the Coptic patriarch, presented a logical argument in opposition. The attendees debated before calling for a creed, which Athanasius wrote and the Council of Constantinople (381) adopted unanimously. The Copts and other ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES deny that they are Monophysites because Monophysitism is heresy. Copts believe that Christ is both human and divine, united indivisibly by the Word and perfect in all respects.

There were two patriarchs at that time, the Eastern Orthodox pope and patriarch of Alexandria and the Coptic pope and patriarch of Alexandria. Egyptian Coptic religion gave rise to the Christian monastic movement. Monastics believe in unceasing prayer, intense meditation, self-discipline through fasting, vigils, celibacy, poverty, and the renunciation of the flesh and the world. It began as early as the second half of the third century, spreading throughout the Christian world. Monasticism flourished even after the EDICT OF MILAN (313) ended the Roman persecution of Christians.

Coptic monasticism has three levels. First, Antonian monasticism entails a life of seclusion, austerity, and asceticism. St. Anthony exemplifies this approach. When an anchorite attains a higher level of holiness, he attracts many disciples in the second stage, and security becomes a concern. Settlements arose in the eastern and western deserts, and communal living became the norm for monks who spent the week alone in their cells or caves and joined together on Saturday and Sunday for prayers, teaching, and service. Cenobitism, or Pachomian *koinonia*, was the third stage of monasticism. Founded by Pachomius, a former soldier, this form included strict military discipline, regulating every hour of every day and imposing punishment for default.

At the end of the fourth century Egypt's deserts housed between 100,000 and 200,000 monks. The total Egyptian population was about 7.5 million. Cenobite

monasticism attracted Greeks, Romans, Nubians, Libyans, Ethiopians, CAPPADOCIANS, and others. Each monastery had a section for each nationality and provided a fellow citizen to guide the monks. Prominent Christians who went to the deserts included JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE; the Italian Jerome and Rufinus; Cappadocian father BASIL THE GREAT, who organized the monastic movement in Asia Minor; the French saint John Cassian, and BENEDICT who followed the Pachomian model in the sixth century, but made it stricter.

Coptic Christianity was devoted to missionary work from the time of St. Mark. In exile, in the armies of Rome, as travelers, Copts spoke and lived their faith, drawing converts as well as persecution. Coptic missionaries were in the British Isles long before the arrival of Augustine of Canterbury in 597. Some credit the Copts with bringing Christianity to the Irish (Irish Christianity was a great civilizing agent in the Middle Ages).

Coptic missionaries preached in Africa, ARABIA, Persia, India, and Europe. NUBIA became Christian in 559. Coptic Christians Frumentius and Aedesius converted Ethiopia. Alexandria by the fourth century was the largest Christian city in the world. Monasticism attracted the pious but also attracted misfits and scoundrels, as well as young peasants, illiterate and easily formed into monastic mobs that could be used against heretics and political rivals in the church. Monks also served in the city's hospitals.

Those who came to study at Alexandria returned to their lands full of Coptic knowledge and the urge to spread it by writing, establishing monasteries and schools, and otherwise proselytizing. According to the Melkite patriarchs, who served as both civil and religious rulers of the Eastern Roman Empire, Egyptian Copts were heretics because they rejected the agreement of Chalcedon.

Despite massacre, torture, and persecution by both religious and civil authorities, the Copts outlasted the state church persecution. Finally, in 642 Arabs conquered Egypt. Under Arab rule, the capital of Egypt relocated to Cairo, and Alexandria, including the library and museum, was burned.

Coptic Christians continued to practice their religion but under the tight restrictions of Islamic law (sharia). Periodic persecution, particularly during the 10th and 11th centuries, and the European Crusades accelerated a gradual process of conversions to Islam, and by the end of the 12th century Egypt was predominantly Muslim. Muslim restrictions on the Copts eased in the

19th century, and in the 20th century Coptic religion was strong, with 40 million adherents worldwide.

See also EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

Further reading: Coptic Network. Available online. URL: <http://www.coptic.net> (November 2005); Isichei, Elizabeth. *History of Christianity in Africa*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995; Johnson, Paul. *A History of Christianity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976; Kamil, Jill. *Christianity in the Land of the Pharaohs*. New York: Routledge, 2002; Meinardus, Otto F. A. *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1999; Patrick, Theodore Hall. *Traditional Egyptian Christianity*. Greensboro, NC: Fisher Park Press, 1996; Pearson, Birger A. *Gnosticism and Christianity in Roman and Coptic Egypt*. New York: T and T Clark International, 2004.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

## cuneiform

Cuneiform is a writing system in which signs are carved on soft clay tablets using a reed stylus. Cuneiform writing was used throughout the ancient world for more than three millennia until around 75 C.E. Continuous lines etched into the clay formed the earliest signs. Because drawing was a relatively slow process, signs were later created with individual *cuneus*, or wedge-shaped strokes, impressed into the clay.

The wedge shapes became so characteristic of the script that, even though unnecessary, they were included when inscriptions were later engraved in stone or metal. The earliest cuneiform texts were excavated at the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk and dated just before 3000 B.C.E. Denise Schmandt-Besserat proposed a sequence in which small clay tokens found throughout the Near East are the precursors to cuneiform writing.

From the eighth millennium B.C.E., clay tokens of various shapes were used to represent quantities of items in order to keep track of agricultural products. To prevent unauthorized tampering, tokens were sealed and enclosed in hollow clay envelopes. Because the tokens would be hidden, they were first impressed onto their envelopes for easy identification. Soon it was recognized that the impressions themselves could convey the same information, without the cumbersome use of tokens. It is plausible that the etched sign was a natural progression from the impressed image.

Most of the early cuneiform signs originated as pictograms, which attempt to replicate the appearance of objects they represent. For example, the sign for a bull resembles a bull's head. Sometimes these pictograms were used symbolically to express the natural association of ideas. The sign picturing a star was also used to denote heaven or god, since the celestial realm was considered an abode of the gods. At the earliest stage numbers were not depicted in the abstract (for example, five) but were inextricably linked to the item being counted (for example, five grain rations). This way of conceptualizing numbers derived from the token system, in which each token simultaneously indicated quantity and identity of the object represented. Later development, however, led to abstract, context-independent numerical signs.

A basic cuneiform sign could be qualified by etching hatched lines over the part to be accentuated, a procedure known as gunification. In this manner, by etching the appropriate place on the sign for head, a new sign for mouth could be signified. Furthermore, combining two or more existing signs may create new signs. The sign for woman closely juxtaposed with the sign for foreign land yielded the sign for slave woman. Thus, the sign for bread within the sign for mouth resulted in a new sign meaning to eat. Logographic writing of the signs can obscure the language used in a cuneiform text. This means that each sign represents a word and, thus, gives no indication of how that word is to be pronounced. For example, the sign for king could be read in Sumerian as *lugal* or in Akkadian as *sharrum*. Indeed, the earliest use of cuneiform was merely mnemonic and not as a visual means to represent spoken language. In some archaic texts the signs even seem to be written in a random order, showing no attempt to reflect the linear sequence of spoken language. Nonetheless, the language of the Uruk tablets is shown to be Sumerian because of rebus writing, whereby a sign is used to represent different words or grammatical forms with the same pronunciation. For example, the sign for arrow (pronounced as "ti") also has the meaning life. This would make sense only in Sumerian, where the word *life* is pronounced as "ti."

The total number of cuneiform signs is limited by polyphony, the case that a single sign may be read in different ways. Thus, the sign picturing a human foot could be read in Sumerian as *gin* (to walk), *gub* (to stand), or *tum* (to bring). Such ambiguity in meaning is sometimes clarified by the use of a determinative sign, which indicates the semantic category that the word belongs to. For example, the same sign could

mean "day," "Sun," or even "sun god." By attaching the god determinative before this sign, the meaning becomes unequivocal. Conversely, cuneiform has cases of homophony, whereby different signs share the same pronunciation.

The use of logograms (word signs) for verbs suited the Sumerian language, which varied by adding affixes to an unchanged verbal root. By contrast, Akkadian inflected its verbs in such a way that could not be expressed by using the same cuneiform sign. Accordingly, with the spread of Akkadian in Mesopotamia, there was pressure to apply the rebus principle to cuneiform signs so that they indicated syllables instead of whole words. For example, the Akkadian verb "he gave" (pronounced as "iddin") could be expressed by a sequence of these three syllable signs: id + di + in. This procedure preserved in writing the vowels of Akkadian, in contrast to the use of purely consonantal alphabetic scripts for several other Semitic languages. In the third millennium B.C.E. cuneiform was also used for the Semitic language at EBLA in northern Syria, as well as the Elamite language in western Iran.

With Akkadian's ascendancy as the lingua franca, the use of cuneiform spread as far as Egypt. Hittite, Hurrian, and Urartian documents have all been found in cuneiform script. When early pictograms are oriented to a position natural to the objects they depict, the signs appear in columns from top to bottom, and the columns are read from right to left. However, at some point in time, cuneiform signs experienced a 90-degree rotation in the counterclockwise direction (i.e., signs were now read in each row from left to right, and the rows read from top to bottom). The flexibility, with which tablets would be rotated during cuneiform writing, may have helped ancient scribes become familiar with reading signs in different orientations.

See also: AKKAD; ARAMEANS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ELAM; FERTILE CRESCENT; HITTITES; HURRIANS; MARI; SUMER; UGARIT.

**Further reading** Nissen, Hans J., Peter Damerow, and Robert K. Englund. *Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East*. Trans. by Paul Larsen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993; Schmandt-Besserat, Denise. "An Ancient Token System: The Precursor to Numerals and Writing." *Archaeology* (v.39/6, 1986); ———. "From Counting to Cuneiform." In *Before Writing*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

## Cyclades

The Cyclades, because of their central location to trade in the eastern Mediterranean, have a rich and long history. They are a part of the vast number of islands that constitute the Greek archipelago in the Aegean Sea. The name was originally used to indicate islands that formed a rough circle around the sacred island of Delos.

The Cyclades are comprised of around 220 islands, with the major ones being Amorgos, Anafi, Ándros, Antiparos, Delos, Ios, Kéa, Kimolos, Kynthos, Mílos, Mykonos, Náxos, Páros, Pholegandros, Serifos, Sifnos, Sikinos, Síros, Tínos, and Santorini (Thíra). While ancient maritime trade made the region important strategically and geographically, a reliable agricultural base made life on the Cyclades archipelago possible. The Cyclades may have been one of the earliest sites of the worship of the Mother Goddess cult, which became widespread throughout the eastern and western Mediterranean.

All Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures including ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and later on, Greece, would feature prominent goddesses. When the Minoan culture flourished in the islands from about 3000 to 1450 B.C.E., frescoes on the walls of the palace, excavated by the British archaeologist Arthur Evans, featured a bare-breasted goddess with snakes. Snakes figured in many of the Mother Goddess cults in antiquity and had its parallel in the story of Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden in the Old Testament. Settlement of the Cyclades was sporadic. The Phoenicians were most likely the first settlers, while around 1000 B.C.E. the island was inhabited by the Ionians. In the case of Síros, ancient ruins, statuettes, and skeletons indicate the island had been settled by the Bronze Age.

The very dispersion of the islands made seafaring a necessary part of survival, as islanders learned that they could gain by trading with—or raiding—other islands in the archipelago. It is in these early boats that one can find the beginnings of the oared galleys that would be a feature of Mediterranean warfare until the 18th century at least, when the Knights of Malta used huge galleys in their wars against the Barbary pirates. Cycladic ships were the prototypes with which ancient Greece would plant its colonies, beginning around the sixth century B.C.E., and with which Rome would become the mistress of the Mediterranean.

The Cycladic culture peaked during the Minoan period, which was brought to life by the work of Arthur Evans with his reconstruction of the royal palace

at Knossos. The story of European civilization begins on the island of Crete with a civilization that probably thought of itself as Asian (in fact, Crete is closer to Asia than it is to Europe). Thus, the Cyclades and Cretan Minoan civilization provided the first known fusion of Western and Asiatic culture. With the rise of ALEXANDER THE GREAT around 320 B.C.E., this would become the great Hellenistic civilization, which Alexander's armies would carry to the very frontiers of India.

See also MINOANS; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

**Further reading:** Bent, J. Theodore, ed. *The Cyclades, or Life among the Insular Greeks*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002; "Tinos." Available online. URL: <http://www.tinos.com.gr> (November 2005); Warry, John. *Warfare in the Classical World*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Cyril of Alexandria

(c. 375–444 C.E.) theologian

Cyril of Alexandria is one of the most renowned (and sometimes infamous) figures of the early Christian Church. Born in the late 370s C.E., he received both a first-rate classical and Christian education and was groomed by his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, for a career in the church. At the death of Theophilus in 412, Cyril (about 34 years old) was elected to succeed Theophilus as archbishop of ALEXANDRIA. The early years of his reign were marked by controversy and intrigue, as Cyril was directly or indirectly implicated in conflicts with schismatic Christians, the Jewish community, the imperial officers of the city, and most notoriously with the mob lynching of the pagan philosopher Hypatia.

One of Cyril's great achievements in the first 15 years of his reign was the vast output of biblical commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments. Cyril was not only the strong and often aggressive leader of the Christian community; he was also a profound scholar and biblical commentator, and his production of biblical commentary is one of the greatest in the ancient church.

Cyril is best known, however, for his extended series of conflicts with NESTORIUS, which began in 428. Until his death in 444, Cyril was occupied largely with the repercussions of his collisions with Nestorius. This conflict is the first installment of what are known as the fifth-century Christological controver-

sies. At the heart of the conflict was the issue of how to speak about Christ as both human and divine and how to understand and describe the role of the Virgin Mary. The focal point of the debate was whether or not the term *Theotokos*, meaning “God-bearer,” could rightly be applied to the Virgin Mary. But beneath this question lay the broader issue of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

Nestorius was concerned to distinguish clearly what is divine in Christ from what is human (and so rejected the term *Theotokos*), while Cyril was intent on securing the position that Christ is “one Son,” the eternal Word of God become man. At the heart of the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius was not merely a political rivalry but a nest of theological issues and a conviction by each that the other party was denying something essential to the Christian account of salvation.

The conflict reached its climax in the summer of 431 through a complex set of events at the Council of Ephesus. The final outcome was the deposition of Nestorius and the approval of the council that upheld Mary as *Theotokos*.

Actual reconciliation between Cyril and those who supported Nestorius only occurred two years later in 433 with Cyril’s signing of the Formula of Reunion. It was a tenuous agreement that was ruptured soon after Cyril’s death and led to a new outbreak of controversy that eventually resulted in the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Cyril’s legacy as a man and as an archbishop is hotly debated. Some cast him as the evil villain of the controversy, others, as the resolute hero. Whatever view one takes, he is unquestionably the key theologian for defining the doctrine of Christ, and both the GREEK CHURCH and LATIN CHURCH revere him for his accomplishments. Pope Leo XIII proclaimed him a Doctor of the Western Church on July 28, 1882. His feast day is celebrated in the Western Church on June 27, and in the Eastern Church on January 18.

See also EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; NI-CAEA, COUNCIL OF.

**Further reading:** Keating, Daniel A. *The Appropriation of Divine Life in Cyril of Alexandria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; McGuckin, John. *St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Press, 2004; Russell, Norman. *Cyril of Alexandria*. London/New York: Routledge, 2000.

DANIEL A. KEATING

## Cyrus II

(c. 600–530 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Cyrus II, also called Cyrus the Great, was the founder of the Persian Empire (539–331 B.C.E.). Born in about 600 B.C.E. Cyrus II was son of Cambyses I, grandson of Cyrus I, and great-grandson of Achaemenes, from whom the rulers of the Persian Empire take the name Achaemenids, or Achaemeneans. At the time of Cyrus’s accession in 559 B.C.E., Persia was only a small tribal state in a world ruled by the then-dominant powers of Media, Lydia, Chaldea, and Egypt. Of these the Medes were, like the Persians, of Iranian blood and language lineage and had entered the high Iranian plateau some 1,000 or more years earlier.

In the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. the Persian tribes were vassals of the Medes, and Cyrus was the son from the marriage of his Persian father with the daughter of the Median king, Astyages. When Cyrus ascended the throne, his grandfather Astyages was still king of Media. In 550 B.C.E. Astyages, concerned that his grandson was plotting with his enemy Nabonidus of Babylon, summoned Cyrus to his capital, Ecbatana, for an explanation. Cyrus refused to come, and this led to war between Media and Persia that ended with victory for the Persians and Cyrus’s becoming king of both the Medes and the Persians.

With Media conquered, Cyrus began a 10-year campaign that would create the greatest empire the world had known. He first tackled Croesus, the fabulously wealthy king of Lydia, and in 547 B.C.E. defeated him at the Battle of Pterium. With Lydia conquered, he quickly defeated the GREEK CITY-STATES of Ionia, and the whole of Asia Minor came under his rule. He now turned his view east and conquered Parthia and Aria in eastern Iran, the SOGDIANS and BACTRIA in Turkistan and Afghanistan, and even the western edges of India. The Persian Empire stretched 3,000 miles from east to west but did not yet include the culturally and materially rich areas of Babylonia and Egypt. Egypt was left for his son to conquer, but Babylon was ready for a new ruler, and already those who wanted to see Persian rule in Babylon were growing in numbers.

In part this was due to dissatisfaction with the kings who presided at the time, Nabonidus, who had been absent from Babylon for 10 years, and his regent son Belshazzar, referred to in the book of Daniel in the Bible. Equally important was the enlightened way in which Cyrus treated the states he conquered. Unlike the conquering Babylonian kings, and before them the Assyrian kings, Cyrus went out of his way



The tomb of Cyrus II is located in Pasargadae, present-day Iran. Cyrus is known as the founder of the Persian Empire.

to win the goodwill of his new subjects rather than to frighten them into obedience. He presented himself as a liberator, treating prisoners with mercy, leaving local customs intact, and encouraging established religions. Cyrus attacked Babylonia in the autumn of 539 B.C.E. Belshazzar deployed his troops along the Tigris but was numerically overwhelmed even before Gubaru, the governor of the Babylonian province of Gutium, defected to the Persians. After a campaign that lasted less than a month, Cyrus entered Babylon on October 12 without battle. From that day onward he treated the inhabitants with utmost respect, ensuring that society quickly went back to normal life and that the gods that had been taken into the city for safekeeping during the conquest were returned to their shrines in the cities of Babylonia.

Cyrus recorded his conquests and the way he treated the people of defeated cities in CUNEIFORM script on clay or stone cylinders. These could be rolled over wet clay to create imprints, which when dried were sent out

as letters or decrees. One such cylinder, today kept in the British Museum in London, gives us a glimpse into Cyrus's empire; it reads: "I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims of the earth, son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anšan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anšan, of a family which always exercised kingship, whose rule Bēl and Nabû (the gods) love, whom they want as king to please their hearts."

Later, on the same cylinder, Cyrus proclaims the freedom he is offering to captives. Some of those captives are the Jews who had been taken captive by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. and earlier in 597 B.C.E. by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. In the biblical book of Ezra we read that in Cyrus's first year of rule in Babylon he proclaimed to the Jews that they were to "go and build a house for God in Jerusalem," and to facilitate this he returned to them the gold and silver that Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the Jerusalem temple.

After his successful conquest Cyrus remained in Babylon about a year and then moved back to the high plateau city of Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media. However, we have almost no record of Cyrus's actions between then and his death. In 530 B.C.E. Cyrus left his son Cambyses as regent in Babylon and personally set off to deal with a problem on his far northeastern border. The campaign started well, but Cyrus was lured deep into the enemy territory and was there fatally wounded. His body was recovered by CAMBYSES II, and placed in a tomb at the Persian capital, Pasargadae, 50 miles north of Shiraz in modern-day Iran, where it can still be seen today.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; SUMER.

**Further reading:** Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1959; Wiesehofer, Josef. *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.

ANDREW PETTMAN

# D



## Damascus and Aleppo

Damascus and Aleppo were two cities situated at the center of the SILK ROAD, a key intercontinental trade route that linked the ROMAN EMPIRE to China. Caravans traveling on the Silk Road traded in silk, perfumes, and spices in the Far East.

The city of Aleppo, for example, lay at the crossroads of two trade routes, one from India and the other from Damascus. They were important trading centers of caravan traffic and powerful centers of urban culture. Both regions are situated near the Mediterranean coast (about 62 miles from the sea). The two towns contain agricultural land and nomad territory. Both Damascus and Aleppo suffered earthquakes, epidemics, and internal strife throughout history but were able to regain their prominence successfully after every adversity.

Damascus (Dimashq as-Sham in Arabic) is one of the oldest cities in the world that is still inhabited. The ancient city of Damascus lies within city walls. Excavations reveal that the earliest inhabitants lived there sometime between 10,000 and 8000 B.C.E. The city of Aleppo, on the other hand, was inhabited from 1800 B.C.E., according to archaeological records. After 800 B.C.E. the Assyrians, the Persians, and then the Greeks, in 333 B.C.E., ruled Aleppo.

Damascus only achieved prominence in 1100 B.C.E. after the coming of the Semitic peoples known as the ARAMEANS. The Aramaeans built up the infrastructure in the city in the form of canals and tunnels linked to

the Barada River. The water distribution system was then improved upon by later rulers of the city, the Romans who conquered Syria in 64 B.C.E., and members of the Omayyad dynasty.

Because of their similarities, Damascus and Aleppo were rivals, and comparisons were often made of them. Even though Aleppo was more successful in economic terms, it seems that Damascus thrived even more as a center of ISLAM. Islamic intellects often congregated in Damascus, and Islamic art flourished in the city. Conditions in Damascus were very well suited for the flourishing of the intellectual and artistic milieu, as it had been the center of large empires of those who ruled over it. Damascus was after all the base for the Muslims against the crusaders in the seventh century C.E. During that time it was the center of administration of the caliph.

Damascus became the military and political base of Muslim fighters against the crusaders. Nuraddin first acquired Damascus and Aleppo in 1154, followed by Saladin after his death. In 1260 Mongols attacked the cities, which fell to the hands of the Mamluks in 1317. Damascus continued to enjoy political prominence under the Mamluks as the capital of the Mamluk Empire until 1516, though this period witnessed another Mongol invasion of Damascus in 1400.

Damascus occupies an important position in Sunni tradition as one of the holiest Muslim cities along with Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, because landmarks events in Islamic history occurred there. It is



The city of Damascus lies within a fortification of walls and is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world.

the birthplace of Abraham and is also where MOSES was buried.

See also SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Fawaz, Tarazi, and C. A. Bayly. *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002; Ma'oz, Moshe, et al. *Modern Syria: From Ottoman Rule to Pivotal Role in the Middle East*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 1999; Weiss, Walter M. *The Bazaar: Markets and Merchants of the Islamic World*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

## Daoism (Taoism)

The period roughly between 600 and 300 B.C.E. in China is called the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, the term *hundred* meaning “many.” It was an age of political and social change and turmoil as the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY was breaking down, which led thinking men to develop philosophies to explain, accommodate to, or change the state of affairs. Two out of these philosophies, Daoism and Confucianism, would endure as dominant and complementary ways of life for the Chinese for more than two millennia.

While all schools of philosophy were seeking the way, or *dao*, one among them would appropriate the word for its teachings. While Confucians sought to re-

turn society to the golden age of antiquity through moral reform and study, others sought escape to a simple life, living as recluses and being content with nonaction; their philosophy is called Daoism. It is difficult to find reliable information about early Daoism. However, scholars accept two books as the earliest works on Daoism: the *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*) or the *Daodejing* (*Tao-te Ching*), which translates as the “Canon of the Way and Virtue,” and the *Zhuangzi* (*Chuang Tzu*).

The *Laozi*'s purported author was a man called LAOZI (Lao Tzu), which means the Old Master; he supposedly was a senior contemporary of CONFUCIUS and had worked as archivist at the royal court. There is no proof that Laozi existed, and the short, cryptic book of about 5,000 words attributed to him seems to be a composite work that is no older than the fourth century B.C.E. It teaches that the mystic Dao is the source of all being, which must be intuitively understood by leading a passively yielding life. It is a terse and enigmatic work susceptible to many interpretations. Its political philosophy teaches the sage ruler not to interfere in the lives of the people, give up warfare and luxuries, and passively guide the people to lives of innocence and harmony with the Dao. Modern laissez-faire ideals find similarities with Daoism.

*Zhuangzi* (*Chuang Tzu*), which means Master Zhuang, lived around 369–286 B.C.E. Very little is known about him, and the book that bears his name is witty, full of paradoxes and imagery. The message of the book is a plea for the freedom of the individual and his liberation from egotism so that he can come to understand the underlying unity of the Dao and thus achieve happiness that is beyond death.

Even though Daoists taught nonaction and passivity, they were nevertheless human enough to preach their view in competition with other philosophical views. One can hardly imagine a country governed by the laissez-faire Daoist philosophy. Nevertheless, when Confucianism became China's official philosophy after c. 100 B.C.E., Daoism continued to hold its attraction because of its imaginativeness and perhaps as an antidote to the serious-minded ideals taught by Confucius. Daoist philosophy has been a leavening agent in Chinese life, a consolation for those who suffered failures and a relief to the many duties that circumscribed life. In this way Confucian and Daoist philosophies supplemented and complemented each other.

Neo-Daoism is a movement that began in the Eastern HAN DYNASTY (25–220 C.E.). One part of this movement undertook to harmonize Daoist teachings with Confucian social and moral ideals that made it possible for a Confucian official to be both a conscientious pub-

lic servant and at the same time to maintain a degree of detachment from the world. The Daoist notion that rulers should rule passively and follow the advice of ministers appealed to Confucian officials. It became widely accepted practice during the Han dynasty that ministers should initiate policy and that emperors should not act before seeking the advice of his ministers.

When China fell to disunity for four centuries after the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 c.e., northern China came under the rule of non-Chinese nomads who had little understanding or use for Confucian doctrines. In this prevailing atmosphere two new movements took root. One was the popularization of Buddhism, introduced to China during the Han dynasty, at the beginning of the Common Era.

Buddhism did not gain widespread popularity under the Han, but its doctrines became widely appealing during the era of division. Similarly the intellectual energies that were absorbed by Confucian studies during the Han dynasties found outlet in the writing of commentaries on the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* during the era of division when Confucianism fell largely out of favor. The study developed into a many-sided movement that investigated metaphysics, aesthetics, and religion. In the process these Daoist scholars also reinterpreted their philosophy in terms of the social and moral philosophy of Confucianism.

Some Neo-Daoists reacted to the disorder of the post-Han period by becoming hedonists and rejecting all social obligations and restraints. Their most famous example was a group during the third century c.e. that called themselves the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, who explained their flouting of all social conventions as the only way of preserving their moral integrity. One of these seven famously had a servant follow him with a jug of wine and a shovel wherever he went so that he could have a drink whenever he felt thirsty and so that a hole could be dug to bury him wherever he dropped dead. They have been called romantic for their antics and their revolt against a decadent society. Other romantic Daoists who lived as recluses in mountain retreats have used nature's inspiration to create landscape paintings that became the most respected genre of Chinese art and to write nature-inspired poetry.

Religious Daoism is also called popular Daoism. It is also called the School of Huang-Lao, after Huangdi (Huang-ti) the YELLOW EMPEROR (the legendary founder of the Chinese nation) and Laozi. Whereas the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* taught some adherents to live simply and in tranquillity, and others to reject the trammels of conventional behavior, another movement led by followers of the occult was also under way. The result was

the coalescing of many ancient folk superstitions and cults. Their goals were a long life, terrestrial immortality, and ultimately celestial immortality, reached through divination and magic, breathing and other yoga-like exercises, and living a moral life. Daoist sorcerers and shamans used the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* as texts, searching for occult meaning in vague and suggestive phrases. They also consulted the *Yi Jing (I Ching)*, or *Book of Changes*, an ancient text that began as a diviner's handbook and had acquired obscure commentaries for their guidance.

Alchemy involved the search of substances and concoction of drugs that could improve health and prolong life, and also the turning of base materials into gold. Daoist experiments resulted in advances in chemistry, mineralogy, and pharmaceuticals and resulted in the invention of the compass, gunpowder, and porcelain. However, the questionable motives of the experiments made them less than reputable academically.

There were many subgroups among religious Daoists. One cult was called the Way of Five Bushels of Rice because its founder, a man called Zhang Ling (Chang Ling), who lived in the second century c.e., demanded five bushels of rice from his followers. They called him Heavenly Teacher, and he passed his title to his descendants to modern times. The merit system taught adherents to think good thoughts and perform good deeds in order to prolong life and attain immortality and explained illness, death, and misfortune as punishments for ones' own sins and those of one's forebears; heaven or hell were everyone's ultimate destination.

Popular Daoism learned from Buddhism in building temples, rituals, festivals, and instituting orders of monks and nuns. It has a large pantheon consisting of deities, historical heroes, immortals, spirits, and sacred spots. It enjoyed imperial patronage beginning in the Han dynasty, as rulers sought long life, immortality, and communion with the spirits. Tang (T'ang) dynasty rulers also patronized religious Daoists, even as many were devout Buddhists, because the imperial house was surnamed Li and Daoists had long since given Laozi a surname, also Li, thus giving the ruling house an illustrious ancestor. The same elements that made religious Daoism favored by rulers also made it popular with the people of China.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

**Further reading:** Creel, Herrlee G. *What Is Taoism? And Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; Kallenmarck, Max. *Lao Tzu and Taoism*. Trans. by Roger Greaves. Stanford, CA: Stanford

University Press, 1969; Lau, D. C. *Tao Te Ching*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1963; Welch, Holmes H. *The Parting of Ways: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Darius I

(c. 550–486 B.C.E.) *Persian ruler*

Darius I, or Darius the Great, consolidated the Persian Empire founded by CYRUS II. We know more about Darius than any other of the kings of the Persian Empire since we have two major literary sources on his life. The first is an inscription at Behistun in modern-day Iran that Darius had carved into a mountain rock face high up above one of the key trade routes from Mesopotamia to the Iranian high plateau. It describes how in the early years of Darius's reign he reestablished the empire after the rebellions following the death of Cambyses II. The second source is the *Histories* of HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.), a Greek who wrote describing the expansion of the Persian Empire from Cyrus to XERXES I.

Darius was born about 550 B.C.E., son of Hystaspes, who was later the satrap of Parthia. Our first reference to Darius is as an officer in Cambyses II's Egyptian army of occupation. On Cambyses' death early in 522 B.C.E. Darius went straight to Media to press his claim to the throne through a common great-great-grandfather with Cambyses, Achaemenes. In the fall of 522 B.C.E. Darius, with six coconspirators, killed the usurper claimant Gaumata, and to consolidate his claim soon thereafter married two of Cyrus's daughters, and one of his granddaughters, in addition to taking three other wives.

However, Darius's claim was not easily accepted, and there was unrest throughout the empire. In the Behistun inscription Darius speaks of rebellions in more than half of the satrapies of the empire, including in the greatest city of the day—Babylon. Unlike Cyrus who was welcomed almost as the savior of Babylon, Darius was looked on differently and only subdued Babylon after a siege and punishment by execution of 3,000 of the surviving leading citizens. Even then a second rebellion took place in Babylon some years later. It took until December 521 B.C.E. for all of the rebellions in other parts of the empire to be stamped out, and another few years before the empire was totally at peace.

Although Darius was successful militarily, his greatest achievement was the creation of an effective adminis-

tration for the empire. According to Herodotus, as soon as peace was established Darius set up 20 satrapies, or administrative districts. In each of the satrapies he established tax systems and recruitment requirements for his armies. He also built systems of royal roads and set up along them places where a change of horses, food, and lodging could be found for those moving about the empire. With such a far-flung empire the satraps in charge of each satrapy had to operate with a significant degree of independence from the central government. However, that independence had the potential to threaten the emperor's control, and Darius set up a system of inspectors known as the "king's eyes" whose job it was to check on the effectiveness and loyalty of the satraps. The improved road system and the construction of massive military granaries allowed for a large army and for the army to move about the empire with relative ease. In addition, Darius built a canal, completed in 498 B.C.E., connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, and thereby the Persian Gulf, which allowed trade by ship to go on across the width of the empire.

The building of roads also benefited trade and building projects in that materials could be more easily brought from distant parts of the empire to the place of construction. Palace cities were built in Susa and at PERSEPOLIS, the new Persian capital, and the construction of both probably benefited from the increased access to materials from other parts of the empire. Even today the ruins of Persepolis suggest something of its former glory as the ceremonial capital of the empire. Each spring the most important of the rites, the New Year Ceremony, was enacted in Persepolis, and annual tribute was received from ambassadors representing every part of the empire.

Darius followed Cyrus's example with a religious policy tolerant of a wide variety of gods. By way of example, in September 518 B.C.E. Darius visited Egypt, and Egyptian inscriptions record how he gave precious gifts to the key temples and paid homage to many of the most important gods. Similarly, we have evidence of his offering sacrifices to Babylonian and Elamite gods and to the Greek god Apollo, who, as a god of wisdom, was taken as the Greek counterpart of the Persian high god Ahuramazda. His religious policy is also illustrated by the case of the Jews who had been promised funds by Cyrus to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Opposition by the Samaritans had prevented this, and the Bible records how the Jews petitioned Darius to look through the palace archives to find Cyrus's original decree and thereby to prove the legitimacy of their project. Darius found the decree and gave his permission for the

reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple, which began in 515 B.C.E.

In 499 B.C.E. the Greek cities in Asia Minor rebelled, and it took five years for the Persians to regain control of the region. In 490 B.C.E. Darius sent out another expedition, this time against the European part of the Greek-speaking world. The Persians captured a number of Greek islands and then landed at Marathon, some miles from Athens. The famous BATTLE OF MARATHON, though paraded by the Greeks as their victory, was not a full one since from that time on the Persians controlled the Aegean Sea and set this as their westernmost boundary. In November 486 B.C.E. Darius died at the age of 64. Starting with a loose collection of provinces, he had created a strong and well-organized empire to hand on to his successor Xerxes, the eldest son of his first wife.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1959; Wiesehofer, Josef. *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## David

(c. 1000 B.C.E.) king of Israel

The life of David, king of Israel, is full of paradoxes. He was called in the earliest historical traditions of the Bible, “the sweet psalmist of Israel” and the one chosen “after [God’s] own heart,” yet he is famously summed up elsewhere as the adulterer and murderer “in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.” He was at pains to proclaim his loyalty to the previous and first king of Israel, SAUL, and yet he was the ringleader of an insurrectionist group that undermined the government of that same king. He was the boyish, sensitive son of a rural farmer, and he was the warrior who felled the champion of Israel’s nemesis and went on to slaughter “his ten thousands.” It is in the juxtaposition of these images of David that later Jewish and Christian religious traditions find so much contradiction.

In historical terms David anchors the Bible in time and space. The theory is that the empire of David really did outshine the other ancient empires of its days, and this historical fact can be demonstrated. Before the narrative of David, the Bible shows the power of stories

and myths to persuade and inspire people of later generations, but with David (and his son SOLOMON) comes external evidence to support biblical reputations and stories. On the other hand, the evidence for the empire of David as described in the Bible is meager. It causes some modern scholars to hold that the idea of a united kingdom of ISRAEL AND JUDAH, founded by David and expanded by Solomon, is exaggerated or idealized. In fact, there is no mention of David in extant contemporary writings, yet there are inscriptions that mention his name within 200 years of his purported life.

According to the accounts found in various books of the Bible, David was anointed as king by one of the prophets and JUDGES, Samuel, who had rejected King Saul. David was the youngest in his family, a mere shepherd, but David was later chosen as a minstrel for the court of King Saul. David’s humble beginning and inauspicious debut before Saul were even more incongruous with his next role as warrior and national savior. He wandered out to a battlefield and was provoked into a duel by the threats of the Philistine champion and giant Goliath. Once David slew the adversary, Saul’s army prevailed.

Back in the court, Saul grew ever more jealous of David. David’s charisma grew by the day, and by his exploits he persuaded even Saul’s son and daughter to protect his life. Saul’s jealousy reached the point of conspiracy against his otherwise faithful subject, so David fled into the wilderness for the life of an outlaw. David was on the run constantly. His pursuers cornered him at least three times, but each time he miraculously escaped. He showed magnanimity when he rejected easy opportunities to slay King Saul. Eventually he accepted his lot as an outlaw and recruited a band of other fugitives who took up banditry with him in the Judaean hills. In fact, the Bible portrays him as a kind of Robin Hood who protects his own kinfolk and their livestock, while he harasses those foreign armies who trespass Israel’s lands.

The next move took him to the land of Israel’s enemies, the Philistines. Here he took up with a local king who provided him safe haven for his looting and marauding in the area. In return, David committed his band of outlaws to help the Philistines. When his services brought him to fight against his own king and countrymen, the other local Philistine kings refused to accept him. Thus, he was spared the dilemma of killing his own people or killing his foreign hosts. The result of the battle was that Saul took his own life when his army lost.

David became king of Judah, his home area, but it was several more years of fighting until he can become

king of the northern kingdom of Israel. His first base was Hebron, a symbolic place where the PATRIARCHS' tombs are located. The war between Saul's followers and David went on for another two to three years. With the death of Saul's son and general, the northern region finally succumbed. In a brilliantly wise move David vacated his capital and conquered a city in a neighboring region, renaming this new location Jerusalem, or City of David (not the city favored by Judah or Israel).

From Jerusalem the expansion of the kingdom began. By the end of David's life the empire extended from ancient Egypt to the Euphrates (present-day Iraq). He won systematic victories over every army that opposed him. If this description is accurate, it means that for the first time in history, Israel was truly a world power with which to be reckoned. At the same time David showed his religious zeal when he brought the ARK OF THE COVENANT into his capital. A temple was not built until the reign of his son Solomon. However, the Ark tied David to MOSES and the covenant elaborated on MOUNT SINAI and as the most primitive symbol of worship connected David to the cult (temple, sacrifice, and priest).

In these otherwise halcyon years the cataclysmic lapse of David's judgment occurred when he committed adultery with Bathsheba and then tried to cover it up by arranging for the death of her husband, Uriah. As the kingdom expanded, David's house collapsed. Within a few years the corruption of David's house caused the unraveling of the kingdom: His daughter Tamar was raped, his son Absalom rebelled and was killed in battle, the northern part of his kingdom (Israel) attempted to secede under Sheba, and finally his two sons Adonijah and Solomon schemed and manipulated David for control of his kingdom.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PSALMS.

**Further reading:** de Vaux, Roland. *Ancient Israel*. Vol. 1: *Social Institutions*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965; Howard, David M. "David." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 2, edited by David N. Freedman, 41–49. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Delphic oracle

The Delphic oracle provided wisdom and advice to many ancient Greeks, and it continues to stir modern imagination regarding its verity and nature. According to archaeological evidence, the first temple of the site ap-

peared in the eighth century B.C.E. However, some have argued that its history is even longer and that it may have existed in a different location at an earlier date. Its origins are shrouded in myth, as the sources regarding the Delphic oracle are scarce and are largely of a literary variety. The earliest written account with respect to the Delphic oracle's emergence says that Apollo had come to Delphi—an area originally known as Pytho that had belonged to the earth goddess Gaia—and upon his arrival he killed the great python-dragon. Having destroyed the site's guardian, Apollo established the location as a sanctuary, which was later to bear his temple. Inside the walls of the sacred house resided a human priestess, or Pythia, through whom Apollo spoke.

The Greeks believed that the temple's location was the center of the universe. Set beneath the "shining rocks" of Mount Parnassus it was consulted by many individuals who ranged in importance. Initially, it was strictly statesmen of great power and other political representatives who visited the oracle; however, later in the oracle's history wise philosophers as well as common citizens sought knowledge and advice at Apollo's sanctuary. The remains of the final temple of this once greatly prestigious and respected oracle can still be visited; however, Apollo's voice at Delphi grew silent during the fourth century B.C.E.

The role of religion and divination in the life and politics of the ancient Greeks is a complex and elaborate one. It was hardly separable from daily existence, and it is difficult to understand the politics of the time without acknowledging early Greek religiosity. In fact, the very notion of citizenship was often defined by way of religion and cult. Moreover, some scholars have argued that the Delphic oracle, and other sources of divination, played an influential part during the period of GREEK COLONIZATION. Colonies were typically established by an individual founder (*oikistes*), who would consult an oracle for endorsement for the excursion, the location, and the justification of his leadership.

By extension the Greek oracles helped with the emergence and maintenance of the various GREEK CITY-STATES (*poleis*). The oracular tradition of consultation was particularly important during times of political instability, as the words of the Pythia were used as a tool to eliminate social disorder.

Although the oracle's responses did not substitute for decision making, they served as a means by which consensus or justification for a particular opinion or resolution was established. Because it was located outside the walls of the specific city-states that consulted it, the oracle was deemed nonpartisan and could therefore



*In a reproduction of a 19th-century painting, a priestess from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi performs ceremonies to consult the oracle. The Delphic oracle gave advice from the temple beneath the rocks of Mount Parnassus in Greece.*

be trusted. However, some sources discuss bribery and gift giving either as a means to influence the Pythia's prophecies or as an attempt to discover what advice was given to an enemy.

A sort of informal type of diplomacy took place at Apollo's sanctuary. The oracle only granted divination sessions once a month and for only nine months out of the year. As a result numerous state representatives would have gathered at the site simultaneously. Some of the earliest regions to have sought its advice were Corinth, Chalkis, and Sparta. By the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.E. Athens was also consulting Apollo at Delphi. However, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. other popular oracles arose at Dodona, Didyma, and Ammon, giving rise to greater choice for divine consultation.

The rivalry between the various oracles was also representative of the hierarchy of gods and their respective popularity. Delphi, and by extension Apollo, remained a favorite of many Greeks for quite some time. Only with the emergence of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who initiated

the imperial age and the collapse of the Greek poleis, did the oracle of Delphi begin to fall out of favor. The concurrent decline of the oracle and the city-states further provides evidence for their important reciprocal relationship.

There is still debate surrounding what exactly took place during a consultation at Delphi and in what manner the response of Apollo was delivered by the Pythia. Fantastical accounts claim that the Pythia mounted a tripod and after inhaling fumes that rose from a chasm in the earth, she was sent into a frenzy or trance and uttered unintelligible words.

The attendant priests translated the utterances and delivered a clarified version to the inquirer. However, a more rational portrayal in contrasting scholarship describes the Pythia filled with the divine breath (*pneuma*) or wisdom of the god, whereupon she replied with great clarity to questions asked both orally and in written form. One account of a former priest instead describes the Pythia as being peaceful and composed after the sessions.

A number of the recorded responses received at Delphi have been preserved, and modern scholars have divided them up into categories ranging from the historical to the fictional. Due to problems in translation and the vagary regarding the context within which many messages were delivered, some of the recorded prophecies are less plausible and even incoherent. Given the nature of such pronouncements on behalf of a god, the authenticity of any of the claims cannot be completely verified. For the most part the responses followed a set of stages. The Pythia would begin by declaring that the message should be taken seriously, reminding those present that the source was Apollo himself. Next, she would acknowledge the seeker on behalf of the god and express a degree of interest and concern. This would be followed by the Pythia's answer. She would invariably conclude with a message that was intentionally challenging insofar as it demanded some further interpretation and thought.

Although some have alleged that the responses were entirely arbitrary and ambiguous, others have understood the complexity differently. The argument follows that the power of personal judgment and intuition were very important and necessary virtues in order to insightfully comprehend the Pythia's prophecies. In fact, the often-quoted injunction "Know Thyself" was inscribed in the lintel over the temple's entrance. Without a certain amount of personal knowledge, it would be difficult for an individual to interpret correctly advice or wisdom.

The ancient Greeks took the wisdom of Apollo and his priestesses seriously for many years and continued to return despite the fact that the responses were not delivered in a cut-and-dry fashion. Although we are left with little more than hypotheses as to how exactly many of the prophesies were interpreted and what impact they might have truly had, there is little doubt that the mystery surrounding Delphi has remained enchanting for the modern mind as individuals today likewise strive for wisdom and truth.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Fontenrose, Joseph. *The Delphic Oracle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978; Hart, Eloise. "The Delphic Oracle." *Sunrise Magazine* (October/November 1985); Malkin, Irad. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. New York: E. J. Brill, 1987; Morgan, Catherine. *Athletes and Oracles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Park, H. W. *Greek Oracles*. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967.

TREVOR SHELLEY

## Demosthenes

(384–322 B.C.E.) Greek orator

Demosthenes was the most famous orator of ancient Athens and a principal voice in the attempt to maintain democracy in the face of the threat of the tyrannical PHILIP OF MACEDON and his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT. He is remembered largely because of the many speeches he left behind. Many details of the life and times of Demosthenes are recorded in Plutarch's biography.

Demosthenes was the son of a sword maker of some substance, but after his father died, he passed into the care of a series of guardians who cheated him of most of his inheritance. His desire to sue one of his guardians inspired Demosthenes to take his first steps toward becoming a public speaker. As a young man, he suffered from a frail physique and a weak, stammering voice. To overcome these problems he supposedly sucked pebbles in his mouth while using his voice to compete with the noise of the sea. Demosthenes was highly renowned for his speechmaking, and his services were in great demand. He struggled to build his reputation and achieved it in part as a speechwriter for those filing lawsuits and spoke in public to plead their case. By the age of 30 he had begun to make speeches to the full Athenian assembly (Ekklesia), most notably in connection with the need for Athens to build its naval defenses against a possible resumption of invasion attempts by the Persians. Demosthenes argued the importance of independence and the use of defensive alliances to deter attacks.

Demosthenes made his reputation with speeches that have become known as the *Philippics*, the orations against Philip of Macedon and the threat the Macedonians represented to Athenian democracy. These were made in the bear-pit atmosphere of the Ekklesia, which was notorious for the rough nature of debate and audience participation. His success led to him becoming one of the most important men in Athens. His position was consistently in favor of independence, and he was frequently in conflict with interests that would have accepted infringement of civil liberties for the sake of economic development. When Philip's army started to threaten Athens in earnest, the debate became ever more vociferous. Conflict was avoided primarily because Philip judged the time not yet ripe.

Peaceful relations became increasingly strained as the well-organized and -led Macedonian forces took over ever-greater parts of Greek territory. Ultimately, a pretext arose for Philip to bring the Greeks to battle at Chaeronea, and he delivered a crushing defeat on them. Plutarch claims Demosthenes dropped his arms

and ran away from the battle. Even so, Demosthenes was elected to give the funeral orations and continued to speak in the Ekklesia against Macedonia. When pro-Macedonian support waxed after the accession of Alexander, Aeschines took the opportunity to bring a case that he anticipated would destroy Demosthenes' reputation.

However, in denying charges of corruption, cowardice, and wrong headedness in a speech known as "On the Crown," Demosthenes routed his opponent, who was subsequently forced to accept exile. This vindication of both his personal integrity and his policies lasted only a few more years. In 324 b.c.e. Demosthenes was convicted of accepting a bribe and was fined and imprisoned. He subsequently escaped and was even invited back to Athens two years later. However, faced with the opposition of Aeschines, Demosthenes took poison and died. Demosthenes is best remembered for his oratory and some aspects of his political beliefs.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Demosthenes. *Demosthenes: Selected Private Speeches*. Ed. by Christopher Carey and R. A. Reid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Hansen, Mogens Herman. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles, and Ideology*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999; Plutarch. *Plutarch: Lives of the Noble Greeks*. Ed. by Edmund Fuller. New York: Dell Publishing, 1959.

JOHN WALSH

## Desert Fathers and Mothers

The designation "Desert Fathers and Mothers" refers to sources of ascetic literature from late antiquity that are associated with MONASTICISM principally in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. Monasticism, which sought physical removal from the inhabited world, quickly identified with the uninhabited desert as a refuge from temptation and as a hostile environment in which to train the body and the mind toward the single goal of serving God.

The literature that captured the central ideas of those who had renounced and withdrawn from the world consists of practical advice for monks, primarily solitaries, including those who might not have access to an experienced teacher. The essential example of this literature consists of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, or *The Sayings*

of the Desert Fathers. This collection circulated in the East and West in three different editions and was translated into a number of languages before the Middle Ages. One edition is attributed to Poemen of Egypt, as are several of the sayings in the collection. It is possible that sayings attributed to Poemen by his disciples were the kernel around which the rest of the collection grew. Other Desert Fathers include Anthony, Pachomius, Ammun, and Bishoi, all of Egypt, and Hilarion and Abba Isaiah of Palestine. Sarah and Syncletica are two of the names of several Desert Mothers whose sayings have been preserved. In the version of the *Sayings* that is arranged alphabetically by the name of the father or mother, there are some 134 names. Those fathers and mothers who can be dated are all from the third and fourth centuries c.e., and reflect preclassical Christian monasticism.

The literature consists of short and direct statements on different topics. Topics include vigilance, self-control, humility, fasting, and prayer. The role of the spiritual father (*abba*) or mother (*amma*) was essential to the perspective of the Desert Fathers and Mothers. The *abba* or *amma* was not a discussion partner or counsel but a source of wisdom, whose advice the novice was to put into practice. Rather than theological speculation, the *abba*'s or *amma*'s advice is the epitome of simplicity and common sense. This advice was always specific to the individual and, hence, was based on the *abba*'s or *amma*'s knowledge of his or her novice.

Each monk or nun must experience his or her own path of spiritual progress. The Desert Fathers and Mothers as the source of this wisdom were thus held not as strict models to be imitated but rather pioneers from whose mistakes and discoveries later generations could profit. This literature was intended to complement the rule of a monastery and church legislation designed to ensure a stable institution, regulating the life of the monastic community so that each of its members could proceed on their individual Christ-centered spiritual path.

The practical approach to questions taken by these authorities was reflected in every aspect of the monk's or nun's work, the goal of which was to find God. The Desert Fathers and Mothers are presented as champions of asceticism. Asceticism entailed fasting and the control of the passions as well as the struggle with demons both within and without, but the end of this work was to become humble, quiet, and vigilant in order to serve God and neighbor, to listen for and to the Word of God, and to trust in God alone.

See also BENEDICT; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

**Further reading:** Gould, Graham. *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; Ward, Benedicta, trans. *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.

ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR., AND CORNELIA HORN

## Deuteronomy

The last book of the Pentateuch is the book of Deuteronomy. Its importance lies in the fact that it is often thought to present the theology that typifies and organizes the next group of biblical books, from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings. This latter group of books in effect represents biblical history as seen from the perspective of the editor of Deuteronomy and is called Deuteronomic History (DH). Martin Noth first made the claim concerning this particular biblical perspective, but now it is the consensus of most scholars of Israelite history and religion.

*Deuteronomy* comes from the Greek term meaning the “second law.” The law in this book then is a reformulation of the TORAH law given to MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI, but it is not really the classic formulation of legal code. Rather, it is expressed as if it were a sermon or homily, not action-oriented but attitude-oriented. Throughout the book of Deuteronomy are speeches and exhortations that stir up the reader to stay faithful to the Jewish law given to Moses, especially the law of monotheistic worship. The book consists of three speeches, plus some appended materials at the end, all purporting to be the last will and words of Moses given before entrance to the promised land of Canaan. Some speculate that the first four chapters display an introduction to the whole DH, while the next few chapters provide an introduction to the book of Deuteronomy. The book, perhaps in its primitive form, was apparently lost for a while, but it was recovered by King JOSIAH of Judah in 621 B.C.E., who tried to bring about the sort of revival envisioned by the later writer(s) of the DH.

According to scholars, the DH starts with the material of Deuteronomy and crafts the subsequent narrative, speeches, annals, and records so that the reader never loses sight of the same lesson. They notice a repetition of language, style, and theme throughout the subsequent books of the Jewish scriptures until 2 Kings, and they believe that there is a deliberate purpose and editorial design that qualify all the books to be called the Deuteronomic History. Basically the DH tends to take a pessimistic view of Israel’s history: Israel’s behavior is frequently unfaithful to its divine

covenant as expressed in the laws of the Torah, especially in the area of idolatry.

If this hypothesis is accurate, DH probably qualifies as an early effort to produce a canon of the Bible. Throughout the book of Deuteronomy is the caution not to add to or take away from the written words, a natural injunction if the book is thought of as canonical. Scholars differ as the date of Deuteronomy and DH, but most tend to read it as an edited collection written after NEBUCHADNEZZAR II’s expulsion of the people of Israel in 587 B.C.E. David Noel Freedman sees Jeremiah’s scribe, BARUCH, as the one responsible, but others simply find a perspective that represents the north (of the ISRAEL AND JUDAH divide) and the PROPHETS found there. This canon would stand in contrast to two other strands of the Bible discerned by scholars, namely, the Priestly books (largely the Torah) and the Chronicler books (the later histories of the Bible and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah). Because the DH is a rather late compilation, it would frequently represent in veiled ways the Babylonian captivity. In fact, there are passages in other books, not in the DH, which reflect the attitudes of the DH.

See also JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** McKenzie, Steven L. “Deuteronomistic History.” In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Weinfeld, M. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Dharma Sutras

The Dharma Sutras are manuals on correct behavior inspired by the VEDAS and which exist in a number of different formats and styles. Many of the numerous verses within the Dharma Sutras consider such topics as appropriate dietary behavior, the duties and rights of kings and rulers, and suitable forms of behavior for people of different ranks in various circumstances. Some sutras were developed and codified into *shastras*, which are more established frameworks of rules that were used to create Hindu laws.

The principal Dharma Sutra is considered to be the *Manu-smṛti* (*The Laws of Manu*), which was created around 200 C.E. (although probably begun earlier) and consists of 12 chapters with a total of 2,694 verses. The contents range from practical prescriptions for funerary and dietary practices to legal systems and religious

strictures. This sutra acted as the law that governed the societies of much of India for a number of centuries. This led to the four-caste conception of society and the social structure that underlay the whole of Hindu society. The fundamental structure of society, therefore, has integrated within it the notions of hell, heaven, and the proper behavior of the individual as a member within a designated caste.

Another sutra of great influence and prestige was written by Yajnavalkya and has just over 1,000 verses arranged in areas relating to the law, expiation, and methods of good conduct. This makes the canon rather lengthy in nature, and it contains disparate elements that would seem irrational from the Western point of view. However, the Hindu conception of the universe is able to reconcile these elements, so far as they are fully aware of them, into a coherent whole.

The Dharma Sutras are combined with the Srauta Sutras (dealing with sacrificial rituals) and the Grhya Sutras (dealing with domestic rituals) to make up the *Kalpa Sutra*, which is a manual of religious practice written in a short and aphoristic style that facilitates committing the material to memory. Each school of the Vedas had its own *Kalpa Sutra*, and each *Kalpa Sutra* is one of the six *vedangas*, the canon of religious and philosophical literature, descended from the Vedas. They are created by humans and hence have the name *smṛti*, or “tradition.”

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY; VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Banerjee, Sures Chandra. *Dharma Sutras: A Study in Their Origin and Development*. Calcutta, India: Punthi Pustak, 1962; Carpenter, David. “Language, Ritual and Society: Reflections on the Authority of the Veda in India.” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. (v.60/1, 1992); Jamison, Stephanie W. “Rhinoceros Toes, Manu V.17–18, and the Development of the Dharma System.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (v.118, 1998); Yajnavalkya. *Yajnavalkya's Smṛiti: With the Commentary of Vijnanesvara, Called the Mitaksara and the Gloss of Balambhatta*. Edited by Srisa Chandra Vasu. New York: AMS Press, 1973.

JOHN WALSH

## Diadochi

*Diadochi* is the Greek word for “successors” and refers to the successors of the empire of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. At first there was initial agreement to the unity of the empire, but this soon turned into wars between rival

rulers. These included Macedon, Egypt under Ptolemy as Africa, and the Near East under Seleucus as Asia.

### DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander the Great died on June 11, 323 B.C.E., in Babylon. His leading generals met in discussion. Alexander had a half brother, Arridaeus, but he was illegitimate and an epileptic and thought unfit to rule. Perdiccas, general of the cavalry, stated that Alexander's wife, Roxane, was pregnant. If a boy was born, then he would become king. Alexander had named Perdiccas successor as regent, until the child was of age. The other generals opposed this idea. Nearchus, commander of the navy, pointed out that Alexander had a three-year-old son, Heracles, with his former concubine Barsine. The other generals opposed this because Nearchus was married to Barsine's daughter and related to the young possible king. Ptolemy wanted a joint leadership and deemed that the empire needed firm government and jointly the generals could assure this. Some thought that a collective leadership could lead to a division of the empire. Meleager, the commander of the pikemen, opposed the idea. He wanted Arridaeus as king to unite the empire. The final decision was to appoint Perdiccas as regent for Arridaeus, who would become Philip III, and if Roxane gave birth to a boy, he would take precedence and become King Alexander IV.

Alexander's father, PHILIP OF MACEDON, had led his armies south and conquered all of Greece. Alexander was king of Macedon and Greece and had left a general there to rule. The Greeks saw that Alexander and his generals had taken on the customs of their hated enemies, the Persians. The people of Athens and other Greek cities staged revolts as soon as they heard that Alexander had died. Antipater led forces south and battled in what would become the Lamian War. Craterus arrived with reinforcements. Craterus led the Macedonians to victory against the Greeks at the Battle of Crannon on September 5, 322 B.C.E. As the Macedonians captured Athens, DEMOSTHENES, the leader of the revolt, died by taking poison.

### FIRST DIADOCH WAR

Perdiccas ruled as regent, and there was peace for a time. His first war was with Ariarathes, who ruled in Cappadocia in the central part of modern-day Turkey. The First Diadoch War broke out in 322 B.C.E., when Craterus and Antipater in Macedonia refused to follow the orders of Perdiccas. Knowing that war would come, the Macedonians allied with Ptolemy of Egypt. Perdiccas invaded Egypt and tried to cross the Nile, but many

of his men were swept away. When Perdiccas called together his commanders Peithon, Antigenes, and Seleucus for a new war strategy, they instead killed him and ended the civil war. They offered to make Ptolemy the regent of the empire, but he was content with Egypt and declined. Ptolemy suggested that Peithon be regent, which annoyed Antipater of Macedon. Negotiations were held and succession was finally decided: Antipater became regent; Roxane's son, who had just been born, was named Alexander IV. They would live in Macedonia, where Antipater would rule the empire. His ally Lysimachus would rule Thrace, and Ptolemy would remain satrap of Egypt. Of Perdiccas's commanders, Seleucus would become satrap of Babylonia, and Peithon would rule Media. Antigonus, in charge of the army of Perdiccas, was in control of Asia Minor.

### SECOND DIADOCH WAR

War was again initiated when Antipater died in 319 B.C.E. He had appointed a general called Polyperchon to succeed him as regent. At this, his son, Cassander, organized a rebellion against Polyperchon. With war breaking out Ptolemy had his eye on Syria, which had historically belonged to Egypt. There was an alliance between Cassander, Ptolemy, and Antigonus of Asia Minor, who had designs against the new ruler Polyperchon. Ptolemy then attacked Syria. Polyperchon, desperate for allies, offered the Greek cities the possibility of autonomy, but this did not gain him many troops. Cassander invaded Macedonia but was defeated. During this fighting the mother of Alexander, Olympias, was executed in 316 B.C.E.

Polyperchon had the support of Eumenes, an important Macedonian general. Polyperchon attempted to ally with Seleucus of Babylon. Seleucus refused, and the satraps of the eastern provinces decided not to be involved. Antigonus, in June 316 B.C.E., moved into Persia and engaged the forces of Eumenes at the Battle of Paraitacene, which was indecisive. Another battle near Gabae, where the fighting was also indecisive, led to the murder of Eumenes at the end of the fighting. This left Antigonus in control of all of the Asian part of the former empire. To cement his hold over the empire, he invited Peithon of Media and then had him executed. Seleucus, seeing that he would no longer have control over Babylon, fled to Egypt.

### THIRD DIADOCH WAR

Antigonus Monophthalmus was now powerful and had control of Asia. Worried about an invasion of Egypt, Ptolemy started plotting with Lysimachus of Thrace

and Cassander of Macedonia. Together they demanded that Antigonus hand over the royal treasury he had seized and hand back many of his lands. He refused, and in 314 B.C.E. war broke out. Antigonus attacked Syria and tried to capture Phoenicia. He lay siege to the city of Tyre for 15 months. Meanwhile, Seleucus took Cyprus. On the diplomatic front Antigonus demanded that Cassander explain how Olympias had died and what had happened to Alexander IV and his mother, in whose name Cassander held rule. Antigonus made an alliance with Polyperchon, who held southern Greece.

Ptolemy sent his navy to attack Cilicia, the south coast of what is now Turkey, in the summer of 312 B.C.E. With his forces in Syria, Ptolemy worried that Egypt might be attacked and retreated. Seleucus, who was a commander in the Ptolemaic army, marched to Babylon and was recognized as satrap in mid-311 B.C.E.; the previous satrap, Peithon, was killed at Gaza.

Antigonus realized that he could not defeat Ptolemy and his allies. A truce was agreed to in December 311 B.C.E. Cassander held Macedonia until Alexander IV came of age six years later; Lysimachus kept Thrace and the Chersonese (modern-day Gallipoli); Ptolemy had Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus; Antigonus held Asia Minor; and Seleucus gained everything east of the river Euphrates to India. The following year (310 B.C.E.), Cassander murdered both the young Alexander IV and his mother, Roxane.

Peace lasted until 308 B.C.E. when Demetrius, a son of Antigonus, attacked Cyprus at the Battle of Salamis. He then attacked Greece, where he captured Athens and many other cities and then marched on Ptolemy. Antigonus sent Nicanor against Babylon, but Seleucus defeated him. Seleucus used this opportunity to capture Ecbatana, the capital of Nicanor. Antigonus then sent Demetrius against Seleucus, and he besieged Babylon. Eventually, the forces of Antigonus and Seleucus met on the battlefield. Seleucus ordered a predawn attack and forced Antigonus to retreat to Syria. Seleucus sent troops ahead, but with little threat from the West he attacked BACTRIA and northern India. When Antigonus attacked Syria and headed to Egypt, his column was attacked by the troops sent by Seleucus.

### FOURTH DIADOCH WAR

In 307 B.C.E. the Fourth Diadoch War broke out. Antigonus was facing a powerful Seleucus to his east and Ptolemy to the south. Egypt was secure with the protection of a large navy. Ptolemy attacked Greece, motivated largely by a desire to ensure that Athens and other cities did not support Antigonus.

Demetrius in a diversion attacked Cyprus and continued with his siege of Salamis. This pulled Ptolemy out of Greece, and his navy headed to Cyprus. Ptolemy lost many of his men and ships. Menelaus surrendered Cyprus in 306 B.C.E., once again giving Antigonus control of the city. Antigonus proclaimed himself successor to Alexander the Great. Antigonus did not view Seleucus as a threat, so instead marched against Ptolemy. His army ran out of supplies and was forced to withdraw. Demetrius had attacked the island of Rhodes, held by Ptolemy. Ptolemy was able to supply Rhodes from the sea, and so Demetrius withdrew. Cassander, then attacked Athens. In 301 B.C.E. Cassander, aided by Lysimachus, invaded Asia Minor, fighting the army of Antigonus and Demetrius, with Cassander capturing Sardis and Ephesus. Hearing that Antigonus was leading an army, Cassander withdrew to Ipsus, near Phrygia, and asked Ptolemy and Seleucus for support. Ptolemy heard a rumor that Cassander had been defeated and withdrew to Egypt. Seleucus realized that this might be the opportunity to destroy Antigonus. Earlier he had concluded a peace agreement with King CHANDRAGUPTA II, in the Indus Valley, and had been given a large number of war elephants. Seleucus marched to support Cassander.

Hearing of his approach, Antigonus sent an army to Babylon hoping to divert Seleucus. Seleucus marched his men to Ipsus and joined Lysimachus. There, in 301 B.C.E., a large battle ensued. Seleucus, with his elephants, launched a massive attack that won the battle. Antigonus was killed on the battlefield, but Demetrius escaped. This left Seleucus and Lysimachus in control of the whole of Asia Minor. Seleucus and Lysimachus agreed that Cassander would be king of Macedonia, but he died the following year. Demetrius had escaped to Greece, attacking Macedonia and, seven years later, killed a son of Cassander. A new ruler had emerged, Pyrrhus of Epirus, an ally of Ptolemy. He attacked Macedonia and the forces of Demetrius. Demetrius repelled the attack and was nominated as king of Macedonia but had to give up Cilicia and Cyprus. Ptolemy urged on Pyrrhus, who attacked Macedonia in 286 B.C.E. and drove Demetrius from the kingdom, aided by an internal revolt. Demetrius fled from Europe in 286 B.C.E. With his men he attacked Sardis again. Lysimachus and Seleucus attacked him, and Demetrius surrendered and was taken prisoner by Seleucus. He later died in prison.

This left Lysimachus and Pyrrhus fighting for possession of Europe, while Ptolemy and Seleucus owned rest of the former empire. Ptolemy abdicated to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. An older son, Ptolemy Keraunos, sought help from Seleucus to try to take over

Egypt. Ptolemy died in January 282 B.C.E. In 281 B.C.E. Ptolemy Keraunos, decided that it would be easier to take Macedonia rather than to attack Egypt. He and Seleucus attacked Lysimachus, killing him at the Battle of Corus in February 281 B.C.E. Ptolemy Keraunos then returned to Asia, and prior to leaving for Macedonia again in 280 B.C.E., he murdered Seleucus.

By the end of the Diadochi wars, Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, ruled Greece; Ptolemy II Philadelphus was king of Egypt; and Antiochus I, son of Seleucus, ruled much of western Asia. Ptolemy Keraunos held the lands of Lysander in Thrace. The Diadochi wars came to an end with the death of Seleucus, but wars between the kingdoms continued.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PTOLEMIES.

**Further reading:** Bosworth, A. B. *The Legacy of Alexander the Great: Politics, Warfare and Propaganda under the Successors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Doherty, Paul. *Alexander the Great: The Death of a God*. London: Constable, 2004; Kincaid, C. A. *Successors of Alexander the Great*. Chicago: Ares, 1985; Paveley, J. D. *Lysimachos, the Diadoch*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Swansea, Wales, 1988.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Diocletian

(c. 245–c. 316 C.E.) Roman emperor

The emperor Diocletian was born Diocles on the coast of the Roman province of Dalmatia, which lies on the western shore of the Balkans. Born in the early years of the “Military Anarchy,” Diocles witnessed the collapse of the empire into a series of civil wars, leaving Rome splintered in the face of a continuous front of enemies. The emperors were continually on the defensive. By the time of Valerian’s rise in 253 C.E., Germanic tribes overran the Rhine and Danube frontiers. The SASSANID EMPIRE of Persia would take advantage of this situation by overrunning the Romans in Syria and retaking Antioch. Valerian moved against the Persians and was able to retake Antioch, but in a terrible Roman defeat, Valerian’s army was surrounded at EDESSA in 259. The emperor was led into Persian captivity.

Such political instability allowed a man like Diocles the opportunity to rise above the station of his birth. At a time when military powers were struggling for control of the fragile ROMAN EMPIRE, the status of a soldier was enhanced. After 260, Gallienus had stripped senators of

their right to command legions and the sons of senators of their rank of deputy tribune. These positions were given to career soldiers, thus opening opportunities for advancement in the rank and file. Diocles was either a freed slave or the son of a freed slave, and his education was extremely limited. Diocles joined the imperial army before 270 and in less than two decades rose far.

In the 270s mention was made of Diocles being commander of a sizable military unit on the lower Danube, roughly modern-day Bulgaria. Descriptions vary, but they agree that Diocles lacked natural heroic bravado. Rather, he set himself to military tasks with cautious and cool precision, showing himself to be a better leader than soldier. In 282 the legions of the upper Danube declared the Praetorian prefect Carus emperor, and before the emperor Probus could respond, his own soldiery killed Probus. Diocles' role in the coup is unclear, but under Carus's short reign he rose to the highest levels of military leadership. Carus elevated Diocles to command of the *protectores domestici*, the elite force that accompanied the emperor into battle. This gave Diocles intimate access to Carus, and he was made a consul in 283. Following Carus's sudden death, his son, Numerian, was named emperor, and Numerian's father-in-law and the prefect, Aper, began gathering military power. In 284 Numerian died, and Aper, who had charge over him, was arrested by soldiers on suspicion of plotting against the emperor. The collected army leadership halted near Nicomedia, and in a ceremony the representatives of the military units elected Diocles emperor. Diocles' first act was the execution of Aper for Numerian's murder. He then took the name Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus.

Diocletian still needed to subdue Numerian's brother, Carinus, who controlled the western provinces of Rome. Constantius, the governor of Dalmatia, supported Diocletian, and Carinus was weakened by the revolt of one of his military leaders, Sabinus Julianus. When the battle between Carinus and Diocletian took place near Belgrade in 285, Diocletian was nearly defeated when his armies' lines were broken. But Carinus's forces did not take advantage of their battle gains and soon discovered that Carinus was dead. Tired of battle, the soldiers of Carinus's armies swore allegiance to Diocletian, who became sole ruler—Augustus of Rome.

In order to overcome simultaneous military emergencies continuing to befall the Roman Empire, Diocletian adopted the younger general Maximian as heir and elevated him to the status of Caesar, a powerful and historic position inferior to the status of the Augustus. While Maximian was ambitious and able, he was

a soldier of little political imagination, making him the least likely of Diocletian's supporters to attempt to seize power. Maximian, now legal son of Diocletian and a Caesar with armies, was charged with restoring Roman authority in GAUL and the West.

A revolt in Britain soon necessitated a more drastic measure. When Carausius, a general in Britain and Gaul, was declared Augustus by his armies and challenged the mere Caesar, Maximian, Diocletian boldly elevated his adopted son Maximian to the status of Augustus. Diocletian and Maximian, both soldiers commanding armies, held real power in their dual rule. Under their leadership the question of dividing the empire into opposed states never arose, and this reform in government would play a central role in Rome's recovery. The two emperors could now face their enemies simultaneously in the north and east and take advantage of the fact that the fronts were composed of small, independent armies.

Diocletian sought to establish his capital in Nicomedia. After the first five years of the dual rule, Diocletian set about to further cement the government and made reforms that would consolidate advances made to secure Rome after its long decline. Diocletian first moved to establish the TETRARCHY in order to secure succession to the throne and maintain orderly dual rule. In the Tetrarchy each Augustus would adopt into his family a Caesar as junior partner. After a decade the two Augusti would retire in favor of the Caesars, who would in turn each adopt a Caesar.

Beyond the military and governance reforms of the establishment of the Tetrarchy, Diocletian reformed the military structure, establishing frontier forces that provided defense, with a mobile reserve force maintained more centrally. When hot spots flared, the reserves could reinforce the frontier armies. The power of military leadership was divided in an attempt to reduce their threat to imperial authority. Diocletian's rebuilding projects and investments in infrastructure can be seen as part of a larger plan for economic reform. Availability of goods, such as food and materials, was improved when they could more easily be transported across the empire. However, rampant inflation was hard to control, and Diocletian engaged in an attempt at price fixing. His Edict on Maximum Prices, while ultimately failing to control prices and inflation, was a serious attempt at controlling runaway inflation, with some offenses punishable by death.

Perhaps under the influence of Galerius, who was known to be opposed to Christianity, Diocletian's rule continued Rome's persecutions of the Christian religion. Begun in 303, this wave of persecution would cease only in 312. A series of edicts commanded that

churches and scriptures be destroyed and that church leaders be imprisoned.

Many of Diocletian's reforms, such as the Tetrarchy, did not long survive his retirement in 305. Upon his retirement, he became the first living emperor to leave office of his own accord. The Tetrarchy did manage to halt Rome's slide into anarchy, and the rule of the Tetrarchs renewed Roman frontier defenses.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DIADOCHI; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Barnes, Timothy. *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982; Corcoran, Simon. *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1996; Rees, Roger. *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2004; Southern, Pat. *The Roman Empire from Severus to Constantine*. New York: Routledge, 2001; Williams, Stephen. *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. London: Methuen, 1985.

JAMES A. GRADY

## Dravidians

This term has traditionally been applied to groups from the Indian subcontinent that speak Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Brahui, and Tulu. Most of these linguistic groups live in the southern portion of the subcontinent. The word *Dravidian* comes from the SANSKRIT term *dravida*, which means "southern." During the 19th century linguistic scholars began to realize that the Dravidian languages differed significantly from many of those spoken in the north. Early anthropologists and sociologists began to suggest that the darker-skinned inhabitants of the subcontinent were the ones who predominantly spoke the Dravidian languages and that they in fact may have been the original inhabitants of India. Modern geneticists suggest that the color of skin may have had more to do with adapting to sunnier conditions in the southern part of India than actual racial differences. Theories concerning the darker-skinned Dravidians also played to issues of political, regional, CASTE, and religious strife in 19th-century India.

Notions of possible historical Dravidian displacement in the Indus River valley due to an invasion or migration began to be entertained by Western scholars who joined in interdisciplinary studies of the origins

of the Hindu religion. Archaeological evidence from the 1920s concerning the ascension and demise of the ancient polytheistic INDUS CIVILIZATION (3500–1700 B.C.E.) gave rise to the theory of an invasion of the Indus region by lighter-skinned northern peoples, who began to be known as Aryans. In fact, there were a number of religion scholars like Bloch and Witzel who felt that Indus River valley inhabitants composed the oldest parts of the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the most ancient form of Hindu religious literature, dating in written form to around 800 B.C.E. and possibly stemming from oral formulas and prayers dating as far back as 2000 B.C.E. Even the ancient *Puranas* point to the Dravidians as being descended from the earliest Vedic peoples. (Elements of the Puranic oral traditions may date as early as 1500 B.C.E. but did not reach their final written form until around 500 C.E.). The *Matsya Puranas* also indicate that the first man, Manu, was a king from the southern part of India.

Numerous attempts continued through the 20th century to connect the Dravidians to the Indus civilization. Scholars insisted that Hinduism emerged from a blending of Aryan and Dravidian culture. Many modern studies of the ancient Indus Valley civilization presumed that the inhabitants who occupied a wide range of ancient city-states all along the Indus (including the very large urban centers at Harappa and MOHENJO-DARO) were all Dravidian. It is believed that more than 500 highly civilized centers, all inhabited before 900 B.C.E., were part of the network of Indus and Ghaggar Rivers. Their economy was supported by agriculture from the crops that grew from the rich deposits of soil along the Indus and its tributaries. However, most inhabitants of cities were artisans, merchants, or craftspersons. Many of the towns exhibit signs of urban planning with straight streets, sanitation systems, municipal governments, and even multi-level housing. Cities like Harappa even had dockyards, warehouses, granaries, and public baths.

Meteorologists, archaeologists, and geologists claim that the collapse of the early Indus civilization was due to climactic and environmental issues, tectonic events, and most likely drought. One group then possibly resettled the Indus area, or several other groups migrated into the area. Given these hypotheses it is easy to see why the linguistic differences first noticed by scholars in the mid-19th century could be explained by a northern invasion from settlers beyond the Khyber Pass and the eventual domination of the area by a lighter-skinned ruling class. However, there is a whole group of contemporary scholars who now think the Aryans may not have been Middle Eastern or European but were part of a group proximate to the

Indian subcontinent all along. Some geneticists interpret the earliest settlement of India as connecting Middle Eastern peoples such as the Elamites with the Dravidians, to placing the Dravidian group as the last among ancient migrants into India behind other earlier Indo-European settlers and more ancient Australoid peoples.

See also ELAM.

**Further reading:** Allchin, Bridget, and Raymond Allchin. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982; Bryant, Edwin. *The Quest for the Origins of the Vedic Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Chakrabarti, D. K. *Indus Civilization Sites in India: New Discoveries*. Mumbai, India: Marg Publications, 2004; Feuerstein, G., D. Frawley, and S. Kak, eds. *In Search of the Cradle of Civilization: New Light on Ancient India*. Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, 1999; Kenoyer, Mark. *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

TIM DAVIS

## Druids and Picts

The Picts and the Druids were among the pre-Roman civilizations in the British Isles. There is little concrete information about either group, particularly prior to Roman contact. The Druids were the priests of many ancient Celtic societies, which included those in northwest Europe as well as the British Isles. The Druids were preservers and enforcers of tradition among these tribes, passing on an oral literature that did not survive the arrival of Rome and the decline of the Celtic languages and cultures. They were probably the most learned class among their people and may have passed on to the laity a good deal of practical knowledge in addition to the religious teachings of their polytheistic faith.

Our written sources about the Druids are exclusively Roman. Gaius Julius Caesar's Gallic Wars ascribed to the Druids among the Gauls the authority to make judgments in disputes both civil and criminal and the use of exile as punishment. Other writers wrote of Druids telling fortunes, receiving instruction in secret, and overseeing sacrifices, including human sacrifices. They were almost certainly the keepers and designers of the calendar the Celtic tribes followed. Though they have long been associated with Stonehenge in the popular imagination, Stonehenge predates the Druids considerably, and they could not have had anything to do with its construction. It is primarily the result of historical fads in the 18th and 19th centuries that so many misconceptions about the Druids are lodged

in popular thought, many of them the product of poor scholarship or outright fabrication. It is from that period that many "modern druidic movements" stem, some of them claiming an unbroken connection to the Druids of the Iron Age.

Little, too, is known about the Picts, who inhabited Pictland (northern Scotland) from antiquity until the Middle Ages. A loosely affiliated, ethnically similar group of tribes, they confederated into a number of kingdoms (sometimes ruled over by a high king to whom others owed fealty) sometime after the arrival of Romans in the British Isles. Presumably, the Pictish religion, and perhaps its language, greatly resembled that of other Celtic groups before this time and converted in the fifth and sixth centuries. Once Christianity was entrenched, the cult of saints was especially prominent in Pictland, with patron saints associated not just with towns and kings as in much of Christendom but with noble families. Kingship generally passed from brother to brother before passing on to a son, favoring experienced leaders over a direct line of succession.

The Picts are famous for their use of war paint and tattoos, and their name derives from the Latin word *pingere*, for "paint." This may have been a myth, and it is unlikely they used woad (which takes poorly to skin) to dye themselves blue, as was once thought. The myth may have grown because of the fierceness of the pirates and raiders among the early Picts; such warriors tend to accumulate hearsay around them.

See also CELTS.

**Further reading:** Aldhouse-Green, Miranda J. *Exploring the World of the Druids*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997; Foster, Sally M. *Picts, Gaels, and Scots: Early Historic Scotland*. London: Batsford, 2004; Smyth, Alfred P. *Warlords and Holy Men*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984.

BILL KTE'PI

## Duke of Zhou (Chou)

(Regent 1116–1109 B.C.E.) *Chinese ruler, mythological figure*

In Chinese tradition King Wen (the Accomplished), King Wu (the Martial), and the Duke of Zhou are revered as the wise founding fathers of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (c. 1122–256 B.C.E.) and their era is considered a the golden age. King Wen prepared the way; King Wu overthrew the SHANG DYNASTY but died shortly after, leaving his young son King Cheng (Ch'eng) un-

der the care of his uncle, the Duke of Zhou, as regent. Soon after this event three other brothers of King Wu, who had been sent to govern the former Shang territories in the east, and the Shang prince who had been set up as nominal ruler of the Shang people, joined in rebellion. After two years of warfare the Duke of Zhou and his brother the Duke of Shao defeated the rebels. The Shang prince was killed, the Shang capital, Yin, was leveled, and another Shang prince was set up to rule another fief called Song (Sung) further east. The rebel Zhou princes were either killed or exiled. Thus ended the first crisis of the new dynasty.

The Duke of Zhou then pressed further east and brought all peoples to the coast under Zhou rule. The Zhou territory was larger than that of modern France. To consolidate the conquests the duke sent loyal relatives to establish strongholds in strategic locations and set up a second capital at LUOYANG (LOYANG), strategically located at the junction of the Luo (Lo) and Yellow Rivers. During the early Zhou era numerous walled cities were built, governed by relatives and supporters of the new dynasty, who gradually established control over the population.

Their territories were called *guo* (*kuo*). The king ruled directly over the largest territory in the center of the political order, called Zhungguo (Chung-kuo) or the “central state,” which came to mean “China” and known to the West as the Middle Kingdom.

The new rulers were given titles of rank, translated as duke (reserved for sons and brothers of the king), marquis, count, viscount, and baron. Together the nobles were referred to as “the various marquises.” Most of the nobles were related to the royal house either by blood or by marriage; they looked to the king as head of their vast extended family and the Zhou clan as their common ancestors. Many common features between these Zhou institutions and European medieval feudal institutions have led historians to call the early Zhou polity feudal.

The Duke of Zhou is also credited with creating the well-field system that equitably distributed farmland to cultivators; eight families grouped together farmed plots for themselves and together farmed the ninth one for their lord. The Duke of Zhou explained to the Shang people that the change of dynasties was the will of heaven, which punished the last Shang king for his wickedness and rewarded the house of Zhou for its virtue. He also lectured his nephew that the concept of “Mandate of Heaven” was a double-edged sword and could be cut when the personal and political conduct of the new rulers did not measure up to heaven’s expectations. After a seven-year regency, and having accomplished his mis-

sion, he returned power to his nephew and retired to his own fief called Lu in eastern Shandong (Shantung).

See also WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986; Creel, Herrlee G. *The Origin of Statecraft in China*, Vol. 1, *The Western Chou Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; Gernet, Jacques. *Ancient China from the Beginnings to the Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Dunhuang (Tun-huang)

Dunhuang is located in present-day Gansu (Kansu) Province in northwestern China. It was strategically important to China and came under Chinese control under Emperor Wu around 120 B.C.E. during the HAN DYNASTY. He stationed a garrison there to prevent two nomadic peoples, the XIONGNU (Hsiung-nu) and the Qiang (Chi-ang), from joining forces against the Chinese. The Han dynasty's military successes resulted in the Pax Sinica, in which China dominated the eastern part of the Eurasian continent at the same time that the Roman Empire dominated the western end (PAX ROMANA). Trade prospered between China with Central Asia, India, Persia, and the Roman Empire via the famous SILK ROAD.

The Silk Road's eastern starting point was China's capital, CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), and led across the Gansu Corridor to Dunhuang, the gateway city, after which it divided into a northern and southern branch across mountains and deserts until the two branches joined at Merv, then to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Dunhuang's position at the intersection between Chinese, Indian, and Central Asian cultures made it important in China's political and cultural history. Dunhuang's richly furnished Han-era tombs prove its prosperity. The census of 1–2 C.E. shows that there were 11,200 registered households in the commandery with almost 40,000 persons.

Merchants passed through Dunhuang with their wares, as did Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims en route to and from India and diplomats and armies from the courts of empires across Eurasia. Near to Dunhuang lies a mile-long strip of land intersected by a stream whose water made agriculture possible. Lying to the west of the stream is Mount Mingsha, where for a thousand years men carved cave temples called the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (also called the Magao Caves).



*Detail of one of the paintings in the Dunhuang caves that show the assimilation of styles from several cultures.*

Introduced from India, cave art in China is synonymous with religious art, especially Buddhist art. From Dunhuang the practice of excavating Buddhist cave temples spread to Datong (Ta-tung) in Shanxi (Shansi) Province and Luoyang in Henan (Honan) Province, the sites of the Yungang (Yun-kang) and Longmen (Lung-men) caves. But the Dunhuang caves stand out as the largest in size and of the longest in duration, spanning from around the beginning of the Common Era to the Yuan dynasty in the 13th century c.e. They were built by generations of pious people and decorated with paintings and sculpture. The grottoes were adorned with murals over plaster and painted clay sculptures. Thousands of grottoes were excavated, of which 492 remain; they show the evolution of Buddhist art style and the assimilation of styles from several cultures. Western explorers discovered the caves and a treasure trove of hidden ancient manuscripts at Dunhuang at the end of the 19th century.

Many of the manuscripts and art treasures of Dunhuang were moved to Western museums; others were preserved in China. Dunhuang studies have added to knowledge of Buddhism and Chinese history and culture.

See also CAVE PAINTINGS.

**Further reading:** Dunhuang Institute for Cultural Relics. *The Art Treasures of Dunhuang*. New York: Lee Publishers, 1981; Mair, Victor. *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Whitfield, Roderick, and Anne Farrer. *Cave of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route*. New York: George Braziller, 1990.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

# E



## Ebla

The ancient city of Ebla is identified with modern Tell Mardikh in north Syria, 34 miles south of Aleppo. It created a sensation when archaeologists uncovered the largest single find of third-millennium CUNEIFORM tablets there. The University of Rome has excavated the site since 1964, under the leadership of Paolo Matthiae.

Ebla is poorly attested in the Early Bronze I-II Periods (c. 3200–2700 B.C.E.), with an absence of Uruk pottery. This suggests that Ebla did not emerge directly due to the development of Sumerian colonies along Syrian trade routes, by which means the “Uruk culture” was disseminated. By 2400 B.C.E. Ebla had grown into an urban center of more than 135 acres. A palace constructed on the acropolis (designated as “Royal Palace G” by archaeologists) testifies to the increasing importance of centralized administration. Ebla’s urbanization may possibly be interpreted in terms of the sociopolitical climate prevalent in Syria at that time. With the Mesopotamian city-states extending their influence through long-distance trade, those in Syria felt the pressure to organize and assert their political independence.

Upon excavation Royal Palace G revealed a large archive of cuneiform texts, dated to 2400–2350 B.C.E. The texts span the reigns of Kings Igrish-Halam, Irkab-Damu, and Ishar-Damu, as well as the tenure of important court officials such as Ibrium, Ibbi-Zikir, and Dubukhu-Adda. The archive contained a grand total of about 1,750 whole tablets and 4,900 tablet

fragments. A severe fire, which destroyed the palace, had fortuitously baked and hardened the tablets, thus helping to preserve them.

Scholars generally agree that these cuneiform texts were intended to be read in the local language, Eblaite. However, the texts tend to be written with numerous Sumerian logograms (word signs). This means that Eblaite pronunciation and grammar are often not reflected in the writing. Some have considered Eblaite to be northwest Semitic, possibly an antecedent for the later Canaanite dialects. Others have noted its affinities to east Semitic languages, such as Old Akkadian. It is conceivable that Eblaite represents a time before the northwest and east branches of the Semitic family were clearly distinguished. Alternatively, Eblaite may represent the dialect of a geographical region that was influenced by much interaction with both East and West.

Among the tablets are lexical texts that list the Sumerian logograms followed by their Eblaite translations. These represent the earliest attested bilingual dictionaries. Other lexical texts list words according to various categories, such as human vocations, names of fishes, and names of birds. The sequence and arrangement of these lists are identical with those in southern Mesopotamia, signifying Ebla’s indebtedness to the Sumerian scribal tradition. Several texts mention, “Young scribes came up from MARI,” and may suggest a means by which Mesopotamian scribal practices passed into the Syrian regions. The Ebla scribes, nonetheless, preferred their own method of number notation and system of measures, instead of adopting Mesopotamian forms.

The vast majority of tablets consist of administrative and economic records, which elucidate much of Ebla's society. The highest authority at Ebla was designated by the Sumerian title *EN*, which is translated in Eblaite as *malikum* (king). The Sumerian title *LUGAL* was used in Ebla for governors, who were subordinate to the king. This contrasts with the usage in Mesopotamia, where *LUGAL* typically denotes an individual of higher rank than an *EN*. Royal inscriptions, which laud the king's power and legitimize his reign, have not yet been found at Ebla. Also, Ebla does not follow the usual Mesopotamian practice of naming years according to significant acts of the king. Such reticence has encouraged the view that Ebla's king did not rule as an absolute monarch but as one reliant on leading tribal elders for aspects of state administration. The cult of dead kings is attested at Ebla, with ritual texts describing various sacrifices offered to previous rulers of the dynasty.

Ebla was divided into eight administrative districts. The districts on the acropolis were named *saza*, while those in the countryside were named *ebla*. It was the palace, rather than the temple, that chiefly directed the city's economics. The palace was responsible for the ownership of land, the sustenance of Ebla's workforce, and even the record of animals used in religious sacrifices. In Ebla, however, the system of labor management was not as highly developed as that of Mesopotamia. Agriculture and industry often remained under the management of local communities, which in turn reported to supervisors from the palace. The most important deity at Ebla was Kura, who functioned as the patron god of the royal household. The pantheon at Ebla included a core of Semitic deities that persisted into later times and appear in Canaanite religion. Native names were used for deities, and Sumerian gods were worshipped only when there was no Semitic equivalent. This selective appropriation of Sumerian deities suggests that the people of Ebla were well familiar with divine roles and cultic practices in Sumerian religion.

Ebla was strategically located at the junction of major trade routes and engaged in the commerce of products such as wool, flax, olive oil, barley, and wine. Its treasury of gold and silver was immense for its time. International contact extended as far as Egypt, and Ebla's access to Anatolia supplied it with prized bronze tin. Various cities between the Euphrates and Balikh Rivers, though far away from Ebla itself, actually came under Ebla's control. Ebla was interested in northern Mesopotamian trade routes, which would allow it to bypass Mari on the way to southern Mesopotamia. Perennial conflicts ensued between Ebla and Mari.

Both SARGON and Naram-Sin boasted that they conquered Ebla, and the fire that destroyed Royal Palace G most likely dates to either of their reigns. Ur III records, however, imply that Ebla was rebuilt, and that its citizens had name types that show continuity with those of pre-Sargonic Ebla. The archaeology of the Old Syrian Period (c. 1800–1600 B.C.E.) indicates that Ebla experienced resurgence during this time. However, around 1600 B.C.E. the Hittite king Murshili I destroyed Ebla and effectively ended its political power.

See also AKKAD; DAMASCUS AND ALEPO; FERTILE CRESCENT; HITTITES; SUMER; UR.

**Further reading:** Gordon, Cyrus H., Gary A. Rendsberg, and Nathan H. Winter, eds. *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*. 4 vols. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987–2002; Milano, Lucio. “Ebla: A Third-Millennium City-State in Ancient Syria,” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. 2 edited by Jack M. Sasson, 1,219–1,230. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995.

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

## Ecbatana

See PERSEPOLIS, SUA, AND ECBATANA.

## Edessa

Both Edessa and its successor, Nisibis, were in northern Mesopotamia, in an area known for its military and its religious importance. Edessa has been called the Athens of Syriac learning; but after its educational institutions were shut down in 489 C.E., Nisibis, a city less controlled by Byzantine authorities, became the heir to the learning traditions of SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

Edessa was founded in 303 B.C.E. Legends tell of its king Abgar who was so taken by JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH that he sent him a letter. Jesus responded by sending the famed apostle Addai to convert Edessa and the rest of Mesopotamia to Christianity. Other ancient traditions indicate that Edessa was at center stage in early church development: The body of Thomas the Apostle is buried here; the Syriac translation of the Bible (the Peshitta), the synthesis of the Gospels (Tatian's Diatessaron), Acts of Thomas, Odes of Solomon, Gospel of Truth, Acts of Thomas, and Psalms of Thomas all were written in Edessa. Nearby Dura-Europos was the site of the first-known Christian building dedicated to worship. The area was also known as a potpourri of

religious diversity, perhaps accounting for its powerful creative productivity. Besides Judaic, Mithraic, Greek, and Syrian influences, currents of Gnosticism and MONASTICISM vied for popular attention.

As time went on Edessa succumbed to imperial pressures toward Orthodox Christianity. In the fourth century C.E. Edessan Christianity tended toward zealous monasticism. Along with this movement come the intellectual bards of Syriac literature: EPHREM the Syrian (fourth century), Jacob of Sarug (fifth century), and Philoxenus of Mabbug. From 363 until 489 Edessa was the major intellectual center for Syriac Christians.

The ancestors of ALEXANDER THE GREAT established Nisibis. Because of its strategic position the city often changed hands, as armies and king perennially coveted control of its resources. In the first five centuries of the first millennium C.E. Roman Caesars and Persian shahs lay many sieges and battles upon its population. The modern city offers an ancient two-nave church, where Ephrem's hallowed teacher, Jacob of Nisibis, is entombed. Jacob's academy itself is located in the no-man's land between the barbed-wire boundaries separating modern Turkey and Syria, just south of the modern city of Nisibis. When Persians surrounded the city in 363, the Syriac Christians were expelled and resettled in Edessa.

Less than 120 years later disaffected Syriac Christians fled from Byzantine persecution (instigated by the GREEK CHURCH) in Edessa to find refuge in Nisibis under Persian protection. Greek authorities had officially shut down the theological school at Edessa, and the axis of dissent, led by followers of NESTORIUS, shifted back into Nisibis. Ties with the Byzantine Christian world foundered—and still suffer today. Nisibis eclipsed Edessa as a center for the Syriac Church. The School of Nisibis would dominate Syriac Christianity in Persia for the next two centuries. One of Edessa's refugees, Narsai, led the school for 40 years, and such stability allowed his successor to gather more than 1,000 students. These graduates then became the leaders for the Assyrian Church and other churches outside of the Byzantine Christian pale. Eventually Ctesiphon displaced Nisibis as the Syriac intellectual center, but not until the eighth century.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WAR; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; ROMAN EMPIRE; SASSANID EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Le Coz, Raymond. *Histoire de l'Église d'Orient*. Paris: Fayard, 1994; Segal, J. B. *Edessa: The Blessed City*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2001.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Egeria

(4th century C.E.) *pilgrim and writer*

In the middle of the fourth century C.E., a Christian woman took a journey lasting four years to the Middle East. She wrote a journal of her travels, and the manuscript lay dormant until the late 1800s. Other Latin writers made mention of her, so her accounts circulated among religious pilgrims before they were lost for centuries. Her name was Egeria (also known as Eutheria, Aetheria, and Silvia), and she was writing for other religious women who lived in Europe, perhaps on the Atlantic coast of Spain or France.

Most likely she was a nun commissioned by her community to put her curious and adventurous mind to work for the benefit of the spiritual life of her sisters. She went on PILGRIMAGE to the most important sites of the Christian and Jewish world of her day. Her account is one of the most valuable documents scholars have of the fourth-century world of travel, piety, early MONASTICISM, women's roles, and even the development of late Latin.

Her book has two parts. The first part is a travelogue and is simply her report of her pilgrimage. She tells her sisters of her visits to such hallowed and historical places as Jerusalem, EDESSA, sites in Mesopotamia, MOUNT SINAI, Jericho, the Jordan River, Antioch, and CONSTANTINOPLE, and of meeting people (usually monks and mystics) staffing the places. She follows the itinerary of the people who made the places famous and prays there. Often her comments about the rustics at the sacred sites show a bit of dry humor.

Her tourist program has many other objectives, such as following the path of MOSES through the desert to Mt. Sinai, her plan to visit the home of Abraham's family (Carrhae or biblical Harran, southeast of Edessa), and her hope to go to Thomas the Apostle's tomb in Edessa. The travelogue is incomplete, for like any good pilgrim she concocted ever more schemes to visit other places like Ephesus to pray at the tomb of the John the "Beloved" Apostle. This part of her travels is missing from the manuscript.

The second part is more a journalistic report on the church of Jerusalem's liturgical practices over the three years she lodged there. Her record of the practices surrounding daily life and prayer of the church is the first one that scholars have on the topic. She also reports on how the church's celebrations correspond to its unique location in the Holy Land. The liturgies she describes are hardly stationary ceremonies in one church location, but they involve processions from place to place

according to the occasion. In addition, her descriptions are useful for historians of church architecture.

Her account allows modern readers to see things like the need for military escorts in various places of the Holy Land, the unfailing hospitality of the monasteries along the way, the road network, and the system of inns maintained by the empire. She speaks of the monks, the nuns, and the religious laity in the Holy Land and their patterns of fasting and the instruction of the candidates for entrance into the church. Finally, she epitomizes the heart of the pilgrim and shows pluck and pithiness as she describes each stage of her spiritual journey.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); KING'S HIGHWAY AND WAY OF THE SEA.

**Further reading:** Burghardt, Walter J., ed. *Ancient Christian Writers*. Long Prairie, MN: Neumann Press, 1970; Wilkinson, John. *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*. Rev. ed. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1981.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Egypt, culture and religion

The civilization of ancient Egypt lasted about 30 centuries—from the 30th century B.C.E. to 30 B.C.E., when it became part of the Roman Empire. Egypt was significant for its size and longevity, retaining a strong continuity of culture despite several periods of turmoil. Egypt developed along the valley surrounding the Nile River in northeast Africa, extending into the desert and across the Red Sea. Ancient Egyptians traced their origins to the land of Punt, an eastern African nation that was probably south of NUBIA, but their reasons for this are unclear.

As early as the 10th millennium B.C.E., a culture of hunter-gatherers using stone tools existed in the Nile Valley, and there is evidence over the next few thousand years of cattle herding, large building construction, and grain cultivation. The desert was once a fertile plain watered by seasonal rains, but may have been changed by climate shifts or overgrazing.

At some point the civilizations of Lower Egypt (in the north, where the Nile Delta meets the Mediterranean Sea) and Upper Egypt (upstream in the south, where the Nile gives way to the desert) formed; the Egyptians called them Ta Shemau and Ta Mehu, respectively, and their inhabitants were probably ethnically the same and culturally interrelated. By 3000 B.C.E.

Lower and Upper Egypt were unified by the first PHARAOH, whom the third-century B.C.E. historian Manetho called Menes. Lower and Upper Egypt were never assimilated into one another—their geographical differences ensured that they would retain cultural differences, as the peoples of each led different lives—but rather, during the Dynastic Period that followed, were ruled as a unit. Each had its own patron goddess—Wadjet and Nekhbet—whose symbols were eventually included in the pharaoh's crown and the fivefold titular form of his name. The first Pharaoh also established a capital at Memphis, where it remained until 1300 B.C.E. The advent of HIEROGLYPHICS and trade relations with Nubia and Syria coincide with the Early Dynastic Period.

## HISTORY

The history of ancient Egypt is traditionally divided into dynasties, each of which consists of rulers from more or less the same family. Often, a dynasty is defined by certain prevailing trends as a result of the dynastic family's interests—many of the significant pyramid builders in ancient Egypt were from the Fourth Dynasty, for instance. In the early dynasties, we have little solid information about the pharaohs, and even our list of their names is incomplete.

The dynasties are organized into broad periods of history: the Early Dynastic Period (the First and Second Dynasties), the Old Kingdom (Third through Sixth), the First Intermediate Period (Seventh through Tenth), the MIDDLE KINGDOM (Eleventh through Fourteenth), the Second Intermediate Period (Fifteenth through Seventeenth), the New Kingdom (Eighteenth through Twentieth), the Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-first through Twenty-fifth), and the rather loosely characterized Late Period (Twenty-sixth through Thirty-first). Ancient Egypt essentially ends with the Thirty-first Dynasty: For the next 900 years Egypt was ruled first by ALEXANDER THE GREAT, then the “Ptolemaic dynasty,” founded by Alexander’s general Ptolemy, and finally by Rome directly.

## RELIGION

Ancient Egyptian religion can be described through syncretism, the afterlife, and the soul. *Syncretism* refers to the merging of religious ideas or figures, usually when disparate cultures interact. In the case of ancient Egypt, it refers to the combination and overlapping of local deities.

Many sun gods (Ra, Amun, Horus, the Aten) were first worshipped separately and then later in various combinations. This process was a key part of Egyptian polytheism and likely helped preserve the nation’s cultural continuity across its vast life.

Mortal life was thought to prepare Egyptians for the afterlife. The Egyptians believed that the physical body would persist in the afterlife and serve the deceased, despite being entombed and embalmed. Amulets, talismans, and sometimes even mummified animals were provided for the deceased's use. As described in the *BOOK OF THE DEAD* (a term referring to the corpus of Egyptian funerary texts), in later stages of Egyptian religious history the deceased was judged by the god Anubis. The god weighed the heart, which was thought to hold all the functions of the mind and therefore a record of the individual's life and behavior, against a single feather. Those judged favorably were ushered on to the afterlife; those who were not had their hearts eaten by the crocodile-lion-hippopotamus demon Ammit and remained in Anubis's land forever.

The different parts of the soul—or different souls—included the *ba*, which developed from early predynastic beliefs in personal gods common to the ancient Near East, and which was the manifestation of a god, a full physical entity that provided the breath of the nostrils, the personality of the individual, and existed before the birth of the body; the *ka*, the life power which comes into existence at birth and precedes the individual into the afterlife to guide their fortunes; the *akh*, a kind of ghost that took many different forms in Egyptian religion over the dynastic era; the *khaibut*, the shadow; the *ren*, or name; and the *sekhu*, or physical body.

## LANGUAGE AND MATH

Egyptian writing dates as far back as the 30th–50th centuries B.C.E. Early Egyptian—divided into the Old, Middle, and Late forms—was written using hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. Although hieroglyphs developed from pictographs—stylized pictures used for signs and labels—they included symbols representing sounds (as our modern alphabet does), logographs representing whole words, and determinatives used to explain the meaning of other hieroglyphs.

Translation of ancient Egyptian writing was nearly impossible for modern Egyptologists until the discovery of the ROSETTA STONE by an army captain in Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, in 1799. When the French surrendered in 1801, the stone was claimed by the British forces and sent to the British Museum, where it remains today.

The stone was a linguist's dream come true, the sort of find that revolutionizes a field. Upon it was written a decree by Pharaoh Ptolemy V in 196 B.C.E., not only in hieroglyphics and Demotic but in Greek. Since ancient Greek was well known, this allowed Egyptologists to



*Translation of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics was nearly impossible until the discovery of the Rosetta Stone.*

compare the two line by line and decipher the meaning of many of the hieroglyphs. Much work and refinement has been done since, receiving a considerable boost from the archaeological finds of the 19th and 20th centuries. The hieratic numeral system used by the Egyptians had similar limitations to the Roman numeral system: It was poorly suited to anything but addition and subtraction. As attested in the Rhind and Moscow papyri, the Egyptians were capable of mathematics including fractions, geometry, multiplication, and division, all of which were much more tedious than in modern numeral systems but were required for trade and timekeeping. Like other ancient civilizations, the Egyptians lacked the concept of zero as a numeral, but some historians argue that they were aware of and consciously employed the golden ratio in geometry.

See also NEW KINGDOM, EGYPT; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT; PTOLEMIES.

**Further reading:** Aldred, Cyril. *Egyptian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980; Andrews, Carol. *Egyptian Amulets*. Austin: University of Texas, 1994; Hobson, Christine. *The World of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987; Hornung, Erik. *The Valley of the Kings*. New York: Timken, 1990; James, T. G. H. *Ancient Egypt: Its Land and Its Legacy*. Austin: University of Texas, 1988; Redford, Donald R. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 2004; Shaw, Ian. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Watterson, Barbara. *Amarna*. Charleston, SC: Tempus, 1999; Weeks, Kent R. *Valley of the Kings*. New York: Friedman, 2001.

## Elam

The country of Elam encompassed the southwest of modern Iran. The Elamites designated themselves as *Haltamti*, from which the Akkadians derived *Elamtu*. Susa and Anshan were the two major centers of Elamite civilization. The proto-Elamite period (c. 3400–2700 B.C.E.) witnessed the emergence of writing at Susa. This proto-Elamite script differed sufficiently from Mesopotamian scripts to indicate a different language. Indeed, the Elamite language is unrelated to other known ancient languages.

From the Old Elamite Period (c. 2700–2100 B.C.E.) Mesopotamian texts begin to mention Elam. Because native texts remain sparse, Elamite chronology derives much from Mesopotamian records. Elam's encounter with the Agade kings illustrates a recurring trait in its history: Elam's lowlands are readily accessible from the west and periodically came under Mesopotamian control. By contrast, the Zagros highlands are more isolated by topography and experienced more autonomy. Accordingly, Susa and the Khuzistan plains (in southwest Iran) were the regions that fell most completely under Akkadian dominion.

After Agade's fall, the Elamite Puzur-Inshushinak claimed the title king of Awan (an Iranian region). His incursion into Mesopotamia was deterred by Ur-Nammu, and Susa fell under Ur III dynasty rule. The Shimashki dynasty (c. 2100–1900 B.C.E.) emerged in the highlands, a result of alliances formed against Ur. The Elamites eventually regained control of the lowlands, even moving west to destroy Ur and capture its last king, Ibbi-Sin. The Elamite king Kindattu managed to occupy Ur but was soon expelled by Ishbi-Erra, founder of the first dynasty of Isin.

The Sukkalmah era (c. 1900–1600 B.C.E.) is best attested in the records, when Elam experienced unprecedented prosperity. A triumvirate from the same dynastic family ruled the country: The *sukkalmah* (grand regent), the *sukkal* (regent) of Elam and Shimashki in second place, and the *sukkal* of Susa in third place. The ascendancy of the city-state of Larsa over Isin was propitious for Elam, and the Elamites even established a dynasty at Larsa. Elam dominated the eastern edge of Mesopotamia, exerting its economic (especially tin trading) and diplomatic presence as far as northern Syria. Hammurabi's conquests, however, led Elam to decline in the following centuries.

The Middle Elamite Period (c. 1600–1100 B.C.E.) saw a resurgence of Elamite power, marked by the use of the title king of Anshan and Susa. From c. 1400–1200

B.C.E., relations between Elam and Kassite Babylonia were promoted by means of several royal intermarriages. However, with the rise of a new Elamite dynasty, Shutruk-Nahhunte put an end to Kassite hegemony by raiding southern Mesopotamia, bringing to Elam such important monuments as Naram-Sin's Victory Stela and Hammurabi's Law Code. His son, Kutir-Nahhunte, terminated the Kassite dynasty by deposing Enlil-nadin-ahi and brought home Marduk's cult statue from Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar I eventually reclaimed this statue when he sacked Elam around 1100 B.C.E.

During the Neo-Elamite Period (c. 1100–539 B.C.E.) the country faced pressures from two fronts: Medo-Persian encroachment on the highlands and Assyrian aggression toward the lowlands. The Elamites suffered Assyrian vengeance for being Babylonian allies against the growing Neo-Assyrian Empire. In 647 B.C.E., Ashurbanipal despoiled Susa. Moreover, in 539 B.C.E., CYRUS II conquered Babylonia and extended Achaemenid control over Elam. Until the HELLENIZATION of the region Elamite culture continued to assert itself through the use of the Elamite language in official documents, the worship of Elamite deities, and the importance of Anshan and Susa in the Persian Empire.

See also AKKAD; ASSYRIA; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA.

**Further reading:** Carter, Elizabeth, and Matthew W. Stolper. *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984; Potts, Daniel T. *The Archaeology of Elam*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

## Elamites

See MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

## Eleusis

Eleusis was a city in Attica in Greece, located some 12 miles northwest of Athens. From early times Eleusis was associated with the Eleusinian mystery rites of Demeter, a Mother Goddess figure and maternal figure of power, and the development of a cult that existed since the early Greek culture of the CYCLADES islands. Festivals like the Eleusinian Mysteries were part of the annual celebration of birth and rebirth in the early Mediterranean.

The rites also included worship of the god of wine and pleasure, Bacchus (or Dionysus). While Athens took over the rites around 600 B.C.E., there is much evidence that the mystery rites had their origin in the dawn of Greek civilization and formed a part with the Mother Goddess cults found throughout both the western and eastern Mediterranean in ancient times. The festivals, as fertility rites, can only be fully understood when they are viewed as only the first act of a two-act annual drama. What was actually the first act was held in the spring at Agrae, the Lesser Mysteries. This corresponds with the traditional time of sowing the new crops and the joy of rebirth. The mystery celebration at Eleusis marked not only the harvest, but the hope that life would return again after the winter, as Persephone, Demeter's daughter, would return from the Underworld, or Hades.

It is possible that in the earliest times the mysteries also included human sacrifice, with the shedding of the blood of the sacrificial victim offered to bring fertility back to the land. Even into classic Grecian times after 600 B.C.E. the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries formed a major milestone in Greek religion. However, something—a taboo or a fear of retaliation from the gods or those who celebrated the mysteries—kept even the most rational minds of the day from relating what happened at the Eleusinian Mysteries, or even about the buildings used in their celebration.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; MYSTERY CULTS.

**Further reading:** Angus, S. *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*. New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1966; Frazer, James George. *The Golden Bough*. New York: Touchstone, 1995; Graves, Robert. *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966; Hesiod and Homer. *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homericca*. Trans. by H. G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974; Sophocles. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Trans. by G. E. Mylonas. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Ephesus and Chalcedon, Councils of

The third and fourth ecumenical councils held at Ephesus in 431 C.E. and at Chalcedon in 451 C.E., respectively, discussed and formulated how Christians were to speak of the relationship of Christ's human and divine natures to one another.

Whereas the earlier ecumenical COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325) and Council of Constantinople (381) had defined doctrinal perspectives on belief in the Trinity as the conviction that there was one *ousia* (essence) of God in three hypostases (persons), now Christology was the main concern of the councils. At the request of Bishop NESTORIUS of the eastern capital CONSTANTINOPLE, Emperor Theodosius II called together all the major bishops of the Eastern and a few of the Western Roman Empire to meet at Pentecost 431 to resolve questions that had arisen concerning teachings advanced by Nestorius.

Nestorius, who had been trained in the theological tradition of the school of Antioch, resisted calling Mary *Theotokos* (Mother of God) and preferred to speak of her as *Christotokos* (mother of Jesus as the one united with the Logos). Taking advantage of travel delays among the supporters of Nestorius and hostile attitudes among delegates from Asia Minor who resented Nestorius's claims of authority over them, Cyril took the lead at the council with a group of Egyptian monks. Following irregular proceedings, Cyril had Nestorius condemned and deposed from his position.

When other Eastern bishops, who had arrived late, met separately under Bishop John of Antioch, who was their leader, they criticized Cyril's anathemas as fraught with Apollinarianism and ARIANISM and in turn condemned and deposed Cyril and Bishop Memnon of Ephesus. Joined by the Roman delegates, Cyril reconvened the council and condemned and deposed John of Antioch as well as 34 Eastern bishops.

Emperor Theodosius II approved the depositions of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon in early August and formally dissolved the council, yet in the confusion following the council Cyril succeeded in returning to his see of ALEXANDRIA as victor. Nestorius, however, withdrew from the capital city to a monastery near Antioch, from where he was expelled first to Petra and then to the Great Oasis in LIBYA until his death after 451.

Accusations against Nestorius had focused on the claim that he divided Christ and was affirming two Christs and two Sons, a man and God, by considering the union of man and God in Christ as merely an external union. One of the main opponents of this supposed Nestorian teaching, the influential monk Eutyches of Constantinople, promoted an extreme Monophysite (one [divine] nature) teaching that denied that Christ is *homoousios* (consubstantial) with humankind. Having been condemned at a local council under the leadership of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople, Eutyches

was rehabilitated by Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria at the so-called *latrocinium* (Robber Council) at Ephesus in 449, a meeting remembered both for its irregularities and violence that led to the death of Flavian of Constantinople. Summoned by Emperor Marcian, the Council of Chalcedon met on October 8, 451, to resolve disputes about Monophysitism. It rehabilitated Flavian of Constantinople and accepted as definitive the Christology formulated in Pope Leo I of Rome's Letter to Flavian, which stated that in Christ, who is a single *prosopon* (person) and a single hypostasis, the complete and entire divine and human natures coexist "without mixture, without transformation, without separation, and without division." Thus Christ is *homoousios* both to the Father with regard to his divinity and to us with regard to his humanity.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH.

**Further reading:** Chadwick, Henry. *The Early Church*. New York: Penguin, 1990.

CORNELIA HORN AND ROBERT PHELIX

## Ephrem

(306–373 C.E.) *theologian and composer*

Known as the Harp of the Spirit, Ephrem was perhaps the most creative voice of the SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH and one of the most influential theologians of early Christianity. He was born in 306 C.E., just south of the holy region of Syriac monks and spirituality in Mesopotamia. Formed into a mature Christian by the mentor and holy man Jacob, Ephrem became proficient enough to join his teacher in the same school of Nisibis.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE ignominiously lost his war with the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE, so the Romans were forced to withdraw from Nisibis in 363. The Christians associated with Ephrem also retreated to the eastern frontier city of EDESSA. There Ephrem served his people in two primary ways.

First, he threw himself into the distribution of food and alms among the refugees of the retreat. For all of his impact on the church the only office he held was deacon. He had no desire to be a priest, and he avoided the popular call to be a bishop by feigning madness. His personality aided him in his quest to steer clear of the hierarchy, for he had an irascible personality that only personal sanctity could control. Sec-

ond, he produced a corpus of hymns, homilies, poems, and commentaries that scholars marvel at today. His genius lay in combining his hymnology with a unique method of interpreting the Bible and spiritual mysteries. On one hand he accepts the plain sense of scripture (this is called the Antiochene method of interpreting the Bible); but on the other hand he relies on allegory and poetic license when logic and historical circumstances do not offer a relevant application (this is called the Alexandrian method).

His hybrid thinking represents the Syriac Church penchant for dealing with the forces of Gnosticism, and early Judaism. The central event of history and nature is the Christ event: the incarnation of the divine in the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Ephrem finds symbols of this mystery in history and nature, and even the Bible speaks in a typological way about this event. He has no hesitation about borrowing a vocabulary and hymnology that the Syriac church encountered in the Mesopotamian world of the heterodox currents and Jewish influences.

While his method was unique, his own doctrine was orthodox. His hymns and elevated speech show him to be steadfast in opposing ARIANISM, Marcionism, Manichaeanism, and other CHRISTIAN DUALISMS. His images stand in support of such ideas as the Last Judgment, purgatory, original sin, free will and its reliance on grace, the primacy of Peter, the intercession of the saints, the real presence of Jesus in the bread of communion, the sacraments, and the Trinity. All these doctrines are in the crucible of theological development, so Ephrem's genius is valuable and ahead of his time. He had a special devotion to the mother of Jesus and foreshadowed the concept of her Immaculate Conception.

His compositions are in Syriac, and many were immediately translated into Greek. People so loved his metaphors and analogies that they used them in their own languages and liturgies; thus, some works exist only in their Latin or Armenian forms. A complete inventory of his compositions has yet to be accomplished. Ephrem died in the epidemic of 373, taking care of Edessa's refugees.

See also ALEXANDRIA; CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; MONASTICISM; ORIGEN.

**Further reading:** Griffith, Sidney H. *Images of Ephraem: The Syrian Holy Man and His Church*. New York: Traditio, 1989–90; ———. *Faith Adoring the Mystery*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1997.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Epicureanism

Epicureanism is named after the philosopher Epicurus, who founded a school of teaching in Athens that continued for seven centuries after his death. Epicurus (342–270 B.C.E.) was a citizen of Athens, raised on the island of Samos. His contribution was aimed at the practical application of philosophy and its role in enabling people to lead a pleasurable and virtuous life. His ideas are completely distinct from the slanderous attacks made on him by later thinkers, who have given to Epicureanism a pejorative sense of gluttony and unbridled hedonism.

Writings of Epicurus that have survived, notably letters to HERODOTUS and Menoecus, contain only the restatement of the works of others, with one principal exception. This was in the area of atomism. The basis of atomism is that the phenomena of the universe can be explained by the interactions of the smallest independently existing particles of matter (atoms) that follow observable physical laws in predictable ways. In other words, there is no fundamental need for the gods to exist for the universe also to exist. Consequently, humanity should be freed from the terror inflicted upon it by anxiety of what new diseases and disasters the gods might next release and in concern that those disasters are the fault of people suffering from them.

To this belief Epicurus added the innovation that some atoms will voluntarily bend from the paths that would otherwise cause them to descend from the skies to the earth. This voluntary movement, the cause for which was not properly explained, had the effect of preventing people from feeling that they were trapped in a mechanistic universe with no fundamental meaning or purpose.

Epicurus taught in a garden in Athens from approximately 306 B.C.E. until his death. Athens had also witnessed the brilliance of ARISTOTLE within the preceding 20 years and the astonishing conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in Asia Minor and Egypt. Greek culture was becoming one of the most dynamic forces of the world. Yet, a time of such change and innovation also led to a sense of impermanence and the fear of the unknown. According to Epicurus, the sensible approach of any adult was to seek the maximization of pleasure and peace, rather than appease or appeal to the supernatural. This is the philosophy of hedonism, which holds the seeking of pleasure to be the ultimate purpose of life.

This does not mean, however, that people should heedlessly chase after any immediate pleasurable sensation without consideration of the future or of any

other person. The sensible person should recognize that different forms of pleasure inevitably bring pain. For example, the thoughtless drinking of wine will lead to the pain of a hangover, while the lusts of a criminal nature will lead to the misery of prosecution. As a result, the properly hedonistic person is also a virtuous person who selects pleasures that do not cause pain to themselves or to others. However, owing to his atomistic beliefs, Epicurus would have acknowledged that virtue is intrinsically of no value. This made his position rather paradoxical. His belief in the gods, whom he conceived of as living blissful existences while completely ignoring humanity, is also illogical. If there is no necessity for the gods to exist, as well as no meaningful way to detect their presence, then why would Epicurus claim their existence? It is possible that, bearing in mind the practicality of his teaching, he simply wished to avoid the political danger of denying the existence of the gods.

The Epicurean school continued after the death of its founder and became particularly prominent in Rome. Two of the tutors of CICERO were Epicureans, and SENECA defended the beliefs of Epicurus against the attacks of the religious minded and particularly the Christians. The conversion of the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT to Christianity in 313 C.E. signaled the end of Epicureanism as part of the mainstream of intellectual discourse. One problem was that Epicureanism showed little ability to innovate or develop. Once it was accepted that Epicurus had identified the proper way to live, there was little to discuss, and people should just go about practicing what he taught.

As Lucretius wrote, he was "...the man in genius who o'er-topped / The human race, extinguishing all others, / As sun, in ether arisen, all the stars." The inability to adapt effectively condemned Epicureanism to continual condemnation by religious believers who characterized it as little more than egotistic selfishness. Humanists who tried to support Epicureanism were condemned as libertines. The poem "De Rerum Natura" ("On the Nature of the Universe") by the Roman philosopher and Stoic Lucretius explains Epicureanism in its fullest form.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; STOICISM.

**Further reading:** Epicurus. *The Epicurus Reader: Selected Writings and Testimonia*. Trans. and ed. by Brad Inwood and L. P. Gerson. Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 1994; Lucretius, Titus Carus. *On the Nature of the Universe*. Trans. by R. E. Latham. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

JOHN WALSH

## Era of Division (China)

The first part of the Era of Division that followed the HAN DYNASTY, between 220 and 280 C.E., is called the THREE KINGDOMS period. It ended in 280, when the Jin (Ch'in) dynasty, led by the Sima (Ssu-ma) family, reunified China. But the unity was fragile because the founding ruler divided his realm among his 25 sons on his death, giving each a principality under the nominal control of his principal heir. The princes and other noblemen soon fell upon one another in civil war, and one of them called on the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) northern nomads for help. The Xiongnu chief claimed descent from a Han princess, called himself Liu Yuan, and named the Shanxi (Shansi) region he controlled the Han but later changed its name to Zhao (Chao). Liu Yuan's forces sacked both ancient capitals, CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) and LUOYANG (LOYANG), burning the imperial library of the Han dynasty. The Jin court fled south in 316 and set up a new capital in Nanjing (Nanking), which had been capital of the Wu state during the Three Kingdoms period in China.

The year 316 marked the division of China into two halves that lasted until 589. It was called the era of the Northern and Southern dynasties. Chinese rule was superseded in northern China, which became the battle-ground of different nomadic groups, the Xiongnu, the Xianbei (Hsien-pei), both Turkic in ethnicity, and the TOBA (T'O-PA), who were ethnically Tungusic. In 387 the Xiongnu attempted to conquer the south, but the watery southern terrain was unsuited to their cavalry, and they were decisively repulsed at the Battle of Feishui (Fei Shui) in modern Anhui (Anhwei) Province. As a result, the situation between the north and south was stalemated. In 386 a new nomadic group from the northeast defeated both the Xiongnu and Xianbei and established the Northern Wei dynasty in northern China that lasted until 557. The Tungusic rulers of the Northern Wei dynasty first established their capital city at Datong (Tatung) in modern Shanxi Province, a logical place for a nomadic dynasty because it was located near the GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

Fierce warriors (the Toba population was estimated to be no more than 200,000 people), with no written language and a primitive culture, the Toba soon embraced Buddhism, ordering the excavation of extensive cave temples outside Datong at a site called Yungang (Yunkang). They also embraced Chinese culture with enthusiasm. In 494 the Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang to be near the heartland of Chinese culture and ordered the excavation of another series of caves devoted to Buddhist worship nearby at a site called

Longmen (Lungmen). At the same time the government also forbade the Toba people to wear their traditional clothing or use their tribal titles, ordering them to adopt Chinese surnames and speak Chinese instead. Some Toba people revolted against sinicization, which split the dynasty into two short-lived rival kingdoms called the Eastern Wei and Western Wei, which were followed by the Northern Qi (Ch'i) and Northern Zhou (Chou). None of the dynasties that followed the Northern Wei ruled all of North China. The era of division ended in 581 C.E. when a Northern Zhou general, Yang Jian (Yang Chien), usurped the throne and went on to unify the north and south under his new dynasty, the Sui.

Meanwhile in southern China, from the Yangtze River valley south, five dynasties followed one another. They were the Jin (Chin), 317–419; Liu Song (Sung), 420–477; Qi (Ch'i), 479–501; Liang, 502–556; and Chen (Ch'en), 557–587. Nanjing was capital to all five. There was large-scale immigration of northerners to southern China during the Era of Division. The refugees who fled the nomads brought the refinements and advanced culture of the north to southern China and absorbed the aboriginal populations into mainstream Chinese culture. Thus, whereas southern China was a frontier region during the Han and a place of exile for officials and convicts, by the end of the sixth century C.E. it had become developed and economically advanced.

Culturally, the most remarkable change during the Era of Division was the phenomenal growth of BUDDHISM IN CHINA, an Indian religion that first entered China during the beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), brought by missionaries and traders along the SILK ROAD. While making inroads, Buddhism had remained an exotic religion of foreigners and some Chinese during the Han dynasty. CONFUCIANISM AS A STATE IDEOLOGY collapsed with the fall of the Han dynasty. The primitive religions of North China's nomads had little to offer confronted with the appealing theology of Buddhism and its stately rituals and ceremonies.

Thus, a nomadic ruler stated in 335: "We are born out of the marches and though We are unworthy, We have complied with our appointed destiny and govern the Chinese as their prince... Buddha being a barbarian god is the very one We should worship." The nomads' Chinese subjects also embraced Buddhism for consolation in times of trouble and for its attractive and universalistic teachings.

Adherence to Buddhism made the nomadic rulers less cruel to their Chinese subjects and built bridges between the rulers and ruled. Buddhism also became dom-

inant in southern China because its teachings assuaged the pain of exile for northern refugees and because of its theology, which answered questions that Confucianism and other Chinese schools of thought failed to address.

Similarly the chaos and collapse of Confucianism as state ideology during the Era of Division revived interest in DAOISM (TAOISM), allowing some disillusioned intellectuals to take refuge in an escapist philosophy. Seeking longevity and immortality, some learned Daoists delved to learn about the properties of elements and plants and produced a vast pharmacopoeia. Popular Daoism was enriched as a result of borrowing ceremonies and monastic institutions from Buddhism.

The Era of Division was politically a dismally chaotic period in Chinese history. However, intellectually it was not a dark age, principally due to the rapid growth of Buddhism, which contributed enormously to Chinese civilization. The nomads became rapidly sinicized, and intermarriages between northern urban upper-class Chinese and nomads leveled their differences.

See also FA XIAN; WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Dien, Albert E., ed. *State and Society in Early Medieval China*. CA: Stanford University Press, 1990; Eberhard, Wolfram. *Conquerors and Rulers: Social Forces in Medieval China*. 2nd ed. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1949; Zurcher, Eric. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. 2 vols. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1959.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Essenes

Several ancient informants discuss the Jewish sect known as the Essenes. The most famous three are JOSEPHUS, PHILO, and Pliny, whose writings date to sometime around the first century C.E. The etymology of the name *Essenes* remains uncertain. One theory proposed by the ancient Jewish philosopher Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) suggests that the name is related to the Greek word for holiness.

It is perhaps more likely that the name goes back to a Hebrew or Aramaic word that could be related to the word for “council,” or “doers (of the law),” or even “healers.” A renewed interest in this ancient Jewish sect coincided with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls near QUMRAN. The idea that the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran are to be identified with the Essenes has many strong supporters.

The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (b. 37 C.E.) has left us the most detailed information about this group. He mentions the Essenes several times throughout his writings and even claims to have been a member of this group during his youth. If indeed this was true, he could not have spent more than a few short months with them, according to the chronology given in his own autobiography. The lengthiest description of the Essenes appears in his multivolume work called *The Jewish War*, c. 73 C.E., where Josephus identifies them as one of three Jewish philosophical schools. What is notable about this description of the Essenes is this: Josephus’s comments concerning them are far more detailed and much lengthier than his comments about the other two sects, the PHARISEES and the SADDUCEES. Within this description Josephus gives an account of their procedure for admitting new members into the community and details many of their practices, including their shunning of marriage and their idiosyncratic practice of avoiding bowel movements on Shabbat.

A candidate for membership is initiated into this hierarchical sect with a full year of probation during which time he is expected to live according to the terms of the community but not among them. After this year the candidate is permitted to draw closer to the group but may not participate in the meetings of the community and is also barred from the “purer kind of holy water.” A proselyte was expected to swear a series of oaths that insist upon the strict observance of various communal laws and also secrecy to the group. Josephus also gives an account of the provisions for those who have been expelled from the community for serious crimes. In addition to this lengthy account in *The Jewish War*, Josephus refers to the Essenes twice in his multivolume work the *Jewish Antiquities*. All three of the ancient informants, Pliny, Philo, and Josephus, write that the Essenes were characterized by their shared wealth and their avoidance of married life, but Josephus does not say that celibacy is the condition for membership in the community.

Scholarly interest in the Essenes grew alongside the study of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Even though other theories for the identification of the wilderness community at Qumran existed, many scholars found the Essene identification to be the most convincing, and it enjoyed the widest popularity from the earliest days of scholarship on the scrolls. There are two major arguments advanced in favor of the Essene identification of the Qumran community. The first argument relies upon the Roman historian, Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.), who locates the Essene community near the Dead Sea. In his multivolume work *Natural History*, Pliny gives what has



*The Dead Sea Scrolls were found in these caves near Qumran, which are believed to have been an Essene monastery.*

now become a much-cited reference to the solitary group known as the Essenes in his description of the geography of the land of Judaea. While there is some question as to how to translate the Latin *infra hos*, as “below” (with respect to altitude) or “downstream from,” Pliny’s reference identifies an Essene community in a location very close to the region of the Qumran settlement and caves.

The second argument relies on the correlation of Josephus’s description of the Essenes and the Qumran community’s own account of their belief system. Many diverse categories of writings were discovered at Qumran, including copies of biblical texts and pseudepigraphic writings that would probably have been common to collections and libraries of different kinds of Jewish sects during that time.

In addition to these texts were scrolls that appeared unique to this community and likely composed by them. This latter category of writings expresses a distinctive theology and worldview and is categorized as sectarian or unique to the community at Qumran. A comparison of these sectarian writings with Josephus’s description of the philosophy of the Essenes and other ancient infor-

mants provides some interesting points of correlation in theology and worldview.

One point of correlation concerns the doctrine of predestination. Josephus writes that the Essenes understood “fate” to determine all things. In another place in *The Jewish War*, Josephus writes that this sect leaves everything in the hands of God. This idea that events have been predestined is found in several places among the sectarian writings, including column three of the sectarian scroll the Community Rule, which reads as follows: “All that is now and ever shall be originates with the God of knowledge. Before things come to be, He has ordered all their designs, so that when they do come to exist—at their appointed times as ordained by His glorious plan—they fulfill their destiny, a destiny impossible to change. He controls the laws governing all things, and He provides for all their pursuits.”

However, because of inconsistencies, some scholars are not persuaded by the Essene identification of the Qumran community. Those scholars who remain unconvinced that the Qumran community is Essene note other points of difference in the worldview and ideology of the two groups. These scholars hold out for the possibility that the Qumran group could be an otherwise unknown ancient Jewish sect or propose alternative identifications. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile the Qumran sectarian writings with these ancient descriptions of the Essenes by theorizing that there was a split in the Essene movement or a schism that might account for the variations. This is known as the Groningen hypothesis.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; JOHN THE BAPTIST; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM.

**Further reading:** Beall, T. S. *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Cansdale, L. *Qumran and the Essenes Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* 60. Tübingen, Germany: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997; Goodman, M. D. “A Note on the Qumran Sectarians, the Essenes and Josephus.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 46 (1995); Mason, S. “What Josephus Says about the Essenes in His Judean War.” In S. G. Wilson and M. Desjardins, eds. *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson*. Waterloo, UK: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000; Rajak, T. “Ciò Che Flavio Giuseppe Vide: Josephus and the Essenes.” In F. Parente and J. Sievers, eds. *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1994; Roth, C. “Why the Qumran Sect Cannot Have Been Essenes.” *Revue de Qumran* (1959); Stegemann, H. “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union

in Late Second Temple Times.” Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1992; Vermes, G., and M. D. Goodman, eds. *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*. Sheffield, UK: JSOT, 1989.

ANGELA KIM HARKINS

## Esther, book of

The book of Esther tells the story of the Persian queen Esther and her uncle Mordechai, who foil the plot of Haman, a wicked Persian courtier, to exterminate the Jews. Haman is hanged on the very scaffold where he intended to hang Mordechai, and Mordechai replaces him as an adviser of the Persian king. The book, written originally in biblical Hebrew, survives in various forms. The differences among these forms determine the many afterlives that the book has enjoyed. The date of the original form of the book is uncertain.

The Jewish book of Esther is best known from the liturgy. The scroll (Hebrew: *megillah*) of Esther is read on the feast of Purim, the origins of which are commemorated in the book. Esther is grouped in the Jewish Bible with other festival scrolls, the Five Megilloth. Purim is an early spring feast associated with revelry and even drinking. Its ultimate origins are Mesopotamian or perhaps Iranian. Esther tells the story of the Jewish form of the feast: Jews commemorate the success of Esther and Mordechai in halting Haman’s wicked plans for Jewish genocide, an echo of the genocide planned in Exodus. Esther has also served as a talisman for the historically large community of Iranian Jews, who call themselves “Esther’s children.”

The Protestant book of Esther is identical to the Jewish version except in being categorized as a historical book, put in sequence with Joshua, JUDGES, and others as describing the history of God’s chosen people. Much Protestant exegesis and scholarship has focused on Esther as a historical text. To be sure, Jews through the ages have thought of Esther as a genuine historical figure but with much less urgency than most Christian students of scripture. Protestant interpreters were also influenced by the identification of the Persian king Ahasuerus as one of the historical rulers called ARTAXERXES.

The Catholic–Orthodox book of Esther is the result of another facet of the early Greek translation. The Hebrew text of Esther, and thus the Jewish and Protestant versions, do not mention the name of God at all,

although the story as it unfolds is clearly overshadowed by divine providence. The Greek translators remedied this supposed deficiency by inserting two long prayers (one spoken by Mordechai, the other by Esther), along with a variety of other elements. These passages, called the “Additions to Esther,” are canonical parts of scripture for Catholics and Orthodox; they are among the Apocrypha of Protestant BIBLE TRANSLATIONS. The only portions of Esther that contributed to Catholic and Orthodox liturgies are the two prayers. Traditional Catholic-Orthodox interpretation has also taken Esther as a historical book.

The literary character of the book has been emphasized by modern biblical scholarship: The book is a story explaining how Jews in a non-Jewish world can be successful and protect themselves. It has some historical basis in that Jews lived all over the Persian Empire, but there is no evidence for a king named Ahasuerus, no Jew ever rose to the status Mordechai attains of controlling the empire, and no Jew ever became the queen of Persia.

See also JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; MOSES; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA.

**Further Reading:** Hazony, Yoram. *The Dawn: Political Teachings of the Book of Esther*. Jerusalem: Shalem Press, 2000; Vanderkam, James C. *An Introduction to Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

M. O’CONNOR

## Ethiopia, ancient

Ethiopia is known to be one of the earliest places inhabited by humans. Bone fragments found in November 1994 near Aramis, in the lower Awash Valley by Yohannes Haile Selassie, an Ethiopian scientist trained in the United States, have been connected with the *Australopithecus afarensis*, an apelike creature that lived some 4 million years ago, who may be an ancestor of modern humans. Subsequently, other bones were found attesting to the very early hominid activity in the country. There are also stone hand tools and drawings from a much more recent period of prehistory in limestone caves near Dire Dawa, with the initial discoveries being made by H. Breuil and P. Wernert in 1923, further work in the late 1940s site by Frenchman H. Vallois, and then in the 1970s by Americans C. Howell and Y. Coppens. Work in the Awash Valley and also at Melka-Kunture, during the 1960s and early 1970s,

was conducted by Jean Chavaillon, N. Chavaillon, F. Hours, M. Piperno, and others. Another prominent anthropologist, Richard Leakey, has worked in the Omo river region of southwest Ethiopia and participated in much research in neighboring Kenya, where his father, Louis Leakey, was involved in many excavations.

It appears that some time between the eighth and sixth millennia B.C.E. people were beginning to domesticate animals, and archaeological evidence has shown that by 5000 B.C.E. communities were being formed in the Ethiopian highlands, and it seems probable that the languages started developing at this time. Linguists attribute an ancient tongue, based on the modern Afro-Asiatic (formerly Hamito-Semitic) languages, as developing later into the Cushitic and Semitic languages that are used today. By 2000 B.C.E. evidence of grain cultivation of cereals and the use of the plow, probably introduced from Sudan, and animal husbandry, have been found. It is believed people during this period would have spoken Geez, a Semitic language that became common in Tigray, which is believed to be the origin of the modern Amharic and also Tigrinya. There were many early links between ancient Ethiopia and

Egypt starting with Piye, a ruler of the Fifth Dynasty in Egypt (2500 B.C.E.), and there were occasions when the two countries were recorded as having the same ruler, whose capital was at Napata, north of modern-day Sudan. Indeed, Pharaoh Sahure sent a voyage to the land of Punt during the Fifth Dynasty, and most scholars believe that this represents a part of modern-day Ethiopia, although some place Punt as being in modern-day Yemen or even as far south as Zanzibar, or even the Zambezi. This expedition sent by Sahure returned with 80,000 measures of myrrh; 6,000 weights of electrum, an alloy made from silver and gold; and 2,600 "costly logs," probably ebony. The most famous expedition to Punt was that led by Queen Hatsepsut in about 1495 B.C.E., according to inscriptions detailing it that have been found on the temple of Deir el-Bahri in THEBES. The carvings show traders bringing back myrrh trees, as well as sacks of myrrh, incense, elephant tusks, gold, and also some exotic animals and exotic wood.

#### DA'AMAT

From about 800 B.C.E., several kingdoms started to emerge in Ethiopia. The first was the kingdom of



*Ethiopia is one of the earliest places inhabited by humankind. Archaeological evidence shows that by 5000 B.C.E. communities were forming in the Ethiopian highlands and by 2000 B.C.E. cultivation of cereals, the use of the plow, and animal husbandry left traces.*

Da'amat, which was established in the seventh century B.C.E. and dominated the lands of modern-day western Ethiopia, probably with its capital at Yeha. A substantial amount about Yeha is known, owing to the excavations of Frenchman Francis Anfray in 1963 and again in 1972–73, as well as work by Rodolfo Fattovich in 1971. Much of the early work of the former was concentrated in rock-cut tombs, with the latter working extensively on pottery fragments. From their work and the work of other archaeologists it was found that Yeha was an extensive trading community, well established in the sale of ivory, tortoiseshell, rhinoceros horn, gold, silver, and slaves to merchants from south ARABIA. It also seems to have had close links with the Sabaean kingdom of modern-day Yemen, as all the surviving Da'amat inscriptions refer to the Sabaean kings. The kingdom of Da'amat used iron tools and grew millet. It flourished for about 400 years but declined with the growing importance of other trade routes and possibly due to the kingdom not being able to sustain itself, having killed many of the animals in its region and possibly exhausted the mines.

Substantial archaeological work has been carried out on this period of Ethiopian history with one search by Jean Leclant in 1955–56, finding two sites at Haoulti-Melazo with a statue of a bull, incense altars, and some fragmentary descriptions.

## AXUM

The next kingdom, which gradually took over from Da'amat, was the kingdom of Axum (Aksum), from which modern Ethiopia traces its origins. The large temple at Yeha dates to 500 B.C.E., and scholars question whether it was built by the kingdom of Da'amat or that of Axum.

Axum may have emerged from 1000 B.C.E., but it was not until 600 B.C.E. that it became important. Like Da'amat, it also relied heavily on trade with Arabia, forming a power base in Tigray, and controlling the trade routes from Sudan and also those going to the port of Adulis on the Gulf of Zula. The kingdom of Axum used Geez as its language, with a modified south Arabian alphabet as their script. Indeed, so much of Axum's architecture and sculpture are similar to earlier designs that have been found in South Arabia as to suggest to some historians that the kingdom might have been largely established by people from Arabia. This is reinforced by the fact that Axum also used similar deities to those in the Middle East.

During the eighth century B.C.E. it is thought that Judaism reached Ethiopia—the modern-day Falashas

are the descendants of the Ethiopian Jews. It seems likely that Jewish settlers from Egypt, Sudan, and Arabia settled in Ethiopia, but attempts to link them chronologically with a specific biblical event such as MOSES leading the Jews from Egypt or the Babylonian Captivity have not been successful. In this debate exists the legend of the queen of Sheba. She was known locally as Queen Makeda and is believed to have ruled over an area of modern-day southern Eritrea and was involved in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

There she met the Israelite king SOLOMON, and they may have had an affair that led to the birth of a son who became Menelik I, the ancestor of the Ethiopian royal house that ruled the country until 1974, although this rule was interrupted by the Zagwe dynasty. Certainly the dynasty tracing their ancestry from Menelik calls itself the Solomonic dynasty. One version of the legend includes Menelik I returning to Jerusalem where he takes the ARK OF THE COVENANT, which some believe is still in Ethiopia.

By the fifth century B.C.E. Axum had emerged as the major trading power in the Red Sea, with coins minted bearing the faces of the kings of Axum being widely distributed in the region. Mani (216-c. 274 C.E.), the Persian religious figure, listed the four great powers during his life as being Rome, Persia, China, and Axum. During the third century B.C.E. Ptolemy II and then Ptolemy III of Egypt both sent expeditions to open up trade with Africa and, it has been suggested, also to obtain a source of war elephants for the battles against their rival, the SELEUCID EMPIRE. The latter tended to gain a military advantage by using Indian elephants, with the PTOLEMIES using either Indian elephants or North African elephants, which are smaller than Indian elephants. Although the Ptolemies soon stopped sending missions to the Red Sea and beyond, trade relations continued.

The Roman writer Pliny, writing before 77 C.E., mentioned the port of Adulis, and the first-century C.E. Greek travel book *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes King Zoskales living in Adulis—then an important trading destination and the port for the kingdom of Axum—as being the source for ivory taken from the hinterland to the capital of Axum, eight days inland from Adulis. Zoskales in Adulis was described as “a covetous and grasping man but otherwise a nobleman and imbued with Greek education.”

The writer of *Periplus Maris Erythraei* also notes that there was a large number of Greco-Roman merchants living at Adulis, and it seems likely that it was through them that the ideas of Judaism and then Christianity started to flourish.

The arrival of Christianity in Ethiopia is ascribed to Frumentius, who was consecrated the first bishop of Ethiopia by ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA in about 330 C.E. He came to Axum during the reign of the emperor EZANA (c. 303–c. 350), converting the king as is evident in the design of his coins, changed from an earlier design of a disc and a crescent.

This meant that the Monophysite Christianity of the eastern Mediterranean region was established firmly in Axum during the fourth century, and two centuries later monks were converting many people to Christianity in the hinterland to the south and the east of Axum. The Christianity in Axum became the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, heavily influenced by the Egyptian Coptic Church. The last stela at Axum, late in the fourth century, mentions King Ouszebas.

At its height Axum not only dominated the Red Sea in areas of commerce but even held land controlling the South Arabian kingdom of the Himyarites in modern-day Yemen, with King Ezana described on his coins not only as “king of Saba and Salhen, Himyar and Dhu-Raydan” but also “King of the Habshat”—all these places being in South Arabia. He had also, by this period, adopted the title *negusa nagast* (“king of kings”).

On the African continent their lands stretched north to the Roman province of Egypt and west to the Cushite kingdom of MEROË in modern-day Sudan. Indeed, it seems that the forces of Axum had captured Meroë in about 300 C.E. However, during the reign of Ezana it experienced a decline in fortune but regained its former strength over the next century. This is borne out by the few inscriptions that survive, which were either in Geez or in Greek.

### AXUM'S DECLINE

When Christians were attacked in Yemen in the early sixth century, Emperor Caleb (r. c. 500–534) sent soldiers to prevent them from being persecuted by a Jewish prince, Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, who attacked the Axum garrison at Zafar and burned all the nearby Christian churches. This represented a time when Axum was probably at its height in terms of its power and diplomatic connections. *The Book of the Himyarites* revealed previously unpublished information about Caleb's attack on Yemen. King Caleb spent his last years in a monastery, but by this time Axum was in control of land on both sides of the Red Sea and was in regular communications with the Byzantine Empire at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Axum's power waned when the SASSANID EMPIRE invaded the region in 572. Although it is not thought that the Sassanids conquered the kingdom of Axum,

they probably did defeat its armies in battle and certainly cut off its trade routes not only to Arabia but also into Egypt, thus ensuring its gradual decline. The political influence of Axum had ended, and the city would have declined. Some 30–40 years later the whole of South Arabia and also Egypt were controlled by the Arabs, cutting off the connections between Axum and the Mediterranean.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

**Further reading:** Butzer, Karl. “The rise and fall of Axum, Ethiopia: A geo-geographical interpretation.” *American Antiquity* 40 (1981); Connah, Graham. *African Civilisations: Precolonial Cities and States in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective*. Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1987; Doresse, Jean. *Ancient Cities and Temples: Ethiopia*. Woking, UK: Elek Books, 1959; Fattovich, Rodolfo. “Remarks on the late prehistory and early history of northern Ethiopia.” In *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1984*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1989; Hable Sellassie, Sergew. *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Haile Selassie I University, 1972; Hable Sellassie, Sergew. *Bibliography of Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: privately published, 1969; Kobishchanov, Yuri M. *Axum*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979; Landström, Björn. *The Quest for India*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964; Marcus, Harold Golden. *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley: University of California, 1994; Munro-Hay, Stuart C. H. *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Etruscans

The Etruscans left no historical or written records other than tomb inscriptions with brief family histories. Other than this burial genealogy, most writing about the Etruscans is from later sources, including the Romans. Only recently has archaeology begun to unravel the mystery of the Etruscans. During the Renaissance, in 1553 and 1556 two Etruscan bronzes were discovered, but excavation of Etruscan sites did not begin in earnest until the 18th century. After the Etruscan cities of Tarquinia, Cervetri, and Vulci were excavated in the 19th century, museums began collecting objects from the digs. More than 6,000 Etruscan sites have been examined.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first century B.C.E. thought the Etruscans were Pelasgians who settled in modern-day Tuscany and were absorbed by the native Tyrrhenians. Livy and Virgil in the first century C.E. thought the Etruscans came after the fall of TROY and the flight of Aeneas. HERODOTUS, in the fifth century C.E., claimed a Lydian origin, with the Tyrrhenians being named for the Lydian leader Tyrrhenos. Until recently scholars agreed with Herodotus and Dionysius that the Etruscans were migrants from Asia Minor between 900 and 800 B.C.E. Modern scholars believe that the Etruscans descended from the Villanovans, whose peak was in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. In the seventh century B.C.E. Etruscan villages supposedly took the place of Villanovan villages.

The Etruscans were neighbors to a small village of Latins in northern Latium. The Etruscan city-states were located in the marshy coastal areas of west-central Italy, that is, modern Tuscany. Permanent settlement dates from the end of the ninth century B.C.E., including Vetulonia and Tarquinii (now Tarquinia). Burial chambers of that era differ from those of earlier eras and contain amber, silver, gold, and gems from Egypt, Asia Minor, and other parts of the world. The Etruscans were sea people as well as miners of copper, tin, lead, silver, and iron. The Etruscan alphabet was based on the Greek but with a distinctively Etruscan grammar. The Etruscan language is similar to a sixth-century B.C.E. Greek dialect common to Lemnos but differs from other Mediterranean languages. Inscriptions are in the Greek alphabet but written from right to left. Precise definitions of some words are still not known.

By the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. the Etruscans had conquered Rome, much of Italy, and non-Italian areas such as Corsica. This success brought their political and cultural peak in the sixth century B.C.E. Etruscans were largely agrarian, as were the surrounding peoples, but they had a powerful military that allowed them to dominate their neighbors, using them as labor on their farms, and devote their own time to commerce and industry.

Greek influence was strong in Etruscan religion, with human-type gods and highly sophisticated rituals for divination, but Etruscan mythology also included some unique elements. Etruscan religion clearly separated the human and divine, and it established exact procedures for keeping the goodwill of the gods. Religion mattered greatly to the Etruscans. They built tombs resembling their houses and gave the deceased household objects for use in the afterlife. Rome inher-

ited Etruscan religion, including books of divination and the Lares, their household gods.

Scholars of the 19th and 20th century assessed Etruscan painting and sculpture as original and creative but not nearly as great as the art of the Greeks. The preference at that time was for the Greek mathematical ideal of beauty. Etruscan art is better able to capture feeling and the essence of the subject. Much of the remaining examples of Etruscan art are funerary, but there is evidence from existing frescoes and other works of art that Etruscans used color liberally. Etruscan art was a major stylistic influence on Renaissance artists who lived in the area of the old Etruria. Etruscan jewelry, pottery, and portable art was so prized during the Renaissance and after that collectors destroyed many Etruscan sites to attain it, making periodization of Etruscan styles difficult.

Etruscan cities were fortified and ruled by a king. An aristocracy ruled Etruscan society and controlled the government, military, economy, and religion. Cities such as Tarquinii and Veii dominated their regions and began colonizing adjacent areas. Independent city-states entangled themselves in economic and political alliances. Rule by kings gave way to rule by oligarchs. In some cases the kings or oligarchs allowed governance by council or by elected officials. The Etruscan city alliances provoked responses from Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians who regarded the Etruscans as a threat.

Etruscan technology, such as the engineering that allowed water to move via canals and irrigation channels, long predated the Roman aqueducts. The Etruscans built much of Rome, including the Cloaca Maxima, the walls around the town, and the Temple of Jupiter. Etruscans implemented an efficient administrative system for Rome. Legendary Etruscan kings of Rome may have used warrior status to gain their crowns. Among these were the Tarquins Lucius Priscus and Lucius Superbus. The last of Rome's seven kings was the Etruscan Tarquin the Proud (Tarquinius Superbus), replaced in 510 B.C.E. when Rome chose a republic.

In 504 B.C.E. the Etruscans were expelled from Latium, beginning the end of Etruscan power and the rise of Roman culture. The Etruscans kept north of the Tiber, and their influence on Rome diminished. Etruscan power was further weakened in the fifth century B.C.E. when the navy of SYRACUSE defeated the Etruscan coalition fleet off Cumae in 474 B.C.E. The Etruscan confederation allied with Athens in a futile attack on Syracuse in 413 B.C.E. Rome besieged Veii and, after 10 years, defeated the city in 396 B.C.E. In 386 B.C.E. the Etruscans lost their trading routes over the Alps after the Gauls conquered Rome and the Po valley.



Etruscan painting and sculpture were seen as less creative than ancient Greek art, but were highly prized during the Renaissance.

Rome's century-long conquest of Etruria was finished in 283 B.C.E., and in 282 B.C.E. Rome defeated the Etruscans a final time. The Etruscans accepted a peace treaty. Increasing control by Rome cost the Etruscans their cultural identity. Cities such as Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci ceded territory and paid tribute to Rome. Decline fueled dissension among the aristocracy, and the lower classes rose in protest. Cities such as Volsinii lost their social structure. Some Etruscan cities allied with Rome and came under Roman law. Rome helped the Etruscan cities to defeat their rebellions, even when the Etruscans had help from the Gauls, Samnites, Lucanians, and Umbrians.

In the first century B.C.E. Etruscans accepted the offer of Roman citizenship, but their new status was lowered when they supported the losing side in the Roman civil wars of 88–86 B.C.E. and 83 B.C.E. Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the winner, razed cities, seized land, and limited Etruscan civil rights. Subsequent Etruscan rebellions failed, and Romans colonized Etruria in the next century, furthering the Romanization of Etruria. Rome absorbed every Etruscan city, and Etruria was no more. The Etruscan culture and society dominated the Italian Peninsula in the eighth through fourth centuries B.C.E. They were a strong influence on Roman culture and society, how-

ever, they fell to Roman dominance in the fourth century B.C.E., and shortly after that their language and writings disappeared, only to be recovered in the 20th century.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Barker, Graeme, and Tom Rasmussen. *The Etruscans*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 2000; Haynes, Sybille. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005; Spivey, Nigel. *Etruscan Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Euripides

(c. 484–406 B.C.E.) *Greek playwright*

Euripides was one of the three great Athenian tragic dramatists, with AESCHYLUS and SOPHOCLES. He was reputed to have been the author of some 92 plays and received a considerable level of public and critical acclaim. He was on 20 occasions chosen to be one of the three annually chosen laureates of Athens. Nineteen of his plays have been preserved. The life and career of Euripides are not known in great detail, and it is likely that some sources, for example constant references to him in the plays of ARISTOPHANES, are scurilous or at least satirical.

It does appear that he was born into a wealthy family and was talented in a number of fields other than drama. His parents were named Mnesarchus and Cleito. He married a woman named Melito and had three sons; one became a poet of some distinction. Euripides participated in just one known public activity, when he served on a diplomatic mission to Syracuse. A great deal of his later life was lived during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR with Sparta, and the travails associated with living in a city involved in a seemingly endless war may have contributed to his decision to accept an invitation from King Archelaus of Macedonia to live in that country in 408 B.C.E., and it is there that he died.

Euripides has been compared unfavorably to Aeschylus and Sophocles on account of his greater reliance on poetic oratory and rhetoric, rather than genuine dramatic intensity and because of his use of Socratic or Sophistic philosophy in his works. However, those same qualities have in some ways made him more popular than his contemporaries in the modern world because his themes and language appear more accessible and comprehensible. Even so he received less critical acclaim than his rivals, supposedly to his chagrin.

The best-known plays of Euripides include *The Bacchae*, *Medea*, *Electra*, and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. *Medea* was first produced in 431 B.C.E. and highlights the oppression of women, which is a central theme in the works of Euripides. In this play the hero Jason takes Medea as a wife, and they go to live in Corinth. After some years of happy marriage, which included the birth of two children, Jason announces his intention to abandon his wife and pursue the princess of Corinth. Deeply distressed, Medea ultimately resolves to murder the princess and her own children, thereby denying Jason the consolation of family in his later life. She is able to escape from his revenge by riding away in the chariot of the sun god, who is her grandfather. Despite this overturning of all accepted proprieties, Euripides succeeds in causing the audience to sympathize with the plight of the abandoned woman.

The play *Iphigenia at Aulis* demonstrates another theme of importance to Euripides, which is the struggle between the dictates of public duty with personal morality and decency. The play is set in the beginning of the Trojan War and depicts the Greek fleet, led by Agamemnon, becalmed at Aulis, which has been caused by the ill will of the goddess Artemis. Agamemnon determines that the only way to placate Artemis is to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia.

Unwilling though he is, Agamemnon feels he cannot escape his duty and his destiny, so he tricks his daughter into coming to join him. Once she has arrived, she learns the truth, and after some heart-rending scenes, she willingly volunteers for her sacrifice. However, it is clear that this initial act of violence will lead to a spiral of acts in the future, and many of these episodes are explored in other plays of Euripides.

The *Bacchae* is perhaps the one existing play of Euripides that attempts to reconcile the outbreak of violence with the possibility of returning society to harmony once more. The action centers on the god Dionysius and his attempt to introduce the brand of unbridled lust that he accepts as the appropriate form of worship into the city of Thebes. This is resisted by the king, Pentheus, and Dionysius takes violent revenge against the king and his people. However, those women who had been convinced to enter a state of divinely inspired violence are then depicted as having the opportunity to return to a rational, human state.

This play demonstrates some opportunity for redemption from violence and oppression on Earth. Euripides was one of the great exponents of the tragic art, which involved the classical elements of chorus, divine intervention, and savage scenes that can distance the work from

the modern sensibilities. However, the power of Euripides's language is, compared to all the Greek tragic dramatists, perhaps the best able to bridge that gulf.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Euripides. *Medea and Other Plays*. London: Penguin Classics, 1997; ———. *The Bacchae and Other Plays*. Trans. by Philip Vellacott. London: Penguin Classics, 1973; Foley, Helene P. *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.

JOHN WALSH

## Eusebius

(c. 260–339 C.E.) historian and religious leader

Born in Caesarea, Eusebius studied under the director of the theological school in that city, Pamphilus (a future martyr), whom he so admired that he adopted his name, calling himself Eusebius Pamphili. A devoted disciple of ORIGEN, Pamphilus expanded the library that Origen had established at Caesarea and passed on to Eusebius the great master's critical and scientific approach to texts. After Pamphilus's martyrdom, Eusebius fled to Tyre and then to Egypt, where he may have been imprisoned for the faith. When the persecution ended in 313 C.E., he returned to Caesarea and was made its bishop. As bishop of an important diocese—and one not far from ALEXANDRIA—Eusebius naturally became involved in the controversy of ARIANISM.

He was present at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA in 325 and signed the Orthodox statement produced by the council known as the Nicene Creed, but he signed more for peacekeeping reasons than for a genuine conviction of its theological precision. He was wary of the term *homousios* (of one being), because he felt it smacked of Sabellianism (an earlier heresy that taught that the Trinity was three modes of being God, with no real distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). After Nicaea, Eusebius became a leader of the moderate (or semi-Arian) party, which sought compromise and harmony over precise theological expression; this was a position favored also by the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The oft-presented view that Eusebius enjoyed a close friendship with the emperor and was his trusted adviser has been criticized given their relatively few personal or literary exchanges. It is more true that Eusebius's uncritical admiration of the first Christian emperor—whom he believed God had sent to bring the

church into an era of peace—enthusiastically colored his theology of the church with a certain triumphalism.

In spite of his tainted theological associations with the Arians and his biased treatment of Constantine, Eusebius will always be honored as the “Father of Ecclesiastical (Church) History.” He is the first to attempt to compose a work chronicling the important people and events in the early church up to his own day, in c. 324. Entitled *Church History*, it is a rich collection of historical facts, documents, and excerpts from pagan and Christian authors, some of which are extant only in this work. Some of the principal themes traced throughout the work are the list of bishops in the most important cities, Orthodox Christian writers and their defense of the faith up against the HERESIES of their day, the times of persecutions along with authentic stories of the martyrs and confessors in each of the periods, the fate of the Jews, and the development of the canonical books of the New Testament. Although it contains a number of errors, the very “plethora of details” it gives and the eyewitness accounts of the persecutions and martyrdoms make it a work of inestimable value.

Eusebius is witness to an understanding of ecclesiology that is both rooted in tradition and energetically engaged in expressing the faith in terms called for by the shifting winds of time. Also, his candid approach to the canon of the New Testament allows the reader a splendid glimpse of early Christianity in the process of discerning an important issue. Besides his *Church History*, Eusebius’s writings include *Life of Constantine* (an unfinished work, which is more of an encomium than a historical biography), apologetical works (against pagans and Jews), biblical works (including commentaries, a harmony of the Gospels, and a geographical dictionary of the Bible), dogmatic works (such as *Defense of Origen*), sermons, and a few extant letters.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

**Further reading:** Barnes, Timothy D. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981; Eusebius. *The Church History*. Translated by Paul Maier. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1999.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## Ezana (Abreha)

(c. 320–350 C.E.) *Ethiopian king*

Abreha, also known as King Ezana, was a fourth-century C.E. king who converted to Christianity and

subsequently established this faith as the state religion in Axum (Aksum), part of modern-day Ethiopia. Scholars do not agree on the details of Ezana’s life, but several have documented information about his reign through trilingual inscriptions on stone tablets of the period. Most Ethiopians believe that Abreha, along with his twin brother Atsbeha, inherited the throne of Axum when their father died. Since the boys were too young to take over the reigns of government, their mother, Sawya (Sophia), served as queen regent from around 325 to 328 C.E. Upon ascending to the throne, Abreha took Ezana as his throne name, and Atsbeha opted for Sayzana.

Ezana and Sayzana were tutored by two Hellenic Syrians who had been rescued as young boys after other occupants of their ship had been either murdered or killed in a shipwreck. The king subsequently accepted responsibility for the brothers, who were classified as slaves. However, recognizing their unique abilities, he named Aedesius as the royal cupbearer and placed Frumentius in the position of royal treasurer and secretary. After the king’s death the Syrians continued to tutor the royal twins and served as advisers to the queen. Although the exact date is not known, it is believed that Ezana and Sayzana ascended the throne sometime between 320 and 325.

As monarch, Ezana claimed many titles and is credited with being the first to call himself the “king of kings.” He identified himself as the king of Axum, Saba, Salhen, Himyar, Raydan, Habashat, Tiamo, Kasu, and of the Beja tribes. The kingdom over which King Ezana ruled stretched out on both sides of the Red Sea and extended into what is modern-day Sudan and Somalia. Between 330 and 360 the outside world was made aware of his kingdom. At the time, outsiders referred to NUBIA and all of tropical Africa as Ethiopia. However, residents of Axum generally referred to themselves as Habashats. The term *Ethiopian*, which means “burned faces,” originated with Greek traders and was first used by Ezana in inscriptions that appeared on stone tablets between 333 and 340.

Ezana is considered to have been the ablest and most politically astute of the brothers, and some scholars doubt that he even had a twin. At any rate, Ezana reigned over Axum at a time when it was flourishing as a viable political, economic, and agricultural African state. His tenure was marked by territorial expansion and significant economic growth, and Ezana opened up a major trade route with Egypt.

Consequently, a large number of Greek traders immigrated to Ethiopia in order to take advantage of its

rich resources of gold, ivory, spices, and tortoiseshell. By some accounts it was these Greek merchants who first introduced Christianity to Ethiopia. However, some scholars believe that Frumentius and his brother were entirely responsible for converting the royal family to Christianity. Most sources agree that Frumentius, either by his own initiative or on orders from Ezana, traveled to ALEXANDRIA to ask Patriarch ATHANASIUS (c. 293–373) to send a bishop to start a church in Axum. Instead, the patriarch appointed Frumentius as the bishop. From the date of his return, somewhere around 305, Frumentius devoted his life to evangelizing. Within a few months tens of thousands of Ethiopians from all social classes had become Christians. Evidence shows that early in their tenure as monarchs of Axum, Ezana and Sayzana paid allegiance to pagan gods. Ezana often called himself the “Son of Mahrem,” which was equivalent to identifying himself with Ares, the Greek god of war. After the brothers’ conversion to Christianity, Axumite coins most often depicted the cross, or sometimes multiple crosses.

After his death on the battlefield at around 25 years of age, Ezana was buried in a rock-hewn church that still stands in present-day Ethiopia. Sayzana became the sole monarch, governing for the next 14 years. Upon Sayza-

na’s death, he was buried beside his brother. The church of Ethiopia subsequently canonized both Abreha and Atsbeha, and Ethiopians honor these saints each year on October 14. There is some evidence that the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Axum from Jerusalem in the 10th century where it was placed in the sanctuary of St. Maryam Tseyon. As a result of this belief, Axum is considered Ethiopia’s holiest city. Archaeologists are in the process of uncovering relics that have traced the history of the area back to the first century C.E.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT.

**Further reading:** Harris, Joseph E. *Pillars in Ethiopian History: The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook*, Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1974; Henze, Paul B. *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia*. New York: Palgrave, 2000; Hess, Robert L. *Ethiopia: The Modernization of Autocracy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970; Munroe-Hay, Stuart. *The Unknown Land: A Cultural and Historical Guide*. London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2002; Shinn, David H., and Thomas P. Ofcansky. *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004.

ELIZABETH PURDY



# F



## Fa Xian (Fa-hsien)

(c. fifth century C.E.) *Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, author*

Fa Xian was a famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who traveled overland to India in 399 C.E. and returned via sea in 413. All Chinese men and women abandon their original names and choose ones with religious significance when they join monastic orders. *Fa Xian* means “Illustriousness of the Law.” His travels and journal provide important geographic information about the lands he visited, knowledge about conditions in India (which are lacking in Indian records), and vital Buddhist manuscripts that he translated into Chinese after he returned home.

Buddhism first arrived in China at the beginning of the Common Era from India and Central Asia by land along the SILK ROAD and by sea along the coast of Southeast Asia through Vietnam. Until Fa Xian’s epochal journey the traffic was one way, and the bringers of the Buddhist message were all non-Chinese (Indians, Persians, and Central Asians). Some early Chinese pilgrims who attempted the journey either never reached India or never returned. The success of his journey inaugurated a movement that took many Chinese monks to Buddhism’s holy land.

Up to his journey there had been no translation into Chinese of the entire *vinaya*, or “rules of the discipline,” of the Buddhist canon. Fa Xian’s goal was to obtain an entire version of the work to translate into Chinese. He traveled by land across the terrifying Gobi Desert, which he described in these words:

“In the desert were numerous evil spirits and scorching winds, causing death to anyone who would meet them. Above there were no birds, while on the ground there were no animals. One looked as far as one could in all directions for a path to cross, but there was none to choose. Only the dried bones of the dead served as indications.”

After arriving at the oasis town Khotan in present-day northwestern China he crossed high mountains to northwestern India. Then he visited all the holy places of Buddhism, studied Sanskrit, collected manuscripts (including several versions of the *vinaya* according to different Buddhist sects), crossed to CEYLON (Sri Lanka), where he studied for two years, then boarded a ship for China at Java.

After more than 200 days at sea he arrived in Shandong (Shantung) in northern China. He spent his remaining years translating the entire *vinaya* and other Buddhist works into Chinese and writing a book titled *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. Many devout Buddhist monks would follow his path in the succeeding centuries, learning about Buddhism in its native land and returning to China to spread their knowledge and spiritual faith.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; ERA OF DIVISION (CHINA); GUPTA EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Beal, Samuel. *Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun, Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India*. London: Trubner, 1869; Dutt, Romesh Chander. *A History of Civilization in Ancient India Based on Sanskrit Literature*,

Rev. ed., Vol. 2, B.C. 320–A.D. 1000. New Delhi, India: Cosmo Publishers, 2000; Giles, H. A. *The Travels of Fa-hsien* (399–414 A.D.), or *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms*. Reprint, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Fertile Crescent

The Fertile Crescent describes an area of land roughly occupied by modern Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. North of the Arabian Desert and west of the Zagros Mountains, this area is irrigated by several rivers, most notably the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq and Syria, and the Nile in Egypt. The two major river basins are connected by the Levant, a stretch of fertile land along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, to form a green crescent-like shape. Once among the most fertile agricultural lands on Earth, the crescent remains visible from space today.

Normally, the ebb and flow of plant and animal populations encouraged people to move around, following them. The Nile, however, experienced fairly predictable annual floods, and the Tigris and Euphrates regularly overflowed and irrigated the surrounding land, now called Mesopotamia.

Aided by the first domesticated animals, people found that they could settle in fixed communities, eating the harvested produce of one year's floods while waiting for the next year's crop to grow. They helped this process along with irrigation ditches, encouraging the production of wheat and barley, which they supplemented with figs and dates. Cows, meanwhile, demanded an increasing quantity of domesticated grass, in order to provide enough meat and milk for a rapidly growing human population.

### THE FIRST CITIES

By around 7000 to 5000 B.C.E. the settled human population had grown large enough to support the first permanent settlements. In ancient Egypt the Nile was revered as part of the primeval sea, which gave way to a primeval hill, on which humankind built some of the first cities, such as Memphis (c. 3500 B.C.E.). Mesopotamian origin myths went one step further, treating Eridu (settled around 5400 B.C.E.) as the world's first city. In fact, the oldest continually-inhabited cities are not along the major river valleys at all, but in the Levant, where DAMASCUS, Syria, and Jericho, ISRAEL, boast histories of as much as 9,000 years.

Initially small, these cities grew in both population and number until the Fertile Crescent was dotted with hundreds or even thousands, containing a few million people between them. A diverse array of crops and other agricultural goods promoted communication and trade among these cities and thus the first economies, but population pressures, both within the cities and among neighboring nomads, led to an increased demand for territory and security and thus to the earliest forms of organized warfare. Both trends lent themselves to increasingly complex hierarchies and political organizations among the various city-states so that by the third millennium B.C.E. cities began to band together under a common leadership, creating the first empires.

### EGYPT

Though Egypt probably emerged late as a civilization of city builders, it was among the first to emerge as a unified state. As early as the first documented PHARAOH, Narmer, Egypt emerged as a federated imperial state, with several communities working together toward common secular and spiritual goals. The most remarkable accomplishment of the earliest Egyptians was the great PYRAMIDS OF GIZA, constructed around 2500 B.C.E. under the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty. Ten centuries and 14 dynasties later, Egypt expanded into the Levant, using chariots and archers to reach as far as the city of MARI, on the western Euphrates.

Throughout its history up to about 1000 B.C.E. Egypt remained remarkably unified. Despite the occasional foreign invasion Egypt maintained a cultural unity rarely fragmented beyond more than two kingdoms, and these were usually based on the two largest cities, Memphis and THEBES. During brief periods of more general civil strife, smaller city-states emerged, including Saïs and Tanis, but these were often subsumed again into the larger kingdom once political control was reestablished.

Occasionally, however, even the capital of unified Egypt would change, for example when the pharaoh AKHENATEN and his wife Nefertiti established a new power base at Heliopolis, reflecting a change in Egyptian religion from reverence of the Nile to worship of the Sun.

### MESOPOTAMIA AND THE LEVANT

In contrast to Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant experienced considerable fragmentation and change. Subject to continual invasions and balance-of-power struggles, these city-states tended to be more militarized and for more than a millennium much less ad-

cept than their Egyptian counterpart at building secure, stable empires. Over time, however, they mastered the art, and the Assyrians briefly unified the entire Fertile Crescent under a single sovereign entity, in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.

Initially, Mesopotamia was broken into tiny city-states, with each town and its surrounding land claiming all the prerogatives of a sovereign state. Collectively called SUMER, the city-states near the Tigris and Euphrates delta developed a distinctive culture, featuring literature such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Although GILGAMESH's town of Uruk clearly influenced others, neither it nor any of the other city-states of Sumer established a clear military or political dominance over the others.

The first major military power in Mesopotamia was not native to the region at all but an invader: the Gutians, who had domesticated the horse and invaded over the Zagros Mountains. Although repulsed by the Sumerians, militia in the individual towns—such as the 24-man garrison of Lagash—could not overcome the next invasion, from northern Arabia. SARGON OF AKKAD unified southern Mesopotamia c. 2350 B.C.E. not only by force with his 6,000-man army but also by adopting the local culture. This empire only lasted until 2100 B.C.E., however, before native Sumerian rule was restored by the third dynasty of Ur. The first leader of this new empire, Ur-Nammu, organized neighboring city-states into administrative districts and imposed one of the world's first codes of laws across the whole federation. His son, Shulgi, conquered a few neighboring city-states and was revered as a god, though his empire was soon dwarfed.

The problem with Sumer-Akkad was that local food supplies were unable to cope with a growing population—still less so in periods of drought and when the cult of personality failed Shulgi's successors. All three factors came into play when the Amorites, another North Arabian tribe, came into the fertile valley of the Euphrates River around 2000 B.C.E. and established themselves at Babylon, blocking the major trade route. Slowly they absorbed almost all of the territory and culture of their more numerous subjects, but some Sumer-Akkadians may have moved altogether to a different collection of city-states on the northern Tigris, in the old kingdom of ASSYRIA.

## ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Though it went through many evolutions, these migrations ultimately set the stage for the major Mesopotamian rivalry of the next 1,500 years, between Assyria and



*The Fertile Crescent is an area of land irrigated by several rivers, most notably the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile (above).*

Babylonia—both of them centers of trade, culture, and learning, which became increasingly militaristic and antagonistic over time. At first, early Babylon was the more impressive, with leaders such as Hammurabi writing their own codes of laws and increasingly advanced institutions of politics, culture, and religion. Assyria, meanwhile, grew rich as a trading empire but fell subject to invasion by the MITTANI, a mysterious people who may have introduced iron working to the region. When Assyria reemerged around 1350 B.C.E., it was no longer a trading empire but a state governed by a continual call to war. For some 700 years Assyria steadily expanded, dominating its neighbors and unifying large areas of the Fertile Crescent, until by 671 B.C.E. the entire region was subject to the rule of a single leader, Esarhaddon, governing from the city of NINEVEH on the middle Tigris.

Deeply religious and eminently pragmatic, many Assyrian leaders combined respect for their neighbors with a calculated ruthlessness. Although they allowed many conquered peoples to retain their political institutions, Assyrian bas-reliefs suggest that their leaders favored a policy of large-scale devastation and deportation for recalcitrant populations, and later dynasties built centers of culture at home from the spoils of rival neighbors. Despite suffering from one or two major expeditions, Assyrian hegemony worked relatively well for PHOENICIA, a collection of semifederated maritime trading states in the northern Levant that provided tribute from islands in the Mediterranean. The Israelite lands were less compliant, however, and required a judicious mix of deportations, depredations, and diplomacy

to remain a subject people. Babylon proved more recalcitrant by the early seventh century B.C.E., revolting three times in 15 years, before Great King Sennacherib completely destroyed it in 689 B.C.E. Though Esarhadon ordered the city rebuilt and repopulated, Assyria never fully controlled its neighbor to the south, and late Babylon retrieved the upper hand at long last near the end of the seventh century B.C.E., establishing a smaller Mesopotamian empire that endured for about 70 years, before the Fertile Crescent was unified again under the rule of CYRUS II of Persia.

See also ARAMEANS; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; HYKSOS; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

**Further reading:** Casson, Lionel. *The Ancient Mariners*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991; Pollock, Susan, and Rita P. Wright. *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Shaw, Ian. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

MATT J. SCHUMANN

## First Americans

There is considerable controversy and little consensus on the questions of when, where, and how human beings first arrived in and peopled the Americas. For much of the 20th century (c. 1920s–80s) the views of Aleš Hrdlicka (1869–1943) of the United States National Museum dominated the discipline of physical anthropology in the Americas. Hrdlicka and his followers maintained that all indigenous peoples of the Americas originated in north Asia from Mongoloid stock.

His theory dovetailed with the so-called Clovis-First hypothesis, a pre-1990s consensus among North American archaeologists and physical anthropologists that the ancestors of all peoples who inhabited the Americas prior to the European encounter in 1492 had migrated across a land bridge at the Bering Strait (called Berengia) and south through an ice-free corridor near the end of the most recent (or Wisconsin) glaciation, around 10,000 B.C.E. These early Paleo-Indians then dispersed across the Americas. Their immediate descendants, the Clovis culture, employed a characteristic lithic chipping technique (first discovered near Clovis, New Mexico, in the 1930s), which then became widespread across North America. In this Clovis-First hypothesis, the Clovis culture was followed by the Folsom culture and subsequent late Paleo-Indian cultures.

Numerous pre-Clovis sites excavated from the 1990s conclusively demonstrate human habitation of the Americas well before the Clovis horizon. New sub-disciplines (including paleobotany, paleoparasitology, paleoclimatology, paleoecology, and mitochondrial DNA [mtDNA] analysis) and new dating technologies (especially more refined radiocarbon dating procedures and optically stimulated luminescence [OSL]) have pushed back the date of human habitation in the Americas to at least 16,000 BP (before present). Paralleling the tortuous history of paleoanthropology in Africa and Asia, however, credible schools of thought regarding the peopling of the Americas are varied, multiple, contradictory, and a matter of fierce debate.

In North America, and despite these disagreements, one consensus to emerge by the early 2000s was that the U.S. South and the Mid-Atlantic region south of the Wisconsin glaciation were major sites of human habitation in the pre-Clovis era. Numerous sites there predating the Clovis culture have been carefully excavated since the 1980s. These include the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in southwestern Pennsylvania, a project directed by James M. Adovasio of the Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute, which has yielded firm dates of 16,000 BP; Cactus Hill, Virginia, led (in separate projects) by Joseph McAvoy of the Nottaway River Survey and Michael Johnson of the Archaeological Society of Virginia, whose human artifacts were also dated to around 16,000 BP; Saltville, Virginia, dated to 14,000 BP; and the Topper site in South Carolina, dated to at least 16,000 BP.

Another important project from the 1990s has been the Gault site excavation in central Texas, supervised by Mike Collins under the auspices of the Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory, which has unearthed more than half a million Clovis artifacts and shed new light on this mysterious culture.

In South America sites antecedent to Clovis include the Monte Verde project in Chile, undertaken by U.S. archaeologist T. D. Dillehay in the 1980s and 1990s; the Taima Taima project in Venezuela, led by Canadian archaeologists Alan Bryan and Ruth Gruhn from the 1970s; and the Pedra Furada project in northeastern Brazil, directed by Brazilian anthropologist Niède Guidon of the Fundação Museu do Homem Americano (FUMDHAM) since the 1980s.

Dillehay's findings at Monte Verde demonstrate that humans inhabited the southernmost parts of South America at least 12,500 years ago and suggest dates as far back as 33,000 BP. The findings of Guidon and colleagues at Pedra Furada appear to push the date of hu-



*Reflecting what First Americans might have looked like in the American Southwest, a group of 10 Hopi snake priests pose before a camera in 1907. Where, how, when, and why the first Native Americans settled the American continents is hotly debated today.*

man habitation of the Americas back even further. Radiocarbon dating of hearth samples and other artifacts (using accelerator mass spectrometry [AMS] and a procedure called acid-base-wet oxidation followed by stepped combustion [ABOX-SC], developed in 1999) has yielded dates ranging from 35,000 to 55,000 B.C.E. for the Pedra Furada site. Some purported anthropogenic specimens have yielded ages greater than 56,000 BP, the outermost limit of radiocarbon dating. Guidon and her colleagues therefore hypothesize that humans inhabited Pedra Furada and adjacent sites some 60,000 years ago, and perhaps before. Few scholars accept these very early dates.

Other evidence suggests South Asian, African, and possibly European migrations to the Americas in the pre-Clovis era. Among the most controversial findings is the so-called Kennewick Man, plucked out of the Columbia River in Washington State and dated to around 9,300 BP, to which some attributed "Caucasoid-like," or non-Native American Indian, anatomical features, sparking a huge debate and much litigation. Less disputed is the skeleton dubbed "Luzia" in Brazil, which dates to around 10,000 B.C.E. and is considered to exhibit either African or South Asian morphologi-

cal features. Other reputable studies provide evidence of close anatomical affinities between contemporary and pre-Columbian Amerindians in the Baja California Peninsula and South Asian/South Pacific populations. MtDNA analysis likewise elicits complex depictions of the genetic heritage of various pre-Columbian indigenous peoples of the Americas, suggesting not only North Asian but also South Asian, African, and European genetic links.

Other anomalies not explained by the Clovis-First hypothesis are the greater antiquity and relative abundance of pre-Columbian remains and artifacts in zones furthest from the Beringia land bridge and the more recent provenance and relative dearth of such remains in the zones nearest to it. Linguistic analyses, too, suggest that people arrived in the Americas in several distinct migrations, not all from North Asia, the earliest dating to at least 15,000 B.C.E. One plausible theory, that people arrived in waves of migrations over many millennia, beginning with watercraft migrations from Asia to the Pacific coasts of North and South America sometime between 30,000 and 20,000 BP, cannot be confirmed except through undersea archaeological digs

(which do not exist in this field) or chance discovery, since the then-littoral was inundated by rising seas at the beginning of the Holocene (10,000 BP).

The most significant obstacles to further advances in this field include academic infighting among the proponents of various schools of thought, and linguistic and cultural barriers between North and South American scholars. Some also view the 1990 U.S. Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) as a significant impediment to scientific research in North America, since it requires all pre-Columbian human remains and artifacts be repatriated to the closest culturally affiliated American Indian tribe recognized by the U.S. government, thereby precluding scientific testing, as occurred in the case of Kennewick Man. Others point to the long history of routine mistreatment of unearthed human remains by physical anthropologists and archaeologists and to the spiritual well-being of contemporary Indian communities as necessitating NAGPRA.

Among the most reputable English-language scholarly journals in this rapidly expanding and contentious field are *American Antiquity*, *Nature*, *Science*, *Athena Review*, and *North American Archaeologist*.

**Further reading:** Adovasio, James M., with Jake Page. *The First Americans: In Pursuit of Archaeology's Greatest Mystery*. New York: Random House, 2002; Dewar, Elaine. *Bones: Discovering the First Americans*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2001; Dillehay, Thomas D. *The Settlement of the Americas: A New Prehistory*. New York: Basic Books, 2000; González-José, Rolando, et al. "Craniometric Evidence for Paleoamerican Survival in Baja California." *Nature* 42, no. 5 (September 4, 2003); FUMDHAM Project. Available online. URL: <http://www.fumdhamp.com.br> (June 2007); Mann, Charles. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Flavian emperors

The death of the Roman emperor Nero in 68 C.E. was followed by a period in which different Roman armies backed different claimants for the imperial throne. The winner, Vespasian (r. 69–79 C.E.), founded the short-lived Flavian dynasty of himself and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus was born to provincial aristocrats and decided early in life on a senatorial career. His wife and the mother of his two sons, Flavia

Domitilla, died before he became emperor. He survived the dangerous administrations of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, earning a reputation as both a competent administrator and an imperial sycophant. He served successfully as a military commander in Claudius's invasion of Britain. Vespasian's peak of responsibility came in 66, when Nero named him as commander of the armies sent to put down the JEWISH REVOLTS. He quickly crushed the rebellion in most of the country and besieged the rebel stronghold at Jerusalem. It was there that the news of Nero's suicide in 68 and the ensuing struggle for the imperial throne reached him. Vespasian continued the siege of Jerusalem until the summer of 69, when in collaboration with the governors of Syria and Egypt he declared the empire for himself.

Vespasian provided stable if tight-fisted government after the turmoil of Nero's reign and the disruptions of the civil wars. He left his eldest son Titus behind to continue the Jewish war, which ended with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Jewish Temple in the spring of 70. In Rome, Vespasian rebuilt the Capitol, destroyed by fire in 69, and built the Colosseum. Despite his building projects Vespasian retained enough control over the imperial taxes and treasury to leave a surplus for his successor. He refilled the depleted ranks of the Senate and granted civic rights to many communities outside Italy, particularly in Spain. Like several emperors who fought their way to the throne rather than inheriting it, Vespasian retained a sense of humor about the office. The imperial biographer Suetonius recounted his deathbed witticism on the practice of deifying dead emperors who had become famous: "Dear me, I think I am becoming a god." The prophecy proved correct as the Senate deified him at the instigation of his son and successor, Titus.

Before Vespasian's death, Titus had a reputation as his father's enforcer, tough and not overly scrupulous. As emperor, Vespasian loaded Titus with offices, including the important one of praetorian prefect, in an attempt to establish him as a clear successor. This strategy proved successful, and Titus peacefully ascended the throne after Vespasian's death.

As emperor, he was popular both in his own time and later. He appealed to the ordinary people of Rome by continuing Vespasian's building programs and providing lavish games and shows. The most prominent architectural work associated with his reign was the Arch of Titus, commemorating his victory over the Jews. He also sent money to aid communities damaged by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. Like his father, he left a surplus in the treasury.

Titus left no legitimate son and was succeeded by his younger brother, Domitian. Intelligent and hard working like his father and brother, Domitian was also harsh and tyrannical. He spent the reign of Vespasian in his brother's shadow, although he did enjoy the title of caesar. He succeeded with little difficulty after Titus's death. Some ancient sources charge him with poisoning Titus, but there is no direct evidence. Like Titus, he had his predecessor deified.

As emperor, Domitian was one of the greatest of all builders of Rome, building a great palace on the Palatine Hill and rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, as well as dozens of other structures. He was a cultural conservative who identified himself with Roman traditions and Roman religion. In 85 he awarded himself the unprecedented title of perpetual censor, traditionally the office associated with the guardianship of Roman morality. Like all the Flavians, he was a severe taxer and careful spender, who left a surplus in the treasury.

Domitian's biggest political problem was his bad relationship with the Senate, an institution for which he felt and displayed no great respect. This relationship deteriorated throughout his reign. The portrait of Domitian as a "bad emperor" is traceable to senatorial sources, particularly the historians Suetonius and Tacitus, although there was no attempt to portray him as a madman like Gaius or Nero. Domitian preferred to rule through a court group including relatives, freedmen, and a few senators, rather than dealing with the Senate as a whole; many senators were exiled or executed during his reign. His death came by an assassination plot, and the Senate, in contrast to his deified father and brother, condemned his memory. Marcus Cocceius Nerva, who made a point of breaking with the previous reign, succeeded Domitian.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** *De Imperatoribus Romanis*: An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors. Available online. URL: <http://www.roman-emperors.org> (September 2005); Garzetti, Albino. *From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire, AD 14–192*. Trans. by J. R. Foster. London: Methuen, 1974; Jones, Brian W. *The Emperor Domitian*. New York: Routledge, 1992; ———. *The Emperor Titus*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984; McCrum, Michael, and A. G. Woodhead, eds. *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, Including the Year of Revolution, A.D. 68–96*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.

WILLIAM BURNS

## food gatherers and producers, prehistory

The distinctions among food gatherers and producers are traditionally used to reveal differences in subsistence strategies among prehistoric societies with different types of culture and livelihoods. Each kind of food gathering and production (and its variants) has a social, economic, cultural, ritual, and ecological implication.

### HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT

Since Dicaearchus it was recognized that humankind had passed four stages of natural resource exploitation: primitive hunting, fishery, and gathering; nomadic cattle breeding; agriculture; and specialized agriculture. It was clearly expressed by Soviet researchers M. Levin and N. Cheboksarov in 1955 and is grounded on the assumption that the population inhabited a certain environment and attributed to a certain stage of social and economic development that should inevitably elaborate on, rather than form, a strictly definite, constant model of behavior. Major phylums are hunters, gatherers, and fishermen; simple farmers; and plow farmers. Each of them could be subdivided into chronological stages (phases) and territorial groups.

### METHODS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

The most important information about food gathering and/or production of a prehistoric population is obtained during the interdisciplinary excavations of archaeological sites when methods and data of paleontology, zoo-archaeology, palinology and paleo-ethnobotany are engaged. Analysis of fossil micro- and macrofaunal assemblages allows scientists to define animal species structure, to reconstruct herd age and sex structure and seasonality, and to find morphological traces of domestication on their bones. Studies of macro- and micro-botanical remains, analysis of spore and pollen species in samples taken from cultural layers, chemical analysis of plant residues in soil and on artifacts, plant impressions on pottery and soil, and other methods are used to define plants used by prehistoric populations. Analysis of spatial organization of prehistoric sites, such as the interpretation of excavated objects (pits, wells, and storage places), provides information about the presence and importance of different human activities (tool and food production, storage, distribution, processing, and consumption).

Food gathering (or foraging) is the earliest subsistence strategy inherent to humankind. The origin of regular food gathering in the forms of hunting; plants,

seeds, and mollusks gathering; and primitive fishing with utilization of specially designed tool kits traditionally is referred to with the origin of the first representatives of the genus *Homo* (*Homo habilis* species) more than 2 million years ago. Hunting is usually regarded as the basic subsistence strategy practiced in prehistoric times. Since the origin of contemporary humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) several types of hunting are distinguished:

- Group mobile hunting: oriented mainly on big-sized and mobile, gregarious game (mammoth, bison), dominated in Europe during the Late Paleolithic; surrounding, driving out, and shooting animals are the most widespread means of such hunting.
- Fixed group hunting: applied for catching regularly migrating herds (such as reindeer) at suitable places (mainly river crossings), which are repeatedly used.
- Silent hunting with the help of traps, nets, and hunting holes—controlled by the group sporadically.
- Individual hunting for small-sized nongregarious game with the help of distant weapons (bow and arrows), which enable aiming, its peak during the Mesolithic (Early Holocene) time marked with disappearance of the traditional Paleolithic hunting game of the European population.

The gathering of edible plants, roots, berries, mushrooms, and seeds (often called phytogathering) rarely becomes a subject of special study as far as it is regarded as an auxiliary component of the human diet obtained sporadically and often processed without special implement. Traditionally, phytogathering is regarded as important component of women's household activity that secured their status in the food exchange network and guaranteed the realization of their gender function.

The peculiar practice of mollusks and cereals gathering typical for Early Holocene (Mesolithic) societies of coastal regions and in densely populated regions with fertile soils usually functioned as an important source of basic nutrition of human groups faced with a shortage of traditional hunting game. Special objects and tools involved in this practice usually occur at relatively long-term sites. Fish catching, as hunting, was a secure source of protein food. The origin of soil cultivation, crop harvesting, and livestock raising is regarded as the main criteria of transition to the next stage of human society and culture development, generating from hunter-gatherer communities and directly preceding the formation of state and private property. V. G. Childe proposed one of the earliest explanations of food production origin in his idea of Neolithic revolution. According to him,

drought and supply shortage stimulated food production in the oasis. Most researchers tend to interpret the origin of agriculture as an inevitable response to the crisis of the traditional hunter-gatherer economy and necessity to secure a subsistence system in a new ecological situation. The earliest evidence of plant domestication is traced to the Natufian settlements of Palestine and Shanidar and Ali Kosh in Iran and Iraq and is dated about 9000–7000 B.C.E.

Food production activity in prehistoric times developed in connection with human needs in nutrition (food demand) correlated with features of their natural habitat (relief, climate, faunal and floral resources). Two basic forms of food production in prehistory are traced archaeologically: land cultivation and cattle breeding.

Land cultivation originates from simple seeds gathering at the end of the Mesolithic and as early as beginning of the Neolithic. The introduction of metal processing and utilization of early metal tools in the process of land cultivation brought an increase in productivity, which contributed to the general growth of sedentism in human societies at the beginning of the Bronze Age. It was accompanied with the origin of plow agriculture, the introduction of the two- and three-field rotation system, draft animals exploitation, and natural soil fertilizer application.

The first phase of cattle breeding is connected with the crisis of hunting activity traced to the second half of the Mesolithic. Captured during successful hunting, animals (mainly juveniles) were preserved and fed for a while as a specific form of "live meat stocks," which could be consumed at hungry times. Horse domestication marks the origin of a principally new form of animal treatment—nomadic cattle breeding.

Shepherds used a wide spectrum of meat and dairy products, fresh milk excluded (traditionally its introduction is associated with sedentary agriculturist food production). The analysis of Bronze Age pottery indicates that early nomads used to make sour milk products, cottage cheese, and creams suitable for durable storage.

See also RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY.

**Further reading:** Higgs, E. S., ed. *Papers in Economic Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972; Mathewson, Kurt. "Cultural Landscape and Ecology III: Foraging/Farming, Food, Festivities." *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 3 (2000); Rindos, D., ed. *Origins of Agriculture: An Evolutionary Perspective*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984.

# G



## Gallic Wars

See GAUL.

## Galen

See HIPPOCRATES, GALEN, AND THE GREEK PHYSICIANS.

## Gandhara

Gandhara survived multiple conquests through the ancient and medieval periods. It was located on the SILK ROAD in the area that is now eastern Afghanistan and the northwest portion of Pakistan. Gandhara was a thriving center of trade and culture between the sixth century B.C.E. and the 11th century C.E. In Buddhist and Hindu texts Gandhara is described as lying along the Uttarapatha (northern path) connecting a high road that followed the Ganges River and continued east through the Punjab and the Taxila Valley into BACTRIA. In the Indian epic *MAHABHARATA* the kings of Gandhara are mentioned as being allies of the Kuravas in their wars against the Pandavas. The Greek historian HERODOTUS referred to the region as Paktuike and lists it as one of 20 provinces of the Persian Empire.

During the Persian Empire, at the end of the reign of CYRUS II (558–530 B.C.E.) and under DARIUS I (521–486 B.C.E.), Gandhara was part of the seventh satrap. It was under the Achaemenid's control (roughly between 530 and 380 B.C.E.) that adminis-

tration of the government became organized, aligning itself within the Persian system. After 380 B.C.E. a series of small kingdoms arose in the region until the invasion by ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 327 B.C.E. Alexander's control of the area was short-lived. The MAURYAN EMPIRE was launched from Gandhara. The founder, CHANDRAGUPTA II (r. 322–298 B.C.E.) was a young man living in Taxila during the conquest by Alexander. After successfully launching an assault on the kingdom of Magadha, Chandragupta defeated the Selucid Greeks in 305 B.C.E. and went on to become ruler over much of India. For the next 150 years Gandhara was part of the Mauryan Empire. The great Mauryan ruler ASHOKA, who lived from 304 to 232 B.C.E., was in his early career the governor of Gandhara. Under Ashoka, Buddhism began to flourish in the region.

After the fall of the Mauryans, around 185 B.C.E., Demetrius, the king of Bactria, invaded Gandhara but did not occupy it for long. The reign of Gandhara's king Menander, who ruled from the cities of Taxila and Sagala until 140 B.C.E., marked a brief period of independence. Following that period the kingdom came under the influence of Sakas, and by the beginning of the Common Era, the Parthians. Under the Parthians cultural and artistic ideas of the Greeks were brought to the centers of education and commerce. The famous Gandhara school of art began to apply Greek conventions to Buddhist figures. Gandharan artists were the first to depict the Buddha in human form. Their emphasis was both on realism and the ideal beauty of

the human form. While exquisite pieces of art from 50 B.C.E. to 400 C.E. survived, probably the most recognizable is the Fasting Buddha, which depicts a meditating Buddha whose bones are literally exposed due to his starvation.

The golden age of Gandhara took place during the rule of the Kushans. Countless remains of Buddhist monasteries, large statues, and various Buddhist stupas survived from this era. The Kushan monarch KANISHKA (128–151 C.E.) ruled his kingdom from Peshawar in Gandhara. The empire stretched from southern India to the border of Han China. From Peshawar, Buddhist culture, religion, and art were spread to the Far East.

After 241 C.E. Gandhara became a vassal of the Sassanians. Until the fifth century it remained a center of culture, artistic activity, and commerce. This period was marked by the production of giant statues of the Buddha that were carved into mountainsides and other large statues that were placed in monasteries. By the middle of the fifth century the HUNS invaded Gandhara, and the culture slid into a period of decay. Buddhism fell into decline, while some practice of Hinduism resurfaced. The Sassanids drove out the Huns in the middle of the sixth century.

Even though the SASSANID EMPIRE came under the control of Islam after 644, the Arabs seemed to have little interest in Gandhara. Buddhism continued there under Turkish rule until the area's conquest by Hindushahi around 870. The Hindushahi capital was moved to Udabhandapura in Gand, and the kingdom once again prospered, at least through the early part of the Middle Ages. Around 1021 the region was taken over by Muslim leaders, and the kingdom of Gandhara was absorbed into the Islamic world. British archaeologists revived interest in the history of the region in the mid-19th century.

See also KUSHAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Dani, A. H. *Gandhara Art of Pakistan*. Peshawar, Pakistan: University of Peshawar, 1968; Dani, A. H., and V. M. Mason, eds. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Paris: UNESCO, 1992–2005; Geoffroy-Schneiter, Berenice. *Gandhara: The Memory of Afghanistan*. New York: Assouline, 2001; Hussain, J. *An Illustrated History of Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; Salmon, Richard. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhara*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

TIM DAVIS

## Ganjin

(688–763 C.E.) *Buddhist monk*

Ganjin traveled to Japan to spread the Buddhist faith. He was born in the Chinese county of Jiangyin in Guangling (Yangzhou, Jiangsu). His name in Chinese is Jianzhenis (Chien-chen); Ganjin is the Japanese version. He entered the Buddhist temple of Daming at the age of 14. He studied at CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) for six years, starting at the age of 20. He then returned to the Daming Temple where he eventually became the abbot of the temple. He also trained in medicine and opened a hospital, the Beitian Court, at the Daming Temple. In 732 C.E. the Japanese government sent an emissary to China, including two priests searching for a precept transmitter to come to Japan. In 742 they met with Ganjin and his followers. None of Ganjin's followers was willing to go, so he decided to go himself. The crossing from China to Japan across the East China Sea was dangerous, and it took six tries before Ganjin reached Japan in 753. During the fifth attempt, he lost his eyesight.

Ganjin was welcomed at the Japanese capital in 754. That summer, in front of the Great Buddha Hall at Todai-ji, a ceremony was held in which the retired emperor Shomu, the empress dowager Komyo, the reigning empress Koken, and 440 clergy received the precepts. An order was issued to build a precept hall and living quarters for Ganjin. Ganjin's arrival in Japan brought the transmission of the precept, in Japan, back toward a more orthodox way of doing it.

In 756 Ganjin was appointed to the bureau of clergy, which controlled the issuing of certificates for ordination. The Japanese viewed protecting the nation as part of the clergy's mission. The Japanese government expected the priests to work in support of the nation's prosperity. The fact that Ganjin, who was Chinese, was appointed to the bureau speaks volumes about his skill and the level of his understanding of the Buddhist religion. Ganjin resigned from the bureau in 758 and returned to training priests. Ganjin continued to teach up until his death on June 22, 763. He is considered one of the founding fathers of Sino-Japanese medicine.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

**Further reading:** Hanayama, Shinsho. *A History of Japanese Buddhism*. Trans. by Kosho Yamamoto. Tokyo: Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai, 1960; Kashiwahara, Yusen, and Koyu Sonoda. *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism*. Translated by Gaynor Sekimori. Tokyo: Ksei Publishing, 1994; Tamura, Yoshiro.

*Japanese Buddhism: A Cultural History.* Trans. by Jeffery Hunter. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 2000.

DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Gaul

In Roman times the term *Gaul* was used to describe two places: Cisalpine Gaul, which was the northern part of Italy occupied by Celtic tribes, and Transalpine Gaul, the area covering modern-day France and some surrounding areas, also inhabited by CELTS. Although the Celtic tribes in both regions had much in common in terms of customs and religion, the histories of the two areas were very different. Both groups have their origins in the Bronze Age, and many of their weapons and ornaments are bronze. Some have seen them as descendants of the Scythians, but this is largely based on their early metalwork. During the period known as the “La Tène culture,” from as early as 500 B.C.E., they started using iron. In addition to the two parts of the Roman Empire formally known as Gaul, Celts of Gallic descent migrated to other parts of Europe, with settlements in the British Isles, western Spain and Portugal, and through central Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, and even parts of modern-day Bulgaria.

From the sixth century B.C.E. there is archaeological evidence of Etruscan settlements, and the Celts only started to arrive in the region in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. These Celts occupied Piedmont and Lombardy, and they lived side by side with the ETRUSCANS as can be seen by Celtic and Etruscan graves found in the same cemeteries. According to Livy, when the Gauls arrived in northern Italy, they established 12 towns along either side of the Apennines and then another 12 further south. They moved into the area north of Rome during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, who was king of Rome from 616 until 578 B.C.E., and one tribe called the Insubes made their headquarters in the region around Mediolanum (modern-day Milan). Subsequent tribes—the Cenomani, the Libui, the Salui, the Boii, the Lingones, and the Senones—then migrated into northern Italy. The last tribe settled in the Po Valley and rather than ejecting the Etruscans by force, they assimilated with them, gradually taking over the region and eroding the Etruscan cultural identity.

### THE GAULS ATTACK ROME

In 386 B.C.E. the Gauls were strong enough to attack the city of Rome. They sacked the city, but in a famous

story, Romans held out in the citadel, making entreaties to people in the nearby town of Veii, 12 miles away, to help. There was a secret route in and out of the citadel, and Livy surmised that it was a messenger who had been observed or followed that showed the Gauls the secret way into the citadel.

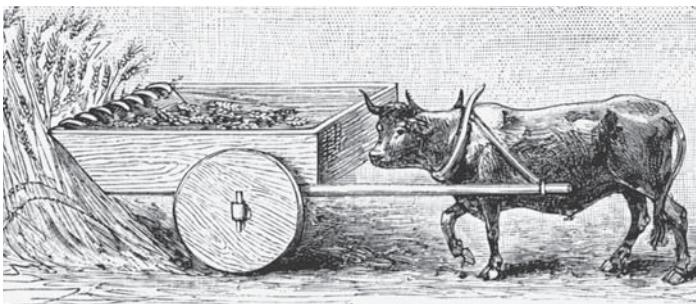
One night the Gauls silently scaled the hillside to the citadel, but the geese that had been kept in honor of the goddess Juno squawked when they noticed the Gauls, and this alerted the Romans, who managed to drive off the Gauls.

Although the Gauls attacked the Romans again during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., the Romans managed to ally with nearby towns and defeat them in the great battle of Telamon in 225 B.C.E. In order to ensure that the Gauls were no longer a threat to Rome, the Romans then launched a massive war against the Gauls. After three years of bitter campaigning the Romans captured Mediolanum in 222 B.C.E. Their efforts against the Gauls came to a halt when the Carthaginian general HANNIBAL chose to attack Rome in 219 B.C.E. Crossing the Alps into Italy in 218 B.C.E., he won support from many of the Gauls in northern Italy, and these helped replenish his forces and supply his army. Although Hannibal’s armies defeated the Romans in four battles, they never succeeded in capturing Rome, and in 203 B.C.E. Hannibal was recalled to North Africa, where the Romans defeated him.

After the Social War of 91–89 B.C.E., the Romans decided to create the colony of Cisalpine Gaul, with its southern border at the Rubicon River. All Roman settlers who lived there remained as Roman citizens, but the others were given “Latin rights,” and many resented this lower status that they retained until 49 B.C.E. when JULIUS CAESAR made them Roman citizens. Two years after Caesar was killed, his successor Octavian (later the emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR), formally integrated the whole of Cisalpine Gaul into Italy. Augustus later divided it into four administrative districts. By this time Celtic influences had largely disappeared from this area, and most people spoke Latin. The geographer Strabo described it was one of the richest agricultural regions of the Roman Empire, and its people remained loyal to Rome, helping form Italy in the 19th century.

### TRANSALPINE GAUL

The Romans had a similar experience with Transalpine Gaul, although their conquering of it took place much later than that of Cisalpine Gaul. Transalpine Gaul covers much of the area of modern-day France and also Belgium and parts of Germany. The English Channel to



*Reconstruction of a reaping machine used in Gaul in ancient Roman times, from a description by Pliny.*

the north, the Alps to the southeast, and the Pyrenees to the southwest defined its borders. Prior to the Roman occupation, the area was a loose confederation of Celtic tribes. There were Greek colonies along the southern coast of Gaul, the most important port being Massalia (modern-day Marseilles), which had been founded by the Phoenicians in about 600 B.C.E., as well as Avennio (modern-day Avignon) and Antipolis.

The Romans called the Gauls the “Long-Haired Gauls,” ridiculing them for wearing trousers, tied at the ankle, and shoes. Some used body paint in battle, and in winter the Gauls wore heavy fur clothing and thick woolen cloaks. Some elements of their clothing seem to have been made out of checked cloth, which some have seen as the precursor to the tartans worn in Scotland and Ireland.

In battle the Gauls used swords, large battle-axes and spears, protecting themselves with breastplates, helmets, and large shields. In early battles they used two-horse chariots and had some horsemen, which is why towns in Gaul were usually protected by a series of ditches to prevent a rapid chariot attack. For the most part their battle strength relied on numbers rather than strategy, which can explain their relatively easy defeat by the Romans.

Most Gauls were based in village communities, although a large number of townships in central Gaul also flourished. Houses were built out of wood, with a thatched roof. Many houses were built into the ground to aid insulation during the winter.

Although it was a civilization largely based on the use of bronze, the Gauls did have some small mines to locate copper. The diet was largely bread, meat, and vegetables. Transport was largely on foot or on horseback, with wealthier Gauls using chariots, especially in warfare. The Gauls worshipped using DRUIDS, but the Romans were eager to end this practice.

### THE GALLIC WARS

In 58 B.C.E. Julius Caesar embarked on the Gallic Wars with the initial aim of conquering some of central Gaul. After his term as consul of Rome, Caesar was made governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, the latter at that time only covering the area along the Mediterranean coast. Caesar discovered that there was a large tribe of Helvetians moving from modern-day Switzerland into Provincia, and Caesar hurriedly built and enlarged forts along the border of the region, forcing the Helvetians to move west.

On the move were 386,000 Helvetians, including 100,000 warriors, and Caesar decided to engage them in battle when they were at their weakest. In June 58 B.C.E., at the Battle of Arar (or Saône), the Romans surprised 34,000 Helvetian warriors and apparently killed as many as 30,000 of them. Those who escaped and the main body headed west for the Loire. In July, at the Battle of Bibracte (Mount Beuvray), 70,000 Helvetian warriors attacked the Romans. Caesar had under his command about 30,000 legionnaires, about 20,000 Gallic auxiliaries, and 4,000 Gallic cavalry. The superior Roman discipline drove the Helvetians back to their camp where 130,000 Helvetian men, women, and children were slaughtered. Those who survived submitted and returned east.

The Gallic Wars had begun with an attempt to avert a Helvetian attack, and while Caesar was preoccupied with them, a German tribe under their chief, Ariovistus, used the power vacuum to attack some Gallic tribes in modern-day Alsace. The Gauls there asked for help from the Romans, and Caesar's armies, triumphant from their victory at Bibracte, managed to attack Ariovistus on September 10. The forces of Ariovistus were driven back, and with most of central Gaul under Roman control, Caesar withdrew his soldiers for the winter.

At this point the Belgae, a tribe in northeastern Gaul, decided to rally together numerous other tribes to attack the Romans in the following year and raised 300,000 warriors. Caesar managed to outmaneuver his opponents, and at the Battle of Axona (Aisne) in March or April 57 B.C.E., the Roman forces destroyed the Belgae army of 75,000–100,000. In July another tribe, the Nervii, gathered together 75,000 men and attacked Caesar. In the Battle of Sabis (Sambre), Caesar only narrowly managed to achieve a victory, with 60,000 Nervii killed. For the winter of 57–56 B.C.E. Caesar withdrew his forces and returned to Gaul in order to keep up with developments in Rome.

In 56 B.C.E. Caesar led his troops into modern-day Brittany, where he fought the Veneti, who had seized some ambassadors he had sent over the winter. This

campaign was different because for the first time Caesar put together a number of ships that supported his force on the land. His land progress was slow, but finally, in a battle in modern-day Quiberon Bay, the Roman galleys defeated the Gallic ships, preventing the Veneti from supplying their forts. In the fall of 56 B.C.E. Caesar marched his armies north to attack the Morini and the Menapii in modern-day Belgium. By the end of this year all of Gaul was under Roman control and had become a single political entity.

As Britain and the Celts there had helped the Gauls resist the Romans, Caesar was eager to punish them and attacked Britain. In July of the following year he again went to Britain where he defeated a large Celtic force near modern-day London. While Caesar was on his second foray to Britain, news reached Caesar that the Gauls had surrounded a fort where Quintus Cicero was valiantly holding out. Caesar, by now with 10 legions at his disposal, marched to support Cicero and quickly overcame the Gauls.

During the winter of 54–53 B.C.E. Caesar planned to subdue the Gauls who did not want Roman rule. At the same time the Arverni chief, VERCINGETORIX, had rallied another force to attack the Romans. Unlike previous opponents, Vercingetorix spent the winter training his forces. When Caesar attacked, rather than immediately engage him in battle, Vercingetorix started a policy of “scorched earth,” retreating and destroying any food or supplies that could be useful to the Romans. This drew the Romans into central Gaul where they captured Avaricum and then attacked the Gallic fortress of Gergovia. Despite many attempts, and a costly assault, the Romans were not able to capture Gergovia, and Caesar withdrew. After defeating some Gauls at the Battle of Lutetia (near modern-day Paris), he moved his armies south.

The Gauls under Vercingetorix decided to attack and harass Caesar’s forces of 55,000 soldiers, 40,000 of whom were legionnaires. Caesar built a series of walls around the city to prevent the defenders from launching a sortie. Vercingetorix had managed to get allies to raise a massive army of 240,000, who attacked the Romans from the outside, while the Gauls inside emerged to attack the Romans. Caesar’s defenses prevented those outside from doing much damage, and inside, as supplies ran low, the Gauls were forced to eject all their women and children, who died of exposure and starvation. Finally, Vercingetorix surrendered and submitted. He was taken to Rome, where he was later executed. In 51 B.C.E. Caesar ran a series of small campaigns against small pockets of resistance, and by the end of it Gaul was firmly in Roman hands.

The Gallic Wars had a dramatic effect on the nearly 10 million people of Gaul. The massive number of people killed in the battles, as well as those who died of exposure and starvation, resulted in vast tracts of Gaul being heavily depopulated and ready for many settlers to move there, not just from Italy but also from other parts of the empire. Transalpine Gaul became a Roman political unit until the fifth century C.E., and under Augustus it consisted of four provinces: Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica.

### GAUL UNDER ROMAN RULE

During the many centuries of Roman rule the rich agricultural land attracted many Roman citizens and settlers from all over the empire. The Romans built a large series of roads, with the old Gallic city of Lugdunum (modern-day Lyon) at the center of a series of important trade routes. Among the many settlers who came to live in Gaul were a number of men from the Holy Land. Herod Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, mentioned briefly in the Bible when Mary, Joseph, and the baby Jesus return from Egypt, was accused by the Romans of mismanaging the Jewish territory in Syria where he was the procurator. It was recorded that he was exiled to Gaul. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, the tetrach of Galilee and Perea, who was responsible for the execution of JOHN THE BAPTIST, was also later exiled to Gaul.

During Roman rule Gaul prospered and became a major center for EARLY CHRISTIANITY, with a number of Christian saints being drawn from the region. However in the third century C.E. neglect of border defenses on the Rhine River meant more frequent invasions from Germans. Gaul was placed under the direct rule of Roman emperors, starting with Postumus, and more villages and towns were fortified, and city walls strengthened. Gradually, however, the attacks by the Germans, the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths increased. The latter, in particular, took over much of southern Gaul, and in 410 the Visigoths even managed to sack Rome. However the Franks drove them out of the region.

The period of Roman rule in Gaul was the subject of Julius Caesar’s *The Gallic Wars*, which was the earliest military history written by a main participant. Since Roman times Gaul has been the setting of large numbers of novels in French and English, including Sabine Baring-Gould’s *Perpetua* (1897), about the persecution of the Christians at Nîmes. There is also the diminutive French cartoon character Asterix, and his large friend Obelix, creations of the French writer René Goscinny (1926–77) and cartoonist Albert Uderzo. The Gauls wear winged helmets and live in a village in Gaul that

has, somehow, managed to hold out against the Romans. These books have been translated into 15 languages, including Latin, and remain the most popular accounts of life in Gaul.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Caesar. *The Conquest of Gaul*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1982; Eluere, Christiane. *The Celts: First Masters of Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993; Fuller, J. F. C. *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Gautama Buddha

(c. 563–483 B.C.E.) *religious leader*

Gautama Buddha is the historical personage referred to when people speak of Lord Buddha or simply the Buddha. However, according to Buddhist thought, there is in fact an infinite stream of Buddhas who manifest according to the different phases of reality from the distant past of the universe to the far future. Gautama Buddha is the Buddha who is manifested in the phase of the universe in which we live. Buddhahood represents the state of having achieved enlightenment, and this enables the Buddha to demonstrate to others how to achieve nirvana, which is the state of enlightenment and the means of escaping from the otherwise eternal wheel of suffering caused by desire and represented by endless reincarnations.

### GAUTAMA BUDDHA'S EARLY LIFE

The great majority of Asian Buddhists accept the reality of Gautama Buddha and see little value in establishing more accurate details. Buddha's teachings were passed from monk to apprentice orally for some centuries, so it is possible for some errors to have entered into the canon. The only source of contention about historical details has been the dispute over the dates of Gautama Buddha's life, which are generally taken to be c. 563–483 B.C.E., but are believed to be c. 448–368 B.C.E. in Japan.

He was born into a high social position as a member of the Kshatriya, or warrior class, and his parents were royalty. His mother, Mahamaya, while carrying Guatama is said to have dreamt that the child would turn out to be either a universal ruler or a Buddha, depending on whether he remained at home or wandered abroad. Mahamaya visited her parents in the last month of her

pregnancy and, while passing through Lumbini Park, gave birth. A guru of the king attended the child and then proclaimed the Buddhahood as the child's destiny.

On the child's naming day, five days after birth, 108 Brahmins attended to predict the future and also to worship the baby, as his father and guru had already done. He was then named Siddhartha, meaning "One Who Has Achieved His Goal." Two days after that Mahamaya died, and Gautama was raised by his father Suddhodana's second wife, known as Mahapajapati Gotami. The family lived in Gautama, and the name was taken by Buddha as a personal designation, even though it was never his own name.

As a child, Gautama Buddha was pampered by his father and lived a life of luxury, in part because his father was reluctant to permit the boy to take up his destiny by wandering the world and preferred him to remain close by and become a universal, temporal ruler. Gautama was greatly interested in spiritual issues and at the age of seven was found in a *jhani* trance. This incident formed the basis of one of Buddha's early sermons. Even though Guatama married the princess Yasodhara at the age of 16, his interest toward the spiritual and the ascetic never waned, although his marriage is believed to have been successful.

### BUDDHA'S GREAT RENUNCIATION

This peaceful life continued until the age of 29 when, traveling the countryside in the company of his charioteer, he encountered a sick man, a decrepit and aged man, and finally a corpse. In a fourth encounter, he observed a yellow-robed man going about his business with an air of serenity. This coincided with the birth of Gautama's son, whom he named Rahula (fetters), and he became determined to discover the secret by which the yellow-robed man was able to travel about the world apparently happily in the face of such misery. This epiphanic event is referred to as the Four Great Signs. Buddha left his wife and son to travel the world to try to attain detachment from the suffering of the world. This act is known as the Great Renunciation, which refers to Buddha's rejection of all his family, his previous worldly possessions, and ties.

Gautama wandered south into India and received teaching from a number of scholars. One of these was Alara Kalama, under whose tutelage Gautama achieved the mystical state known as the sphere of nothing, which he later recorded in one of his *suttas*. This achievement was a significant one in spiritual terms, but the Buddha wanted to extend his learning until he was able to reach the ultimate state of nirvana, total enlightenment. Conse-

quently, he left his teacher and wandered further. During the next years Buddha found a peaceful environment at Uruvela and settled there to search for the truth. Five ascetics joined him, wishing to learn from him.

Gautama sought enlightenment through the extreme application of asceticism. He spoke of this time, later, as one in which extreme fasting made his bones protrude through his skin, while also facing the travails of other forms of self-mortification. Asceticism had long been an important strand of Indian religious thought. However, it can be divisive in society because the number of people who are able to participate is necessarily limited, while others, especially women, are obliged to continue domestic duties to make sure that society as a whole can continue to function.

When Buddha ultimately rejected asceticism, he effectively ensured that Buddhism could inspire all members of society. Buddha's retreat from extreme asceticism disappointed at least some of his early followers. However, the path of moderation in all things became a central part of Buddhist teachings. Buddha rejected the course that had left him so weak that on one occasion he fainted and was believed to be dead. Afterward he ate according to a healthy regimen and also took care of his bodily health.

#### BUDDHA AND THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

Gautama entered a more productive search for enlightenment and eventually reached his goal. One morning he sat under a *bodhi* tree and resolved not to leave his position until he reached nirvana. It is recorded that this search involved a lengthy and difficult battle with the evil spirit Mara and his many minions. The Jatakas are the scriptures that describe Buddha's previous lives prior to the incarnation in which he finally reached nirvana. They record the many virtuous works that Gautama Buddha completed, which meant that he accumulated many virtues that were transferred to him in his battle with Mara. They included the great virtues, or *paramitas*, which include patience, diligence, meditation, and transcendent wisdom. Buddha subsequently taught these to his followers.

Armed with the *paramitas*, Gautama Buddha was able to resist the evil one, and by demonstrating close understanding of Mara's armies and weapons he was able to defeat them. This enabled him to concentrate on the Four Noble Truths, which are that existence is suffering, which is caused by the nature of desire for impermanent things of the universe, that the suffering can be defeated nevertheless, and that it is the noble eightfold path which provides the means by which that victory can be achieved.

The path requires right thinking, doing, speaking, and understanding. People should at all times be mindful of the existence of other people and things of the world and avoid committing any offense against the path toward nirvana, while also not hindering others from their own paths. These realizations enabled Gautama Buddha to achieve enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree when he was 35 years old.

#### DISCIPLES AND THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

Having reached nirvana, Buddha spent several more weeks under the *bodhi* tree contemplating additional aspects of the universe and of philosophy. He was persuaded to undertake a life of teaching and instruction, in part as a result of the intervention of the divine Sahampati. Buddha was initially reluctant to leave his position, but he acquiesced and then sought to convert others, including those ascetics who had previously rejected his teachings.

The five ascetics embraced Buddha's teachings and became disciples of his: They were the first monks, and their conversion marks the beginnings of the *sangha*, the monkhood that supports Buddhism and has come to be part of the triple gems that underlie a Buddhist society. Buddhism is now followed in most countries of eastern Asia, particularly in Japan, Korea, China, Thailand, and mainland Southeast Asia, and also in countries that have been Islamized. In the modern age Buddhism has spread to Western countries as well.

The early disciples also had the opportunity to achieve enlightenment. Buddha joined them by traveling and seeking out those who would listen to his message. As was customary for those who had become enlightened, he accepted charity and food from people. When he returned to his hometown, his father was unhappy with the path that his son had chosen but relented his initial resistance, and peace was made. Many members of the palace were converted, and several of his family members were ordained into the *sangha*. Buddha was invited to the capital of the Kosala kingdom, where its ruler built a monastery for him. Buddha also attracted enemies. Among the many different religious beliefs of northern India, some were unhappy with the success of the Buddha's teachings and sought to challenge his authenticity. However, the success of conversions greatly outweighed those of any religious opposition.

By the age of 80 Buddha had presided over the creation of an efficient *sangha* and could contemplate a growing number of followers. He undertook his last journey accompanied by a small number of followers. Wherever he went, the Buddha lived simply, accepting the charity of people and speaking to them about

the path to enlightenment. In the village of Beluva he became seriously ill. He recovered from the immediate illness, although was still in a frail condition. Knowing that his end was near, Gautama Buddha announced that he planned to die after three months and set about arranging his last affairs and his final messages for his disciples. When all this had been achieved, he died.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; BUDDHIST COUNCILS; KANISHKA.

**Further reading:** Akira, Hirakawa. *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana*. Edited and translated by Paul Groner. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1990; Armstrong, Karen. *Buddha*. New York: Penguin, 2004; Singh, Iqbal. *Gautama Buddha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

JOHN WALSH

## Georgia, ancient

Ancient Georgia (in Kartvelian called Sakartvelo, “the land of the Kartlians,” and in Greek and Latin, Iberia) refers to the mountainous region in the South Caucasus that includes the heartland of the Kartvelians as well as of the related Svan, Laz, and Mingrelians. Along with Albania to the east and Cholchis in the west, Iberia was the center of Christian political and ecclesiastical influence in the region until the Arab conquest in the seventh century C.E. The Arabic name for the region, *Kurj*, is the source of the English *Georgia*. The ancient Kartvelian capital, Mtskheta, became the seat of the Georgian patriarch after King Vakhtang Gorgasali (c. 446–510 C.E.) united Iberia/Sakartvelo with Cholcis and Albania. The church of Georgia remained nominally dependent on the more ancient church of Antioch until the Crusades cut off contact between Antioch and Georgia in the 12th century. This separation then allowed the Georgian Orthodox Church to develop on its own. It chooses its own patriarch, who since the sixth century has resided in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia since the Arab conquest. There are two traditions concerning the conversion of Georgia. The virgin missionary Nino arrived perhaps from Asia Minor and according to some sources converted King Mirian, establishing the second oldest Christian kingdom after ARMENIA. A second tradition relates that the apostle Andrew established the first diocese of Georgia. This second tradition is attested later than that of Nino and becomes significant in Georgian sources only around the time that the church of

Georgia established itself as an independent church in the 12th century.

In the Christological controversies of the fifth century the church of Georgia, like the ancient church of Armenia, rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and remained faithful to a strict interpretation of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA’s Christological formula of “one incarnate nature of the Logos.” The Georgian and Armenian bishops condemned the Council of Chalcedon at the Council of Dvin in 553. In the early seventh century, under pressure to form a military and political alliance with the Byzantines, the Georgian church, led by Patriarch Kyron II, embraced the Chalcedonian definition, and the Armenian church excommunicated the Georgians at the Council of Dvin in 606.

Kartveli, the language of Georgian classical literature, was first committed to writing in the first half of the fifth century. The Georgian versions of the Christian Bible are important witnesses for the search for the earliest biblical texts. Georgian MONASTICISM exerted considerable influence on Christian monasticism, with monasteries established in Palestine by the fifth century and on Mt. Athos later on in the 10th century. Peter the Iberian, a Georgian prince and later the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Maiuma, Gaza, and relatives of his are among the earliest and best-documented founders and promoters of Georgian monastic and pilgrim activity in Jerusalem and the nearby desert regions. One of Peter’s establishments was a hostel near David’s Tower in Jerusalem to care for pilgrims to the holy sites. The Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem was an important center of Georgian monasticism in the Holy Land. In Georgia monasticism is closely associated with the “Thirteen Saints,” 13 Syrian monks who, according to tradition, were responsible for introducing cenobitic (communal) monasticism into the Georgian homeland.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH; TURABDIN.

**Further reading:** Braund, David. *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia, 550 BC–AD 562*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; Lang, David Marshall. *The Georgians. Ancient Peoples and Places*. New York: Praeger, 1966; Mepisashvili, Rusudan. *The Arts of Ancient Georgia*. Trans. by Alisa Jaffa. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.

ROBERT PHENIX

## Gilgamesh

(third millennium B.C.E.) *king and mythical hero*

Gilgamesh (meaning “the old man is now a young man”) is perhaps the greatest hero in ancient Near Eastern literature. The story of this hero is based on a legendary king of the same name who ruled the Mesopotamian city of Uruk sometime between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. The name of Gilgamesh appears on the famous Sumerian King List, which dates to the late third millennium B.C.E. Later kings viewed Gilgamesh with great respect; some considered him as their personal god. As of yet, no inscriptions have been found that can be attributed to him.

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is the heroic tale of this legendary king. It is a compilation of various preexisting stories, some of which circulated as early as the UR III dynasty in SUMER (c. 2100–2000 B.C.E.). There are two versions of this epic, the first of which is the Old Babylonian version. This version dates to the second millennium B.C.E. and lacks the prologue and the famous flood story. The second is the standard version, which was discovered in NINEVEH at the royal library of the seventh-century B.C.E. king Ashurbanipal of ASSYRIA. Tradition states that a master scribe and incantation priest by the name of Sin-leqe-unnini was the author. This version has been found in a variety of areas ranging from Palestine and Syria to modern-day Turkey, in addition to Mesopotamia. There is also evidence that it was included in school writing exercises.

Cylinder seals and statues depict a powerful hero grappling with wild animals, which scholars refer to as the “Gilgamesh figure,” though there is no written evidence to connect Gilgamesh with the hero as depicted. Some examples of this picture occur at times before the historical Gilgamesh ruled the city of Uruk. It is possible that this figure was connected with Gilgamesh at some point in Mesopotamian history. It is also possible that this heroic figure was connected with other Sumerian deities in extreme antiquity.

As the epic opens, Gilgamesh is described as a tyrant. He forces the male citizens to complete his building projects while taking the young women for himself to satisfy his sexual desires. So oppressive is the reign of Gilgamesh that the people of the city cry out to the gods to give them relief. In response the gods create Enkidu, a being who is part man, part animal to challenge Gilgamesh. After engaging in battle and finding themselves to be near equals, the two become fast friends and adventuring heroes. On their first adventure together they slay a giant named Humbaba (Huwaywa), who is the guardian of a great cedar forest. After returning to

Uruk, Gilgamesh is approached by the goddess Ishtar, who wants the hero to become her lover. He refuses her advances, which infuriates the goddess. She asks An, the father of the gods, to send the monstrous Bull of Heaven to destroy the heroes. After the monster kills hundreds of young men from the city, Enkidu seizes it by the tail, while Gilgamesh plunges a sword into its neck, killing it.

After the Bull of Heaven is dead, Enkidu has a dream in which the council of the gods meets to decide which of the heroes should die for the killing of Humbaba and the Bull of Heaven. They eventually decide on Enkidu, who dies after suffering an illness that lasts for seven days. Grief stricken, Gilgamesh reflects on his own mortality and decides to search for the secret of eternal life. Gilgamesh hears that a man named Utnapishtim was granted eternal life by the gods. Utnapishtim had survived a great flood that destroyed humanity, after which he was granted eternal life by the gods. After Gilgamesh finds this man, Utnapishtim tells him that he cannot have eternal life in the same way. Utnapishtim tells Gilgamesh of a certain plant that has the ability to make the old young again, and Gilgamesh leaves to find this plant. After discovering it, Gilgamesh decides to bathe in a pool after his long journey. While he is bathing, a snake comes along and devours the plant, which is an etiological myth explaining why snakes shed their skins.

The hero returns home to his city of Uruk sadder but wiser. He realizes that the only way a person can achieve immortality is by accomplishing great works that will outlive him in future generations. He looks around his city and sees the mighty walls he has built and is satisfied. If fame is a measure of immortality, then one might argue that Gilgamesh actually achieved it. This outlook is similar to the heroic outlook found in the HOMERIC EPICS and in the GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON. There is a 12th tablet, though it contains stories that do not quite fit with the rest of the epic. In this tablet Enkidu is still alive. Gilgamesh accidentally drops two items down a hole, which leads to the underworld. Enkidu goes to fetch the items but discovers that he cannot return to the land of the living. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is famous for its inclusion of the flood story, which resembles the one in Genesis of the Jewish scriptures. The Old Babylonian version, however, did not contain the flood, suggesting that it was not originally associated with Gilgamesh. The flood story existed in several forms in Mesopotamia including an Akkadian work entitled *The Atrahasis Epic*.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; FERTILE CRESCENT; SCRIBES.

**Further reading:** Dalley, Stephanie. *Myths from Mesopotamia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; Foster, B. R. "Gilgamesh(1.132)." In William W. Hallo, ed. *The Context of Scripture*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1997; Tigay, Jeffrey H. *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

DEWAYNE BRYANT

## Gnosticism

See CHRISTIAN DUALISM.

## Gracchi

(second century B.C.E.) *Roman politicians*

The brothers Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (163–133 B.C.E.) and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (154–121 B.C.E.) were Roman politicians who tried to wrest power from the oligarchy that dominated the Roman Republic. Both were to introduce reforms aimed at giving more power to the "common man," and political enemies killed them both. The Gracchi brothers came from one of the noble families of Rome. Their great-grandfather Tiberius Gracchus had been consul in 238 B.C.E.; a great-uncle, also called Tiberius Gracchus, was consul in 215 and 213 B.C.E.; and their father, also called Tiberius Gracchus, was consul in 177 and 163 B.C.E. In addition, their mother, Cornelia, was the daughter of Publius Scipio "Africanus," the general who defeated the Carthaginian general HANNIBAL at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E., ensuring Roman domination of the Mediterranean Sea.

In a story told by Plutarch, the father of the two Gracchi brothers, an elderly man with a young wife, found two snakes on his bed. Seeking advice from priests, he was told that if he killed the male snake, he would die, whereas if he killed the female snake, his wife would die. He was not allowed to kill them both or to let them both go free. Deeply attached to his wife, the elderly politician killed the male one and died soon afterward, leaving his widow to bring up the 12 children. Only three of them survived adolescence—the two brothers Tiberius and Gaius, and a sister, Sempronia.

Tiberius, the older of the two surviving brothers, was described by his biographer Plutarch as "gentle and composed," and he spoke in a "decorous tone." With his background and upbringing it was only natural that he would enter the political scene. In order to hold office in the Roman Republic it was obligatory for a man to have served in the army or navy for 10

years. Tiberius Gracchus entered the military early and served at CARTHAGE under his cousin Scipio Aemilianus (who was also the husband of his sister, Sempronia). He was then a quaestor in Spain in 137 B.C.E. under Gaius Hostilius Mancinus. Soon after this Tiberius Gracchus entered Roman politics.

Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133 B.C.E., had a political platform by which he would reallocate government land and also enforce an old law that restricted the holding of arable land to a maximum of 500 *iugera* (about 335 acres) per person. There would then be a commission that would confiscate land from people who had holdings in excess of the law and hand it over in small parcels of land to army veterans and other loyal subjects. This would increase the agricultural base of the economy, reduce the "drift" of people moving to the cities, and help alleviate any possible food shortages. Furthermore, it would massively increase the number of Roman citizens in the countryside dominated by slaves (making a slave revolt a very real concern), and the rural population could also provide sons for Rome's armies—city dwellers being more reluctant to enlist.

As this would involve breaking up large estates that had sprung up on government land, the idea was hated by many of the senators whose families owned these estates. The idea raised by Gracchus was not entirely new, but he was the first member of the elite to try to push it through and make it law. Some have seen this action as a cynical one to entice large numbers of people to vote for him and repopulate with his supporters areas where some of the small tribes lived. Others have viewed it as an economic necessity to provide a food supply for a burgeoning city. Many writers have hailed it as a process of land reform and referred to Tiberius Gracchus and his brother as protocommunists.

It was abundantly clear that the Senate would not support any new law that would reduce their landownership, wealth, and power, and opponents of Tiberius Gracchus rallied their forces. However, Tiberius offered as a compromise that each child could hold an additional 250 *iugera*. The senators flatly refused to consider this. As a result, Tiberius Gracchus decided not to put the matter to the Senate for debate but to put the bill for the new law to a people's assembly. This was not illegal but broke some traditions going back several centuries by which the Senate could deliberate in the same way as U.S. congressional committees work.

The move to take the bill to the People's Assembly was vetoed by Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes. Tiberius Gracchus then resubmitted it, and Octavius again vetoed it. This second veto was unprecedented and went

against the legal customs of the period, and to get it to the People's Assembly, Tiberius Gracchus had Octavius removed from office, which was also unprecedented. The bill became law, and redistribution began with the brother of Tiberius, Gaius, and also his father-in-law elected to the commission that oversaw the redistribution.

At that point a quite separate scandal emerged. King Attalus III of Pergamum in modern-day Turkey died. He had probably been staying with the Gracchus family, and in his will the king left his estate to Rome. Tiberius Gracchus proposed acceptance of this, the Senate having the traditional right to foreign policy matters. Tiberius planned to distribute the property to Roman citizens, especially his supporters and the new landowners. Plans were made to bring charges against Tiberius Gracchus, and to escape conviction he decided to seek reelection as tribune. Immediately his enemies claimed that he was trying to become a dictator. With accusations of tyranny leveled against Tiberius Gracchus, many of his political allies deserted him.

Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, a former consul and at that time the *ponitfex maximus*, and a few other senators, gathered together a large mob of supporters with the mission of "saving the Republic." Serapio was a third cousin of Tiberius Gracchus but was also married to his mother's sister, making him an uncle. Family ties, however, counted for nothing as the mob turned on Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol. Tiberius Gracchus was beaten to death and his body flung into the Tiber River. Many of his supporters were also clubbed to death on the spot or died of their wounds. Publius Popillius Laenas became consul in 132 B.C.E.

The death of Tiberius Gracchus is highlighted as the first time in the Roman Republic that a political dispute had led to the murder of one of the major politicians of the period. Tiberius Gracchus had certainly been very popular with many people, including much of the elite, but the fear of him becoming a tyrant led to the revolt.

The younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus, had emerged on the political scene as a member of the land commission established in 133 B.C.E. He served as a quaestor in Sardinia. Gaius Gracchus set about rehabilitating the memory of his brother, punishing those who worked against him and introducing security measures to ensure he did not suffer the same fate. That done, he set about starting land redistribution again. Furthermore, he tried to establish colonies overseas, including one in Carthage, which would serve as loyal bases of Roman citizens in times of emergency. Gaius Gracchus was anxious to ensure that corn continued to be sold in Rome at subsidized prices, ensuring better public services

in Rome, and regulating army service. He was also eager to reduce the administrative decision-making ability of the Senate.

He proposed making all Latins and people from Latin states allied to Rome Roman citizens. This would, on the one hand, allow them the protection of Roman magistrates but would also make far more people eligible for land in the redistribution. His opponents were divided, and one, Gaius Fannius, whom Gaius Gracchus had supported as consul, rejected the ideas. Marcus Livius Drusus, on the other hand, suggested an even more radical policy involving the land in all colonies, almost in an attempt to "outbid" Gaius Gracchus. The bill to introduce these reforms was rejected, and Gaius Gracchus was not reelected. In 121 B.C.E. he and his key supporter Fulvius Flaccus decided to stage an armed insurrection, but the Senate issued a declaration of emergency powers. Flaccus was murdered, but Gaius Gracchus was able to escape with a trusted servant. As the two were cornered, Gaius Gracchus had his servant kill him, before his servant committed suicide. About 1,000 men who had supported him were arrested and executed, with their estates confiscated.

The deaths of Tiberius Gracchus and Gaius Gracchus were said to mark the start of the Roman revolution, during which the power of the Roman Republic's elite was challenged and finally ended.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Briscoe, J. "Supporters and Opponents of Tiberius Gracchus." *Journal of Roman Studies* (1974); Brunt, P. A. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1982; Liddell Hart, Basil. *A Greater Than Napoleon: Scipio Africanus*. London: Greenhill Books, 1992; Plutarch. *Makers of Rome*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1965; Richardson, Keith. *Daggers in the Forum: The Revolutionary Lives and Violent Deaths of the Gracchus Brothers*. London: Cassell, 1976.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Great Wall of China

Beginning in 324 B.C.E. three northern Chinese states with nomadic neighbors—Qin (Ch'in), Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen)—began to build defensive walls. After Qin unified China in 221 B.C.E. the first emperor ordered his most able general, MENG TIAN (MENG T'ien), to connect these existing walls and extend them to form

a unified system of defense. The result is the Great Wall of China.

For 10 years beginning in 221 B.C.E. Meng Tian commanded a force of 300,000 men (soldiers, convicts, and corvee laborers), who simultaneously campaigned against the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) and other nomads and built the wall. There is no detailed information about the project. The great historian SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'ien) wrote this account in *The Historical Records*: "He [Meng Tian]...built a Great Wall, constructing its defiles and passes in accordance with the configurations of the terrain. It started at Lin-t'ao and extended to Liao-tung, reaching a distance of more than a myriad *li*. After crossing the [Yellow] River, it wound northward, touching the Yang mountains."

Controversy remains over the length of the Qin wall. Sima Qian used the word *wan*, which translates as "ten thousand" or "myriad" in English; *myriad* was often used to designate a large but not precise number. Regardless of its precise length, the logistics for its building was daunting, far more so than building a pyramid, because the wall advances and so the supply line is always changing. Moreover, it extends over mountains and semideserts

where the local population was sparse and the weather inclement. A vast army of support personnel was also involved, and death among the workers must have been high. Legends that the bodies of the dead were used as wall fillers have proved untrue from excavations; however, they reflect the resentment the relentless demand for labor for the project created. Unlike the Ming wall built almost 2,000 years later of rocks and large fired bricks, the Qin wall was made of tamped earth from local materials. The completed wall stretched from Gansu (Kansu) in the west to north of Pyongyang in present-day North Korea. The building of the wall and earlier Qin defeat of the Xiongnu also had the unintended result of solidifying and unifying the various Xiongnu tribes under their leader MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) in 209 B.C.E.

The fall of Qin in 206 B.C.E. resulted in neglect in China's northern defenses and Xiongnu incursions, which the first Han emperor Gaozu (LIU BANG) was unable to check. After defeat by Maotun in a major battle in 200 B.C.E., Han and Xiongnu made peace under the Heqin (Ho-chin) Treaty, which made the Great Wall their boundary. Appeasement of the Xiongnu ended in 133 B.C.E. with major Han campaigns that ultimately broke



*The logistics behind building the Great Wall were daunting, as it extends over mountains and semideserts where the local population was sparse and the weather inclement. A vast number of support personnel was involved, and death among the workers must have been high.*

up the Xiongnu confederacy and led to Han expansion to the northwest. The Great Wall was extended across the Gansu Corridor to Yumenguan (Yu-men Kuan), with forts and frontier posts along the way. Military colonists guarded these posts, growing food, supplying provisions for government missions, and safeguarding horse stud farms for the cavalry. Many of the ruined Han forts and outposts remain to show the cost of the Pax Sinica that the Han created and that the Great Wall safeguarded.

See also QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY; HAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Geil, William E. *The Great Wall of China*. New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1909; Jagchid, Sechin, and Van Jay Symons. *Peace, War, and Trade Along the Great Wall, Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Lowe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires 2211 B.C.E.–220 C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Greek Church

As cultural and political differences emerged between the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, Christians also found themselves drifting away from a simple unity based on its primitive origins. When CONSTANTINE THE GREAT established a new capital on the European side of present-day Turkey in 325 C.E., it began a paradigm shift for citizens of the empire: The Roman Empire was no longer centered in Italy but in CONSTANTINOPLE. This realization began to dawn upon the Christians who were increasingly running the empire. Thus began a sense of the Greek Church, for Constantinople spoke Greek and reflected a different approach to running the empire than the Latin and imperial administration of Rome.

Nonetheless, it is better to locate the East-West split in Christianity in the latter half of the first millennium C.E. than the first half. The early church was primarily unaware of regionalization for the first five centuries. In fact, the Council of Chalcedon (451) organized the hundreds of bishoprics of the empire not by a Greek Church v. a LATIN CHURCH but simply by its recognition of historical prestige and dependency. There were five spheres of influence among early Christians and so five patriarchates: Rome, Constantinople, ALEXANDRIA, Antioch, and Jerusalem—and precisely in this order were they prioritized. Rome was always given pride of place among them, perhaps because it was the des-

tination for PAUL, the city of martyrdom for Peter, and the home of the caesars. Ironically enough, it was the church of Rome that always provided a defense of the “orthodox” position for Christians of the East in the early centuries of the faith.

There were always disputes among the bishops, but in the first half of the millennium Latin-speaking Rome and Greek-speaking Constantinople were not the disputants. The patriarch of Rome, called the pope because of his “papa” stature, had jurisdiction not only over the Latin-speaking Western Roman Empire but over parts of the Greek-speaking East, even over Greece itself. The Eastern Roman Empire had a collage of languages among its Christian citizens, including Coptic in Alexandria and Syriac in Antioch and Jerusalem. The emperors tried to impose unity among them all, but the ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES of the Middle East were considered inferior partners in the empire. This second-rate status eventually influenced them to form their own churches.

By the time of JUSTINIAN I, the word *orthodox* was used to describe correct (*orthos*) belief (*doxos*) in official church teaching on the doctrines of the Trinitarian nature of God and the divine nature of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in the face of heretical positions. It was not used to differentiate the Greek (Orthodox) Church from the Latin (Catholic) Church. This nuance of the Greek Church arose around the eighth or ninth century. An early challenge to unity between Rome and Constantinople occurred when John the Faster proclaimed himself as the “ecumenical patriarch” of Constantinople (582–595). This title may have been a challenge to the pope’s authority.

More significant for the prestige of both patriarchates were external factors like the Muslim invasions of Byzantine lands in the 600s C.E., and the consolidation of the Frankish tribes as the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (or Empire of the West) under Charlemagne.

The Greek Church always gave a special role to the emperor to mediate disputes and to summon councils for the sake of unity, an idea that modern historians call Caesaropapacy. The Latin Church, on the other hand, allowed its patriarch the pope to be more independent from secular authorities and to resolve disputes by himself. Other small and divergent practices were goads in the process: Greeks allowed married men to become priests; the Latins increasingly sought celibates as priests; Greeks took communion with leavened bread, the Latins with unleavened bread; Greeks celebrated the same religious feasts as the Latins, but according to a different calendar. Oftentimes the two churches worked out agreements of toleration for their differences, but two issues hastened the day of divorce.

First, the Byzantine emperor Leo banned the use of certain religious images, a policy called iconoclasm. While large numbers of Greek Church members opposed this decree, the pope summarily rejected it and was punished with the forfeiture of his lands in the Greek-speaking world to the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. Even when the Greek Church resoundingly repudiated iconoclasm in the Second Council of Nicaea (787 C.E.), the pope did not receive his lands back.

Second, the resolution of the iconoclastic controversy so invigorated the Greek Church that it began to expand its presence in the Slavic world. It sent out the great missionaries CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and Methodius to spread the faith in Bulgaria and Moravia. They greatly innovated religious customs of the church so that the Slavs could more easily accept Christianity. For example, they allowed the use of native languages in their religious services and writings instead of requiring traditional Greek, and they even concocted an alphabet that served this end. The pope refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch over these new mission fields. A compromise was worked out, but significant damage was done to the relationship between the two leaders.

With the tension already present for two centuries, it did not take much to cause the two churches to divide in an official and structural way in 1054. The issue in fact was quite minor: the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist by the Catholics mentioned above, tolerated for centuries, now was exacerbated into a gaping chasm. The patriarch and the pope mutually excommunicated each other. When Constantinople acted, its dependent mission lands sided with her; thus, the West found itself cut off from the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian churches, along with “Orthodox” Christians from Egypt and Syria. Now the Greek Church really became a separate institution, the Orthodox Church.

At first, most in the East and the West thought that the split would be temporary, just like other quarrels in the previous 300 years. The irreparability of the rupture, however, became apparent when crusaders invaded and sacked Constantinople in 1204 (called “the Rape of Constantinople”). The invaders stole cultural treasures, replaced Orthodox with Catholic bishops, and elevated a Latin bishop as the patriarch of Constantinople. Only Serbia and Bulgaria recognized this change in hierarchy, while the rest of the Orthodox world submitted to the Greek ecumenical patriarch in exile.

The bad blood spoiled any hope for reconciliation, though later efforts at the Council of Lyon (1274) and Council of Florence (1438–45) were made. As the Greek civilization weakened before the Muslim invaders, Or-

thodox and Catholic overtures were made to soften the mutual excommunications. But always the rank-and-file members objected and agreements collapsed. The prevailing bitterness was so poisonous that the Orthodox members preferred to live under the Muslims than submit to the Catholics.

Under the Ottoman Muslims the sultan imposed the ecumenical patriarch as the spokesperson for all the Orthodox Christians in their empire. Through the compartmentalization of the Christians, the Ottomans could keep control of the church and enforce their bureaucratic standards. The Greek Church was too independent to embrace such uniformity. As nationalism took hold in the Balkans and elsewhere, self-governing national Orthodox churches spun off, until finally the Ottomans were themselves expelled in the 20th century and the resentments of national Orthodox churches toward Constantinople were exposed.

Prophetic leadership for the Greek Church tended to come from its monastic base, especially from Mt. Athos. Top-down leadership rarely worked for the ecumenical patriarch in the same way as it did for the pope. Central directives were issued primarily through synods and councils. The monks brought a form of mysticism into the Greek Church that pervaded many of its devotions, theologies, and art forms. Monasteries had few institutionalized controls but functioned under spiritual masters known as abbots. In contrast, the Latin Church was influenced by the intellectual development of western Europe. It had to give logical explanations and rational tests for many of its doctrines, and monasteries were not given the central role in the spiritual guidance of the church. Neither pope nor bishop nor monastery was spared the pastoral reforms that wrenched the whole Latin Church in later centuries.

See also CONSTANTINOPLE; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

**Further reading:** Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Byzantine East & Latin West*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966; Ware, Kallistos. *The Orthodox Way*. London: Mowbray, 1979; Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church*. London: Penguin Books, 1993.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Greek city-states

The ancient Greeks revered the city-state, or POLIS, as something special, precious, and particularly their own.

The city-state distinguished their culture and provided a vehicle for their social and economic interactions. The great philosopher ARISTOTLE regarded it as the only suitable living arrangement. Moreover, the Greeks believed that the polis distinguished Hellenics from other peoples whom they thought barbarian. The polis was more than a city-state; it was also a place of gathering, conversation, political evolution, civic pride, and artistic achievement.

The roots of the polis lie in the aftermath of the Greek Dark Ages (1100–800 B.C.E.), which set in after the destruction of Mycenaean civilization. This time was referred to as the Homeric age, since it is thought that the events recounted in the *Iliad* took place then. By the end of the Dark Ages, migrations, particularly by a people referred to as the Dorians had changed the demographic landscape of Greece from the population of a large empire to lesser numbers of individuals living in smaller political units thanks to the creation of the polis. The Dorians came not as a mass migration but in small groups. Thus Greece became the home of the *polis* with many of them developing, large and small, throughout the country. In addition, the nature of the Greek countryside, rocky and divided by mountains, encouraged settlement in smaller numbers.

The polis usually included a fortress called the acropolis, on an elevation, and an agora, or market. The population lived in the houses and farms surrounding this area and could vary greatly in size. Some were large like Athens, Sparta, THEBES, and Corinth, while others were extremely small. All seemed to have a strong sense of identity and patriotism; each might have their own god or goddess. Some, like Sparta, became land powers, while others, like Athens, depended on their navy. In addition, it was common for city-states to establish colonies in such places as Italy, France, and even Russia. Political arrangements differed among the poleis and in many cases the form of government would change over time. At the outset many of them had kings and some continued in this manner.

Many city-states evolved from a monarchy, aristocracy, or oligarchy (the rule of the few) to a plutocracy (the rule of the wealthy), a tyranny (the rule of one), or a democracy (the rule of the people). In many poleis a sense of participation arose, but women, slaves, and resident aliens were excluded from the political process. The polis was also an artistic center. Two poleis stand out as examples of the various ways in which the city-state might develop. Sparta was the warrior society in which all institutions were dedicated to that end, and Athens was the open society, whose hallmark was the

freedom and individualism of its citizens. Sparta was the major power in the Peloponnese. It reduced the native population to state slavery (*helots*) and after a dangerous rebellion created a fortress state under the guidance of Lycurgus. Spartan male citizens were trained for war, taken away from their mothers and taught by the state. Given physical exercise and martial training, they were also taught to spy on the *helots* and report those who might be suspect. Though life in Sparta seemed harsh, their discipline and courage won the plaudits of many other Greeks.

Athens, on the other hand, set in Attica, with a fine harbor nearby, traveled in a different path. Having begun as a monarchy and transformed itself, largely thanks to its lawgiver SOLON, the Athenians had evolved into a democratic polis, in which all free Athenian male citizens could participate. Popular assembly ran both the government and the judicial system, and Athens became a thriving and creative polis. Its major leader in the fifth century B.C.E., PERICLES, spoke of Athens as the school of Hellas, emphasizing its intellectual and cultural dominance over the rest of Greece.

In many respects the fate of the Greek polis was closely connected to the relationship between these two rival cities. War against the Persians from 490 to 479 B.C.E. had been preceded by some bad feelings, but the actions of Athens and Sparta led the outnumbered Greeks to victory. In 490 B.C.E. the Athenians defeated the Persians at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, while the brave Spartans held the pass at Thermopylae in 480 B.C.E. long enough to slow down the Persians. Finally in at the Battle of Salamis, the Athenians destroyed the Persian fleet. However, the amity between the two poleis did not last.

Following the Persian wars the Athenians established a defensive alliance known as the Delian League with the ostensible purpose of protecting its members from future attacks. Athens controlled the treasury of the league on the island of Delos and began to use the money for its own purposes. In addition, member states were not allowed to opt out. Sparta responded by setting up its own alliance of poleis, known as the Peloponnesian League. The two defensive leagues fell into a disastrous conflict known as the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, beginning in 431 B.C.E. and ending in 404 B.C.E. Fought intermittently, the war caused great loss of life and destruction as Athens used naval strength against Sparta's military dominance. The ultimate result was the total defeat of Athens, described by Thucydides. It ended with a brutal Spartan-controlled tyranny in Athens, and that city's moral decline is seen in the trial and

execution of SOCRATES in 399 B.C.E. The fourth century B.C.E. began with Spartan supremacy, but this shifted to other cities such as Thebes and a recovered Athens. By 340 B.C.E., however, power shifted to Macedonia under PHILIP OF MACEDON and then, upon his death, to his son, ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; HOMERIC EPICS; MYCENAE; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Hansen, Mogens H. *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

MARC SCHWARZ

## Greek colonization

Starting in the eighth century B.C.E. the GREEK CITY-STATES planted colonies throughout the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Black Seas for the purpose of trade, acquisition of resources, and relief from population growth, famine, and drought. In the 700s B.C.E. the Greeks established colonies in Sicily, southern Italy, Egypt, and the Middle East. The colonies in Egypt and the Middle East extended trade routes to the major civilizations in those areas. In 700–600 B.C.E. Greece continued to found colonies in Sicily and Italy but also expanded into Thrace, the Hellespont, and Bosphorus along the Black Sea, and North Africa. During the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks moved farther into the western Mediterranean.

One of the primary causes for Greek colonization was food. As the population of a POLIS (city) grew, the polis experienced trouble growing enough food for the population because of a lack of land. The lack of food led to a willingness of the people to leave the city in search of land. In times of famine or drought people were also willing to leave the polis. The polis would also found colonies in areas where the colonist could trade for items that the polis needed. The mother polis would provide items such as pots, oil, tools, or weapons that the locals wanted, while the locals would provide wood, metals, and food in exchange. Colonists were also, at times, exiles from their polis. The majority of the colonists were males.

Initially, a Greek colony was made up of people from a single polis. Their loyalty and ties to the polis they came from were not necessarily very strong. Instead, the colonists had a stronger loyalty to the man who had led them to the site of the new colony. The leader was called

the *oikist*. The *oikist* was responsible for bringing fire from the original polis's hearth to the colony to show its connection to the founding polis. Upon founding of the colony, the *oikist* would be the leader of the city until his death. Before an expedition could set out for the chosen site, the *oikist* would visit the oracle at Delphi to see if the god Apollo approved of the new colony or not.

There were several criteria used to determine what would be a good site for the colony. The site needed to have fertile land that the colonist could use to grow food. The colony also needed a good anchorage and needed to be defensible. The area chosen for the colony might be uninhabited.

However, if there was a local population, the colony might choose to cohabit with the local population or conquer them by force. Once the colonists arrived at the site, they would make a sacrifice to the gods and say prayers over the site. A plan would then be created for distribution of land to the colonists and to determine the layout of the city. The plan also made provisions for future growth on the new polis. The new colony normally carried over the traditions, religion, and laws of its founding polis, and the two cities normally favored each other in trading.

The earliest colony has been dated at approximately 775 B.C.E. and was founded on the island of Pithecusae, which is about six miles off the Bay of Naples. It was founded to facilitate trade with the ETRUSCANS. In the 730s B.C.E. the Greeks started colonizing Sicily, including founding the city of SYRACUSE (by Corinth) in 734 B.C.E. At this time the Greeks were also busy colonizing the coast of southern Italy. This area, Sicily, and southern Italy would come to be called Magna Graecia (Big Greece). Among the colonies in this area was the only one founded by Sparta, Taras (later known as Tarentum) in 706 B.C.E.

Toward the end of the 700s and into the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks colonized the northern coast of the Aegean Sea in Thrace. This area offered timber, gold, silver, grain, and slaves for trade back to the Greek polis. During the 600s B.C.E. the Greeks colonized the Hellespont and Bosphorus area, including the colony of Byzantium (later to be known as CONSTANTINOPLE and Istanbul), which was founded c. 667 B.C.E. From here the Greeks began colonizing the Black Sea from the mid-seventh to the sixth century B.C.E. The Greek colonies tended to be on the west and north coasts of the Black Sea. These coasts provided a sheltered port for the colonies because of the rivers that emptied into the Black Sea. Among the colonies founded here was Odessus (modern-day Odessa in the Ukraine).

In Africa the Greek colony of Cyrene was founded in c. 630 B.C.E. The colony exported ox hides, grain, woolens, and the plant silphium. The Greeks founded colonies in the western Mediterranean, the first of which was Massalia (modern-day Marseille in southern France) in 600 B.C.E. Tin was a major export, as were iron, spices, slaves, and wheat. This was followed by several other poleis in southern France and eastern Spain during the 500s B.C.E. The Greeks built a trading post, named Al Mina, in Syria that they used to acquire copper and iron. They also established a trading post in Egypt, and Naucratis, during the seventh century B.C.E. The commodity they were most interested in was cereal, but they were also interested in papyrus, linen, and ivory. The Persians captured Naucratis in 525 B.C.E.

See also DELPHIC ORACLE; GREEK CHURCH; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Boardman, John, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, eds. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; Budin, Stephanie Lynn. *The Ancient Greeks: New Perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004; Camp, John, and Elizabeth Fisher. *The World of the Ancient Greeks*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002; Orrieux, Claude, and Pauline Schmitt Pantel. *A History of Ancient Greece*. Trans. by Janet Lloyd. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Greek drama

The Greeks invented drama from their wild religious ceremonies involving drinking, dancing, and revelry. This can be seen in the words that we use to describe drama today; for instance, *theater* originally meant “a spectacle or sight to behold,” which is related to the Ancient Greek word *thauma*, “a miracle.” This spectacle created by the Greeks involved and enveloped the entire population of a Greek town in secret rites honoring a god, usually Dionysus, whose followers carried phallic symbols, imbibed wine, and were transported to states of ecstasy. In Athens the theater building was considered a temple, and the god was believed to be present for the performances.

The Greeks used the word *orgy* to describe these rites, in accordance with the original sense of the word as described by the *Merriam Webster Dictionary*: “secret ceremonial rites held in honor of an ancient Greek or Roman

deity and usually characterized by ecstatic singing and dancing.” Nearly all of the parades, melodies, and mysteries seen or heard in modern times are connected to ancient Greece, where those terms were invented. A parody was a song, or ode, about something (*para*, “about”). A mystery was a secret religious ceremony. A melody was the tune sung by the chorus. Modern television shows, movies, plays, and many popular songs emerged out of these intense Greek religious rites. This is true whether the movie is a comedy, a tragedy, or a satire.

### ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION

The popular view is that Greek tragedy evolved out of jovial folk hymns to Dionysus, called dithyrambs, and that the other forms of drama evolved from this. Dithyrambs were composed as early as the seventh century B.C.E., and spread from Athens to many other GREEK CITY-STATES. A chorus of up to 50 people sang the dithyrambs, and competitions enlivened religious festivals. Dionysus is also known as Bacchus, the god who roamed the world followed by throngs of crazed women (called Bacchantes or Maenads, from whom we get the term *mania*). The god and his followers were often found drunk on grape wine, which was held sacred to Dionysus.

Originally, festivals honoring Dionysus took the form of choreographed dances performed by a chorus about an altar on an *orchestra*, or “dancing ground.” This evolved into performances designed to produce such a powerful rush of emotions that the entire audience achieved an intense communal emotional rush known as *catharsis*, which cleansed and revitalized the people. *Catharsis* became one of the hallmarks of performances of tragedy, a word that literally means “goat ode,” the goat being the symbol of Dionysus. In contrast, William Ridgeway claims that tragedy arose out of the worship of and communion with the dead. Since this communion was presided over by Dionysus as well, and since *tragedy* refers to a symbol of Dionysus, the worship of Dionysus was most likely integral to the inception and performance of tragedy.

The 12- to 50-member chorus, singing, dancing, and critiquing throughout the play, was a major distinguishing facet of Greek tragedy. The chorus was held by some to represent the will and opinions of the society, as if the populace itself were onstage with the chorus, commenting upon and making sense of the action. Many famous Greek dramatists were successful playwrights and actors and were responsible for major innovations in the form of tragedy. Thespian of Icaria in 534 B.C.E. separated the leader of the chorus from the rest of the group, to become Athens’s first actor,



The ruins of an ancient Greek amphitheater with a commanding mountain view. Greek drama greatly influenced theaters all over Europe throughout Roman times and during the Middle Ages.

reading the parts of several characters and wearing a different mask for each. Thus, we now call actors *thespians*, after the man who, for the first time, made a play that consisted of more than simply a chorus.

AESCHYLUS, a highly honored Greek playwright, added a second actor and stage decorations to his play, while giving costumes to the already masked actors and chorus. His tragedies, such as *Prometheus Bound*, *Agamemnon*, and *Seven against Thebes*, portray humans who are punished by cosmic forces for their misdeeds and failings. SOPHOCLES, another famous Greek author, added a third actor and in a groundbreaking move gave the actors more emphasis than the chorus. He also added three members to the chorus, bringing the total to 15.

Comedies and satires evolved from tragedy. The oldest known comedies were breaks between tragedies or between parts of a single tragedy, in which exaggerated

characters lampooned the tragedy in a spoof that closely followed the format, costumes, and masks of the tragedy. Soon entire comic plays arose. These are referred to as Old Comedy, referring to comedies performed in the period beginning with PERICLES' establishment of democracy c. 450 B.C.E. Old Comedy followed the strict format of tragedy and included the chorus.

Satire was a third type of Greek drama that bridged the gap between comedy and tragedy. *Satire*, a word coming from the satyrs sacred to Dionysus, is a term for a play that was performed to make fun of tragedy and lighten the impact of the tragedies the audience had just seen. The satyrs were odd and amusing creatures who made possible a unique sort of parody of the typical tragedy. The hairy, half-human satyrs had the hooved, short legs of a goat, together with the goat's short horns, and the tail and ears of a horse. The chorus of satyrs was

always known to be jovial, bawdy, rustic, and roguish in their humor. Clearly, the illustrious citizens characterized in tragedies should be above such company—which is why it was so amusing to place them in the midst of a carousing chorus of satyrs. In attempting to fit in with such a crowd, the famous characters had to suffer a certain loss of dignity, and thus, the satire made fun of the tragedy and perhaps also of itself.

Notable authors such as ARISTOPHANES ridiculed and satirized all aspects of the Greek society, particularly the famous, noble, and most upstanding citizens of their day, or even of revered, legendary figures. His *Clouds* lampooned the philosopher SOCRATES as a quarrelsome Sophist, and his *Wasps* attacked the Athenian courts and their proceedings. In satires the main characters were exaggerated buffoons, who spoke and performed every manner of nonsense. No aspect of society was sacred in these comedies, and often even the very gods were lampooned. No limits were placed on the extent to which the author could go to ridicule his subject.

### EXPERIENCING THE DRAMA

Greeks devoted two to four major religious holidays a year entirely to seeing plays—much as with modern three-day music festivals. Contests were held to determine the best tetralogy, or set of four plays. Each tetralogy consisted of three tragedies followed by a satire. Each such quartet was performed on a single day, and many would never be repeated during the playwright's lifetime. The festivals, called by such names as the Lesser Dionysia and the Greater Dionysia, were believed necessary to keep the cosmos in proper order, to enable the crops to grow, and the people to survive. Since the outlying villages held their own Dionysia on different days, it was possible to attend several such festivals during one season. These ceremonies were so important that their proper conduct was a major responsibility of the state, which selected the actors and the choruses—and charged wealthy citizens special taxes to defray the costs.

All of Athens attended plays; those who could not afford to attend were provided with ticket money by the state. Dwarfing any modern theater, the Dionysian Theater held the whole town—estimates range from 14,000 to upward of 20,000 people. As these people were all Athenians, they were likely more homogenous in their outlook than a modern crowd. Thus, the playwright could address plays very directly to his audience, making fun of individual Athenians, suggesting a course of action on current issues, referencing an inside joke, or even jokingly accusing someone in the audience of misconduct. The people watched plays from morning to

evening, still maintaining an appetite for the subsequent days' performances. With a single-minded audience in such rapt attention, leading tragic poets had an enormous opportunity to make an impact upon the people and upon the political process in towns such as Athens. They were thought of as teachers of the populace and bore an incredible responsibility for shaping the character of a powerful nation-state.

As these festivals were established at the urging of an oracle, all legal proceedings and business were put on hold. To disturb the proceedings, to strike the performers, or even to remove a person who had taken the wrong seat would be a crime that might well be punished with death. The theater was treated like a temple. The high priest of Dionysus was seated in the center of the front row. An altar of Dionysus stood in the orchestral dancing ground, and the audience was seated on stone benches on the hillside. Across the dancing ground was the *skene*, a building where the actors could change their costumes. Between the *skene* and the orchestra was the *proskenion*, which would later be called a stage. The chorus would parade in military formation up the *parodoi*, the entrance ramps leading to the *proskenion*.

Greek drama greatly influenced drama all over Europe throughout Roman times and during the Middle Ages. Many modern movies bear the influences of ancient Greek authors. Modern songs have choruses. Even if some of the religious implications have been dropped, the Greek influence remains.

See also ELEUSIS; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; MYSTERY CULTS; NEW COMEDY.

**Further reading:** Bates, Alfred, ed. *The Drama: Its History, Literature and Influence on Civilization*. London: Historical Publishing Company, 1906; *An Intermediate Greek English Lexicon, Founded upon Liddell and Scott*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; Peck, Harry Thurston. *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898; Ridgeway, William. *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non European Races*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915; Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.

JOSEPH R. GERBER

## Greek mythology and pantheon

Greek mythology developed out of the regional traditions and local cults that developed among ethnically

similar but culturally distinct groups. Traditions and deities waxed and waned in popularity across the history of ancient Greece.

Unlike many of their ancient contemporaries, the gods of the Greek pantheon were essentially human: shape-shifters capable of taking the forms of animals and natural phenomena, but otherwise human in appearance and attitude, as opposed to the animal-headed deities of the Near East.

*Mythology* is a Greek word coined to refer to the systematic ordering of myths performed by classical writers such as HESIOD. Local traditions continued to be followed in the forms both of ritual and of stories told. In the classical literary works the stories were unified and made largely consistent. But few Greeks would have known of any inconsistencies: If they believed his grandmother Gaia raised Zeus, they probably had not heard the versions of the myth that had him raised by a goat or the nymph Cynosura.

Perhaps because of those regional traditions, while different gods were associated with different aspects of life, the lines between them were sometimes fuzzy. Hyperion and Apollo were both gods of the Sun, while Helios was the personification of the Sun and Eos was the goddess of the dawn, functions that overlap and may indicate the coexistence of multiple preclassical sun god traditions.

Further, there were gods associated only with a particular site: a nymph with a particular cave, a minor god with a particular river, and gods such as Adonis who were worshipped only at specific times. Theogonies (of which Hesiod's is the most famous of the surviving texts) described the origins of the gods and were used in religious rituals and credited with supernatural powers. Singing a passage from a theogony could calm the sea, invoke the protection of the gods, or appease one's supernatural enemies.

In Hesiod's theogony the world begins with Chaos, and the first gods embodied basic concepts of early Earth: Uranus was the sky; Gaia, the earth; Pontos, the sea; and Aither, the light. Uranus and Gaia conceived 18 children: the 12 Titans—300-handed, 50-headed giants—and three Cyclopes.

When Uranus imprisoned some of her children, Gaia implored the Titans to kill him. Only Cronus agreed, castrating and killing his father. He grew paranoid and proceeded to eat his own children as they were born, to prevent them from doing to him as he had done to Uranus. With Gaia's help Cronus's wife Rhea hid Zeus from him, and the young god and future patriarch of the pantheon slayed his father, freeing his siblings from

the Titan's stomach. The gods of primary importance to the Greek pantheon were the 12 Olympians, children and grandchildren of the Titans. The exact makeup of these 12 has varied, with various stories picking two from among Hebe, Helios, Hestia, Demeter, Dionysus, Hades, and Persephone. Constant, though, were the other 10 that follow:

*Zeus*. The ruler of Mount Olympus and god of thunder and the sky. Zeus is the father of many figures from myth, famous for disguising himself to seduce some object of lust. Apollo, Ares, Artemis, and Hermes are his children, as are the heroes Perseus and Heracles. With Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, he conceived the Muses.

*Hera*. Zeus's sister and wife. The goddess of marriage was often upset with Zeus for his philandering. In one story she gives birth to Hephaestus by herself to spite her husband for his many children with others. Hera may have evolved from an early pre-Hellenic goddess.

*Aphrodite*. The goddess of love and beauty, born from the sea foam when Zeus threw his father's castrated member into the ocean. Often portrayed as vain, the love over which she presides is more properly lust. She is unfaithful to her husband Hephaestus.

*Apollo*. The god of music, poetry, and the Sun, Apollo was associated with numerous oracular sites, important to Greek culture and religious practice. He had both male and female lovers and sometimes pursued them as vigorously as his father had. Usually his wrath was reserved not for those who spurned him but those who stood between him and love: When Clytia, the sister of Leucothea whom he loved, betrayed them to her father, Apollo turned her into a sunflower, forced to follow the path of the Sun every day.

*Ares*. The god of war, one of the gods associated with foreigners. Homer describes him as a native of Thrace.

*Artemis*. The goddess of hunting, twin sister of Apollo. Though she was a goddess of chastity, she was also a goddess of fertility; though a virgin, she was the goddess of childbirth. She was also often associated with young people, teenagers, and preteens.

*Athena*. The daughter of Zeus and goddess of wisdom, crafts, war, and cunning. She was the patron goddess of Athens, born from Zeus's skull when he swallowed her pregnant mother.

*Hephaestus*. The god of the forge, Aphrodite's long-suffering husband and the most dim-witted of the gods.

*Hermes*. Maybe the best example of the multiple functions of some of the gods: Hermes was the god of

travel, commerce, speed, literature, athletes, thieves, liars, and standards of measure.

**Poseidon.** God of the sea, a sibling of Zeus. Well known for his wrath, he was also the god and cause of earthquakes.

The Olympians came to power after their war with the Titans and dwelled atop Mount Olympus, a real mountain, one of the highest in Europe at more than 9,000 feet.

Many narratives centered on heroes like Aeneas and Perseus, and on their unusual births, often beginning with a god falling in love with a mortal (and sometimes disguising themselves in order to seduce the mortal). Other stories tell the mythical origins of cultural artifacts, such as the theft of fire by Prometheus and Hermes' creation of the lyre. Above all other historical events, many myth stories revolved around the Trojan War. While the war was most likely fought, it is doubtful it took on such a scale as myth has ascribed to it, and as the myths grew, the story of the war moved further and further from reality. What was probably a simple battle of conquest became in Greek myth an epic struggle that begins with Eris's golden apple and proceeds to the judgment of Paris, his abduction of HELEN OF TROY, the deaths of Hector and Agamemnon, the fall of Troy, and the hero stories that became the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *AENEID*.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were Homer's main works, though Homer, a blind poet, may not have actually existed. The poems recount the end of the Trojan War and Odysseus's lengthy journey home in its aftermath. The Homeric hymns were also attributed to Homer in antiquity and use the same dactylic hexameter. They vary in length, another possible indication of multiple authorship, but each hymn focuses on one of the gods, singing his praises and telling his story.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HOMERIC EPICS.

**Further reading:** Burgess, Jonathan S. *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 2002; Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985; Lenardon, R., and M. Morford. *Classical Mythology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

BILL KTE'PI

## Greek oratory and rhetoric

Oratory and rhetoric were key components of Greek culture. The Hellenistic world was primarily an oral

culture—as was most of the world prior to the invention of the printing press—with public lectures and performances being the primary literary form of the time. The orator (*rhetor*) was a celebrated figure in the society, and rhetoric (*rhetorike*), the art of the spoken word, was a strongly valued element of the classical education, with the most highly educated receiving particularly strong rhetorical training. Before the fifth century B.C.E. rhetoric was not directly taught as a subject in itself; rather, students memorized important texts, usually poetry and especially the HOMERIC EPICS, which they would then perform at festivals. Stock phrases, proverbs, and maxims were memorized and employed when needed to make a speech more persuasive. Compositional and rhetorical skill was thus obtained by imitation of the features of classic texts rather than through direct instruction. This changed by the latter half of the fifth century B.C.E.—the dawn of SOPHISM.

The study of rhetoric as a subject can be attributed in part to the necessity created by the fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian judicial system, which required the prosecuting party and the defendant to give formal speeches arguing their cases. Well-organized and -executed speeches were more persuasive, a fact that led to the proliferation of handbooks of judicial rhetoric to give assistance to those preparing such speeches. Eventually, the system allowed a litigant to hire a speechwriter (famous speechwriters of this era include Lysias, DEMOSTHENES, and Antiphon) to write a speech that the litigant would then memorize and deliver before the court. The structure of Athenian democratic government, which was easily influenced by smooth-talking political leaders, also helped lead to the study of rhetoric, since it could be employed as a tool with which the citizens (and thus Athens itself) could be swayed.

It was at this time that the Sophists of the fifth century B.C.E. (such as Gorgias and Protagoras, who were immortalized by Plato's dialogues) came onto the scene, offering to teach argument and rhetoric to those willing to pay—often a great deal—for their services. The Sophists were a group of thinkers from all over the Greek world who, through their mastery of the spoken word, were regarded as masters of argument and debate. They emphasized that two contradictory arguments can be made about any given issue and that, at any given time, the weaker argument could be made the stronger, meaning that knowledge could never be absolute and debate should always remain open.

Sophists acquired a reputation for being able to effectively and persuasively argue both sides of any given issue—as Protagoras's *Antilogies* (Opposing statements)

and the late fifth-century B.C.E. *Dissoi Logoi* (Double arguments) show. Above all, Sophists were interested in eristic, the art of refutation and verbal conflict. Rhetorical contests were staged on occasion, such as on a feast day, with the audience enthralled by the skills of the best sophistic orators. Plato and ARISTOTLE took an antagonistic stance toward the Sophists, regarding them as deceivers more interested in verbal sleight of hand and debate than in truth or reason, a view that has more or less remained to this day.

The contributions of the Sophists to the art of oratory made an indelible mark on Hellenistic culture, as rhetoric as a skill in itself came to be emphasized and taught as a part of a standard education. After a child had learned to read and write (at seven or eight years old), he or she progressed to study with a *grammaticus* (grammarian). The handbook of Dionysius, *Thrax*, written in the early first century B.C.E. and used as a textbook for the next 15 centuries, outlines this training in literature, which focused on grammar and basic literary criticism. At around 12 to 14 years old, the student would then begin the study of rhetoric taught by a rhetorician.

Rhetorical instruction was made up of three fixed elements. The first two elements included the study of rhetorical theory and the study of models from prior literature (such as Homeric speeches, the dialogues of Plato, or the speeches of Demosthenes). After completion of the first two elements, the student progressed to declamation exercises in which, after listening to speeches by the rhetorician, the student would receive an assigned topic on which he would write, memorize, and perform a speech based on a fixed pattern for that type of speech and subject matter.

### SPEECH CATEGORIES

Types of speeches were commonly divided into three categories. The deliberative speech was concerned with a decision to be made about the future, usually in political context, such as whether a given law should be passed or whether a war should be waged. The judicial speech was a speech that argued concerning the truth about past events and was typically used in the courtroom. The epideictic speech was typically for show or entertainment and dealt with topics such as beauty, credit and blame, or praise. As democratic city-states were replaced by imperial rule, its overall importance faded somewhat, as did the importance of judicial oratory. On the other hand, epideictic speech became the most common exhibition of trained oratory, often being used to celebrate military victories or feast days. Deliberative oratory continued to have some function in

ambassadorial relations, military decisions, and management of local governments.

Rhetorical art was usually divided into five skills also called canons: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Invention involved the process of finding something to say; this skill was trained by learning conventional categories, *topoi* (common-places), which dealt with the main rhetorical possibilities for nearly any theme.

For example, for an *encomium* (speech of praise), a person's noble birth, parentage, noble deeds, education, friends, and courage (among other things) would be included among the possible *topoi*. This greatly aided the speechwriting process by giving concrete starting points for brainstorming.

Each speech was organized based on four elements. The *prooemium* (introduction), sometimes called the *proem*, is not only to introduce the issue at hand but also to stir the feelings of the audience or (in the case of a judicial speech) to dispel prejudice. The *diegesis* (narrative or statement of facts) tells the speaker's side of the story; the subjects involved should be characterized positively or negatively, depending on the goal of the speech. The *pistis* (proofs) section provides evidence for the case—by statement of fact, logical, ethical, or emotional appeals—in order to sway the audience. This section also included refutations of the opposing side's anticipated arguments; later orators (such as CICERO or Quintilian) sometimes considered this refutation a separate section (the *refutatio*) of the speech directly following the *pistis*. The final element of a speech is the *epilogos* (epilogue), in which the speaker reinforces his prior statements, attempts to reinforce a positive attitude in the audience toward himself and his argument, and closes with a forceful conclusion.

After a slow decline in importance as Greek democracy gave way to the Roman Empire, classical Greek rhetoric experienced a revival of sorts in the SECOND SOPHISTIC period of the mid-first through the mid-second centuries C.E. This in turn had a great impact on Christian literature and oratory, as can be seen in Luke-Acts or figures such as AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO or JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. As a result, the impact of Greek rhetoric continues today, with modern public speaking and literature heavily based on the principles of oratory produced in the Hellenistic Period.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA.

**Further reading:** Clark, Donald L. *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957; Kennedy, George A. *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994; ——. *Art of Persuasion in Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963; ——. *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003; Kerferd, G. B. *The Sophistic Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981; Murphy, James J., and Richard A. Katula. *A Synoptic History of Classical Rhetoric*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003; Pernot, Laurent. *Rhetoric in Antiquity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005; Poulakos, John. *Sophistical Rhetoric in Ancient Greece*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

JASON A. STAPLES

## Gregory the Great

(c. 540–604 C.E.) pope and saint

Gregory was born of a noble family that had already given the church two popes. A strong Christian upbringing and an excellent education in law prepared him for a future in both the civil and ecclesiastical realms. He was only 30 when his natural administrative abilities landed him the appointment of prefect of the city of Rome, a position bearing responsibility for the finances, food, and defense of the city. This was at a time when the invasion of the Lombards in other parts of Italy was causing a stream of refugees to descend on Rome. Gregory had only occupied this position for a short time when his father died, enabling Gregory to refocus the direction of his life and to respond to the grace of conversion, which he said he had long postponed.

He left public office and turned his family estate on the Caelian Hill into a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew. He also founded six monasteries on lands owned by his family in Sicily in order to provide for refugee monks who had to abandon their monasteries due to the invasions of the Lombards. As a monk at St. Andrew's, he applied himself to prayer, meditation on the sacred scriptures, and the study of the Latin Fathers. His initial enthusiasm for the ascetical life led to excessive fasting, producing stomach ailments that plagued Gregory the rest of his life.

Gregory was ordained a deacon by Pelagius II and sent to CONSTANTINOPLE as the pope's representative at the Byzantine court (579–586 C.E.). In Constantinople, Gregory continued to live an ascetic life in the company of monks he had brought with him from St. Andrew's. He also came into contact with the tradition of the East-

ern Fathers and with Eastern MONASTICISM and made important political and ecclesiastical contacts. At the suggestion of his monks, he began to give them a series of conferences of the book of JOB, which would become his longest work, the celebrated *Moralia*. Returning to Rome, Gregory continued to advise the pope, now as one of the famed seven deacons of the city. During a plague that devastated the city, Gregory threw himself into aiding the stricken populace, organizing penitential processions and raising the spirits of the city.

When Pelagius II succumbed to the plague, both the clergy and the people acclaimed Gregory pope. As the first monk to accede to the chair of Peter, Gregory's early letters as bishop of Rome testify to his struggle to reconcile an active life with his deepest desires for a life of contemplation. In reconciling these two vocations in his own life, he would insist on the need for every Christian, religious or lay, to practice the *vita mixta*, to balance the spiritual life with both works of charity and time for God alone. He would also draw on monks to help him in active ministries, either as bishops or as missionaries, as when he sent Augustine (future bishop of Canterbury) and 40 monks from St. Andrew's to Britain in 597 to bring the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. Pope Gregory's continual endeavors to help his people were complicated by the emperor's dilatory dealings with the barbarians.

In 594 an exasperated Gregory took matters into his own hands, which—while evoking the displeasure of the emperor—resulted in saving the city from the destruction threatened by Agilulf, the Lombard king. In the wake of the civil government's failure to take responsibility, the people would henceforth regard Gregory as their true leader and protector.

Gregory's writings include letters, homilies, commentaries on scripture, and works specifically directed to the clergy or to the laity. His works continue to be of great value for their teachings on morality, asceticism, and mysticism. Like AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, whose writings he knew well, he continually combines lofty doctrine with personal experience. A theme that permeates all his works is the desire for God, who alone can fulfill a person's interior emptiness. The desire results in interior peace, a peace coming from God, which means that the very desire for him is already a part of his peace.

A work designed for the common people is the *Dialogues*, a series of discussions with a certain Peter the deacon. They were written during a period of natural catastrophes and barbarian invasions and are meant to show that holiness—through examples of sixth-century saints—is possible even in their own chaotic times. The

second book of the *Dialogues* is totally given over to the life of BENEDICT and is the only ancient source for the life of this saint. For the clergy Gregory wrote his *Pastoral Care*, a work on the care of souls (the “art of arts” as he calls it) and is a guide for priests and bishops.

It places emphasis on the need for a pastor to be a man of virtue and discernment who teaches by word and example. Gregory always considered the cleric to be a man of service, as is evident in the title he used for himself: *servus servorum Dei* or “Servant of the servants of God,” which every bishop of Rome has since adopted. It is difficult to know what contribution, if any, the saint made to what are now called the Gregorian Sacrament (missal used at Mass) and Gregorian chant (church music in Latin), but the attributions are worthy tributes to Gregory’s endeavor to enhance the liturgy of his day. The Western church observance of his feast day is September 3.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; OSTROGOths AND LOMBARDS.

**Further reading:** Dudden, Frederick H. *Gregory the Great*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905; Markus, R. A. *Gregory the Great and His World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE

## Guangwu (Kuang-wu)

(5 B.C.E.–57 C.E.) ruler, political and military leader

Guangwu, or Guangwudi (Kuang-wu ti), restored the HAN DYNASTY for 200 more years after defeating the usurper WANG MANG. He was born in 5 B.C.E. A member of the Liu clan that had ruled China since 202 B.C.E. under the Han dynasty, his given name was Xiu (Hsiu).

His branch of the Liu family had escaped the persecution of Wang Mang (r. 9–23 C.E.), but in the aftermath of the RED EYEBROW REBELLION, and as Wang Mang’s power was collapsing, Guangwu had risen in revolt also and was proclaimed emperor in 25 C.E. Civil war continued until 36 C.E., before all rebels and other claimants to the throne were defeated.

Because CHANG’AN (Ch’ang-an) lay in ruins from the civil war, Guangwu established his capital in LUOYANG (LOYANG) to the east, which had been the capital of the Eastern ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (771–256 B.C.E.). It was also near to his home and power base. Thus, the reinstated Han dynasty became known as the Eastern Han

or Later Han (25–220 C.E.), as distinct from the former, Western Han that ruled from Chang’an (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.). Luoyang was a planned city of half a million residents with a huge city wall pierced by 12 gates, surrounded by a moat, and connected by canal to the east.

Guangwu devoted his reign to consolidation and reconstruction. He appointed his sons and supporters to key positions, took a land census, reduced taxes, and stabilized prices by buying surplus grain during years of abundant harvest for relief in years of want. As a result, the economy recovered.

A supporter of Confucian ideology, he built schools and enlarged the state university at Luoyang until it had 30,000 students under his successors. He also strengthened the examination system to recruit qualified officials. However, he sought to protect himself from powerful officials by relying on an inner secretariat whose staff was mainly drawn from the families of his consorts. The legacy of this practice, as during the Western Han dynasty, was power struggles and intrigues between members of different consort families during later reigns.

In foreign policy he reasserted Chinese power to its traditional borders, to Seoul in Korea in the northeast and to northern Vietnam in the south. His reign saw the beginning of emigration of Chinese from the northwestern borderlands southward to the Yangtze (Yangzi) River valley. He strengthened lines of defensive walls in the north to protect against the XIONGNU (Hsiung-nu). By a stroke of good fortune, dissension among the Xiongnu led the southern faction among them to surrender to China in 50 C.E.; they were allowed to settle in the Ordos region and in present-day northern Shanxi (Shansi) and part of Gansu (Kansu) Provinces.

Due perhaps to war weariness Guangwu made a mistake in not taking advantage of the northern Xiongnu’s weakness by launching an expedition to dislodge them from their stronghold. It was during his grandson’s reign that northern Xiongxin power was broken, and they were sent in flight westward, making China supreme in the eastern regions.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

**Further reading:** Bielenstein, Hans. *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*. 2 vols. Stockholm, Sweden: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1954, 1959; Twitchett, Denis, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 1, *The Ch’in and Han Empires*, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Gupta Empire

Northern India was reunified in 320 C.E. under the Gupta dynasty. For more than 200 years under the Guptas, India achieved great heights in culture and the arts. While Buddhism still prospered, popular Hinduism was emerging in a trend that persisted to modern times. Great temples were built, cave temples were excavated, and Sanskrit literature flourished.

Indian merchants and religious teachers traveled widely throughout Southeast Asia, where India's civilizing influence became deeply felt. Our documentary knowledge of the Gupta era comes from inscriptions on some columns and monuments, coins minted by various monarchs, and the writing of a Chinese monk, FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN).

India was politically fragmented and suffered from invasions after the fall of the MAURYAN EMPIRE in 184 B.C.E., and few historical documents survived. However, despite the disruptions, culture flourished. Greeks, Scythians, and Bactrians established states in the borderlands of the Indian subcontinent, as did the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a people who fled the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) on China's frontier to present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, where they established the KUSHAN EMPIRE. The Kushan Empire lay on the SILK ROAD that linked ancient cultures and assimilated Indian, Persian, and Greco-Roman artistic styles and produced great Buddhist works of art that influenced religious art in China and Japan.

In 320 C.E. a prince named Chandragupta (not related to the founder of the Mauryan dynasty) founded a new dynasty. He secured power in the Ganges Valley with a combination of war and a marriage alliance with a princess of an important clan and crowned himself King of Kings at PATALIPUTRA (now Patna, also capital of the Mauryan dynasty). His son and successor Samudragupta (r. 335–376 C.E.) warred to secure obedience of most regions of northern India and southward to the Deccan Plateau. His son was CHANDRAGUPTA II (r. 376–415 C.E.), whose reign was the high-water mark of the Gupta dynasty. His son, Kumaragupta I (r. 416–454 C.E.), was the last great ruler of the dynasty and had to deal with the first of another series of barbarian invaders, called the Huna in India, a Central Asian people known as the White Huns in the Byzantine Empire. They were among a great wave of Turko-Mongols who were invading Asia and Europe at the time. The first wave of Huna crossed the Hindu Kush to raid the plains of India, weakening Gupta power and shrinking its control over the provinces. Another wave of Huna invaders starting around 500 C.E. dealt the deathblow

to the Gupta Empire, which had entirely vanished by 550 C.E.

India prospered under the Guptas. Agriculture thrived, producing a large number of staple and cash crops. Many artisans, organized into guilds, practiced their crafts in the cities. The state derived revenue primarily from taxing farm products; it also taxed trade and owned all salt and mineral operations and some industrial enterprises. Commerce was mainly conducted in government-minted coins. The names of rulers on Gupta coins are useful in establishing the dates of their reigns.

With a flourishing economy, the Gupta monarchs lavished their support on Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religions. Religious art and architecture thrived, and the Hindu temple emerged as India's classic architectural form. Some temples were dedicated to a particular deity: Vishnu, Shiva, and the mother goddess being the most popular. The Gupta era was also the apogee of CAVE PAINTINGS and architecture. The cave temples dedicated to Hinduism and Buddhism at Ajanta and Ellora survive with sculptures and frescoes of religious and lay figures that reflect fashions of the Gupta court. Gupta bronze and stone sculptures are the finest of India and became models for artists throughout much of Southeast Asia, especially in Cambodia, Sumatra, and Java.

The Guptas were however less successful than the Mauryans in two important respects. Territorially, the Gupta Empire did not control southern India, nor did it control the crucial northwestern region, from which all early invaders entered India. Nor did it succeed in establishing a centralized system of government, as had the Mauryans. They had to be content with a feudal-type relationship with the regional rulers of their empire, except for the central Magadha region, which they ruled directly. Nevertheless, the early Gupta dynasty is important politically because it united much of India, which had been divided for more than five centuries since the fall of the Mauryan Empire. It is important culturally because it became India's classical age and established the standard in culture and the arts that later eras looked to for inspiration and emulation.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India, A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*. New York: Grove Press, 1954; Majumdar, R. C. *An Advanced History of India*. London: Macmillan, 1958; Mookerji, R. *The Gupta Empire*. Bombay, India: Hind Kitabs, 1959.

## gymnasium and athletics

The gymnasium and athletics were integral aspects of ancient Greek culture and society. The gymnasium provided a physical space where men gathered to exercise, participate in sports, and engage in intellectual discourse. The gymnasium and the closely associated palaestra also provided a place where athletes trained for competition in wrestling, boxing, pancratium, and track and field. Besides these athletic events, ancient Greeks also played several ball games, some at a competitive level, but not in the OLYMPIC GAMES. The best athletes in ancient Greece, who represented the city-states in the Olympic Games and other athletic events associated with major religious celebrations, were professionals supported by wealthy citizens. Praised and criticized by philosophers, athletics and athletes provided inspiration for artists, dramatists, poets, and sculptors. As Greece declined and Rome rose to dominate the Mediterranean, athletics evolved to meet the cultural and social needs of the Roman world until Christian rulers suppressed it the late fourth century C.E.

The word *gymnasium* means “exercise for which one strips”; Greek men exercised and competed in the nude. The earliest gymnasiums, founded in the late sixth century B.C.E., were partly shaded sandy areas where men disrobed, rubbed themselves in olive oil, sprinkled sand on the oil, and exercised. After exercising, they removed the sandy oil from their bodies with a curved brass trowel, known as a *strigil*, and then bathed in a clear water stream. At their height gymnasiums had evolved into elaborate buildings with clubrooms, lounges, altars, and storage rooms for lotions, olive oil, and athletic powders. Bathtubs and showers replaced the streams for washing after exercise and competition.

Attached to some gymnasiums was a palaestra, a smaller facility for specialized athletic instruction and training. Most palaestras, however, were separated from the gymnasium and were open only to professional athletes. A sanded field surrounded by a colonnaded court, the palaestra was used for instruction and practice in wrestling, in which most healthy men participated regularly and with great enthusiasm. The gymnasium and the palaestra assumed a central focus in the everyday lives of Greek males. Many men visited the gymnasiums to watch others train and compete, play board games, discuss the issues of the day, and listen to an orator. As informal educational facilities, they were important meeting places for the mixing of generations, debate, and the exchange of ideas. Gymnasiums each had their own character and tone; whereas one might have been a haven for left-wing

politics, another might have purported more conservative views. Others provided a refuge for male prostitutes, who profited from the subtle but tacit homosexuality that pervaded much of male Greek society. The largest gymnasiums, the Academia, the Lyceum, and the Cynosarges, were located in Athens. The Academia, the name of which endures to mean a place of higher learning, was the choice of Plato and his followers. On the other hand, ARISTOTLE preferred the Lyceum, which has survived, linguistically at least, in the French *lycée*.

Greeks participated in a variety of athletic events, including running, throwing, jumping, wrestling, and boxing; all of which were contested in the Olympic Games, one of four athletic competitions associated with periodic religious celebrations. Foremost among the running events was the *stade*, a race of approximately 656 feet (200 m), or the length of the stadium. Runners also contested the double *stade*, in which they sprinted to a pole at the end of the course, made a tight turn, and raced back to the starting line. Distance runners competed in a race of approximately 15,748 feet (4,800 m.), or 12 *stades*.

### DISCUS, JAVELIN, WRESTLING, AND BOXING

Throwing events included discus and the javelin. The discus began as a round flat stone before evolving into a bronze plate. The javelin measured six feet and had a small leather loop attached at the center of the shaft in which the athlete inserted two fingers. The athlete wound the loop around the javelin to create spin upon throwing it, maximizing its distance. The standing broad jump was performed with hand weights that the athlete swung back and forth to enhance the distance of the leap.

The discus throw, javelin throw, standing broad jump, *stade*, and wrestling combined to form the pentathlon, an Olympic event, in which the most versatile athletes competed. Aristotle described the athletes who participated in the pentathlon as “the most beautiful because they are fit for exercises for speed and for those of strength.”

Wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium, a combination of wrestling and boxing, were violent, brutal contests of strength and will. Only the largest, heavily muscled, and toughest men throughout Greece competed in these sports, which were bound by few rules, no time limits, no ring, and no weight limit. Wrestling, a truly freestyle contest, permitted all types of holds, mostly to the upper body, and tripping to bring the opponent to his knees. Although prohibited from biting each other and gouging each other eyes, wrestlers fought until one brought the other to his knees three times.

Wrestling, compared to boxing, was a mild event. Boxers bound their hands and wrists with heavy strips of leather, leaving only their fingers free. They combined blows to the head or neck with closed fists with open hand slapping to divert attention, cut the face, or close the eyes of the opposition. The bout lasted until one of the contenders was too exhausted to continue, knocked out, or raised his right hand to signal defeat.

### BALL GAMES

Although not included in the Olympic Games, ball games were popular forms of exercise and play among the Greeks. Homer observed that women, children, and old men played ball games. In Sparta, the city-state known for its taste for war, the terms for “ball player” and “youth” were synonymous. In some palaestras, a room known as the *sphairisteria* was set aside for a ball game similar to modern handball. Although the rules of this game are unknown, records indicate that it was competitive. Moreover, the Greeks played a form of field hockey, in which two opposing teams hit a small ball with curved sticks. One writer observed that the teams “strived to be the first to drive the ball to the opposite end of the ground from that allotted to them.” Another ball game, *episkyros*, involved two opposing sides throwing a ball back and forth “until one side drives the other back over the goal line.”

### PROFESSIONAL ATHLETICS

Greece’s best athletes, those who competed in the Olympic Games and similar athletic competitions, were professionals. Although they did not receive material rewards for their Olympic performances, wealthy patrons financed their favorite athlete’s training, travel, and livelihood. While the dominance of wealthy aristocrats in Greek sport gave the impression of amateurism, the emergence of lower and working-class athletes in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. supported by wealthy citizens exposed the professionalism inherent in Greek sport. The emergence of athletic guilds in the second century B.C.E. legitimized professionalism, as the organizations provided athletes with a mechanism for collective bargaining to achieve an equitable competitive environment. Through collective bargaining, athletes gained a voice in scheduling games, making travel arrangements, obtaining personal amenities, and securing old-age pensions in the form of working as trainers and managers.

Greek intellectuals praised athletics and exercise for preparing the body for the physical demands of life and forging the bond between the mind and body. Socrates said that the “body must bear its part in whatever men

do; and in all the services required from the body, it is of the utmost importance to have it in the best possible condition.” For Plato, a student of SOCRATES, himself once a wrestler, who competed in the Isthmian Games, the ideal was the body and the mind “duly harmonized” through athletics. In *The Republic*, Plato engaged Socrates in a dialogue, arguing that gymnastic exercise was the “twin sister” of the arts for “the improvement of the soul.” Philosophers like EURIPIDES criticized the athlete’s unyielding pursuit of glory through athletics and sport at the cost of maintaining lifelong health. “In their prime they made a brilliant spectacle as they go about and are the pride of the state; but when bitter old age comes upon them,” observed Euripides, “they become like old coats that have lost their resilience.”

The athlete provided Greek artists and sculptors a subject in whom they could express their regard for physical beauty, strength, and symmetry. While Myron’s fifth-century B.C.E. statue of the discus thrower, Discobolus, captured the physical ideal expressed by Plato, other sculptors and artists demonstrated the realism of athletics and sport. For example, Apollonius’s first-century B.C.E. bronze statue *The Boxer* not only displays the combatant’s beautifully proportioned muscular body but also the scarred face, gnarled hands, and broken nose common to the sport. Depictions of trim and finely proportioned runners painted on vases and cups were often juxtaposed against gaunt charioteers, grossly disproportional wrestlers, and pitifully plump gymnasts.

Similarly, dramatists and poets found inspiration in athletics. In *Electra*, Sophocles portrays Agamemnon’s son, Orestes, as a bold yet reckless charioteer competing in the Pythian Games at Delphi, who dies after being thrown from his chariot after losing control of it through a tight curve. In the following lines, the poet Pindar of Thebes celebrated the athlete’s pursuit of victory:

For if any man delights in expense and toil  
And sets in action high gifts shaped by the gods,  
And with him his destiny  
Plants the glory which he desires,  
Already he casts his anchor on the furthest edge  
of bliss,  
And the gods honor him.

At the height of Greek culture and society gymnasiums and athletics had spread throughout the entire Mediterranean region. Even as Greece declined in influence through the second century B.C.E., foreign cities and towns continued to build stadiums, hippodromes, gymnasiums,

and palaestras. Often gymnasium culture conflicted with local values, as in the case of Jerusalem, where Orthodox Jews were offended by the nudity practiced at a gymnasium built there in 174 B.C.E. Of all the Mediterranean cultures influenced by Greece, the ETRUSCANS on the Italian Peninsula were the most enthusiastic about Greek sports. Etruscans threw the discus and javelin, wrestled, boxed, ran footraces, and raced chariots, but in the context of preparing men for war. While the Etruscans graced their vases and urns with depictions of track and field athletes, they did not find their particular performances entertaining nor inspiring, and for that, they turned to gladiatorial contests and animal fights.

Although Greek sport persisted until the middle of the fifth century C.E., its influence and importance in Mediterranean culture and society had greatly diminished under Roman and Christian rule. By the middle of the second century B.C.E. Rome had conquered Greece as well as the entire eastern Mediterranean. Although the Romans continued the Greek athletic festivals, mainly as a way to unify the eastern and western portions of their empire, they found Greek sports too individualistic, too competitive, and too focused on the partici-

pant rather than the spectator. Like the Etruscans, the Romans preferred spectacles, such as circuses, animal fights, and gladiatorial combats, for their amusement. To describe these latter activities, the Romans used the Latin word, *ludi*, which meant a game in the sense of amusement or entertainment, as opposed to the Greek word, *agon*, which meant contest.

Although CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, the first Christian emperor of Rome, abolished the pagan religious celebrations associated with the Olympic Games and other such athletic events, Greek athletes persisted until final destruction of Olympia by two devastating earthquakes in 522 and 551 C.E.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Baker, William J. *Sports in the Western World*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988; Mandell, Richard C. *Sport: A Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984; Young, David C. *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*. Chicago: Ares, 1984.

ADAM R. HORNBUCKLE

# H



## **Hadrian**

(76–138 C.E.) *Roman emperor*

Hadrian ruled Rome from 117 to 138 C.E. as one of the “five good emperors.” He traveled frequently, secured and improved the administration of the empire, and was one of the ablest men of his time. His most well-known achievement outside Rome is Hadrian’s Wall, covering 73 miles of Rome’s northern frontier in Britain.

Hadrian was born January 24, 76 C.E., to a well-connected family. The future emperor TRAJAN was his father’s cousin and became 10-year-old Hadrian’s guardian when his father died. Hadrian rose quickly through the military ranks and held major offices. At age 24 he married a grandniece of Trajan, Sabina. Theirs was a childless and perhaps loveless match. Hadrian was legate and acting governor of Syria when Trajan died in 117.

His adoption by Trajan was announced, and the army accepted him as the new emperor under the name Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus. His reign began with the execution of four of Trajan’s high-ranking associates, which did not endear him to the Senate of Rome. Unlike previous emperors, Hadrian sought to secure his borders, not expand them, and to stabilize the empire. He is mainly remembered for his building projects, his administrative improvements, his concern for his armies, and his travels. Trusted representatives in Rome, and possibly a secret police force, allowed him to be absent from the capital for years.

Much information about Hadrian comes from a suspect source, the *Historia Augusta*, which is full of intentionally misleading information about the Roman emperors. However, he was undeniably a unique, eclectic, and often brilliant man. It is known that he spent half his reign traveling, mostly in the East, from inscriptions, commemorative coins, and contemporary accounts. Some of Hadrian’s poetry and bits of his autobiography survive.

Hadrian traveled through GAUL and Germany in 121 and commanded an oaken palisade to be built to secure the German frontier. In Britain the next year Hadrian observed the northern frontier separating Roman legions from the troublesome Pictish tribes. Hadrian ordered the wall and fortifications to be built. He then left to suppress revolts in Mauretania and Parthia and never returned to Britain or the western part of his empire. The wall was built with signal towers of about 20 sq. feet erected first, paced out regularly between castles placed every Roman mile, and then the wall was filled in between them. The original construction included a turf wall in parts, and the width of the stone wall varied from 7.5 to 9.5 feet.

The defense network of Hadrian’s Wall eventually comprised 158 towers, 80 mile-castles, and 16 forts that could house up to 800 men each. The stone wall measured up to 16 feet high—not including the breastworks. Wherever physically possible, a ditch ran along the north side of the wall, 9 feet deep and 30 feet wide. On the south side a *vallum* (rampart) made up of a ditch, with mounds of the



*Hadrian's Wall spans 73 miles on the Roman northern border in Britain and was built to separate Romans from barbarians.*

excavated material on either side, blocked access from the south and may have marked the military zone.

Other building projects completed by the emperor Hadrian included the Pantheon in Rome, started by Agrippa, and the temple to Olympian Zeus in Athens, begun six centuries earlier. Hadrian also designed his own villa and gardens in Tivoli; he founded cities and built harbors, aqueducts, temples, baths, GYMNASIUMS, and markets throughout the empire. Hadrian's attempts to build a temple to Zeus on the ruins of the Temple in Jerusalem and his outlawing of circumcision sparked a violent rebellion in Judaea in 132, led by Bar Kokhba.

Hadrian selected Antoninus Pius as his successor and persuaded Antoninus to adopt two further heirs, who did in fact corule Rome after Antoninus's death: Lucius Verus and MARCUS AURELIUS. Hadrian died on July 10, 138. By 155 the Roman frontier had fallen back to Hadrian's Wall and remained there until the late fourth or early fifth century, when the Roman army left Britain.

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS.

**Further reading:** Birley, Anthony R. *Hadrian, the Restless Emperor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Boatwright, Mary T. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000; Forde-Johnston, James. *Hadrian's Wall*. London: Michael Joseph, 1978; Speller, Elizabeth. *Following Hadrian*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Hagia Sophia

The cathedral church of CONSTANTINOPLE, built on the ruins of an earlier church, dates back to the fourth century C.E. *hagia sophia* in Greek means “holy wisdom,” referring to the holy wisdom of God, a theological concept much discussed in religious traditions. The original church was destroyed by fire in 532 during a massive riot against the government of Emperor JUSTINIAN I (527–565 C.E.). Justinian restored order and commanded the construction of Christendom’s then greatest church. The plan was designed by architects Anthemios of Tralles and Isidore of Miletos and took, according to one source, two teams of 5,000 workers five years to complete. The magnificence of the church was apparent upon its consecration in 537, when Justinian reportedly declared, “O SOLOMON [the legendary builder of the Temple in Jerusalem], I have outdone thee!”

The church is approximately 250 feet long, 230 feet wide, and sits beneath a dome 100 feet in diameter that reaches nearly 185 feet from the ground. The dome rests on four arches (themselves supported by four massive piers). Beneath the dome are openings that let light in, creating an appearance that the dome rests on air, held up by heaven itself. The dome’s design was extremely bold and suffered as a result, collapsing in 558. The dome was repaired but was susceptible to damage by earthquakes in subsequent centuries.

Hagia Sophia radiated Orthodox Byzantine power and wealth. Its interior mesmerized onlookers with the sparkle of a ceiling covered in gold, a sanctuary adorned by 40,000 pounds of silver, glowing mosaics, and decorative marble, all of which proclaimed the glory of Byzantium. For building this church, the memory of Emperor Justinian in the Byzantine mind was outdone only by that of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, who built Constantinople. A mosaic in the Hagia Sophia’s narthex depicts each emperor offering his monument to the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child. Constantinople and Hagia Sophia came to epitomize Byzantium for the next millennium of Byzantine history.

As the church of the Orthodox Patriarch, Hagia Sophia served as the liturgical center of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. It also played a central role in the empire’s political life as the location where the patriarch crowned each new emperor. It also played an essential part in imperial processions and the expression of Byzantine power to foreign ambassadors. The sight of the Hagia Sophia impressed visitors from Western Christendom, the Slavic lands, the Muslim world, and the various tribes of the north. When, in the 10th cen-

tury, for example, Russian visitors sent by Vladimir of Kiev visited Constantinople, the emperor sent them to behold the worship in the cathedral (expecting them to be impressed). In fact, they were so mesmerized by the experience, they declared that were uncertain whether they were in heaven or on earth. Vladimir and the Russians soon converted to Orthodox Christianity. The cathedral remained the great monument of Orthodox Byzantium until 1453, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople under Sultan Mehmet II. The sultan converted it into a mosque, adding minarets. When the Ottoman Empire ended in the early 20th century, Turkish ruler Kemal Atatürk converted the building into its present role, a museum.

See also GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PILGRIMAGE; WISDOM LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Browning, R. *Justinian and Theodora*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971; Maas, Michael, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Moorhead, J. *Justinian*. London: Longman, 1994.

MATTHEW HERBST

## Hammurabi

See BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD.

## Han dynasty

LIU BANG (LIU PANG), a commoner, founded the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), restoring unity, continuing the good reforms made by the QIN (Ch'in) DYNASTY, abolishing cruel Qin laws, and laying solid foundations that would sustain it for 400 years. The dynasty is divided into two segments: the Western Han (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.), with its capital city at CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), and Eastern Han (25–220 C.E.), with its capital city at LUOYANG (LOYANG), interrupted by the reign of WANG MANG, who usurped the throne and attempted to establish a new dynasty between 9 and 23 C.E. Han achievements set the standard for subsequent dynasties and are so admired to the present that about 95 percent of Chinese call themselves Han people.

### LIU BANG

The sudden death of the hated first emperor of the Qin in 209 B.C.E. inspired many revolts throughout China. Two men emerged—one was an aristocrat and brilliant

general named XIANG YU (HSIANG YU), who won every battle but lost the contest because of his arrogance and cruelty; the other was Liu Bang, whose generosity and humanity won him the throne. Liu is remembered by his posthumous title, Gaodi (Kao-ti), which means “high emperor,” or Gaozu (Kao-tsü), which means “high progenitor.” Gaozu (r. 202–195 B.C.E.) had two huge immediate tasks. One was to deal with the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), fierce nomads to the north, whose raids threatened Han security and who gave shelter to defectors from the new and unstable dynasty. Defeated by the Xiongnu's superior cavalry in 201 B.C.E. Gaozu made peace with them in the Heqin (Ho-ch'in) treaty, appeasing the Xiongnu by regularly giving them food, silk, and silver and periodically a princess as bride for the Xiongnu chief. The treaty was renewed for more than six decades.

Gaozu's second problem was domestic. The people were exhausted by war and ruined by high Qin taxes. He cut the land tax to one-fifteenth of the crop (later reduced to one-thirtieth) and instituted frugal spending policies that led to recovery and prosperity. He modified the organization of the empire that he had inherited from Qin by retaining the commanderies and counties in about half of the territory, while creating princedoms and feudal realms in the remaining half to reward his allies and in recognition of the power of some former feudal houses. The laissez-faire policy of Gaozu and his successors (they included his wife EMPRESS LU, who ruled as regent between 195 and her death in 180 B.C.E.) lasted for 60 years.

### EMPEROR WU

HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), the Martial Emperor, came to the throne in 141 B.C.E. at age 16 and ruled until 87 B.C.E. Bold and assertive, he was unwilling to appease the Xiongnu any longer, and his people agreed. Historians characterize his reign as epitomizing the Yang (male) model of aggressiveness, opposed to the Yin (female), or quiescent, model of his predecessors. Domestically Emperor Wu worked to reduce the lands and emasculate the powers of the princes and lords, effectively reducing them to impotence. He also confronted the power of the rich merchants who had amassed huge landed estates at the expense of independent farmers, avoided paying taxes, and charged usurious interests on loans. He enacted laws that taxed the merchants heavily, forbade them to own land, and nationalized the salt, liquor, and iron industries. He also established an “ever-normal granary” whereby the state regulated the supply and price of grain, ending merchant speculation in basic commodities. Wudi's domestic reforms were partly

to strengthen his hand in confronting the Xiongnu. He sent an envoy, ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'IEN), to seek allies in the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), also victims of the Xiongnu. After amazing adventures Zhang found the Yuezhi settled in modern Afghanistan.

Even though they refused the offered alliance, Zhang's journey opened Wudi's eyes to the possibilities of trade with Central Asia and beyond. Wudi's war against the Xiongnu began in 133 B.C.E. and continued on and off through the Han dynasty, until defeat forced some of the fragmented Xiongnu people to submit and others to flee westward. Chinese armies would campaign and subdue lands that are modern Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang (Sinkiang), while establishing protectorates among the oasis states throughout Central Asia. The GREAT WALL OF CHINA was extended. At the same time Wudi's armies subdued and annexed northern Korea and the Nanyue (Nan-yueh) state that stretched from modern Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwanghsia) Provinces in southern China to northern Vietnam. Chinese power established the Pax Sinica across the eastern part of the Eurasian continent at the same time that the Roman Empire enforced the PAX ROMANA in western Asia and much of Europe. International trade flourished as a result, with camel caravans carrying luxury goods along routes called the SILK ROAD by modern-day historians and ships that linked China to Southeast Asia, India, and Roman Middle East. In addition to trade the Silk Road was important in introducing Buddhism from India to China.

### CONFUCIANISM AND DAOISM

Gaozu banned LEGALISM as the governing principle of his empire but professed no political ideology. Confucian scholars flocked to serve him, and he employed them to teach his sons and draw up state ceremonies and rituals that dignified the government. Confucians also dominated education. It was Wudi who confirmed Confucianism as the official ideology of the dynasty and banned people who professed other philosophies from state service. Under the influence of a great Confucian scholar, Dong Chungshu (Tung Chung-shu; c. 179–104 B.C.E.), whose interpretation of Confucianism became state orthodoxy, he founded a state university whose curriculum was based on Confucianism and instituted examinations for aspiring officials that were based on the CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

By the mid-second century C.E. the university had more than 30,000 students. Confucianism would remain China's state ideology until the 20th century and, because of China's political and cultural dominance, would be

the guiding political philosophy of Korea, Vietnam, and Japan also. Han rulers and people were eclectic in their beliefs and practices, which included philosophical DAOISM (TAOISM) and religious or popular Daoism, which combined local religious cults and ancestor worship. Around the beginning of the Common Era, Buddhism entered northern China via the Silk Road and southern China by the sea route. It was initially an exotic foreign religion practiced by non-Chinese. Buddhism and popular Daoism borrowed vocabulary, religious rituals, and practices from each other.

### LITERATURE

In literature the Han dynasty was distinguished for great works of history. Two families produced towering historians who have been admired and emulated for the next 2,000 years. The first was the Sima (Ssu-ma) family that produced a father-son team Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an) and his more famous son SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEN), who held the title of grand astrologer in the court of Wudi. Together they wrote the monumental history of the Chinese world up to their time titled *Shiji (Shih-chi)*, or *Records of the Historian*. This 130-chapter tome is admired for its organization and style and became the model for later dynastic histories. The second family was surnamed Ban (Pan) and consisted of father BAN BIAO (PAN PIAO), who began writing the classic titled *Hanshu (Han-shu)*, or *Book of Han*, completed by his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku) and daughter Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao). His other son, Ban Chao (Pan Ch'ao), was a famous general and diplomat. These two historical works set the hallmark for historiography, which is one of the great contributions of Chinese civilization. The invention of paper during the Eastern Han would have important consequences in advancing intellectual activities.

### LIFE IN HAN CHINA

Han China had a large population for ancient times. The census in 1 C.E. had a registered population of 56 million people. Most lived in northern China, and most were freehold farmers living in families of five to six persons. Marriages were monogamous, except for rich and powerful men, who could have concubines. All able-bodied men served for one year in the army at age 23, then in the reserve until 56. They were also liable for corvée labor service on public works for one month a year. All adults also paid a poll tax. The government took an active part in agricultural development, sponsoring major irrigation projects, settling people on newly opened farmlands, and promoting the use of iron agricultural tools and new crops. Men tilled

the land, while women raised silkworms and spun silk cloths. The government also sponsored state industries in producing salt, iron, and silk textiles and financed large trading caravans; it also encouraged private enterprise, some employing thousands of workers. Bronze coinage replaced barter in trade. While strong earlier rulers in both Western and Eastern Han eras promoted independent small farmers, their weak successors allowed usury and exploitation by the rich, leading to the growth of large estates and the eviction of small farmers. Social and economic inequities led to peasant rebellions that contributed to the fall of both the Western and Eastern Han.

Women did not receive formal education, take examinations, or enter government service; however, wives, mothers, and grandmothers of emperors often played powerful roles in governing. It began with EMPRESS LU, wife of Gaozu, who totally dominated her son and grandsons as regent and contemplated establishing her own dynasty. Even the powerful Wudi could not control his consorts and their families. Empress dowagers in the latter part of both Western and Eastern Han often placed minors on the throne so they could rule. The usurper WANG MANG was the last of many of the Wang family to grasp power through his female relative the empress Wang. To escape their mothers and wives some emperors promoted their favorite eunuchs to power. Eunuch abuse of power was another contributing factor to the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 C.E.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIANISM AS A STATE IDEOLOGY; GREAT WALL OF CHINA; GUANGWU (KUANG-WU); MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN).

**Further reading:** Hinsch, B. *Women in Early Imperial China*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, Michele. *The Han Dynasty*. New York: Rizzoli, 1982; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.E.-220 C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Wang, Zhongshu. *Han Civilization*. Trans. by K. C. Chang, et al. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Hannibal

(247–183 B.C.E.) Carthaginian general

Between the years 264 and 146 B.C.E., the Romans and Carthaginians fought three wars known as the Punic

Wars that eventually led to the destruction of CARTHAGE. The First Punic War lasted from 264 until 241 B.C.E. and resulted in Carthage losing control of Sicily to the Romans. Hannibal Barca led the Carthaginian invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War, which ran from 219 to 202 B.C.E. At the Battle of Zama, in 202 B.C.E., Scipio (who gained the title Africanus because of his victory) defeated Hannibal. The Carthaginians sued for peace, which lasted until the Third Punic War from 149 to 146 B.C.E. The third war ended with the complete destruction of the city of Carthage and the enslavement of the population.

The First Punic War was fought for control of Sicily. At the start of the war the Carthaginians controlled most of Sicily. Carthage was interested in trade with other civilizations, and its power base was its fleet. Rome, on the other hand, did not have a fleet but had a very powerful army. Because of the difference in power bases, the two powers had coexisted easily with each other up until the time of the First Punic War. What brought about the war was a request by a group of men called the Mamertines, who had taken control of the town of Messana. They had been defeated by the Syracusans and then occupied by the Carthaginians, who did not want the Syracusans to occupy Messana. The Mamertines then requested Roman aid to get rid of the Carthaginians. The Romans decided to come to the aid of the Mamertines and in 264 B.C.E. moved troops to Sicily, which were able to gain control of Messana when the Carthaginian garrison withdrew from the town.

The Romans negotiated with the Syracusans and other towns in Sicily and convinced them to join the Romans in the war. Because of their fleet, the Carthaginians were able to keep control of many of the coastal cities. To finish the conquest of Sicily the Romans needed to build a fleet, and in 260 B.C.E. the Roman fleet took to the seas and began its campaign to drive the Carthaginians from the seas around Sicily. The Romans won several naval battles during the period from 260 to 256 B.C.E.

The Romans had decided to try a different strategy to invade Africa in an attempt to defeat the Carthaginians on their home territory and end the war. The Romans sailed from Messana toward Africa but were intercepted by the Carthaginian fleet. The Carthaginians were eventually overcome by Roman tactics and lost more than a third of their fleet, at which point they fled from the battle. The battle delayed the Roman invasion of Africa but only temporarily.

The invasion fleet reached Africa later that year and left the army to lay siege to Carthage. Calling for support to defend the city, Carthage received mercenaries



*Ancient tombs near Carthage, Tunisia. The Third Punic War resulted in Carthaginian casualties of 90 percent of the population.*

from the Greeks, including a Spartan general who in 256 B.C.E. led the Carthaginian army in an attack on the Roman army. The Roman army was routed, and the siege, lifted. The remains of the Roman army were evacuated later that year back to Rome. The focus of the war then returned to Sicily. From 254 until 243 B.C.E. the Romans and Carthaginians fought in Sicily with neither side being able to gain the upper hand in the fighting. Then in 243 B.C.E. the Romans, with a new fleet, were able to again defeat the Carthaginians at sea and stop the flow of supplies to Sicily. With the loss of supplies and support the Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar Barca (Hannibal's father), was forced to work out terms with the Romans.

Hannibal was born in 247 B.C.E. Hamilcar had been the commander of the Carthaginian troops in Sicily at the end of the war and spent the rest of his life trying to gain revenge on the Romans for the defeat. In 237 B.C.E. at a religious festival, Hamilcar had his son Hannibal take an oath to remember that the Romans were their sworn enemies. That same year Hannibal accompanied his father to Spain, where he stayed until his return to Carthage in 228 B.C.E., after his father's death, to finish his schooling. He returned to Spain in 224 B.C.E. to

command the cavalry forces for his brother-in-law until his brother-in-law died in 220 B.C.E. The army then voted Hannibal its new leader. Hannibal would prove to be an excellent strategist and tactician.

Hannibal's conquest of Spain eventually brought him into conflict with the Romans when he captured the town of Saguntum. In 218 B.C.E. Hannibal and his army left Spain and headed for Italy, where he would campaign for the next 15 years. Hannibal took his army, including war elephants, across the Alps and into Italy. His army was not large enough to capture and occupy the cities in Italy, so Hannibal tried to break up the Roman confederation, which would reduce Rome's power and allow Carthage to win the war. In 218 B.C.E. Hannibal defeated a Roman army near the Trebia River where it flowed into the Po River. With this victory most of Cisalpine GAUL sided with Hannibal. The following spring he moved south, and Hannibal was able to lure the Roman army into a trap, where his army killed 15,000 of the 21,000 Roman soldiers.

Hannibal continued to pillage and burn the Italian countryside but could not take the city of Rome, nor would the Romans give up. A victory at Cannae was Hannibal's high point. He continued to campaign in Italy over the next 11 years, but the Romans slowly gained the upper hand against the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians tried to expand the war, and an army was sent to Sardinia but due to bad weather was delayed and arrived after the Romans, who defeated them. Hannibal was also able to convince PHILIP OF MACEDON to attack the Romans in Illyria. The Romans gathered a number of allies in Greece, which allowed them to hold Philip in check. During 216 to 205 B.C.E. Hannibal found himself more and more tied to protecting the cities of the Roman provinces that had sided with him. In 204 B.C.E. the Romans took the war to Africa by sending an army under the command of Scipio Africanus, attempting to end the war.

With the Roman invasion of Africa, Hannibal was recalled from Italy to command the army that was protecting Carthage. The years of war had finally worn down the Carthaginian army, and it was routed from the battlefield by the Romans. Having lost the battle, the Carthaginians were in no shape to continue the war and made peace with the Romans. Hannibal helped to rebuild Carthage after the war, which irritated the Romans, who forced him into exile in 196 B.C.E. The Romans continued to pursue Hannibal, and in 183 B.C.E., he committed suicide.

The final war, the Third Punic War, was fought from 149 to 146 B.C.E. The Romans insisted that the

Carthaginians abandon their city, which they refused to do. When the siege was completed and the city was captured in 146 B.C.E., 90 percent of the population was dead. The remainder were sold into slavery, and the city of Carthage was destroyed.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SYRACUSE.

**Further reading:** Bagnall, Nigel. *The Punic Wars, 263–146 BC*. New York: Routledge, 2003; Dupuy, R. Ernest, and Trevor N. Dupuy. *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military History, from 3500 B.C. to the Present*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993; Dupuy, Trevor N., Curt Johnson, and David L. Bongard. *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992; Goldsworthy, Adrian. *The Punic Wars*. London: Cassell and Co., 2000; Lancel, Serge. *Hannibal*. Translated by Antonia Nevill. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998; Scullard, H. H. *A History of the Roman World, 753 to 146 BC*. London: Routledge, 2003.

DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Han Wudi (Han Wu-ti)

(125–187 B.C.E.) Chinese emperor

Han Wudi reigned between 141 and 187 B.C.E., the longest in Chinese history until the 18th century. He undertook many domestic reforms that changed the course of Han history and for subsequent eras. His foreign policy and wars resulted in Chinese expansion to unprecedented heights and opened up international trade and contacts between China and the rest of the ancient Eurasian world. For these accomplishments he was called Wudi, *wu* meaning “martial” and *di* meaning “emperor.”

In 141 B.C.E. a young man of 16 years old ascended the Chinese throne upon the death of his father Emperor or Jing (Ching). The event inaugurated an era of active government at home and expansion abroad. Until his reign the Han government had focused on light taxes and laissez-faire domestic policies to promote economic growth. Its foreign policy was based on appeasing the fierce nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) in the north through Heqing (Ho-ch'ing) treaties whereby the Han regularly gave the Xiongnu large quantities of silver, silk, and food in return for peace. Appeasement, however, did not end Xiongnu raids.

### WARS AND EXPANSION

After 135 B.C.E. China would take the offensive. With a large population, ample resources, and a brimming

treasury Wudi initiated all-out war against the Xiongnu. It was preceded by dispatching an emissary named ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'IEN) westward to find and form an alliance with the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a nomadic group that had been worsted by the Xiongnu earlier and had fled to find a new home. Zhang failed to recruit the Yuezhi when he finally found them settled in modern Afghanistan, but the report of his travels motivated the emperor to pursue expansion into Central Asia for allies and trade.

Emperor Wu never personally campaigned but was served by talented and ambitious generals, some of whom were related to his empresses or consorts. For example, Generals Wei Qing (Wei Ch'ing) and Huo Qubing (Huo Ch'u-ping) were related to two of his empresses, and Li Guangli (Li Kuang-li) was the brother of a favorite consort. All three earned fame in defeating the Xiongnu. In 127 B.C.E. Chinese forces retook lands south of the Yellow River; it was followed by several large expeditions resulting in the surrender of one Xiongnu king with a large number of his tribesmen.

Commanderies and dependent states were established in the conquered areas, Chinese colonists were settled on some of the land, and tribal people were brought under Chinese authority. Major campaigns against the Xiongnu came to a halt in 117 B.C.E. In 112 B.C.E. Han generals crushed another tribal group called the Qiang (Ch'iang), proto-Tibetans and allies of the Xiongnu in the northwest. In 111 B.C.E. Wudi presided over a victory parade north of the GREAT WALL OF CHINA in which 12 generals and 180,000 cavalry troops took part. He lavishly rewarded victorious officers and men and punished generals who failed.

The Great Wall was expanded to the Jade Gate in the northwest, and garrisons were stationed along strategic points to deal with sudden raids, to prevent Chinese deserters from joining the Xiongnu, and to protect trade along the newly opened up SILK ROAD. These measures ended the Xiongnu stranglehold on Chinese trade with lands to the west. Chinese power focused on maintaining friendly relations with tribes and oasis states across Central Asia that were hostile to the Xiongnu, enrolling them as vassal states. Rulers of vassal states sent tribute and their sons to China for education (and as hostages).

They received in return lavish gifts and trade privileges and occasionally a Han princess in marriage. Trade flourished between China, India, Central Asia, Persia, and Rome. But the Xiongnu menace did not end, and more large campaigns were launched during and after Wudi's reign. One, for example, led by General Li Guangli reached as far as Ferghana in Central Asia in 104 B.C.E.

Wudi's generals also campaigned in the South, Southwest, and Korea. The major obstacles to expansion to the south were terrain and climate. Between 112 and 111 B.C.E. Han forces totaling 100,000 men subdued the Nanyue (Nan-yueh) along the southern coast to the Red River valley. Other armies subdued aboriginal peoples in Yunnan, Sichuan (Szechwan), and Hainan Island. The lands annexed as a result formed nine commanderies across modern Guangdong (Kuangtung), Guangxi (Kuanghsia), Yunnan, Sichuan, and Hainan Provinces, and northern Vietnam. In 109 B.C.E. a 50,000-man army marched to Korea, conquering the northern part of the peninsula, adding four more commanderies. The campaigns expanded the empire and made it more secure, but at a huge human and financial cost. The treasury was emptied, resulting in new taxes and state monopolies over iron, salt, and liquor to raise revenue. These measures led to widespread discontent.

### DOMESTIC POLICY

Wudi's reign was also important for other achievements. He systematized the recruitment of civil servants based on examinations and established a state university to train candidates. Their curriculum was based on the philosophy of CONFUCIUS under standardized interpretation. He also created many commanderies under direct central government control and dramatically reduced the land under the feudal princes and lords and their power. He also established vassal states and dependencies in areas with tribal (non-Chinese populations) that became standard practice for subsequent Chinese government's dealings with frontier peoples. He adopted rituals and ceremonies of state that also became standard for subsequent dynasties. Wudi took an active role in measures to control floods along the Yellow River, supervised the settlement of people in conquered lands, and sponsored large caravans for trade with western lands.

### DYNASTIC CRISES

Ironically, Wudi's inability to control his wives and consorts led to dynastic crises. His first wife, Empress Chen (Ch'en), had no son, and their daughter was found practicing witchcraft against her father, leading to Empress Chen's demotion. Several of his consorts were also later accused of practicing witchcraft that led to witch hunts, trials, and executions. In a superstitious age witchcraft was a feared crime.

His second wife, Empress Wei (her brothers were powerful generals) and her son, the crown prince, staged a coup against him in 91 B.C.E. that led to fighting between the Wei family and the Li family, rela-

tives of a powerful consort. It failed, and the empress and crown prince were forced to commit suicide. In 87 B.C.E., when gravely ill, he appointed an eight-year-old son by a consort named Lady Zhao (Chao) crown prince because she had no powerful relatives. She soon died, rumored murdered. The personality of Wudi remains an enigma. Despite some personal and policy failings, he is one of the most powerful monarchs in Chinese history.

See also HAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Gale, Esson M., trans. *Discourse on Salt and Iron: A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1931; Kierman, Frank A., and John K. Fairbank, eds. *Chinese Ways in Warfare*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971; Loewe, Michael. *Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 B.C. to A.D. 9*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

### Helena

(c. 255–c. 330 C.E.) ruler, saint, emperor's mother

Helena was the mother of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. She was born of humble estate at Drepanum in Bithynia. According to Ambrose, the early church bishop, she was a simple innkeeper. She married Constantius Chlorus, a soldier, by whom she bore Constantine (c. 274 C.E.). Later, Constantius divorced Helena in order to enter into a more politically advantageous marriage. The son, however, did not forget his mother, and when Constantine became emperor in 306 C.E., he had her raised to a place of honor, which culminated in the title of Augusta (emperor's mother). Constantine also renamed the place of her birth Helenopolis in her honor.

According to the early church historian EUSEBIUS, Helena's conversion to Christianity was due to the influence of her son; but Theodoret's more credible account is that the mother nurtured in her son openness to the faith. Nonetheless, she bore religious stature and sanctity in her own right and had remarkable influence on her son. Constantine had his second wife, Fausta, and their son Crispus executed. His mother had acted not in support of her daughter-in-law but rather had been involved in bringing about her downfall.

Helena took to the Christian faith with zeal, as is testified by her piety, her generosity to the poor, and her devotion to the sacred places of PILGRIMAGE in Palestine, revered by early Christians as the Holy Land. In 326, Helena, well into her 70s, went on pilgrimage there. She stayed in Palestine for some time, exercising her right to the imperial treasury by having two major basilicas built in great splendor, one in Bethlehem (Church of the Nativity) and one on the Mount of Olives (Church of the Ascension). At the same time, her son was having the Church of the Holy Sepulcher built over the sites of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH's death and resurrection. Her collaboration with her son caused church architecture to create a Christian landscape throughout the empire, in the Holy Land, Rome, and CONSTANTINOPLE.

The discovery of the "True Cross" (thought to be that upon which Jesus died) is attested to by CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and EGERIA, but the tradition that sprang up at the end of the fourth century C.E. (mentioned by AMBROSE, Sulpicius Severus, and Rufinus) that Helena had discovered the True Cross and that it was identified by a miracle seems likely to be an embellishment, given Eusebius and Cyril's silence on this point. She supposedly had this precious relic deposited in Rome at the Church of Santa Croce, which she built especially for this purpose. Her renown, however, rests firmly on the facts that she was a woman of immense power and wealth who spent the latter part of her life in acts of Christian charity. Her close identification with her son, Constantine, set the model for the role of the Christian Augusta for subsequent centuries. Her feast is celebrated on August 18 in the LATIN CHURCH calendar and on May 21 (along with her son) in the GREEK CHURCH calendar.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY.

**Further reading:** Thiede, Carsten Peter, and Matthew d'Ancona. *The Quest for the True Cross*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

GERTRUDE GILLETTE AND CORNELIA HORN

## Helen of Troy

According to the *Iliad*, the abduction of Helen, wife of the king of Sparta, sparked the 10-year-long Trojan War. Helen is thought to have been born around 1225 B.C.E. According to Homer, who is credited as author of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Helen's father was the god Zeus, and her mother was Nemesis, a goddess who fled

Zeus by changing into a goose. Zeus became a swan so that he could mate with her.

The resultant egg, containing Helen, was found by a shepherd who brought it to the king and queen of Sparta, Tyndareus and Leda. Another legend names Leda as Helen's mother, seduced by Zeus in his swan guise. Leda laid two eggs, one with Helen and her brother Polydeuces, and a second containing Clytemnestra and Castor. Helen's brothers and protectors are collectively known as the Dioscuri. When Helen was kidnapped, the Dioscuri raised an army and retrieved her. They died before the Trojan War commenced.

Helen's sister Clytemnestra had married twice by the time Helen returned to Sparta; her second husband, Agamemnon, had murdered her first husband. Legends recount that between 29 and 99 suitors from all parts of Greece came to court Helen, including Odysseus, Ajax, Ajax the Greater, and Patroclus—all of whom would play roles in the Trojan War. Tyndareus, Helen's human father, made the men swear to defend the chosen bridegroom, then selected Menelaus, Agamemnon's brother, as Helen's husband. During the first nine years of their marriage Helen had at least one child and possibly as many as five. As Tyndareus's sons had died, Menelaus eventually became king of Sparta.

In a separate series of events, the goddess Aphrodite promised Paris, prince of TROY, that he should possess the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris arrived in Sparta, and—while Menelaus was attending his grandfather's funeral—Paris took Helen, her personal slaves, and a great deal of treasure and set sail for Troy.

Menelaus led an embassy to Troy demanding Helen's return. When that failed, he reminded the many suitors of their oath. Armies were raised, and the Trojan War began. Various authors described amours between Helen and Achilles, or Priam's other sons during the long war. Most agree that when Paris was killed, two of his brothers fought over Helen. Deiphobus won and married her.

After 10 years of war, Troy was burned and sacked. In some tales Helen helped the Greeks storm Troy by giving the signal to the army outside, but in the *Odyssey* Homer says that she taunted the men hiding in the Trojan horse by imitating their wives' voices. Menelaus killed Deiphobus and rushed at Helen, determined to kill her as well but once again fell under the spell of her beauty. Anxious to set sail and bring his newly recovered wife home, Menelaus neglected to make proper offerings to Athena.

The offended goddess caused Menelaus and Helen to be driven off course for eight years. Although Euripides says that Helen was carried away by Apollo to become

immortal, and other legends describe her suicide or murder, most authors return Helen to Sparta and a life of quiet prayer, weaving, and virtue.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HOMERIC EPICS.

**Further reading:** Bell, Robert E. *Women of Classical Mythology*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1991; Homer. *The Iliad*. Edited. by A. T. Murray and W. F. Wyatt. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999; ———. *The Odyssey*. Edited by E. McCrorie and R. P. Martin. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004; Hughes, Bettany. *Helen of Troy: Goddess, Princess, Whore*. New York: A. Knopf, 2005; Thomas, Carol G., and Craig Conant. *The Trojan War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Hellenistic art

The Hellenistic Period of Greek art lasted from the fourth century B.C.E. to approximately the time of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, a period of more than 300 years. Unlike earlier Greek art, which consisted predominantly of art of Greece itself, Hellenistic art was more diverse culturally and geographically. Because Hellenistic art arose after the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, it also included art from the Greek-influenced regions of Alexander's empire. Hellenic Greece consisted of the mainland and nearby Aegean Sea islands, Ionia (the western coast of Turkey), southern Italy, and Sicily (Magna Graecia) and, by the dawn of the Hellenistic Period, also Egypt, Syria, and other lands of the Near East. Greek culture had its origins in MYCENAE. Mycenae established a painted pottery that persisted into later Greek art. Mycenaean civilization could not withstand the disruptions of the Trojan War. After a period of civil war and invasion Mycenae collapsed around 1100 B.C.E. The Greek cities entered the Greek Dark Ages (1100–750 B.C.E.), characterized by population decline, impoverishment, and isolation.

### PRECEDING PERIODS

Not all was bleak during the Greek Dark Ages. During this period Doriens spread through the peninsula, and Greeks settled Ionia. Around 800 B.C.E. the revival that would culminate in Hellenic art began. Athenian artisans created protogeometric pottery with abstract designs, being in its precision of detail a precursor of later Greek art. The Archaic Period followed and lasted

until around 480 B.C.E. Artists came increasingly under the influence of outside ideas and styles.

By the sixth century B.C.E. Greek art included vase painting that was unsurpassed artistically and technically. The human figure reappeared in Greek art after the Dark Ages and initially was highly abstract. Greeks invented life-sized, freestanding stone sculptures of humans. There was an Egyptian influence, but the Greeks wanted an accurate depiction; however, they conflated accuracy with perfection or ideal representation, making the statues larger than life. The mastery of the human form was matched by a mastery of the technique of imparting the impression of motion in a static object. These developments lasted from the Hellenic through the Hellenistic Periods. After the fifth-century B.C.E. Persian wars, Athens established an empire and spent the century in rivalry with Sparta. Midway through the fifth century B.C.E., the Classical Period began. Greece's classical age lasted 480–338 B.C.E. This is the period between the onset of conflict with Persia and the conquest of Greece by PHILIP OF MACEDON and his son, Alexander.

Greek artists had mastered representation of the human body in sculpture, with figures both at rest and in action reflecting calm and ordered beauty and achieving near godlike perfection. Greek painting of the age no longer exists, but ancient writers extolled it. Vase decorations hint at the mastery of form and line that characterized Greek sculpture. Greek art established the basic themes, forms, and attitudes of Western culture: mimesis (imitation of nature), the nude human figure (man is the measure of all things, or humanism), architectural structural elements, decorative motifs, and types of buildings. With the Persian conquest the classical age ended. In its stead arose the Hellenistic Period. Alexander extended his father's empire into Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and India from 334 to 323 B.C.E. His death in 323 B.C.E. is the traditional date used as the demarcation between Hellenic and Hellenistic art, the former the art of the Greeks, the latter the art of the Greek speakers of whatever ethnicity. Another differentiation is that Hellenic Greece was a time of city-states, while the Hellenistic era was a time of monarchies of larger size.

### HELLENISTIC ART

Alexander's empire broke apart on his death, with several Hellenistic (Greek-like) kingdoms appearing. The great art centers of the mainland gave way to cities on islands such as Rhodes or in the eastern Mediterranean (ALEXANDRIA, Antioch, and Pergamum). Sculpture had tendencies toward classicism, rococo, and baroque—in other words, no clear direction or restriction. Art glo-

rified the gods and great athletes, but it also served to decorate the homes of the newly rich. Heroic portraits and massive groups were popular, but so were humble themes and portrayals of human beings in all walks and stages of life—even caricature became popular. From architecture came an awareness of space that added landscapes and interiors to sculpture and painting.

Whereas Hellenic art was restrained and attempted to show the perfect and the universal, Hellenistic art was preoccupied with the particular rather than the universal. Patrons and artists alike preferred individuality, novelty (including ethnicity and ugliness), and artistic inventiveness. Hellenistic art built on the classical concepts, but became more dramatic, with sweeping lines and strong contrasts of light, shadow, and emotion. Idealism gave way to naturalism, the culmination of the works of fourth-century B.C.E. sculptors Lysippos, Skopas, and Praxiteles, all of whom emphasized realistic expression of the human figure. Greatness and humility, characteristic of the Charioteer of Delphi, gave way to bold expression during tense moments, typified by the Boy Jockey.

Unlike Hellenic art, sculptures showed extreme emotion: pain, stress, anger, despair, or fear, but depiction of the outward subject was insufficient for many Hellenistic sculptors. Posture and physical characteristics were used to show thoughts, feelings, and attitudes. Hygeia, of which only the head remains, is a statue that reflects the Hellenistic style. Although done in conformance to classical standards and ideals, Hygeia has an expression of concern and understanding.

### INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT FOR THE ARTS

Hellenistic art was an expression of the prosperity and new social structure that arose in the areas of Alexander's empire. Public support for the arts continued, but individual citizens also began patronizing artists. Rather than create monuments to gods or kings, they bought art that was secular and personal. An example of great art put into an environment is the Altar of Zeus from Pergamum (c. 180 B.C.E.), which Greek artists created for Eumenes II. Enclosed by a high podium decorated with a frieze of the battle between the gods and the Giants, it shows classical iconography as well as baroque exaggeration of movement and emotion and a background of swirling draperies. Samples of Hellenistic painting are mostly in the facades and interiors of chamber tombs and mosaics, as well as in Roman copies. Hellenistic art also plays with erotic themes through depictions of Aphrodite, Eros, the Satyrs, Dionysus, Pan, and hermaphrodites. Female nudes were highly popular, and many examples remain, including the well-known Aphrodite

of Melos (*Venus de Milo*). The proportions and curves of the Venus are still the standard for modern beauty.

Hellenistic art for home use included mosaics, garden statuaries, painted stucco wall decorations, and marble furnishings. Hellenistic art influenced Rome and through the Romans the Italian Renaissance. Hellenistic architecture flourished with the spread of the empire, leading to a demand for new buildings. Rather than a building occupying any empty space, architects attempted to make the building aesthetically compatible with its surroundings. Hellenistic architects popularized the long-established stoa, a long rectangular building with a roof supported in the front by columns. Stoas served as offices, classrooms, law courts, shopping centers, and gathering places in bad weather, or for socializing. The first woman architect, Phile of Priene, who lived around 100 B.C.E., designed a reservoir among other works. Mosaics were made before the third century B.C.E. from small pieces of colored river pebbles. Early in the third century B.C.E. tesserae, squares of cut glass or stone, were used. The Alexander Mosaic from second-century B.C.E. POMPEII shows Alexander the Great battling Darius III, probably during the Battle of Issus.

The Hellenistic Period was a time of booming commerce and trade, generating a need for large amphorae,



*The Altar of Zeus is an example of Hellenistic art, with the figures on its frieze showing exaggerated movement and emotion.*

vessels for carrying wine, oil, and other liquids in volume. Other pottery products included molded terracotta oil lamps and figurines. The figurines, Tanagra figures, depict scenes of everyday Hellenistic life: women reading, dancing, or playing instruments or actors, cooks, bakers, barbers, and people playing games and gossiping. When Rome defeated the last of the Hellenistic kingdoms, Egypt, in 31 B.C.E. at the Battle of Actium, the Hellenistic Period ended. According to Pliny the Elder, with the onset of the Hellenistic Period, “*Cessavit deinde ars*” (“Then art disappeared”).

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK COLONIZATION; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENIZATION.

**Further reading:** Boardman, John, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; Erskine, Andrew. *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005; Green, Peter. *Hellenistic History and Culture*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Hellenization

Hellenization was the spread of Greek culture and the assimilation into Greek culture of non-Greek peoples. It was a notable trait of ancient Greek civilization, an approach to other cultures that was not merely invasive or dominant but transformative. This set an example later followed by the Roman Empire, Christianity, and the British Empire, essentially establishing a framework within which much of Western history can be discussed. The products of culture spread by Hellenization included the Greek language and writing system, its myths and religion, and its technology and art—not mere ideas but practical and exploitable benefits.

The Hellenes, or Greeks, were so-called by classical writers because they were the descendants of Hellen, the son of Deucalion (son of Prometheus) and Pyrrha (daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora). They were assimilators from the start. When they came to inhabit the isles and mainland of what is now Greece, they displaced the indigenous Pelasgians, bringing with them some form of their writing, language, religion, and art. The Pelasgians were unrelated to the Hellenes in any significant sense: Some modern scholars even believe their language was pre-Indo-European, unintelligible to the Greeks on first

contact. The native culture was soon absorbed into that of the new arrival. Though HERODOTUS attests to some Pelasgian groups surviving with mutually intelligible language, most intermarried and became fully Greek, invisible, and largely forgotten.

The most important period of Hellenization by far was that which transpired under the reign of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Extending the reach of his rule to staggering extents after his father's unification of the GREEK CITY-STATES—to Egypt, India, Persia, and across the eastern Mediterranean—Alexander did not limit this rule to simple military conquest and tribute collection. He integrated his army, allowing non-Greek, non-Macedonian troops in the same units as natives and strongly encouraging intermarriage with foreign women to blur the barriers between the conquering and conquered peoples. He set up schools to teach children Greek language and culture and built gymnasiums, cultural centers associated with exercise (especially gymnastics and wrestling), medicine, and communal bathing, in the cities he conquered. The GYMNASIUM was at the center of social culture in ancient Greece, much like the public houses of medieval Europe.

Upon Alexander's death, though, the widespread nature of Greek civilization gave way to the so-called Hellenistic Period. Under Alexander, Greek cities had diminished in importance to Greek culture, sharing their influence over the social, economic, and intellectual world with new additions such as ALEXANDRIA and Rhodes. The world became more Greek, but Greece in turn became worldlier, and especially more Persian. It would not be so centralized again until the fall of the Roman Empire in the West left CONSTANTINOPLE as the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

In the meantime even Roman-controlled areas became more and more Hellenized. Greek was the language of trade and culture, the common tongue necessary for travelers. Palestine became strongly Hellenized, to the extent that Greek forms of names displaced the Semitic originals—with *Yeshua* becoming *Jesus*, for instance. More and more Jewish leaders feared that their people would lose their identity. Many Jewish practices and movements in antiquity were thus responses to Hellenization, whether they were revolutionary movements that sought to restore Jewish self-governance and an exclusivity of culture or syncretic sects that blended traditional Jewish religion with pagan elements.

Whatever JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH's contact with Greek culture, Christianity became extremely Hellenized in the wake of his death. The New Testament was written in Greek, and many early Christians were proselytes, Greek-speaking Gentiles who followed Jewish

cultic practices without converting. The sophistication of Pauline theology, the Johannine books (the Gospel and Revelation of John), and the writings of the early apostolic fathers up to and including AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO were deeply influenced by Greek philosophy and the Hellenized intellectual climate of the Roman Empire.

The concept of Logos so central to Johannine Christology—the Gospel of John states in its first verse, “in the beginning was the logos, and the logos was with God, and the logos was God”—was not simply a Greek word which loses significance in translation (commonly translated as “word,” it also means logic, reason, principle, and thought), but a well-explored concept in Greek philosophy. Heraclitus had used it in reference to the order and rationality of the universe, and ARISTOTLE, in developing his system of logic. The STOICS, who may have influenced Jesus or his followers and certainly had much in common with them, formulated logos as the engine of creation, the underlying force that gave life to existence.

After the fall of Rome the Byzantine Empire identified itself strongly as a Hellenic Christian empire: ethnically Greek, religiously Christian, and the inheritors of both classical Greek culture and the Roman right of rule. Surrounded by Persian and, later, Muslim enemies, it underwent several periods of Hellenic revival, with “Greek” and “Christian” increasingly associated together—the final step in the long history of Hellenization.

See also GREEK CHURCH; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; HELLENISTIC ART.

**Further reading:** Boardman, John. *The Greeks Overseas*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999; Hall, Jonathan. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Heritage*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002; Morris, Ian. “Mediterraneanization.” *Mediterranean Historical Review* (v.14, 2002); Sherratt, Andrew and Susan. “The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the Early First Millennium B.C.” *World Archaeology* (v.24, 1993).

BILL KTE’PI

## Herculaneum

See POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

## heresies

Early Christian theology had the problem of reconciling the belief in only one God, taken over from Judaism, with the belief that both JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH

and his father are God. One solution to this problem was Monarchianism, which means that God consists of only one person, or hypostasis. Dynamic Monarchianism, also called Adoptionism, may be Jewish in origin, but its first known exponent was Theodotus, a leather-worker from Byzantium c. 200 C.E. He taught that until Jesus’ baptism, he was only a man on whom Christ, a *dynamis* (power) of God, then descended. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch until deposed by a council of bishops in 268 C.E., probably was also an Adoptionist.

Modalist Monarchianism, or modalism, means that Jesus, the (his) Father, and the Holy Spirit are different modes of the same person, or hypostasis. The first known modalist was Noetus, condemned by the elders of Smyrna or Rome c. 200 C.E. Noetus affirmed that Christ is the Father, who was born, suffered, and died, which Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220 C.E.) called patripassianism.

Sabellius, a Libyan, gained the trust of Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus I but was excommunicated by the latter in c. 217 C.E. Sabellius avoided patripassianism by proposing three modes of a divine monad, Father as creator, Son as redeemer, and Spirit as inspirer. It is uncertain whether Sabellius taught that each mode was replaced by the next so that Father, Son, and Spirit did not exist all at once, or taught an economic trinity as did Tertullian and others, that is that God existed first only as Father, but after the creation as both Father and Son, and as Father, Son, and Spirit after Pentecost.

Like Sabellius, Marcellus (c. 280–c. 375 C.E.), bishop of Ancyra, said that Christ did not preexist his birth, and his kingdom would end. Marcellus’s monad expanded to a dyad at creation, to a triad at Pentecost, but the triad would contract into the monad after judgment. ATHANASIUS, allied with Marcellus in defending the idea that Jesus is “one substance” with God, later repudiated Marcellus, probably because Marcellus denied Christ’s eternity and because Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, Marcellus’s pupil, was accused of adoptionism. Marcellus recanted, conceding the Son’s eternity, but never three divine hypostases. The Orthodox Church accepted Marcellus’s followers.

Adoptionists and modalists seem antithetical but were lumped together, as were Paul of Samosata and Sabellius. After all, Photinus was Marcellus’s pupil. Pope Callistus was said sometimes to favor Sabellius (modalist), sometimes Theodotus (dynamic), and said: “...after [the Father] had taken unto himself flesh, [he] raised it to the nature of Deity....” If, for Callistus, Jesus was not divine from birth, Callistus was adoptionistic. Modalists, who merged Father and Son, sometimes so sharply separated the divine Christ from the human Jesus that he seemed to be a “mere man,” as with Adoptionists.

Around 155 or 172 C.E., a mystic named Montanus claimed that the Spirit was speaking through him. He put himself into trances progressing to ecstatic states in which he spoke in tongues, interpreted by his followers. The Spirit's message was that the Last Judgment would very soon take place in Pepuza in Phrygia. Other revelations commanded fasts, no sex even for married couples, seeking of martyrdom, and the inability of the church to absolve serious sins. Tertullian was the greatest Montanist but was unaware of Montanist women clergy, the principle of which he condemns.

Montanism was called the "New Prophecy," but its goal was to restore the church's original purity and gifts of the Spirit. In earliest Christianity, phenomena such as speaking in tongues and prophecy conferred spiritual authority. However, by 155 C.E. bishops replaced the authority of charismatic individuals, claiming apostolic succession. Each bishop received his authority from his predecessor in a chain leading back to an apostle. Montanists claimed revelations independent of bishops. Ironically, Montanus founded a tightly organized church, which had its own scriptures to supplement the Bible, a patriarch at Pepuza, "associates" between patriarch and bishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, who all received salaries supported by collections.

One pope nearly approved Montanism, but the mainline Christians in Asia Minor responded with councils, excommunications, and even exorcisms. The Last Judgment did not arrive as predicted by Montanists. Tongues, prophecy, and asceticism also declined. Montanism thus repeated the experience of the mainline church, except that Montanism disappeared by the early Middle Ages. One result of Montanus's and others' claims to special revelations supplementing the Gospels and the letters of the apostles was that the church formed a list of authoritative writings that eventually became the New Testament.

Montanists were sometimes called Sabellians, perhaps because Montanus claimed that both Father and Spirit spoke through him. Father, Son, Spirit, and Montanus might seem to be one person, especially since Montanus is reported to have said, "I am the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Montanus taught that the Father revealed himself to the Jews, the Son to the first Christians, and the Spirit to Montanus. This schema could fit Sabellius's understanding of the Trinity as three temporary divine modes.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; ARIANISM; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

**Further reading:** Crown, Alan D., ed. *The Samaritans*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr (Siebeck), 1989; Kelly, J. N. D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins, 1978. Montgomery, James A. *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect: Their History, Theology, and Literature*. Reprint, New York: Ktav, 1967; Schoeps, Hans J. *Jewish Christianity: Factional Disputes in the Early Church*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969.

GRANT R. SHAFER

## Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon

*Greek historians*

Still in a state of formation as late as the eighth century B.C.E., the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, the HOMERIC EPICS, represented the foundational myths of early Greek civilization. They were histories of the Trojan War—informative, didactic, and entertaining. Some two centuries later another confrontation was rendered epic, this time in the hands of Herodotus: the Persian Wars (499–479 B.C.E.). Herodotus depicted them as a clash of civilizations, the protodemocratic city-states of Greece staving off the autocratic Achaemenids of Persia. Accent was placed on an insuperable divide between a hazily defined, but diametrically opposed East and West. To this struggle Herodotus added substantial doses of genealogy, ethnography, and geography. He may have been the Father of History, an epithet first bestowed on him by the Roman CICERO, but Herodotus was the son of epic poetry.

Little is known of Herodotus's life, save that which is revealed in his work. In the early fifth century B.C.E. he was born in Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum, Turkey). His journeys began prior to 454 B.C.E., when he was banished by Lygdamis, a local tyrant. Herodotus visited Babylon, Phoenicia, Egypt, southern Russia, and Athens, settling in the Athenian colony of Thurii in southern Italy in 443 B.C.E. Written sometime between 450 and 425 B.C.E., Herodotus's work is divided into nine books. This partitioning was a development of the third century B.C.E., carried out at the library of ALEXANDRIA. The first three books cover the reigns of CYRUS II (r. c. 559–529 B.C.E.) and CAMBYSES II (r. 529–521 B.C.E.), as well as the accession of DARIUS I (521–486 B.C.E.). The second triad treats the rule of Darius I. The third and final section explores the kingship of XERXES I (485–465 B.C.E.). The title of Herodotus's work was *Histories*. At its origin, *historia* also meant "inquiry" or "research." Since the 19th century, Herodotus has often been regarded as an amateur of history. His technique and methodology were trifling. Traditions, legends, and

personal interviews misled him. He does demonstrate a desire to track down the most trustworthy evidence; however, much still separated Herodotus from the practices of contemporary historiography.

The work of Herodotus and that of Thucydides contrasts starkly, even though they were contemporaries. Eons seem to separate the tone, character, and style of their respective works. Herodotus is flighty and imprecise. Thucydides is sharp and probing. Some have suggested that because Thucydides is devoid of metrical elements, this indicates that poetry and prose had finally parted ways. Thucydides' aristocratic background and wealth, derived from family mines in Thrace, may have caused this difference. He was also educated in the cultural lighthouse on the Aegean that was Athens at its height. The Sophists of late fifth-century Greek culture also influenced Thucydides. Only a few fragments of the Sophists' actual writings survive, but their impact was primordial and has been compared to the 18th-century Enlightenment. They provided instruction in rhetoric, grooming men for oratorical life in the radical democracy of Athens. They were less interested in the ethical implications of a given argument and more in the persuasiveness of its delivery. For Plato such a lack of moral compass was troublesome.

Thucydides was one of 10 Athenian generals elected in 424 B.C.E. When Sparta took Amphipolis, Thucydides bore the brunt of the failure. His remaining years were spent in exile, some of them in Thrace but others among the enemies of Athens, where he collected historical material. As an aristocrat, Thucydides idealized the Periclean model of democracy. Thucydides is often taken as a model of objectivity, bringing history into the orbit of science. From the twists and turns of the war between GREEK CITY-STATES Thucydides tried to extrapolate fundamental principles of human and political behavior.

Long held to be the lesser third of the great triumvirate of Greek historians, Xenophon was demoted further by the 1906 discovery of a papyrus fragment that covers the years 396–395 B.C.E. Some would attribute its authorship to Cratippus, but this is inconclusive. The anonymous Oxyrhynchus historian offers a corrective to Xenophon's work. Revered across the fourth century B.C.E., largely as a philosopher, his entire oeuvre survived. As an associate of SOCRATES, Xenophon's interpretation of Socratic thought was taken, incorrectly, to rest on par with that of Plato. Another factor contributing to Xenophon's renown was his prose. For generations it served as stylistic model for students to emulate.

Xenophon is dismissed as fathoming little of the events he chronicled. His *Hellenica* is that work whose interpre-

tive underbelly was exposed by the Oxyrhynchus historian. It is, as its title would suggest, a history of Greece. Xenophon chronicles the fall of Athens in 404 B.C.E., then the political instability of the three-way struggle between Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, down to the Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.E.). Glaring omissions and biases have been noted in his work: his failure to address the Second Athenian Confederacy of the 370s B.C.E. and his tendency to look too favorably upon Sparta, despite his own Athenian background. Xenophon's other works include a historical novel depicting the idealized education of Cyrus II, the founder of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty and assorted treatises on estate management, hunting, horsemanship, and the duties of a cavalry officer.

Sometimes taken as a historical work but also readily dismissed as the mere memoir of a military commander, Xenophon's *Anabasis* details events of 401–399 B.C.E. In a taut third-person narrative he recounts the failed exploits of Cyrus the Younger, the junior sibling of the Persian king ARTAXERXES II. There is speculation as to why the work was composed. Some suppose that it was intended as a corrective to another account of these same events, portraying Xenophon in an unflattering light. Others reach further, claiming that the intent was to demonstrate the extent of Persian weakness, letting an army of such a size escape. If the *Anabasis* was indeed such an invitation, three-quarters of a century would pass before ALEXANDER THE GREAT would accept it, bringing a close to the epoch which had begun with Greeks playing prey to the Persians, documented first by Herodotus.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PERSIAN INVASIONS; SOPHISM.

**Further reading:** Brown, Truesdell S. *The Greek Historians*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1973; Bury, J. B. *The Ancient Greek Historians*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2002; Finley, John H., Jr. *Thucydides*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942; Grant, Michael. *Greek and Roman Historian: Information and Misinformation*. London: Routledge, 1995; Lateiner, Donald. *The Historical Method of Herodotus*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

R. O'BRIAN CARTER

## Herods

(37 B.C.E.–92 C.E.) Jewish kings

The Herods were Jewish client kings of Rome who governed between 37 B.C.E. and 92 C.E. in the area that

included significant portions of modern Israel, southern Syria, southern Lebanon, and Jordan. Rome appointed client kings with limited military and taxation powers in the provinces in the Eastern Roman Empire. They were called either ethnarchs or tetrarchs; a tetrarch ranked below an ethnarch. The principal function of these client kings was to carry out the will of Rome.

The Senate declared Herod the Great king of the Jews in 40 B.C.E. He actually came to the throne in 37 B.C.E. after overcoming Antigonus, his opponent. Though called king, Herod was in reality an ethnarch. He is called Herod the Great because he was the first Herod from whom all the other Herods descended. He was also a great builder. The Second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem and the amphitheater in Caesarea were two of his most monumental projects. Remains of these magnificent structures can still be seen in Israel today. Notwithstanding, the Jews loathed Herod because of his Idumaean origin and cruelty, especially toward the end of his life. A man given to suspicion and jealousy, he even killed his own beloved wife, Mariamne, and the two sons whom he had by her. According to the New Testament, he massacred innocent male children who were two years old and under in Bethlehem because he feared that a future king might have been born there (Matt. 2:16). Herod died in 4 B.C.E., and his territory was divided among his three sons: Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip.

After Herod's death, his son Archelaus became ethnarch over Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea. A cruel man like his father, Herod Archelaus had none of his father's graces. According to the Jewish historian JOSEPHUS in *Jewish War*, he began his rule by killing 3,000 men. Rome deposed him in 6 C.E. because of great unpopularity and placed his territory under Roman procurators. Originally, procurators were finance officers chosen from the equestrian (knight) rank in Rome, but in time they came to exercise military powers as well.

Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.) was tetrarch over Galilee and Perea (in modern Jordan) for 40 years. Pilate had Antipas try JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH because Jesus was from Galilee. Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris into a major metropolis and built a new city, Tiberias, named after Emperor Tiberius (14–37 C.E.), on the southwestern shores of Galilee. He married Herodias, his niece and the wife of Philip (Boethus), for which he was rebuked by JOHN THE BAPTIST. Herod Antipas had John beheaded for this offense. Antipas died as an exile in GAUL.

Herod Agrippa I (37–44 C.E.), a brother of Herodias, was a grandson of Herod the Great by Mariamne (whom Herod killed). Wilting under a mountain of debts, he came to hold the throne because of his

friendship with Rome. While studying in Rome, he befriended Gaius Caligula (37–41 C.E.). After becoming emperor, Caligula made him a king and gave him the former territories of his uncle Philip, another Herodian tetrarch, and of Lysanias, who was tetrarch of Abilene (near Damascus). Later, in 39 C.E. Caligula banished Antipas and gave his territory to Agrippa I. Then, after Caligula died, Emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.) gave him Judaea as well, which had been under Roman procurators. Agrippa I, a man rather liked by the Jews, ruled over a larger territory than any of the other Herods did. He killed James the son of Zebedee and put the apostle Peter in prison to please the Jews. He suddenly died in 44 C.E. of some horrible stomach disease. When Agrippa I died, Rome put Judaea back in the hands of procurators.

Herod Agrippa II (50–92 C.E.) was son of Agrippa I. Only 17 at the time of his father's death, Agrippa II was deemed too young to be king. In 50 C.E. Claudius gave him Chalcis in southern Lebanon, his uncle's territory. In 53 C.E. Claudius exchanged it with the former territories of Philip the tetrarch and Lysanias. The Romans sought the advice of Agrippa II in matters pertaining to Jews and gave him authority over the Temple and the appointment of high priests. Agrippa II is the Agrippa who heard the apostle PAUL. Agrippa II finished the renovation of the Jewish Temple in 63 C.E., only to see it burned down in 70 C.E. by Titus, who later became emperor (79–81 C.E.). Agrippa's sister Bernice was a consort of Titus. An amiable man, he was the last of later the Herods to rule.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003; Perowne, Stewart. *The Later Herods: The Political Background of the New Testament*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958. Schürer, Emil, Géza Vermès, and Fergus Millar. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.–A.D. 135). Vol. 1. Edinburgh, Scotland: Clark, 1973.

P. RICHARD CHOI

## Hesiod

(c. 800 B.C.E.) Greek poet

Hesiod was a poet whose works are some of the oldest and most celebrated in Greek literature. If the Greeks

revered Homer as an inspired storyteller and collector of the heroic tales, then Hesiod must rank as his counterpart in narrating the background epic myths and filling in missing details.

Most now agree that Hesiod wrote after the circulation of the HOMERIC EPICS, many centuries after the elusive Homer lived, perhaps around 800 B.C.E. He was an immigrant to the Greek world, having moved from Asia Minor to Boeotia. His father had moved either to find refuge or farmland on the Greek mainland. Thus, it is not surprising that the lessons and lore of Hesiod often can be found in Akkadian, Hittite, Mesopotamian, and Hebrew literature, because these are the older cultures of his ancestral past.

Hesiod was a peasant, scraping out a living as a farmer, sweating under the hot summer sun and shivering in his hut when the winter rains fell. Though he and Homer vied for the following of the Greek-reading public, they could not have been less alike in their values and social milieu. Homer probably was a bard in the service of the rich and aristocratic, while Hesiod was something like a prophet in the cause of justice. Hesiod's life and excellence were not a reflection of Homer's battlefield and martial prowess, but of the cornfield and sweat equity.

Yet this humble and hard worker claims to have had a mystical experience one day while shepherding his flocks. The nine divine Muses (sometimes called the Graces) visit and inspire him to write his first work, *Theogony*, a poem about the origins and genealogies of the divinities of Greek mythology. They reveal the background of the Olympian gods: It turns out that the deities are sprung from dysfunctional and violent family roots, where one generation plots the downfall of the earlier one. Hesiod is not content merely to divulge divine names and ancestry; he also reveals an ethical and philosophical element in the poem that helps his audience learn the lessons of mythology for their own lives.

His next poem is also an ethical exercise, entitled *Work and Days*. Here he ties his material together into something like a sermon on how to live a good life. He narrates three myths: Prometheus and Pandora; the Five Cosmic Ages of Humanity; and the Hawk and Nightingale allegory. All three point out to the reader the advantages of honesty and hard work. He criticizes his brother Perses, who unjustly and corruptly is trying to steal land and wealth without working for it. Hesiod represents the rising class of peasants and townsfolk centuries after Homer's aristocratic vision loses touch with Greek reality.

Hesiod sets himself up as something like a biblical prophet. He finds his identity in the lower classes

and gives voice to their suffering. He makes no claim to royal birth, public office, or military victory, but he is not afraid to speak in the first person singular and is confident that his advice is divinely inspired. Modern readers might find his contempt for women, his surliness, and his self-righteousness less palatable.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHERS; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Hesiod, *Poems of Hesiod*. Trans. by R. M. Frazer. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983; Wender, Dorothea, trans. and ed. *Hesiod and Theognis*. New York: Penguin, 1982.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Hezekiah

(8th–7th century B.C.E.) king and ruler

Biblical scholars increasingly view Hezekiah as the most capable king in ISRAEL AND JUDAH back to the time of DAVID and SOLOMON. Only kings AHAB and JOSIAH can compare with him as far as running domestic and foreign affairs. He presided over a period of religious reform, Assyrian belligerence, and Samarian decline. ASSYRIA had reached its full imperial extent, and somehow Hezekiah was able to turn away from his father Ahaz's policies of accommodation in the areas of politics and religion. He grew up under the tutelage of the priests in the Jerusalem Temple. They exerted profound influence over Hezekiah's personal development and preparation for his career as king. His father was known as an accommodationist to foreign religious influences, so Hezekiah's formation was against the grain of his father's decisions.

His first phase of rule is marked by a decision to centralize worship in Jerusalem and renew religious observances of his people. He called his subjects back to the biblical covenant and then invited his coreligionists in Samaria to join him. This invitation came in the form of festal letters sent out by the hands of able and learned representatives of his kingdom, reconstituting social and religious structures. The Assyrians, who had recently taken over Samaria and decimated its leadership, may have viewed this as a provocation. At any rate it was a reversal of the religious policies of his father. One very bold act of Hezekiah's was to destroy the bronze serpent, an object of popular veneration, with a long history going back to the time of MOSES. Other acts were in concert: He destroyed shrines and altars that did not have to do with traditional beliefs.

His second phase of rule was political. Although he paid tribute to Assyria, he used it to buy time for himself so that he could refortify and reconsolidate Jerusalem and other Judaean cities. Archaeologists estimate that Hezekiah's Jerusalem was fivefold the population of Solomon's, and some suggest that many came from Samaria as political refugees. Another major innovation was a way of supplying water to the acropolis of Jerusalem by way of the Siloam tunnel, recently discovered by modern excavators. New research has uncovered storage jars, imprinted with the king's name, indicating that Hezekiah had a system for supplying his people with food in times of trouble.

Assyria took punitive action and rampaged across the country but miraculously did not capture Jerusalem. Records from the annals of Assyria tell a different story, saying that their general Senacherib ran a brilliant campaign, destroying 46 walled cities and taking 200,000 captives, walling up Hezekiah "like a caged bird." In fact, the Bible says that the Assyrian general Senacherib beat a sudden retreat out of Jerusalem, though the night before he had harangued its citizens in their own language. The reason, according to the Bible, was a divine visitation of a plague against the besiegers.

**Further reading:** Rosenbaum, Jonathan. "Hezekiah." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary 3*, pp. 189–193. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Williamson, Joanne. *God King*. Bathgate, ND: Bethlehem Press, 2002.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## hieroglyphics

The system of writing known as hieroglyphics was used to write the ancient Egyptian language from before 3000 B.C.E. until the late fourth century C.E. Each symbol in this system is known as a hieroglyph. The term *hieroglyphic* (meaning "sacred writing") was coined by the ancient Greeks, who knew that the Egyptians sometimes called their writing "divine script."

The 500 or so hieroglyphic signs that were in common use can be grouped into three classes: logograms, phonograms, and determinatives. Logograms (also called ideograms) are single signs that represent a complete word. These signs, remnants of the pictographic origins of the system, are relatively few in number. Far more common are the second class of signs, called phonograms. A phonogram represents not a word but a sound or group of sounds. There are three types of phonograms:

those that indicate one, two, or three consonants. The signs indicating a single consonant may be called "alphabetic," but in fact the Egyptians rarely used only these simple alphabetic signs to write a word. It should be noted that the script indicates only consonants; the vowels would have to be supplied by the reader. The third class of hieroglyphs is known as determinatives. These signs, of which there are many, have no phonetic value, but rather appear after other hieroglyphic signs (phonograms) to indicate the semantic category of the word. Determinatives are often very helpful in distinguishing homonyms, which are prevalent due to the lack of vowels in the script. A hieroglyphic text can be written horizontally from left to right or from right to left or vertically from top to bottom.

The use of hieroglyphic script was generally confined to carved or painted inscriptions, most of which were monumental or religious in nature. Already in the Old Egyptian Period (mid-third millennium B.C.E.) the Egyptians used a simplified cursive hieroglyphic script, or, more often, an even more cursive script known as hieratic (from Greek, "priestly"), for texts written with ink. The signs of cursive scripts, especially hieratic, can look quite different from their hieroglyphic counterparts. By the Late Egyptian Period, beginning in roughly 1600 B.C.E., an even more abbreviated and cursive form of hieratic developed, known as demotic (from Greek, "popular"). With the coming of Christianity to Egypt, many Egyptians adopted the Greek alphabet to write their language. This adopted script is known as the Coptic alphabet, as is the Egyptian language itself when written in this script. What separates the Coptic alphabet from the Greek is the addition of eight signs, taken over from the demotic script, which were needed to represent sounds not found in Greek.

Almost immediately after the hieroglyphic system ceased to be used (the last known hieroglyphic inscription was made in 394 C.E.), the ability to read it was lost. After this happened it was commonly believed that these symbols did not represent an actual language but were instead a kind of mystical representation of ideas. It was not until after the discovery of the ROSETTA STONE in 1799—on which the same text was written in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Greek—that scholars were able to decipher the ancient script.

See also ALEXANDRIA; CUNEIFORM; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; KUSH; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; MEROË; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PHARAOH.

**Further reading:** Allen, James P. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Gardiner, Alan. *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957; Loprieno, Antonio. *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

AARON D. RUBIN

## Hindu philosophy

Hinduism consists of a voluminous body of thought and philosophy arranged within a number of different schools and tendencies, developed over the course of centuries as scholars revisited or provided commentaries on existing literature. The particular configurations of thought and literature involved in Hindu thought are arranged in ways that are not always intuitively obvious to the Western mind. Instead, concepts of dietary propriety and forms of public duty are combined with epistemological and linguistic explorations. The Hindu view of the universe most commonly recognizes the presence of the divine within every aspect of the fabric of existence, and this is commingled with the sense of personal connection with individual deities. Consequently, it is impossible to separate right behavior from right forms of thinking.

Hindu philosophical concepts are liberally sprinkled through the verse epics such as the BHAGAVAD GITA and the MAHABHARATA, as well as the VEDAS, the Upanishads, and other texts, primarily written in the SANSKRIT language. Since Sanskrit was considered to be a sacred language and intimately connected with the nature of the universe, issues relating to the language are also considered to be relevant to philosophy.

General philosophical concerns included epistemic, moral, and metaphysical issues. Epistemic concerns are deeply related to the study of the Sanskrit language. It is also concerned with different ways of perceiving and making sense of the universe. Possible forms of interaction included inference, sensory perception, and forms of logical deduction. They also included higher forms of yogic perception of higher spiritual states that were related to the Buddhist concept of enlightenment. Many forms of meditation are involved in the attempt to understand the spiritual nature of the universe.

Moral issues largely centered on the concepts of dharma and karma. The latter relates to the interrelationship between cause and effect and dates from the times of the Upanishads. All acts committed by individuals are morally good or bad, and each will provide good or bad

karma, which will attach itself to the individual soul. For the soul to achieve its goal of understanding the nature of the universe it is necessary to accumulate good karma and eliminate bad karma. Philosophers varied as to the efficacy of meditation, good deeds, or actions to attain this understanding. Dharma refers to different methods by which duty should be performed, with respect to both temporal and spiritual obligations. Many of the injunctions on this form of moral behavior are contained in the DHARMA SUTRAS, which are the Vedic-influenced texts that outline various forms of behavior. Some of the many sutras were subsequently developed into *shastras*, which were used to frame Hindu laws and social regulations, including the CASTE system.

Metaphysical concerns featured the nature of the divine and how it may be approached. The atman, or the soul, was frequently taken as the unit of analysis. A central metaphysical concern was to understand the specific nature of the atman and how it was related to the wider universe. Some believed that the atman was an intrinsic part of the universe and represented a microscopic but inseparable part of the larger universe. A person who is able to perceive this reality through higher spiritual perception has the opportunity to be freed from the painful cycle of birth and rebirth. However, subsequent developments of thought placed more emphasis on the role of the gods and of divine grace in enabling the atman to ascend to the higher level of understanding.

Sankara (c. 788–820 C.E.) was a nondualist of the Advaita Vedanta school and was influential in developing the concept of the atman as being equated with Brahma, which is the universal soul that permeates the entire universe. Since Brahma is not just universal but eternal and eternally unchanging, the atman and the other physical manifestations of the universe are some form of shadow representation of the eternal, and it is possible for the individual, through the cultivation of the faculty of true sight, to attain a glimpse of reality in a process that is very similar to the nirvana of Buddhism.

See also VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Banerjee, Sures Chandra. *Dharma Sutras: A Study in Their Origin and Development*. Calcutta, India: Punthi Pustak, 1962; Bhaskarananda, Swami. *The Essentials of Hinduism*. Seattle, WA: Viveka Press, 2002; Mascaró, Juan, ed. and trans. *The Upanishads*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1965; ———, trans. *Bhagavad Gita*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Narayan, R. K. *The Mahabharata*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000; Sharma, A. K., and Balvir Tamar. “Business Excellence Enshrined in Vedic (Hindu) Philosophy.” *Singapore Management Review* (v.26/1, 2004);

Torwesten, Hans. *Vedanta: Heart of Hinduism*. Trans. by John Phillips. New York: Grove Press, 1992.

JOHN WALSH

## Hippocrates, Galen, and the Greek physicians

Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.E.) has been called the father of Greek medicine. The young Hippocrates observed his physician father and his peers practicing the healing art. He traveled throughout Greece and possibly as far as LIBYA and Egypt. Ptolemy Soter (323–285 B.C.E.), an Egyptian PHARAOH, published a collection of treatises by Hippocrates and his followers for the library at ALEXANDRIA.

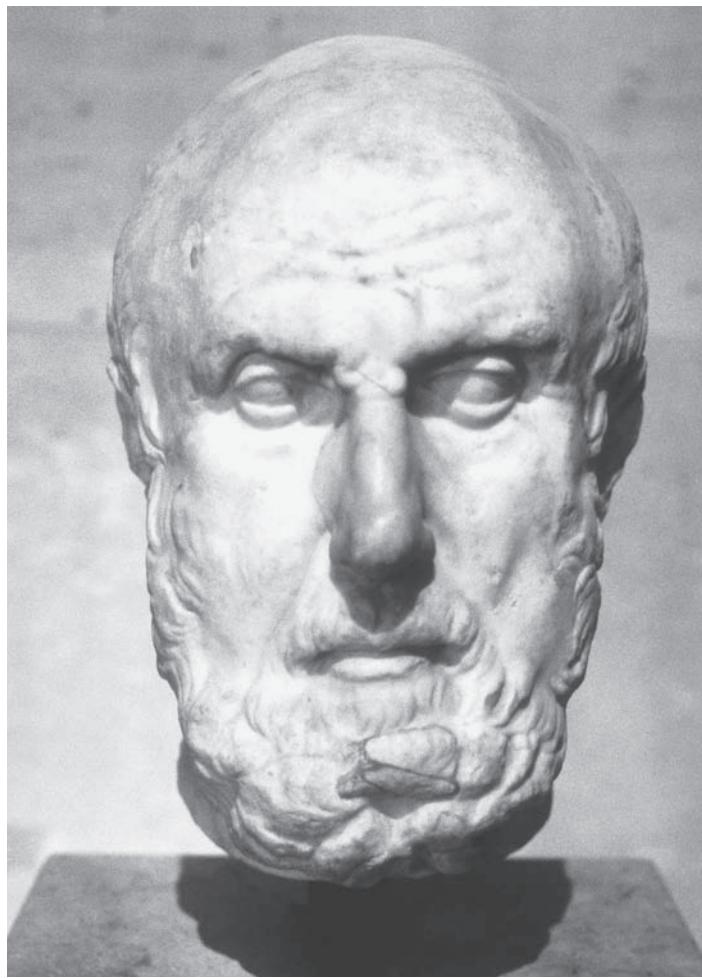
Hippocrates is best known for his dictum that if the physician could not take away suffering then he must at

least alleviate it. He used observation to document physical symptoms and behavior, in contrast to making offerings and appealing to supernatural forces. He took into account the interplay of three variables: the patient, the physician, and the disease. He stressed the importance of hygiene and believed that the doctor belonged at the side of the patient rather than in a temple far away. Although he did not use the term *immune system*, he recognized that there were individual differences that affected the severity of any affliction. *Of the Epidemics* offers one of his best writings, describing a mumps epidemic. The *Corpus Hippocraticum* gives an excellent overview of Greek medicine in the fifth century B.C.E.

The Hippocratic oath is a traditional part of a contemporary physician's rite of passage from student to doctor. The oath begins with a pledge to Apollo, Asclepius his son, and his daughters, Hygeia and Panacea. It stresses the mentoring relationships and the lifelong relationship of the physician to the person who taught him the healing arts. There is a promise not to help a patient commit suicide. There is also a statement about privacy and confidentiality.

Not all Greek physicians practiced by Hippocratic dictates, but all accepted the humoral theory as the basis for human physiology. In this theory air, water, earth, and fire were the four elements that made up the universe and the human body. Water was moist, air was dry, fire was hot, and earth was cold. The human body was a microcosm of this scheme, and its corresponding fluids, or humors, were in combinations of two. Blood was warm and wet; black bile, cold and dry; yellow bile, warm and dry; and phlegm, cold and wet. When the fluids were in balance, health abounded. When skewed, disease resulted. Ancient Greek physicians recognized that discharges from various organs resulted from trauma or sickness. The amount of training of Greek physicians varied because no medical schools, standards, or examinations existed. A doctor often apprenticed to a more experienced practitioner before practicing on his own. In addition to sole practitioners there were public physicians, medical officers elected in some cities. There were also clinics for the less affluent called *jatreia*.

ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.) contributed much to Greek medicine. He was interested in many areas of knowledge, but logic was one of his favorite mental exercises. He began to categorize living things into groups with similarities and wrote extensive compendiums on plants and animals. This was the basis for biology and anatomy. Unfortunately, he did not see the interior of a human body because dissection was not practiced. Although Aristotle contributed much to medicine, phi-



A bust of Hippocrates in the Louvre in Paris. The values of Hippocrates are still in force in the medical profession today.

losophy, poetry, literature, and early science, it was Claudius Galen—often referred to as simply Galen—whose writings influenced generations of physicians and whose influence continued well into the Renaissance.

Galen was born in Pergamon to an architect father, who had a dream in which Asclepius appeared and told him to have his son become a healer. By the age of 21 he had written a textbook on the uterus for midwives, a book on ophthalmology, and three books on lung disease. Unfortunately, he did not know very much about the uterus because he had only seen a pig's uterus and that was quite different from a human's. When he was 32, he went to Rome where he established a practice despite his criticisms of his peers there. He was fortunate to be called to the imperial palace to treat MARCUS AURELIUS, the emperor, whom he pleased. From that time forward, the most prominent members of society sought him.

After Galen accepted Christianity, the church endorsed him because Galen saw a purpose in every organ and every function, and that purpose was divinity. He taught that the body was an instrument of the soul. Religion and medicine were more closely related in early medicine, and there was often confusion over the place of the soul in the human body. One idea was that it was somewhere between the brain and the spinal cord in a structure called the *rete mirabile*. The other imaginary structure was the lux bone, a bone that could create an entirely new individual if found. Interestingly, this concept could describe stem cells. Galen also had ideas about the sexes. He believed that since humankind was the most perfect of all animals, within humankind, man was more perfect than woman. Since a woman's reproductive parts were formed when she was still being formed, they could not emerge from her body like a man's because she did not have enough heat to allow them to do so. Despite his errors, his contributions were many, the greatest being a 22-volume set of summarized medical knowledge including medicinal plants.

Galen's reputation lasted longer than any other Greek physician's. He codified all previous knowledge and was so valued for this gargantuan task that his stature as a great physician grew with each successive generation. It was not until 1564 that Vesalius, a Renaissance anatomist who performed autopsies and dissections on humans, challenged his writings. The Greek and, later, Roman physicians lost prestige as the Roman Empire collapsed, the Middle Ages began, and plagues and epidemics destroyed populations in record numbers, leaving people again dependent on superstition and mysticism. Muslim physicians led the way for the next 1,000 years.

**Further reading:** Bettmann, Otto. *A Pictorial History of Medicine*. Springfield, IL: C. C. Thomas, 1972; Edelstein, Ludwig. *The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation, and Interpretation*, by Ludwig Edelstein. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943; Hippocrates and Galen. *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*. Trans. by M. T. May. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968; Lyons, A., and R. J. Petrucci. *Medicine: An Illustrated History*. New York: Abrams, 1987; Margotta, Roberto. *The History of Medicine*. New York: Smithmark. 1996.

LANA THOMPSON

## Hittites

The Hittites were INDO-EUROPEANS who entered Anatolia in approximately 2300 b.c.e. and in the following centuries managed to become one of the dominant powers of the ancient Near East. The word *Hittite* derives from their term for central Anatolia, *hatti*, which was derived from those who lived in the area before the Hittites, the Hattians. Most of the information regarding the Hittites comes from thousands of clay tablets discovered in the Hittite capital of Hattusha. Three distinct Indo-European languages have been deciphered in these texts: Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic. The texts were written in CUNEIFORM and HIEROGLYPHIC scripts, and many words were borrowed from the local population and from surrounding nations. Hittite history is usually divided into the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom. The Old Kingdom covered the period from 1750 to 1600 b.c.e., while the New Kingdom lasted c. 1420–1200 b.c.e. The intervening period (c. 1600–1420 b.c.e.) is sometimes referred to as the Middle Kingdom.

During the Old Kingdom the Hittites were able to achieve foreign expansion. First, during the reign of Hattushili I, the Hittite army campaigned to the west as far as Arzawa and to the southeast as far as northern Syria. Second, during the reign of Murshili I, the army made the long march through Syria and into Babylonia, where they were able to overpower Babylon and bring to an end the first dynasty of Babylon (c. 1595 b.c.e.). However, during the reigns of Murshili's successors, the kingdom seems to have lost control of lands to the east and southeast.

The founder and first ruler of the New Kingdom was Tudhaliya II (c. 1420–1370 b.c.e.). Although he was able to revive the kingdom, it was not until the reigns of Shuppiluliuma I (c. 1344 b.c.e.), and Hattushili III (c. 1239 b.c.e.) that the Hittites were able to achieve their

greatest foreign expansion. They were able to expand the kingdom throughout all of Syria, defeating MITTANI, and extending almost as far south as DAMASCUS. Battles with the Egyptians, most famously the Battle at Kadesh, led to a treaty between Hattushili III and RAMSES II in which a Hittite princess was given to Ramses in marriage.

Although the treaty with Egypt remained in force for the remainder of the Hittite New Kingdom, new threats arose that eventually led to the demise of the Hittites. ASSYRIA under Shalmaneser I became aggressive toward the Hittites. In addition, various smaller nations surrounding the Hittite homeland began to pressure the Hittites militarily and economically.

Unfortunately, it is still impossible to tell the exact nature of the downfall of the Hittite capital Hattusha. What is clear is that limited Hittite rule continued in other areas, particularly Carchemish. These local centers were ruled by Neo-Hittite dynasties governing individual city-states. These city-states were eventually absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

Hittite religion and cultic practices are becoming increasingly better known through archaeological excavations. Unfortunately, no mythological text in the old Hittite script has yet been discovered. However, one myth of west Semitic origin has been found in a Hittite translation. It tells the story of the virtuous young male Baal-Haddu refusing the advances of the married Asherah in a fashion reminiscent of the biblical account of Joseph and Potipher's wife found in the book of Genesis. Cultic practices are illuminated in the various festival descriptions found in royal archives and in texts from provincial centers. Much is known about these festivals, special times when the statue of the deity was brought out from the temple and honored with sacrifices and offerings given amid music and dancing. New moon festivals were held to mark the beginning of each new month.

Knowledge of ancient Near Eastern temples, including the Solomonic Temple of the Old Testament, is greatly advanced through the excavations of various Hittite temples. At least five temples have been uncovered in the capital of Hattusha, and some estimate there to be as many as 20 present in the city. Every Hittite city had at least one temple staffed by both male and female personnel serving as cooks, musicians, artisans, farmers, and herders.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT.

**Further reading:** Bryce, T. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; Hoffner, H. A., Jr.

"Hittites." In A. J. Hoerth, G. L. Mattingly, and E. M. Yamauchi. *Peoples of the Old Testament World*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994.

ERIC SMITH

## Homeric epics

The epics of the Greek writer Homer—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—are the earliest and the best known of classics of Greek literature. Both are long epic poems, and several scholars have argued that different people probably wrote the two, with some academics arguing against even the existence of Homer. Certainly, all that is known about Homer is from tradition and evidence gleaned from the epics.

The cities of Argos, Athens, Chios, Colophon, Rhodes, Salamis, and Izmir (Smyrna) all claim that Homer was born in their city. Homer was probably a Greek from Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), as his writings used the Ionic and the Aeolic dialects of that region, so the claims of Chios and Izmir are the most plausible.

Many centuries later there was a clan at Chios known as the Homeridae who claimed to be descendants of Homer and, as wandering minstrels, kept alive some of the traditions associated with their famous ancestor. Homer was born the son of Maeon; he lived around 850 B.C.E. Many people thought the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had been written in the eighth century B.C.E., with a consensus that the *Iliad* is earlier than the *Odyssey*, the former possibly composed in 750 B.C.E., and the latter about 25 years later. This was the period when many Greeks were moving to Asia Minor, and there was an increasing interest in the traditions of contact with the region. Some have pointed to references in the sixth book of the *Odyssey* to refer clearly to the establishment of a Greek colony. The term *Homeric age* refers to the period about which Homer wrote, rather than the period in which he lived.

Countless writers have translated the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Roman writer Lucius Livius Andronicus, from Taranto in southern Italy, translated the *Odyssey* into Latin verse in the third century B.C.E. The most well-known translation is that of E. V. Rieu, in the Penguin Classics edition, first published in 1950. Although there have been many more translations, that by Richmond Lattimore in 1951 is regarded as the best. He set out to try to capture the atmosphere of the original text by rendering it into verse, line by line.

Many of the same translators tried their hand at the *Odyssey*. Rieu's edition, the first Penguin Classics book, was published in 1945; and Richmond Lattimore managed a translation of the *Odyssey* in 1965. However, the *Odyssey* also attracted two men who did not work on the *Iliad*. William Morris, the famous designer and poet, had a translation of the *Odyssey* published in 1887, and T. E. LAWRENCE (Lawrence of Arabia) also translated the *Odyssey* into English prose. This was published under the name "T. E. Shaw," Lawrence's adopted name, in 1932, three years before his death. The style of both epics was dactylic hexameter with each line ranging from 12 to 17 syllables in length. With many phrases being repeated, the style was put together in such a manner that bards could learn them easily. ARISTOTLE, a great admirer of the Homeric epics, wrote that Homer was "unequalled in diction and thought."

### *ILIADE*

The *Iliad* is the longer of the two poems, about a third longer than the *Odyssey*. It consists of 15,693 lines of poetry in dactylic hexameters and is now divided into 24 books. The *Iliad*, taking its name from *Ilium*, another name for TROY, concerns the last year of the 10-year siege of Troy, with the central figure being Achilles, the son of Peleus, king of the Myrmidones in modern-day Thessaly. The story focused on Achilles as a warrior and a person, more than on the siege.

The first book of the *Iliad* covers the quarrel between Achilles, the greatest warrior of the Greek army, and Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae. The anger of Achilles, the leader of the Myrmidons, is directed against Agamemnon and Hector. Chryseis, the daughter of a priest of Apollo, is captured by the Greeks and becomes a prisoner of Achilles. She ends up in the hands of Agamemnon, and Chryseis's father visits the Greek camp to seek her release. When this does not come about, the god Apollo sends a plague into the Greek camp, and Agamemnon is forced to return her.

In the second book Odysseus has the task of motivating the Greeks, and it includes details on the Greek and the Trojan forces. Fighting begins again in the fourth book and continues in the fifth book. The sixth book introduces Hector, prince of Troy, and adversary of Achilles. In the seventh book he fights Ajax, and in the eighth book the gods, some of whom are helping the Greeks, and others supporting the Trojans, withdraw from the fighting. In the ninth book Agamemnon tries, and fails, to get Achilles to return to the fight, and the 10th book involves Diomedes and Odysseus on a mission to spy on the Trojan positions at night.

The 11th book shows the Trojans scoring a small victory when Paris manages to wound Diomedes, and Achilles decides to use his favorite, Patroclus, in the campaign. The 12th book marks the Trojans driving the Greeks back to their camp, with Poseidon coming to the aid of the Greeks in the 13th book, and Hera helping Poseidon in the 14th book. At this point Zeus, the king of the gods, stops Poseidon from interfering, and in the 16th book, Patroclus, worried about a possible Greek defeat, borrows the armor of Achilles and leads the Greeks against the Trojans. The Trojans retreat, but Hector manages to kill Patroclus. The 17th book has the two armies fighting over the body of Patroclus, and the next book covers the grief of Achilles as he hears about the death of Patroclus. In the 19th book Achilles decides to join the fighting again, if only to avenge the death of his friend, and in the 20th book Achilles goes into the thick of the fighting, encountering Hector in the 21st book. In the next book the death of Patroclus is avenged when Achilles kills Hector and then ties the body to his chariot and drags it back to the Greek camp. The penultimate book describes the funeral games for Patroclus, and the final book involves Achilles agreeing, in the end, to hand back Hector's body to his father, King Priam of Troy.

### *ODYSSEY*

The *Odyssey* is more of a romance than a heroic tragedy. It concerns the attempts that Odysseus (or Ulysses, in Latin) makes to return to his home on the island of Ithaca and to his wife, Penelope, and son, Telemachus. Although the term *odyssey* describes, in English, a long journey, less than half the text is actually concerned with the travels of Odysseus. The *Odyssey* runs to 12,110 lines of dactylic hexameter. The first book begins with Odysseus already on his way home from Troy, anxious to get back to Ithaca and see his son. The second book describes the suitors who want to marry Penelope. They all maintain that her husband is dead and threaten Telemachus, who sets sail for Pylos. In the fourth book King Menelaus tells the boy that Odysseus was stranded in Egypt on his way back from Troy after the war.

In the ninth book Odysseus visits the land of the Lotus Eaters and, in perhaps the second-most famous incident in the book, ends up on the island controlled by the Cyclops, who have only one eye. Odysseus and his men hide in the cave of one of the Cyclops, but he eats two of the Greek sailors when they try to escape. Eventually Odysseus and the rest of the sailors blind the Cyclops and escape, hanging on the underside of

his sheep. In the 11th book Odysseus tries to make his peace with Poseidon, the god of the sea, who had supported the Trojans in the war.

The 12th book of the *Odyssey* covers the most famous incident, when Odysseus sails his ship past the land of the Sirens, women whose beautiful songs encourage sailors to sail too close to land so that their ships are dashed on the rocks. Odysseus has his men fill their ears with beeswax and has himself tied to the mast of the ship so that he alone can hear their singing but can do nothing about it. The next book has Odysseus trying to reach Ithaca, arriving there bedraggled and alone. In the remaining books Telemachus returns home, escaping an ambush laid by the suitors of Penelope. He manages to meet up with his father, and with the promised help of two gods, Zeus and Athena, they decide to attack the suitors at the end of the 16th book. By the 19th book Odysseus has met his wife but does not reveal his identity, although he is recognized by Eurycleia, a maid who had nursed the young Odysseus.

At the start of the 21st book Penelope offers to marry any man who can string the bow of Odysseus and fire it through 12 ax heads. The suitors try, one by one, and fail, and Odysseus, still in disguise, asks to try as well. Penelope says that if Odysseus, dressed as a poor man, does so, she will not marry him but will reward him. He eventually does try, and succeeds, and Telemachus arrives on the scene.

In the 22nd book Odysseus, Telemachus, and others chase out the suitors, killing some of them. Odysseus finally announces to his wife who he really is, tells of his adventures, and they are reunited. The final book relates what happens when King Agamemnon returns from the Trojan War. Instead of being welcomed by his wife Clytemnestra, she murders him.

### CRITICAL DISCUSSION

Some scholars have pointed to similarities with the Sumerian epic of *GILGAMESH*. Elements of the *Odyssey* were possibly adapted to form some of the Arabian stories concerning the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor and *One Thousand and One Nights*. The epics have been used by scholars to understand much about the life of the Greeks of the period and about methods of fighting. Homer's epics have inspired many people. One of those was ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 B.C.E.) who traced his ancestry, through his mother, to Achilles. He read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* when he was young, although he favored the former. He must have remembered this when he arrived in Asia Minor and

made a sacrifice at the tomb of Protesilaus who was killed in the Trojan War and who was the first Greek warrior to set foot on Asian soil.

There have been a number of novels based on the stories in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Greek playwright EURIPIDES wrote *Cyclops* based on the travels of Odysseus. Geoffrey Chaucer set his poem *Troilus and Creside* at Homer's Troy, and William Shakespeare used it for his play *Troilus and Cressida*. George E. Baker's *Paris of Troy* and Richard Powell's *When the Gods Would Destroy* all feature most of the characters from the *Iliad*. Nikos Kazantzakis, in his *The Odyssey, A Modern Sequel*, continues the story of Odysseus after his return to Ithaca, and Odysseus (as Ulysses) has been important in the work of Dante and James Joyce.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

**Further reading:** Brackman, Arnold C. *The Dream of Troy*. New York: Mason and Lipscomb, 1974; Bradford, Ernle. *Ulysses Found*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964; Grosvenor, Melville Bell. "Homeward with Ulysses." *National Geographic* (July 1973); Payne, Robert. *The Gold of Troy*. London: Robert Hale, 1959; Rouse, W. H. D. *Homer*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939; Schildt, Goran. *In the Wake of Odysseus*. London: Staples, 1953.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Huangdi

See YELLOW EMPEROR (HUANG DI, OR HUANG TI).

### Hundred Schools of Philosophy

The late Spring and Autumn (722–481 B.C.E.) era and the Warring States (481–222 B.C.E.) era in China were marked by political chaos and social and economic change. The ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY was impotent and relegated to the sidelines as powerful lords vied for total control. Warfare became increasingly frequent and violent. This was also the glorious age of Chinese philosophy; all China's classical philosophical systems were developed during this time. Thoughtful men, many of them administrators because of their education, were troubled by the chaos and sought answers. They produced a broad spectrum of ideas that ranged from the concrete to the most abstract and from the practical to the purely theoretical. The great variety of thought gave rise to the term

*Hundred Schools of Philosophy*, also called the Hundred Schools of Thought.

There is a striking parallel between this period in Chinese history and the golden age of classical Greek philosophy, which occurred at about the same time. The many states of China resembled the GREEK CITY-STATES, though on a larger scale. In each case the people from the disparate states recognized their common cultural heritage and longed for unity as they fought one another. Because political unity eluded both Chinese and Greeks, educated men debated with one another to find political solutions and moral answers. There were striking differences also. The Greeks had developed the concept of democracy, while no Chinese questioned the right of a monarch to govern all under heaven even as they sought to discover principles of moral authority that could unite their peoples under an ideal government.

In China the schools of philosophy can be classified into several broad categories. The most important one, whose name became inseparable with Chinese civilization, was Confucianism, a school of moral philosophy begun by CONFUCIUS. Its aim was to improve government and society by study of history and encourage men of superior morals to serve in government. Another was called DAOISM (TAOISM); it represented revolt from the strictures of a decadent society by emphasizing simplicity, detachment, and self-contentment. A school called Moism taught universal love, utilitarianism, and denounced offensive wars. The last among the major schools was LEGALISM. Not strictly a philosophy, it taught the ideal of an all-powerful sovereign state governed under strict and impartial laws. The Legalist goal was victory in war.

There were other groups that did not deal with moral principles. A man named Sunzi (Sun Tzu) was the reputed author of a book titled *Bingfa* (*Ping-fa*), or *The Art of War*, that is an analysis of total war in all its aspects. Other schools emphasized rhetoric and taught the art of persuasion, an important skill for diplomats in inter-state relations. Yet others taught logic and dialectics that had no practical application. The era of the Hundred Schools came to an end in 221 B.C.E. when a state named Qin (Ch'in), applying Legalism in its government, defeated all other states, unified China, and outlawed all philosophical debates.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; MENCIUS; MOZI (MO TZU); QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY; SUNZI (SUN TZU).

**Further reading:** de Bary, Wm. T., et al., eds. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960; Chan, Wing-tsit. *A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963; Creel,

Herrlee G. *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; Fung, Yu-lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Trans. by Derk Bodde. 2 vols. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Huns

The White Huns were steppe nomads who grew to power in Central Asia, China (where they were called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), and northern India during the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Different from the Huns organized under Attila, the White Huns were believed to have had white skin and elongated heads. Although it is unknown what the White Huns called themselves; they may have assumed the name Hua or Huer. Other names attributed to them include Hepthalites, Hepthal, Ephthalites, Yanda, Urar, Avars, and Hunna.

The most well known writing about the White Huns is by Procopius, a contemporary of the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I. Procopius recorded the remarks and observations from an ambassador who was traveling with the Persians who were warring with the White Huns. He wrote that the White Huns "are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies." The Mongolian Huns' origins are unclear. For the White Huns to have white skin indicates the possibility of a different origin than the Huns of Attila. The White Huns may not have been related to the Hunnish tribes at all. The White Huns are often considered unrelated, physically and culturally, to the Huns. The Huns belonged to a group of Central Asian and Eastern Caucasian steppe nomad warriors who also have murky origins. Chinese records, along with linguistic research and archaeological finds, place the early Huns in present-day Mongolia. The Huns left very little written evidence but by the fourth century C.E. a large group of Huns near the Black Sea forced Germanic Goth tribes into the Roman Empire.

## THE HUN EMPIRE AND ATTILA THE HUN

The organization of the Huns by the fifth century C.E. resulted in the creation of the Hun empire. Their appearance marks one of the first well-documented migrations on horseback. The last leader of the Hun empire, Attila the Hun, led with military success, due in part to weapons such as the Hun bow and financial gains that retained a large number of loyal Hunnish tribes and European peoples such as the Alans, Gepids, Slavs, and Gothic tribes.

Attila the Hun was born c. 406 C.E. As part of a peace treaty with Rome, the 12-year-old Attila was fostered as a child, and in exchange the Huns fostered the Roman Flavius Aetius. This hostage exchange was enforced in hopes that each child would bring back to his home nation an appreciation of the other's traditions and culture. Attila studied the foreign policies and internal workings of the Romans in order to favor the Huns. Secretly listening to meetings with foreign diplomats, Attila learned about court protocol and leadership tactics.

In 432 the Huns were united, and by 434 Attila's uncle Ruga left the empire to him and his brother Bleda. The Huns gathered and invaded the Persian Empire, but a defeat in Armenia caused a cessation of attacks for several years. By the mid-fifth century the Huns began attacking the border merchants of Persia. In addition, the two brothers threatened war with Rome, citing treaty failures and claiming the Romans had desecrated royal Hunnish graves on the Danube River. Crossing the river, the Huns invaded nearby Illyrian cities and forts. In 441 they invaded present-day Belgrade and Sirnium.

Within a few years the Huns invaded along the Danube River, using battering rams and siege towers. They successfully invaded cities along the Danube and then the Nišava River to sack the present-day Sofia (Bulgaria). The Huns moved toward CONSTANTINOPLE. Finding and then defeating the Roman armies outside the city, the Huns found they could not topple the city's thick walls but were in the process of gathering stronger battering rams. THEODOSIUS I admitted defeat instead of allowing the Huns to continue to batter the city's walls. After this victory the Huns retreated into the safety of their empire. According to classic literature, Attila killed his brother. The Hun empire was his alone. Attila, who would be called the "Scourge of God," was an aggressive and ambitious leader. Stories emerged claiming he owned the sword of Mars or that no one could look at him directly in the eyes without flinching. Attila and his Huns attacked eastern Europe, laying waste to cities along the way. He defeated city after city on his way through Austria and Germany.

Attila attacked GAUL before turning to Italy, crushing several Lombard cities on his way to RAVENNA, the Roman capital at the time. Attila did not attack Ravenna; some scholars believe that Attila stopped short of sacking the capital of the Roman Empire at the request of Pope LEO THE GREAT. Another theory is that Attila wanted to return back to his own lands before the onset of a harsh winter.

After Attila's death in 453 the Hun empire collapsed. In legend, Attila died from a nosebleed on the night of his marriage to a seventh wife. Typically not a

drinker, Attila supposedly passed out on his back and the nosebleed caused him to choke on his own blood. Upon his death, his sons acquired the throne, however, they were not as aggressive as Attila and fought among themselves in power struggles. By the late fifth century the Hun empire had completely disintegrated. Attila's legacy was his ability to organize the nomadic Huns and to collect wealth through attacks and extortion. In many cultures today Attila the Hun is viewed as a hero.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE WHITE HUNS

Some scholars believe that the White Huns were of Turkish origin, while some place the White Huns' origin near the Hindu Kush region. What little is known of White Hunnish culture favors an Iranian origin. A common custom for Iranians was also common for the White Huns—the practice of polyandry, having several husbands to one wife.

In addition, a White Hunnish woman wore a hat bearing the same number of horns as she had husbands, all of whom were probably brothers. Even if a man had no biological brothers, he would adopt men to be his brothers so he could marry. All the brothers and the wife agreed on sexual privileges. The paternity of children was assigned according to the age of the husband. In this model the oldest husband claimed the first child and subsequent children were assigned to husbands of decreasing age. Polyandry has not been associated with any other Hun tribe. In fact, many Hun tribes practiced the reverse model, polygamy, in which one husband had many wives.

Scholars differ about the language spoken by the White Huns. Many believe that their language was similar to the language of Iranian peoples; others believe they spoke Mongolian tongues. The White Huns are thought to have worshipped fire and sun deities. Although this is not uncommon, worshipping both deities together is similar to Iranian and Persian peoples. Such beliefs may have later produced in what would be known as ZOROASTRIANISM in which women held important value in society, cleanliness and hard work were stressed, oppression of others is condemned, and the worship of fire and the Sun were key elements.

Some scholars believe the White Huns derive from a combination of the Tarim Basin peoples and the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH). The people of the Tarim Basin in present-day China flourished up until the second century C.E. The Tarim Basin people were not of Asian origin at all but may have been tribes that migrated through central Eurasia to the land that later became known as the southern portion of the SILK ROAD.

Nomads who lived in northwest China, the Yuezhì were a fair-skinned people of Caucasian origin. It is thought they were part of a large migration of INDO-EUROPEAN peoples who then settled in northwestern China. The White Huns may have practiced a form of cranial manipulation that caused an elongated skull. Burials of White Huns contained elongated skulls. When a child's skull is still soft, it is possible to slowly shape the skull into this shape.

### CONQUESTS OF THE WHITE HUNS

In the first half of the fifth century the regions of Kushan and GANDHARA were ruled by a local dynasty of unrelated Huns. The White Huns organized and overthrew the Kushan rulers, and the GUPTA EMPIRE was extinguished. The White Huns also attacked Buddhists and destroyed monasteries. As the century progressed, the White Huns sacked the Bactrian region. With each success the White Huns moved closer to Persia. In 484 the White Huns defeated the armies at Khorasan, in present-day Iran, and the Sassanid king was killed.

With these successes the empire of the White Huns grew to the point where they were the superpower of Central Asia. They had destroyed the Iranian SASSANID EMPIRE and founded their capital of Pendjikent. Successfully stabilizing the borders and strengthening their foothold in Asia, the White Huns sent 13 embassies to China in order to help establish their influence. The White Huns ruled northwestern India for 30 more years. During the sixth century the Persian king KHOSROW I made an alliance with the TURKS against the White Huns. The new allies attacked the White Huns, killing their king and leaving them a broken tribe, who all but disappeared by the second half of the sixth century. Survivors assimilated into neighboring regions.

Their loss of power left a vacuum for a new group, the Turks. The appearance of the Gurjara clan in India around the time of the White Hun invasions suggest that perhaps the White Huns were involved genetically and politically in establishing several ruling dynasties in northern India. Another theory maintains that the White Huns remained in India as a separate group.

See also LATE BARBARIANS.

**Further reading:** Enoki, K. "The Liang Shih-Kung-T'u on the Origin and Migration of the Hua or Ephthalites." *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* (v. 7.1–2/December 1970); Kennedy, Hugh N. *Mongols, Huns and Vikings: Nomads at War*. London: Cassell, 2002; Maenchen-Helfen, Otto. *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973; McGovern,

William Montgomery. *The Early Empires of Central Asia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

MELISSA BENNE

### Hurrians

The Hurrians were a non-Semitic, INDO-EUROPEAN people who originated in Caucasia, or beyond, northeast of Mesopotamia. In the late third millennium B.C.E. they migrated from east of the Tigris River across northern Mesopotamia, eventually making their way to the Mediterranean coast in the late second millennium B.C.E. During the time of Naram-Sin, the Hurrians controlled minor states in the vicinity of AKKAD. Talpuš-atili of Nagar has the distinction of being the oldest known Hurrian ruler; he is attested on an Akkadian seal found at Tell Brak from the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Repeated campaigns were conducted against the Hurrians during the UR III period, which brought large numbers of Hurrians to SUMER from lands north, northeast, and east of the Tigris.

The religion of the Hurrians centered on the worship of the storm god Tešub. His sister and/or consort was Šawuška, the goddess of love and war. She was worshipped under numerous guises, most famously as Ishtar of NINEVEH. Other gods of note were Kumarbi, the Hurrian grain god, and Hepat, a Syrian goddess who eventually replaced Šawuška as Tešub's consort in western Hurrian traditions. Based on records from such sites as MARI, UGARIT, and Alalakh, the Hurrians are generally divided into two cultural and historical spheres. The older eastern sphere formed the Hurrian heartland and stretched from the region of Lake Van and Lake Urmia in the north to Kirkuk in the south. A second western sphere emerged later in southeastern Anatolia and north Syria.

These two cultural spheres were briefly united under the control of the MITANNI kingdom in the mid-second millennium, with its capital located at Waššukani, which may be modern Tel Fakhariya. The kingdom of Mittani reached its zenith under Sauštater, whose realm stretched from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean. Thus the Hurrian culture was a bridge of sorts between the cultures of Mesopotamia, the Assyrians and Babylonians, and those further west including Hatti and Aram.

The Hurrians finally filtered into Palestine by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Na'aman argues that the Middle Bronze Age ended when northerners (the Hurrians) advanced southward through the Beqa and Jordan Valleys. Conversely, Hess questions whether the northern

cultural presence found in the Late Bronze Age can be used to explain the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Regardless, Hurrian influence in the southern Levant is based on the conflicts that Thutmose III had with the kingdom of Mittani. The Hurrians are known in the Bible as the Horites (Gen 36:2–3); they may also be associated with the Hivites (Exod 23:23; Judges 3:3) and the Jebusites (Exod 23:23; Josh 15:63). While the theory of Hurrian origin for the Hyksos dynasty in Egypt (17th century B.C.E.) has been refuted, it is possible that Hyksos infiltration in Egypt was a result of Hurrian expansion in Palestine.

See also FERTILE CRESCENT.

**Further reading:** Buccellati, Giorgio, and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati. “Urkesh: The First Hurrian Capital.” *Biblical Archaeologist* (v.60/2 1997); Hallo, W. W., ed. *Context of Scripture: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*. Vol. 2. Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1997.

MARK D. JANZEN

## Hyksos

The Hyksos were foreign rulers of Egypt who seized power and ruled Lower (northern) Egypt. Contradictory dates and king lists, as well as gaps in the records, render their history elusive, but the Hyksos were most likely Palestinian. The combined efforts of Egyptian kings Seqenenre, Kamose, and Ahmose and their mothers forced out the last Hyksos ruler, Apepi, around 1530 B.C.E.

The Second Intermediate Period is the label given to the years of Hyksos power. At the end of the Middle Period of Egyptian history the breakdown of centralized authority and fragmentation of administrative control led to the neglect of Egypt's borders. Areas may have fallen to the kingdom of KUSH or to NUBIA, and the eastern border also brought invaders. Immigrants called Aamu (usually translated as Asiatic) may have been entering for years, settling in the Nile Valley and assimilating into local villages. About 1650 B.C.E. a group of foreign chieftains with Semitic names took control of Egypt's Delta and ruled from Memphis. Possibly, they simply took over existing posts and pushed out the local administrators. Egyptians referred to these kings as *heka-kaswt* (or *hikkhase* or *hikau khausut*), meaning “rulers of foreign lands.” Greek historians shortened that phrase to Hyksos.

A major source of our knowledge of the Hyksos is the Jewish historian JOSEPHUS, who wrote in the first century C.E. Josephus quoted the Egyptian priest Manetho, whose book of Egyptian history—now lost—was composed around 270 B.C.E., 1,300 years after the Sec-

ond Intermediate Period. According to Josephus, the Hyksos came from the east and seized power without striking a blow, and then destroyed temples and cities and enslaved or killed the inhabitants. Their appointed king was Salitis; Bnon and then Apachman succeeded him. Josephus listed six Hyksos kings, and their reigns averaged 43 years each.

Sextus Julius Africanus, who wrote in the third century C.E., also quoted Manetho. He listed six Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty, whose reigns totaled 284 years, followed by 518 years given to the Sixteenth Dynasty, also Hyksos. The Seventeenth Dynasty combined Hyksos and Theban kings, who ruled a total of 151 years. Other king lists are equally confusing and the dates unreliable, but most scholars accept that during these dynasties, kings ruled simultaneously in different parts of Egypt.

The numbers are difficult to reconcile, but historians believe that the Hyksos rulers never tried to unseat the Egyptian kings in Upper Egypt. There, the Thirteenth Dynasty of Egyptian kings continued, probably paying taxes to the Hyksos. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties were Egyptian and centered in THEBES. Concurrently, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties of Hyksos kings ruled from either Memphis or Avaris in the northeast Nile Delta.

The Hyksos may have brought unique weapons with them and possibly introduced horses, chariots, the vertical loom, the lyre, and other innovations to Egypt, but overall they adopted Egyptian ways and culture. The greatest Hyksos king, Apepi, employed many scribes during his long reign; their work indicated just how Egyptian the Hyksos had become. Apepi waged war with the Theban king Seqenenre Taa of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Seqenenre was killed in battle; his mummy has been identified and is riddled with brutal blows. Seqenenre's nephew, Kamose, continued the fight, though he did not live long. Kamose's younger brother Ahmose is credited with finally removing the Hyksos and its last king Khamudi, and uniting Upper and Lower Egypt again. Stele praise the mother of Kamose and Ahmose, Ahhotpe, who guarded Egypt and expelled the rebels, and Seqenenre's mother Tetisheri is also given credit. The final conflict between Hyksos and Theban kings lasted for 30 years.

**Further reading:** Bourriau, Janine. “The Second Intermediate Period.” In Ian Shaw, ed. *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Gardiner, Alan. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

# I



## imperial cult, Roman

From its foundation by AUGUSTUS CAESAR in 27 B.C.E., the Roman Empire saw a tendency to treat the emperor as a divine being. This phenomenon was neither completely government imposed nor entirely a spontaneous upwelling of devotion from the people of the empire. The divinization of the emperor was only partially reversed with the conversion of the empire to Christianity.

Augustus himself built on elements in the earlier rule of his uncle JULIUS CAESAR, who the Roman Senate declared a god posthumously with Augustus's influence. Like Julius, Augustus took the ancient title of *pontifex maximus*, chief priest of the Roman state, a title that subsequent emperors would also take as part of their office. This is consistent with Augustus's general practice of using titles either sanctioned by Roman tradition or relatively modest, such as *princeps*, or first citizen. Augustus's reign saw the foundation of temples of "Rome and Augustus" throughout the empire. More temples of Augustus survive than of any other emperor, including the only imperial temples found outside the boundaries of the empire. The cult paid to the living Augustus was more like that of heroes and benefactors than that of the actual gods and was particularly strong in the Greek East, where it built on Greek and Near Eastern traditions of ruler cults. However, after his death in 14 C.E. the Roman Senate enrolled *divus* Augustus, divine Augustus, among the gods of the Roman state (following the precedent of Julius). There is also evidence for cults of other members of his family.

Augustus's successor, Tiberius, encouraged his cult, sponsoring an official priesthood, although he himself declined divine honors when proffered. He and all subsequent emperors also took the names Caesar Augustus. The third emperor of the Julio-Claudian line, Gaius, or Caligula, contrasted with Tiberius in his lust for divine honors. A lust to be paid divine honors while still alive became a stereotypical quality of "bad" emperors in the writings of Roman historians.

Enrollment of a dead emperor among the gods of Rome was an official act of the Senate and as such was a political statement about the merits of the dead emperor. If a new emperor wanted to emphasize continuity, having the Senate declare his predecessor divine was an effective means. If a new emperor wanted to emphasize a sharp break with the past, leaving the dead emperor undivine helped send that message. After the death of the emperor Claudius—the conqueror of Britain—a magnificent temple, the largest on the island, was begun at Colchester dedicated to the divine emperor. It was later destroyed by British rebels, led by BOUDICCA.

The cult played a key role in Roman persecution of Christians, who were urged to perform a sacrifice to the emperor to avoid punishment. The most thorough persecution of the Christians, perpetrated by the emperor DIOCLETIAN, was part of an attempt to strengthen the imperial cult as a way of unifying the empire. Jews were usually exempt from this requirement on the condition that they prayed to their god for the emperor. Diocletian also reformed the protocol surrounding the emperor to make himself more remote from ordinary people, and



Ruins of the temple of Augustus Caesar remain in Ankara, Turkey.  
More temples of Augustus survive than of any other emperor.

abandoned traditional titles like *princeps* in favor of the more arrogant Dominus Noster, or “Our Lord.” Historians dispute whether the imperial cult was purely political, or whether the feelings it evoked were religious like those of the gods and heroes. Although the imperial cult varied tremendously between regions, there is some evidence that it was integrated into local religious life. Local associations could choose emperors or members of the imperial family as their divine patrons.

After the conversion of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT to Christianity, the emperor abandoned his pagan religious role and took on a new one as protector and arbiter of the Christian Church. The abandonment of the imperial cult was a slow process; the Christian emperors continued to use the title *pontifex maximus* until Gratian renounced it as part of a campaign against the pagan high aristocracy of the city of Rome. There are also some signs of the persistence of imperial priesthoods in the fourth century C.E. under Christian emperors. The emperors themselves were not ordinary Christians but retained an exalted and sacred status. The peculiar religious position of the Byzantine emperors, whose titles included *isapostolon*, or “equal of the apostles,” was partially an inheritance from the pagan Roman imperial cult.

See also JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Fishwick, Duncan. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1987–2002; Friesen, Stephen J. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. Leiden, Netherlands:

E. J. Brill, 1993; Gradel, Ittai. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Harland, Philip A. “Imperial Cults within Local Cultural Life: Associations in Roman Asia.” *Ancient History Bulletin/Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 17 (2003); Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

WILLIAM E. BURNS

## Indo-Europeans

Indo-Europeans are representatives of a language family now widely distributed all over the world, with primary concentration in Europe, the Middle East, and northern Asia. Sir William Jones, who emphasized the similarity of SANSKRIT, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and the German language, introduced the term *Indo-European* in 1786. Primarily this term was used to mark the similarity detected in the languages of a major part of the population of Europe, Iran, and India. From the 18th to 19th centuries the focus of such studies was shifted to the detection of similarities in German and other languages, which is why in 1823 I. Kapport introduced the term *Indo-German*. This was quickly replaced by the term proposed by Max Muller, *Aryan* (Aryan). Since the second half of the 20th century the term *Indo-European* has replaced other versions.

### CONTEMPORARY INDO-EUROPEANS

The Indo-European family of languages in its contemporary understanding was designed in 1863 by August Schleicher as a peculiar genealogical tree, which reflects its wide distribution and its process of inner development and disintegration into dialects and new languages. This scheme is based on the assumption that common Indo-European prelanguage was distributed first only in a restricted area, and in the course of time its transmitters settled all over Eurasia (in modern times also in America, Africa, and Australia) disseminating their language and culture.

Many contemporary linguists distinguish 10 branches in the Indo-European family of languages: Indo-Iranian, Slavonic and Baltic, Armenian, Anatolian, Albanian, Tokharian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Hellenic. Every one of the aforementioned branches unites modern as well as “dead,” or extinct, languages used in the remote past by collectives known only by remnants of their artifacts and/or written sources, such as Sanskrit, Latin, Old Greek, Venetic, Old Persian, Lyd-

ian, and Mycenaean. Main branches of Indo-European languages are distributed unevenly in the contemporary world and sometimes could be subdivided into groups and subgroups with different numbers of languages.

#### **INDO-EUROPEAN HOMELAND IDENTIFICATION**

Searches for the place and time of origin of Indo-Europeans have been based on the assumption that linguistic and cultural similarity of the Indo-European family of languages is provoked by their connection with a common ancestor that lived in the remote past. Contemporary archaeology, cultural and physical anthropology, linguistics, and other neighboring sciences provide a wide variety of ideas and hypotheses, which can be divided into two groups: One tends to see common Indo-European ancestors as early agriculturists living mainly by land cultivation, while the second searches for the earliest Indo-Europeans among the nomadic population economy and mode of life based on cattle breeding and the exploration of domestic horses and wheeled vehicles.

Since the late 1960s new insights into the Indo-Europeans' ancient homeland imply the convergent development of a series of neighboring language transmitters, which practiced mutual borrowing of terminology connected with the main field of their livelihood and subsistence (the so-called surge model). Another contemporary tendency of Indo-European homeland research tries to integrate a genealogical tree model with a theory of regional development of Indo-European languages. The latest developments are based on archaeological data.

#### **EARLY INDO-EUROPEANS AS NOMADS**

V. G. Childe put forward the North Black Sea hypothesis of an Indo-European homeland in the mid-20th century. In spite of an apparent difference of backgrounds and arguments, this hypothesis was illustrated with data from Neolithic settlements of the region, implying identification of early Indo-Europeans as the first nomads. This may be the only reasonable explanation of the rapidity and scale of pre-Indo-Europeans' dissemination over the Eurasian steppe and forest-steppe region.

Valentin Danilenko also regarded nomadic impact (connected with the Seredniy Stig culture of the Lower Dniper region) as a crucial factor for Indo-Europeans' spread to inner territories of Europe and the diversification of Indo-Europeans into several branches. In Ukraine Yuriy Rassamakin has also studied this, localizing a probable homeland for Indo-Europeans in

the steppe zone between the Don and Danube Rivers. He identifies creators of Seredniy Stig culture as early Indo-Europeans, who conducted progressive forms of a cattle-breeding economy of pastoralist genre and lived in a neighborhood with non-Indo-Europeans. Many representatives of Soviet archaeology (Alexander Bryusov, Viktor Gening, Dmitry Telegin) regarded the Caucasus and the steppe landscapes of the northern Black Sea region as the most probable homeland of early Indo-European pastoralists.

Maria Gimbutas localized the Indo-European homeland in the Ural-Don steppes and tended to reference them with the so-called mound-grave culture circle, which includes different peoples with the only common feature in their funeral rites. She regarded Indo-Europeans as aggressive invaders whose attacks during the fifth millennium B.C.E. caused the destruction of prosperous agricultural centers in the Balkans, Asia Minor, central Europe, and Transcaucasia and, later, in the Aegean and Adriatic region. John Mallory proposed recently an original interpretation of the creators of the Pit-Grave (Yamnaya) culture as the earliest proto-Indo-Europeans. On the rich and extensive empirical (archaeological and linguistic) database he has illustrated movements of the Pit-Grave population to Siberia; the Near East; southeastern, central, and northern Europe; and other regions of Eurasia.

Most of the versions of nomadic interpretation of early Indo-Europeans are based on the assumption that dispersal of this population was relatively rapid and covered huge territories during a restricted period of time (fifth–third millenniums B.C.E.). It implies the development of effective transportation (such as horseback riding with the use of wheel carts for heavy items and belongings) and sparse settlement, with the highly developed funeral monuments that reflected complicated rites and customs. That is why traces of horse domestication, the origin of the wheel, and the construction of mound graves usually are regarded as the most reliable archaeological evidences of Indo-Europeans as nomadic.

#### **INDO-EUROPEANS AS EARLY AGRICULTURISTS**

Most of advocates of early Indo-Europeans as early agriculturists believe that the process of their formation should be viewed in a broad chronological frame beginning from the Mesolithic Period and transitioning to a productive economy. The spread is usually connected with the dispersion of farming skills, which implies the drawing of terminology and rites and customs, the sharing of the "oasis," or monocentric, theory of a transition to land cultivation and cattle breeding,

and searches for the time and place of Indo-European origin in the origin of agriculture.

One of the most widespread in contemporary pre-history and archaeology understanding of pre-Indo-Europeans as early agriculturists was proposed in the late 1980s by Colin Renfrew. Localizing Indo-Europeans in central and eastern Anatolia as early as the middle of the eighth millennium B.C.E., he distinguishes 10 diffusions of Indo-Europeans to adjacent and relatively remote territories (including the Black Sea steppe region). Such diffusions were caused by the necessity to ensure facilities for an agricultural mode of life (first of all, land suitable for farming), which did not imply widespread human migrations: In Refrew's understanding it was rather a gradual movement of individuals or their small family groups (approximately 1.6 miles per year), which caused a series of local hunter-gatherers to adapt to an agricultural mode of life. Soviet researcher Igor Diakonov, who localized the Indo-Europeans' homeland in the Balkan and Carpathian regions, also indicated that their ancestors could have come from Asia Minor with their domesticated animals and plants. He dated this process at 5000–4000 B.C.E.

Russian archaeologist Gerald Matyushin believed that the only common Indo-European traits that could be traced and proved archaeologically are microlithic industry and the origin of a productive economy (land cultivation and cattle breeding). The earliest displays of both of these traits he localized in the Zagros Mountains and southern Caspian region, suggesting that agriculture distribution in Europe should be connected with the expansion and migration of Middle Eastern inhabitants to the north. European hunter-gatherers adopted agriculture together with appropriate rituals, rites, and spells, which were pronounced using the language of pioneers of land cultivation, ensuring the linguistic similarity of Indo-European peoples. His hypothesis is based on the mapping of microlithic technology, and the temporal and spatial distribution was later proved by the linguistic studies of T. Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav the Ivanov. They suggest that the ancestral home of Indo-Europeans was located in the region of Lake Van and Lake Urmia, from whence they moved to Middle Asia, the northern Caspian region, and the southern Urals.

One more version of the agriculturistic interpretation of early Indo-Europeans is the hypothesis that their origin lay in central Europe on the territory between the Rein, Visla, and Upper Danube. It was based on the correlation of Indo-European hydronimy with the distribution of the population connected with linear pottery culture, funnel beaker culture, globular amphora cul-

ture, and corded ware culture. G. Kossina, E. Mayer, P. Bosch-Gimpera, and G. Devoto shared this idea, which was actively discussed during the first half of the 20th century, especially by the Nazis. This discussion resulted in identification of pre-Germans (or pre-Indo-Germans) with Aryans who were regarded as transmitters of the highest cultural achievements in ancient civilization. This conclusion was broadly used by fascist propagandists as a justification for the genocide of the non-Aryan population practiced in Europe during World War II.

### **SYNTHETIC, OR COMPROMISE, IDEAS**

One of the earliest versions of a compromise was proposed in 1969 by Soviet archaeologist Vladimir Danilenko. He assumed that the roots of Indo-Europeans could be traced as early as 10,000–7000 B.C.E. on the border of Europe and Asia. By 5000 B.C.E., pre-Indo-Europeans (the population of Bug-Dnister, Sursko-Dniper, and linear pottery cultures) moved to the northwestern Black Sea region. He supposes the presence of at least two dialect zones in the pre-Indo-European homeland at that time: the western agricultural and eastern nomadic. Higher activity of the latter during the Neolithic had caused further disintegration of this dialectic unity and the relatively rapid spread of Indo-Europeans into the inner territories of Europe under the influence of the nomadic culture of Seredniy Stig. According to Danilenko, several branches of Indo-Europeans could already be traced at that time, among them the Tokharians (pit-grave culture), Indo-Iranians (Usatovo, Kemi-Oba, Lowe Mykhailivka cultures), proto-Thrakians, and proto-Daco-Mezians (representatives of the agricultural zone, including the Trypillie phenomenon).

Russian researcher Viktor Safonov proposed an original version of the history of the Indo-Europeans, which he divided into four periods, each with a particular homeland: 1) boreal period (pre-9000 B.C.E.) with no apparent traces of Indo-European separation from other languages; 2) period of early Indo-European language (8000–6000 B.C.E.) with the homeland in the western and central part of southern Anatolia (Chatal-Hujuk culture); 3) period of middle Indo-European language (6000–5000 B.C.E.) with the homeland Danubian region (Vincha culture); and 4) period of late Indo-European language (5000–3000 B.C.E.) during seven stages of which the final version of Indo-European homeland was shaped in the course of Lengyel and funnel beaker cultures dispersion. During the first half of the third millennium B.C.E. he tracked disintegration of Indo-European language unity into different language branches with relatively independent and self-sufficient histories.

Mikhail Andreev, who used “linguistic paleontology” based on studies of F. de Saussure, proposed a similar version of Indo-European language development. In his version three global stages of Indo-European language formation are distinguished: boreal, in the Late Paleolithic; early Indo-European, in the Mesolithic; and late Indo-European. He traces the primary homeland of Indo-Europeans to the vast spaces of Eurasia along the 50th parallel from the Rein River on the west to Altay on the east.

Other trends in the conceptualization of the Indo-Europeans’ homeland are connected with further development of needs to abandon the search for a narrow and strictly outlined territory where the earliest displays of Indo-European language and culture could be traced. Many linguists (Oleg Trubachev, Lev Gindin) as well as many archaeologists (Nikolay Merpert, Evgeniy Chernykh) believe in the possibility of the divergent and convergent development of languages, which does not necessarily imply the existence of any Indo-European prelanguage.

Following the ideas of Nikolay Trubetskoy, Pizani, and others, the roots of contemporary Indo-European languages should be found in the environment of deeply interconnected dialects of the Neolithic—the Bronze Age, which gave birth to the primary Indo-European languages such as Greek, Sanskrit, Latin, and Celtic. In this sense all attempts to identify first Indo-Europeans with any archaeological data are regarded as useless and contradicting with the basic principles of historical reconstruction.

Contemporary studies in the field of Indo-Europeans’ homeland are concerned mainly with the Neolithic population of the European steppe region and imply that the homogeneity of the early pre-Indo-European family of languages was destroyed during the fourth millennium B.C.E.

See also ANDES: NEOLITHIC; NEOLITHIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Childe, V. G. *The Prehistory of the European Society*. London: Penguin Books, 1950; Krantz, G. *Geographical Development of European Languages*. New York: P. Lang, 1988; Mallory, J. P. *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989; Renfrew, Colin. *Archaeology and Language: Puzzle of the Indo-European Origins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; ———. “They Ride Horses, Don’t They? Mallory on the Indo-Europeans.” *Antiquity* (1989).

OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

## Indus civilization

The Indus civilization is also called the Indus empire or Harappan civilization; the last name derives from Harappa, the first site of this civilization excavated by modern archaeologists. Many similarities and striking homogeneity through the region warrant classifying the entire culture under one name. Its dates are approximately 2500–1500 B.C.E. The discovery and scientific excavation of Indus sites backdated the beginning of the Indian civilization by at least 1,000 years.

Neolithic people began to build communities along the Indus Valley in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent around 5,000 years ago. Archaeological excavations began in 1921 under the direction of Sir John Marshall on the bank of the Ravi River (a tributary of the Indus) in Sind Province, where railway builders had discovered huge quantities of old fired bricks. They led to the discovery of an ancient city called Harappa that gave its name to the entire civilization.

In 1923 another expedition began to excavate a site called MOHENJO-DARO (meaning “mound of the dead”) on the banks of the Indus 400 miles from Harappa, uncovering another major find. Since that time more than 1,000 sites covering approximately 300,000 sq. miles have been investigated. They include not only the area around the Indus and its tributaries but also northwestern India to Kashmir, the entire Arabian Sea shore including a large seaport called Lothal (which also means “mound of the dead” in the modern language of the region), and as far as Delhi to the east.

Despite advanced agriculture and the use of draft animals to plow the land, the Indus was an urban and commercial culture. It is estimated that 35,000 people lived in Harappa. The towns had many characteristics in common: a central citadel on a mound surrounded by a brick wall, with a planned city located below, whose streets were laid out in a grid pattern oriented to the points of the compass. The cities were further divided into areas for stores, workshops, and residences. Working-class dwellings were two-roomed, whereas affluent houses were two-storied centered around a courtyard, with flush toilets and individual wells. The streets had covered sewers, sentry boxes, and public wells on street corners.

Lothal was excavated in 1954. Its specialty was bead manufacturing; a large factory measuring 5,380 sq. feet has been found that used locally produced and imported raw materials to make many sizes of beads for jewelry. The modern town near Lothal is still famous for producing beads for jewelry. It was also a

shipping center with docks and an extensive breakwater. Trade was important for the prosperity of Indus cities. Sumerian and Akkadian CUNEIFORM tablets dating to between 2400 and 2000 B.C.E. mention a place called Dilmun or Telmun in the east that may have been the Indus region. Indus artisans practiced many crafts: pottery made on wheels, cotton cloths, bronze and copper weapons and tools, and artistic and utilitarian objects made from ivories, various stones, gold, and silver.

Thousands of small, square, and round seals made from steatite have been found throughout the region. Each one has engraved on one surface several characters of pictographic writing together with engravings of animals, plants, or deity-like figures. Almost 400 separate pictographs have been identified, but not deciphered, and even if they were, each inscription is too short to provide much information. The seals were likely used for sealing merchandise, and the words were probably the names of the merchants. No other examples of Indus writing have survived.

Without a deciphered written script, the Indus civilization is classified as prehistoric. Thus, modern people can only make guesses about many things that concern the Indus civilization. They may have been united into some sort of an empire, as evinced by the uniform size of the bricks used throughout the region. Since there were no signs of palaces or royal burial sites, the Indus people were probably not ruled by monarchs. Perhaps a college of priests ruled and used the great baths and assembly halls for religious and government ceremonies.

Ritual baths associated with temples were characteristic of Hinduism in later India. Some seals depict a godlike figure with a horned headdress and sitting cross-legged. Some experts speculate that those images could be early images of the later Hindu god Shiva. Aside from a statue of a deity-like figure and what seem to be female fertility figurines, there are no indications of worship. However, in cemeteries the dead were buried facing the same direction, with artifacts, presumably to use in the next world.

Because of the lack of written records the reasons for the end of the Indus civilization are unclear. What is clear is the decline during its last centuries. One cause of decline was extensive floods, probably caused by widespread deforestation and overgrazing. Forests were chopped down to provide fuel for firing the billions of bricks used in construction. Denuded land was susceptible to flooding by monsoon rains, which deprived the land of top soil and silted up riv-

ers, raising the river beds and causing floods when rains brought down large quantities of water. Flooding was exacerbated by geological changes during the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., which lifted up the coastline of the northern shores of the Arabian Sea. As a result, the Indus waters could not reach the sea and formed shallow lakes.

These changes must have shattered the lives of farmers in the low-lying areas and ruined trade along the coast, which may explain the disappearance of the seals during the last years of the civilization. Flooding also explains the embankments and layers of silt found around Mohenjo-Daro. In time the floodwaters spilled over the barriers, and the river returned to its course to sea. The process was repeated several times, which must have worn out the people and wrecked the economy, evident by the poorer quality housing and falling civic standards in the last layer of Mohenjo-Daro.

Around 1900 B.C.E. the Indus River changed course and a parallel river, the Saravasti, dried up entirely. The walls and fortifications at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa also show massive reinforcements during their last phase. The skeletons found scattered helter-skelter at a couple of locations indicate catastrophe, whether human-made or natural. Harappa and other settlements that had not suffered from previous decline were suddenly abandoned. The last layer of materials excavated from Harappa show poorer quality pottery ware and the cremation of the dead rather than burial, as practiced earlier.

The last layer of habitation at another Indus city called Chanhudaro showed fireplaces and chimneys in the houses, a novelty in the Indus Valley, perhaps indicating the culture of newcomers from colder lands. Beginning around 2000 B.C.E. and for unknown reasons, Indo-European-speaking, seminomadic people from the Eurasian plains began to move from their homelands in a quest for new homes. One group calling themselves Aryans would move through the mountain passes of modern Afghanistan to the Indus Valley to settle in India. By c. 1500 B.C.E. the Indus civilization had perished and the Aryan age had begun.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; SUMER; VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Rao, S. R. *Dawn and Devolution of the Indian Civilization*. New Delhi, India: Aditya Prakashan, 1991; Wheeler, Sir Mortimer. *Civilization of the Indus Valley and Beyond*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

## Israel and Judah

From the beginning the Jewish scriptures focus on the PATRIARCHS Abraham, Isaac (Ishmael), Jacob, and Joseph. The reason for this attention is that from them came the “covenant,” the divine choice that favors the people of the Bible. Abraham was promised the land of Canaan (present-day Israel). His grandson was named Jacob but after a divine encounter was renamed “Israel.” From this patriarch came 12 sons, which became the line of the tribes that dominate the rest of the Bible. Corporately the tribes are known as Israel, named after their forefather.

### SAUL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON

The time of the Patriarchs likely occurred in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The earliest mention of Israel comes from the Merneptah Stela of c. 1200 B.C.E. in Egypt. The stela simply states: “Israel has perished; its seed is no more.” As for the tribes’ existence and the traditions surrounding them, the historical record is totally silent. Their way of life as described in the Bible is consistent with what can be hypothesized from the scanty archaeological record. These tribes first are migratory and go down to Egypt during a time of famine. From there MOSES leads them back to the brink of the land where Abraham had lived. Once they enter the land, it is clear that they lack political cohesion and stability, for charismatic heroes known as JUDGES are

required to take charge periodically and give military deliverance to the tribes. Finally, the tribes unite to select several kings, at first SAUL and then DAVID and his son SOLOMON.

The separate identity of Israel and Judah probably began to take shape in the time of the Judges. Israel referred to the land of Ephraim of the northern hill country, where the other tribes deferred to Ephraim as the largest and most powerful. This confederation of the northern tribes then came together to choose the first king, Saul, and the few southern tribes probably gave limited support.

When Saul died, the southern tribes rallied around David, a representative from the southern confederation from the tribe of Judah. David then sought to bring the northern tribes into the alliance by choosing as his capital city, Jerusalem, “the City of David,” outside the north or south, a foreign stronghold. In spite of this, resentments were still rampant in the north, and regional rebellions broke out. When Solomon died, even the Bible could not repress a negative view of the heavy taxes that were imposed on the north to pay for David and Solomon’s public works.

### JEROBOAM, REHOBOAM, AND AHAB

The net effect of this tension was that the northern 10 tribes seceded from the southern two tribes as soon as Solomon died. Jeroboam, who had earlier led an



*Ancient Jerusalem is pictured in 65 C.E. in this lithograph from 1887. David sought to bring the northern tribes into his alliance by choosing Jerusalem, or “the City of David,” as his capital city.*

unsuccessful insurrection against Solomon, led them. Meanwhile, crown prince Rehoboam led the south and is portrayed as a stubborn and haughty king. The split, however, left both sides vulnerable to popular discontent and external threats. Whatever prestige they had from the “empire” of David and Solomon was lost when they often clashed with each other on the battlefield.

Israel, though bigger, was weak until the time of Omri, who was succeeded by his capable son and daughter-in-law, AHAB and JEZEBEL. They established their capital city of Samaria, and the country boomed under their leadership. The archaeological records tend to confirm this judgment. Judah continued to decline, although the interpretation of the Jewish scriptures is that it was more legitimate because it was the home of David and the location of the Temple and Jerusalem. Meanwhile, prophetic criticism mounted against Israel because of its idolatrous worship, its persecution of true religion, and its wealth disparities. Three recently discovered stela (Mesha Stela in Moab, Tel Dan Stela, and Shalmaneser III Stela) all confirm the involvement of Israel with foreign powers, including Moab, DAMASCUS, and ASSYRIA during the reign of Ahab.

Ahab and Jezebel also had to contend with external opposition, and eventually they succumbed to the Assyrians. Their ruler Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) was especially interested in the wealth of Israel, and the alliance Israel had made with the ARAMEANS proved feeble in the face of the invaders. The cruel Assyrians not only took all the people of the north into captivity, but they erased their culture from history. Thereafter, the northerners were never heard from again and came to be called “the lost tribes of Israel.” A small remnant today claims to be offspring of the northern Israelites, the Samaritans, who live near Nablus on the Palestinian West Bank.

### UNIFIED ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Judah meanwhile was rarely mentioned in the early books of the Bible but came into its own with its dashing king David and enigmatic successor Solomon. When Jereboam rebelled against Rehoboam, the land of Judah was all that Rehoboam had left of his father’s expanse. Such a small area at first came to be dominated by Egypt. After 40 years of bloody clashes with Israel, finally a truce brought the two fraternal kingdoms together. Royal intermarriages even brought them into an alliance. According to the Jewish scriptures, Israel also brought its corruptions to Judah, as well as its hapless allies, the Aramaeans.

The reunion of Israel and Judah definitely was too little and too late to do anything about the invading Assyrian forces that swallowed up the north and nearly

did the same in the south. At first the Assyrians simply turned Judah into a client state. Then their general Sennacherib challenged King HEZEKIAH to surrender. The Bible reports that a divine intervention turned back the invaders before they could overrun the walls of Jerusalem. None of this can be substantiated, though it is true that Judah was the only relatively independent state to escape Assyrian hands in the eighth century B.C.E.

### FOREIGN RULE OF BABYLONIANS AND ROME

JOSIAH (c. 648–609 B.C.E.) then tried to expand Judah’s sphere of influence, but the Egyptian PHARAOH came to Assyria’s help and killed him. With Josiah’s death the vision of restoring the throne and territory of David and Solomon also came to an end. Even though the Assyrians were finally put down at the Battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.E.), a new conqueror, NEBUCHADNEZZAR II of Babylon, now completed what Sennacherib failed to do. He marched on Jerusalem and deported its citizens in 597 B.C.E. and then in 587 B.C.E. sacked the city.

Judah languished in Babylon for several generations. Even when many returned around 525 B.C.E., they did not have political sovereignty again until the time of the MACCABEES. This family claimed to be heirs of the Judaean kingdom and successfully rebelled against the Hellenized SELEUCIDS around 164 B.C.E. They were able to maintain independence until POMPEY established Roman dominance 100 years later. When the insurrectionist Bar Kokhba tried to expel the Romans in 132 C.E., he seems to have laid claim to the same vision of Judah. The PROPHETS of the Bible all along had prophesied that the “lost tribes” would one day return. Theologically, many later groups laid claim to a spiritualized Israel as a religious concept, latching on to the prophetic vision. Groups as diverse as the QUMRAN community, the apocalyptic Jews of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA, EARLY CHRISTIANITY, and the EARLY JUDAISM of the rabbis all took stock in the idea of Israel, meaning the unity of the northern and southern kingdoms.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; DIADOCHI (SUCCESSORS); JEWISH REVOLTS.

**Further reading:** Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972; De Vaux, Roland. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*. London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1972; Wright, A. G., et al. “A History of Israel.” In *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990.

# J



## Jainism

Jainism is one of the world's great religions. It was started in India during the AXIAL AGE by the religious reformer Nataputta VARDHAMANA MAHAVIRA. Like GAUTAMA BUDDHA, with whom he was a contemporary, he was from a noble warrior family and also rejected the VEDAS and the formalism of Vedic religion. He is often mentioned in Buddhist scriptures by the name of Nigantha Nataputta (the naked ascetic of the clan of Jnatrikas). Nataputta Vardhamana was a son of Siddhartha, a chief of the warrior clan of the Jnatrikas. His mother, Trishala, was the sister of Chetaka, the chief of the Licchavis tribe.

Vardhamana was reared in aristocratic luxury; however, in his youth he wanted to join a band of ascetic monks who lived in a park just outside of town. The monks were followers of Parshva, who had lived several hundred years before as an ascetic preacher. Because of filial duties Vardhamana did not take up the ascetic life until after the death of his parents. Vardhamana was carried in an expensive litter to the park where the band of monks dwelled. When he arrived he was wearing gold ornaments and finery. He threw them off, pulled out his hair, and took the vow to live a life of complete detachment to the world.

Following an extremely severe ascetic practice Vardhamana rejected all shelter from the elements. He sought to avoid sleep, went uncleansed and unclothed, and avoided human society. He was on several occasions abused by angry villagers who interpreted his silence

as insolence. After 12 years of rigorous ascetic practice (*tapas*) Vardhamana experienced liberation from karma. Jain sources say that in deep meditation he reached nirvana and became a completed soul (the complete and full, best knowledge and intuition called *kevala*).

Thus he became Jina (Conqueror), Mahavira (Great Hero), and the 24th Tirthankara (Ford-finder). These titles are the ones by which his followers have named him ever since. After Mahavira's liberating experience he set out on a 30-year teaching career, proclaiming the way of ascetic detachment as the path of salvation. He organized a band of disciplined, naked monks and sent them forth to teach the way of liberation. He died by self-starvation at age 72 (c. 468 B.C.E.) in Pava, a village near Patna, where Jains come each year on pilgrimages or during festivals. The Jains believe that Mahavira is now in a state of bliss (*isatpragbhara*).

In the first century after Mahavira's death the Jains grew slowly. Their chief rivals were the Ajivikas. Their growth began in the period of the MAURYAN EMPIRE. The first Maurya emperor, Chandragupta (c. 317–293 B.C.E.) supported the Jains and eventually became a Jain monk. About this time there was a schism in the Jain movements. Since the death of Mahavira, "pontiffs" called Ganadharas (supporters of the communities) led them. The 11th ganadhar, a monk called Bhadrabahu, anticipating a famine in northern India, led a group of followers into southern India. Many monks refused to follow him south. Those remaining behind were led by a teacher named Sthulabhadra. When the famine ended, the monks who had returned from the south discovered

that the Jains who had remained in the north had adopted a number of questionable practices, the most heterodox of which was the wearing of white robes. To complicate matters the only person still living who knew perfectly the unwritten sacred texts of Jainism was Bhadrabahu.

To deal with the controversial religious practices Sthulabhadra called a council of monks; however, Bhadrabahu did not attend. Eventually he moved to Nepal because of his horror and disgust at the “corruptions” that had entered the Jain community. In the end the Jain canon was written from the defective memory of Sthulabhadra and other leading monks as the *Anga* (Limbs). The Jain community then separated into two sects. The Shvetambaras were the “White-Clad” monks who wore white robes. The Digambaras were the “Sky-Clad,” or naked, monks. Despite these outward differences Jain doctrine remained basically the same for both groups.

The Digambaras sect is usually found in warm south India. Their practice of Jain nudity proclaims a break with human bondage to the world. The Jain canon of scripture differs between the Shvetambaras and Digambaras. In addition to the canonical writings there is a considerable body of devotional or inspiration literature. These writings are considered as sacred scripture but are cherished for their pious themes. During the time of the Middle Ages the Jain faithful produced an enormous body of non-canonical sacred literature known as the Puranas (Legends), which were modeled after Hindu forms. The Puranas tell long stories of the 24 Tirthankaras and other Jains who lived meritorious lives. In addition, Jain scholars produced works on mathematics, poetics, politics, and other subjects. The corpus of Jain-cherished works was produced in several Indian vernaculars besides SANSKRIT. After the arrival of the British some Jain works were produced in English.

The Sthanakvasis sect of Jainism formed in the 1700s. Sthanakvasis oppose all temples and rituals. They claim that worship can be done anywhere simply with inward meditation. The core of Jain doctrine is the teaching that every living thing is an eternal soul (*jiva*) that has become trapped by matter in a physical body by involvement in worldly activities. Salvation can be found by freeing the soul from matter so that it can return to its original pristine state. The Jains believe that each *jiva* is reincarnated in many bodies before it is finally freed. After being freed, it exists eternally in a state of perfect knowledge and bliss. The doctrine of ahimsa (nonviolence, or respect for life) teaches Jains that all life is sacred. To avoid harming any living creature, even the smallest insect, Jains avoid agricultural work and related activities. Ahimsa teaches

Jains to be strict vegetarians. The Jain doctrine of ahimsa has influenced many people, including Mohandas Gandhi. They will also strain drinking water through a piece of cloth to avoid swallowing living things. Death by starvation is the ultimate of Jain practice as the way to cross the ford to bliss.

Scholars have noted that the Jain views on the soul are close to the early Sankhya school of HINDU PHILOSOPHY. Jains do not believe in a supreme God, in gods nor in goddesses, rather they believe in the divinity dwelling in each soul. But they do believe that there is a life after the escape from karma. This means they appear to practice an atheistic religion but actually venerate the Supreme Spirit in liberated souls. When released from the cycle of karmic rebirths, the soul enters a state of bliss in *lokapurusha*.

See also INDUS CIVILIZATION; SAKYAS.

**Further reading:** Brown, W. Norman. *The Story of Kalaka: Texts, History, Legends and Miniature Paintings of the Svetambara Jain Hagiographical Work, “The Kalakacaryakatha.”* Baltimore, MD: Lord Baltimore Press, 1933; Cort, John E. *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Culture in Indian History.* New York: State University of New York Press, 1998; Dundas, Paul. *The Jains.* New York: Routledge, 1992; Hertel, Johannes. *On the Literature of the Shevetambaras of Gujarat.* Leipzig: Markert and Petters, 1922; Jain, Kailash Chand. *Lord Mahavira and His Times.* Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1974; Jaina, Jyotiprasada. *Religion and Culture of the Jains.* New Delhi, India: Bharatiya Jnanpith Publication, 1975; Lalwani, Kastur Chand. *Sramana Bhagavan Mahavira: Life and Doctrine.* Calcutta, India: Minerva Associates, 1975; Mahavira, A. Ghosh. *Jaina Art and Architecture.* New Delhi, India: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974; Shah, Natubhai. *Jainism: The World of Conquerors.* 2 vols. Sussex Academic Press, 1998; Tobias, Michael. *Life Force: The World of Jainism.* Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Jerome

(c. 347–c. 419 C.E.) scholar

Jerome was a scripture scholar, translator, ascetic, spiritual adviser, church father, and Doctor of the Church. Jerome was born Eusebius Hieronymus into a prosperous Christian family at Stridon in Dalmatia. At age 12 he was sent to Rome to study the liberal arts under the famed grammarian Aelius Donatus. After about

six years of education, around 366 C.E., Jerome was baptized at age 19. In his 20th year Jerome continued his studies at Treves (Trier, Germany), where he was introduced to MONASTICISM. From here he journeyed around 370 to Aquileia, where he joined a group of ascetics, including Rufinus and Chromatius, under Bishop Valerian. Several years later Jerome set out for the East, staying first at Antioch, where he mastered Greek and began his lifelong study of the Bible. He lived for several years (c. 375–377) as a hermit in the desert region of Chalcis in Syria, where he also began studying Hebrew. Back at Antioch, Jerome was ordained a priest (with no pastoral jurisdiction) by Bishop Paulinus in 379 and was introduced to biblical interpretation through the lectures of Apollinaris of Laodicea.

Jerome traveled with Bishop Paulinus to the Second Ecumenical Council of CONSTANTINOPLE in 381, where he met the Cappadocian theologians Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. He then accompanied Paulinus to Rome, where from 382 to 385 he served as secretary to Pope Damasus and became the spiritual counselor of a group of Roman noblewomen, including Paula and her daughter Eustochium. During this period Jerome translated Greek patristic texts, particularly those of ORIGEN, and began work on a new Latin translation of the Bible. After the death of Damasus in December 384 and the election of Siricius as bishop of Rome, Jerome departed for the East with Paula and others. They eventually settled in Bethlehem in 386, where they founded a double monastery of men and women. Jerome spent the remainder of his life here, devoting himself to scripture study, translating, and writing.

Jerome's voluminous writings fall into four broad categories, namely, translations and studies of the Bible, polemical treatises, historical works, and letters. Translations and studies of the Bible represent Jerome's most significant and influential writings. He is known primarily for his new Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, which became the accepted text in the Latin West during the Middle Ages. Jerome's work on the Vulgate began, at the request of Pope Damasus, with a revised version of the Gospels based on Old Latin and Greek texts. He began working on the Old Testament by revising the Old Latin based on the Septuagint (that is, the Greek translation of the Old Testament produced by Jewish scholars and used in the early church).

His increasing familiarity with the original Hebrew, however, led him to doubt the accuracy of the Septuagint and convinced him of the necessity of basing his new translation entirely on what he called *veritas Hebraica*, or "Hebrew truth." Although Jerome himself was

not able to produce a fresh translation of every biblical book, his associates and other scholars after him completed this massive project. In addition to translation, Jerome was also interested in biblical interpretation. In this vein he wrote commentaries on many biblical books (including all of the minor and major PROPHETS), and composed and delivered a series of homilies for the religious community at Bethlehem (based mainly on the PSALMS and Gospels).

Polemical treatises constitute the second major category of Jerome's writings. These works, often teeming with bitter and abusive invective, were intended either to combat various HERESIES or to defend himself against the charge of heresy. Jerome's work in this area grew out of his profound faith in the Catholic Church and its apostolic authority, on the one hand, and his firm conviction that heresy is destructive to Christian unity, on the other. In treatises against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and the Pelagians, Jerome defended the perpetual virginity of Mary, the virgin birth of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, the superiority of celibacy over marriage, prayer to the saints, devotion to the relics of martyrs and saints, original sin, and the necessity of infant baptism.

The third category of Jerome's writings is historical works. Jerome either translated or composed several historical treatises related to his study of the biblical text. First, around 380 he translated the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, adding to its contents and carrying it forward to his own day. About a decade later Jerome translated and revised Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, an inventory of biblical places, and produced a dictionary of biblical proper names. Around 392 Jerome published his work *On Famous Men*, a historical survey of the lives and writings of 135 authors (mostly Christian) from St. Peter to himself. Jerome also wrote a *Book of Hebrew Questions* (a linguistic, historical, and geographical discussion of Genesis) and several "lives" of ascetics.

Finally, Jerome wrote more than 150 letters that we know of relating to biblical interpretation, monasticism, the clergy, virgins, widows, and his own translation practices. In an important correspondence with AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO between 394 and 419, the two churchmen vigorously discussed the authority of the Septuagint and Jerome's translation from the Hebrew.

Jerome's Vulgate, his scriptural commentaries, and his translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle* made him a major bridge figure in the transition to the European Middle Ages. His views on the monastic life, celibacy, Mary, and the cult of the saints became central to medieval Catholic piety. On account of his elegant Latin, his strong invective, and his vast knowledge, Jerome

became a favorite of Renaissance scholars. In 1516 Erasmus published the first successful critical biography of Jerome along with his edition of Jerome's works. He has been considered a Doctor of the Church since the eighth century, and the Council of Trent (16th century) described Jerome as "the greatest Doctor in explicating Sacred Scripture." His feast day is celebrated on September 30.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CAPPADOCIANS; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; PILGRIMAGE.

**Further reading:** Kamesar, Adam. *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993; Kelly, J. N. D. *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1975; Murphy, F. X., ed. *A Monument to Saint Jerome: Essays on Some Aspects of His Life, Works and Influence*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952; Rebenich, Stefan. *Jerome*. London: Routledge, 2002; White, Carolinne. *The Correspondence, 394–419, between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1990.

FRANKLIN T. HARKINS

## Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth

(c. 4 B.C.E.–30 C.E.) *religious leader*

The independent evidence—apart from the New Testament—that Jesus actually lived falls into three categories: Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Jewish-Christian writings outside the Bible. Jewish evidence, surprisingly, is rather sparse. First of all, there are no contemporary archaeological or epigraphic remains that prove Jesus' existence. What research has found corroborates the background of the New Testament but does not confirm its hero. Second, there are two literary records—the TALMUD and JOSEPHUS—that speak about Jesus from a Jewish perspective, but both of these have been called into question.

### JEWISH EVIDENCE

The Talmud speaks of Jesus in derogatory ways, but it is written centuries after his life and undoubtedly reflects a fiercely polemical perspective. The historian Josephus writes extensively about the Jews of his first-century C.E. generation, but only in one short passage does he mention Jesus. In the *Testimonium Flavianum* (Testimony of Flavius) Josephus assesses Jesus as nothing less than a prodigy. But as soon as he finishes his

statement, he never writes of Jesus again. Historians now believe that the paragraph is a total or partial interpolation, added by later scribes as it passed down through Christian monastic hands.

### GRECO-ROMAN HISTORIES

Contemporary Greco-Roman evidence is also sparse, though there are brief and uncomprehending remarks by Tacitus and Suetonius about the reputation of one "Christus." The evidence, however, is enough to warrant that Jesus actually lived and was rather despised by the prevailing imperial authorities. There are ancient references to Jesus in religious writings outside of the New Testament. The main document that merits attention from historians is the Gospel of Thomas. The problem is that the date of Thomas cannot be ascertained. The date most often given is 100 C.E., and most likely it is much later since it was found among late Gnostic documents and seems either to use the Gospels of the New Testament or to counter their teachings. Certain parts of Thomas probably do have gospel-era or earlier origins.

It is understandable that there would be little external evidence about Jesus. He probably was an embarrassment to the Jews, who would not dignify him by reviving his memory. In fact, few Jewish writings survive at all during this period because of the Roman invasions. Certainly, this is the time when Jews would have been debating the claims of Jesus and his followers. The Romans would not have cared about Jesus, an obscure nuisance who neither founded cities nor led armies. Nonetheless, the fact that he is something of a footnote to accepted contemporary writers means that he lived.

One other fact outside the Bible supports his existence. The Christian movement spread like wildfire in spite of strong opposition, and a letter from 110 C.E. addressed to the emperor TRAJAN describes the tenacity of the Christian resolution to believe in Jesus. Many historians use such evidence to show that only a real person and a real event (like a resurrection from the dead) could have inspired the spreading of faith over such distances in such a short period of time. Otherwise, their testimonies show signs of a mass delusion on the scale of which is less believable than the religious explanation.

### THE NEW TESTAMENT STORY

To understand the "real Jesus" the historian is left with the New Testament. Two warnings must be issued before taking up the Bible as an information book. First, the stories about Jesus are not to be taken as history or biography in the modern sense. The life of Jesus is

told in the Gospels, but this genre is meant to persuade the reader as well as to inform. In other words, the Gospels already have an interpretation based on faith when they report the “mere” facts. The second warning is that the Gospels represent in their final form at least three levels of information: first, there is an oral tradition that reports eye-witness accounts of Jesus’ life; second, there is the written account of the oral tradition; third, there is the final editing by the community of those who believe.

These two warnings serve to make the reader understand that it is impossible to separate out the Jesus of history from the Christ of faith. It drove some scholars to despair that any historical facts could be gleaned from the Bible concerning faith. One of the most influential figures of the 20th century, the German Rudolf Bultmann, believed only a courageous will to believe could justify biblical faith. His faith came perilously close to CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM). By a variety of historical tools, however, some basic facts can be ascertained. Moreover, other points can be received if the Bible reader is willing to accept that faith does not compromise the truth value of the information. Jesus’ identity can be broken down into the man Jesus was on earth, the mentor Jesus was in his ministry, and the message Jesus lived out and taught.

### JESUS THE MAN

Jesus was born a Jew, the son of a Jewish woman, and observed Jewish customs. He lived in Galilee and Judaea, his childhood was inconspicuous, and the record about his early manhood is silent. Around the age of 30 he began his public life as an itinerant preacher. When he was on his own he attracted disciples and large crowds of curiosity seekers. His career was cut short when Jewish leaders arrested him, and then he was tried and condemned by the Roman governor Pontius Pilate as a criminal. Because he was accused of being an insurrectionist, he was given the capital punishment of crucifixion.

Jesus was the religious devotee of his first cousin named JOHN THE BAPTIST. He lived with John in the wilderness and was baptized by him in the Jordan River near Jericho. Apparently Jesus learned apocalyptic ideas from John and probably maintained some of his cousin’s practices, such as an austere lifestyle and baptism for his followers. When John was imprisoned, Jesus began his independent ministry.

### JESUS THE MENTOR

The main proclamation of Jesus focused on the KINGDOM OF GOD. Jesus seemed to be extending this idea

as he learned and adapted it from his cousin John. The Kingdom of God was not a physical domain, but its power took hold whenever he spoke or acted authoritatively. The kingdom had both a present and future orientation. It seemed to be completed in the future, yet it was visible in the present through acts of power called miracles. The miracles demonstrated that Jesus was preaching a real kingdom, and they also attracted huge crowds. As Jesus did miracles, faith in him increased.

Several other messages emerged from the teaching of Jesus. First, Jesus distinguished himself from his main competitors, the PHARISEES, through his radical teachings on the need to love (even as far as one’s enemies) and through his radical discipleship demands (following Jesus even to one’s death). The closest disciples, called the apostles, formed a close-knit social unit that became the replacement for family and property. Second, Jesus did not urge the rejection of the Jewish law, or TORAH; if anything he strengthened its moral imperatives, while lessening its ceremonial aspects.

### LIFE, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS

The followers of Jesus were so “converted” by the life of Jesus that they traveled far and wide with his message and risked their lives for its truthfulness. The presuppositions of the New Testament—probably at every level of its formulation based on the very early writings of the apostle PAUL—include the miracles and the resurrection of Jesus, and this was also the driving force for the spread of the Jesus movement. Such enthusiasm is



*Although Jesus attracted many disciples, he was tried and condemned by the Roman governor Pontius Pilate as a criminal.*

simply unthinkable without taking into account Jesus's resurrection after his ignominious death on a cross.

At first the followers of Jesus expressed the identity of Jesus in typically Jewish ways, that is, he was anointed messiah, authoritative lord, suffering servant, and "prophet like MOSES." The stature of Jesus grew over time and reflection, especially when the Christological controversies occurred in the third century C.E. and climaxed in the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. However, the supernatural element of the identity of Jesus had abundant fodder in the writings of the New Testament.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; APOSTLES, TWELVE; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT; SERVANT SONGS OF ISAIAH.

**Further reading:** Bauckham, Richard. *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*. Grand Rapids, MI: Erdmans, 2007; Dunn, J. D. G. *Jesus Remembered*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003; Flusser, David, in collaboration with R. Steven Notley. *Jesus*. Jerusalem, Israel: Magnes, 1997; Meier, J. P. *A Marginal Jew*. Edinburg, TX: Anchor Bible Reference, 1991; Wright, N. T. *The Resurrection of the Son of God*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Jewish revolts

JOSEPHUS best tells the first military struggle of the Jews against Rome in his *Jewish War* history, but a background history can be ascertained from the New Testament and the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA. Both sources tell of a fractured political and religious society, at first ruled by a local ruler (Herod) and then ruled by imperial agents of varying qualities (for example, Pontius Pilate was offensive to Jews). Taxes were high, and Romans tended to discriminate against non-Hellenized Jews. QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls testify to many sectarian divisions within the Jewish faith. Josephus speaks of public discontent taking the form of riots, banditry, and fanaticism.

When the war broke out under NERO's reign in 66 C.E., Jews at first were united and held the upper hand. Political intrigue at home kept the Romans from reasserting themselves for two years. The tide quickly turned with Vespasian, and later his son Titus, in charge of the Roman legions. The traditional date for the destruction of the Temple is a solemn fast day for observant Jews,

also the very date that the Romans burned the city and desecrated the Temple Mount 60 years later. Only the Western "wailing" Wall of the Temple was preserved. When Jews were driven out of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., they took refuge at Masada, a wilderness cliff fortress. There, after a long siege, all 1,100 holdouts recognized their certain fates and committed suicide.

After the failure of this revolt Jews found themselves without a temple, without clear religious leadership, and without a political and economic infrastructure. Their ruling council, the Sanhedrin, was disbanded; sacrifice and pilgrimage in the city of Jerusalem was eliminated or drastically reduced; and the Roman legionnaires were given the most valuable and sacred of the Jewish land. After a certain period of time even the historical record is silent.

Hostility against Romans must have simmered, however, because later historical records tell of a second uprising of Jews against Rome, beginning outside Palestine. Fighting first began in Mesopotamia and Judaea, but then open warfare broke out in Egypt, Cyprus, and Libya. The Roman emperor Trajan responded by dispatching his trusted and ruthless generals Martius Turbo and Lucius Quietus. Romans retaliated by slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout the troubled areas. The Great Synagogue of ALEXANDRIA, one of the wonders of the world, was razed. In Cyprus it is said that no Jew remained alive. The hated general Quietus was made governor of Judaea.

The next period of time was presided over by the emperor HADRIAN. The main Roman history comes from Dio Crassus, some 100 years later and incomplete, and from very late Jewish and Christian sources. Hadrian took a different tack than his predecessor Trajan. He dismissed Quietus as governor and executed him. He appointed two Jews as his liaisons and openly encouraged the redevelopment of the city of Jerusalem. According to the rabbis, the Romans gave permission for the rebuilding of the Temple.

Then Hadrian's conciliatory attitude toward the Jews changed. First, he proposed that the Jewish Temple should be built somewhere else than the Temple Mount. Then his daughter was murdered, and his Jewish liaisons bore the blame. Hadrian took strong measures against the Jews in rapid succession: He forbade outside Jews from returning to Palestine, forbade Jewish religious observances, and decided to erect a pagan temple where the Jewish Temple was. Intense negative reaction laid the conditions for the third revolt.

Only the Jews and the Christians mention the name of the instigator of this war. His nom de guerre was Bar



The fall of Bar Kokhba's besieged city occurred in 135 C.E. Only the west "wailing" wall of the temple was preserved.

Kokhba (Shimon bar Kosiba). Bar Kokhba was at first remarkably successful: He defeated the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem and then chased the Romans out of the important areas of Judaea. He attracted some 400,000 Jewish recruits, who then defeated the Roman military reinforcements brought in from Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. Within one year he recaptured 985 villages and constructed 50 fortresses. Bar Kokhba proved himself an able bureaucrat in the early days of his government, setting up administrative systems and land division. He also restamped Roman coins with the mottos "Freedom of Jerusalem" and "Freedom of Israel."

In the face of such an emerging state Hadrian had to send in his best general, Sextus Julius Severus, recalling him from Britain. Because Bar Kokhba had learned techniques of guerrilla warfare, Severus had to fight patiently and slowly. Severus put down the insurgency largely by starvation, siege warfare, and propaganda, because the Jews had taken refuge in isolated terrains and in rugged natural strongholds, such as caves and cliffs. When Jerusalem was taken in 135 C.E., the insurgents made their last stand in Beth-Ter, a well-protected town southwest of Jerusalem. Though they withstood the Romans for a long time, in the end the townspeople ultimately turned on Bar Kokhba and killed him.

After the siege Hadrian razed Jerusalem and made good on his promise to put a Roman temple on the Temple Mount. And he decreed that no Jew could ever

again enter the city or even lay eyes on it from afar. After the Bar Kokhba war, Jewish and Roman relations entered into a long period of mutual enmity.

In the beginning of the third revolt Bar Kokhba was so impressive in battle that messianic speculation swirled about him. Many rabbis apparently openly embraced him as the messiah. Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, who approved of the revolt, applied to his name a messianic title: Bar Kokhba, "the son of the star." Probably most of the Palestinian sages had similar views at first. One noted rabbi demurred, saying, "Akiba, grass will sooner grow on your chin, before the Messiah comes." Akiba died along with an estimated 500,000 others in Palestine when Bar Kokhba was defeated. Countless others, including many rabbis, were sold into slavery. Rarely is the name Bar Kokhba used in Jewish sources, while it is the normal name given in Christian sources. Rabbinic texts bitterly refer to him as Bar Koziba (son of the lie), a pun on his name bar Kosiba.

See also HELLENIZATION; HERODS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

**Further reading:** Reznick, L. *The Mystery of Bar Kokhba*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1996; Schwartz, Seth. *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001; Smallwood, E. M. *The Jews under Roman Rule*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1981.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Jezebel

See AHAB AND JEZEBEL.

## Job and theodicy

Job (c. 600–400 B.C.E.) is the principal character of the biblical book that bears his name. A prologue introduces the book's readers to Job and describes decisions made in a parallel universe, that of a celestial court in which Yahweh, the head of the pantheon according to ancient Israelite belief, holds ultimate power. The heart of the book consists of a series of dialogue cycles between Job and three friends in which Job appeals to Yahweh for vindication, the responses by Yahweh to Job's appeals, followed by a brief response by Job. Speeches by a young interloper, Elihu, serve as a kind of intermezzo before Yahweh's response to Job's appeal.

Job's response to the experience of undeserved suffering is the focus of the book. The book's resolution of the problem of Job's suffering, the role assigned to God in bringing about Job's suffering, and God's reply to Job's charges against God, have challenged and baffled generations of interpreters. The book describes the titanic struggle of a human being with the meaning of his suffering and what it says about him and the world of which he is a part. Even interpreters who do not believe in God or in the God of the book of Job have praised the book of Job as a literary and theological masterpiece. The influence of the book of Job on art, literature, drama, and philosophy, wherever Judaism and Christianity have been potent cultural forces, has been far reaching.

### SUFFERING AND VINDICATION

In the prologue Job, a man of exemplary behavior, is meted out suffering through no fault of his own. One of God's angels ("the Satan" or "the accuser" in the original Hebrew) has cast aspersions on Job. God takes up Job's defense. The matter is put to the test. If Job suffers every manner of affliction but does not thereby hold God in contempt, Job will be vindicated. God allows the Satan to empty Job's life of whatever makes it meaningful, but the Satan must also act as Job's guardian angel and save Job's life from a premature conclusion: "He is in your power, but his life you must protect."

No one in the Job story—neither Job, nor Job's wife, nor Job's friends, nor Elihu—knows about God's wager with the accusing angel. The reader knows, but despite this knowledge, an explanation for Job's suffering is not given. After all, Job fails the test. He cracks under the pressure of his suffering. He begins by speaking of God approvingly, even after he loses his children and all that he possesses. But when the suffering literally gets under his skin, Job maligns God again and again, directly and indirectly. "Let there be darkness," exclaims Job. Job colors the world and God's relationship to it with the same dark hues that have invaded his personal existence. He considers God to be his worst enemy and the enemy of all humankind.

When Job charges God with all manner of inappropriate behavior, Job's friends defend God from Job's charges by maligning Job. Job must have done something to deserve his fate. Job is incensed by his friends' accusations. So malicious are their words that Job ends up contradicting the God-accusing thrust of his early speeches and insists instead on God's righteousness and wisdom. In the end he *needs* God to be a righteous

judge; otherwise, his friends will not be condemned, and he will not be justified. Job refers his case to God.

God replies to Job furiously, in a whirlwind: "How dare Job darken God's counsel! Does Job even know what darkness is? Only God, of all living beings, has walked in the recesses of the deep." God confirms Job's worst fears. God's counsel, or design, really does include unimaginable terror. The world God has created is not anthropocentric at all. It is full of awesome creatures, useless or inimical to human beings, creatures in which God takes immense delight. God's knowledge and power, not God's justice, take up most of God's replies to Job. We sense the bewilderment of Job, who has suffered without cause under God's hand. "I am of contemptible worth; what can I answer you? I clap my hand to my mouth," and "I recant and I change my mind amidst dirt and ashes."

The plot thickens. God acquits Job and vindicates Job before his friends. Job was right to defend himself before God. Job was guilty of putting God in the wrong in order to put himself in the right, the point of God's reproof of Job before acquitting him, but Job's forthrightness before God is ultimately held to his credit. In the end God responds by giving Job twice what he had before. He goes on to live a life of legendary proportions and delight in his children's children.

### ANTI-THEODICY

A theodicy is an attempt to justify the ways of God to human beings. The book of Job is an anti-theodicy. According to the book of Job, unjustifiable suffering takes place in the world. Those who claim otherwise "do not speak the truth about [God]." Defense of man before God (anthropodicy), not defense of God (theodicy), is appropriate when suffering occurs. Job's friends should have defended Job against God rather than God against Job. The apologetics of Job's friends do not do justice to the status of the sufferer in God's sight. An authentic theodicy will vindicate the sufferer even at God's expense, if the book of Job is taken as a model. For in it God vindicates Job even as he puts an end to Job's revolt against him.

There are other works of ancient literature outside of the Jewish Bible that attempt to deal with questions of theodicy. Examples include the Babylonian Theodicy and "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" from Mesopotamian literature. Other similar biblical works include PSALMS 37, 49, 73; Proverbs 30, and Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), 4 BARUCH, and 2 Baruch.

See also PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA.

**Further reading:** Laato, Antti, and Johannes C. De Moor, eds. *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2003; Newsom, Carol A. "The Book of Job." In Leander E. Keck, et al., eds. *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996. Perdue, Leo G., and W. Clark Gispin, eds. *The Voice from the Whirlwind: Interpreting the Book of Job*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1992.

JOHN HOBIBNS

## John the Baptist

(first century C.E.) religious leader

One of Judaism's divergent voices raised in the turbulent first century C.E. was that of John the Baptist. He is most known for his role in the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH as reported in the New Testament. But the writings of JOSEPHUS make clear that John was a leader and hero in his own right, and even the New Testament indicates that his following extended to later times and places.

Many populist religious leaders arose in John's generation who promised deliverance from corrupt religion, brutal armies, and unjust governments. Their expectations were that the miraculous events of their biblical ancestors would be reenacted in their own times. They were able to mobilize Jews to organize and prepare for history's conclusion. Today theologians call this focus on the future and on the end "eschatology" and the visionary experiences connected with it APOCALYPTICISM.

A few examples give the tenor of John's time. At the time of Pontius Pilate a Samaritan prophet claimed to be a new MOSES. A few years later a certain Theudas brought his devotees to the Jordan so that the waters would part for them. An Egyptian Jewish prophet rallied people to the Mount of Olives where they would see the collapse of the walls of Jerusalem and so claim the city for their own. Oracles and heavenly signs were publicized that supposedly told of the ruin of the city or of its rulers. Whenever the Romans or the Jewish authorities learned of these prophets and predictions, they rooted them out violently. John was born of priestly descent to parents of an advanced age. Surprisingly, he abandoned his priestly patrimony and joined this eschatological movement. Perhaps even as a young man he took up his abode in the wilderness near Jericho and gained a reputation for fiery preaching and for practicing a ritual known as baptism. For the rest of his life his priestly birth did not figure in his vocation.

When he did not adopt his birthright as a priest, he put on the mantle of prophet. As a prophet, he most re-

sembled the biblical Elijah, an ascetic, recluse, and visionary. John was an ascetic himself, and the New Testament says that his diet was locusts and wild honey, and his clothing was hides and a leather belt. In other words, he lived off the land and did not give thought to his future. As a recluse, he gave up wife and home, lived in the open air, and did his preaching in the wilderness. Undoubtedly, he believed that this isolation allowed him to maintain his independence from religious and political authority.

As a visionary, he preached a new approach to religion through baptism. John believed that this rite was more important than lineal descent from Abraham, the normal entrance into the Jewish faith. Preparation for water baptism involved a decision to give up sinful practices and to practice virtue in all relationships, as well as the renunciation of any privilege that came with birth or election. Baptism, as practiced by John, was different from other types of water rituals among the eschatological groups because it was once for a lifetime. In the temple, for example, cleansings were frequent and required a constant supply of water, either from cisterns or streams. Apparently, for John the water must have symbolized more than cleansing, but a death and rebirth. Jesus, who said that his approaching death was a baptism that he needed to undergo, articulated the idea that baptism implied death. Later Christians, writing in the New Testament, use the image of the water to suggest new birth, or rising again from death. If the conventional belief was that one was Jewish by birth, John was making a radical reform by making spiritual birth the new prerequisite. Later Christians who evangelized the Gentile world used baptism.

The fact that John spoke urgently of the coming judgment and unquenchable fire also might suggest that somehow he believed that the nature of the water (its cleansing, its vitality) protected his followers from the eschatological destruction. Fire was a common metaphor for the final days of judgment. John started a movement, but he did not develop a stable community the way other eschatological leaders did. It therefore was quite different from QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls community, and it was even different from the itinerant society that flourished around Jesus. John's ascetic and reclusive life did not allow anything other than temporary stays with him. Nonetheless, masses of Jewish people flooded out to hear him in the wilderness, and prostitutes, peasants, and politicians were affected. The fact that he stirred Josephus and that Jesus received baptism from him shows how diverse and penetrating was his influence.

The eschatological context of John's preaching included an emphasis on "one who is to come," a designation that the New Testament keys on for the messiahship

of Jesus of Nazareth. The New Testament portrays Jesus as the younger cousin of John, and John, as an Elijah-like precursor for Jesus. Because of Jesus's stature in the New Testament, it is surprising that he submits to John's baptism. Christians throughout the ages debate the significance of the baptism of Jesus, but one thing is clear: John the Baptist acts as mentor for Jesus, and John's shadow is cast over Jesus's entire mission.

John's influence does not rest with Jesus or even with later Christians. Stories in the New Testament speak of John's disciples being found as far away as Ephesus. Justin Martyr mentions those who regarded John as the messiah. Even today there are sects of ancient pedigree that claim that their roots lie in John the Baptist (such as the Mandaeans and the Manichaeans). In the GREEK CHURCH John becomes a standard icon (religious artwork) in religious art as summing up the message of the Jewish scriptures. John's popularity with wide segments of the public did not permit him to escape trouble with the authorities. In this sense he really did play the role of Elijah, the northern kingdom prophet who condemned the political authorities of his day. He was imprisoned and executed for his bold criticism of Herod's government, specifically of the moral life of Herod Antipas. In the wake of John the Baptist's death Jesus launched out on his own mission.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; MONASTICISM; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Burke, Alexander J. *John the Baptist*. Cincinnati, OH: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2005; Meier, J. P. *A Marginal Jew: Vol. 1. Anchor Bible Reference Book*. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Jomon culture

The Jomon culture of Japan was a pottery-using Neolithic or Mesolithic society that flourished approximately 10,500–300 B.C.E. Most archaeologists accept a division into six periods within Jomon culture, which are the incipient, initial, early, middle, late, and final periods. The term *Jomon* means “cord mark” and was coined by the 19th-century American archaeologist Edward S. Morse to describe the pottery of that culture. The Jomons produced possibly the world’s first pottery, of a particularly innovative and vibrant style. Early pottery sites have been found in the Russian Far East and in China, and it is possible that resulting from lower sea levels during the

Jomon period, land migration might explain the replication. Pottery in Japan has been found at the same level as shale arrowheads, demonstrating the simultaneity of the two forms of production and predating development in other parts of the world. Shards from a site at Odai Yamamoto in the north of Honshu indicate the vessel was used for boiling, and this has provided material suitable for carbon dating testing. The melting of ice during the period led to the isolation of the Japanese islands and, ultimately, the creation of the Japanese state, although this did not happen for a considerable period.

Maritime activities such as fishing and collecting shellfish were important, although the Jomon also hunted land animals and gathered plants. By the end of the Jomon period, people had begun to organize rice paddy farming. Evidence of environmental change across the islands of Japan is accompanied by changes in diet and hunting patterns. This includes the extinction, presumably by hunting, of some large mammals. Jomon culture is unlikely to have coincided with the presence in the Japanese islands of either mammoths or elephants. Jomon people were primarily sedentary, although they may not have remained in the same site the whole year round, and they were culturally complex.

Villages supplemented their diets with chestnuts and other plant products, some of which were cultivated in early forms of agriculture. The presence of decorated ceramics suggests the possibility of trade and economic exchange, as well as the gendered distinction of labor. There has been some speculation that Jomon culture people reached northwestern America, but there is no evidence for this. The Jomon culture was succeeded by the YAYOI CULTURE, which is dated from 250 B.C.E. to 350 C.E.

**Further reading:** Habu, Junko. “Jomon Sedentism and Inter-site Variability: Collectors of the Early Jomon Moroiso Phase in Japan.” *Arctic Anthropology*. (v.33/2, 1996); ———. *Ancient Jomon of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Okada, Atsuko. “Maritime Adaptations in Hokkaido.” *Arctic Anthropology* (v.35/1, 1998).

JOHN WALSH

## Josephus, Flavius

(c. 37–c. 100 C.E.) historian

There is no historical account for the period that saw the emergence of Christianity and Judaism from the land of Palestine like that of Josephus. For one thing no Greco-Roman historian so directly and immediately addresses the struggle between Roman Empire and Jewish

commonwealth. For another thing there is no one else to corroborate and interrogate the issues and personalities of the New Testament, except for Jewish sources who wrote generations later.

Josephus was born of priestly descent around 37 C.E., but his curiosity led him in early life to experiment with diverse and even countercultural Jewish expressions. First, he tried the philosophy of the **ESSENES**. Though he was favorably impressed with them, he left them. Then he joined up with an ascetic wilderness group led by a charismatic leader named Banus. Perhaps this group exhibited something that Josephus found attractive among the Essenes. All these experiences came before the age of 19. Then he took up an interest in the **PHARISEES**, another Jewish sect, though his later commentaries show that his involvement with them was strained.

A journey to Rome in 63 C.E. triggered a respect for the Roman Empire, one that became evident in his later actions. When he returned, war broke out between his countrymen and Rome, and Josephus reluctantly and futilely led a detachment of Galileans against the Roman army. His troops were overwhelmed, and his surviving cohorts made a pact to die rather than surrender. Driven to the point of committing suicide, Josephus refused and fled. He presented himself to Vespasian, the Roman general, as an ally, translator, and guide. He projected himself as another Jeremiah, the prophet who led his people at the time of the Babylonian invasion, through his preaching in Jerusalem against the uprising and through his prophecies about Vespasian and Roman destiny. Josephus's decision to side with Rome was motivated by religion as well as by an instinct for survival. However, he was considered a traitor by most of his Jewish fellows.

At the end of the campaign Josephus was honored in Rome with a country villa, special privileges, and friendship with the Roman emperor. He never returned to his home country, much less to his wife and family. He spent the rest of his days as a historian, writing at least four compositions. The first was the *Jewish War*, an account of the events leading up to the difficulties of 70 C.E. Josephus blames the war on a small band of Jewish fanatics. The second is *Against Apion*, a defense of Jewish culture and historical pedigree. The third is the longest, a history of the Jews from creation to his own time (around 90 C.E.), called *Jewish Antiquities*. This work is modeled after other Greco-Roman histories and skillfully combines secular and religious virtues in the telling of the Jewish story. Finally, he writes his own *Autobiography*, largely as a defense for his conduct during the war. To the last of his sentences, however, he is an apologist for his Jewish people and their cause.

His histories are assessed as factual and fair. While he was in Rome he had access to official records and relied on other sources, like Nicolas of Damascus, a historian of Herod's court. He had firsthand knowledge of the land, the personalities, the issues, and the battles. Many of his own descriptions can serve as a background for such New Testament persons as the **HERODS**, the priests, the Pharisees and Sadducees, **JOHN THE BAPTIST**, James ("brother" of Jesus), and perhaps of **JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH**. JEROME touted Josephus as the "Greek Livy" for his masterful history telling. It is true that Josephus's powerful voice has persuaded Christians over the ages about the historical veracity of their scripture. For this reason Josephus was preserved in Christian circles, not Jewish ones; in fact, in certain ancient manuscripts of the Bible, the writings of Josephus have also been appended. But others question his neutrality and impartiality. There are inconsistencies in his descriptions of his leadership during the war and questions as to whether or not he supported the revolt from the beginning.

See also **APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERO DOXIES); PROPHETS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.**

**Further reading:** Feldman, L. H., and Gohei Hata. *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1987; Gray, Rebecca. *Prophetic Figures in the Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993; Mason, S., et al. *Commentary on Flavius Josephus*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2001.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Josiah

(c. 648–609 B.C.E.) *king of Judah*

The writer of the biblical book of Kings rates Josiah as the highest of all the kings of Judah after DAVID. He is known primarily as a religious reformer, but his vision of Judah motivated political changes, foreign-policy changes, and a measure of reunification with the northern kingdom of Israel (Samaria).

He began to reign at the age of eight, when his father Amon was assassinated, and ruled for 31 years. Going back to the time of HEZEKIAH, Judah had been bullied by ASSYRIA, although the capital had never fallen. His grandfather and father both had made big religious concessions to the Assyrians and to native religious groups. In contrast to his father and grandfather Josiah showed

a pious loyalty to the traditional Judaean faith, perhaps coming under the influence of the temple priests in Jerusalem. By the age of 20 he was willing to go public with his religious agenda.

He made it clear that he wanted to return to the God of his ancestors and cast away the foreign gods and their worship customs. Such customs included things like child sacrifices and fertility rituals. Perhaps he was bold because it was clear that Assyria was going through a civil war, as the Babylonian Chronicle points out; perhaps he knew that the Assyrian ruler Ashurbanipal was too old to conduct a campaign; or perhaps he was encouraged through his communication with Assyria's rivals in Egypt and Babylon.

Gradually Josiah became more and more assertive about his religious goals. He made repairs on the temple; he purged the temple precincts of foreign religions and altars; then he broadened his geographical sweep to include attacks on foreign religious sites in Israel (Samaria). Josiah then discovered a religious law book, often thought to be some form of the biblical book of DEUTERONOMY with its laws on the temple, orthodox doctrines, and centralized government. Some have speculated that this document was reformulated into some kind of Deuteronomic history, covering the biblical books from Joshua-Kings. The climax of Josiah's reforms came with an invitation for all the people of ISRAEL AND JUDAH to join together for a celebration of the Passover. In addition to remembering the rite of Israel's escape from Egypt, Josiah also led the people in rededicating themselves to observing the covenant of MOSES.

Josiah died when a new PHARAOH, Neco II (c. 609–594 B.C.E.), marched across the coastal plains to challenge Babylonia and Persia as the emerging powers of Mesopotamia. The Bible says that Josiah opposed Neco, interfering with the divine intention for Egypt to have the right of way. The picture is murky, for it is not clear why Josiah stood against Neco, nor why the divine plan favored of Egypt's passage. Josiah, who the Bible hails as the most faithful of kings, was mortally wounded on the battlefield, a casualty of the divine plan.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

**Further reading:** Althann, Robert. "Josiah." in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* pp. 1,015–1,018. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Sweeney, Marvic A. *King Josiah of Judah*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## **Judah**

See ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

## **Judah ha-Nasi**

(c. 130–c. 220 C.E.) *religious leader*

Traditional Jews maintain that Judah ha-Nasi (Judah the Prince) was the sole editor of the MISHNAH. This explanation assumes that there was an unbroken line of rabbinic thinking beginning from Hillel (a famous rabbi from the early first century C.E.) and proceeding through YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI and Akiba (another rabbi from the time of Bar Kokhba) to Judah. It is more likely that the Mishnah is the work of more than one writer. The Mishnah probably was compiled during Judah's days as the patriarch and prince, and he takes a central place in history for this achievement.

After the fiasco of Bar Kokhba (132–135 C.E.), it is hard to overestimate Judah's importance for Palestinian Jews. He consolidated the rabbinic movement under his leadership as patriarch and thus became the leading religious spokesman for the Palestinian Jews. Even the Babylonian Jews, outside the ROMAN EMPIRE and under the Persian satrap, took refuge in his shadow. The political position he is known for, prince, reached its zenith under his tenure, and he managed to institutionalize it by bequeathing the title (ha-Nasi) to one of his sons.

His success with his countrymen and with the occupying Romans is reflected in the numerous larger-than-life stories that circulated about him. Legends say that he was a personal friend with Antoninus—probably the later SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, if there is any kernel of truth in the stories. His wealth was also fabulous; sources say that his steward was richer than the Persian satrap. At the same time the generosity and almsgiving—at least as told in the rabbinic literature—made him a popular figure among the poor. He managed to mollify Jewish hostility toward Rome for having destroyed Jerusalem and its Temple. He eliminated the annual fast commemorating the Temple's destruction and cancelled rabbinic decrees requiring foreign Jews to contribute to Palestinian causes. He negotiated the return of some land to Jews that the Romans had confiscated. He also standardized the Jewish calendar and eased some of the sabbatical year's disciplines. He found ways of dealing with the many rabbi leaders by a carrot-and-stick policy. First, he cancelled some of their taxes, and then he took away their power to ordain new rabbis. By such Solomonic measures, the Talmud hailed him as the first since MOSES who had "combined TORAH and (political) greatness in one place."

Because the Mishnah was written in a dialect evolved from late biblical Hebrew, he revitalized Hebrew for Jews both in and out of Palestine. To this day among all Jews Mishnaic Hebrew is the dominant language of liturgy and prayer. When he died, his tomb became a place of PILGRIMAGE for Jewish devotees. No other Jewish leader so captured the hearts and minds of rabbinic Jews. No other sage was so able to master the oral Torah and apply it to the politics of his day. He combined political shrewdness with religious piety like no other Jewish figure in late antiquity. Often in the sources he is simply called “Rabbi” or “the Prince.”

See also ANTONINE EMPERORS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Goodblatt, David M. *The Monarchical Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1994; Hezser, Catherine. *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Judaism, early (heterodoxies)

After SOLOMON, king of united ISRAEL AND JUDAH, died c. 922 B.C.E., the northern 10 tribes seceded and reconstituted themselves as the kingdom of Israel. The Assyrians took its capital, Samaria, in 722 B.C.E. The Jewish scriptures states that the Israelites there were deported and replaced by foreigners who worshipped the Israelite god along with their ancestral gods. The exiled Israelites became known as the “Ten Lost Tribes.” Traditional Judaism traces the immigrants to the Samaritans. However, Samaritans say that the biblical priest Eli usurped the high priesthood and set up a false sanctuary at Shiloh (c. 1090 B.C.E.). The tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and part of Levi stayed with the true sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim, near present-day Nablus. Samaritans trace themselves to the loyalists at Mt. Gerizim.

Neither view is without objection. Assyrian records suggest that they removed only about one-tenth of the Israelites, and another part of the Jewish Bible indicates that kings of Judah dealt with the northern tribes after the fall of Samaria, without suggesting that the inhabitants were foreigners. The Samaritan view is first attested in medieval sources about 2,000 years after the alleged event. A split between Samaritans and Jews perhaps occurred between the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (464–358 B.C.E.), who were said to have trouble with Samaria, and

the time of John Hyrcanus, who destroyed the temple on Mt. Gerizim in 128 B.C.E. There are two versions of the story explaining the split: A great-grandson of the Jewish high priest married the daughter of the Persian governor of Samaria, refused to divorce her, was exiled, and, in the later version, became high priest on Mt. Gerizim.

The Gospels of Luke and John and the Acts of the Apostles attest the Samaritans’ role in earliest Christianity and their conflict with Jews. However, when Jews fought the Romans in 66–73 and 132–135 C.E., Samaritans were on both sides. The Samaritan chieftain Baba Rabbah gained independence for his people in the third century C.E. By this time the Samaritans also had their own scripture, a version of the Pentateuch differing from that of the Jews.

The conversion of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT in 312 occasioned constant Christian persecution of the Samaritans. In 484 and 529 the Samaritans revolted against the Byzantines and lost thousands of their compatriots. The Muslim conquest in the seventh century decreased persecution but made misrule constant, which brought the Samaritan population to 146 by 1917, when Samaritans began to increase their numbers by marrying Jewish women. Nonetheless, there were only 655 Samaritans in 2003. The State of Israel, reversing Jewish tradition, considers them virtually Jewish.

The Ebionites were Christians who kept the Torah. The name is derived from Hebrew ‘ebyonim, meaning “poor,” which seems to have been the self-designation of the earliest Christians of Jerusalem. The Ebionites were supposed to descend from these earliest Christians, having fled across the Jordan before Jerusalem fell in 70 C.E. Ebionites often are distinguished from the Nazarenes, Jews who purportedly believed in the virginal conception and divinity of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and the apostleship of PAUL. The Ebionites, by contrast, believed that Jesus was biologically the son of Joseph and because of his perfect life was adopted at his baptism by God. They also rejected Paul, animal sacrifice, and meat eating, and they highly valued marriage and daily ritual baths. Several apocryphal gospels are linked with the Ebionites, including the Gospel of the Ebionites.

Both Ebionites and Nazarenes have been associated with the Samaritans, who call themselves “those who keep [smr] [TORAH].” Nsr, from which Nazarene may be derived, also means “keep.” The Ebionites have other similarities to Samaritans, such as a belief in a messianic successor to MOSES and criticism of the Jewish temple. However, that the Ebionites venerated Jerusalem makes it unlikely that they came from Samaritanism. The Samaritans, Jesus, and the Ebionites seem

rather to have come from anti-Sadducee, anti-Pharisee Judaism, many sects of which had names derived from *nsr*. The Ebionites' position between Gentile Christianity and rabbinic Judaism became untenable, and they disappeared from history after 400. On the other hand Ebionite denial of Jesus' divinity lived on in ARIANISM, Nestorianism, and Islam.

See also ASSYRIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERESIES; NESTORIUS; PHARISEES; SADDUCEES.

**Further reading:** Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. New York: Macmillan, 2006; Vanderkam, James C. *An Introduction to Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

GRANT R. SHAFER

## Judges

Israelite history between the Exodus and the crowning of the first king SAUL is the period of the Judges. Strictly speaking, the leaders of ISRAEL during this time are better described in modern language as "champions" or "heroes," and they are not altogether different from the heroes and heroines praised in the poems and myths of ancient Greece. These "judges" are the charismatic generals and prophets who fought battles and won territory for specific tribes of Israel around the 12th and 13th centuries B.C.E. Each of their tenures was limited in territory and short in duration.

The book of Judges in the Jewish scriptures is a collection of tales about 12 specific judges. The fact that there are 12 suggests an editorial design perhaps in keeping with the book's emphasis on the 12 tribes of Israel. The date for the compilation of these tales was certainly generations after the events, for the words, "for there were no kings in the land," recur often in the book. However, some of the poetry of the book probably is ancient, possibly going back to the time of the event.

Most of the tales conform to a rough pattern of storytelling; that is, they suggest that whenever the tribes fall away from their covenant with the deity, they are punished with division and invasion. The editorial position is that when MOSES and Joshua first brought the tribes into Canaan, they were relatively secure, unified, and successful.

However, the tribes soon got bogged down in their bid to conquer the land, and the Israelites slid into accommodation with the native Canaanites. The results were that homes and farms were raided, and certain tribes were evicted from their land. When retribution

was complete, a general or prophet brought the tribes back into security, unity, and success.

The judge Deborah's example shows that authority was not limited to men, though the rest of the 11 judges were men. Although she is not the field commander of the campaign against the native Canaanites, she is the muse behind her tribe's general Barak. Interestingly, another woman strikes the fatal blow against the enemy general. Deborah then leads her kinsfolk in a victory song whose roots might go back to the days of the battle. Historically, her tales speak of the difficulty that the newly planted highlanders had in claiming the native land of the fertile valleys. Correspondingly, archaeology shows a layer of destruction in 12th-century B.C.E. Megiddo, the time and place that possibly correspond to Deborah.

The judge Gideon (Jerubbaal) shows how hard it is for the Israelites to live in the valleys. During the days of Gideon, nomadic ARAMAEANS keep raiding the tribes' settlements. It is the clash between the farmers and the herdsman. Gideon is coaxed into leading an elite army and wins miraculous victory over the Midianites.

The judge Samson hardly fits the image of a stereotypical hero: He is more like a wild man who saves the tribes by acting on his passions. In this sense he is lives and dies like the Greek hero Heracles. He possesses superhuman strength and singlehandedly delivers the tribes from the Philistines. However, his womanizing results in his downfall—like Heracles—and in the end he dies like a tragic hero, killing himself and pulling everyone down with him.

See also DEUTERONOMY; GREEK MYTH AND PANTHEON; HELLENIZATION.

**Further reading:** Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972; Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. New York: Macmillan, 2006.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Julian the Apostate

(c. 331–363 C.E.) Roman ruler

A target of the later fathers of the church and a hero of the Greco-Roman pagan romantics, Julian the Apostate generated literary reaction out of proportion to his tenure as Caesar. It is debatable what his vision of a return to religion of the Greeks and Romans really entailed, whether an embracing of the philosophy of NEOPLATONISM or a true devotion to Greek mythology and the pantheon of Mount Olympus and its cult. Nonetheless,

his passion was for a return to a non-Christian Greco-Roman culture, and he was as passionate about religion opposed to Christianity as the Christians were about their converting the world. All else—taxes, communication, empire—were secondary to both groups.

He grew up in a world of political rivalry and bloodletting among the family members of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Because he was only a small boy, his life was spared when Constantine's illegitimate descendants killed his father and all of his uncles in 337 C.E. He was shuffled off here and there by wary imperial wardens, first to bustling Nicomedia and then to lonely, distant Cappadocia. In such an isolated existence he discovered the world of the HOMERIC EPICS and HESIOD, the twin sources of the Greek pagan "Bible" canon. He also found consolation in the beauty of nature and thus was prone to sympathy for the pantheistic theology of his Greek forebears. Later, as a teenager, he was exposed to the philosophy of some excellent Neoplatonic teachers (Libanius, Maximus, and Iamblichus). All of these factors—the strife that Christianity brought to his childhood, the stability of the Greek classics, his sensitivity, and the explanation of philosophy—led Julian to undergo a secret "conversion" to Greek (pagan) religion by the age of 20. He was initiated into the mystery of Mithras at that time.

His true colors did not show up publicly for at least 10 more years. At the age of 24 he was summoned by his cousin Emperor Constantius II to do service in the West. Although he was named Caesar, he was closely supervised by the emperor's key personnel. He had no particular military training, yet he acquitted himself well on the battlefield against the Germans over the next five years. At that point the emperor ordered Julian and his troops to go east and fight against the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE. Instead, after a careful conspiracy his troops mutinied and proclaimed Julian Augustus, that is, emperor, in place of Constantius II.

A civil war was avoided only because his cousin suddenly died in 361. At the age of 30 Julian was sole leader of the Roman Empire and could with impunity proclaim that he was not a Christian but a believer in Greek religion. He purged the bloated imperial bureaucracy for the sake of efficiency and to eliminate Christian influence. He showed youthful energy in taking actions to reinstate paganism: He cut off funding for churches; he refurbished Greek temples and tried to reinstate the Greek priests and bloody sacrifice; and he forbade Christians from teaching the Greek classics.

He tried to undermine Christianity in several ways. One of his quirky ideas was to rebuild the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, a project probably intended as a jab at the

Christians. That idea was abandoned when an earthquake occurred just before reconstruction was to begin. Another, more reasonable idea was to proclaim complete religious tolerance, probably in hopes that Christianity would disintegrate into a morass of doctrinal wrangling. He exiled one of Christianity's venerable heroes, ATHANASIUS, and he refused to rescue the Christian intellectual center, Nisibis, when the Persians captured it. By the same token he wanted to prove that he was both serious about his duties as emperor and endowed with the blessings of Zeus and the gods, so he undertook a campaign against the Persians. He was ingloriously defeated and died in 363 in the dry lands of Mesopotamia, less than two years after he had assumed power. His program had generated only limited public support, and in the end the empire reverted into the hands of the Christians, determined never again to let another such pagan take over.

See also BASIL THE GREAT; CAPPADOCIANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CHRYSOSTUM, JOHN; EDESSA; EPHREM; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Bowersock, Glen W. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997; Smith, Rowland B. *Julian's Gods*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 1995.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Julio-Claudian emperors

The Julio-Claudian emperors of ancient Rome were from the family of JULIUS CAESAR—or rather his sister Julia, and that of the first husband of the wife of AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Tiberius Claudius Nero. They include the emperor Augustus Octavian; (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), Tiberius (14–37 C.E.), Caligula (37–41 C.E.), Claudius (41–54 C.E.), and NERO (54–68 C.E.). The founder of this line of emperors was Octavian, who became known in history as Emperor Augustus. He was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, later becoming his adopted son. The mother of Augustus was the daughter of Julia, sister of Julius Caesar. His connection to Julius Caesar was twice through the female line, but this did not stop the Roman general from nominating Octavian as his heir. Octavian ruled over the ROMAN EMPIRE from 31 B.C.E. until his death in 14 C.E. but carefully chose not to title himself as emperor.

### EMPEROR TIBERIUS

When Octavian died in 14 C.E., Tiberius succeeded him as emperor. Tiberius Claudius Nero was the son of Livia, the second wife of Octavian, with her first

husband, making him Octavian's stepson. Tiberius was born in 42 B.C.E. When he was two, his father, a prominent Roman aristocrat and the commander of Julius Caesar's fleet, was forced to flee Rome—and from Octavian. Tiberius's father had declared his support for Mark Antony and took the family to Sicily, and then to Greece, returning a few years later when an amnesty was announced. When Tiberius was four, his parents divorced, and his mother married Octavian. He and his younger brother, Drusus Nero, both went to live with their mother and their stepfather, Octavian. Tiberius was soon earmarked as Octavian's possible successor, and when he was 13 he rode one of the horses in Octavian's chariot in the victory parade through Rome after the Battle of Actium. Tiberius married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa. Tiberius then embarked on a military career.

In 20 B.C.E. the young Tiberius accompanied Octavian to Parthia where the Roman legions were keen on avenging a loss suffered 33 years earlier. Tiberius continued his time in the military, managing to capture Pannonia (encompassing much of modern-day Slovakia). In 9 B.C.E. Nero Drusus, his younger brother fell from a horse in Germany. Tiberius made his way over to see him as quickly as possible, but Drusus died. Tiberius divorced his wife and married Julia. In 6 B.C.E. Tiberius became a tribune, and then retired to Rhodes where he grew reclusive. In 14 C.E. Octavian died, and Tiberius, aged 54, became Emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Octavian had not liked him but saw that he would be a capable administrator who could rule over the Roman Empire.

Tiberius began his reign well, although a possible rival, Postumus, was murdered soon afterward. The new emperor saw his role as consolidating the empire that Julius Caesar and Augustus had created. He spent money wisely, ending massive gladiatorial shows, and during his reign of 23 years he left 20 times as much wealth in the government's coffers as had been there when he took over. However, much of his reign was plagued by problems over succession. His son Drusus died in 23 C.E., and soon afterward, Sejanus, the commander of the Praetorian Guard (who might have been involved in the death of Drusus) became the most powerful man in Rome after the emperor.

In 27 Tiberius, aged 67, moved to Capri. Tiberius held court on Capri, and the courtiers, guards, officials seeking favors and others also moved to the island. Many believe that Tiberius became mentally ill, as he started ordering executions, seemingly at random. With Tiberius on Capri, Sejanus essentially ruled Rome, mar-

rying the widow of the son of Tiberius. Many began to feel that Sejanus was about to become the anointed successor of Tiberius, yet when the emperor managed to smuggle a letter to the Senate in Rome asking for Sejanus to be executed, they complied. In the end Tiberius nominated Caligula, a son of his stepdaughter, and also a great-nephew, as his successor. Tiberius returned to Rome and took part in ceremonial games that required him to throw a javelin. The effort wrenched his shoulder, and he retired to bed where he fell into a coma. Caligula was proclaimed the new emperor in 31, but soon after this Tiberius regained consciousness. The new Praetorian Guard commander, Macro, immediately smothered the emperor.

### CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS

Caligula was born Gaius Caesar in 12 C.E. and became known as Caligula (Little Boot) when he was a boy and accompanied some soldiers on a march, having his own miniature armor made. His father, Germanicus Caesar, was a stepson of Tiberius, and when his father died, he had become Gaius Caesar Germanicus. Caligula made a tremendous speech at the funeral for Tiberius. Soon after he became emperor, he became ill and then started to display massive cruelty and sadism. Roman historians clearly did not like him, and from many accounts he was a despotic emperor. With the coffers of Rome filled by Tiberius, Caligula started to squander money on an extravagant scale, so much so that he later had to resort to extorting money from wealthy Roman citizens. Caligula held lavish games at the Colosseum during which he watched massive displays of brutality and sadism. At the same time he came to regard himself as a deity, and soon rumors spread that he would marry one of his sisters to establish a Ptolemaic-type succession whereby the oldest son married the oldest sister.

As his excesses became more and more horrendous, a coup d'état was planned, and a tribune of the Praetorian Guard killed Caligula on January 24, 41 C.E., when he was at the Palatine Games. His wife and daughter were also murdered. As the Praetorian Guard sacked the imperial palace, they found Caligula's uncle, Claudius, and proclaimed him the next emperor. Claudius, born in 10 B.C.E., was always regarded as clumsy and stuttered a little and was an unexpected choice of emperor, having spent much of his time devoted to studying history and literature. Altogether he wrote, in Greek, 20 books on Etruscan history, and eight on CARTHAGE, as well as an autobiography, but none of these books have survived.

Some of the senators sided with Claudius, and others supported a small insurrection in Dalmatia. Soon after

his appointment as emperor, Claudius annexed Mauretania in North Africa and then decided to invade Britain. This took place in 43 C.E. with the Roman soldiers led by Aulus Plautius. With victory assured Claudius arrived in Britain and established a large colony of Roman veterans around the capital, Camulodunum (modern-day Colchester), although many were killed. Claudius significantly added to the empire by taking Lycia in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey) and Thrace, avoiding war with the Germans and the Parthians.

Claudius expended much of his energy on reforming the administration of the Roman Empire. He improved the legal system and established a large settlement of Roman army veterans in Britain and at Colonia Agrippensis (modern-day Cologne). He also made changes to the Roman religious practices. However, there was dissatisfaction in the Roman imperial family after Claudius divorced his wife Messalina and married his niece Agrippina. He then adopted her son Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (who became the emperor Nero), and he became heir instead of Claudius's son, Britannicus. On October 13, 54 C.E., Agrippina poisoned Claudius, allegedly with mushrooms, his favorite dish, leaving the adopted son of Claudius to become the next emperor.

### NERO, THE FIFTH ROMAN EMPEROR

Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, born in 37 C.E., had taken the title Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, and in 54 became Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the fifth Roman emperor. Nero's father died when he was three, and his mother, who poisoned her second husband and then married her uncle Claudius before poisoning him, had brought him up. She later poisoned Britannicus, Claudius's biological son, as well. The Praetorian Guard proclaimed Nero emperor when he was 16. Initially, Nero pushed through some important reforms.

Nero forbade bloodshed in the circus, banned capital punishment, and allowed slaves to bring complaints against their masters. In the period after the death of Nero's mother —killed on his orders in 59—and that of his wife Octavia, in June 62, also murdered at his instigation, Nero changed dramatically. He married two more times, but neither marriage lasted. He quickly became famous for his extravagances and personal debauchery. Burrus died in 62 C.E., and Seneca soon lost his influence over the emperor. In 64 a large fire burned down a significant section of Rome, and Nero used it as an excuse to build his "Golden House," planned to span a third of the city of Rome.

The emperor was 35 miles away at Antium when the fire started, but this did not stop the accusations

that he had started the blaze himself. Nero blamed the Christians for the fire, and soon afterward the persecution of Christians, and also many Jews, started. Many Christians were arrested and taken to the Colosseum, where they were fed to lions to the amusement of tens of thousands of spectators. Others were crucified, covered in pitch, and set alight. Meanwhile Nero indulged himself in wild orgies and quickly spent the wealth that Claudius had amassed. A plot to overthrow Nero in 65 failed but did show that he was resented by many of the population. Finally, a large rebellion broke out in Spain where the provincial governor Servius Sulpicius Galba led his troops through Gaul to Rome. Nero at first fainted when he heard the news. He then pondered how to prevent the rebels from reaching Rome with one idea being to allow them to legally plunder Gaul, which he thought might occupy them for several months while he could collect together his own men. However, Galba led his men to Rome. With the Praetorian Guard fleeing, Nero was forced to leave for Greece. There he was recognized, captured, and executed. Galba, who succeeded him, did not last long as emperor. He was quickly ousted by Marcus Salvius Otho in the following year, who was then ousted by Vitellius, and finally by Vespasian.

See also ROMAN GOLDEN AND SILVER AGES; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Barrett, Anthony A. *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002; Champlin, Edward. *Nero*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003; Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996; Griffin, Miriam T. *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1984; Levick, Barbara M. *Tiberius the Politician*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976; ———. *Claudius*. London: Batsford, 1990; Seager, Robin. *Tiberius*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972; Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1977; Weigall, Arthur. *Nero, Emperor of Rome*. London: T. Butterworth, 1930.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Justinian I

(c. 482–565 C.E.) *Byzantine emperor*

Justinian was born to a nonaristocratic family in the Balkans. His uncle Justin served in the imperial bodyguard and rose to become its commanding officer and then emperor from 518 to 527 C.E. Justin promoted and

adopted his talented nephew and proclaimed him co-emperor in 527. Two years earlier Justinian had married Theodora, a former actress and prostitute, who would prove a strong imperial partner until her death in 548. Justinian envisioned the restoration of imperial unity and power that had been impaired during the fifth century, when the empire endured assaults by German tribes that removed most of the west from imperial control.

In 532 Justinian faced his gravest challenge in the Nika Riot in CONSTANTINOPLE (called so because the crowd shouted “Nika,” the Greek word for “conquer”). Justinian’s tax reforms and some of his officials were unpopular. Justinian attempted to arrest members of the Blues and Greens (the leading sports clubs which supported their charioteers who wore the said colors during the races in the Hippodrome) that were rioting. The riots escalated in force and various senators who opposed Justinian’s centralization of power used the riots, which appeared ready to topple the government, to propose a new imperial candidate. Justinian considered abandoning the throne. At this moment of doubt Theodora declared that she would rather die than abandon the imperial purple. Bolstered by her, Justinian unleashed soldiers under Belisarius and Mundo who massacred, reportedly, 30,000 people. The riot had the effect of strengthening Justinian’s position, as he used it to arrest and punish his political opponents.

He also used it to impose his stamp on Constantinople, sections of which had been burned down, including the church of HAGIA SOPHIA. The emperor built a new, far grander Hagia Sophia that was the greatest church in Christendom and the mark of Byzantine power and splendor to the 15th century. It stands today as one of the great works of world architecture. Justinian built or repaired other churches as well as fortresses throughout the empire. Procopius, a contemporary, wrote *On Buildings* to describe the imperial effort.

As part of his restoration of unity and power, Justinian commissioned the revision and reorganization of laws, known collectively as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. This work comprised the Code (the law book), the Digest (legal decisions and commentaries), the Institutes (a legal textbook), and the Novels, which were the new laws promulgated after the Code.

Justinian’s greatest challenge was to find a way of uniting the various Christian groups in his empire. Without a solution his empire would remain divided between eastern lands, like Egypt and Syria, and the West. As a student of theology himself, Justinian was one of the few emperors to write theological works, though he was not above persecuting other groups to pressure

them to conform. He persecuted non-Christians such as Samaritans and pagans.

The theological problems even affected the imperial palace. His wife, Theodora, was pro-Monophysite, while he himself fluctuated between a pro-Chalcedonian and a more tolerant position. In 553 Justinian summoned the Fifth Ecumenical Council that met in Constantinople. This did not, unfortunately, bring a permanent solution. Justinian was more successful with other groups, namely the Christians of ARIANISM, who rejected the COUNCIL OF NICAEA and the Council of Ephesus, which proclaimed that Christ was begotten and not made by God. His persecution of them made relations with the German tribes in the West uneasy, since they too were Arians (except the Franks). Justinian’s goal of stamping out heresy and bringing the lands of the West back into Roman hands would both be accomplished by military assault.

Under Belisarius he campaigned first against the Vandals of North Africa, which he quickly conquered (533–534). The campaign then shifted to Sicily and Italy where the Ostrogoths were defeated in a long drawn-out conflict that devastated Italy (535–552). (Three years after the emperor’s death, the Lombards invaded Italy and deprived the empire of much of the reconquered peninsula.) Justinian also occupied portions of Spain held by the Visigoths. The army’s focus on the West, however, weakened the eastern and northern defenses.

Justinian’s vision of unity managed to bring entire regions back to the empire, created a lasting legal compilation, built one of the great monuments of world architecture, and asserted imperial power over all challenges. Yet, this was achieved at a great price. He was not able to find a solution to theological divisions, and the cost of the western reconquest emptied the treasury and opened up problems of defense for his successors.

See also CODE OF JUSTINIAN; GREEK CHURCH; LATIN CHURCH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); KHOSROW I; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Browning, R. *Justinian and Theodora*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987; Maas, Michael, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Moorhead, J. *Justinian*. London: Longman, 1994.

MATTHEW HERBST

## **Justinian, Code of**

See Code of JUSTINIAN.

# K



## ***Kama Sutra***

The *Kama Sutra* (or *Kama Shastra*) is one of three ancient Indian texts written in the SANSKRIT language that describe the permissible goals of life. It is devoted to the pursuit of karma, a legitimate goal but less exalted than the goal of *artha* (power), while the pursuit of dharma (moral law) was considered the most worthy.

Since creating the next generation is a vital task in ensuring the stability of society, all adults should know methods of achieving it efficiently and pleasurable. According to tradition, the companion of Shiva, Nandi, who overheard the god making love to his wife Parvati and was consequently inspired, wrote the original *Kama Sutra*. The scholar Vatsayana redacted this version, sometime in the early centuries of the Common Era, possibly the fourth century. Vatsayana was an important commentator on the sutras, or aphorisms that were given by GAUTAMA BUDDHA to humankind for assisting them in their spiritual development. However, Vatsayana's version seems to incorporate works from other scholars and his own observations according to the accepted Indian tradition.

Although the *Kama Sutra* has become widely known as a semipornographic work of erotica, this is not the sole topic of its content. The acts of love or sexual congress are divided into eight different methods, each of which may be performed in one of eight different positions. There are, therefore, 64 different arts of love. Both heterosexuality and homosexuality are addressed, as well as female sexual satisfaction. These sections

may be seen as strengthening the bonds between people because they include details not just on how to create the next generation but also on how to provide pleasure and variety to each other without seeking a new domestic situation. The remainder of the 35 chapters also cover methods to attract a spouse and how to be a good wife, among a variety of other topics. Many people continue to follow the precepts of the *Kama Sutra* in the modern world, and some self-help manuals were inspired by it.

**Further reading:** Burton, Sir Richard. *Kama Sutra*. Available online. URL:<http://www.kamashastra.com> (March 2006); Daniélou, Alain. *The Complete Karma Sutra: The First Unabridged Modern Translation of the Classic Indian Text*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 1993; Kakar, Sudhir, and Wendy Doniger, trans. *Kamasutra*. Philadelphia: Running Press Book Publishers, 2003.

JOHN WALSH

## **Kanishka**

(2nd century C.E.) *Kushan emperor*

The greatest of the emperors of the KUSHAN EMPIRE, which stretched through modern-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and parts of northern India, Kanishka reigned for 20 years from about 127 C.E. During his reign the Kushan Empire reached its zenith as a major military power and also was to play an important role in redefining

Buddhism in the region. The Kushan emperors were of YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) ethnicity, tracing their origins back to China. In about 174 B.C.E. the HUNS had driven them westward and southward from China, taking over the Greco-Bactrian kingdom in 135 B.C.E. and establishing their rule over a large part of Central Asia. The empire they created controlled important trade routes, and the aims of the Kushan emperors had been to try to control trade between Rome and China. There is evidence of contact with the Roman Empire at Pompeii and with China.

Kanishka's major achievement was convening the Fourth Buddhist Council, held in Kashmir. Most historians argue that Kanishka embraced both Buddhism and also the Persian religion of Mithras, which later became popular among Roman soldiers. Followers of Theravada Buddhism criticized the Fourth Council, which led to the rise of Mahayana Buddhism. In spite of this opposition some 500 *bhikhus* (Buddhist monks) made their way to Kashmir at the request of Emperor Kanishka. Their task was to edit the TRIPITAKA, which was reported to have taken 12 years, resulting in 300 verses and 9 million statements. The entire Buddhist scriptures, which had been in the GANDHARA vernacular of the Kushan Empire, were translated into SANSKRIT. The new ideas that emerged essentially started to bridge the differences between Hinduism and Buddhism with the Lord Buddha portrayed as a god. Some of these developments can be traced on the very few surviving coins of Emperor Kanishka's reign, which have an image of Buddha. Some Buddhist texts go as far as acclaiming Kanishka as a second king Ashoka whose kingdom was, by definition, a second holy land for Buddhism. Kanishka also launched wars against neighboring countries, extending the empire from the borders of China to modern-day Bengal in the east and to the basin of the Ganges in the west. It is not known exactly how Kanishka died, although popular accounts have him being smothered by his enemies.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Hallade, Madeleine. *The Gandhara Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968; Hargreaves, H. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*. Calcutta: Government of India, 1930; Seckel, Dietrich. *The Art of Buddhism*. London: Methuen, 1964.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Kautilya

(350–275 B.C.E.) prime minister of India

One of the earliest political thinkers of ancient India, Kautilya (Chanakaya), the celebrated author of the *Arthashastra*, was prime minister of the emperor Chandragupta (r. 326–301 B.C.E.) of the MAURYAN EMPIRE (326–200 B.C.E.). According to some historians, he is dated around fourth century C.E., belonging to the GUPTA EMPIRE (320–500 C.E.). He was educated in the famous University of Takshashilā (Taxila) and afterward taught politics there. Repeated Greek invasions forced him to migrate to PATALIPUTRA, the capital of Magadha (presently Patna, the capital of Bihar Province). He soon fell out of favor with the ruling king Dhana Nanda (r. 334–322 B.C.E.) because of his outspoken and blunt nature. Indian legends speak of a meeting of Kautilya and Chandragupta, both of whom had an ax to grind against the Nanda dynasty. Dhana Nanda had humiliated Kautilya and had ousted Chandragupta from the army. Chandragupta deposed Dhana Nanda with the help of Kautilya and thus the first unified empire, covering most of present-day India and Pakistan, was created. The Mauryan Empire had a well-organized administration, thanks to the Brahman pundit Kautilya. When Chandragupta renounced his kingdom to become an ascetic, Kautilya remained as prime minister, but jealousy of some of the ministers put his life in danger. According to Indian legends, a jealous minister named Subandhu burned him to death in 275 B.C.E.

The most important of three books attributed to Kautilya is the *Arthashastra* (Science of material gains). Written in Sanskrit, the *Arthashastra* is a work on practical politics and covers topics on statecraft, the duties of a king, information pertaining to social life, the plant kingdom, the animal world, agriculture, minerals, and metals. The *Arthashastra* came into the limelight in the beginning of the 20th century and has been compared with *The Prince*, written by Machiavelli (1469–1527).

Kautilya covers in detail conduct of diplomatic affairs and policies to be followed with neighboring states. Kautilya speaks about preparation for war, methods for defeating independent kingdoms, and occupation of an enemy capital. The safety of the king was the first priority. There should be secret escape routes, the residential complex should be fireproofed, and there should be female guards armed with bows. We know from chapter five of the *Arthashastra* that Indians had a sound knowledge of metals, such as *arakuta* (brass), *vrattu* (steel), *kamsa* (bronze), and *tala* (bell metal). He talked of *manidhatu* (gem materials), different stones and jewelry, and *kachamani* (artificial gems) imitated by coloring glass.

Although not widely known in the world as compared to CONFUCIUS (551–479 B.C.E.), SUNZI (SUN TZU) (sixth century B.C.E.), and Machiavelli, his exposition of strategies of a well-planned economy, warfare, details of administration, and diplomatic games placed him as a top political theorist. He is known as the Indian Machiavelli, and the diplomatic enclave housing foreign embassies in the Indian capital of New Delhi is named after him, Kautilyapuri.

**Further reading:** Boesche, Roger. *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002; Kangle, R. P. *Kautilya Arthashastra*. New Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi, 1997; Majumdar, R. C., ed. *The Age of Imperial Unity (600 BC–320 AD)*. Bombay, India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1989.

PATIT PABAN MISHRA AND SUDHANSU S. RATH

## Khosrow I

(r. 531–579 C.E.) *Sassanid king*

Khosrow I, also known as Anushirvan, was the son and successor of Kavadh I and one of the most powerful kings of the SASSANID EMPIRE. He led Persia into a glorious age after a long period of rebellion and civil wars. Although not the oldest son of Kavadh I, the terms of his father's will and the support of aristocrats and Zoroastrian clerics led to him being crowned in 531 C.E. In the second year of his reign Khosrow agreed to an "eternal peace" with the Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I. By the terms of the agreement the Byzantine government subsidized the defense of the Caucasus Pass, which had been used by Berber tribes to attack Persia and Byzantium.

Byzantine support for rebellions in ARMENIA and GEORGIA against Persians convinced Khosrow to break his peace agreement and begin a second war with the Byzantine Empire in 540. After establishing another peace, Khosrow successfully fought the Romans in Lazicia on the Black Sea and in Mesopotamia until 562, when a 50-year peace was established. Using the peace between Persia and Rome, and with a coalition of Turks, Khosrow defeated the Hepthalites, a permanent threat for Persia. Khosrow made many reforms while king and continued Kavadh's attempts to reform the taxation system by abandoning the annual taxation calendar, introducing instead a constant system of taxation that was based on a survey of property and annual income. Changing the taxation policy gave Khosrow the ability to make long-term plans for the country. Because of his attempts to

establish social justice, Khosrow became famous for his just rule. Khosrow I organized a permanent army whose discipline was superior to that of the Romans. He was also the first Sassanid king to pay a salary to soldiers and provide weapons. In order to minimize the risk from plots against him Khosrow divided the empire into four regions, each of which was ruled by a military leader. During this time Ctesiphon, his capital, became a metropolis, and he developed his famous palace, Taq-e Kasra.

In addition to founding new towns, Khosrow constructed buildings, canals, and strong fortifications in frontier towns to protect his empire. Although Khosrow was an orthodox Zoroastrian, he was tolerant of other religious beliefs. Because of Khosrow's interest in philosophy, seven Greek Neoplatonic philosophers immigrated to Persia after the Academia of Athens was closed in 529 by Justinian I. With his support, many books from India, Greece, and Syria were translated into Pahlavi. One of these books, *Kalileh and Dimneh*, remains one of the most famous works of Persian literature.

In his last years Khosrow extended the boundaries of his territory to YEMEN. The Romans stimulated the Turks to attack the eastern boundaries of the Persian Empire, and then attacked Mesopotamia, part of Persia. Despite his old age Khosrow personally led the Persian army and defeated the Romans. He went on to conquer Armenia, Syria, Cappadocia, and the fortress of Dara on the Euphrates, before forcing the Byzantine emperor Tiberius II to sign another peace treaty. In 579, while negotiating the peace contract, Khosrow died, and his son, Hormozid IV, succeeded him.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WARS; ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Further reading:** Christensen, Arthur. "Sassanid Persia." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1956; Frye, Richard N. *The Heritage of Persia*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1993; Yarshater, Ehsan. "The Political History of Iran Under the Sassanids." In W. B. Fisher, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Ghirshman, Roman. *Iran, from the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest*. New York: Penguin Books, 1954.

MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR AND FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH

## Kija

(c. 12th century B.C.E.) *Chinese prince, ruler of Korea*

Kija is the Korean rendition of a semilegendary man named Qizi (Ch'i Tzu) in Chinese transliteration, who

lived in the 12th century B.C.E. and played an important role in advancing civilization in Korea. The Korean peninsula is located in northeastern Asia, adjoining China. The ancestors of the Koreans moved into the peninsula from the Manchurian region of present-day China and belong to the Mongoloid family of peoples, akin to the Chinese and Japanese. The early Koreans lived in tribal units, first by fishing and hunting, gradually developing agriculture. Korean mythology has Tan'gun, the first ruler of Korea, as born of a union between a female bear and the son of the divine creator, in 2333 B.C.E.

Another legend has a prince of China's first historic dynasty, the SHANG (or Yin) DYNASTY, migrating to Korea c. 1122 B.C.E. with his followers and founding a state, called CHOSON, with a capital city near modern Pyongyang in northern Korea. The last king of the Shang, reputedly cruel and vicious, listened only to the advice of his evil advisers and his wicked concubine. In despair his kinsman Qizi, or Lord of Qi, decided to leave the Shang realm before its inevitable fall. He led his followers across Manchuria to Korea and founded a dynasty. Korean legends have Kija ruling Korea for 40 years, cite several locations as his grave site, and credit him as the founder of a dynasty that ruled for generations.

Archaeological evidence indicates a gradual flow of cultural influence from northern China into Manchuria and Korea during the first millennium B.C.E. The wars that led to the fall of the Shang and consolidation of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY in China did propel refugees to seek safe new homes, both to the northeast and south of the Yellow River. Coming from the Yellow River, where the most advanced civilization in East Asia had developed, the dispersal of peoples did bring development to regions where they settled.

See also ANYANG.

**Further reading:** Gardiner, K.H.J. *The Early History of Korea*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969; Weems, Clarence N. ed. *Hulbert's History of Korea*. Vol. I. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Kingdom of God

The Kingdom of God is central to the message of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. The idea that God is king of the world is a concept that every ancient nation utilized for its propaganda purposes, and the Jewish people were no exception. However, the precise expression is not used at all in the Jewish scriptures but is found only in the

deuterocanonical book of Wisdom and the New Testament. Divine kingship is found in a few books of the Bible: PSALMS, the latter half of Isaiah, Daniel, Exodus 15. The idea is closely knit with the idea of God's intervention to bring history to an end and to inaugurate a new age of direct divine rule. It is in this context that the idea meshes with the themes of apocalyptic literature. The literature between the Old Testament and the New Testament, called the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, more often give attention to the existence of God's kingdom, though it is not a prominent theme in the literature of QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jesus uses the term uniquely both in its precise expression and in its general meaning. In its usage prior to Jesus it almost always means something that is going to happen in the future. But in the New Testament Jesus also means that it is already present, a concept that theologians call "realized eschatology." Most often, Jesus intends the Kingdom of God to be a future event ("may your kingdom come"), but there are times in his speeches when he means that the kingdom has partially arrived in the exercise of his preaching and miracles. One notable line from the Gospels suggests this new dimension: "The kingdom is in your midst." By this he does not mean that the kingdom is an interior and mystical state; this would be a form of Gnosticism that is simply not present in the Gospels. Rather, he means that the kingdom manifests itself through the actions of faith. God, in effect, is taking control, and the kingdom is present.

Realized eschatology is most commonly found in the last and most theological Gospel of John. Here the term *Kingdom of God* is less often used, but the effects of the kingdom are experienced in this present time and space. When Jesus says, "I am the resurrection and the life," he collapses all of time and creation into himself. His very presence is the sign that the kingdom has come, and his ongoing presence abides in those who believe, such as the church. Questions arise about the realized eschatology of the Gospel of John because it is debated how authentically it represents the historical life and teaching of Jesus. In order to understand Jesus in any of the Gospels it would be better to translate the *Kingdom of God* as the reign of God: The stress is thereby on the power of God to act, more than on a physical, spatial, or political dimension. It is activated through faith and manifested through divine interventions in space and time, phenomena that are called miracles. The kingdom is thus present in part but is mainly imagined as future oriented. The future orientation of the term led the way for later Christians to speak more and more of heaven as the Kingdom of God. Later fathers of the church such as EUSEBIUS thought that the Kingdom of God was a political idea

that was fulfilled in the reign of Emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The emperor then became the king over state and church, an idea that later was called Caesaropapacy. This idea took hold in the Byzantine Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the Russian "Third Rome," and among the military religious orders of the CRUSADES.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); TORAH.

**Further reading:** Keel, O. *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*. New York: Seabury Press, 1978; Meier, J. P. *A Marginal Jew*. New York: Doubleday, 2001; Viviano, B. T. *The Kingdom of God in History*. Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1988.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## King's Highway and Way of the Sea

There were two main highways in ancient times between Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the lower Arabian Peninsula: the King's Highway and the Way of the Sea. The King's Highway largely skirted the desert and served desert peoples. It ran from DAMASCUS to the Gulf of Aqabah, and from there it forked into a route that crossed the Sinai to Egypt and a route that ran the eastern coast of the Red Sea into the Hejaz, or western Arabic coastal region. While the term appears often in historical records, it may have originally meant simply "royal road" or "principal highway," with no connection to a particular king or kingdom.

The King's Highway has always been an important road for pilgrims, traders, and conquerors. The Bible records it as the route that MOSES and the "children of Israel" might well have taken after they fled from ancient Egypt. Most likely it was the path that Abraham used to pursue the desert kings who had taken his nephew Lot as hostage. Throughout later history the King's Highway was a crucial resource for kings and generals. On this highway DAVID and SOLOMON secured trade and leverage over their eastern neighbors, Moab and Edom. When the ARAMEANS arose under Ben-Hadad I and Hazael, they expanded southward by controlling this highway. The people of ASSYRIA took Damascus and the Transjordan by means of it, and centuries later the NABATAEANS used the King's Highway to ship their spices and luxury goods from their hideaway refuge in Petra to the markets of Damascus and beyond.

Around the turn of the millennium Rome entered the area and subjugated Nabatea a century later. The Romans made the King's Highway a part of their imperial

road system, especially using it as a means of transport through the forbidding Arab deserts. They called it the Via Nova Traiana (Trajan's New Way) because of TRAJAN's sponsorship. Its strategic value did not end when the area was traded off between Byzantines, Arabs, Persians, and Muslims. Because of the requirement for PILGRIMAGE (hajj), the road became even more important for Bedouins and northern Arab Muslims for travel to Mecca and Medina. Only in the 16th century did the Ottomans develop an alternate route. The crusaders fortified the highway at the turn of the next millennium, and their castles are still imposing landmarks in the modern Jordanian villages along the way. Today the route is called Tariq es-Sultani (Way of the Sultan).

Ancient road builders left traces along the highway, from the Roman milestones to the crusader castles. Even today villages of the modern state of Jordan mark its path. The King's Highway follows the highlands and ridges east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and some of the most spectacular desert scenery in the Middle East greets travelers. Freshwater springs flow at various places and so explain the popularity of the King's Highway.

The Way of the Sea was the principal coastal highway and the one most chosen by traffickers between Mesopotamia and Egypt. The reasons are simple: It was close to water, food sources, and towns and avoided the highlands. Damascus was the northern junction, and the path went from there to the Sea of Galilee, then through Jezreel Valley and Megiddo, reaching the Mediterranean coast and following it until Zoan in northern Egypt.

Various parties controlled the Way of the Sea. At first it fell under the influence of the Egyptians (and was called the Way of Horus in ancient sources), then under the Philistines (called the Way of the Land of the Philistines in the Bible), and finally under the Romans (who called it Via Maris, Way of the Sea). There were three main sites of strategic importance along the Way of the Sea: Gezer along the southern section of the road in the area contested by the Egyptians and the Philistines; Megiddo in the central section guarding the fertile Jezreel Valley, and Hazor in the north, where the road forked toward the city-states of the Phoenicians in the northwest or toward Damascus in the northeast.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

**Further reading:** James, G. P. *The King's Highway*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004; Rollin, Sue, and Jane Streetly. *Jordan: Blue Guide*. London: A and C Black, 1998.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Kush

The Kushite kingdom flourished in the northern part of present-day Sudan (called NUBIA by the Romans) and southern Egypt. From their capital at Napata, the Kushites controlled the trade between Egypt and East Africa and developed into a major military power. Under the leadership of Piy, Kush forces moved into Upper Egypt, conquering THEBES and, in spite of strong resistance, Memphis. Under King Shabako (r. 721–706 B.C.E.) the Kushites established their own dynastic rule over Egypt but retained many of the old Egyptian customs, particularly regarding burials, and adopted the Egyptian pantheon of gods. The Kushites developed their own written language based on Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, but as this language has yet to be deciphered, much remains to be learned about Kushite history and customs.

As the Assyrians conquered the eastern Mediterranean and moved into Egypt, the Kushites were forced to retreat southward into the Sudan where they built a new capital at MEROË, north of modern Khartoum. Controlling the valuable gold mines in the Sudan and acting as middlemen in trade between East Africa and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as Greece, the Kushites grew wealthy. The numerous ruins of temples, tombs, pyramids, and palaces at Meroë and environs are evidence of the prosperity and artistic complexity of the Kushite kingdom. The Kushites also produced high-grade iron for the manufacture of weapons. They may have transmitted their skills in iron smelting and the lost-wax process for bronze casting to West Africa, or that knowledge may have emerged independently in that area.

By 300 C.E. the Kushite kingdom had begun to decline as its trade in iron and other products with Egypt diminished. Attacks from the newly emerging kingdom at Axum in present-day Ethiopia further weakened it, and it finally fell to Axum rule in the fourth century C.E.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT.

**Further reading:** Shaw, Ian, ed. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Török, Laszlo. *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom: Kush and the Myth of the State in the First Millennium BC*. Lille, France: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 1995; Wildung, Paul, ed. *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*. Paris: Flammarion, 1997.

JANICE J. TERRY

## Kushan Empire

The development and consolidation of the HAN DYNASTY in China, particularly in terms of the expansion of population and agriculture, had an impact on the nomadic tribes along its northern border. In 135 B.C.E. the Han Chinese emperor sent his emissary Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien) to find the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) for a joint offensive against the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU). Zhang found the Yuezhi, now calling themselves Kushans, in modern-day Afghanistan but failed to persuade them to renew their enmity against the Xiongnu. Earlier the Xiongnu had been forced to move west, and they in turn had displaced a confederacy of settled tribes who then came to occupy a wide swath of land across northern India, BACTRIA, and GANDHARA, which are now part of Afghanistan. These people were known to the Chinese as Yuezhi and to others further west as Indo-Scythians. One branch of the Yuezhi was known as the Kushans, or Kusana, probably as a result of the connection with the Chinese province of Gansu (Kansu). The Kushans established themselves as the dominant force in the north of the Indian subcontinent, parts of Central Asia, and Afghanistan during the first three centuries of the Common Era. The expansion of the Kushan Empire is most usually ascribed to the leader KANISHKA.

The Kushan Empire controlled long stretches of the SILK ROAD and this served to provide rulers with considerable revenue and power. Under Kaniska, the Kushan Empire was considered an equal of both Rome and China. Trade goods passed through Kushan territory from both the east and the west, influencing Kushans with trends and ideas from around the world. It was through Kushan territory that Central Asia received early Buddhist ideas and knowledge. The emperor Kaniska welcomed ideas from other countries and scholars debated ZOROASTRIANISM, Brahmanism, and Greek religious concepts. A lasting memorial to this is seen in the Gandhara school of art. The Kushan culture declined as independent forces in India and, particularly, the SASSANID EMPIRE in Iran began to attain more influence.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Foltz, Richard C. *Religions of the Silk Road*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000; Rosenfield, John. *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Delhi, India: South Asia Press, 1993.

JOHN WALSH

# L



## Laozi (Lao Tzu) and Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu)

*founders of Daoism*

Confucianism and DAOISM (TAOISM) are the two most influential philosophies in China. Both had their roots during the later ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY in the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY. The political and social environment that inspired the Hundred Schools was the breakdown of the Zhou monarchy and the rise of powerful states that warred with one another for the right to rule China, and the economic progress and social changes that had disrupted the traditional social order.

All philosophers agreed that China had lost its way, or *dao*. Whereas the Confucians were traditionalists who interpreted ancient texts to fit their view of political philosophy and morality, the Daoists were rebels against the bonds of a decadent society; they preached renunciation of the world and a return to primitive simplicity, which was to them the golden age. Whereas a fixed date and fairly accurate biography have been established for CONFUCIUS, nothing is certain about later Daoist claims concerning their founder Laozi. He purportedly lived in the sixth century B.C.E., hailed from the southern state called Zhu (Ch'u), and worked as an archivist in the Zhou court. He later decided to leave China and was detained at the western border; the guards would not let him go until he had written down his philosophy. The resulting 5,000-word-long work is called the *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*) or *Daodejing* (*Tao-te*

*Ching*), which means the “Canon of the Way and virtue” and from which the name Daoism is derived.

After that he traveled west, reached India, and converted GAUTAMA BUDDHA, founder of Buddhism, to his philosophy. However, Laozi means “old master” in Chinese, indicating that the founder of Daoism did not even have a surname, though his followers in later centuries gave him one, Li. Whether he existed or not, there were hermits and recluses in China during the era of the Hundred Schools, and Daoists were obviously among them. This school is also called “Teaching of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi” (the YELLOW EMPEROR is the mythical founder of the Chinese nation) or the “Teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi.” Zhuangzi means master Zhuang. His given name was Zhou, and he lived between around 369–286 B.C.E. He was a historical figure who was a minor official for a while but lived as a recluse most of the time. Zhuangzi was the second most important figure of Daoism and was contemporary of MENCIUS, the Second Sage of Confucianism. He and his followers left a prose work named the *Zhuangzi* (*Chuang Tzu*).

The *Laozi*, or *Daodejing*, contains a philosophy of life and government. It has been read and puzzled over by its Chinese readers and in translations by readers the world over because it can be approached at different levels and yield different interpretations. It is part prose and part poetry and both enigmatic and profound. It opens thus:

The Dao [Way] that can be told of  
Is not the eternal Dao;

The name that can be named  
 Is not the eternal name,  
 Nameless, it is the origin of Heaven and Earth  
 Namable, it is the mother of all things.  
 Refrain from exalting the worthy,  
 So that the people will not scheme and contend;  
 Refrain from prizing rare possessions,  
 So that the people will not steal;  
 Refrain from displaying objects of desire,  
 So that the people's hearts will not be disturbed  
 Therefore a sage rules his people thus:  
 He empties their minds,  
 And fills their bellies;  
 He weakens their ambitions  
 And strengthens their bones.

In other words, the ideal ruler and government do not interfere in the lives of the people and lead them to the golden age of primitive simplicity by nonaction. It is civilization that has corrupted humanity from its early state of innocence. The sage practices nonaction, gives up worldly ambitions, and lives a simple life in accord with nature. The *Laozi* also criticized the do-gooders (such as Confucians) thus: "He [the ruler] strives always to keep the people innocent of knowledge and desires, and to keep the knowing ones from meddling. By doing nothing that interferes with anything, nothing is left unregulated."

The *Zhuangzi* is a book that is full of humor and whimsy, which pleads for a kind of spiritual freedom for humans so that he or she can rise above individualism and partial understanding. Only then can a person achieve full happiness that is beyond change and freedom from both life and death. One passage from his book illustrates his point. When Zhuangzi's wife died, his friend Huizi (Hui Tzu) came to offer condolences. Finding him singing Huizi was offended and reprimanded him for disrespectful behavior. Zhuangzi replied: "You misjudge me. When she died I was in despair, as any man might be. But soon pondering on what had happened, I told myself that in death no strange new fate befalls us. . . . For not nature only but man's being has its seasons, its sequence of spring and autumn, summer and winter. If some one is tired and has gone to lie down, we do not pursue him with shouting and bawling. She whom I have lost has lain down to sleep for a while . . . in the Great Inner Room. To break in upon her rest with the noise of lamentation would but show that I knew nothing of nature's Sovereign Law. That is why I ceased to mourn."

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

**Further reading:** De Bary, Wm. T., et al. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960; Waley, Arthur. *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## late barbarians

Late barbarians invaded present-day Europe, contributing politically, culturally, and militarily to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire by establishing their own kingdoms. The Huns, Alans, and Goths from the Asiatic steppes were the first wave of land invaders to make inroads into the waning Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., while the Vandals, Sueve, and Burgundians pressured the Roman Empire from the west. The Franks, Alamans, and Bavarians invaded during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Lombards and Avars were the last of the land invaders in the sixth and seventh centuries. The maritime invaders included Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

### THE HUNS

The skillful mounted archers known as the Huns, who derived from present-day Mongolia, were an amalgam of multiracial, pastoralist nomads. Their invasion into southeastern Europe in 371 C.E. set off a domino effect of invasions from various tribes and geographical directions that permanently changed the economic and political landscape of Europe. The Huns vanquished the Alans (Alani) who had settled in Pannonia, between the Don and Volga Rivers, and the Ostrogoths, who occupied the area between the Dniester and the Don Rivers. They also defeated the Goths in present-day Romania in 376.

The Huns allied briefly with Roman general Flavius Aëtius (c. 406–454) who had been a Hunnish hostage under King Rua (Rugila) in present-day Hungary. The Roman-Hun alliance ended when Rua died in 434 and his nephews Bleda and Attila, sons of his brother Munduk, succeeded to the throne. Attila had Bleda murdered in 441 while the Huns reached the Danube River on the northern boundary of the Roman Empire and invaded Thrace. A peace treaty with Rome granted them an enormous tribute, but when a payment was missed Attila waged war on the Romans on the Danubian border in 441. The Huns then moved into Italy and Greece. Aëtius and his allies defeated Attila on June 20, 451 at Chalons-en-Champagne at the Battle of Catalaunian Fields. Attila died in 453, and his sons divided his empire and began to fight their own people. In 455 the Huns were finally

routed at the Battle of Pannonia by an alliance of tribes including the Ostrogoths. The Huns were prevented from moving into the Eastern Roman Empire; consequently, they vanished as a tribe.

### THE GOTHS

The Goths were originally a group of Teutonic tribes from Scandinavia who had settled between the Vistula and Oder Rivers in present-day Poland. The Roman Empire and the Goths met under the rule of Gordian III (238–244 C.E.). The Goths invaded Thrace in 238 C.E. The Romans concluded an alliance (*foedus*) with them in 332 that remained in effect until 350 when Gothic king Ermeric extended his territory from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Black Sea. Around 369 divisive internal issues caused a permanent split between the Goths, creating the Teuringi, meaning “forest people,” who eventually became known as the Visigoths (western Goths), and the Greutingi, meaning “shore people,” and known as the Ostrogoths (eastern Goths). Little animosity persisted among the split Gothic tribes; groups would pass from one tribe to the other.

### THE VISIGOTHS

The Visigoths first gained power under Emperor THEODOSIUS I (346–395), who used them to help defend the frontier in Moesia, present-day Bulgaria. Under elected king Alaric (c. 370–410) they left Moesia, became Arian, and plundered cities in the present-day Balkans and Italy until a pact was made with the eastern emperor in 397. Alaric’s forces grew in strength until ultimately Alaric besieged Rome in 408 and 409 and received a huge ransom. Alaric proclaimed the usurper Priscus Attalus as his puppet Western Roman emperor. In 410 Alaric occupied Rome, an act that contributed to the final collapse of the Roman Empire.

### THE BURGUNDIANS

The Burgundians, who had settled in present-day Poland, moved westward around 260 C.E. to the present-day Koblenz area. They founded their own nation, were crushed by the Huns, later established a *foedus* (alliance) with Rome, and rooted themselves in present-day Geneva. The Franks eventually vanquished the Burgundians, who converted to Catholicism by 533 and submitted to the Merovingian dynasty in 534, under whom they thrived.

### THE FRANKS

The Franks were originally an alliance of numerous German tribes that included the Allemani, Franks, and Sax-

ons. The Franks moved into present-day Belgium by 357 C.E., converted to Christianity in 360, and were soundly defeated by the Romans at the Battle of Argentoratum. In 486 the Franks defeated the Romans in present-day France. Around 496 the Allemani component of the Franks were defeated, and they became members of the Ostrogoth tribe then ruled by Theodoric.

### THE VANDALS

The Vandals first raided the Roman Empire around 275 C.E. As they fled from the Huns they settled in GAUL and then Spain from 409 to 411. They moved to North Africa ultimately conquering Algeria and Morocco. The Vandals destroyed Hippo and finally settled in CARTHAGE in 439, raided Sicily and Italy, then sacked Rome in 455. The Western Roman Empire, suffering from population decline, decaying cities, and a poor economy, finally collapsed in 476.

Their vicious methods made their name synonymous with wanton destruction. Byzantine emperor JUSTINIAN I conquered the Vandals in 533.

### THE SUEVI

The Suevi were a Germanic tribe that resided in present-day Czech Republic. They were pressured by the Huns to relocate, and in 407 C.E. they crossed the Rhine, eventually settling in Galicia, present-day Spain. They were vanquished by the Visigoths in 456 and disappeared from the written record.

### THE LOMBARDS

The Lombards were from present-day northwest Germany. They migrated south and by the sixth century C.E. moved into present-day northern Italy. The Franks besieged the Lombards in 773. Emperor Charlemagne (742–814) intervened and captured Lombard king Desiderius in 767, effectively ending Lombard rule in Italy.

### THE AVARS

The Avars were mounted nomads from Central Asia who settled on the present-day Hungarian plain. An 80,000-strong expedition of Avars, Huns, Gepids, and Bulgars laid siege to CONSTANTINOPLE in 626 C.E., but the attempt was unsuccessful. The Avars successfully pushed the Croats and the Serbs southward and fought the Merovingians in present-day France. However, Charlemagne destroyed their capital in 796. Shortly thereafter the Avars disappeared as a tribe because they incorporated themselves into the Carolingian dynasty.

### THE ANGLES AND SAXONS

The Angles and Saxons derived from the present-day Netherlands, western Germany, and southern Denmark. Their maritime movements resulted in their settling in present-day England in the fifth century C.E. after the Romans withdrew their legions from Britain. They conquered Celtic Britain and made the people subjects. The Angles and Saxons founded numerous kingdoms of which Northumbria, Wessex, and Mercia were the most prominent. The Anglo-Saxons established a strong culture but were vanquished by the Norman invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066. The Jutes, from present-day Jutland in Denmark, were one of three Teutonic tribes to invade present-day England in the fifth century C.E. They settled on the Isle of Wight and in Kent.

The major effect derived from the late barbarians was the push toward the ultimate destruction of the Roman Empire. Their subsequent empires and kingdoms became the forerunners to the modern nation-states.

See also ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Bury, John B. *The Late Roman Empire*. London: Norton, 2000; Gordon, Colin D. *The Age of Attila: Fifth Century Byzantium and the Barbarians*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1993; Musset, Lucien. *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, 400–600 A.D.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1993; Thompson, E. A. *The Huns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948; Villari, Pasquale. *Barbarian Invasions of Italy*. New York, Scribner, 1902; Williams, Stephen, and Gerard Friell. *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Latin Church

The Latin Church must be defined in relation to the GREEK CHURCH. The fact that the former came to mean Roman Catholic (as opposed to Greek Orthodox for the latter) was a function of the politics of the later part of the first millennium C.E. At first the Latin Church was simply an extension of the missionary efforts of Jews and Gentiles who believed that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was the messiah, the one promised in the Jewish scriptures who would fulfill the covenant of Israel. As the missionaries moved to the heart of the Mediterranean world, Rome, they conveyed their message using the Greek language and thought. From the beginning the Christian communities in the Diaspora

Jewish world wrestled with its message using logic and philosophy to explain its message, not just the appeal and initiation experiences typical of a MYSTERY CULT. In addition, early Christianity brought to Rome and points further west the Greek sense of visual art and self-discipline that later developed into fondness for icons and monastic life, more typical of the Greek Church.

At first, the term *catholic* was used to describe the common culture of the Christian Church, whether in the East or West. Ignatius of Antioch used the term c. 110 C.E. (*kata* meaning “according to,” and *holos* meaning “the whole”) as a prepositional phrase describing the local church resisting division, but within another 100 years, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA used the term to speak of the “universal” church that did not commune with the heretical groups. By the time of the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE (381 C.E.), the term was used in the creed as one of the four main characteristics of the true church: it was “one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.”

The Latin Church increasingly used *catholic* to define its traditions and doctrines, while the Greek Church embraced another common term, *orthodox* (“right opinion”), to describe itself. The Council of Chalcedon (451) named Rome and Constantinople as the leading centers of the Christian Church, and in the following centuries these two cities represented the diverging Latin and Greek Churches. When various ravaging tribes overran Rome in the fifth century, Constantinople became increasingly the center of classical civilization, a fact that caused many Latin Christians to complain bitterly when Greeks did not come to their aid. By the time of JUSTINIAN I Latin had faded as an official language of the Eastern empire, thus increasing the cultural distance between the two churches.

The pope and political patrons such as the Franks dominated the Latin Church, while the Greek Church gave prominence to the “ecumenical patriarch” (who was given less authority than the pope) and his more dominant political patron, the Byzantine emperor. Centralization of authority became far more pronounced in the Latin Church, and with this came standardization of doctrinal development.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF.

**Further reading:** Brown, Peter. *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750. History of European Civilization Library*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; Osborn, Eric. *Clement of Alexandria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Legalism

Legalism in Chinese is called *fajia* (*fa-chia*), meaning “school of law.” It is not strictly a philosophy but a set of amoral and cynical rules aimed at total control and regimentation of society in the interest of a powerful state that is successful in war. It developed late in the Warring States era (403–222 B.C.E.), during the QIN (CH’IN) DYNASTY, and is credited as the reason for its successful drive to unify China.

The first Legalist leader was Gungsun Yang (Kung-sun Yang), better known as Shang Yang or Lord Shang (d. 330 B.C.E.). He wrote the *Book of Lord Shang*, which emphasized government by law, giving the school its name. Lord Shang became chief minister of the state of Qin. He opposed the feudal order as anachronistic and replaced it with a centralized government in which military and civil officers were promoted by merit. Agriculture and war were promoted and glorified because these activities made a state rich and strong, whereas music, literature, and history were condemned as useless and poisons to the mind. Man-made laws, not divine or moral laws, were all encompassing, severely punishing people for disobedience and richly rewarding those who served the state well; no one was exempt. When the system was completely in place, the state was supposed to run flawlessly and the ruler was supposed to be able to enjoy life in the palace untroubled.

Two other Legalist leaders were Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.E.) and Li Si (Li Ssu, d. 208 B.C.E.). Both studied under the heterodox Confucian philosopher XUNZI (HSUN TZU) and went on to serve the Qin state. Han Fei wrote a book named after himself, and like Lord Shang’s book, it was a guide for operating a Legalist-style government that emphasized authority, administrative techniques, and the law. Han Fei fell from power at the hands of his schoolmate and rival Li Si and was forced to take poison in prison. Li became chief minister of Qin and guided its final push to supreme power under the first emperor. He too died in prison at the hands of his political enemy; two years later the Qin empire fell, and the discredited and hated Legalist school would be discarded for all time.

Legalism emphasized the use of ruthless power to create an all-powerful state run on impartial and strict laws that could self-perpetuate endlessly. Rewards and punishments were manipulated so that people would serve the interests of the state. Everything was regulated, including thought, hence chief minister Li Si advocated and carried out the burning of books and the killing of hundreds of Confucian scholars after the Qin unification. Lord Shang, Han Fei, and Li Si developed

and implemented Legalist ideas and techniques, which enabled Qin to defeat its rivals, unify China, and briefly impose its totalitarian rule.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; CONFUCIUS; HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Bodde, Derk. *China’s First Unifier, a Study of the Ch’in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu* (280?–208 B.C.). Reprint, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967; Dubs, Homer H. *The Works of Hsuntze*. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1928; Duyvendak, Jan Julius. *The Book of Lord Shang, a Classic of the Chinese School of Law*. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1963; Li, Yu-ning, ed. *Shang Yang’s Reforms and State Control in China*. White Plains, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1977.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## legionaries

Legionaries were the soldiers of the Roman Republic and Empire, who collectively formed groups of between 1,000 and 6,000 men called legions. Legionaries are widely regarded as some of the most efficient and effective military personnel of the ancient world. Legionaries achieved astonishing victories over the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and dozens of barbarian tribes, often in the face of far more numerous armies.

Five distinct types of legionaries served in the Roman legions: light infantry, cavalry, and three kinds of heavy infantry. Members of the light infantry, or *velites*, were armed with a short sword called a *gladius*, a bundle of light javelins, and a small round shield that offered limited protection. *Velites* tended to be recruited from poor citizens who could not afford more elaborate weapons and armor. They were not organized into rigid units; they served instead in a flexible support role to assist the other types of legionaries.

The cavalry, or *equites*, were the most elite and prestigious unit in a Roman legion and tended to number approximately 300 legionaries, regardless of the size of the rest of the legion. They were armed with a comparatively long sword called a *spartha*, several javelins, body armor, a helmet, and a round shield.

Most *equites* were wealthy citizens who could afford the expense of their equipment and horses. Their main role in battle was to charge at enemy soldiers, particularly when the foes were retreating. Many wealthy Roman citizens became *equites* in order to provide a foundation for later political careers.

Heavy infantry tended to be drawn from wealthy citizens and were divided into three classes based on age. The youngest heavy legionaries, those in their late teens and early 20s, formed the *hastati*, which made up the legion's front line. The second line of heavy infantry was made up of men in their late 20s and early 30s, who were known as *principes*, or men in the "prime of their lives." They were armed with a *gladius*, two heavy javelins, heavy body armor, and a large semicylindrical shield called the *scutum*. Finally, the third line of heavy infantry was made up of older and very experienced legionaries, the *triarii*. *Triarii* were generally equipped with the heaviest armor and carried a long and heavy spear instead of javelins. The primary role of all heavy infantry was to directly engage enemy troops and fight to the death.

In the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.E. heavy legionaries fought in units called *maniples*, which were commanded by *centurions*. The *maniples* were arranged in a checkerboard formation so that the *maniples* in the second line, the *principes*, would cover the gaps in the front line of *hastati*. *Maniples* of *triarii*, in turn, covered the gaps in between the *maniples* of *principes*.

When marching across a battlefield to engage their enemies, Roman heavy legionaries would first throw their javelins to disrupt the enemy's front lines. Following this, they used their shields to protect themselves and punch at their enemies in face-to-face combat while stabbing with their short swords. Their goal was to open a hole in the enemy front lines, break the enemy formations, and convince the enemy to flee in panic. *Velites* would assist by throwing more javelins at the enemy to further disrupt their lines. Finally, when the enemy broke, the Roman *equites* would chase them down and try to inflict additional casualties. The expense of maintaining a large number of elite soldiers was enormous. As a result, the legionaries disappeared as a class of soldier in the fifth century C.E. when the political and economic infrastructure needed to support them collapsed.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Anglim, Simon, et al. *Fighting Techniques of the Ancient World: 3000 BC–AD 500*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2002; Elton, Hugh. *Warfare in Roman Europe AD 350–425*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; Goldsworthy, Adrian. *Roman Warfare*. Oxford: Cassell, 2000; Keegan, John. *A History of Warfare*. Toronto, Canada: Random House, 1994; Keppie, Lawrence. *The Making of the Roman Army: From Republic to Empire*. Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

## Leonidas

(d. 480 B.C.E.) *king and general*

When news came to Sparta that the Persians were advancing for the second time in 10 years into the Greek heartland, only King Leonidas and his hand-picked band of 300 were dispatched to stop them. It was the feast of Carnea, and the Spartans were not inclined to go against their latent isolationist tendencies by committing more resources. Leonidas picked up some Greek recruits along the way, forced some 1,100 Boeotians to join him, and then marched to the strategic pass called Thermopylae. Here some 7,000 troops eventually were dismissed when the Persians outflanked them. Leonidas refused retreat and held out at the pass for almost three days, probably in August 480 B.C.E.

The main historian for this battle is HERODOTUS, who leaves out many conflicting details known from other contemporary writers and modern archaeologists. Other routes would have allowed the Persians to advance, but for some reason they chose Thermopylae as their main attack. Perhaps the Persian generals expected that the Greeks would melt away in intimidation, for they waited three days before attacking Thermopylae. For the first two days Leonidas and his men brilliantly defend the pass. On the third day of fighting the locals give the Persians advice about an alternative and unguarded trail through the highlands overlooking the pass. After an all-night march by the elite Persian force called the Immortals, Leonidas and his troops faced a rear attack along with a frontal assault by the vastly superior Persian regulars. Despite fierce Spartan resistance that killed two Persian princes, Leonidas and his 300 were slaughtered to the last man. Most of their collaborators and allies also were cut down, with the exception of a few Thebans who are said to have surrendered.

The passage of time only increased Leonidas's reputation. The Persians mutilated Leonidas's body, but 40 years later, the Spartans claimed to have recovered the corpse. In a ceremonial reburial a fifth-century B.C.E. hero shrine was established for Leonidas in Sparta. Somewhere on the battlefield a monument was erected that announced to future generations the glory of Leonidas and his 300: "Stranger, tell the Spartans that we lie here, being obedient to their words." A famous lyric poem reads: "Renowned was their fortune and fair their fate. Their tomb is an altar; instead of laments they have remembrance, instead of pity, praise. Their shroud is such as neither decay nor the victory of time will touch, for they were brave men and their graveyard took the glory of Greece for its inmate. To this Leonidas the king

of Sparta bears witness who has left a great memorial of valor and eternal glory.” Ultimately Leonidas’s gallant action paid off. He probably believed that he could hold out with his small group, given his initial success at Thermopylae. The stealthy movements of the Persian Immortals took him by complete surprise. However, the detainment of the Persians for two days probably made the engagement of Battle of Artemisium necessary, a naval clash that the Greeks won. Leonidas had given Athens the time to evacuate and so the Greek navy prevailed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; XERXES I.

**Further reading:** Bury, John, and Russel Meiggs. *History of Greece*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980; Davis, William Stearns. *Victor of Salamis*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Leo the Great

(c. 400–461 C.E.) *pope and theologian*

Leo I, elected pope in 440 C.E., is one of two popes to have earned the epithet “great,” the other being GREGORY THE GREAT. Little is known of his early life. He first appears with certainty in the historical record as holding the important position of archdeacon under Pope Celestine (422–432). When the controversy between CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and NESTORIUS erupted in 429–431, it was Leo who, on behalf of Pope Celestine, recruited John Cassian to write against the errors of Nestorius. Cassian in turn later honored Leo, calling him “the ornament of the Roman church and of the divine ministry.” We also have Leo’s own testimony that Cyril of Alexandria wrote to him in 431 in order to gain his support in a controversy concerning Juvenal’s attempt to promote the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Under Pope Sixtus III (432–440) Leo continued his service as archdeacon, supporting the pope in his efforts against the Pelagian, Julian of Eclanum. While away in GAUL on a diplomatic mission in 440, Leo learned of his election to succeed Sixtus III and returned to Rome for his coronation. He possessed a very strong conviction that each pope was the direct successor to Peter—and acted as Peter for the sake of the church. This keen conviction of his own role as Peter for the church marked all that he did in the 21 years of his reign.

Leo can be credited with three primary accomplishments. First, he was an effective teacher of the Chris-

tian faith. Leo’s short homilies (96 in all) reveal both his oratorical skill and his theological insight. He was not a speculative theologian like AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, but he had a remarkable ability to synthesize eloquently the essentials of the Christian faith. His homilies are largely on the feasts of the church year, and they weave together the profound truths of Christian doctrine with a practical orientation to living the Christian life day to day. Leo also carried a particular burden for the poor; his preaching is marked with a consistent plea for alms and for works of charity.

Leo’s second noteworthy accomplishment is as pastor of the Western LATIN CHURCH. His letters show how active he was in handling disputes, appointing bishops, and offering pastoral wisdom for many crises of his day. Perhaps his most famous intervention occurred in 452, when he traveled from Rome to Mantua to confront Attila the Hun who was ravaging all of northern Italy. Somehow Leo persuaded Attila to stop his approach toward Rome and withdraw. A few years later, in 455 he confronted the Vandal leader, Gaiseric, outside Rome’s city walls, and persuaded him to limit his destruction of the city.

Leo is best known, however, for the role he played in shaping the doctrine of Christ. He was a key player in what is known as the Christological controversy of the fifth century. In the midst of a debate in 448 between Flavian and the monk Eutyches, Leo composed a doctrinal letter (known as his *Tome*) on the two natures of Christ. Initially rejected, Leo’s *Tome* played a crucial role in the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Leo is rightly credited with helping to forge the doctrine of the Incarnation for both the Western Latin and the Eastern GREEK CHURCH. He died in 461. Because of his many accomplishments—theological, pastoral, and societal—he earned the title “great” and was declared a Doctor of the Western Church by Pope Benedict XIV in 1754.

See also EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF.

**Further reading:** Bettenson, Henry, trans. *Late Christian Fathers: Selected Writings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970; Jalland, Trevor. *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great*. London: SPCK, 1941.

DANIEL A. KEATING

## libraries, ancient

The preconditions for a society to have a library are a writing script, a level of literacy, schools that foster

literary skills, an educated and resourceful educated class, an interest in reading, and a publishing industry. These conditions favored societies in the Near East and Greece in ancient times, though by the beginning of the Common Era libraries were not unknown in imperial China. The most successful early libraries offered the greatest public accessibility.

The seeds of libraries are found in the archives of ancient monarchies and governments. As soon as writing developed it was used by rulers for administration and record keeping. The tablets of EBLA (near Aleppo, Syria) provide an early example. Here excavators found approximately 2,000 clay tablets dating back to 2300 B.C.E., recording information about food, clothing, and raw materials, apparently used as a palace archives. A similar cache was found at Ras Shamra, Syria, reflecting the 13th-century B.C.E. city UGARIT. Here the writings are of a somewhat more intellectual nature: diplomatic correspondence, laws, history, a little poetry and incantations, and even a Sumerian-Ugaritic dictionary. These early collections were storage places for administrative information.

Pleasure reading and general reader access were not high priorities. The palace repository of Ashurbanipal (c. 650 B.C.E.) in NINEVEH provides more of an ancient parallel for our topic. The collection included 1,500 titles in CUNEIFORM texts. The finding of the *Epic of Gil-Gamesh* suggests that the readers here were not merely interested in governing more efficiently, though the vast majority of texts are resources for Ashurbanipal's palace bureaucrats.

### PRIVATE AND SPECIALIZED

In the ancient Greek world there is a long history of literacy, books, and education. However, libraries were at first decidedly private and specialized. In the fourth century B.C.E. ARISTOTLE's personal collection of books was famous, and his Peripatetic school continued in his footsteps. Also, scholars recently discovered a catalog of books that indicates what an ancient library should offer: Homer, HESIOD, the tragedies, even cookbooks. The prevailing attitude, though, was that book collections were for eccentric intellectuals. The foundation of a publicly used library goes back to the followers of Aristotle who migrated to ALEXANDRIA when Aristotle's student, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, died.

Perhaps they persuaded the DIADOCHI monarchs, the PTOLEMIES, to establish a library like Aristotle's but to make it available to all as a public resource. Or perhaps the Ptolemies, being Hellenized, simply wanted to subsidize Greek scholarship in Egypt. Thus, the library

soon was associated with a circle of Greek thinkers called the "Mouseion" (the gathering place of the Muse inspired).

Demetrios Phaleron (345–283 B.C.E.) and a string of other Homeric scholars were Alexandria's first chief librarians. The first critical edition of the HOMERIC EPICS was produced, as well as the first Jewish Bible in Greek. Other library savants probably included Callimachus, Plotinus, and PHILO the Jew. It is also likely that religious figures such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, the Gnostics, and proponents of NEOPLATONISM were patrons in later centuries. Alexandria's holdings were vast, consisting of at least 500,000 rolls (scrolls), or the equivalent of 100,000 books. The complex had 10 buildings, connected by colonnades and adjoining areas for reading and discussion. The library survived until the days of the Muslim caliphate. One of the main rivals for Alexandria was Pergamum, a beautiful city in Asia Minor. Around the year 200 B.C.E. King Eumenes II or Attalus I founded a library to compete with Ptolemy's. The Egyptians were so threatened that they banned the export of papyrus, a raw material for book production, which only stimulated the production of parchment as a substitute. The library eventually contained around 200,000 scrolls. Other ancient libraries were also found in such Mediterranean areas as Rhodes, Cos, Pella, and Antioch.

The Roman Empire boasted a library institution that linked Greek traditions to the modern world. When Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus of Macedon in 168 B.C.E., he ransacked the royal library and brought back its books. He wanted to educate his sons in Greek culture, just like the Alexandrians. As Rome's thirst for Greek learning increased, so did its desire for Greek tutors, books, and libraries. Evidence for first-century C.E. Roman libraries is abundant. CICERO and Plutarch speak much about the procurement of books, the accessibility of books through lending and copying policies, the storage and organization of books, and the reading of books. From the satires of Trimalchio, SENECA, and Lucian, we learn that rich Romans would use their libraries as a mask for their stupidity. They would make a display of their wealth and "high culture" by founding "public libraries."

In the time of AUGUSTUS CAESAR the state started to take a role in making books available to the public. Emperors started to provide library benefits. JULIUS CAESAR made the first plan of a library, though he did not live to see its implementation.

There is evidence for libraries erected in honor of Emperors Vespasian, TRAJAN, MARCUS AURELIUS,

Caracalla, and DIOCLETIAN. By one count there were more than 28 libraries in Rome alone. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT pillaged books from Rome in order to start in CONSTANTINOPLE a collection of 7,000 books. New Rome eventually had 120,000 books.

Roman libraries offered more amenities than their Hellenistic forebears. Romans provided reading rooms and easy access to the stacks of books. Ancient library planners advised that the structure should face east to catch the sun, should have green marble floors to reduce strain on the eyes, and be decorated with gilded ceilings to increase good light. The still-standing library of Celsus in Ephesus shows that the facade would have busts of famous authors, and the central niche of the reading rooms might be graced with a statue of the library's benefactor. Rules for lending and hours of service have been found inscribed in stone: "No book shall be taken out, for we have sworn. . . . Open from dawn to midday."

Three other libraries are worth noting. Origen's third-century c.e. library in Caesarea was used by JEROME and EUSEBIUS. EDESSA and Nisibis were intellectual centers of SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH, and by 485 c.e. Nisibis had an extensive collection of Greek scientific and philosophy books that later made their way into the libraries of the Abbasid Muslims. JUSTINIAN I's sixth-century c.e. library in Constantinople was a resource for his famous CODE OF JUSTINIAN.

The decline of libraries has sometimes been associated with the establishment of Christianity and its alleged disdain for the classics and Hellenistic culture. There are stories of anti-intellectual religious mobs burning down libraries, but there are also examples of Christian support for learning (such as the CAPPADOCIANS, BASIL THE GREAT, and Jerome). In fact, the transmission of classical writings to the Renaissance was due to monastic libraries of the Middle Ages. Probably it is more accurate to say that the worst enemies of libraries were the forces of nature: the worm and fire. And unfortunately, the decline of Rome led to a decline in the economy and in education.

See also ASSYRIA; BENEDICT; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; GREEK CITY-STATES.

**Further reading:** Casson, Lionel. *Libraries in the Ancient World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001; Ellens, J. Harold. *The Ancient Library of Alexandria and Early Christian Theological Development*, Occasional Papers, No. 27. Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of Claremont Graduate School, 1993.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Libya

The first PHOENICIAN COLONIES were established on North African shores around 1000 b.c.e. The original people of North Africa, surviving to this day in the form of various Berber tribes, strongly defended their territory and freedoms from outside domination. The geography of North Africa made it easy to mount attacks on settled territory. Vast tribal armies could be hidden in the Sahara to the south. Despite geographic challenges to settlement, there were also irresistible agricultural riches that could be gathered from the coastal plains and valleys of North Africa. The history of the ROMAN EMPIRE and the Roman army would have been very different were it not for the breadbasket of Rome that was ancient Libya and North Africa. It provided the "bread and circuses," grain and olives, and wild beasts to the population of imperial Rome and other imperial cities.

The Romans defined ancient Libya as all the lands of North Africa to the west of Egypt. Two thousand years ago the climate of the region was very different. The Sahara did not extend as far north, and there were more regular rains. Barbary elephants, lions, and apes roamed the forests. The tribes of Libya were not random, disorganized bands of warriors. Most settlement, however, occurred on the coasts where grain and other goods could be easily transported throughout the Mediterranean.

The Romans defeated CARTHAGE in the Battle of Zama in 202 b.c.e., ushering in a new era of Roman colonization of the region. Augustus Caesar for example, granted rich farming territory in North Africa to retired army soldiers and officers. Granting land to veterans also gave them an incentive to defend the empire. A vast system of mud walls and forts were erected throughout North Africa on the edge of the desert to defend settlers, and hundreds of new Roman cities and villages were established in the coastal plains of Tunisia and Libya. In cases where it was too difficult to defend Roman territory, regions were given over to local client kings, and pacts of peace were signed. Soon many Africans would become integrated into the Roman system. Several Roman emperors, including the formidable SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS were from North Africa. Other famous Roman North Africans included Apuleius, writer of the first classical novel, *The Golden Ass*, and AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, the intellectual father of the Roman Catholic Church. The Byzantines revived Roman North Africa in 533 c.e. after the invasion of the Vandals in 429. Sparked by the revolutionary message of Islam, the Arabs began their rapid invasion of North Africa around 641. Yet the Arabs, like the Romans before them, faced

fierce resistance from the native Berbers. According to legend, the famed Berber queen al-Kahina only surrendered after burning the forests and laying waste to the land. Indeed, centuries after the Arab invasion, cycles of conflict between the Berbers and Arabs, especially in modern Algeria, continue to this day.

**Further reading:** Apuleius. *The Golden Ass*. Translated by Robert Graves. New York: Penguin Classics, 1950; Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Penguin, 1985; MacKendrick, Paul. *The North African Stones Speak*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; Raven, Susan. *Rome in Africa*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

ALLEN FROMHERZ

## Linear A and B

Linear B is the oldest known form of Greek writing extant today. It is a syllabic script that was used to represent Greek sounds. Adapted from Cretan Linear A, it was probably developed for a language other than Greek. The MINOANS and MYCENAE used Linear B in their palaces at least 400 years before the Greek Dark Ages. It is quite different from the Greek alphabet, which was based on a North Semitic script and developed after the Greek Dark Ages. Archaeologists became aware of the existence of Linear B in 1878, when a clay tablet was found at Knossos.

By 1895 archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1941) suspected that it was Greek after examining signs found on seals. Evans published his work in a volume entitled *B Cretan Pictographs and Prae-Phoenician Script* (1895). In 1900 Evans conducted an archaeological dig at Knossos where he discovered an archive of clay tablets in Linear B, thought to be the archive of the palace of King Minos. Despite years of effort Evans was unable to decipher the Linear B script. However, he was able to conclude that frequently repeated short line markers in Linear B were word markers. The hieroglyphic script of Linear A has yet to be deciphered. Evans noticed that there were parallels between the Cypriot script, which had been deciphered, and Linear B. In 1939 another archive of tablets in Linear B were discovered at Pylos in Greece.

Linear B was believed to be Minoan until 1952, when British amateur archaeologist Michael Ventris (1922–56) deciphered it. At first Ventris did not believe that the language represented by the script was Greek,

despite the fact that many of the deciphered words were archaic forms of Greek. In 1951 Ventris approached John Chadwick, an expert in early Greek, for help. Together they were able to show definitively that Linear B was Greek. Most of the material in Linear B records lists of people, goods, and animals. The occasional use of ideograms such as “tripod” and “horse” provided an important clue for deciphering Linear B. Further study has shown that it has features closely related to the Classical Arcadian and Cypriot dialects.

See also HIEROGLYPHICS.

**Further reading:** Chadwick, John. *The Decipherment of Linear B*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Horrocks, Geoffrey. *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997; Palmer, Leonard Robert. *The Greek Language*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996; ———. *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; Renfrew, Colin. *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of the Indo-European Origins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Liu Bang (Liu Pang)

(247–195 B.C.E.) founder of Chinese dynasty

Liu Bang was also known as Liu Ji (Liu Chi). He was born in 247 B.C.E. to a farming family, was the first commoner to ascend the Chinese throne, founded the long-lived HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), and died in 195 B.C.E. As emperor he was called Gaodi (Kao-ti), which means “high emperor”; after death he was called Han Gaozu (Han Kao-tsü), which means “high progenitor of the Han.” He was admired for his abilities, generosity, and taking advice from his ministers.

A minor official in 209 B.C.E., Liu rose in revolt against the oppressive QIN (CH’IN) DYNASTY and joined forces with XIANG YU (HSIANG YU), the foremost rebel general. They agreed that the first to enter the Qin capital area would be king. In 206 B.C.E. Liu’s forces entered the Qin capital Xienyang (Hsien-yang) and received the surrender of the last Qin monarch. He was generous in victory, protected the Qin royal family, and forbade looting.

However, irreconcilable rivalry between Xiang and Liu led to war between them. Xiang’s brilliant generalship was nullified by his cruelty and arrogance; abandoned by his allies and troops, Xiang committed suicide in 202 B.C.E.

Liu then assumed the title of *huangdi* (*huang-ti*), or emperor, of the Han dynasty, becoming known by his reign title Gaodi. He chose CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an) as his capital for its strategic location (it lies in the vicinity of Qin capital Xienyang). Gaozu was a pragmatic and humane ruler. He lowered taxes, relaxed the severe Qin laws, proclaimed a general amnesty, and practiced frugal government so that the people could recover from decades of wars and high taxes. He maintained the Qin system of central government but was realistic: He divided the empire into two halves. The western portion was organized into 14 provinces and counties, which were administered by central government appointees, while the eastern half was organized into 10 kingdoms ruled by his independently powerful allies over whom he only gradually gained control.

Gaozu's greatest problem was how to deal with the nomads called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) along his northern frontier. Qin armies under the formidable general MENG TIAN (MENG T'ien) had defeated the Xiongnu, linking existing walls into the GREAT WALL OF CHINA. In 209 B.C.E. the Xiongnu came under a ruler named MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) who not only led raids into Han territory but also enticed some of the semi-independent kings under Gaozu to defect to him. In 201 B.C.E. Gaozu led a mostly infantry force of 300,000 men to battle Maotun's larger cavalry force and narrowly escaped capture. The two sides signed a peace treaty to the Xiongnu's advantage.

In addition to establishing a border along the Great Wall, Gaozu agreed to marry his only daughter by his wife EMPRESS LU to Maotun and to give him regularly large quantities of silks, food, and liquor. Empress Lu vetoed the handing over of her daughter, and another girl from the Liu clan was given the rank of princess and sent to be Maotun's wife. Thus began 60 years of appeasing the Xiongnu because the Han government thought peace necessary to China's economic recovery. Gaozu died of an arrow wound in 195 B.C.E. while campaigning and was succeeded by his young son; in reality his strong-willed widow, Empress Lu, also of commoner origin, would rule for the next 15 years.

**Further reading:** Dubs, Homer H. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku, a Critical Translation with Annotations*. 3 vols. Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1938–51; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Lo-lang

Lo-lang commandery was one of four commanderies established in Korea after the conquest of the northern and central part of the peninsula by China's HAN DYNASTY in 108 B.C.E. It was the most prosperous among the four commanderies and remained under Chinese control until 313 C.E. Contacts between China and the Korean Peninsula intensified after the establishment of the Han dynasty in China (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). In 194 B.C.E. a Chinese named WEI MAN (WIMAN, in Korean) fled China after a failed revolt and established a state called CHOSON in northern Korea. In 109 B.C.E., on pretext that Wei Man's successors were harboring Chinese fugitives, Emperor Wu sent an expedition against Choson, defeating it and establishing four commanderies on the peninsula after 108 B.C.E.

They were Lo-lang (Korean: Nangnang) in the northwest, whose administrative capital was that of the Choson kingdom, near modern Pyongyang; Chen-fang (Korean: Chinbon) to its south; Lin-tun (Korean: Imdun) in the northeast; and Xuan-tou (Korean: Hyondo) in the north. By 1–2 C.E. only Lo-lang and Xuan-tou remained, comprising 28 counties. The retreat was motivated by native unrest and the lack of strategic reasons to maintain control in remote regions on the peninsula. But even as the Han dynasty was disintegrating in the early third century C.E., the Chinese were still powerful enough to found a new commandery called Tai-fang (Korean: Taebang) in the Han River valley in west-central Korea.

Lo-lang was a rich outpost of Chinese civilization for four centuries. It had 25 counties with 400,000 registered inhabitants. Many tombs excavated near Pyongyang contained some of the best products of Han artisans: many items, such as lacquerware, were made in other regions in China, but some must have been the products of local Chinese immigrants. Because of its cultural dominance and the lure of trade, Korean tribal leaders in areas outside the commanderies offered tribute and received patents of office from the Han government. With China divided and in a state of civil war at the end of the Han dynasty, Lo-lang commandery fell in 313 C.E. and Tai-fang soon followed. Lo-lang and other Chinese commanderies in Korea were comparable to Roman colonies in Britain. They served to transmit advanced culture to the occupied countries, however, more effectively in the case between China and Korea than between Rome and Britain. As Chinese political influence ended in Korea in the fourth century C.E., naive Korean states would emerge. Though these states were not the direct political heirs of Chinese rule, they nevertheless received much of their

institutions and culture from contacts with China through its colonial outposts. Importantly Korea also served as the conduit between China and Japan.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI).

**Further reading:** Gardiner, K. H. J. *The Early History of Korea*. Camberra: Australian National University Press, 1969; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Lu, Empress

(d. 180 B.C.E.) Chinese ruler

Empress Lu's given name was Zhi (Chi). Both she and her husband, LIU BANG (LIU PANG), founder of the HAN DYNASTY in China (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), were born commoners. In 195 B.C.E. Liu Bang, who is known in history as Gaozu (Kao-tsu), meaning "high progenitor," died of an arrow wound in battle. His eldest son by Empress Lu became the new ruler Huidi (Hui-ti). Huidi reigned as an adult even though he was only 15 years old. He was noted for his filial piety and respect for learning. He ordered the lifting of a ban on books that the previous QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY had enacted. However, his strong-willed mother, who vindictively killed one of her husband's concubines and several of her stepsons, dominated Huidi. Her actions so terrified him that he became bedridden for a year and never dared to challenge his mother again. Huidi died in 188 B.C.E., leaving a young son. That son, and another whom Empress Lu adopted as her grandson, became puppet emperors with the empress as regent.

Empress Lu followed her husband's policy of government, which included peace with the powerful XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads. In 192 B.C.E. she received this letter from MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN), the Xiongnu ruler, which read: "I am a lonely widowed ruler, born amidst the marshes and brought up on the wild steppes in the land of cattle and horses . . . Your Majesty is also a widowed ruler living in a life of solitude. Both of us are without pleasures and lack any way to amuse ourselves. It is my hope that we can exchange that which we have for that which we are lacking." This was a marriage proposal to join their two empires. Although the empress was furious, China was too weak for war, and she had to reply humbly thus: "My age is advanced and my vitality is weakening. Both my hair and teeth are falling out, and

I cannot even walk steadily . . . I am not worthy of his [Maotun's] lowering himself. But my country has done nothing wrong, and I hope he [Maotun] will spare it." She did, however, send a Han princess to be his wife.

Empress Lu refrained from formally proclaiming herself as reigning empress, but many of her actions seemed preparation for the enthronement of a man from the Lu family as emperor. She appointed a brother as chancellor and another as commander in chief and elevated several members of her family to the titles of kings and marquises, granting them large fiefs. Encouraged by her policy, members of her family attempted to seize power when she died in 180 B.C.E., but surviving members of the Liu clan and Han loyalists thwarted them. A son of Gaozu led a march on the capital city CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), captured the city, and wiped out the Lu clan. Empress Lu set a precedent for most of the Han era: strong mothers and grandmothers of young rulers seizing power and elevating their families. Some rulers would be murdered when they grew up and attempted to regain power, others were intimidated to acquiesce. One, the long-lived Empress Wang allowed her brothers to share power, and eventually allowed her nephew WANG MANG to usurp the throne in 9 C.E.

**Further reading:** Dubs, Homer H. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1938–55; Jagchid, Sechin, and Van Jay Symons. *Peace, War, and Trade along the Great Wall, Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989; Paludan, Ann. *Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Lucian

(c. 117–c. 180 C.E.) author, satirist

Lucian came from the town of Samosata (modern-day Samsat, Turkey) in the Roman province of Syria. Likely of Semitic background, he learned of the Greek language and culture as an outsider. He had a very short apprenticeship as a sculptor under an uncle and then began his education in earnest, becoming skilled in Greek language and rhetoric. He became a successful speaker on the lecture circuit, a more important part of his career than the law courts. He made his way as far

as GAUL (France), and Athens was his home for some time. Around the age of 40 he gave up his vocation as a public speaker to take up philosophy, or rather to write dialogues concerned superficially with philosophical matters but vigorously larded with touches of comedy.

About 80 works have come down to us from his hand, some spuriously. They testify to the education in rhetoric that Lucian had, his wide reading in the literature of the Greek world of prior eras, and his consciousness of being a Greek by acculturation. These works can be divided into a number of genres. Some are rhetorical exercises (for example, *In Praise of the Fly*, where the rhetorician displays his ability to praise things unworthy of praise); others are short pieces presented to introduce a longer lecture. A large number are dialogues, either actual or reported, wherein he sometimes uses verse. He also wrote essays on a variety of topics, romances of a sort, biographies, and one or two playlets.

Dear to Lucian was the “description,” a subgenre in its own right, and he displays a truly remarkable ability to give the reader a picture of some painting or other object. However, he is perhaps best known for his comic dialogues, a type he considered to be somewhat of a novelty. Lucian uses a variety of characters in these works, including famous people of bygone eras, gods and goddesses often ludicrously portrayed, and, most intriguingly, a person, sometimes named, sometimes not, who is no doubt the persona of the author. From this springboard, among others, Lucian was able to do what he did best—ridicule the minor idiocies of humans and the unique silliness and gullibility of humankind. Attacked by his pen are those he considered to be false prophets, religious charlatans, superstitious folk, and proponents of a certain fanatical interest in the niceties of classical Attic diction. This last group is especially interesting because, as an outsider, Lucian was interested in the proper usage of language, and yet he was able to see the excesses involved in such interest.

Ultimately, Lucian is an amusing skeptic, though not a serious thinker, and extremely difficult to set within a typology of litterateurs; in a way he is *sui generis*. As a late writer had it, Lucian was “serious—at raising a laugh.” The vigor of his language, his powers of description, and especially his adroitness in poking fun at man’s idiosyncrasies and foibles, made him one of the most influential authors for later Western literature.

See also GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; SECOND SOPHISTIC.

**Further reading:** Branham, R. Bracht. *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions*. Cambridge, MA: Har-

vard University Press, 1989; Jones, C. P. *Culture and Society in Lucian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

JOEL ITZKOWITZ

## Luoyang (Loyang)

Luoyang was a capital of China from c. 1100 b.c.e. to the mid-10th century c.e. The ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY initially ruled from the capital city Hao, located at the confluence of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. After defeating the last Shang king, King Wu of Zhou placed three of his brothers in the Shang capital, Yin, to supervise a Shang prince whom he had put in power at that location. Wu soon died, leaving the throne to his young son under the regency of his uncle, the DUKE OF ZHOU. Jealous of the Duke of Zhou’s power, his three brothers and the Shang prince rose in revolt. The Duke of Zhou acted decisively, defeated the rebels, laid waste to Yin, executed the Shang prince and one of his brothers, and went on to conquer more land to the east. Then he founded an auxiliary capital to administer the new conquests in the east, later called Luoyang, located at the junction of the Luo (Lo) and Yellow Rivers in present-day Henan (Honan) Province.

In 771 b.c.e. nomadic invaders forced the Zhou court to flee Hao to Luoyang, where it remained until the dynasty’s end in 256 b.c.e. Few architectural remains have been found that date to the Eastern Zhou in the environs of Luoyang; however, tombs of that era are abundant. Luoyang was rebuilt during the Western HAN DYNASTY (202 b.c.e.–9 c.e.) as a subsidiary capital and enlarged as the principal capital during the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 c.e.). A rammed earth wall 50–65 feet thick at the base enclosed a square-shaped city, pierced by 12 gates; about half a million people lived within its limits. Due to a change of course by the Luo River, part of the Han city now lies underwater, but significant sections of the wall, traces of streets, and foundations of palaces remain.

One palace was located at each the northern and southern end of the city, connected by a covered passage. In addition to enlarging the city, Emperor GUANGWU (KUANG-WU), founder of the Eastern Han, also began building the Tai Xue (T’ai-hsueh), or Imperial Academy, in 29 c.e. It was subsequently enlarged several times, until it accommodated more than 30,000 students. In 175 c.e. Emperor Ling ordered the complete CONFUCIAN CLASSICS cut on stone; the slabs were installed at the Tai Xue. Rubbings made on paper (invented in China in the first century c.e.) from the slabs were the precursor to printing.

Luoyang was devastated by rebels toward the end of the second century C.E. and was destroyed by XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads in 311 C.E. The Turkic Xiongnu were replaced by Tungusic nomads called the TOBA (T' O-PA), who ruled northern China as the Northern Wei dynasty from Datong (Ta-tung), a frontier town; they were rapidly converted to Buddhism and assimilated to Chinese culture. In 495 the Tobas moved their capital from Datong to Luoyang. Outside the city, on a rocky escarpment on the bank of river Luo they began to excavate cave temples at a site called Longmen (Lung-men) to show devotion to Buddhism. Luoyang became the second capital of the Tang (T'ang) dynasty (618–909 C.E.), which expanded the Longmen cave temples. Most of Tang Luoyang has perished, except for the Longmen caves. After the fall of the Tang, Luoyang would never be capital city again.

See also CHANG'AN; WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Gascoigne, Bamber & Christina. *The Dynasties of China: A History*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003; Wang, Zhongshe. *Han Civilization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## lyric poetry

Lyric poetry maintained a small but dedicated following in the Hellenistic world, especially from the seventh century B.C.E., and in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, with a focus in ALEXANDRIA. It was relatively uncommon in the Latin world, although it was popular in China, Japan, and Persia. Many poems of the ancient world were epics written for dramatic use, whereas lyric poetry was of a personal nature and depended not on characters and actions but in addressing the listener directly—most poems were recited or sung—and portrayed the state of mind of the poet. The Greek term *lyrikos*, first appears in the seventh century B.C.E. and comes from the word for “lyre,” which often accompanied the recitations. Some scholars point out that seventh-century lyric poetry is predicated by finished meters of the earliest surviving lyric poems, which suggest that the custom was much older.

The lyric age seems to have come about when poets devised poems tied to a particular occasion. Alcman's “Maiden Song” is one of the earliest known lyric poems attributable to a particular poet and is about a festival to the gods, but there is little remarkable about it except that it has been preserved to the present day. The other

well-known Greek lyric poets include Alcaeus, Anacreon, Archiochus, Bacchylides, Ibucus, Lasus, Mimnermus, Pindar, SAPPHO, Simonides, Steseichorus, Theognis, and Xenophanes. Some of these have remained obscure, but a few, such as Sappho, are well known. Born on the island of Lesbos in the seventh century B.C.E., she was hailed as being “the tenth muse,” with her poetry collected and arranged in nine books. Little is actually known about her life, although much has been extrapolated from her poems or speculated upon by later writers.

The study of lyric poetry is by no means new. Greeks in the period after ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.) wrote about lyric poets, with Dicearchus writing about Alcaeus, and Clearchus of Soli writing *On Love Poetry* about Sappho and Anacreon. A body of lyric poems was edited by scholars at the library at Alexandria, with the literary tradition encapsulating nine lyric poets: Alcaeus, Alcman, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibucus, Pindar, Sappho, Simonides, and Steseichorus, all of whom lived in the period 650–450 B.C.E. Outside the Western classical world lyric poetry has been used in India in ancient times, but most of it remains anonymous. Lyric poetry was also popular in Han dynasty China and the period of the Warring States and Three Kingdoms, with important poets being Cao Cao (155–220 C.E.), Cao Pi (the former emperor Wen, 187–226 C.E.), and Cao Zhi (192–232 C.E.). The best-known Japanese lyric poets are Ariwara no Narihara (825–880), Ono no Komachi (c. 825–c. 900) and Saigyo (1118–90). The Persian tradition includes Anvari (1126–89), Asadi Tusi (d. 1072), Attar (c. 1142–c. 1220), Ferdowsi (935–1020), Omar Khayyam (1048–1131), Nezami (1141–1209), and Rudaki (859–941).

While translations of Greek and Latin poetry and literature have been available in the West for many centuries, access to Chinese and Japanese material has long been limited. The very style and atmosphere of Oriental lyric poetry was more evasive to effective translation and transliteration to European languages until recently.

**Further Reading:** Cairns, Francis. *Greek and Roman Poetry: Greek and Roman Historiography*. Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2005; Conrad, Carl W. *From Epic to Lyric: A Study in the History of Traditional Word-Order in Greek and Latin Poetry*. New York: Garland, 1990; Gerber, Douglas E. *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970; Grant, Michael. *Roman Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954; Paschalidis, Michael. *Horace and Greek Lyric Poetry*. Rethymnon: University of Crete, Department of Philology, 2002.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

# M



## Ma Yuan

(14 B.C.E.–49 C.E.) Chinese general

Ma Yuan came from a famous family in northwestern China. Civil war raged in China after the death of the usurper WANG MANG in 23 C.E. A powerful general in the Wei River region, he joined the newly proclaimed emperor GUANGWU (KUANG-WU), founder of the Eastern HAN DYNASTY (23–220 C.E.) with these words: “In present times, it is not only the sovereign who selects his subjects. The subjects also select their sovereign.” At about the same time, another regional leader, and rival of Ma, named Dou Rong (Tou Jung), also joined Emperor Guangwu’s cause. The Ma and Dou factions would be rivals for years to come.

Ma Yuan distinguished himself in campaigns against tribal people along several frontiers. The first was against the Qiang (Chiang), proto-Tibetans living in the northwest. After defeating the Qiang he settled many of them in the territory of the Han empire. This policy was motivated by several factors: to prevent them from joining forces with the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), the primary nomadic foe of the Han for two centuries; to put them under direct Chinese administration for ease of assimilation; and to alleviate the pressure of population growth of the Qiang by settling them in new lands.

Ma Yuan next distinguished himself in the southern part of the empire, in present-day Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwanghsia) Provinces in modern China, and in northern Vietnam. This region

had been conquered and annexed during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty in 110 B.C.E. Chinese administration and immigration (initially limited mainly to exiled prisoners) led to gradual assimilation. But a serious rebellion broke out in the Red River region in modern Vietnam in 40 C.E., led by two women known in Vietnam as the TRUNG SISTERS (Zheng, or Cheng, in Chinese transliteration). Ma Yuan was appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, 10,000 strong in 42 C.E. The revolt was quickly put down, and the sisters were executed. The Trung sisters became heroines in later Vietnamese folklore for attempting to gain autonomy for their people, and Ma Yuan, in the folklore among southern Chinese, for his military exploits.

In 48 C.E. there was a serious rebellion by aboriginal tribes in Wuling (Wu-ling) commandery in present-day Hunan Province. Ma Yuan volunteered to command troops to suppress the rebellion; his rivals in the Dou camp managed to insert their men among his staff, with the goal of sabotaging him. Despite Ma’s complete victory against the revolt, the Dou supporters among his staff sent a secret report to the emperor accusing him of incompetence. Ma died while he was being investigated.

His death emboldened his opponents in their attack, with the result that he was posthumously degraded from the rank of marquis to commoner, and the faction he headed fell from power. His rehabilitation began in 52 C.E. when one of his daughters was chosen as consort for the heir apparent but was not complete

until the emperor Guangwu's death in 57 C.E. and the accession of his son, Emperor Ming.

See also WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Watson, William. *Cultural Frontiers in Ancient East Asia*. Edinburgh, Scotland: University of Edinburgh Press, 1971; Wiens, Herold J. *Chinese Expansion in South China*. Hamden, UK: Shoestring Press, 1970.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Maccabees

ALEXANDER THE GREAT's dream of a united world speaking Greek and living a Greek lifestyle ran into trouble when it was applied to the Palestinian Jewish world. The DIADOCHI, generals who followed the short-lived grandeur of Alexander the Great, allotted the Asian share of Alexander's conquests to the SELEUCID EMPIRE. Besides quarreling with the house of the PTOLEMIES over the control of Palestine, the Seleucids had their hands full with the resident Jews represented by the family of the Maccabees, a name that means "hammer-like." In rabbinic literature they are known as the Hasmonaeans.

At first favors were granted to the Jews who lived in Palestine to win over their sympathies. Later the Seleucids reversed their policies: They needed to raise capital to fund their wars and pay their tribute, so now the Jews were seen as sources of revenue. Jewish taxes were raised, the Jerusalem temple treasury was raided, and religious offices were bought and sold for the profit of the Seleucids. Another part of their strategy to take over Palestine was to turn Jerusalem into a GREEK CITY-STATE (or POLIS), whose culture would have supported things such as theater, gymnasiums, dance, and GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON, all repugnant in the eyes of the religious Jew.

The Seleucids found that Jewish opposition was so great that they had to establish a military garrison in Jerusalem in 167 B.C.E. The error of building a foreign base in the Jewish holy city was compounded by another grave error: The Seleucid emperor Antiochus IV started derrogating Jewish customs and planning for the transformation of the Jewish Temple into a shrine for Zeus. By these measures Antiochus was abrogating Jewish self-rule and imposing Hellenistic values on all Jews. Had these reforms been adopted, as they had

in nearly every realm of the Mediterranean world, the Jewish people might not have survived past the second century B.C.E. Instead, a new generation fought assimilation to the Seleucids. Its leaders were the Maccabees, who "hammered" away at the Seleucid Empire, attained political independence, and retained their religious identity. Their struggle lasted 40 years, beginning with Mattithias and passed on to seven of his sons. The apocryphal (or deuterocanonical) book of the Maccabees tells the tale of their struggle.

The first of the sons was Judas. He started a military uprising, brilliantly capturing the temple precincts with his elite religious force and reconstituting Jewish worship there. The feast of Hanukkah (dedication) commemorates this event. Judas eventually won concessions from the Seleucids, and the disastrous decisions of 167 B.C.E. were rescinded. Eventually, the Hellenized Jews and Seleucids rebounded and killed Judas. The youngest son, Jonathan, arose as the new strong man of his people, much like the biblical JUDGES before the time of King SAUL. Jonathan tried negotiation. The Seleucids reciprocated by appointing him high priest and giving him several districts in Samaria. They also gave land to the last remaining Maccabean brother, Simon. Instead of drawing the Jews into the Seleucid Empire, the reverse happened: Now Judah was reconstituted under the two brothers, so much that the Romans even noticed and gave the Maccabees political recognition.

The Seleucids tried to cut their losses by killing Jonathan, but Simon acted with even greater fervor: He expelled the foreign troops from Jerusalem and abolished all payment of tribute to Syria. Syrian domination of Judah then came to an end.

See also HELLENIZATION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JEWISH REVOLTS; KINGDOM OF GOD; MESSIANISM; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA.

**Further reading:** Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. New York: Macmillan, 2006; van Henten, Jan Willem. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviors of the Jewish People*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1997.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Mahabharata

The *Mahabharata* is an enormous epic poem that now plays a central role in the Hindu religion. It tells the story of the great Bharata family and its war of succession. The poem was composed originally in SANSKRIT.

Scholarly analysis of the poem has led some to believe that some part of the poem may date from real events that occurred as early as 1400 B.C.E. Between 400 B.C.E. and 400 C.E. the *Mahabharata* reached its current form of more than 100,000 poetic couplets.

The *Mahabharata* most likely began as a warrior's story told either by a warrior, or by a poet about a warrior in the kingdom of Kurukssetra in northern India. It tells the story of the struggle for the kingdom between the descendants of King Bharata, contested by two families (the Pandavas and Kauravas) in early Indian history. The Pandava brothers lose the kingdom to the Kauravas and engage in a titanic struggle to regain it. The story is filled with violent conflict, gods, goddesses, heroes, the duty of making and keeping vows, and the futility of war. The heroes are real historic persons in some cases. In others the heroic figures represent human ideal or gods. The main story of the *Mahabharata* is interrupted with many side stories and discussions, including those on religion and duty. Central to the *Mahabharata* is dharma (codes of conduct). Dharma describes the proper conduct for kings or for others in all kinds of situations. In its present form there are 18 sections (*parvans*) to the *Mahabharata*. In addition there is a supplemental section called the *Harivamsa* (Genealogy of the god Hari), who is identified as the god Krishna-Vishnu.

The *Mahabharata* contains the whole of the BHAGAVAD GITA, or the Song of God. The Bhagavad Gita records the conversation between Arjuna and his chariot driver who is really Krishna (an avatar of Vishnu). The philosophical conversation takes place on the battlefield between the two sides as they are poised for the final slaughter. It presupposes a definite cosmology that is different from many other cosmologies including that of the modern West. The battle between 18 armies lasted 18 days. The cosmology of the *Mahabharata* depicts the universe as cycles of recurring creation and destruction. The war and the imminent deaths of the warriors are all going to occur as part of a cycle that is part of Brahman, or reality. The philosophical discussion is about karma, predestination, and human action. Actions of people are determined but at the same time are also efficacious in achieving goals. The *Mahabharata* was retold over wide areas of Southeast Asia. Many of its stories were carved or painted into the walls of Hindu temples in India and in Southeast Asia. The relief carvings at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom in Cambodia portray its scenes.

See also DHARMA SUTRAS; HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Dharma, Krishna. *Mahabharata: The Greatest Spiritual Epic of All Time*. Badger, CA: Torchlight Publishing,

2001; Hill, Peter. *Fate, Predestination and Human Action in the Mahabharata: A Study in the History of Ideas*. New Delhi, India: Munshiram Monoharlan Publishers, 2001; Prabhavananda, Swami, and Christopher Isherwood. *The Song of God: Bhagavad-Gita*. New York: New American Library, 1951; Sukthankar, V. S. *Critical Studies in the Mahabharata*. Poona, India: Karnatak Publishing House, 1944; ———. *On the Meaning of the Mahabharata*. Bombay, India: Asiatic Society, 1957.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Maotun (Mao-t'un, Maodun)

(r. 209–174 B.C.E.) *Xiongnu leader*

Maotun, or Maodun, was the most powerful leader of a nomadic people called the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), who lived north of the Yellow River valley; under his leadership the Xiongnu reached the zenith of power. He became *shanyu* (king) of the Xiongnu in 209 B.C.E. after killing his father, Toumen. A dynamic leader, he consolidated his power between the Xiongnu and conquered tribes, calling their leaders to an annual meeting at his headquarters in modern Outer Mongolia. There he took a census of people and animals and devised a system of government with himself as the supreme leader.

Maotun's coming to power coincided with the collapse of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY in China, beginning with the death of the first emperor, followed by the suicide of General MENG TIAN (MENG T'IEN) in 210 B.C.E. (his powerful Chinese army had defeated the Xiongnu forces and built the GREAT WALL OF CHINA to keep them out of Chinese territories). The Qin dynasty ended in 206 B.C.E., and four years of civil war ensued, ending with the founding of the HAN DYNASTY by LIU BANG (LIU PANG). The collapse of the Qin had left the frontiers undefended and Liu Bang, known posthumously as Han Gaozu (Han Kao-tsü), decided to deal with the Xiongnu threat immediately. In 200 B.C.E. he personally led 300,000 mostly infantry troops to war against the Xiongnu. Maotun and Gaozu met in battle near the modern city of Datong (Ta-tung) in Shanxi (Shansi) Province; Maotun won with his 400,000 cavalry, and Gaozu narrowly escaped capture.

The two sides made peace in 198 B.C.E. The Heqin (Ho-ch'in) Treaty declared the two sides as equals, demarcated their boundary along the Great Wall, and stipulated gifts of silver, silk, food, and liquor in fixed quantities several times a year from the Han to the Xiongnu. In addition, Gaozu promised his only daughter by his wife EMPRESS LU to marry Maotun. The empress vetoed

the marriage of her daughter, and they adopted a relative, gave her the rank of princess, and sent her to wed Maotun. When Gaozu died in 195 B.C.E. Maotun proposed to Empress Lu, suggesting that they marry and unite their empires. She was furious but had to refuse politely. A second Han princess was sent to marry him in 192 B.C.E.

The Xiongnu empire continued to expand under Maotun. They were victorious against another nomadic people called the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) and expelled them from the Gansu (Kansu) Corridor. The main Yuezhi tribe fled all the way to Afghanistan where they remained. Before his death in 174 B.C.E. Maotun negotiated the Heqin treaties with the Han, each time increasing the amount of gifts the Han had to give to the Xiongnu. Successive Han rulers submitted to Xiongnu terms because the Chinese economy had been damaged by previous civil wars, and peace was necessary for recovery. Maotun's son and grandson were also powerful leaders, following Maotun's example of intimidating the Han. It was not until 134 B.C.E. that the Han ended the era of the Heqin treaties and began a long-term war that ended in the defeat of the Xiongnu.

**Further reading:** Sechin, Jagchid, and Van Jay Symons. *Peace, War, and Trade along the Great Wall, Nomadic-Chinese Interactions through Two Millennia*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Marathon, Battle of (490 B.C.E.)

In 490 B.C.E. Greece was threatened by an invading Persian force led by DARIUS I, who was active in destroying the rebels in the Ionian Islands. Darius landed at Marathon to the northeast of Athens. He had previously captured the rebels of Eretria on Euboea, and Marathon was near that island. It was also close to the home territory of the Peisistratid tyrant Hippias, who was accompanying the Persians. The Persians had a clear advantage in cavalry, as horses were scarce in Greece, although their more lightly armed infantry was outmatched by the Athenian citizen troop hoplites, so named for the large *hoplon* shields they carried. Hoplites maneuvered in deep, well-ordered ranks with their shields, armor, and long spears presenting a formidable foe.

Confronted with this danger, the Athenians debated whether to await siege or march to meet the enemy. Ten generals were selected for command, each leading the troops for a single day in rotation. This unwieldy system was brought to a close when Callimachus ended an impasse by meeting the Persians and enabling the professional soldier Miltiades to lead the troops, upon which a number of other generals ceded authority. Plataea sent a contingent of 1,000 men to join the 10,000 troops from Athens. According to HERODOTUS, a major source of information about the battle, Miltiades dispatched a runner named Pheidippides to Sparta to appeal for assistance. Other traditions state that Pheidippides ran to Athens to announce the result of the battle and immediately died upon completion of his task. The Spartans did not arrive to help.

Miltiades proved to be an able and rather lucky commander in that the Greeks came across the Persians while their cavalry was elsewhere. The Athenians attacked at full speed. Miltiades strengthened both flanks to permit the Persians to push back and then to find themselves threatened with being surrounded on all sides. The Persians broke and fled, and 6,400 casualties were suffered, some 40 percent of the total force of 15,000 infantry that was fielded. The Athenians lost just 192 men and celebrated a famous victory as the Persians withdrew from Greece. However, after the death of Darius a few years later, the Persian cause was reinvigorated by his successor, XERXES I, who planned a greater invasion. The Battle of Marathon has an important place in the development of the Western intellectual tradition as an event that marked a victory for European democracy against Asian despotism. In reality neither side was as black or white as they have subsequently been portrayed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Hanson, Victor. *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Herodotus. *The Histories*. Trans. by R. Waterfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

JOHN WALSH

## Marcellinus, Ammianus (c. 330–c. 398 C.E.) Roman historian

By common consent Ammianus Marcellinus was the last important ancient historian of the Roman Empire.

Most authorities agree that he was born in Antioch in Syria (now Antakya, Turkey) late in the reign of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, although a case has been made for Tyre or Sidon. He was a son of a high-ranking Greek-speaking Roman officer with important political connections. Ammianus probably had a literary education, if we credit his narrative's frequent allusions to CICERO, Sallust, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius. He may have coveted a distinguished military career, which went unfulfilled, possibly on account of his public association with the pagan emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

In Antioch during his mid-20s Ammianus entered an elite military corps, the *protectores domestici* (household guards), possibly as an intelligence officer. He served on the personal staff of Ursicinus, governor of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, as well as the *mater militiae*. Recalled to Italy with Ursicinus in the mid-350s C.E., he later accompanied his mentor to GAUL to depose the famously unfortunate Frankish imperial usurper Silvanus. Returning with Ursicinus to the East in 359, Ammianus barely escaped a ferocious Persian attack on Amida (Diyarbakır, Turkey). Ammianus spent the next few years in Antioch until he joined the emperor Julian's campaigns in Gaul and in the East. After Julian's death in battle in 363 Ammianus again repaired to Antioch. His activity for the next 20 years is mostly unknown. He traveled to the Black Sea, Egypt, Greece and, possibly, Thrace around the time of the Goth invasions there, 376–378.

Ammianus does not reappear until 383 in Rome during a food shortage in which foreigners—except some 3,000 foreign dancing girls—were forced out of the city. It is likely that Ammianus came to Rome to interview eyewitnesses of significant contemporary events and to access official records. The first draft of Ammianus's *Res gestae* (Deeds of men) begins his history in 96 C.E., on the accession of Nerva, and stops in 364, with the death of Jovian soon after Julian's demise (Books 1–25). It appears that favorable public reception to recitations of his manuscript persuaded him to add six more (Books 26–31). The first 13 books tracing Rome's course from 96 to 354 are lost, and the 18 books extant cover only 25 years, from 354 to 378. This segment is a precious survival because only fragments exist of his contemporary Eunapius's history; his fellow soldier Eutropius's *Breviarium ab urbe condita* and the work of Aurelius Victor all are mere summaries that end before 378.

Following Thucydides, he reproduced important speeches and included gossipy character sketches. More to modern taste, Ammianus broke with traditions to depict contemporary social, economic, and cultural life.

Though still controversial, his usually objective treatments of Christianity—perhaps motivated by a desire to win a wide readership—are likely the most impartial perspectives on this topic of any ancient writer. Much admired by Ammianus, Julian's virtues are duly enumerated and lauded, but the historian also details a catalog of Julian's defects of judgment. By comparison, neither Julian's predecessors such as Constantius II, nor his successors, Valentinian I and Valens, fare so well in *Res gestae*.

Ammianus's *Res gestae* is the most important work on ancient Roman history after Tacitus. It was composed by a patriotic citizen of the empire who possessed an idealized moral vision of the Roman past and was anxious about the prospects of Rome's civilization in the future. While his text is often florid and gossipy, it is clear that Ammianus Marcellinus—"a soldier and a Greek" (31.16.9) who wrote in Latin in Rome—tried to deliver what he promised to his readers: an account of the deeds of men that is competent, accurate, and often comparable to the best models of ancient historiography.

See also HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

**Further reading:** Barnes, Timothy D. *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998; Hamilton, Walter, trans., and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire*. New York: Penguin, 1986; Matthews, John. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

LEO J. MAHONEY

## Mari

The Mesopotamian city of Mari is identified with modern Tell Hariri, located on the west bank of the Euphrates River, 30 miles north of the border between Iraq and Syria. Its palace architecture has been beautifully preserved, and historical records provide a rare glimpse into upper Mesopotamian politics during the Old Assyrian Period.

Mari was a circular city (1.2 miles in diameter), excavated first by André Parrot (from 1933) and later by Jean Margueron (from 1979). Excavations reveal a series of palaces from the Early Dynastic II–III Periods (early third millennium B.C.E.) to the Old Babylonian Period (early second millennium B.C.E.), each palace built upon the ruins of the preceding one. The latest palace is one of the best preserved and most impressive of the entire Bronze Age. It was exceptional for its time

period, because it incorporated various religious shrines together with the royal residence.

More than 20,000 CUNEIFORM tablets were uncovered at Mari, most dated to the Old Babylonian Period. Although the language of most texts is Akkadian (east Semitic), northwest Semitic grammar and syntax show up in proper names and in various constructions. The archive consists mostly of palatial and provincial administrative texts, letters, and treaties, demonstrating the political value of writing in this period. It is one of the major sources of information on how the great Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I organized his empire in northern Mesopotamia. In addition, Mari has the largest number of Mesopotamian prophetic texts. These were letters from prophets, often to the king, claiming direct messages from deities.

The city of Mari likely originated from the very start of the Early Dynastic I Period (beginning of third millennium B.C.E.). It prospered rapidly due to its strategic location along the trade route connecting Mesopotamia with Syria. The archaeological evidence found for the Early Dynastic III Period (c. 2600–2350 B.C.E.) shows Mari's indebtedness to much of Sumerian culture. Short inscriptions from this period refer to Ansud as the king of Mari, a name that may also appear in the Sumerian King List. During c. 2250–2000 B.C.E., the title *shakkanakku* (Akkadian for “governor”) was used for the rulers of Mari, a term that may allude to a time of foreign control, when Mari's rulers were the deputies of other kings. This seems to have been a period of great power, when the city underwent extensive renovation.

The final century before Mari's destruction is much clarified by the written record. Yahdun-Lim, who derived from the Sim'alite stock of the Amorites, ruled as king over Mari. He was assassinated in a palace coup, and his successor, Sumu-Yaman, died shortly after. In 1796 B.C.E. the Assyrian ruler Shamshi-Adad I conquered Mari and installed his younger son, Yasmah-Adad, upon Mari's throne. Zimri-Lim, a descendant of Yahdun-Lim, fled to Yamhad (Aleppo), whose king Yarim-Lim was his father-in-law. Shamshi-Adad died in 1782 B.C.E., and Zimri-Lim reclaimed the throne of Mari. He established strong ties with Aleppo and Babylon, faithfully supporting Hammurabi's expansionistic conquests. Hammurabi, however, eventually turned against Mari: The city was conquered in 1761 B.C.E., and within the next two years its riches, removed to Babylon and its palace burned. Although Mari continued to be inhabited as a small town, Hammurabi's destruction marked its end as a major political center.

See also AKKAD; ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; DAMASCUS AND ALEPPO; EBLA; FERTILE CRESCENT; SUMER.

**Further reading:** Margueron, Jean-Claude. “Mari: A Portrait in Art of a Mesopotamian City-State.” In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. 2, edited by Jack M. Sasson, 885–889. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995; Young, Gordon D., ed. *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

## Marius and Sulla

After the bloody revolt of the GRACCHI, two emblematic figures concentrated the political destiny of the Roman Republic. The Senate initiated several foreign wars in order to withdraw the attention from the internal conflicts that had shaken the stability of the *urbs*. Gaius Marius (157–86 B.C.E.), born in Arpinus into a plebeian family, began his public career during the war against Jugurtha, where he won the support of the popular party because of his military victories, and was elected consul in 107 B.C.E. From 113 B.C.E. the Romans had been facing various defeats against such Germanic tribes as the Cimbri and Teutons that were heading into Italy. Marius commanded the army, and the Senate allowed his consulship to be renewed for three consecutive years.

In 100 B.C.E. Marius was elected to the consulship for the sixth time, and by then he had forged a political alliance with Saturninus, the tribune of the plebs, who promoted a law in order to continue the Gracchan reforms on land distribution. The proposal included an extension of the privilege to the members of the *populus* who had served the army: Spoils of war and land-parcels would constitute an appropriate payment for their service. However, the Senate immediately rejected the law, and Marius could not stand by the proposal; he had to suppress the arising rebellions instead. Suspected by all—since the aristocracy took him as an unfaithful partner and the plebs regarded him as a potential traitor—Marius left for the East. He was called back to Rome in 91 B.C.E. when Italic allies had started to rise up because of the profound differences existing between Rome and the conquered cities. The Italic war lasted for three years, and Marius managed to appease the rebellion. Marius had come back to the *urbs* and seemed to have recovered part of his prestige.

While Rome was focused on the reorganization of its territory, the East was preparing to separate from

the *urbs*, and by 89 B.C.E. most Eastern cities were supporting Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. A new dispute, related to the appointment of the military commander who would have to fight the new threat, arose in Rome. The task was finally entrusted to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a consul chosen in 88 B.C.E., who belonged to the small aristocracy and had served as a lieutenant to Marius for years. Having taken Caecilia Metella, daughter of the *pontifex maximus* and *princeps senatus*, as his fourth wife, the aristocracy considered him to be its natural representative. Nevertheless, the tribune Suplicius Rufus rejected this idea and, supported by the popular party, wanted Marius to be named general instead. Sulla then escaped to Campania and fiercely moved the legions against Rome. By the time they got there Marius had already escaped to Africa as a fugitive; many opposing leaders were brutally killed. The civil war between *optimates* and *populares* raged.

Sulla decided to travel to Greece and deal with the Eastern conflict. Marius came back and joined Cinna, who was promoting subversion in the *provinciae*. After shaping an army they headed toward Rome and implemented a violent consulship; many members of the senatorial and equestrian orders were killed. In 87 B.C.E. Marius died, and Valerius Flaccus was appointed as his successor. Sulla, immersed in an unfavorable situation, let his army plunder the cities of Epidaurus, Delphi, and Olympus. After the reduction of Athens, he reorganized his men and defeated Mithridates in Chaeronea and Orchomenus. He pacified the rival Roman army that had killed Flaccus in rebellion and forced Mithridates to sign a peace treaty. When he arrived back in Rome, where Cinna was ruling, civil war began again. Sulla finally disembarked in Brindisi. Cinna tried to stop him but was killed in combat. Rioting started in Rome, where power was still in the hands of the *populares*, led now by the younger Marius, son of Gaius Marius. Marius declared Sulla a public enemy and tried more than once to face him in battle but was also overcome by Sulla's troops. In 81 B.C.E. Sulla's triumph was absolute.

As supreme leader in Rome, Sulla put into practice several despotic acts. He promoted the systematic murder of his opponents and elaborated a list (*proscriptio*) of the names of those citizens whom he considered undesirable and wished to have eliminated. An aristocratic restoration was achieved, and the Assembly was weakened with the intention of increasing the Senate's power. During his rule Sulla granted himself the title of "dictator" and exercised an autocratic power. Once he thought his reforms were enacted, in 78 B.C.E., he

resigned the dictatorship and left Rome. He died soon afterward in southern Italy.

See also CAESAR, JULIUS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Alföldy, G. *Römische Sozialgeschichte*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1984; Brunt, P. A. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*. New York: Norton, 1971; Hantos, T. *Res publica constitua. Die Verfassung des Dictators Sulla*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1988; Keaveney, A. *Sulla: The Last Republican*. London: Croom Helm, 1982; Rostovtzeff, M. *Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

SILVANA A. GAETA

## martyrologies

The heroic response of early Christians to persecution led to a genre of literature that inspired later Christians to the same zeal. This genre is called martyrology, and it flourished after the Roman Empire made peace with the church under CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. The spirituality inspired by martyrs goes back to a confluence of ideas and regional influences found as early as the fourth century B.C.E. Greek philosophy and Mesopotamian myth had put forward the idea of the heroic struggle for personal convictions and virtue. Later, as Persian theories of Zoroastrian dualism spread, the sense of martyrdom as a life-and-death struggle of good versus evil found a place in religious literature. EARLY JUDAISM, for example, began to see the world as a struggle of its heroic remnant people against polytheism and corrupting influences of neighboring peoples. This is vividly expressed in the martyrologies of the MACCABEES and in the APOCALYPTICISM of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA and the Dead Sea Scrolls compiled as Christianity began.

Early Jewish Christians met resistance and found in the ideology of the martyrs an expression of what had happened to JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. At the same time they took advantage of the popular fascination with the asceticism of the philosopher. The philosophers of STOICISM, as in the *Soliloquies of Epictetus*, showed that the pagans could put forward individual teachers who were willing to lay down their lives to prove their ideals and beliefs. As Christianity took root outside of Judaea in Mesopotamian regions, a unique synthesis of Greek and Asian concepts produced the first generation of martyrologies. The cult of the martyrs was in place by the end of the second century C.E. One of the earliest

tales concerned the Syrian bishop Ignatius of Antioch, who was condemned by imperial authorities during the reign of TRAJAN (98–117 C.E.) and transported to Rome for execution. Ignatius never called himself a “martyr,” but an “imitator” and “disciple” of Jesus. He describes his martyrdom as a demonstration that Jesus suffered in the flesh (countering the idea of Docetism, that Jesus did not have a real body).

Polycarp of Smyrna received one of Ignatius’s last letters, thus a link was forged between two great martyrs of the faith. Polycarp was martyred around 156 C.E., and his death generated at least two accounts that can be called martyrologies. In the earliest one (written about 165), the sense of “martyr” is embraced and becomes the standard way that later lives of martyrs are told. Martyrologies feature representatives who are not just witnesses (*martyr* in Greek means “witness”) in a judicial sense to proper beliefs about Jesus but champion Christian confession and its vindication over its antagonists.

In these stories, usually enemies of the faith, those who are judicial, military, or religious functionaries of the predominant world powers, confront the martyrs. The martyrs are prosecuted as terrorists, criminals, or deviants who threaten fundamental order, and yet the martyrs in the martyrologies triumph in their death because they refuse to adopt these fundamental societal priorities. They confound the sensibilities of their persecutors, confirm the faith of their coreligionists, and often convert their pagan audience.

Both men and women are featured in the martyrologies. One of the more brilliant stories tells of the women martyrs Perpetua and Felicity (d. 203). However, since martyrologies tend to promote figures already in leadership in the Christian community, it is more frequently the male bishops and pastors who are celebrated. Where women had more responsibility in the ancient world, that is, in domestic contexts, they are featured in martyrologies. Thus, Barbara’s father beheaded her when she took a vow of virginity in the course of conversion, and Cecilia died with her husband and friends. Both died in the early third century.

As martyrologies flourished, they grew in importance in church spirituality. Some early documents claimed that martyrdoms were like a “second baptism” or “baptism by blood” (for example, *Shepherd of Hermas*, or Tertullian’s writings) because they took away all sins since the first water baptism. Another early writing said that the moment of martyrdom was epiphanic, that is, divinity possessed and transfigured the otherwise mortal body, so close was its imitation of Jesus in his own physical suffer-

ing. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Lactantius all affirmed this belief.

As the reputation of martyrs grew, popular zeal went way beyond concern for a proper burial and hallowing of their memories. Relics, funereal meals (*refrigeria, agapai*), and martyrdom days (*dies natalis*) began to play a role among Christians. Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE compared the cult of the martyrs to the hero worship of the Greeks: Many of the same devotions occurred for both groups, including gravesite meals, festal days, and special oracles or revelations from the dead person. Martyrologies would tell of the signs and wonders surrounding the expiration of the martyr, much like the events that surrounded the death of Jesus. BASIL THE GREAT made the statement that “anyone who touches the bones of the martyr is partaking in the holiness and grace that resides in them.” The sense was that the martyrs by their death had earned a place as powerful patrons of the living who were devoted to them. If the soul of the martyr was in heaven, the physical remains of the martyr were worth treasuring on earth: the body, the relics, and even images.

Later church teachers attempted to control the unbridled customs of martyrologies. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, especially, but also JEROME emphasized that the context for understanding the martyrs was devotion to Jesus, not the intrinsic and mystical power of the saint. They also suggested that the real value of the saints was in their demonstration of virtue. The lesson for later generations of Christians, these fathers of the church said, involved pursuing virtue in the midst of everyday life.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MYSTERY CULTS; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; QUMRAN; ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Further reading:** Bowersock, G. W. *Martyrdom and Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Castelli, E. A. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Marking*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Mauryan Empire

Chandragupta Maurya founded the Mauryan Empire in 326 B.C.E. in northern India. His son Bindusara and grandson ASHOKA (Asoka) continued his conquest that unified the entire subcontinent, with the exception of the southern tip, and part of Afghanistan into India’s first great empire. The political and

cultural achievements of the Mauryan Empire inspire Indians to the present.

Indian history began to emerge from legend in the sixth century B.C.E. with the formation of large kingdoms. One was Magadha in the Ganges Valley with its capital city at PATALIPUTRA, near modern Patna. The trend toward large state formation was also stimulated by external conquest. The first was in 518 B.C.E., when King DARIUS I of Persia conquered part of northwestern India, incorporating it into his empire. The Persian Empire fell to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who continued marching eastward until he reached the Indus River valley and defeated King Porus and other local rulers.

Chandragupta Maurya might have been inspired by Alexander's example. In any case, he defeated his Indian rivals, including Magadha, established his capital at Pataliputra, and then fought Alexander's successor in Asia, Seleucus Nicator, in 305 B.C.E. The two rulers agreed to a peace treaty that settled their boundary in Afghanistan, exchanged gifts and ambassadors, and perhaps formed a matrimonial alliance. Seleucus's ambassador to the Mauryan court was MEGASTHENES, who wrote a book of his observations on India. The original is lost, but excerpts have survived in works of other ancient writers, from which we derive much firsthand information about early Mauryan India.

Chandragupta's minister, named KAUTILYA, reputedly wrote a book titled *Arthashastra* (Treatise on polity), which dealt with the theory and practice of government, the laws, and administration. The *Arthashastra* described the Mauryan Empire as a centralized bureaucratic state. The ruler was supreme commander, chief administrator, and judge. A council of ministers, civil servants, a network of spies, and a large military, reputedly 600,000 men strong, assisted Chandragupta. Megasthenes described Pataliputra as a grand city, enclosed by a wooden wall 9 miles long by 1.5 miles wide, interspersed with gates and watchtowers, and further protected by a wide moat. The city government consisted of six boards of five men each, in charge of different functions. The ruler lived in a sumptuous palace, his hours of work and play were strictly regulated, and when he appeared in public he either rode on an elephant or was carried in a palanquin.

Chandragupta ruled for 25 years. According to Jain tradition he abdicated in 301 B.C.E., became a Jain monk, and fasted to death. His son and successor Bindusara ruled until c. 272 B.C.E. Little is known of him except that he warred to expand the empire southward and was known as the Slayer of Foes. He also ex-

changed ambassadors with the SELEUCID EMPIRE, once asking King Antiochus I to send him some Greek wine, figs, and a philosopher. Antiochus sent him wine and figs and replied that philosophers were not for sale.

Bindusara's son Ashoka succeeded around 269–268 B.C.E., perhaps after a succession struggle. Ashoka (r. 269–232 B.C.E.) was India's greatest ruler. He waged war to expand the empire in the south, incorporating all but the southern tip of the subcontinent. His conquest of a state called Kalinga filled him with remorse for the death and destruction and changed his personal life and state policy. Posterity knows much about Ashoka because he had many of his edicts and pronouncements carved on stone pillars and rock surfaces; 10 inscribed pillars survive. Most of the inscriptions are in the Brahmi script, the oldest surviving post-Indus writing; it is a phonetic alphabetical script that is the antecedent of modern Hindi.

Ashoka converted to Buddhism, became a vegetarian, and dedicated the rest of his reign to spreading Buddhism, although he honored all religions. He also discouraged hunting and encouraged people to go on pilgrimages instead. A son and daughter became Buddhist missionaries, spreading the faith to CEYLON. He also convened the Third Buddhist Council around 240 B.C.E. at Pataliputra to deal with differences within the monastic order and to finish compiling the Buddhist canons. He denounced immoral behavior and appointed morality officers to enforce his rules. He also renounced war, stating his intention to change people through moral persuasion; but importantly, he did not disband the army.

Life under the Mauryans was prosperous. While most people lived on farms, cities grew with increasing commerce within the empire and beyond, with China in the East and Rome in the West. The government even established a bureau that built ships and leased them to merchants. Culture flourished. Buddhist and Jain canons were completed during this period. Other writings include religious commentaries and early versions of the epics *MAHABHARATA* and *RAMAYANA*.

It appears that Ashoka lost his grip in his later years and died around 232 B.C.E. Several sons disputed his succession, and the empire began to fall apart as local governors, many royal princes, exerted their autonomy. Little is known about his successors except their names. Perhaps the fall of the Mauryan Empire was inevitable due to its size and diversity. In 183 B.C.E. a general killed the last Mauryan ruler and established a dynasty in northern India called the Sunga. Meanwhile, Bactrian Greeks were invading the northwestern frontier. India would be torn apart and fragmented for almost five centuries. Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of India's first

great empire, and his minister Kautilya helped establish the institutions that sustained it. The empire grew in size, wealth, and culture under his son and grandson, reaching its zenith under Emperor Ashoka. Its legacy to modern times is the concept of unity for the subcontinent.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; JAINISM.

**Further reading:** Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India: Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*. New York: Grove Press, 1954; Gokhale, B. G. *Asoka Maurya*. New York: Twayne, 1966.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Maximus the Confessor

(580–662 C.E.) Catholic theologian

Maximus the Confessor, also known as Maximus the Theologian and Maximus of CONSTANTINOPLE, was born in Constantinople to a noble Byzantine family and received a good education. He served as a secretary of the emperor Heraclius, became head of the imperial chancellery, and oversaw the comprehensive overhaul of the upper echelons of civil service. However, he renounced his post and became a monk around 614 C.E. at the monastery of Chrysopolis. He was unhappy about the religious attachments of the court and retired to enjoy his love for quiet prayer. By 618 he had made enough progress in the monastic life to acquire a disciple, the monk Anastasius, who was Maximus's companion for the rest of his life.

When the Persians invaded his region in 626, Maximus fled to Africa. During his time there he gained a considerable theological reputation. The majority of what are considered his greatest theological writings come from his time in Africa. There, he became an outspoken opponent of monothelitism—the doctrine that Jesus Christ had one will but two natures: divine and human. The Catholic Church rejected this doctrine, as did Maximus, who insisted on dythelitism, which believed that Christ had two wills, rather than one. He spoke out against monothelitism at the Lateran Council of 649.

His outspokenness led to his arrest in 653 by Emperor Constans II, and when he refused to accept the emperor's decrees, he was exiled. He returned to Constantinople in 661 but once again refused to renounce his beliefs. His punishment included having his right hand and tongue cut off, and he was banished once again. He died on August 13, 662. Considered one of the great theologians of the Catholic Church, Maximus was given the title of "the Theologian" and is ranked as a Doctor

of the Church because of his contributions to theology, most notably of the Incarnation.

Maximus favored two forms of writing: a collection of paragraphs, many being very short, and the other being responses to questions asked of him by others. In his work he saw himself as interpreting different traditions, most important scripture, but also church fathers, councils, saints, and sacraments. Maximus's writings are considered by some to be highly speculative, very intellectual, and difficult to comprehend. He liked to explain things at great length. He left behind approximately 90 writings, notably his *Letter on Love*, *Difficulty 10*, *Difficulty 41*, *Difficulty 71*, and *Opuscule 7*. These writings dealt with topics such as theological and polemical treatises, symbolism, mysticism, Gregory of Nazianzus, spiritual maturity, and the Incarnation of Christ.

See also JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Bathrellos, Demetrios. *The Byzantine Christ: Person, Nature, and Will in the Christology of Saint Maximus the Confessor*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; Louth, Andrew. *Maximus the Confessor*. London: Routledge Press, 1996; Nichols, Aidan. *Byzantine Gospel: Maximus the Confessor in Modern Scholarship*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T and T Clark, 1993.

JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

## Maya: Classic Period

During the Classic Period, which is divided into Early (250–600 C.E.), Late (600–800), and Terminal (800–900/1100), Maya civilization reached the pinnacle of its cultural, economic, and political development. From the 200s to the 400s C.E. dozens of autonomous city-states, many founded in the Preclassic, others early in the Classic, jockeyed for power. By the 500s two had gained preeminence: Tikal and Calakmul. These were sprawling city-states of 100,000 people or more, with towering pyramids and temples, massive civic and ceremonial centers, outer rings of lesser compounds and residences, and intensively farmed hinterlands extending many miles. A hereditary king and a small class of elites controlled vital trade routes and secondary centers and aggressively pursued conquest of and alliances with other polities. From the 500s to the 700s a series of highly destructive wars erupted between these two great powers and their respective allies. Elsewhere in the Maya zone other city-states engaged in the same process of expansion, alliance building, and warfare.

Then, for reasons still much debated, in the 700s and 800s all of these polities underwent steep declines, with more than a dozen major and scores of lesser urban complexes abandoned by the early 900s. A resurgence in northern Yucatán, beginning in the 800s and marked especially by the rise of Chichén Itzá, also declined by the late 1000s. This 600- to 800-year period saw the flourishing of commerce, architecture, engineering, writing, mathematics, calendrics, astronomy, cosmology, and artistic creations of every description across the Maya zone, achievements that emerged together as part of a broader process of cultural, economic, and political development.

### MAYAN WRITING

While the origins of Mayan writing in the Middle Pre-classic remain obscure, by the Late Classic the Maya had developed the most sophisticated writing system in the history of the pre-Columbian Americas, one of only a handful of independently invented writing systems in the history of the world. After more than a century of painstaking effort by scholars on several continents, breakthroughs in the 1970s and 1980s permitted many of these ancient texts to be read for the first time.

By the Early Classic anything that could be spoken in Maya could be rendered as written text. Using a script consisting of more than 800 glyphs in a characteristic round or oval shape and intricate style, Mayan writing employed both logographs and phonetic signs. Read from top to bottom and left to right, these glyphs are classified as “main signs” and “affixes,” with the latter made up of prefixes, suffixes, superfixes, subfixes, postfixes, and infixes. Such written texts, often accompanied by dates and graphic depictions of human figures and divine entities (stylistically not altogether unlike contemporary graphic novels), appear on carved monuments, murals, pottery, other artifacts, and a handful of surviving folded-paper codices. The Spanish destroyed hundreds and perhaps thousands of these codices during the conquest, a purposeful eradication of vast quantities of accumulated knowledge on par with the burning of the library of ALEXANDRIA.

Most extant texts memorialized significant episodes in the lives of kings, though many recorded wars, dynastic alliances, and other major events. (Many personal items conveyed more prosaic information, such as “his cup” or “his bowl”). If only a tiny fraction of the populace could write or read, the prominent display of these texts in civic and ceremonial spaces on imposing and magnificently carved stone stele, stairways, altars, lintels, and other public monuments were clearly



*Maya city-states contained 100,000 people or more, with towering pyramids and temples and monumental civic and ceremonial centers.*

intended to convey unequivocal messages of the king’s divine power to all who bore witness to them.

### MAYA INNOVATIONS

Intimately linked to writing and no less remarkable for their sophistication were Maya mathematics and calendrics. Having invented the mathematical concept of zero—evidently making them the world’s first civilization to do so—the Maya went on to undertake fantastically complex mathematical calculations. Their numerical system was vigesimal (based on the number 20), most commonly written using a bar-and-dot notation, with a dot representing one; a bar, five; and a shell-like figure, zero. With these simple notations they were able to calculate numbers into the millions and accurately predict lunar and solar eclipses thousands of years into the future.

The Maya conceived of time as a series of recurring cycles. All Mesoamerican peoples shared three cyclical calendars: the 365-day solar year, the 260-day sacred almanac, and the 52-year “calendar round.” These three calendars, which can be visualized as three interlocking wheeled gears, made each of the 18,980 days of the 52-year “calendar round” unique.

The Maya added to this what scholars call the “Long Count” or “Initial Series,” which was independent of the other cycles and served as an absolute chronology by tracking time from a fixed or “zero” date far in the past. Evidently they were the first world civilization to mark time from a fixed date. According to the Long Count, the world came to an end and was created anew every 5,128 solar years, at the close of each “great cycle.” The

current world, by this calendar, will end on December 21, 2012.

Like all Mesoamerican civilizations, the Maya invested the movements of the Moon, Sun, planets, and stars with deep religious and cosmological significance, often designing and constructing their temples, shrines, and other edifices to align with astronomical observations. These celestial bodies represented gods and deities, and there is no evidence that the Maya understood the circular or elliptical orbits of the Moon, Earth, and planets as discovered by Copernicus and Kepler centuries later.

Maya religion and cosmology were exceedingly complex, an all-encompassing system of belief in which the distinction between sacred and secular did not exist. Rivers, rocks, caves, springs, and other natural features were seen to possess divine powers, while a multiplicity of spirits and deities, including ancestor spirits, infused every aspect of everyday life. Creation myths emphasized the cyclical re-creation of the world by dualistic divine beings who entered Xibalbá, or the Otherworld, “a place beyond death inhabited by ancestors, spirits, and gods—the place between the worlds,” according to Friedel et al., outwitted the gods, and became divine kings. The most elaborate Maya treatment of creation myths and cosmology is the *Popul Vuh*, a uniquely revealing book written by the highland K’iche (Quiché) Maya after the Spanish conquest.

### ECONOMY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

The economic foundations of Classic Maya city-states and kingdoms consisted of extensive and intensive agriculture supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering; craft specialization; and local, regional, and long-distance trade, all of dizzying complexity. Society was divided into two broad groups: a tiny group of elites and the great majority of commoners, with fine gradations in status at all levels. In some instances a more prosperous strata of commoners emerged, though on the whole wealth and power were highly centralized and concentrated in very few hands.

Political power was exercised by hereditary ruling dynasties. At the pinnacle stood the king (“sacred lord,” or *k’uhul ajaw*), almost always male and considered a divine or semidivine being. Beneath him was a small group of high-ranking elites—warriors, high priests, scribes, and administrators.

Interstate politics were byzantine, with alliances between polities generally consummated through dynastic marriages. Kingdoms were formed by conquest and domination of lesser polities, whose ruling houses the conquering power generally left intact.

The decline of the massive city-state of El Mirador in the late 100s C.E. created a power vacuum in the lowlands that was soon filled by other emergent polities, most notably Tikal and Calakmul. From the 100s to the late 300s, when it allied with mighty TEOTIHUACÁN, Tikal became the preeminent Maya kingdom, its power stretching from the northern lowlands as far south as Copán in Honduras. In the 400s Calakmul began to challenge Tikal through conquests and alliances intended to encircle and weaken its adversary. In 562 Calakmul defeated and sacked Tikal. There followed a period of intense conflict lasting more than a century. “The giant war went back and forth,” in the words of Arthur Demarest, until 695, when Tikal “roared back and crushed Calakmul. And then the Maya world just broke up into regional powers, setting the stage for a period of intensive, petty warfare that finally led to the collapse of the Maya.”

During the Late Classic, similar processes unfolded to the southwest among the kingdoms of the Usumacinta River, most notably in the centuries-long conflict between Piedras Negras and Yaxchilán. The war between these two regional powers and their allies raged off and on from the 400s to the 800s, finally ending in the defeat of Piedras Negras in 808. Another major regional conflict between Copán and Quiriguá, far to the south along the contemporary Guatemala-Honduras border, had a similar denouement.

By the 800s, as the kingdoms of the southern and central lowlands declined, the northern lowlands saw numerous polities rise to prominence in the 900s and 1000s, particularly in the Puuc region of western Yucatán. To the east the kingdom of Chichén Itzá, founded in the late 700s, soon became the most powerful and populous state in all of Maya history. With a more decentralized political structure and diversified economic base than its weakening southern neighbors, Chichén Itzá prospered from the 800s through the 1000s, when it too experienced a period of decline and was all but abandoned by 1100.

### CAUSES FOR DECLINE

A complex combination of factors most likely caused the decline of Classic Maya polities. Despite much variability in time and place, the most plausible scenarios point to the interplay of overpopulation, long-term ecological crises, endemic warfare, and the erosion of the moral legitimacy of divine kings in the eyes of the populace.

By the 800s the Maya lowlands were inhabited by tens of millions of people, probably exceeding the carrying capacity of the land even under optimal conditions.

Over time, surging population densities and ever more intensive and extensive agriculture and urban construction led to widespread deforestation, worsening soil erosion, and declining soil fertility, in some cases exacerbated by prolonged drought. The evidence shows that these processes caused increasing incidences of malnutrition and disease and fundamental ecological bottlenecks that in the end proved insoluble.

Endemic warfare was both symptom and cause of these deleterious processes. By the early 500s warfare was consuming prodigious quantities of material and human resources, and by the late 700s the cycles of violence had begun spinning out of control, with a series of ever more destructive wars overtaxing not only the land and the people but, no less important, commoners' faith in the moral legitimacy of their kings. Since Maya kings ruled by virtue of divine sanction, any prolonged crisis—economic, ecological, political—could set in motion a profound spiritual-religious-moral crisis among the general populace, whose labor and faith were necessary to keep the whole system operating. All of these factors, working in dynamic and contingent combination, were most likely responsible for the decline of one of the world's most creative, original, and sophisticated civilizations.

See also MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading:** Canuto, M., and J. Yaeger, eds. *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2000; Coe, Michael D. *Breaking the Maya Code*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992; Demarest, Arthur. "Maya Carvings Tell of a War of 2 Superpowers." *New York Times* (February 19, 2002); Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. *Maya Cosmos*. New York: William Morrow, 1993; Schele, Linda, and Peter Matthews. *The Code of Kings*. New York: Scribners, 1998; Sharer, Robert J., and Loa P. Traxler. *The Ancient Maya*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006; Tedlock, Dennis, trans. *Popul Vuh*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Maya: Preclassic Period

During the Early Preclassic (2000–1000 B.C.E.) the two major archaeological markers of civilization in the Maya zone first emerged in the Pacific and Caribbean coastal regions: permanently settled agricultural and/or maritime villages and pottery.

The earliest known examples of Mesoamerican pottery have been found along the Pacific coast from Chiapas, in Mexico, south and east to El Salvador. Scholars subdivide these ceramic styles into three phases: Barra (c. 1850–1650 B.C.E.), which apparently emerged from an earlier tradition of gourd containers; the more sophisticated Locona (c. 1650–1500 B.C.E.); and the more elaborate and diverse Ocos (c. 1500–1200 B.C.E.). Handcrafted clay-fired figurines, many with highly individualized styles and motifs, also proliferated during this period. A wide variety of other goods made from perishable materials, including textiles, baskets, and nets, were also likely common, though they have left few traces in the archaeological record.

The origins of complex society in the Maya zone have been traced to the Pacific coast Locona phase. Evidence includes differential house sizes, part-time craft specialization, and funerary practices. Excavations at Paso de la Amada, Chiapas, have unearthed one house considerably larger than others at the site, and renovated at least nine times, suggesting both growing social differentiation and high spiritual and aesthetic value placed on continuity of place and homage to ancestors. The superimposition of dwellings and other buildings around a previously sanctified place is characteristic of Maya (and Mesoamerican) construction practices generally.

A nearby site has revealed a burial of a small child adorned with a mica mirror, indicating the growing importance of hereditary inequality. Further east along the coast of contemporary Belize, the Early Preclassic saw the growth of numerous maritime settlements, founded during the late Archaic (c.3000 B.C.E.) that by the Middle Preclassic had expanded west into the interior. Similar developments may have been taking place in the highlands as well, though subsequent volcanic activity likely buried these settlements, rendering them inaccessible and thus creating an evidentiary bias in the archaeological record.

Other important Early Preclassic sites have been excavated in Honduras (Copán Valley, Cuyamel Cave, Puerto Escondido) and El Salvador (Chalchuapa). The inhabitants of these and other Early Preclassic settlements made their living through a combination of swidden agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering. Bone isotope analyses show that maize constituted less than 30 percent of their diet, far less than the average for many contemporary Maya, which approaches 75 percent. Extant pottery from this period indicates the emergence and spread of a shared corpus of religious symbols, beliefs, and concepts that formed the basis for later cultural developments.

### MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

The Middle Preclassic (1000–400 B.C.E.) witnessed growing social complexity among coastal and piedmont communities and the expansion of complex societies into the highlands and, to a lesser extent, the lowlands. Social differentiation intensified, as symbols of status and power came increasingly under the control of a small group of rulers and elites. Prestige items such as mirrors, masks, ear spools, blood letters, and specialized vessels often made or adorned with precious minerals or stones (jade, obsidian, pyrite, and others) became increasingly common and elaborate. A shared body of religious beliefs, ritualized and controlled by a small class of ruler-priests, served as the ideological underpinnings of an increasingly unequal society. Public works also grew in size and complexity, indicating a growing degree of elite control over surplus labor.

One of the largest of the Middle Preclassic sites is La Blanca along the Río Naranjo on the Pacific coastal plain in contemporary Guatemala. Mostly destroyed by modern development, the site covered 99 acres and included at least 40 smaller houses and four large earthen mounds covering the ruins of temples or other public works. The largest of these latter measured 182,987 sq. feet at its base and rose more than 82 feet high, making it one of the largest structures in Mesoamerica at the time.

The polity, which flourished from 900 to 650 B.C.E. and was abandoned 50 years later, ruled an estimated 60 settlements in an area of perhaps 127 sq. miles administered through at least two secondary centers. These patterns of growth and collapse, mounting social differentiation, and multitiered administrative hierarchy typified the later rise, expansion, and decline of scores of city-states across the Maya region. Other important Pacific coast Middle Preclassic sites include El Mesak and El Ujuxte, both of which, along with La Blanca, show close economic and cultural contact with the Olmec civilization far to the north along the Gulf of Mexico littoral.

In the highlands the city of Kaminaljuyú (place of the ancient ones) grew to become the largest highland Preclassic Maya capital. Founded in the Early Preclassic and eventually covering some 2 sq. miles, the city extended its reach to dominate numerous satellite settlements by around 500 B.C.E., waxing and waning in power until its final collapse toward the end of the Classic—some 2,000 years after its founding. Already by the Middle Preclassic there is evidence for extensive earthworks, canals, temples, and other public works, along with a carved monument depicting a succession of rulers seated on

thrones receiving homage from bound and kneeling captives. Other highland Middle Preclassic centers include El Portón and the adjacent burial site of Las Mangales, which provides clear evidence of warfare, tribute, and sacrifice of war captives.

This growing public expenditure of labor, social differentiation, and militarism along the coast and in the highlands during the Middle Preclassic contrast with the simpler constructions and relative egalitarianism found in the lowlands to the north. Still, the overall trajectories are very similar, with the lowlands having been settled later. The most intensively studied lowland centers in the Middle Preclassic include Altar de Sacrificios and Nakbé in Guatemala, and Blackman Eddy, Cuello, K'axob, and Cahal Pech in Belize. In particular, the El Mirador Basin at the northernmost tip of the contemporary Guatemalan Petén (where the Nakbé ruins are located) saw the rapid development of numerous major urban centers, including El Mirador, Wakna, and Tintal. Also during the Middle Preclassic, the inhabitants at more than 20 sites in the lowlands of northwestern Yucatán built sizable urban centers with characteristic Maya ball courts and temple complexes.

The Middle Preclassic, in short, was a period of rapid transformation and growth across much of the Maya zone. Large urban centers with accompanying monumental architecture—including temples, plazas, palaces, ball courts, causeways, and elaborately carved monuments—sprang up over the course of just two or three centuries, dotting much of the landscape by the end of the period. This rapid growth suggests a high degree of centralized control over surplus labor, as well as deepening institutionalization of inherited inequalities, though to date no tombs of lowland Middle Preclassic rulers have been uncovered. Just as significant, the evidence also shows many signs of trade and exchange and of intensifying competition, conflict, and warfare between these emergent polities.

### LATE PRECLASSIC

The Late Preclassic (400 B.C.E.–100 C.E.) saw the emergence of what is conventionally termed *civilization* across the Maya zone. The period as a whole was characterized by surging populations, deepening social stratification, increasing centralization of political power, expanding public works, heightening militarism and warfare, and, especially significant, the full development of writing and calendrics. The origins of Mayan writing during the Middle Preclassic remain obscure, with evidence of both Isthmian influence from the Veracruz region to the north and of independent

invention. But whatever its specific origins, Mayan writing reached full flower during the Late Preclassic, as did the practice of dating events from a fixed point in time in the past, the so-called Long Count. Surviving artifacts with Long Count dates permit scholars to determine chronologies and sequences of events with considerable accuracy.

The largest and most important polity in the southern Maya zone in the Late Preclassic was Kaminaljuyú. Control of quarries with valued minerals combined with control over vital trade routes—both north to south and east to west—permitted the city's rulers to consolidate their power over an area of hundreds of sq. miles. Sadly, because this site lies adjacent to contemporary Guatemala City, most of it has been destroyed by commercial and residential development. Other important Late Preclassic sites in the south include El Ujuxte, Tak'alik Ab'aj, Chocola, Chalchuapa, and El Guayabal in the Copán Valley in contemporary Honduras.

In the lowlands to the north the largest polity of this period was El Mirador, which, like Kaminaljuyú, was the center of an expansive regional trade and political network. With a massive triadic pyramid at its western edge (a structure dubbed El Tigre), and its ceremonial and civic core extending about a mile to the east—a core that included temples, palaces, ball courts, tombs, and vaulted masonry buildings—El Mirador rivaled in size and complexity the largest Classic Period urban centers, including Tikal and Palenque. Some scholars consider El Mirador the earliest preindustrial state (as opposed to chieftaincy) to emerge in the Maya lowlands. Other important Late Preclassic lowland sites include Cerros, Nohmul, Lamanai, Tikal, Uaxactún, and San Bartolo (the latter, not discovered by archaeologists until 2001, contained some of the most magnificent Maya murals ever uncovered, pushing the date of the full flowering of Maya art back centuries, to at least 100 B.C.E.).

For reasons that remain murky these and other Late Preclassic centers underwent a period of precipitous decline during the Terminal Preclassic (100–250 C.E.). Some have pointed to the catastrophic eruption of Ilopango volcano (near contemporary San Salvador), which covered thousands of sq. miles in ash and rendered the entire area within a 62-mile radius uninhabitable for at least a century, as partly responsible. Others have suggested that shifts in migratory patterns, disruptions in trade routes, ecological bottlenecks, dynastic crises, and other factors also played a role. Whatever the exact causes, it is clear that many important Maya polities experienced dramatic declines

during the Terminal Preclassic, setting the stage for the extraordinary cultural, economic, and political renaissance of the Classic Period.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; OLMECS.

**Further reading:** Bell, E. E., M. A. Canuto, and R. J. Sharer, eds. *Understanding Early Classic Copán*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2004; Johnson, A. W., and T. K. Earle. *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Groups to Agrarian State*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001; Love, M. W., M. Poponoe de Hatch, and H. L. Escobedo, eds. *Incidents of Archaeology in Central America and Yucatán: Essays in Honor of Edwin M. Shook*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002; Sharer, Robert J., and Loa P. Traxler. *The Ancient Maya*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Medes, Persians, and Elamites

The Medes and Persians were both Indo-European-speaking peoples and part of the broader Iranian groups. The Elamites have very different Mesopotamian roots. The Medes and Persians moved south to the Iranian high plateau in the second millennium B.C.E., although exactly when is the subject of much debate. The Medes settled in the northern Zagros Mountains (Loristan in today's Iran), a land of high mountains, rich valleys, and cascading rivers. The Median capital of Ecbatana, today's Hamadan, was situated at a critical point on the main road between Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau, from there leading around the Iranian central desert and eventually to China; as a result the Medes were well connected with the surrounding nations. The Persians on the other hand initially settled slightly to the west of the Medes, but the first written records, from ASSYRIA, find them in the southern Zagros Mountains, in the area north of the Persian Gulf, around Pars and the ancient Persian capitals of Pasargadae and Persepolis, an area away from the main trade roots.

During the period of Assyrian dominance in Mesopotamia in the eighth century B.C.E., Tiglath-Pileser III invaded the Zagros region twice, and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.) invaded it six times. The Assyrians were determined to control the trade routes to the east, and this meant keeping Media under their control; deportations of Median people are recorded 18 times in the Assyrian annals. Sargon's texts record 50 Median chieftains in the

eighth century B.C.E., and if HERODOTUS is to be believed, it was not until the coming of the ruler Deioces in the early seventh century B.C.E. that the Median people became united, and Ecbatana was established as their capital. The Medes struggled to throw off Assyrian overlordship, only finally succeeding after an alliance was struck between their king Cyaxares (c. 650–585 B.C.E.) and the resurgent Babylonians, an alliance that resulted in the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, following a successful joint attack on the Assyrian capital NINEVEH in 612 B.C.E. The extent of the Median Empire before its absorption into the Persian Empire under CYRUS II is not clear, although it appears that it stretched to the border of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, the center of modern-day Turkey.

The Persians played a subsidiary role to the Medes throughout the seventh century B.C.E., and during the reign of Cyaxares they became a subordinate kingdom. However, in the sixth century B.C.E. Cyrus led the Persians in a successful revolt and an eventual takeover of the Median Empire. Although the Persians were the victors, the Medes had a special status within the Persian Empire, not only because they were similar peoples racially and linguistically, but also because Cyrus had both Median and Persian bloodline.

It seems that up until the time of Cyrus Persian was not a written language. As a consequence the CUNEIFORM script used on the ancient monuments visible today at Behistun and Persepolis was most likely invented for the purpose, either in the reign of Cyrus or DARIUS I. Overall the evidence suggests that neither the Persians nor the Medes were literate, and in fact the main written language of the empire was Elamite.

Whereas the Medes and the Persians were of one tribal root, the Elamites, the people of the southeast corner of the Mesopotamian plain were linguistically and racially Mesopotamian. The first recorded history of the Elamites is in the early third millennium B.C.E.; at this time they had their own form of writing, proto-Elamite. During the third and early second millennia B.C.E. the Elamites were rivals with the Sumerians, and though they married their sons to Sumerian princesses, there is evidence for their sacking of the great Sumerian city of UR in about 1950 B.C.E. During the second millennium B.C.E. they swung between war and peace with the other Mesopotamian peoples to the north and west of them.

The Elamites first met the Persians as the Persians migrated south; even though the Persians were to have the upper hand it is clear that they adopted many things from the more sophisticated Elamite culture. A good example of this cultural absorption can be seen in the

sculptured reliefs of Persepolis (the high plateau royal capital of the Persian Empire) in which the Persians are wearing Elamite dress and carrying Elamite objects.

The Elamites generally acted as a go-between nation between the Mesopotamian peoples and the Iranian and other peoples of the high plateau. However, this role was not always an easy one; when the Assyrian empire was seeking to maintain its dominance in the seventh century B.C.E., ELAM found itself at odds with the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, who launched a series of campaigns against Elam that utterly destroyed the Elamite capital, Susa. After the absorption of Elam into the Persian Empire in the sixth century B.C.E. the Elamite people began to lose their distinctiveness, even as Susa, their capital, became the main seat of government for the empire. Neither the Medes nor the Elamites are separate peoples today. The Persians however maintain an identity as the dominant people of Iran. Iran changed its name from Persia in the 20th century to reflect the diversity of its people.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; INDO-EUROPEANS; PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; SUMER.

**Further reading:** Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959; Yamauchi, Edwin M. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## Megasthenes

(c. 4th century B.C.E.) *diplomat and author*

In 324 B.C.E. Chandragupta Maurya unified northern India by defeating his rivals. He went on to war against the successor of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in Asia, Seleucus Nicator, expelling his forces from the borderlands of India. In 305 B.C.E. the two men concluded a treaty in which the Greeks withdrew from the Punjab in northwestern India and which fixed the western boundary of the MAURYAN EMPIRE to the crest of the Hindu Kush. There was also exchange of ambassadors, gifts, and a vague mention of a marriage alliance. Megasthenes was Seleucus's representative at Chandragupta's court. He wrote a detailed account of his observations while in India. Although the original was lost, parts have survived through extensive excerpting in the works of other ancient writers.

Megasthenes described PATALIPUTRA, the Mauryan capital, as second in splendor only to PERSEPOLIS, capital

of the former Persian Empire. It had a wooden city wall 9 miles long by 1.5 miles wide, which had 570 towers, 64 gates, and a 900-foot-wide moat. He wrote admiringly of Chandragupta as an energetic ruler who personally supervised affairs of state. The emperor lived in splendor in an enormous palace built of wood, but he also lived in fear of assassination, appearing only rarely in public, attired in a splendid purple and golden robe, and was either carried in a palanquin or rode on an elephant. He also described the administration of the capital city by six boards each with five men, in charge of crafts and industry, trade and commerce, tax collection, foreigners, collection of statistical information, and public works. Other information states that a quarter of the people's produce was paid as taxes and that there were dues assessed on commerce. He described the Mauryan military as having infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants, navy, and a commissariat. He also commented on the division of people into seven CASTES by occupation.

One passage on the people's lives said: "They live happily enough, being simple in their manners, and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifice... The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law... Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem... The greater part of the soil is under irrigation, and consequently bear two crops in the course of the year." Some information Megasthenes provided was wrong, for instance his assertion that there was no slavery in India and that no famines occurred. Nevertheless, his writings on India are valuable because there are few Indian sources on actual life in the period, and his were the first extensive observations by a foreigner.

**Further reading:** Rapson, E. J., ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, *Ancient India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922; Sastri Nilakanta, K. A., ed. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 2, *The Mauryas and Satavahanas*, 325 B.C.-A.D. 300. Bombay, India: Orient Longmans, 1957; Vassiliades, Demetrios Th. *The Greeks in India, a Study in Philosophical Understanding*. New Delhi, India: Munshram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000; Woodcock, George. *The Greeks in India*. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

as China's Second Sage, surpassed only by CONFUCIUS. His personal name was Ke (K'o), and like Confucius he came from a lower aristocratic family. Mencius's mother was widowed, but she made sure that he grew up in a good environment. She is honored as a model mother, and he later showed her great devotion. Mencius studied under the disciple of a grandson of Confucius. Like Confucius he traveled from state to state attempting to convince rulers to govern by virtue and follow the ways of ancient sage rulers, most often in vain; also like Confucius he was a distinguished teacher. He debated with other philosophers, most notably with Moists. He wrote a book entitled *The Mencius*, which contains his sayings and teachings.

Mencius expounded on Confucian teachings on government and human nature. He emphasized the quality called *ren* (*jen*), which means "humanity" and "love," but unlike the Moists who insisted on universal love, or the obligation to love all equally, Mencius insisted that one's love to others is graded depending on their mutual relationships and obligations. Mencius also insisted on the practice of righteousness, a sense of duty, or *yi* (*i*), in human relations. He argued that it was the practice of these virtues that had made the reigns of ancient rulers a golden age.

Mencius lectured about benevolent government, insisting that the government existed for the people, not vice versa. But if the ruler neglected his responsibilities, or worse if he misruled his people, Mencius was more radical than Confucius, saying that such a ruler has forfeited the Mandate of Heaven and should be overthrown. He further explained that while the ruler owed the people a moral example, he could not expect them to practice virtue without enjoying economic well-being. Thus he advocated and explained various social and economic programs that would be in the enlightened self-interest of rulers to provide. He idealized the early ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY for implementing the well-field system, one that divided the land equitably for groups of eight farming families that jointly farmed a ninth plot for the government and argued for its restoration.

Mencius taught that all people are born with the beginnings of virtue and inclination to goodness, which is as natural as water's inclination to flow downward. People turn to evil when they neglect to cultivate their innate goodness. Thus, self-cultivation, a moral education, and the study of history are essential for individuals to return to purity, and the same applies to states to return to the virtuous ways of the golden age. These teachings have made Mencius loved by the people and feared by tyrants.

## Mencius

(372–c. 289 B.C.E.) Confucian philosopher

Mencius is the Latinized form for Mengzi (Meng Tzu), which means "Master Meng" in Chinese. He is revered

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS; HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; MOZI (MO TZU); XUNZI (HSUN TZU).

**Further reading:** Lau, D. C. *Mencius*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1970; Waley, Arthur. *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, Inc., 1956; Wright, Arthur F., ed. *The Confucian Persuasion*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Meng Tian (Meng T'ien)

(d. 210 B.C.E.) Chinese general

Meng Tian was the most powerful general of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY. He participated in the Qin state's final drive to unify China that resulted in the creation of the Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.E. His greatest feat was the building of the GREAT WALL OF CHINA, called the "Long Wall" in Chinese.

Major wall building began in China in the fourth century B.C.E. by three northern states, Qin, Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen), each of which faced nomads in the north. In 221 B.C.E. just after Qin completed the unification of China, General Meng was given the task of connecting existing walls and adding to them to form a unified system of defense against the nomads. Some 300,000 men, soldiers, convicts, and corvée laborers were called up for the task, while they simultaneously fought campaigns against the Rong (Jung) and Di (Ti) barbarians. There is little detail on how he tackled the gargantuan task. A biography of Meng in a monumental work called the *Historical Records*, by SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'IEN) in the first century B.C.E., merely said: "He...built a Great Wall, constructing its defiles and passes in accordance with the configurations of the terrain. It started in Lin-t'ao and extended to Liao-tung, reaching a distance of more than ten thousand li. After crossing the [Yellow] River, it wound northward, touching the Yang mountains."

In addition, Meng was responsible for building a major north-south highway that connected the capital city Xianyang (Hsien-yang) northward through the Ordos desert, across the northern loop of the Yellow River, ending at Jiuyuan (Chiu-yuan) in Inner Mongolia. Over flat land the road was more than 75 feet wide, and even over mountainous terrain it measured about 17 feet in width. Remnants of the road survive and a modern road follows approximately the same route. This was one of a network of imperial highways, known as speedways

that were built during the Qin dynasty that radiated from the capital city. The total of Qin highways was approximately 4,250 miles. They were crucial for fast movement of troops as well as trade and colonization.

In 210 B.C.E. the first emperor of Qin unexpectedly died while on an inspection trip, leaving the throne to his eldest son, Prince Fusu (Fu-su). Since 212 B.C.E. Fusu had been to duty on the Great Wall under General Meng. It was thought to be punishment for remonstrating with his father for the latter's harsh treatment of Confucian scholars. The emperor's chief minister Li Si (Li Ssu) and chief eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) then conspired to alter the will, designating a weak younger son as heir and ordering both Fusu and Meng to commit suicide. Both complied with the order. Without its ablest general and with a weakling on the throne, the Qin dynasty fell to widespread rebellion.

**Further reading:** Cotterell, Arthur. *The First Emperor of China, the Greatest Archeological Find of Our Time*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981; Nienhauser, William H., Jr., et al., trans. *The Grand Scribe's Records*: Vol. 1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires*, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Meroë

Evidence of civilization in Meroë, now part of Sudan and then called NUBIA, has existed from about the eighth millennium B.C.E. The culture was fated to live in the shadow of Egypt of the PHARAOHS to the north on the Nile. Over the centuries the pharaohs raided Nubia for gold, slaves, and other booty. However, the decline of the Egyptian dynasties around the 11th century B.C.E. gave the Nubian kingdoms a chance to flourish.

As John Reader wrote in *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*, the rulers of KUSH actually were able to subdue Egypt, "where they ruled for more than sixty years—a period of Egyptian history known as the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty." However, a final burst of Egyptian power forced the rulers of Nubian Kush to retreat up the Nile to safety at Meroë in 590 B.C.E. Meroë was ideally placed for a defensive position, according to Reader, since "the tract of land, 250 [kilometers] broad, lying between the points at

which the Atbara and the Blue Nile join with the main stream of the White Nile is known as ‘the island of Meroë.’” According to the article “Kush, Meroë, and Nubia” in the Library of Congress’ *Sudan: A Country Study* (1991), “During the height of its power in the second and third centuries B.C., Meroë extended over a region from the third cataract in the north to Sawba, near present-day Khartoum, in the south.” The very distance south gave Meroë some protection from invasion from Egypt in the north. After CAMBYSES II, son of CYRUS II of Persia, invaded Egypt in 525 B.C.E., an army he sent into the desert simply disappeared—one of the great mysteries of history. With the city of Napata as capital, the rulers at Meroë kept memories of pharoanic Egypt alive, and in early days patterned their court after the Egyptian court.

After the suicide of Cleopatra in 30 B.C.E., Egypt was ruled by the Rome of Octavian, who was strong enough to reassert power in Upper Egypt, which had become a raiding ground for Meroitic armies. A Roman punitive expedition in 23 B.C.E. razed Napata. Meroë never recovered from the Roman incursion, and by the second century C.E. the Nobatae, nomads from the west were able to establish themselves as rulers of Meroë. The Roman Empire, however, faced with Germanic invasion and the continuing fight against Parthia in the east, was happy to subsidize the Nobatae as allies and use them to defend Roman Egypt’s southern frontier.

By this time, however, Ethiopia had become a regional power, in the kingdom of Axum. Axum first appeared around 500 B.C.E. and thrived in its position on the trade routes from the Middle East, through Arabia from Yemen to the south, and with Egypt. Axum was one of the most diverse of the early kingdoms, becoming a commercial and administrative center. By this time Rome faced severe pressure throughout its empire and could devote less energy to the Nobatae, Meroë, or the frontiers of Egypt. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT died in 337 C.E., and a struggle for succession ensued. Seizing the moment, Axum invaded Meroë in about 350 and conquered it, destroying Meroë as an independent state. However, as Karl W. Butzer noted in 1981, Axum too would suffer eclipse largely due to “environmental degradation and precipitous demographic decline.” By about 800 Axum had virtually ceased to exist.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; YEMEN.

**Further reading:** Butzer, Karl W. “Rise and Fall of Axum: Ethiopia: A Geo-Archaeological Interpretation.” *American Antiquities* (v.46/3, 1981); Gardiner, Alan. *Egypt of the*

*Pharaohs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964; Grimal, Nicolas. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Trans. by Ian Shaw. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998; Reader, John. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage, 1991.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Mesoamerica: Archaic and Preclassic Periods

The geographical region and culture zone called Mesoamerica (literally, “Middle America”) extends from present-day central and southern Mexico as far south as northern Nicaragua (approximately 21 to 13 degrees north latitude). The Archaic Period (8000–2000 B.C.E.) in this vast and variegated region was characterized by the first emergence of settled communities and agriculture. The Preclassic Period is conventionally subdivided into Early (2000–1000 B.C.E.), Middle (1000–400 B.C.E.), Late (400 B.C.E.–100 C.E.), and Terminal Preclassic (100–250 C.E.). Economic, political, and cultural developments in each of these periods are marked by both broad similarities and regional variations—periods most fruitfully seen as convenient dating devices rather than fixed horizons characterized by definitive shifts. Four major Mesoamerican cultural complexes emerged during the Preclassic: the OLMECS along the Gulf of Mexico littoral, in the Valley of Oaxaca, in the Valley of Mexico, and further east and south in the Maya zone.

### ARCHAIC PERIOD

In the early Archaic Period people in various parts of Mesoamerica initiated a shift from nomadic hunting and gathering to more territorially based specialized foraging, a prolonged process culminating in sedentary agriculture. The first permanent villages appeared along the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean, and Pacific seacoasts early in the Archaic, likely a result of the relative abundance of maritime food resources in these areas. Sites demonstrating year-round occupation during the Archaic include Cerro de las Conchas on the Chiapas coast, several along the Caribbean coast in contemporary Belize, and inland along rivers at Colha and Cobweb Swamp.

While the precise origins of Mesoamerican agriculture remain obscure, scholars agree that over many generations people in two principal regions domesticated several species of wild plants during the Archaic that later served as the agricultural basis of Preclassic and Classic Mesoamerican civilizations, most notably maize, squash, beans, and chili peppers, usually grown

together in a *milpa*. These regions were the highlands of Oaxaca and Tehuacán (southeast of the Valley of Mexico) and the coastal lowlands of the Gulf of Mexico and Pacific. The origin of maize in particular has spawned extensive debates and a voluminous literature. The resulting food surpluses resulted in higher populations and the beginnings of more complex societies marked by growing social differentiation, craft specialization, and localized trade—especially food, flint, obsidian, chert, textiles, and feathers.

### EARLY PRECLASSIC

The Early Preclassic was marked by denser populations, the expansion and increasing complexity of settled communities, specialized craft production—pottery and stylized figurines being the most evident in the archaeological record—more extensive regional trading networks, more marked social differentiation, and the beginnings of warfare. The earliest evidence for sustained Mesoamerican warfare, from the Zapotec in the Valley of Oaxaca, dates to around 1800 B.C.E. Armed conflicts in this zone intensified thereafter, culminating in the supremacy of the Monte Albán polity over the entire Oaxaca watershed by the end of the Preclassic. The earliest Mesoamerican pottery has been traced to the Pacific coast of Chiapas and areas further south, extending as far as contemporary El Salvador. Evidence for increased social differentiation during the Early Preclassic includes differences in house sizes, attainment of status goods, and funerary practices. This period also saw the rise of the Olmec, long considered the “mother culture” of subsequent Mesoamerican states and polities, a view that in recent years has been displaced by a more multiregional perspective.

### MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

During the Middle Preclassic these complex societies developed further along the trajectory established during the earlier period, with more centralized and hierarchical polities emerging in the Valley of Oaxaca, Chalcatzingo, the Valley of Mexico, and the Maya lowlands and highlands. Some areas saw the transition from chiefdoms to states, most notably in Monte Albán I (c. 500–200 B.C.E.) in the Valley of Oaxaca. The period also saw the consolidation of hereditary rule and the origins of notions of divine kingship. As populations and population densities grew, social differentiation became more pronounced, with finer distinctions among members of the elite and a wider gap between elites and commoners. Ruling and religious elites deployed spiritual power to underpin their legitimacy and rule. This period saw the crystallization of a pan-Mesoamerican culture zone, with widespread

and continuous exchange of goods and ideas across the region. Exchanges of prestige goods such as magnetite, jade, pyrite, pearl oyster shells, and quetzal feathers accompanied exchanges of religious beliefs and symbols.

This period also saw growing sophistication in the development of monumental architecture and carved monuments. The first carved monuments in the Valley of Oaxaca date to 1000 B.C.E. Here, at Monte Albán, a rudimentary system of glyphs had developed by 500 B.C.E. During Monte Albán I rulers erected more than 300 carved monuments recording names, dates, and events, many with martial themes and motifs, including ritual sacrifice of captive war victims. Scholars have yet fully to decipher these glyphs. Similar developments took place among the Maya, with elaborately carved stelae serving as public displays of rulers’ authority, power, and legitimacy. Middle Preclassic Maya monuments were erected from Chiapas as far east and south as El Salvador. Across Mesoamerica, as contending polities jostled for power, warfare grew in scale and complexity. Agriculture became more intensive, evidenced by denser populations and more elaborate water-control technologies. Pottery styles, too, became more elaborate, sophisticated, stylized, and varied.

### LATE AND TERMINAL PRECLASSIC

The Late Preclassic, characterized by a veritable “urban revolution,” laid the groundwork for the florescence of states and polities during the Classic Period. In Mexico’s central highlands planners designed, laid out, and began construction of the colossal city of TEOTIHUACÁN, which came to dominate much of Mesoamerica during the Early Classic Period. Further south Monte Albán II (c. 250 B.C.E.–1 C.E.) was expanded as a residential and ceremonial center, as its ruling elite consolidated its control over the region. In the north and west (in contemporary Nayarit, Jalisco, and Colima), urbanization, state building, and attendant monumental architecture were of a lesser scale, with pottery and artistic styles, along with funerary practices, exhibiting distinctive regional variations. In the east, along the Gulf Coast the Olmec center of Tres Zapotes continued to thrive, while the adjacent urban centers of La Venta and San Lorenzo waned in influence and power. The most stunning achievements of the Late Preclassic took place among the Maya, where advances in writing, mathematics, astronomy, architecture, urban planning, warfare, and related spheres presaged the later developments of the Classic Period.

See also MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading:** Brown, M. K., and J. F. Garber, eds. *Warfare and Conflict in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Walnut Creek, CA:

AltaMira Press, 2003; Flannery, K. V., and J. Marcus, eds. *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilization*. New York: Academic Press, 1983; Miller, Mary Ellen. *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996; Sharer, Robert J., and Loa P. Traxler. *The Ancient Maya*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006; Stephens, J. L. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1949.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Mesoamerica: Classic Period

The Classic Period in Mesoamerican history is divided into the Early (250–600 C.E.), Late (600–800), and Terminal Classic (800–900/1100). Four major culture areas reached florescence during this period: the central highlands, dominated by TEOTIHUACÁN until its fall in 650; the Oaxaca Valley, dominated by Monte Albán until its fall around 900; along the gulf coast among the Classic Veracruz, which reached its apogee around 900; and four distinct Maya zones, most of whose city-states collapsed by the late 800s.

The overall trajectory of this period was characterized by incremental and continuous social and cultural development, economic expansion, and state formation in all four culture areas, growing organically out of Preclassic developments, followed (except in the case of Classic Veracruz) by the sudden and calamitous collapses of states and empires marking the end of the Classic—demises whose underlying causes remain a subject of research and debate among scholars.

### THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AND TEOTIHUACÁN

Called the “City of the Gods” by the Aztec centuries after its abandonment, the colossal city of Teotihuacán remains shrouded in mystery. Its inhabitants left many monuments, carvings, murals, and other artistic creations, but only a few glyphs and no readable texts comparable to the writings of the Maya. We do not even know what they called themselves. What is clear is that the city’s ruling elite oversaw a city of some 150,000–200,000 people—making it one of the largest urban concentrations in the world at that time—and an empire that spanned most of Mesoamerica outside the Oaxaca Valley and the Maya zones to the south and east. For centuries the dominant power in the Valley of Mexico, the empire of Teotihuacán extended its economic and ideological

reach north as far as the present-day U.S. Southwest, west to the Pacific coast, east to the Gulf of Mexico, and south as far as Honduras.

Teotihuacán’s influence in Mesoamerica was of three principal types: political-military, economic, and ideological-religious. Politically and militarily the city directly ruled most of the central highlands, including the densely populated Valley of Mexico, which saw its population increase by a factor of 40 in the 10 centuries from 900 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. In towns and districts directly ruled by the empire’s armies, labor drafts and exacted tribute were combined with the construction (or reconstruction) of new towns and urban centers in styles imitative of the colossal city. Economically the empire established and maintained extensive trade and exchange networks throughout Mesoamerica. Teotihuacán-style merchant residences show this as far south as Guatemala and by a wide variety of identifiable exchange items spread over a large area (such as green-tinted obsidian unearthed at sites in Honduras from the Teotihuacán-controlled Pachuca quarry).

It was in the ideological or spiritual realm that the city-empire exercised its greatest power. In particular, its cult of Quetzalcoatl (the Feathered Serpent), already a pan-Mesoamerican deity, became increasingly important throughout much of Mesoamerica. So too did its practice of ritual human sacrifice, probably derived from the OLMECS, Maya, Monte Albán, or other antecedent cultures. The dispersal of these and other religious myths, symbols, and practices from Teotihuacán to the central highlands and beyond, as well as the persistence of these myths and practices in the centuries following the city’s demise, demonstrate the tremendous ideological influence wielded by the empire and its ruling elite.

### THE CLASSIC VERACRUZ

What caused Teotihuacán’s fall is unknown, though a combination of ecological crises and invasions from the north are the likeliest reasons. What is known is that around 650 C.E. parts of the city were burned and desecrated and most of the city itself abandoned. The resultant power vacuum in the central highlands led to the formation of numerous lesser states, most notably Cholula and Cacaxtla in contemporary Puebla, and Xochicalco in Morelos. Along the Gulf of Mexico coastal region, the Classic Veracruz, most commonly associated with the urban complex of El Tajín, emerged as perhaps the most powerful polity north of the Maya zones. Noted especially for its many ball courts—the ball game, or *ollama*, comprising another

pan-Mesoamerican cultural tradition closely associated with warfare and ritual human sacrifice and steeped in religious symbolism—El Tajín reached its florescence around 900 C.E. All of these states exhibited a heightened emphasis on militarism that would characterize the later Postclassic Period.

### THE OAXACA VALLEY AND MONTE ALBÁN

In the Valley of Oaxaca the highly militarized Zapotec state of Monte Albán came to dominate the surrounding region through conquest, colonization, and alliances with lesser powers. During the period of Teotihuacán's dominance Monte Albán and Teotihuacán enjoyed good diplomatic relations, evidenced in part by carved monuments at Monte Albán depicting ambassadorial meetings and by neighborhoods within Teotihuacán that housed Zapotec merchants. In Monte Albán, too, a hereditary class of kings and priests whose legitimacy was divinely sanctioned dominated a rigidly hierarchical social order held together by war, threats of war, and an elaborate corpus of religious beliefs and practices, including ritual sacrifice of captive war victims. Monte Albán reached the zenith of its power around 400 C.E., after which numerous of its vassal towns and districts wrested their autonomy from the hilltop city, which subsequently underwent a period of gradual decline. By 800 parts of the city were no longer inhabited or used, though the site and surrounding districts were occupied well into the Postclassic.

### THE MAYA

The most remarkable cultural achievements of the Classic Period took place among the Maya. In virtually every field of human endeavor—writing, mathematics, astronomy, calendrics, warfare, architecture, agriculture, water-control technologies, and many others—the Classic Maya bequeathed an astounding legacy. Comprised of a shifting mosaic of city-states that never unified under a single political umbrella, the history of the Classic Maya is conventionally divided into the Early (250–600 C.E.) and Late Classic (600–900), with a political reorganization in Yucatán, originating largely from outside the region and enduring until around 1100. Scholars also divide the Maya area into four principal geographic zones: (1) the Pacific coastal plain and piedmont, which merge into (2) the northern highlands in contemporary Guatemala and Chiapas, which merge into (3) the southern and central lowlands, or Petén, and further north into (4) the northern or Yucatán lowlands. While economic, social, cultural, and

political developments in each of these zones followed distinct trajectories, it is also the case that Classic Period developments in the Maya region as a whole exhibited a range of shared features and attributes that need to be understood within both pan-Maya and pan-Mesoamerican contexts.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading:** Blanton, Richard E., S. A. Kowalewski, Gary Feinman, and Laura Finsten. *Ancient Mesoamerica: A Comparison of Change in Three Regions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Coe, Michael D. *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994; Diehl, Richard A., and Janet Catherine Berlo, eds. *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan: A.D. 700–900*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989; Marcus, Joyce, and Kent V. Flannery. *Zapotec Civilization*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

M. J. SCHROEDER

### messianism

Broadly speaking, messianism refers to any expectation of the appearance of a messiah or messiahs in the end time. Messianism appears in four bodies of literature: Hebrew scripture, extrabiblical works written in the Second Temple period, the New Testament (NT), and the writings of rabbinic Judaism. From the middle of the 19th century until recently scholars have generally held that messianism was only a marginal phenomenon not only in Hebrew scripture but also in the writings produced in Second Temple period. Christianity has been either credited with or blamed for introducing messianism in such a prominent way. In more recent years this traditional understanding of messianism has come under criticism.

Messianism in Hebrew scripture has been approached in two ways. The first approach is to investigate the occurrence of the word *messiah*, which means “anointed one.” An extreme position would be to limit messianism to passages that mention the word *messiah* in an eschatological (end-time) context. By this criterion Daniel 9:25–26 would be the only one that qualifies. Other occurrences of the term *messiah* in the Jewish Bible are more debatable since an eschatological context appears to be absent. It is unclear, for example, whether when DAVID is called “the Lord’s anointed” this qualifies as an eschatological prophecy. The most

one can say is that such references may have eschatological overtones. The second approach to messianism is to investigate it from the broader perspective of Israel's eschatology. It is undeniable that many passages of Hebrew scripture envision some sort of an end-time agent, whether human or angelic, who will restore Israel and reestablish God's original order on the earth. Most scholars feel that many of such passages are messianic even though these passages do not mention messiah. The most important messianic figure in Hebrew scripture is a future king in the likeness of David and a descendant of David.

There are basically two scholarly opinions about the origin of messianism. Some believe messianism developed from the pre-exilic practice of venerating Israelite kings as divine agents. S. Mowinckel was the key proponent of this hypothesis. Others believe that either before or during the exile, the Jews borrowed the concept of divine kingship from Egypt or Persia and shaped it into messianism, a form more consistent with Israel's monotheism.

Whatever the case may be, scholarly consensus points to kingship as the primary matrix of Jewish messianism. The extracanonical Jewish works produced in the Second Temple period refer to the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOCRYPHA, QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls, JOSEPHUS, and PHILO. Although end-time speculations abound in much of these Jewish writings, direct mention of the word *messiah* is found only in Philo, the Psalms of Solomon, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, 2 BARUCH, and 1 Enoch. Of these, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, technically speaking, lie outside the Second Temple period, and Philo mentions *messiah* only once in a quotation of Num. 24:7 (LXX). Also 4 Ezra is the only apocryphal writing that mentions the word *messiah*.

Inasmuch as the Apocrypha was passed down with the Septuagint, the Greek translation of Hebrew scripture, and preserved by the Christians, one might have expected a more overt messianism in it. In other words, the actual occurrences of the word *messiah* in the Jewish writings of this period are few and far between. The reason may be that during the Hasmonean period, when much of these works were produced, a strong interest in a stable Jewish kingship here and now tended to suppress messianism. By far the most interesting messianic material from this period is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which speak of at least two—royal and priestly—messiahs. This development is due to the fact that in Hebrew scripture not only kings but also the priests, the sanctuary and its contents, and sometimes even the prophets were anointed.

The title most frequently used for Jesus in the NT is "Christ," which is the Greek translation of *messiah* (cf. John 1:14). PAUL, who uses this title most often, also uses it as a virtual name for Jesus. In Luke, Jesus reads a passage from Isaiah at the beginning of his ministry to refer to himself as the anointed: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has *anointed* me to preach good news to the poor" (Luke 4:18). In other words, in the NT *messiah* is practically synonymous with JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. But other messianic titles also occur in the NT. The Gospel writers use the titles Son of David and Son of Man in addition to Christ. Hebrews use the title high priest for Jesus. The image of Jesus as the High Priest of God also figures prominently in Revelation. These and other messianic titles of Jesus in the NT share the common notion that Jesus is a suffering messiah.

Rabbinic Judaism certainly knows of the messiah. The word *messiah* occurs in the MISHNAH, the Eighteen Benedictions, the Targums, and the TALMUD. Messianism, as a theological idea, however, has had little direct influence on the formation and development of rabbinic Judaism. Notwithstanding, messianic movements have played a vital role in Judaism to this day.

Nearly all messianic materials mention a connection with God's end-time judgment. The Qumran scrolls are noteworthy in this regard because they not only link together messianism and divine judgment but also develop them into elaborate end-time scenarios. Similarly, 4 Ezra (cf. 12:32) and 2 Baruch (cf. 29:3) mention a messiah in close connection with visions of the end-time judgment, which in the two books is equated in part with the fall of Jerusalem. Jesus and his followers also center their messianic messages on the announcement that the end-time judgment of God has finally arrived. The followers of Jesus, like Paul, who believed that divine judgment had taken place in the death of Jesus, gave Jewish messianism its most notable and lasting expression.

In short, messianism is an apocalyptic phenomenon that tended to become prominent in Jewish and Christian communities that believed themselves to be under divine judgment.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; JUDAISM, EARLY; PSALMS; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

**Further reading:** Charlesworth, James H. *The Messiah: Developments in the Earliest Judaism and Christianity*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992; Horbury, William. *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*. London: SCM Press, 1998.

## Middle Kingdom, Egypt

Ancient Egyptian language begins with Middle Egyptian, accepted by later Egyptians as the classical period of language, literature, and culture. The Middle Kingdom dated from approximately 2055 to 1650 B.C.E. It comprised the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty, the Twelfth Dynasty that spanned 212 years (1985–1773 B.C.E.), and the Thirteenth Dynasty, at the end of which the central administration was once again weakening, leading into the Second Intermediate Period. The pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty had remarkably long reigns: two, Senusret I and Amenemhat III, reigned for some 45 years. The First Intermediate Period was one of decentralization, but local rulers, religious institutions, and customs developed and flourished.

By the end of the First Intermediate Period power had concentrated in two centers, Herakleopolis, near the Faiyum in Middle Egypt, and THEBES. From the latter city the first three kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, all three named Intef, ruled Upper Egypt and gradually pushed the boundary of their rules further north. Around 2055 B.C.E. Mentuhotep II managed to reunify Egypt and reigned for 50 years, ushering in a period of peace and stability. His two successors reigned a further 18 years, and Mentuhotep III was likely succeeded by his vizier, Amenemhat, as the first pharaoh of that name and of the Twelfth Dynasty. His name, compounded with Amun, signaled the demotion of the local Theban patron god, Montu, and Amun's steady rise to unrivaled prominence and wealth. In his 30-year reign Amenemhat I conducted campaigns in the eastern Delta and south in NUBIA

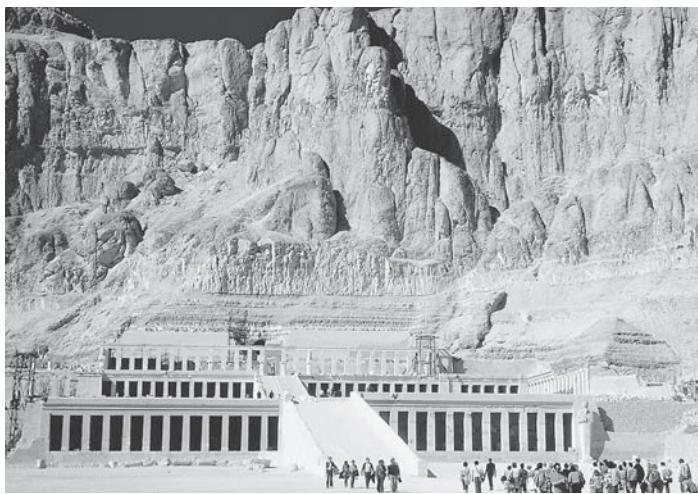
to secure Egypt's access to gold. He also sailed the Nile dealing severely with any signs of rebellion from local rulers. Amenemhat moved the capital to a site about 20 miles south of the old capital, Memphis. This was named Itjtawy, or “Seizer-of-the-Two-Lands.” Amenemhat I was murdered as the result of a palace coup.

Though Senusret I was campaigning in Libya when his father Amenemhat I died, he returned, quelled any rebellion, and ruled on his own for 34 years—having reigned approximately 10 years with his father. He extended Egypt's borders as far as Buhen at the Second Cataract in Nubia and led expeditions into Syria. Like his father, he was a great builder and rebuilt the temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. Amenemhat II succeeded around 1928 B.C.E. His reign saw an expansion of trading contacts with Syria and the Aegean. Egyptian artifacts from his reign have been found at BYBLOS in Lebanon and Knossos in Crete. A treasure trove from his reign was found in the temple of Montu at el-Tod, immediately south of Luxor, with silver goblets from Canaan and the Aegean, along with seals and jewelry from Mesopotamia.

His son, Senusret II, continued his father's interest in the Faiyum by beginning to irrigate the area. His statues display a realistic appearance of the royal subject, which would continue into the succeeding reigns. This was a break from the traditional representation of the PHARAOH, especially in the OLD KINGDOM, as a remote, godlike being. This trend, copied among the nobility, makes the portraiture of this period unique and vivid.

The last two major pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty were Senusret III and Amenemhat III. Senusret III was apparently a commanding figure. He conducted several campaigns in Nubia, noted for their brutality. He extended the southern boundary of Egypt well into Nubia, building a fortress at Semna beyond the Second Cataract. Even into the Thirteenth Dynasty military dispatches show how stringently the Egyptians controlled the natives and exploited resources. Much of the wealth that poured in from Nubia was given to the gods. The shrine of Osiris at Abydos was gifted with precious metals and stones, and funds for priestly maintenance were given to the temple of Amun at Thebes.

The last of the long-reigning and powerful pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty was Amenemhat III (1831–1796 B.C.E.). His reign was long and peaceful, and the Middle Kingdom reached its cultural and economic peak. He expanded the use of the turquoise and copper mines in Sinai and quarried at Aswan and Tura and in Nubia, all recorded on inscriptions. There are two statues that seem to show him in youth and maturity, displaying the strong features of his ancestors. The Twelfth Dynasty



*Deir el-Bahri is a complex of mortuary temples and tombs, including the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut.*

slid peaceably into the Thirteenth with the short reigns of Amenemhat IV and his sister-queen, Sobekneferu.

Wegaf Khutawyre, the first pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty, seems to have succeeded legitimately, tied by blood or marriage to the old royal family. His throne name, Khutawyre, “Re protects the Two Lands,” proclaimed his aim of continuing the policies of the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty. The pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty continued to use it as the royal seat, and there was no great crisis or collapse until the founding of the HYKSOS states (1650 B.C.E.). Life went on much as before, even as far south as the Second Cataract. By the reign of Sobekhotep IV (c. 1730 B.C.E.), control of Nubia lessened and in the Delta, local rulers strengthened their positions, which led to the weakening of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the fragmented dynastic rule of the Second Intermediate Period.

The Middle Kingdom saw the emergence of a comfortable “middle” class, the increase in endowments of mid-level temple priests, and a mercantile class who traded independently of royal interests. There was a more confident appropriation and expression of a blessed afterlife that relied less on proximity to the deceased pharaoh and more on the preparations of the individual. As noted, the Middle Kingdom produced a great number of literary works, many of which became “classics” of genre, language, and style. In sum, it was an age that encouraged the rise of the individual and became aware of the world beyond Egypt.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Allen, James P. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Clayton, Peter A. *Chronicles of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998; Gardiner, Alan. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964; Grimal, Nicolas. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Blackwell, 1995; Kemp, Barry J. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973; Manley, Bill. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.

JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

## migration patterns of the Americas

Native Americans inhabited every region of the Western Hemisphere, from arctic North America to Tierra del

Fuego at the southern tip of South America. There are more than 500 distinct Native American tribal groups or nations in North America alone. Native people showed a remarkable ability to adapt to the different physical environments throughout North America. They organized themselves into communities, governments, and cultures that were adapted to their local environment and were recognized as distinct tribes or nations by the people within the tribe as well as by the other Native nations. Native Americans’ own stories of how they arrived in their homelands are as varied as the tribes themselves.

There are some common themes, however, to these creation stories and oral traditions. All tribes have a creation story; most tell of humans being brought up from the ground by spiritual powers, and each culture tells of its own tribe as being the original people. This is usually a positive story, with humans being brought into this world with joy, companionship, and laughter. Native cultures have a strong sense of distinct male and female powers and principles in the universe, and often these creation stories tell of the male spirits of the sky and Sun bringing humanity up from the female counterpart, the womb of Mother Earth. Sometimes these stories tell of the women pushing the men to venture out of the earth (or up from a lake or to embark on a long journey) to find the new world in the light.

Some tribes’ creation stories tell of their people emerging from the earth directly into their homeland. But many of them tell of a long migration: The people emerge and travel a great distance to their eventual homeland. Some tribes’ creation stories contain both subterrestrial and terrestrial journeys. The San Juan Tewa tribe of New Mexico tells of human beings first living in Sipofene, a dark world beneath a lake far to the north. The first mothers of the Tewa, Blue Corn Woman and White Corn Maiden, directed a man to travel to the world above the lake, where he eventually obtains the gifts that allow the Tewa to live in the terrestrial world.

The Potawatomi of the southern Great Lakes are another example. The Potawatomi are culturally, politically, and linguistically linked to the Ojibwa and Odawa people in the northern Great Lakes, and many stories link the Potawatomi to the Great Migration of the Ojibwa from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes. But Potawatomi creation stories also tell of the original people arising from the St. Joseph River southwest of Lake Michigan. Native creation stories always carry a sense that it was a journey of great distance to arrive at the homeland, whether it was a journey from underground or a journey over land. And the goal is always to arrive at a distinct homeland for the original people.

This is a question that puzzled the European immigrants and settlers, beginning with the early explorers (once they realized they had not reached Asia as they had expected). Some Europeans speculated that the Native Americans were the lost tribes of Israel cited in the Bible. The Jesuit missionary José de Acosta in the late 1500s proposed the theory that the Native Americans traveled from Asia following the great herds of animals that they hunted. Anthropology grew as a science in America in the 1800s, focusing on Native cultures and their origins. Most contemporary evidence points to a migration of the Native American people from Asia, coming from north-eastern Siberia into Alaska sometime between 25,000 to 11,000 years ago. But there is still much debate about the exact time of this migration and whether it was one migration by a single group of people or different migrations by different groups.

The geological record points to an ice age that occurred from 40,000 to 11,000 years ago. There are two factors that would have influenced this migration. First, tying up so much of the earth's water into ice would have resulted in a drop in the level of the oceans. About 60 miles of water presently separate Alaska and Siberia, but in the last ice age, the ocean would have been low enough for these two landmasses to be connected, permitting easy migration from Asia into North America. Studies of the fossil record indicate that this type of migration has occurred among the great herding animals. Caribou, mammoths, elk, and moose apparently traveled from Asia to North America, and horses and camels migrated the opposite way.

Secondly, the scarring of rock strata indicate that the ice sheet covering North America in this time period was vast, stretching south to the Canadian Pacific coast and across to the Atlantic Ocean. While migration from Asia into Alaska was feasible as early as 25,000 years ago, the ice sheet would have blocked further overland travel into the interior of North America until 14,000 years ago. Some scientists argue that travel would have been possible along the Alaskan and Canadian coastline, but no evidence has been found as yet to indicate boats or a fishing-based culture in this region prior to 11,000 years ago.

Anthropologists have applied modern language theory and biological techniques to the question of migration. There are more than 1,000 Native American languages, and the North American languages are commonly recognized as falling into eight large, related groups. Anthropologists have attempted to determine migration patterns tribes based on the dispersion of these language groups. Most agree that three or more

migrations occurred, with the first beginning more than 11,000 years ago. The largest language group, the Amerind, links many languages in all regions of North America and is believed to be the earliest. This migration was then followed later by the Na-Dene group, which is found in the U.S. Southwest and Northwest Coast (some 9,000 years ago), and still later by the Inuit and Aleut speakers of the Arctic (less than 8,000 years ago). Studies of dental traits and blood-group traits among Native Americans also tend to support the concept of three large migration events.

Once Native Americans did become established in central North America, they began to spread out to every region of the continent, and cultures and lifestyles began to evolve and adapt to the various regions. Scientists refer to these earliest cultures as Paleo-Indians. One artifact common to these people is a distinctive flint spear point referred to as the Clovis point. A number of archaeological sites along the Great Plains have been dated to 11,000 years old, and they show evidence for the use of the Clovis point for hunting the great herds of mammoth, bison, and other animals. Other studies indicate that use of the Clovis point spread throughout North and South America as far north as the Yukon and as far south as the Andes.

Gradually, the climate warmed in North America. The huge herd animals of the ice age, such as the mammoths and mastodons, died out, the vast lakes in the U.S. West dried out and turned to desert, and deciduous forests became widespread in the East. Native Americans adapted to their new environments and established new ways of life different from their Paleo-Indian ancestors. This second wave of cultures is referred to as the Archaic Tradition. Archaic-period cultures developed more specific, regionalized characteristics. People of the western deserts utilized the lowland seasonal marshes and rivers for their sustenance or became hunter-gatherers in the foothills and mountains. People of the Northwest developed into great ocean and river fishers. California Archaic people developed hunting-foraging cultures utilizing the abundance of resources in their region and practiced controlled burning to encourage plant and animal populations, particularly for oaks and acorns. The people of the Great Plains developed a greater reliance on the bison.

Eastern groups began to adapt to the growing woodlands. One particular cultural group is referred to as the Poverty Point culture. This group was first studied based on the Poverty Point earthworks in Louisiana, dated between 4,000 and 2,000 years old. Poverty Point includes several earthen mound constructions, with

the largest taking the form of a bird with outstretched wings. Artifacts uncovered at Poverty Point reveal trade materials originating as far away as the Great Lakes. Clay figurines, stone beads, and other ornaments are distinctive to the Poverty Point culture.

The Woodland culture was the next stage to develop. This term as used by archaeologists refers to a specific Native American cultural pattern that became common about 3,000 years ago and spread from the edge of the Great Plains to the Atlantic Ocean. The Woodland culture had three main characteristics: a distinctive style of ceramics, community-based agriculture, and the construction of burial mounds. Mound building is perhaps the most recognized Woodland culture feature. Mound structures from this stage have been discovered from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the southern Great Plains to Ontario.

The Woodland groups again were not a single vast tribe or nation but instead were distinct communities that centered on local village or city sites often with mound structures. The mounds were usually burial structures but also frequently served ceremonial and political purposes. The Woodland culture showed local variations, but certain practices were common to all. Trade was extensive throughout the network of mound communities, and a certain commonality of cultural practices likely served to unite these communities and help maintain the trade routes.

Elements of both the Archaic and Woodland stages existed in Native cultures up to 1600 C.E. For example, the Archaic fishing cultures of the Northwest and the hunter-gatherer-fishers of California inhabited some of the richest regions on the face of the earth. Their lifestyles never experienced any pressure to change their cultural practices. The early Spanish explorers reported city-states of the Woodland mound culture in the 1500s. The Iroquois tribes in New York are also organized on Woodland culture patterns.

The size of the Native population prior to 1492 is also subject to much debate. Scientific studies in the early 1900s relied on the reports and estimates of the European explorers and American settlers from the 1500s forward. These studies generally agreed on a figure of about 1 million Native Americans north of Mexico at the time of European contact.

More recent studies have begun to take into account additional factors, particularly the effect of Old World diseases. Diseases such as smallpox, chicken pox, the plague, and measles did not exist in the Native American population prior to 1492. The disastrous effect of these diseases in Mesoamerican and Central and South

American Native populations was well documented by the Spanish conquistadores in the 1500s. Given the existence of the extensive Native trade routes and the virulence of these diseases, it is reasonable to assume that these diseases had a similar devastating effect in interior North America as well.

More recent population studies, taking into account the effects of disease and the estimated carrying capacity of the various regions of the continent, have revised the Native American population estimate upward. Some studies have ranged as high as 18 million, but most recent estimates project Native population in North America prior to 1492 as closer to 5 million people.

The indigenous people of North America, their governments, and cultures were incredibly varied, with great adaptation to their respective regions, and they showed a great awareness of and respect for their physical environment.

Native American cultures were not static and had been undergoing cultural changes independent of and prior to European contact. But by 1600 a radical transformation had begun resulting from Old World immigration. At that point disease had begun to decimate Native populations, and this would be one of the key factors in opening the Atlantic seaboard to English colonization in the 1600s.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: CHRONOLOGIES AND PEOPLES; NATIVE AMERICANS: REGIONAL ADAPTATIONS.

**Further reading:** Benton-Banai, Edward. *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. St. Paul, MN: Red School House, 1988; Erdoes, Richard, and Alfonzo Ortiz, eds. *American Indian Myths and Legends*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984; Hoxie, F. E., ed. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996; Waldman, Carl. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Facts On File, 2000; Weatherford, Jack. *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1991.

KEVIN DAUGHERTY

## Milan, Edict of (313 C.E.)

Emperor DIOCLETIAN pursued a comprehensive program against Christianity from 302 C.E. until his retirement in 305 C.E. His successors continued hostilities toward the church, especially in the eastern empire for several years, until it became clear that such programs were futile. Sometime around 311 Galerius, one of the ruling Caesars, grudgingly and condescendingly issued

the Edict of Toleration for all religious subjects, understood to apply mainly to the benefit of the persecuted Christians.

Shortly thereafter Galerius died. The western empire's Caesar, CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, immediately seized initiative and forged a similar agreement at Milan in 313 with his eastern counterpart Licinius. This edict was more sympathetic to the Christian cause, reflecting Constantine's sympathies for the faith. In time Christian causes even started to receive funds from the imperial treasury.

Ten years later Licinius unsuccessfully broke from Constantine's religious revolution and renounced the accord of Milan; some 40 years later Constantine's nephew JULIAN THE APOSTATE also went this route and tried to reinstate conventional Greco-Roman religion. The chronology and development of the Edict of Toleration and Edict of Milan is suspect, as the main sources (Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesaria) do not agree in detail; nonetheless, it is clear that Christians won their civic rights through these proclamations.

Contrary to popular opinion, Constantine the Great did not make Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire. Only overt and widespread persecutions stopped. In fact, it was THEODOSIUS I, called "the Great" by an appreciative church, who issued the edict *Cunctos Populos* in 380 that made orthodox teachings on the Trinity and the Incarnation of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH mandatory for all citizens. Anyone who did not go along was deemed "an extravagant madman." In 381 he summoned the bishops to the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE, as he began to deal seriously with church divisions.

Ten years later he fined and forcibly removed all church leaders who accepted ARIANISM. In addition, he forbade all Roman officials from participating in Greco-Roman religious sacrifices. By 392 Theodosius I had banned all pagan worship. These aggressive religious programs effectively established Christianity as the state religion. From the fourth century onward Orthodox or Catholic Christianity was the dominant religion in the Mediterranean world.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; MARTYROLOGIES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Brown, Peter. *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750. History of European Civilization Library*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; Fox, Robin Lane. *Pagans and Christians*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1986.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Minoans

The Minoan civilization has its roots on the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea during the Neolithic Period (7000–3000 B.C.E.). The original inhabitants most likely emigrated from Asia Minor, which had already developed cities and conducted trade by 2000 B.C.E. The Greek poet Homer refers to the Minoan population as "Eteo-Cretans" in book 9 of the *Odyssey*. This early culture used HIEROGLYPHICS similar to that of the Egyptians, which they eventually developed into a linear script for keeping records. Most of what is known about this civilization was discovered during the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans during the early 1900s. Despite a strong naval influence, Minoan culture has no evidence of any warlike activity or organization.

The most important center of Minoan civilization was the palace city of Knossos. Located inland on the island of Crete, Knossos was built at the confluence of the Vlihia stream and the Keratos River, with good lands for vineyards and olive groves. The main palace was constructed on Kefala Hill in the early second millennium B.C.E. The Minoans also built a sophisticated system of drains, roads, and warehouses to promote trade. The structures at Knossos show evidence of compartmentalized homes with working doors and partitions, with no difference between the homes of the wealthy and the workers. This suggests that wealth may have been more evenly shared as the Minoan trade routes prospered. The palace and larger buildings may have even had functioning toilets. Many of the ruins at Knossos have colorful frescos or intricately designed pottery, which display a unique form of art in the ancient world. Nearly all of the artwork uncovered displays Minoan daily life, showing fishing, sailors trading goods, young men and women participating in sporting games or rituals, wildlife, and religious figures. The Minoans developed art for art's sake, a revolutionary concept in the ancient world. Through the Mycenaeans they passed this love of art on to mainland Greece.

The religious beliefs of the early Minoan culture were polytheistic and matriarchal, a goddess religion. The serpent goddess played a prominent role in the homes of Minoans, perhaps a foreshadowing of the strong female deities in the Greek religion. Minoan influence in the Mediterranean spread through trade. The Cretans and their Aegean relatives developed what was one of the most advanced mercantile navies in history. There is evidence of trade with diverse areas such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt, Afghanistan, and Scandinavia. Goods traded with Knossos included copper, ivory, amethyst, lapis lazuli,

carnelian, gold, and amber. Clay tablets have been found at Knossos with both LINEAR A AND B writing styles that contain records of goods traded and stored. Evidence of this vast trading network can also be found in the palace city of Akrotiri, located on the southwestern tip of Santorini island. This city had only been rediscovered in the mid-1900s, having been buried by a volcanic eruption. Excavations revealed an elaborate drainage system built under sophisticated, multi-tiered buildings. The building interiors were decorated with magnificent frescos, furniture, and vessels. The absence of skeletal remains or any valuables hints that the population may have been warned of the eruption and evacuated.

The most important Minoan artifact is the Law Code of Gortyn, which dates to 450 B.C.E. It is inscribed in marble at the Odeion using Dorian Greek in the boustrophedon style (one line is read right to left, then the next left to right). Most of the laws pertain to property rights, marriage, divorce, and inheritance relating to free men and women and slaves. The content of the code corroborates the concept that men and women were given equal status in Minoan society.

Scholars cannot agree on what exactly brought about the end of the Minoan civilization. It was, perhaps, a combination of calamities over a short period of time. Crete is susceptible to seismic events. It is believed that the volcanic eruption at Thíra (Thera) may have caused a tsunami that decimated the civilization. Other theories point to the adoption of Linear B writing as proof that the Mycenaeans conquered Crete and treated it as its colony. All that is known for certain is that Minoan culture declined as the Mycenaeans prospered.

See also CYCLADES; HOMERIC EPICS; MYCENAE.

**Further reading:** Adkins, Lesley, and Roy A. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Greece*. New York: Facts On File, 1997; Dubin, Marc. *The Greek Islands*. New York: DK Publishing, 1997; Halsall, Paul. *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook*. Fordham University. Available online. URL:<http://www.fordham.edu> (September 2005); Hooker, Richard. "Bureaucrats and Barbarians: Minoans, Mycenaeans, and the Greek Dark Ages." Washington State University. Available online. URL:<http://www.wsu.edu> (September 2005).

GEORGE RALEIGH DERR III

## Mishnah

When Palestinian society emerged from the turbulence of the two JEWISH REVOLTS against the Romans at the

end of the second century C.E., rabbis united to promote a religious document called the Mishnah. The Mishnah and its subsidiary books, commonly called the Tosefta and the TALMUD, serve Judaism to the present day just as a constitution unites citizens to a state.

The Mishnah is the core of this constitution; its name comes from the Hebrew word for "repeat." It was compiled under the leadership of JUDAH HA-NASI, organized into six "orders," 63 tractates, and 531 chapters. The six orders are Zera'im (agricultural laws), Mo'ed (seasonal observances), Nashim (relations with women), Neziqin (civil law), Qodashim (cultic law), and Tohorot (taboos). The Tosefta is a collection of supplements to the Mishnah, with approximately three-fourths devoted merely to citation and amplification of the contents of the Mishnah. The Tosefta has no independent standing, being organized around the Mishnah, probably closed around the fifth century C.E. Both of these documents are the basis for the Talmuds, Palestinian (fourth century C.E.) and Babylonian (fifth century C.E.). The organization of the Talmuds also follows the Mishnah's orders and tractates.

The Mishnah is something like the New Testament for Christians in two important ways: It represents a new and limited perspective of the Bible, and it presents itself as divinely inspired. After the Temple was destroyed there was a need to reorient Judaism from a temple-oriented cult to a TORAH-oriented culture of study and exposition. Similarly, after the life of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, Christians reinterpreted the Old Testament in a way that centered on his messiahship. Thus, neither document was a repetition of the Jewish Bible, since neither pays attention to all aspects of the Bible's themes. The Mishnah projects itself as an orally transmitted supplement to the written inspiration of the Bible. It claims to be the words of MOSES that were not originally written down like the Bible, now safeguarded in written form to preserve the Jewish faith. The Bible is the written Torah; the Mishnah is the oral Torah. Both are from Moses and authoritative.

Surprisingly, however, the Mishnah is not at all focused on the historical plight or future destiny of the Jewish people. Rather, it is a compendium of topics that the rabbis found relevant for their religious imagination. The only historical references are the some 150 teachers and rabbis that speak out in the book, but not much description surrounds them to help the reader figure out their "real world." In fact, the only historical context reflects the Jewish world after 150 C.E. Its value for historians is therefore limited. Modern scholarship holds that the Mishnah reflects what the second-century rabbis considered important for their

faith: not the temporary and changing face of external history, but the permanent and enduring world of holiness and eternality. For example, the fifth order mainly concerns the Temple, even though the Temple had been destroyed generations earlier and its grounds were off-limits to Jews. Half of the Mishnah addresses this imaginary world of officials and customs that were no longer present or possible in Judah ha-Nasi's day.

Jews in late antiquity, however, could take "real-world" consolation in the message of the Mishnah. Its message hinted at an imaginary world that countered the Roman worldview where Caesar demanded total allegiance. The Mishnah says that God owns the land of Palestine and gives it to the people of ISRAEL, Israel must pay God representative payments (tithes and offerings) and observe religious calendars to show divine ownership, and God has sovereignty over the social dimensions of human life as in clan and culture.

If the Mishnah is a selective treatment of the Bible and reflects a theology that its compilers found inspiring but not overtly related to the external world, then its sequel, the Talmud, also commented on the Mishnah according to its later priorities. Whole sections of the Mishnah were ignored. The Jerusalem Talmud covers only 39 of the 63 tractates and says nary a word on the fifth order and little on the sixth order; the Babylonian Talmud has its own set of equally limited applications. Together, both treated the Mishnah in a manner that was different than what the compilers of the Mishnah intended. If the Mishnah is analogous to the New Testament, then the Talmuds are analogous to the writings of the fathers of the church.

Very soon after the Mishnah was compiled, Jews made it the centerpiece of their study, and it became the structure and content of their discussions. Other academies outside of Yavneh (Tiberias, Caesarea, Sepphoris, and Lydda in Palestine; Sura, Pumbedita, and Nehardea in Babylonia) adopted the Mishnah as their base text. Even non-Mishnaic materials (such as the *baraitot*) were studied in relation to their parallels in the Mishnah. Its language, commonly called Mishnaic Hebrew, is a direct development of the spoken Hebrew language of the late biblical period with heavy influence by the predominant Aramaic language. Because of the Mishnah's authority not only in Palestine but also in the other great center of Jewish culture, Babylon, the Hebrew language was revitalized and never died out in rabbinic circles.

See also CAESAR, AUGUSTUS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Hezser, Catherine. *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. Tübingen,

Germany: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997; Goodblatt, David M. *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1994; Neusner, J. *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981; ———. *The Mishnah: Social Perspectives*. Boston: E. J. Brill, 1999.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Mittani

The kingdom of Mittani was an impressive Indo-European empire that ruled over northern Mesopotamia, or the FERTILE CRESCENT, during the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E. At its height the geographical region of Mittani stretched from the ancient city of Nuzi and the Tigris River in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west. The two capital cities, Taite and Waššukanni, were most likely located in the heartland of the Khabur river valley or at its headwaters. The capitals' archaeological sites have not yet been located.

Despite its greatness no Mittani texts regarding its own history have been found, so most of the information concerning the Mittani comes from Egyptian, Hittite, and Assyrian records. The HURRIANS, a people who were present in the Khabur River valley for several hundred years prior to the Mittani's political establishment, composed the majority of the population. The ruling class of Mittani, however, seems to have been an Indo-European people in origin and worshipped Vedic deities; that is, the marks of this society planted in today's Middle Eastern heartland bore resemblance to classical Indian culture.

Whether the Mittani introduced the horse to the Fertile Crescent is disputed, yet they did make use of it in a new form of chariot warfare. The Mittani developed a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses. The elite aristocratic warriors, called Maryannu (meaning "noble in chariot"), and an accompanying archer manned these chariots. The Maryannu, along with their horses, were clothed in bronze or iron scale armor. The chariots were used as a vehicle to surround enemies and a base from which to fire consistent volleys of arrows and javelins. The chariots were also used as collision and trampling weapons. This form of warfare served as a model for the Egyptians, HITTITES, Babylonians, and Canaanites.

The Mittani kingdom ruled over all of northern Mesopotamia in the 15th century B.C.E. and reduced the former Assyrian state to vassal status. By the 14th century B.C.E. the constant conflict with the Hittites and

Egyptians caused a significant reduction in the size of the Mittani Empire. After the Mittani king Artatama established a treaty with Thutmose IV, PHARAOH of Egypt, the two nations lived in relative peace, and the Egyptians acquired daughters of the Mittani kings for wives. However, the growing power of the Hittite kingdom in the west and the resurgence of the Assyrians in the east quickly became too much for the Mittani to handle.

During Tushratta's reign, the last independent Mittani monarch, the Hittite king Suppiluliumas sacked Waššukanni. This event marked the fall of the Mittani Empire around 1370 B.C.E. The region of the Mittani was reduced to a Hittite vassalage known as Hanigalbat and would later be controlled by the Assyrians. A Hittite and Assyrian alliance destroyed the last remnant of the Mittani state in the north about 1340 B.C.E. Finally, an Assyrian king by the name of Shalmaneser I wiped history clean of the Mittani by securing the territory of Hanigalbat (1280–70 B.C.E.) and deporting the Mittani people across the known world as cheap labor.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; INDO-EUROPEANS.

**Further reading:** Bancroft-Hunt, Norman. *Historical Atlas of Ancient Mesopotamia*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2004; Harrak, Amir. *Assyria and Hanigalbat: A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C.* New York: G. Olms, 1987; Jarol, Richard E. *A Reconstruction of the Contributions of Mitanni to the Ancient Near East*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1987; Oates, David, Joan Oates, and Helen McDonald. *The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods*. Cambridge: British School of Archaeology in Iraq: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 1997.

JONAH B. MANCINI

## Mohenjo-Daro

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are two ancient cities located on the banks of the Indus and its tributary the Ravi River in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent. They represent the earliest civilization in the region, called the Indus, or Harappan, civilization, dating to approximately 2500–1500 B.C.E. Excavation of the INDUS CIVILIZATION began in 1921 under the direction of Sir John Marshall. Mohenjo-Daro is located on the bank of the Indus River in present-day Pakistan and is the best-preserved city of the Indus civilization.

Its name means the “Mound of the Dead” because the center of the town is an artificial mound about 50 feet high surrounded with a brick wall and fortified with towers. The mound also had a great bath 39 feet by 23 feet, flanked by a large pillared hall, small rooms, and a granary. A well-laid-out town lay below the citadel with streets running in a grid pattern oriented to the points of the compass. The town was divided into wards according to function, such as areas for shops, workshops, and residences. All buildings were made with baked bricks of uniform size. Besides private wells in the courtyards of two-story individual residences, there were also public wells at street intersections. Covered sewers disposed of waste. There was also a cemetery where graves were neatly oriented in the same direction. There were no palaces or royal cemeteries.

Inscribed seals found at Mohenjo-Daro and other Indus cities show pictographic writing, to date undeciphered. So few characters are inscribed on each seal that they would not give much information even if they were deciphered. Thus despite a high-level material culture, the Indus civilization is still considered prehistoric. The absence of palaces and royal cemeteries and the presence of a ceremonial bath and great hall lead specialists to guess that a college of priests ruled. The abundance of small female figurines indicates a fertility cult. The uniform-sized bricks throughout the Indus Valley and nearby regions lead to speculation that some kind of government supervised the entire area; hence the name Indus Empire is also used to describe this civilization.

In Mohenjo-Daro archaeologists have discovered an advanced metal-using culture (bronze and copper), where people used wheel-made pottery vessels, wove cotton cloths, lived under a well-organized municipal government, and traded among one another and with other cultures. Indus seals have been found in Mesopotamia and lapis lazuli, a semiprecious stone used by Indus artisans, is mined in Afghanistan. Conditions in Mohenjo-Daro deteriorated around 1700 B.C.E., shown by hoards of buried jewelry and precious objects, pots and utensils strewn about, evidence of fire, and at least 30 skeletons scattered about indicating that the people were trapped and died or were killed. Whether natural disaster or invaders caused the final disaster, the city was abandoned, hence, posterity's name Mound of the Dead for its ruins. Mohenjo-Daro is the best preserved of the Indus civilization cities excavated to date.

See also ARYAN INVASION.

**Further reading:** Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark. *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 1998; Marshal, Sir John, ed. *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. 1. Delhi, India: Indological Book House, 1971.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## monasticism

The English word *monasticism* derives from the Greek word *monos*, meaning “alone.” Those who rejected the world to embrace the worship of God and obedience to his commandments without compromise were soon grouped into a communal residence, called in Greek *monasterion*, and later in English *monastery*; the inhabitant of a monastery was a *monachos*, the source of the English word *monk*.

Asceticism, which originally referred to the physical training of athletes for sports contests, in the Christian context means the training of the passions—physical and mental—for the purposes of withstanding the temptations to sin present in this world and focusing completely on God. Asceticism is not confined to monasticism; in the early church forms of asceticism were incumbent on all Christians. Asceticism is also but one part of the monastic life, which includes other dimensions, including prayer, charity, the cultivation of virtue, and education in the Holy Scriptures and other edifying Christian literature.

Judaism and other Greco-Roman religions active during the first centuries of Christianity also had movements in which a group separated from society to follow religious precepts unfettered by the demands and temptations of society. However, the attempts to find in any religion of late antiquity the precursors of Christian monasticism are at best inconclusive. After the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire came to an end, monasticism became understood as a form of martyrdom, in which the monk became “dead to the world” to pursue a life focused entirely on God.

Monasticism in the forms transmitted to the Middle Ages appeared in the third and fourth centuries C.E. Monasticism was a spectrum of living arrangements between the anchorite, or solitary, who lived alone, and the coenobite, who lived in a community (*coenobium*), under a single abbot and a single rule. Many shades in between the two developed, and every monk or nun would have experienced both extremes to some extent, either through temporary arrangements as part of his or her training or due to the rhythm of life that might be an alternation of elements of both extremes. Monasticism

in all of its forms was probably practiced to some extent throughout the Christian world. The limitation of our sources has led to a focus on Egypt, Syria, and Palestine as the earliest centers. Even if there were monastic communities in the West before the fourth century, the forms of monasticism that became standard in the West are based on Eastern models.

In Egypt the major figures in the third and early fourth centuries are Anthony (c. 251–356) and Pachomius (292–346). The *Life of St. Anthony* attributed to the fourth-century bishop of ALEXANDRIA, ATHANASIUS, is less a biography of the saint than an anti-Arian work intended to show the roots of “orthodox” monasticism. The extant letters of Anthony reveal concerns different from those of the later fourth-century *Life*. Anthony is credited with the founding of eremitic or anchoritic solitary monasticism, though there are clear signs in the *Life of Anthony* itself that he was not the first in this regard.

Pachomius is credited with having established coenobitic, or communal, monasticism. He founded two monasteries, according to the *Life of St. Pachomius*, in Upper (southern) Egypt. At his death he had perhaps 3,000 monks under his supervision. Not to be neglected is Shenoute (Shenouda) of Atri (334–450 C.E.), who was the abbot of the White Monastery at Sohag, also in Upper Egypt. Shenoute is considered to be the greatest of all writers in Coptic, the language of the Egyptian church outside Greek-speaking Alexandria and the direct descendant of the language of the PHARAOHS.

Monasticism in Syria also developed contemporaneously to that in Egypt. Syriac Christianity from its inception distinguished itself by its strict asceticism. Baptized Christians were celibate. Syriac Christianity also developed by the mid-fourth century the institution of the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant, baptized Christians who dedicated their lives to renunciation and the service of the local bishop and church. These Christians continued to live in close proximity to their families of origin, not infrequently under the supervision of their parents.

By the early fifth century canons regulating the life of the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant were issued alongside canons regulating the lives of monks, indicating that the former was not merely a stage of development to coenobitic monasticism in Syria and Mesopotamia. Also distinctive for Syriac monasticism were the stylites, or solitaires who dwelled atop a pillar. The most famous of these was SIMEON THE STYLITE (388–459), a monk in northern Syria (today Qa’lat Sem’an) whose counsel on all matters was sought by Christians and non-Christians alike on a variety of practical matters.

The third early center of monasticism was Palestine, where Hilarion (293–371), who was active in his native Gaza, is portrayed as one of the outstanding early leaders. His disciples, such as Epiphanius of Salamis (Cyprus), established monasteries throughout Palestine. In Anatolia (modern central Turkey) the earliest known monastic foundations are those of Eustathius of Sebasteia (300–377), whose influence on the CAPPADOCIANS was particularly important. One of these, **BASIL THE GREAT**, bishop of Caesarea, became a central figure in the organization and spread of monasticism in the East and West. He composed a monastic rule (c. 358–364) that championed the coenobitic way of life over that of the solitary one. In various forms the Rule of Basil had an unparalleled influence on monastic life in the East and West.

Among those who introduced monastic currents from the East into the West were John Cassian and **BENEDICT** of Nursia. There is evidence from writers such as Gregory, bishop of Tours, and **JEROME** that some forms of monasticism had developed in the West. However, the introduction of Eastern monastic influence is due largely to John Cassian, who after visiting Egypt founded two monasteries in Marseilles around 415. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–540), influenced by the Rule of Basil, composed a rule that became the classical expression of coenobitic monastic organization in the West. Monasticism spread early to the Celtic lands in Britain and Ireland; in the latter, monasticism was fundamental to the shaping of the church as well as of “secular” Christian life. The Rule of Columbanus (543–615) exerted extensive influence on the organization of monasticism in Ireland and Great Britain as well as in **GAUL**.

See also **CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS; JUDAISM, EARLY; MARTYROLOGIES; MYSTERY CULTS; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH**.

**Further reading:** Anathasius. *The Life of Anthony*, by Athanasius of Alexandria. Translated by Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis, with Rowan A. Greek. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2003; Harmless, William. *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Chitty, Derwas J. *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1966; Leyser, Conrad. *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

ROBERT R. PHENIX, JR.

## Moses

(c. 13th century B.C.E.) *religious leader*

If Abraham symbolizes the beginning of **ISRAEL** through a covenant between the God of the Bible and Abraham's descendants, then Moses symbolizes a second beginning for Israel through another covenant, more comprehensive and constitutional, between God and a coalition of Hebrew tribes. Moses is quite different from the earlier **PATRIARCHS** Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, and Joseph: He is a unique and towering figure, singularly set apart from the rest of Israel. Moses dominates the writing at the beginning of the Jewish scriptures. He is the leader of the “children of Israel” on their way to freedom from Egyptian slavery; he is the redoubtable consolidator of the motley band of Hebrew tribes; he is the mediator of the aforementioned covenant; he is the founder of biblical religion because of his knowledge of monotheism and the unique name of the God.

Yet for all of these monumental achievements history does not project an unequivocal image of him. Although scholars no longer routinely deny his existence, there is no evidence for him outside the Jewish Bible. Even within the Bible the picture of Moses is conflicted because perhaps it relies on complicated and ancient sources. It is best to consider his story a legend with



Moses symbolizes a new beginning for Israel through another covenant between God and a coalition of Hebrew tribes.

historical roots that must be carefully sifted through. He is a difficult and ambiguous hero, according to the written accounts. He was a solitary leader, set apart from his very birth. His birth was strangely similar to other ancient heroes (CYRUS II of Persia and SARGON OF AKKAD): thrown into the river, miraculously rescued, adopted, and raised by powerful rulers. His genealogy shows his Hebrew origins and family, yet his very name is derived from Egyptian religious sources. The first part of his life shows privilege and education.

The second part of his life continues to show his alienation. His own first efforts to free the Hebrew slaves were rebuffed by his own people and prosecuted by the Egyptian oppressors. He was forced to flee to the land of Midian where he took a foreign wife and family and adopted a foreign way of life. (Paradoxically, Moses' last public act in life would be to order the extermination of this people.)

The third part of Moses' life involves a summons by God to return to the Hebrew people in Egypt. Much like other biblical prophets, Moses at first was reluctant to be a spokesperson for God but finally accepted. He parleyed many times with the Egyptian leader, called the PHARAOH, apparently his former foster father. Ten times Moses demanded the release of the Hebrew slaves, and each time Moses made good on his threats against the Egyptians in the form of plagues and blights. Finally Moses won the release of the "children of Israel," and they celebrated with a ritual meal called Passover at Moses' command. Pharaoh again reneged on his word and pursued Moses' people. When the water separating Egypt from the outside world trapped them, Moses worked a miracle. The Hebrews escaped, but the Egyptians drowned in the water.

Moses enters the fourth phase of his life as supreme tribal chief for the throngs of refugees in the desert on the other side of the water. He again showed his separateness from the people by face-to-face dialogues with the God of Israel. He was summoned to ascend MOUNT SINAI to receive the laws of the covenant that would hold Israel together, something like a religious constitution. He had almost unlimited access to the presence of God, and his people were afraid to draw near to him because of his divine brilliance. Even in his defects he was shown superior: His "meekness" in the face of criticism was said to be greater than any other human being's.

Moses failed to persuade his people to enter the land of Canaan when they had the opportunity shortly after the covenant was given at Mount Sinai, so the people were forced to wander for 40 years in the desert as a punishment. Moses continued as their chief until they were ready to enter; but, as if to underline Moses'

uniqueness, God did not allow him to enter. Though the bones of certain Patriarchs were carried in and the new generation of Israel went across, Moses died looking at the "promised land" from afar and was buried in an unmarked grave. No wonder later generations of religious writers would speculate that Moses had been raptured and had a special place in the divine court.

Peter Machinist gives four reasons why Moses was portrayed as an outsider. First, he played the role of an ancient world hero, which meant he was like a demigod, neither completely human nor divine. Second, he symbolized the people of Israel themselves, a people that were to be different from the other nations. Third, the characterization of him in the Bible as an ambiguous person allowed the reader to focus on the God of the Bible and the covenant, not Moses. Finally, the Bible normally portrays human leaders and authorities negatively so that no cult of personality arises around any hero.

Around the turn of the Common Era, Moses was described by JOSEPHUS and PHILO as a divine man, perhaps trying to persuade outsiders that he was as educated as any Greek or Roman philosopher and as ingenious as any founder of civilization. QUMRAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls depicted him as the greatest prophet. The New Testament revived his image, both as a model of MESSIANISM for JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and as a foil representing the epitome of the Legalism representing the TORAH of the Old Testament. The later rabbis, such as YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI and others in the MISHNAH and the TALMUD, found in Moses a model teacher and founder for their faith: All rabbis after the Common Era were disciples of Moses.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; PHARISEES.

**Further reading:** Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972; Machinist, Peter. "The Man Moses." *Biblical Review* (v.16, 2000).

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Mozi (Mo Tzu)

(c. 480–390 b.c.e.) *Chinese philosopher*

Mozi, which means "Master Mo," began a Chinese school of philosophy called Moism. His personal name was Di (Ti). After studying under disciples of CONFUCIUS, he broke away and founded his own school of philosophy. During the era of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY Moism was a significant challenger to both Confu-

cianism and DAOISM (TAOISM). Mozi and his disciples are the authors of a book of 71 chapters (18 are missing), the *Mozi*, that explain their views. They can be summarized under three categories: universal love, utilitarianism, and pacifism, or opposition to offensive warfare.

Mozi taught that heaven was an active force in human lives and would punish humans for persisting in evil. He therefore urged people to follow heaven by practicing universal love. He said: “The way of universal love is to regard the country of others as one’s own, the family of others as one’s own, the persons of others as one’s self. When feudal lords love one another there will be no more war... When individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury... When all the people of the world love one another, then the strong will not overpower the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor... the cunning will not deceive the simple.”

Moists also emphasized utilitarianism, the rejection of all activities and expenses that do not contribute to the welfare of the people. Moists took strong issue with Confucians who taught the importance of all forms of ritual and music and mocked Confucian insistence that children formally mourn the death of their parents as a waste of time and resources that could be better used in feeding and caring for the living. They also condemned Confucians as pompous elitists who would only take up government positions that suited them. They moreover taught that thought should be consistent with action, that leaders obey the will of heaven and the people obey their leaders.

The third major point of Moism concerned warfare. Mozi lived in an era when interstate wars were intensifying. He denounced aggressive warfare as the greatest crime against heaven but justified the right of self-defense. Thus Moists became experts in defensive tactics and made their help available to any state threatened by aggression. The story goes that Mozi once walked for 10 days and nights on a peace mission, binding his sore feet but not resting. When he failed to persuade the aggressor he would hurry to warn the potential victim. Many folk tales survived of Robin Hood-like acts of Moists in the cause of justice. Mozi and his followers were idealists and militant do-gooders. They criticized Confucians for being traditionalists and for their graded approach to relationships and responsibilities. In time Confucianism became the mainstream Chinese philosophy, while Moism was abandoned.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

**Further reading:** Feng, Yu-lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. 2 vols. Translated by Derk Bodde. London: George Allen

and Unwin, 1952; Hsiao, Kung-chuan. *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, Vol. 1, *From the Beginning to the Sixth Century A.D.* Trans. by Frederick W. Mote. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979; Watson, Burton, trans. *Mo Tzu: Basic Writings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963; Chan, Wing-tsit. *A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Mycenae

Mycenae is an ancient city-state located in Greece on the Peloponnese Peninsula, upon a hilltop on the lower slopes of the Euboea Mountains, between two of its peaks, on the road leading from the Argolic Gulf. This site has been inhabited since around 4000 B.C.E. in the Neolithic Period. Mycenae gained in power and influence in the Late Bronze Age (1350–1200 B.C.E.). The Mycenaean culture was originally based on warfare due to the rugged geography, which made farming difficult and herding a challenge. These warrior-chiefs would eventually become conquerors and administrators, bringing Greek knowledge to the Mediterranean.

The ancient city is built on an acropolis, surrounded by massive “cyclopean” walls, with a palace at the summit of the hill. Known as megarons, Mycenaean palaces were great halls with a portico in front, similar to the long houses of the Helladic period. These palaces were more functional and austere than those of Knossos or Akrotiri. As with most expansionist civilizations, Mycenae broadened its military reach in search of raw materials and goods to support its population. The most famous of the Mycenaean raids is the war against TROY in Asia Minor. Mycenaean warriors’ raiding ships traveled to Crete and Egypt as well and were even encouraged to practice piracy. Eventually raiding shifted to trading, with evidence of Mycenae and Crete trading goods as early as 1600 B.C.E. Mycenae transitioned from a military center to a center for the redistribution of goods over the many roads connecting it to the surrounding coastal towns. During this time the Mycenaeans gradually adopted Minoan technology and artistic skills, while passing on the Linear B script that was used for record keeping and eventually developed into the Greek language.

The development of the Greek alphabet began in Phoenicia, where a consonant-only writing system first appeared. The Mycenaeans took this writing and added vowels to it, creating Linear B writing. This alphabet

had 24 letters, and its name came from combining the names of its first two letters, alpha and beta. Linear B script was used to inscribe the stories passed on by Homer, the trading records of Aegean cultures, and the political and social structures they developed.

The Mycenaeans shared many of the religious beliefs of the MINOANS. Mycenae had a polytheistic religion and was actively syncretistic, which means that they added foreign gods to their pantheon of gods. However, many early forms of the Hellenistic Greek pantheon of gods and goddesses are found in the archaeological record. Like other monarchial societies, Mycenae would bury their kings in lavish *tholos* tombs, large chambers cut into the side of a hill. Another unique religious practice of the nobility is the burial mask, placed over the face. Goldsmiths would fashion a likeness of the deceased's face and create a thin mask with the appearance of sleeping eyes on it.

As trading with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean increased, so did trades practiced by Mycenaean citizens. In addition to warriors, craftsmen such as bronze workers, potters, masons, and carpenters began to develop. Also, bakers, messengers and heralds, and shepherds are found in the artistic record left in frescoes and on pottery. Mycenaean social classes began to develop and take shape as well. At the top of the society were the kings and other war leaders. Unlike the kings of Minoa, Mycenaean kings accumulated wealth that they did not share with commoners. He was also the warlord of a society that was geared for war and prepared for invasion. There were also lower members of society, consisting of soldiers, peasants, artisans, serfs, and even slaves.

Mycenae became the central power in a loose confederation of city-states throughout the Aegean Sea. Possible other members of the city-states were Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, and Orchomenos. Mycenae was the strongest. This political system is described in Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. Many scholars believe that Agamemnon may have been the king of Mycenae during the events of the Trojan War. A series of fires from 1250 to 1100 B.C.E. brought down the political and military power of Mycenae. The Dorians of Argos finally conquered the city-state in 468 B.C.E., and its population was banished from the ruins. The Greek writer Pausanias visited Mycenae during the second century C.E. and reported that it had been abandoned for some time. The political influence of Mycenae over the Aegean region spread the language, culture, and trade that would eventually develop into Hellenistic Greece.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HOMERIC EPICS; LINEAR A AND B; PHOENICIAN COLONIES.

**Further reading:** Guy, John. *Greek Life*. New York: Scholastic Books, 1998; Hellenic Ministry of Culture. "Mycenae." Available online. URL:<http://www.culture.gr> (September 2005); Ingpen, Robert, and Philip Wilkinson. *Encyclopedia of Mysterious Places*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

GEORGE DERR

## mystery cults

In the Greek and Roman worlds dissatisfaction with civic and public religion often gave rise to experimentation with foreign and secretive religions that promised better benefits to its devotees. The reason for the popularity is a matter of scholarly speculation. Perhaps the population displacements, the exposure to foreign cults, and the breakdown of the city-state (POLIS) made people interested in change. The gods of the Romans and the Greeks might have seemed out of touch with the new realities of empire and the need for community. The literature shows more attention to inward concepts like self, intimacy, personal relationships, and privacy, all terms that are not associated normally with Greek and Roman public religion.

Public religion bound all the citizens together by sacrifices that were openly conducted and enjoyed—that is to say, at altars outside the specific temple. Usually the sacrifice involved a feast day observed by everyone, processions that publicized the event, and finally a banquet where the sacrifice was consumed. All the citizens were bound together by such public demonstrations, and the bonding of everyone was more important than particular emotional expressions.

Exposure to the Middle East may have presented people with an alternative to the Greeks and Romans. There is evidence in documents and inscriptions that "hidden" teachings were passed on, perhaps from even more isolated or foreign groups (such as Persians, Egyptians, and Asians) in contact with the mediate cultures of the Middle East. The Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, use the notion to promote the priority of their teaching. Certainly the New Testament (such as Col. 1:26), late JEWISH BIBLE books (such as Daniel), and rabbinic Judaism (Moses's "oral traditions") also speak of knowledge not known to mainstream religion. This idea also finds expression in the Gnostic sects of later centuries.

Often a small group of people would meet privately, and secret rituals would be conducted indoors away from the public eye. The Greek word *mysterios* means a secret that is revealed to insiders. Outsiders wrote about

the secrets, many of whom were Christian and often hostile to or competing with the mystery cult. Members were sworn to secrecy, and punishment was meted out to anyone who disclosed the mystery. The small group of the mystery cult emphasized their exclusive fraternity. In order to belong, a process of initiation was set up. The initiation often was available only to certain qualified individuals, instead of to every interested person. The process of initiation might take days and hardships like fasting or vigils. The idea was that the initiated member would experience solidarity with everyone else who endured the same experience. Through the initiation the members would feel a sense of identity and belonging in an otherwise foreign world.

Usually at the center of the mystery cult was a hero, who was the focus of the rituals. The activities of the cult served to reenact the life of the hero so that the members could participate and derive the strengths and virtues of the hero. Often initiation began the participation, but there might be some ritual that ended or fulfilled the member's process of initiation. Such things might involve sacred meals, dramas, or liturgies. Many mystery cults of Roman times promised their members not only intimate community but union with the divine, liberation, and reassurances about the afterlife. Orpheus, Demeter, Dionysus, Achilles, Adonis, and others were the kind of heroes celebrated by cults.

They all shared in suffering, misery, or ill fate. In addition, they all were human (though mythical) and shared in human nature's limitations, including loneliness and death. Thus, it was easier for the initiate to find solidarity with their hero than with the public religion's gods and goddesses. By the reenactment of the hero's life, the participant might be able to purge his or her own anxieties and fears about life. As the mystery cults devel-

oped in the Roman world, the idea of "rebirth" replaced the idea of purgation of fear.

Some mysteries were considered deviant to public welfare and so were persecuted—and here Christianity might serve as an example. Public officials acknowledged other mysteries as serving a constructive and cohesive function for society. The Eleusinian Mysteries conducted city-wide processions and inducted the likes of MARCUS AURELIUS, ALCIBIADES, and JULIAN THE APOSTATE, and existed for more than 1,000 years before THEODOSIUS I destroyed its sanctuary (400 C.E.) and established Christianity as the state religion. In general, the mystery cults did not openly contradict the public religion.

Membership in the mysteries was limited, though some permitted almost anyone regardless of rank and sex to join (ELEUSIS). Some mysteries served soldiers (Mithras), some women (Villa of Mysteries in Pompey), some family members or slaves (here many scholars would place Christianity). Since secrecy and privacy surrounded the mystery religions, hard evidence for their members and rituals is lacking. The familiarity of the ancient world with the mystery cults may explain why Christianity came to be so readily accepted in the communities and societies outside of Diaspora Judaism.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; MOSES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; QUMRAN; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH.

**Further reading:** Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985; Burkert, Walter. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

MARK F. WHITTERS



# N



## Nabataeans

The merchandise and produce that traversed the great deserts separating the Mediterranean from the Orient often were traded and carried by the Nabataeans. This lucrative commerce meant that their capital city, Petra, became an exotic and prosperous center of ancient civilization. The Nabataeans migrated as Arab wanderers from the northwest Arabian Peninsula and occupied the land of the Edomites. By the fourth century B.C.E. they controlled the southern region of the Transjordan, the southern Negev Desert, and Wadi Arabah. Unlike many of their Arab predecessors, they settled into cities and formed into a political state under a monarchy, 11 kings of which have so far been identified. They established their domain as the intermediary trading power in the Middle East, dominating the trading routes going north and south from Arabia to Syria, and having an interest in east-west trade as well. Nabataean goods have been found as far west as Spain. Precious items of their cargoes included frankincense and myrrh from Arabia, balsams and bitumen from the Dead Sea area, and silk and gems from Asia. To protect their routes they constructed hundreds of caravan stations throughout the deserts. They were also famous for their sophisticated water-gathering technology that enabled them to support relatively heavy populations and sustain desert agriculture on a scale unmatched until modern times. Nabataean cities thrived in otherwise waterless areas.

The capital city Petra greatly benefited from trade and technology. It reached its height in the first century

C.E., tucked away in a remote desert valley of present-day Jordan. Its climate was ideal for preservation of the architectural structures, often carved into the rocky cliffs: Some 800 structures of tombs and cult survive in addition to the many more conventional Greek-styled temples and secular buildings. The evidence for Petra's advanced culture is also found in its inscriptions, coins, ceramics, and decorative art. The Nabataeans borrowed Aramaic as their language, perhaps because it was the lingua franca of trade in the region, but their language retained many Arabic words. Their script is the basis for modern Arabic. Many letters and business documents have been found—including very many Byzantine manuscripts—but no early extensive literary texts remain to describe the civilization's ideology, social structure, and even history. Speculation must come from external sources and from the material remains.

The earliest references to the Nabataeans come from the biblical stories about the MACCABEES and later from Roman historians. The Persian Empire effectively left them alone, and the SELEUCID EMPIRE was unable to absorb them. Under Aretas IV (c.9 B.C.E.–c. 40 C.E.), their borders reached as far north as DAMASCUS. There were some tensions between them and the Judaeans during the reign of the HERODS, but the Romans apparently left them alone and independent until the end of the first century C.E. In 106 C.E. TRAJAN decided to colonize the entire area. Though the kingdom ceased to exist at that time, nonetheless Petra seems to have continued largely unaffected for another 250 years. Only a succession of earthquakes and Islamic invasions

brought oblivion to the Nabataeans for the outside world. Except for a brief visit by crusaders in the late Middle Ages, Petra and its civilization were not opened again to outsiders until modern times.

See also ARAMEANS; DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS.

**Further reading:** Markoe, Glenn. *Petra Rediscovered: The Lost City of the Nabataean Kingdom*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003; Rollin, Sue, and Jane Streetly. *Jordan*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Nag Hammadi

See CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM).

## Native Americans: chronologies and peoples

Native North American tribes had sets of beliefs describing the origin of Earth and the universe, the laws of that universe, how humans interacted with the rest of that universe, and the relationship between the physical world and the spiritual world. Prior to the incursion of Europeans, Natives in North America organized themselves into distinct self-governing units that functioned with an independence and sovereignty that was recognized both within the tribe and by outside groups. It is often estimated that there were more than 500 Native nations at the time of European contact, and as independent communities there was a remarkable variety to the beliefs and customs from tribe to tribe. There are, however, certain commonalities and patterns in languages, cultures, and beliefs across these 500 nations.

### CREATION STORIES

Native Americans predominantly had creation stories telling of their arrival from the underworld into the physical world. Typically, this was a hero story for the tribe, telling of the first man's (or first woman's) adventures and trials in winning the way for all of humans to live in the current physical world. Male and female principles were very important to Native people. The underworld was typically a female realm, and whether this community was first under the earth or under water, it was associated with being within Mother Earth. The journey into the current world was often long and difficult and often involved a migration either up from the underworld or over land to arrive at the tribal

homeland. And always, the community thought of themselves as the First, or True, People.

Native American tribes in North America closely integrated their spiritual practices with their community conduct, their cultural practices, and their decision making. Indians often believed in a strong tie between humans, the other living things in the world, and the elements in the world. The powers and forces of the spiritual realm were ever present in every day existence, and the laws of the spiritual world were just as important to the events of life as the laws of the physical world.

### SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Most North American tribes were egalitarian, with little social stratification, and their spiritual beliefs reflected this. Humankind was recognized as a distinct type of being, but the other entities in the world all had spirits and were generally considered as being on equal footing spiritually with humans; there was no "spiritual hierarchy" to creation. This extended not just to the mammals but to birds, reptiles, fish, and often to stones, water, and the landscape. The fact that these other entities had spirits did not preclude hunting or harvesting them for food or using them for tools or shelter; it was considered that each entity had a purpose within creation and that using these other entities or harvesting them was within the purpose of creation.

But it was important to acknowledge the spirit of these other entities and recognize their place in creation. For example, the tribes of the Algonquin language group in the Northeastern woodlands of North America referred to the animals as their "brothers." When hunting and killing an animal, it was important to offer a prayer of apology and thanks to the brother animal for taking its spirit and to explain to the brother spirit that its life was given up so that the human tribe could continue on its path in the world.

Frequently, a spirit guide would be identified for the individual, such as an animal like the bear, the eagle, or the sturgeon, or a force of nature such as the thunders, and the attributes of this spirit would serve as a guide to an individual throughout their adult life. Many tribes organized themselves into clans associated with specific animals, and the clan families would serve specific roles in the life and decision making of the tribe. For example, the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy to the south of the St. Lawrence River divided their communities into nine clans, including the Turtle, Wolf, Heron, Hawk, Snipe, Beaver, Deer, Eel, and Bear. Clans were quite widespread throughout the tribes of North America and often were respected across tribal boundaries.

## CONNECTION WITH THE NATURAL WORLD

This belief in the spirit within living creatures carried to the plant world as well, and the cultivated food plants of the Native Americans were particularly important. Corn was significant throughout the southern half of North America. The pueblo-dwelling tribes of the Southwest cultivated strains of corn that were adapted to the marginal semidesert climate, and the tribes had ceremonies to honor the spirit of the corn, to mark the times of year for planting, rainfall, and harvest, and to give thanks for the continuing cycle that led to the annual harvest and to the production of a new seed bank to begin the cycle again. The Iroquois tribes revered corn along with beans and squash as the Three Sisters. Their agricultural practice combined the three plants into symbiotic garden plots that minimized weeding and maximized production. Similar to the Pueblo people, the Iroquois honored the growing cycle and the spirits of the Three Sisters in their ceremonies.

Many plants were used for spiritual purposes as well. In ceremonies smoking was considered a way to offer prayers to the spirit world. Smoking pipes have been found in burial sites and village sites dating back thousands of years and range from very simple and humble clay pipes to elaborate carved artworks of pipestone and other precious materials. Various plants were used for smoking mixtures, with tobacco being used almost universally throughout the continent. Other plants were eaten, used in teas, or burned as incense for spiritual purposes. For instance, the Algonquin people in the Great Lakes considered sage, sweetgrass, cedar, and tobacco the four primary spiritual plants, and their use was common among many other tribes across North America.

## HEALING AND SPIRITUALITY

Healing and spirituality were closely linked. Many plants were used for their medicinal and healing effects on the body. But many of the Native healing practices aimed at the spiritual problems as well as the physical. The Navajo in the Southwest speak of the Navajo Way, an outlook of having one's life and physical body in harmony with the community, the physical world, and the spiritual world. Many illnesses are considered to be a manifestation of actions or desires in one's life that are in conflict with the physical and spiritual order of the universe, and healing these illnesses is a matter of restoring the person to balance with the rest of creation.

This notion of balance and a cyclical order to the spiritual and natural worlds is widespread. The Sioux of the Great Plains speak of existence as the Sacred Hoop, delineated by the four cardinal directions. Tribes across

the continent revere this concept of the Circle and the Four Directions. Rather than viewing time and existence as a linear march of event following event, Native people looked at existence as cycles: the cycle of the year and seasons, and the cycle of birth to death leading to rebirth. The archaeological, geologic, and genetic records point to the FIRST AMERICANS migrating from Siberia into North America sometime between 25,000 to 11,000 years ago. These people then spread throughout the American continents, adapted to changes in climate and the varied American landscape, and arrived at their wide variety of cultural and cosmological worldviews prior to contact with the European colonists.

## HUNTING AND AGRARIAN TRADITIONS

In studying Native American spiritual practices, modern anthropologists trace these Native beliefs back to two major traditions. The first is referred to as the Northern Hunting tradition, linked to the big-game hunters of the ice age migration from Siberia. The spirits of the animals and the cycles of the hunt are the focus of worship, with the cult of Bear worship being particularly common. Shamans, individuals within the community who are considered to have gained great power and wisdom carry out ceremonies and healing rituals.

The younger tradition is the Southern Agrarian tradition, believed to have spread northward from Central America, traveling with the introduction of corn and organized agriculture. The Southern Agrarian tradition links the power of creation and rejuvenation with plant life and the growing seasons, with Corn Mother becoming a central force in the cycles of the world. Priesthoods and cults directed the ceremonial practices in agricultural communities, particularly among the city-states of southern North America. Aspects of these two traditions mingled among the tribes over the centuries, with most tribes retaining portions of the old hunting tradition while incorporating elements of the newer agrarian tradition.

Both traditions indicate a people closely linked to nature and to the other living entities of the world. The force of life, spoken of by some tribes as the fundamental power of movement in the universe, was seen to be present in all things and was to be respected and acknowledged, particularly in the most central living things that give up their life-force so that humans could eat and live, whether that sacrifice was recognized in the corn plant or the bear. All other life and movement in the world, whether it was the hopping of the rabbit, the push of the seedling from the ground, the movement of the wind, or the turning of the Great Circle of Life itself, all related back to this central power, and by acknowledging the

spirit in the Bear or the Corn Mother, the community acknowledged the presence of the spirit within itself and the community's own place in creation.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: REGIONAL ADAPTATIONS; MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE AMERICAS.

**Further reading:** Benton-Banai. *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. St. Paul, MN: Red School House, 1988; Deloria, Vine, Jr. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994; Erdoes, Richard, and Alfonzo Ortiz, eds. *American Indian Myths and Legends*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984; Hoxie, Frederick E., ed. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996; Waldman, Carl. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Facts On File, 2000.

KEVIN DAUGHERTY

## Native Americans: regional adaptations

Native Americans in North America had an enormous range of customs prior to the coming of Europeans. Their ancestors had first migrated into North America from Asia more than 10,000 years ago, hunting the huge herds of giant ice age mammals. As they spread throughout the continent, Native Americans adapted to take advantage of local resources and to cope with the local climate and geography. Community organization ranged from nomadic family units in the harsh deserts and the frigid Arctic, to elaborate city-states in the Temple Mound culture of the Southeast.

### THE SOUTHWEST REGION

A common way to study Native North Americans is to group them according to geographic region. The Southwest region includes the upper Rio Grande River westward to the Colorado River. This is a hot, arid, and rugged area with limited plant and animal life. Paradoxically, a culture of permanent villages began developing 3,000 years ago, using farming to provide a steady food supply where little was available naturally. Influenced by the farming practices of Central America, Southwest people developed sophisticated irrigation systems and refined plant strains. They also developed permanent villages, the most striking of which are the large apartment-like pueblos. These clusters of rectangular rooms stacked one upon another could include 500 and more rooms. Some of these agricultural tribes are the Pima,

Zuni, Hopi, and Tewa. The Apache and Navajo entered the region later as nomadic hunter-gatherers. Over time they began to adopt some of the cultural practices of the Pueblo tribes.

### THE SOUTHEAST REGION

The tribes of Southeast North America also practiced extensive agriculture. Their land, however, was more bountiful because of greater rainfall and richer soils, which allowed them to continue to combine hunting and foraging with organized farming. Mound-building cultures began developing about 3,000 years ago and spread inland from the Gulf of Mexico and up the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys. These were also likely influenced by the city-states of Central America, as evidenced by the farming practices, the shape of the temple mounds, and a cultural obsession with death.

By 1600 C.E. these mound-cities were largely gone, likely decimated by European diseases. The Natchez of the lower Mississippi River were the one mound-city people to survive into the 1700s. One hereditary leader ruled them, the Great Sun. The center of their city was the large temple mound, which hosted the religious ceremonies and where the nobility had dwellings. Artisans, farmers, and other citizens lived in small structures spread around the temple mound. The Natchez reported to French colonizers that as many as 500 city-states had once existed, ruled by Great Suns.

Most of the people in the Southeast, however, lived in smaller, semi-permanent villages. Linguistic and agricultural patterns point to many of these tribes, such as the Muskogee, Choctaw, and Cherokee, as being the descendants of earlier mound-building cultures.

### THE NORTHEAST REGION

The Northeast includes the area of the Ohio River, New England, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence River. It was also a region of dense forests similar to the Southeast but with a colder climate and shorter growing season. Northeastern Indians practiced a similar combination of agriculture and hunting-foraging, but the mound-city culture was not common here. The tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy along the St. Lawrence established permanent villages of arched-roofed longhouses surrounded by log stockades. An extended family would live in one longhouse, which could extend for several hundred feet. The main food crops were the Three Sisters of corn, squash, and beans. Most of the other tribes in the Northeast were of the Algonquin language group. The peoples of the Atlantic coast often had palisaded villages similar to the Iroquois and also formed cooperative unions, including

the Abnaki Confederacy and the Powhatan Confederacy. Among the Great Lakes tribes fishing formed a significant part of the diet. The Indians in the western Great Lakes tended to a more mobile culture, building smaller, semi-permanent villages of dome-shaped wigwams.

### THE GREAT PLAINS

The Great Plains were more arid than the Southeast and Northeast, with vast grasslands and with trees mostly restricted to river valleys. Indians here evolved a lifestyle of farming and foraging along the river valleys. Horses had become extinct in North America along with many other large ice age mammals but by 1600 were being reintroduced through contact with the Spaniards. Over the next 200 years this would lead to a revolution, as many tribes would use the horse to once again become nomadic hunters, relying on the herds of buffalo. Eventually, the tribes of the new horse culture would live side by side with other tribes, such as the Mandan, who remained village dwellers in the river valleys.

The Great Basin, to the west of the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains, is a harsh, arid land. Rainfall is sparse, and the few rivers flow into salty, alkaline lakes and sinks, unfit to drink. The people here, mainly of the related Ute, Paiute, and Shoshone tribes, lived in nomadic family groups, foraging for desert plants and shrubs and hunting small game. Families would often gather together for communal hunts, then scatter to forage again.

To the north of the Great Basin is the elevated Plateau region, including the upper Columbia River and upper Fraser River. While still dry the Plateau region is not as harsh as the Great Basin. The rivers supported huge runs of salmon that were the staple food. The people also hunted other large game such as deer and elk, as well as gathering edible plants. Some of the tribes in the south of this region included the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Nez Perce. Northern tribes were mainly of the Salish language group.

### CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

California and the Pacific Northwest were both rich, bountiful regions. Most of California gets enough rainfall in the winter months to support abundant vegetation.

The numerous rivers supported many varieties of fish and shellfish, and game was plentiful. The Pacific Ocean provided a wealth of plant life, fish, seals, and other aquatic mammals. With year-round mild temperatures the tribes here lived a rich life with little adaptation from that of their ancestors.

California has areas of large oak savannas, and many tribes relied on ground acorn meal as a staple. The rugged terrain of the region combined with the rich natural resources encouraged the development of numerous independent communities, and, as a result, there were more than 100 distinct language dialects spoken in California. As one travels from California along the Pacific Ocean to the Northwest Coast, rainfall gradually increases, with some areas near Puget Sound classified as true rain forests.

The Northwest Coast's temperate and extremely wet climate produces a profusion of plant life and giant trees, and the region supports one of the great fisheries of the world. The Indians here built plank houses of cedar and developed a life of permanent villages without resorting to agriculture. One notable community practice was the potlatch, where a family or individual would mark a significant event by hosting a big feast and holding an elaborate giveaway of gifts and belongings to the rest of the village. The only plant cultivated in the region was the ubiquitous tobacco.

### THE SUB-ARCTIC REGION

To the north, stretching from east to west across the continent is the Sub-Arctic region. The region experiences cold winters and a short growing season that prohibits agriculture. The region is largely forested with pine, spruce, and fir. The people here relied on hunting (especially caribou), fishing, and trapping. They were nomadic and built simple lean-tos and tipis. The Cree were widespread here, from the eastern shore of Hudson Bay to the northern Great Plains.

The Arctic is the northernmost fringe of the continent, a rolling plain of moss and lichen. The soil never thaws out. Winters are harsh, with little daylight, and winds can rage because of the lack of trees and relatively flat landscape. Despite these extreme conditions the Native people developed a rich culture. The Aleut and Inuit (or Eskimos) lived from Greenland to Alaska and into eastern Siberia. They were relatively late migrants to North America, coming across from Asia as recently as 3,000 years ago.

The people of the Arctic lived in nomadic family units relying on hunting and fishing. Sea mammals and caribou were the primary game. The people developed ingenious clothing, warm and watertight, to allow them to handle the elements, such as lightweight raincoats made from the stomachs and bladders of walrus and seals. They extensively ornamented their clothing and implements and practiced community ceremonies with music and dancing. Double-pitched brush lean-tos were



Native Americans developed villages or pueblos, like those found in this ancient Anasazi village in Mesa Verde, Colorado. These clusters of dwellings were stacked one upon another and could include 500 or more rooms.

used along the Alaskan coasts, and the famous domed snow igloos were common in the north-central Arctic.

Native communities throughout North America had a sense of kinship with the elements of their universe and showed an enormous respect for the plants, animals, and the land in their ceremonies and their practices. For the most part they lived with minimal impact on their environment. The mound culture, with its ruling Great Sun, nobility, and social castes, is in some ways an aberration. Most Native communities were egalitarian, and the individuals, notoriously independent. Father LeJeune, a French missionary on the St. Lawrence River, observed in 1634 that Indians would not "endure in the least those who seem desirous of assuming superiority over others." This egalitarianism and the ways that Native communities managed the interactions and disputes between their nations through the Iroquois Confederacy would later provide an inspiration for the United States Constitution.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS: CHRONOLOGIES AND PEOPLES; MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE AMERICAS.

**Further reading:** Champagne, Duane, ed. *Chronology of Native North American History*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research,

1994; Hoxie, Frederick E., ed. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996; Nabokov, Peter, and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; O'Brien, Sharon. *American Tribal Governments*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989; Waldman, Carl. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Facts On File, 2000; Weatherford, Jack. *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1991.

KEVIN DAUGHERTY

## Nebuchadnezzar I

See BABYLON, LATER PERIODS.

## Nebuchadnezzar II

(late 7th century–early 6th century B.C.E.) emperor

The reputation of Nebuchadnezzar II abounds in the ancient world, as he represents one of the most famous of the Near Eastern monarchs. No fewer than four books of the Jewish scriptures, 10 rabbinic commentaries, six

books of the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA, several Arabic commentaries, and many classical and medieval Greek and Latin authors mention Nebuchadnezzar, showing his fame and impact on the ancient world. Many of these sources show him to be godlike and a city builder, while others, especially biblical and early Jewish writers, make him out to be the archetypical villain and city destroyer.

He often appears in the sources as Nebuchadnezzar (mostly in Latin and Greek writings), but more accurately he should be called Nebuchadrezzar (according to the Akkadian and Babylonian version of his name and the Aramaic and Hebrew spellings). His name means “Nabu protects the son (or boundary).” Nabu forms the main root of his father Nabopolassar’s name and is the name of the divine son of the national Mesopotamian god Marduk. There are at least five other famous Babylonians who take Nabu’s name, including Nebuchadnezzar I, ruler in Second Dynasty of Isin (southern Mesopotamia), 1124–03 B.C.E., from whom his father may have named his son. His life must be reconstructed from disparate and limited materials. Archaeology provides a somewhat sound basis to speak of his tenure as king. Another somewhat contemporary and CUNEIFORM record is the *Babylonian Chronicles*, but there is a 30-year gap in its account of Nebuchadnezzar. The gap is filled in by Jewish biblical accounts and by the history of JOSEPHUS, writing many centuries later.

The Neo-Babylonian Empire replaced the empire of ASSYRIA in 612 B.C.E. under Nabopolassar. It was built on a hybrid of peoples, one of which was the Chaldeans of southern Mesopotamia. There is some evidence that Nebuchadnezzar’s family descended from the Chaldeans. One of Nebuchadnezzar’s marriages was to a Median princess, an arrangement meant to keep security among the major powers (like the Medes and Persians) of the eastern FERTILE CRESCENT so that the Babylonians might venture westward. He accompanied his father on several campaigns and was with him at Carchemish in 608–607 B.C.E., a major frontier city on the Euphrates River, held by the Egyptians. His father had to return to Babylon, but Nebuchadnezzar stayed on and successfully fought the army of the PHARAOH Neco. The Egyptian army was vanquished, and the world of Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea lay open to him. News of his father’s death, however, interrupted his plan, and he rushed back home to claim the throne. Then he swept to victories across the Levant in 601 B.C.E., and cities throughout the region were forced to pay tribute.

At this point the Jewish Bible is important as a commentary on Nebuchadnezzar, for the *Babylonian*

*Chronicles* is silent. Judah, the southern counterpart to the now defunct kingdom of Israel, chafed under the burden of Babylon’s domination. The kings of Judah miscalculated the strength and resolve of the Egyptians to help them, and they let domestic hotheads and fanatics lead them into open rebellion against their overlords. By 587 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar surrounded and besieged the city of Jerusalem. On July 30 the Judaean king and his family were humiliated, the city fell, and the Babylonian army deported the citizens. Only poor peasants were left behind in Judaea. All the Temple’s treasures and cultural trappings were exported to Babylon. For the people of biblical Israel this event became a turning point in their national identity. The central image in the biblical books for this period is Nebuchadnezzar’s destruction of the Temple, his captivity of their leading citizens, and his branding of their status as Diaspora.

In retrospect the Babylonian foreign policy was more merciful than that of the Assyrians, for Nebuchadnezzar did not totally disintegrate the structures that hold a people together (religion, family life, social customs). In fact, Nebuchadnezzar left enough intact that 50 years later the captive people could return and reconstitute themselves as a nation. Even the famous prophet Jeremiah counseled his fellow religionists to cooperate with Nebuchadnezzar and his ilk. But the enormity of the loss of land and temple forever colored the evaluation that writers of the biblical tradition would have of Nebuchadnezzar. They caricatured him in the darkest hues.

For Nebuchadnezzar’s later years as king inscriptions, archaeology, and later writings must fill the gap. He never was able to invade Egypt successfully or enduringly. Instead he seems to have devoted himself to public works and beautification. The empire he led reached its pinnacle of power and prosperity under his rule. His construction program involved at least 12 cities in his own land, and he lavished the empire’s resources on his capital city. Excavations suggest that five walls surrounded the city, with towers perched at various strategic places. In addition a moat protected the whole boundary. He was not satisfied to live in his father’s palace but constructed a dwelling for himself using the most valuable of materials such as gold, silver, lapis lazuli, ivory, and cedar. He restored the city’s temple of Marduk with a tower (ziggurat) perhaps popularly associated with the biblical Tower of Babel (anachronistically placed in the Bible at an earlier Babylonian period).

For all these reasons he wins adulation from later classical historians. For example, the Greeks considered him as the patron of the hanging gardens, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Judging by the extant physical

evidence he was not so much of a military general as a good administrator and planner. Nebuchadnezzar made his capital one of the splendors of the ancient world. The Neo-Babylonian Empire was not able to maintain Nebuchadnezzar's splendor in later generations. Either his descendants did not show the same leadership, or the resources were exhausted, but the empire soon succumbed to the Medes and Persians. In the biblical books of Daniel and Judith, a whole image of the man is projected to the readers. He comes across as a man of clear intellect and sophistication, though he literally goes mad because of his egomania. The later stories suggest that he became sympathetic to biblical religion later in his life, though his egomania fatally afflicted his descendants' ability to maintain the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

See also AKKAD; ARAMEANS; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JOSIAH; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Sack, Ronald H. "Nebuchadnezzar." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Wiseman, Donald J. *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon. Schweich Lectures 1983*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1985.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Nefertiti

See AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI.

## Neolithic age

The Neolithic age followed the PALEOLITHIC AGE and Mesolithic (or Epipaleolithic) as the last era of the Stone Age of human prehistory. *Homo sapiens* (the modern human species) experienced the Neolithic age; late-surviving relatives such as *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo floresiensis* died off in the Upper Paleolithic. Its boundaries are not specific years but rather the onset of trends: The Neolithic began roughly with the advent of agriculture and ended with the adoption of metal tools, events that varied from place to place and culture to culture.

In Europe, for instance, the Neolithic lasted from roughly 9,000 years ago to 5,000 years ago in southern Europe, and 4,000 years ago further north. The regional cultures that had first developed in the Upper Paleolithic became more distinct as agricultural innovations allowed (and encouraged) hunter-gatherer groups to settle in permanent or semi-permanent settlements.

Much of the technological innovation of the Neolithic pertains to building and pottery.

### THE MESOLITHIC PERIOD

Between the long Paleolithic and the active Neolithic was the Mesolithic period, a barely 2,000-year-long transitional time during which the ecosystem, and the humans within it, adjusted to the environmental changes following the end of the last ice age. The last ice age began its glacial advance around 70,000 years ago and lasted about 60,000 years. At its most severe, sheets of ice reached northern Germany and covered Canada and the northern quarter of the United States. Denmark and Britain were connected by dry land, which the North Sea flooded into after the glacial thaw; the Baltic Sea became brackish when fresh glacial water diluted its salinity; and the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls were formed by glaciers scraping the Earth's surface.

The end of the ice age coincided with the widespread extinction of megafauna, sometimes called the Ice Age Extinction or the Pleistocene Extinction Event. Megafauna, broadly speaking, are any mammals larger than a bull, and while once plentiful, they began dying off toward the end of the ice age and continued to do so after its end. The woolly mammoth, a shaggy relative of the modern elephant, is the best-known victim of the extinction event. Nearly a dozen other species died off in Europe at the same time, including the cave lion and cave bear, while in the Americas nearly 80 species died, including the giant beaver, the dire wolf, and the five species of American horses. Australia suffered a mass extinction of megafauna marsupials and giant reptiles about 50,000 years ago, roughly coinciding with the arrival of humans, though not necessarily the result of hunting. Climate change is a strong possibility for their extinction, as are plagues.

The term Epipaleolithic is often used to describe this post-Paleolithic, preagricultural period in regions where such environmental changes were minimal: The Natufian culture of the Levant, for instance, was unusual in that their Paleolithic predecessors had been little enough affected by the ice age that their technological achievements continued uninterrupted. The Natufians developed building and permanent settlements before agriculture, reversing the order of most Neolithic cultures (in which agriculture is the initial reason for abandoning nomadism). Natufian homes were partially underground, kept cool by the insulating earth around their walls, just as modern basements are; when necessary they were warmed with central fireplaces. Although floors were often stone, the majority of the structure was made of wood.

The Natufians were probably able to settle in the Levant without farming because of abundant fishing conditions and plentiful wild plants to forage. Though they must have hunted, unlike their nomadic forebears they would not have depended on following migratory herds. Foraged acorns, almonds, and pistachios supplemented their protein intake. They domesticated dogs to assist them in the hunt (and may have attempted to domesticate jackals and wolves), made flint sickles to harvest wild grains and mortar stones in which to grind them for bread and were experts in making tools from bone, including harpoons and fish-hooks. Later in Natufian history, trade with other cultures is evident in the remains of Nile shells and Anatolian stone.

### THE ADVENT OF AGRICULTURE

Eventually the Natufians and other Mesolithic and Paleolithic groups adopted agriculture—the seeding and harvesting of plants for food—more useful and difficult than foraging. The Younger Dryas event, or Big Freeze, was a 1,000-year period of sudden cold about 11,000 to 12,000 years ago. This was not an ice age as such but an extremely rapid cooling that led to glaciation in many mountain ranges, the displacement of hinterland forests by tundra, and in more southerly lands like the Levant prolonged drought. Wild plants would no longer be plentiful enough to sustain either the Natufians or the animals they had hunted and fished. It is likely that they understood some basic principles of agriculture through observation of the grains they had been harvesting but had lacked the incentive to sow their own fields—something they were now forced to do in order to maintain their settled, non-nomadic lifestyle.

Beyond the Natufian culture most groups were hunter-gatherers. They foraged and hunted, without domesticating plants or raising animals for food, and as such were generally nomadic, organized in bands of about 25 people and tribal groups of about 20 bands. Agriculture encouraged permanent settlements, a community life governed by the harvest instead of the herd, and cultivated land sustained much denser populations than wild land.

The adoption of agriculture led almost immediately to the rise of the first towns and of specialized building: granaries, family homes, tombs, temples, and megaliths. The megaliths are famous in the popular imagination: Monuments of large stone erected or stacked to some purpose include Stonehenge in England and the Monuments of Carnac in France. Some served as tombs, while others are hypothesized to have had significance to Neolithic astronomers.



*The adoption of agriculture led almost immediately to specialized building and megaliths, such as Stonehenge in England.*

### POTTERY

In the archaeological record pottery is the most significant technological achievement of the Neolithic and is divided into the pottery and prepottery periods. Ceramics, unlike flint, were easy to fashion into containers, especially portable ones. The advent of pottery greatly expanded humans' craftwork repertoire. The prepottery technological periods in the Near East are divided into the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A and the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B: The first largely resembled Natufian culture, with sickle blades used to harvest wild grains, partially subterranean buildings with stone foundations and mud brick walls, and cooking methods using hot rocks as well as direct flame or smoke. In Pre-Pottery Neolithic B domesticated animals became commonplace.

The Paleo-Arctic culture developed at the end of the ice age among Siberians who had crossed the land bridge to Alaska and is noted for its specialized microblades and wedges. Contemporaneous with the Paleo-Arctic culture but slightly younger, originating around 9,000 years ago in China's Yellow river valley, the Peiligang culture created the first Chinese pottery and bred pigs for meat.

In Europe the most significant pottery culture was the Linear Pottery (LP) culture, which lasted about a millennium and started 7,500 years ago. Pottery cultures tend to be named for some distinctive feature of the potter's style rather than using a geographic derivation, as is done for tool industries: The LP culture decorated its products with incised bands. They seem to have prized weapons less than many of their contemporaries, and their efforts instead went into cultivating wheat, lentils and peas, hemp, and flax and domesticating the sheep and goats they brought with them from

southern Europe. The flint and obsidian used in their tools came from two different parts of the continent, indicating some sort of long-distance commerce, a distinct shift from the opportunistic use of local resources that had marked earlier cultures.

Despite the LP culture's deep cultural and technological impact on Europe, investigation of the mitochondrial DNA of 24 skeletons shows that their genetic impact on modern humans was minimal. It may have been native Europeans who furthered the cultures that followed the Linear Pottery, while the LP progenitors died off or migrated elsewhere, their descendants coming to an unknown fate.

Contemporary with the LP culture was the Yangshao culture in the Yellow River region of China, which started some 7,000 years ago. The Yangshao cultivated millet, wheat, and rice; raised pigs, dogs, sheep, cattle, and goats; built highly specialized tools; and were the first to cultivate silkworms. At least some of their dead were buried in pottery jars, as was becoming increasingly common across the Neolithic world. Approximately 5,000 years ago the Yangshao were displaced by the Longshan (Lungshan), who left their mark on China with their walled cities and moats, pottery wheels and beautiful polished black pottery, and extensive rice cultivation.

Compared to the slow development of tools in the Paleolithic, Neolithic advancements were outright rapid, a fact generally attributed to the superior cognitive faculties of *Homo sapiens*. In only a few thousand years humans went from crude cavelike dwellings to living near their new farms and then to fortified and defended cities with buildings for religious, commercial, and military purposes and the first roads. The concept of specialization to that degree, which would have been incomprehensible to most Paleolithic humans, became integral to human development by the end of the Stone Age. A species that had once traveled with the seasons, following its food, now cultivated, improved, harvested, stored, and traded its own food goods.

See also ANDES: NEOLITHIC; FOOD GATHERERS AND PRODUCERS, PREHISTORY; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY; RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY; XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Bellwood, Peter. *First Farmers: The Origins of Agricultural Studies*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 2004; Gibson, Kathleen, and Tim Ingold, eds. *Tools, Language, and Intelligence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Jaynes, Julian. *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*. New York: Penguin, 1993; Liu, Li. *The Chinese Neolithic: Trajectories to Early States*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2004; Mellaart, James. *Neolithic of the Near East*. New York: Macmillan, 1976; Pinker, Steven. *The Language Instinct*. New York: HarperCollins, 1994; Thomas, Julian. *Understanding the Neolithic*. New York: Routledge, 1999; Whittle, Alasdair. *Neolithic Europe: A Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

BILL KTE'PI

## Neoplatonism

Neoplatonism is the modern name for the last school of pagan Greco-Roman philosophy. It flourished from 200 to 550 C.E., when its last teachers died; however, the influence of Neoplatonic doctrines continued in the teachings of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim philosophers. The influence of Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages was enormous and has lasted into the 21st century. At times it was helpful, but more often it was rejected as subversive to orthodox monotheism. The term *Neoplatonism*, to distinguish it from PLATONISM, was first used in the 19th century. Neoplatonism combined the philosophy of Plato with bits of the whole history of Greco-Roman philosophy. It was otherworldly, mystical, and, in part, nonrational. Until Neoplatonism, Greco-Roman philosophy had been secular in that it sought the way to live as a "wise man" (or "wise woman") in this world.

Although Neoplatonism was to develop its own unique doctrines, it had a number of precursors. Except for the Epicureans whose doctrines were always seen by Neoplatonists as an anathema, virtually all of the development of Greco-Roman pagan philosophy contributed to their doctrines. Plato and the many interpretations of his teachings, especially in epistemology, had been developed into a long and varied tradition of Platonism. Moreover, Plato's greatest student, ARISTOTLE, had initiated new lines of inquiry with varied forms of Aristotelianism. Also of influence is the idea of a transcendent God who deals with humans only through intermediaries. Others also contributed to the emergence and development of Neoplatonism.

### PLOTINUS

The first Neoplatonist was Ammonius Saccas of ALEXANDRIA. However, his student Plotinus (c. 204–270 C.E.) was the one who gave Neoplatonism its first major exposition. After studying and teaching at Alexandria he settled in Rome, where he taught in his own school that attracted some of the Roman elite, including the emperor and his wife. For a while Plotinus considered developing

a new city organized from the ideas of Plato's *Republic*. The city was to be called Platonopolis, but he was unable to implement the plan. During his life Plotinus wrote 54 treatises, which were less eloquent than his speeches. After his death Plotinus's literary corpus was organized into a unified whole and given the title, *Enneads*. The *Enneads* are the locus classicus for Neoplatonism's doctrines. Plotinus's thought presents a philosophical analysis of God, nature, human beings, and the problem of evil.

Plotinus taught a mystical form of Platonism. Plato, in describing the nature of knowledge, had argued that sensory knowledge was transitory and that ultimate knowledge was acquired by direct experience of the ultimate forms or ideas. The greatest of these was the form of the Good. The apprehension of the form of the Good required long philosophical training and was ultimately a kind of mysterious experience rather like "seeing" the solution to a mathematics problem.

For Plotinus the Good was really the ultimate or the divine. He was not a monotheist but a pantheist who believed that the divine was the ultimate "stuff" of the universe. For Plotinus the mystical experience of the One is ineffable. The One, or the Absolute, "resides" in Unity in an arena which is Transcendent, Good, and from which it is the Source of all things. For Plotinus the Absolute is the One from which all things come. It is an active force that is beyond description. The Absolute can be experienced mystically only by those who are seeking to be joined with it. In the philosophy of Plotinus, the One and all things are of the same substance. His view is very different from the biblical doctrine of creation. The biblical doctrine teaches that the world is not of the same substance with its creator but stands distinctly apart. For Plotinus the visible world is rationally apprehensible because it is the product of Intelligence. In this regard there is a similarity to Plato's rationally apprehensible forms, and to the Wisdom of God, the divine Logos, Christ, through whom all things are made.

### PORPHYRY OF TYRE

After the death of Plotinus his best student, Porphyry of Tyre (233–305), devoted his life to spreading the teachings of Plotinus. Porphyry wrote the *Life of Plotinus* (298) as an introduction to the *Enneads* and arranged Plotinus's works into six *Enneads* or groups of nine. The *Enneads* is not a systematic organization of Plotinus's teachings but instead presents the oral lectures of Plotinus. Each lecture had independently considered ideas such as the problem of memory, the worth of astronomy, and the relationship of soul and body. Porphyry also wrote other works, including *On the*

*Philosophy to Be Derived from the Oracles* (written before meeting Plotinus); *On Images, Introduction to Intelligibles*, which taught that the soul was impassive; *On Abstinence from Animal Foods*; and *The Nymph's Cave*, which expounded a passage from Homer.

The literary achievements of Porphyry also included an introduction (*isagogue*) to Aristotle's *Categories*, which was translated by BOETHIUS and had a great impact on medieval philosophy. The Tetrabiblos suggests that Porphyry had a keen interest in astrology. With the death of Plotinus and the spread of his teachings numerous teachers used his instructions to guide their students. However, these varied Neoplatonic teachers created numerous conflicting interpretations of Plotinus's thought. Neoplatonism merged slowly with the religion of paganism. Those who had an interest in magical practices took up the great emphasis that Plotinus put upon rites and rituals as formulas that evoked powerful responses.

### IAMBЛИCHUS OF CHALCIS

Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 270–330) began the last stage of Neoplatonism. His teachings gave future Neoplatonists a method for developing it in new directions and allowed for a more mathematical expression. The son of a prosperous family in Coele-Syria, Iamblichus studied under Anatolius and later with Porphyry, after which he returned to Chalcis. There he attracted a large group of students from many different countries. Many of them would later claim that he had divine powers. Most of the writings of Iamblichus listed by Suidas have been lost. He wrote commentaries on Plato and Aristotle, works on Chaldaean theology, and on the soul. He also wrote a book called *On the General Science of Mathematics* and a biography of the *Life of Pythagoras*.

The tradition of students reading Plato's dialogues in fixed order is attributed to Iamblichus. He taught that the student should begin with ALCIBIADES, then read through the Gorgias, and finally complete the readings with the Parmenides. To read the dialogues in this order would teach students how to gain knowledge of self, political virtues, and spiritual principles. Iamblichus changed the teachings of Plotinus on the soul from a "being" that is passionless intellect to a more active reality that moves through multiple transmigrations in which it acquires virtues that are political, purifying, theoretical, paradigmatic, and priestly. He taught that the soul is active and has free will with which, and with the aid of the gods, eventually returns to the Absolute. The Pythagorean and Neo-Pythagorean influences accepted by

Iamblichus allowed him to teach that the whole complex vision of Neoplatonism was ruled by mathematical principles beginning with a monad.

Mystical experience did not play a major role in the philosophy of Iamblichus. Instead, he seemed intent on bringing the gods to people. For most of Iamblichus's life Platonism was held in high regard. With the founding of CONSTANTINOPLE there was even speculation that Plotinus's vision of a Platonopolis would be realized. This was not to be after Christianity became the religion of the empire, despite the great admiration for him by Emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

### PROCLUS AND DAMASCIUS

Proclus Diadochus (412–485), one of the late representatives of Neoplatonism, was born at Constantinople and grew up at Xanthus in Lycia. He attended the Neoplatonic lectures of Plutarch and Syrianus. About 450 he succeeded to the chair of philosophy at Syrianus to become the successor of Plato. He put Neoplatonism squarely into the Academy as its doctrine. An adamant supporter of the old paganism, Proclus often attended or performed the rites of Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Greek celebrations. He succeeded in so enraging the local Christians with his paganism that he felt it prudent to go to Asia Minor. After a year he returned to Athens where he remained until his death. The writings of Proclus were numerous, with a small number having survived. His views were fully developed in his work *On Platonic Theology*. His teachings on Neoplatonism were elaborated in *Institutio Theologica*. Other writings by Proclus discussed astronomy, mathematics, and some of the astrology of Ptolemy.

The Neoplatonism of Damascius (c. 480–550), taught at Alexandria, almost abandoned it. He wrote *Life of Isidorus* and a long treatise, *On the First Principles*, which is a commentary on the last part of the Platonic dialogue, *Parmenides*. The hierarchical world of Proclus is replaced with a mystical path that allows the soul to journey to the higher realities. Perhaps the most influential of Neoplatonic writings in the Middle Ages was the anonymous work long attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), but which are now attributed to Dionysius the Pseudo-Dionysius. The writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius were originally written in Greek sometime after 450, probably either at Ephesus or in Syria. The writings, *The Divine Names*, *The Mystical Theology*, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *The Letters*, have been the center of debates by scholars over whether the Pseudo-Dionysius was a Neoplatonist, a Christian, or both.

Neoplatonism's influence was deep and long lasting. The Neoplatonists promoted a fresh, dynamic philosophy. Christians influenced by Neoplatonism include ORIGEN, the CAPPADOCIAN Fathers of Orthodoxy, and some of the medieval Byzantines such as Psellos. Neoplatonism found occasional expressions in medieval Western philosophy in the writings of Johannes Scotus Eriugena, and others. After the Arab conquest of much of the Middle East, Neoplatonism deeply influenced Islamic philosophy through the thought of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Averroës, and others. Neoplatonism influenced Jewish philosophy and literature in Moorish Spain, eventually finding expression in the philosophy of Baruch de Spinoza.

See also ALEXANDRIAN LITERATURE; EPICUREANISM; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY; SOPHOCLES.

**Further reading:** Armstrong, A. H., ed. *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; Bigg, Charles. *Neoplatonists*. 1886; Blumenthal, H. J. *Aristotle and Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity: Interpretations of the De Animia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996; Bowerstock, G. W. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Brehier, Emile. *The Hellenistic and Roman Age*. Trans. by Wade Baskin Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; Burt, B. C. *A Brief History of Greek Philosophy*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1889; Gersh, Stephen. *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1978; Honderich, Ted. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Luibheid, Colm, trans. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1987; Siorvanes, Lucas. *Proclus: Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Science*. New Haven: CT: Yale University Press, 1996; Wallis, R. T. *Neoplatonism*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1995.

JACK WASKEY

### Nero

(37–68 c.e.) Roman emperor

The fifth and final of the JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS, a dynasty founded by AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus reigned for the last 14 years of his life, succeeding his mother's uncle Claudius. Although a patron of the arts, his reign is remembered as one indicative of the decadence and eventual fall of Rome—the

emperor who “fiddled while Rome burned” and possibly one referenced in the New Testament’s Revelation.

Nero was born Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus during the reign of the emperor Caligula, his maternal uncle. Caligula expected to have sons to succeed him, but despite his sexual misadventures (all three of his sisters were reputed to have been among his lovers) that did not occur. Instead, Claudius, uncle of Caligula and Lucius’s mother, Agrippina—and a disabled stutterer who had never been considered a likely emperor—succeeded Caligula after the emperor’s assassination. Claudius adopted Lucius, who was older than his natural children and became heir by default. In order to better ensure an adult heir, Lucius was made a legal adult at a younger age than most children. He married Claudius’s daughter Octavia a year before the emperor’s death, a death with which he was in some way involved. He repudiated Claudius after his death, declaring him insane and incompetent, and frequently praised mushrooms, the poison which had killed him. The ultimate cause of Claudius’s death was probably a conspiracy involving Agrippina and several of the emperor’s servants, and its goal may have been to put Nero on the throne before someone else could be named heir. Only 17 years old when he ascended to the throne, Nero most likely deferred to Agrippina in the early years of his reign, as may have been her intent. He continued to be tutored by Lucius Annaeus SENECA (Seneca the Younger), the Stoic philosopher and playwright. These first five years of Nero’s reign, the Quinquennium Neronis, were uneventful.

With Claudius’s son Britannicus approaching the age of adulthood and Nero’s advisers jockeying for position, the stability of Nero’s reign began to fray. Britannicus died suddenly, most likely of poison. Agrippina died four years later, the victim of another of the many conspiracies in Nero’s life. Nero began to surround himself with people of his own choosing rather than the tutors and advisers of his childhood. According to the historian Suetonius, Nero attempted to kill his mother numerous times, finally charging her with participation in a plot to kill him, having her executed, and claiming that she had committed suicide out of guilt. Nero executed many more of his relatives, on one pretense or another. Otho was sent away, and when his mistress Poppaea became pregnant, he divorced Octavia and married her 12 days later. Octavia was sent to an island in exile and was later executed.

Though his matricide had harmed his relationship with the Senate, nothing would jeopardize his popularity as much as the Great Fire of Rome. In 64 C.E. a fire began in the Circus Maximus on July 18 and spread

quickly throughout residential areas. The fire continued for six days, and even once under control it reigned and burned for another three days. At its worst the fire was hot enough to melt the metal nails used in construction. Most of Rome was destroyed—about three-quarters of the city. There are no indications as to a cause, but large-scale accidental urban fires were not uncommon.

Early historians were the first to recount the rumor that Nero “fiddled while Rome burned,” reading poetry about the fall of TROY while playing the lyre, but this was almost certainly only a reflection of Nero’s unpopularity. Needing a scapegoat of some kind, Nero blamed the Christians, which was then a small minority sect only a generation removed from JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Many were crucified, others sent to fight lions in the gladiatorial arenas. Christian tradition holds that he also ordered the deaths of the disciple Peter and PAUL of Tarsus. With public opinion of Nero plummeting and ill will against the emperor still present in the Senate, Gaius Calpurnius Piso and several senators conspired to have Nero assassinated and for Piso to take the throne. The conspiracy was wildly unsuccessful, and its members were ordered to commit suicide, including Seneca. A year later, even Poppaea was a victim of the emperor when he kicked her to death during a quarrel. Poppaea died pregnant, having previously given birth to a daughter who died in infancy. Nero was left with neither wife nor heir. An increasingly irate Senate deposed him within two years. Nero committed suicide on June 9, 68 C.E. His last words were “*Hoc est fides*” (“This is faithfulness!”), spoken in praise of the Roman centurion arriving to arrest him.

See also ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Champlin, Edward. *Nero*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2005; Griffin, Miriam. *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*. New York: Routledge, 2000; Holland, Richard. *Nero: The Man behind the Myth*. Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2003.

BILL KTE’PI

## Nestorius and the Nestorian Church (d. 451 C.E.) church leader

Nestorius is the bishop associated with the Assyrian Church established in the realm of the Persian SASSANID EMPIRE. Nestorius has been called a heretic, but most likely his theological rivals misunderstood him; moreover, he is sometimes viewed as the father of the Assyrian Church (Nestorian Church), but his own theological positions are

sometimes markedly different than those of his namesake church. Nestorius grew up in Antioch and distinguished himself by his fasting, prayer, and preaching. His pious reputation caused him to be named as bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE (428 C.E.), the capital city of the Byzantine Empire and the center of the GREEK CHURCH.

One of the ambitious theologians of rival city ALEXANDRIA, CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, criticized Nestorius for an alleged heresy involving the nature of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. He claimed that Nestorius taught that Jesus Christ was the union of two persons, one that suffered and died and the other that was divine and eternal. However, Nestorius did not teach that there were two persons in Christ but rather that he had two natures in one person. This position was vindicated at the Council of Chalcedon, though the council emphasized the unity of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus. This was too late and too little noticed by the Greek Church and LATIN CHURCH, for the brand of heresy had already emblazoned the name of Nestorius. He was stripped of his office, his literary works were burned, and then he was exiled. He spent 10 years in the area of the NABATAEANS in the Jordanian desert and then 10 years at the Great Oasis in the Libyan Desert, before dying in 451.

The popular association of Nestorius with the Assyrian Church occurred because many followers of Nestorius migrated from Antioch to EDESSA, the intellectual center for the whole Syriac Church. Here they found sympathy among the Christians who were not allied with the Greek or Latin Churches. Eventually, pressure came against Edessa's intellectuals so that the dissidents moved into the Persian domain to the city of Nisibis, where they established their own school of theology. From there they dispersed into other parts of the Persian Sassanid Empire. By the sixth century the Assyrian Church had become "Nestorianized," as Nestorius's followers were welcomed into high ecclesial and educational positions. Their school at Nisibis was held in high esteem among the Persian Christians. The Assyrian Church had severed ties with the Greek and Latin Churches anyway and was little interested in the nuances of the controversy. As refugees from the Byzantine Empire they were not suspected of subversion or disloyalty.

Thus, the Assyrian Church grafted the followers of Nestorius and other Syriac Christians into their fold and received the name of their figurehead. The irony of history is that it never officially adopted Nestorius's position on the nature of Christ, nor did it accept the alleged heresy for which he was exiled many generations before. The Assyrian Church has always been

on the fringes of Persian society, whether the society was Zoroastrian or Muslim. This diminished and flexible status perhaps explains how the Assyrian religion so readily penetrated other people groups and political boundaries. The scope of its mission is remarkable for such a small group of believers: Their communities spread within 300 years to India, Sogdiana, Turkestan, Turfan, Manchuria, Siberia, and China.

See also ASSYRIA; HERESIES; ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Loofs, Friedrich. *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004; Wessel, Susan. *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## New Comedy

New Comedy refers to ancient Greek theatrical comedies created and performed during the era in which the Macedonians ruled Greece—roughly 320–260 B.C.E. The revolutions in lifestyle of this period facilitated a change in entertainment. The characters in these comedies were typically drawn from the masses of everyday people, as opposed to earlier plays that featured caricatures of the rich, the famous, or the ruling elite. Many hundreds or perhaps even thousands of comedies were produced during this period, but only a few survive today.

All Greek theatrical performances originated in religious rites honoring Dionysus, also known as Bacchus, the god who roamed the world followed by throngs of crazed women. These women, called Maenads (from whom we get the term *mania*), participated in wild orgiastic rites. The god's symbol was the thyrsus, a phallic staff topped with a large pinecone and wound with an ivy or grape vine. Originally, festivals honoring Dionysus took the form of choreographed dances performed by a chorus. This evolved into cathartic performances of *tragedy*, a word that literally means "goat ode," the goat being the symbol of Dionysus. Tragedies gradually evolved into plays with actors and stylized formats, but the chorus remained. The chorus was held by some to represent the will and opinions of the society, while others believed the chorus represented supernatural forces.

According to some, the oldest known comedies emerged as a break between tragedies or between parts of a single tragedy, in which exaggerated characters lam-

pooned the tragedy in a spoof that closely followed the form, costumes, and masks of the tragedy itself. Others claim that comedy arose from the rough jests of Dionysian revelers in procession before the performance of the tragedies. From either origin, or both, soon entire comic plays arose. These are referred to as Old Comedy, referring to comedies performed in the period beginning with PERICLES' establishment of democracy, about 450 B.C.E. Notable authors such as ARISTOPHANES (whose *Clouds* lampooned SOCRATES) ridiculed, and made satires (a word coming from the satyrs sacred to Dionysus) of all aspects of Greek society, particularly the famous and most upstanding citizens. This was in contrast to tragedy, in which the main characters were held up for emulation and found to be very nearly perfect, other than having a tragic flaw. In Old Comedy, the main characters were exaggerated buffoons, who spoke and performed every manner of nonsense. No aspect of society was sacred in these comedies, and often even the very gods were lampooned.

The next major evolution in comedy was Middle Comedy, which reduced or eliminated the chorus, ridiculed private personages rather than public ones, and often featured plots that revolved around an intrigue created by the characters. This style was prevalent from the end of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR to the conquest of Greece by Macedonia. From about 388 to 322 B.C.E. New Comedy evolved from Middle Comedy when Athens's revolt against Macedonian rule failed, and free speech was lost to the Athenians and their plays. New Comedies tended to focus on the role of chance in the average citizen's daily fight for survival. The play would open to find the characters' lives had become quite tempestuous, but by the final act, chance would have resolved the difficulties in the characters' favor. Mistaken identities, disguises, and comical errors abound in these plays. In format New Comedies were typically divided into three or, more often, five acts. Frequently there was an interlude between acts of a comedy, such as our modern half-time shows. If a chorus appeared anywhere in a New Comedy, the chorus would be strictly limited to such an interlude.

Menander (342–292 B.C.E.), Philemon (c. 368–267 B.C.E.), and Diphilus (c. 360–290 B.C.E.) were the three most renowned authors of comical plays in this era. Of these authors' works, only a handful of the Athenian Menander's 99 plays survive. His work *Dysklos* (*The Grouch*) was discovered on an Egyptian papyrus found in 1959. Among the many of Menander's plays that exist in only fragmentary form are such titles as *The Farmer*, *Aspis*, *Phasma*, *The Shorn Woman* (*Perikeiromene*), and *The Hero*. Philemon was Menander's pri-

mary rival and was regarded as superior by many contemporary critics. Philemon lived to be 99 years old and wrote 97 plays. Much of what we know about these three poets comes from Roman scholars who quoted from and commented upon their works, and from Roman playwrights, such as Terence and Plautus, who adapted these Greek comedies to their own culture. New Comedy greatly influenced not only the plays of Rome, but also the romantic comedies of the Middle Ages, and also the plays of Shakespeare, which bear a formal resemblance to the plots of the New Comedies.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Bates, Alfred, ed. *The Drama: Its History, Literature and Influence on Civilization*. London: Historical Publishing Co., 1906; Riu, Xavier. *Dionysism and Comedy*. Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

JOSEPH R. GERBER

## New Kingdom, Egypt

This era has been called "Egypt's Empire," when Egyptian armies reached and crossed the river Euphrates in the north and marched deep into NUBIA. The rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 B.C.E.) pursued a policy of vigorous expansion, creating an empire that the pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 B.C.E.) were able to sustain. Its focus was commercial rather than military, designed to facilitate control of trade routes and to extract the resources of conquered territories. Native princes ruled under the supervision of Egyptian officials; their sons were taken to Egypt to be raised in the royal household and their daughters to the royal harem. Nubian gold, the timber and metals of Syria-Palestine, Aegean trade, and regular tribute sustained the Nineteenth Dynasty. After the end of the weaker Twentieth Dynasty, Egypt slowly declined into its long twilight.

In the last phase of the Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 B.C.E.), a native Egyptian dynasty ruled from THEBES. By 1550 B.C.E. their influence extended from Qis in Middle Egypt to the First Cataract: The HYKSOS prince of Avaris held sway north of Qis, and a native Nubian dynasty ruled from Kerma at the Third Cataract. In a replay of the origins of the MIDDLE KINGDOM, the foundations of the New Kingdom were laid by Theban rulers, notably Kamose (1555–50 B.C.E.) and his brother Ahmose (1550–25 B.C.E.), the latter recognized as first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was Kamose

who complained that his rule meant nothing while he was “bound to an Asiatic and a Nubian.” He pushed as far south as the Second Cataract and set up the new government office of viceroy of Nubia, “the King’s Son of Kush.” He began a series of campaigns against the Hyksos that ended their rule at Avaris and united Egypt once more. Ahmose strengthened Egypt’s borders in Nubia and Syria and consolidated his rule at home.

The Eighteenth Dynasty is best seen through several remarkable pharaohs. Thutmose I (1504–1492 B.C.E.), a nonroyal, succeeded Amenhotep I without dynastic change. In his short reign a series of successful forays into Nubia and Syria defined Egypt’s early empire. Thutmose I enlarged and endowed the temple of Amun at Karnak, practices continued by his successors that would lead to the wealth and power of Amun’s priesthood rivaling that of the PHARAOH. Thutmose II married his half sister, the famous Hatshepsut. His life was brief, and his young son by a concubine became Thutmose III (r. 1479–1427 B.C.E.). For two years Hatshepsut, “Foremost of Noble Women,” was content to be regent for her nephew, but she soon assumed royal trappings, even having herself portrayed as a male. Other women ruled in Egypt, but she is the best known, chiefly from her magnificent mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. A relief from this temple shows the circumstances of her divine birth where the god Amun visits her mother, Queen Ahmose. Her tomb is in the Valley of the Kings, the preferred burial place of New Kingdom pharaohs.

After her death Thutmose III came into his inheritance. In his 32 years of sole rule he proved an energetic and adept military leader, advancing to the Fifth Cataract in Nubia. He made 17 campaigns into Syria, even crossing the Euphrates. He captured the strategic cities of Joppa and Megiddo and brought the city of Kadesh firmly under Egyptian domination. These wars were intended for plunder, tribute, and future peaceful trade, and Thutmose III’s incessant activity ensured Egypt’s prosperity. His building activities extended throughout Egypt. His tomb in the Valley of the Kings contains the complete set of vignettes and accompanying text of the *Book of What Is in the Underworld*, recounting the night journey of the sun god, Ra.

Amenhotep II (1427–1400 B.C.E.) followed his energetic father into Syria and Nubia. These campaigns of his first 10 years mark the end of the consolidation of Egypt’s empire. The reign of Thutmose IV began the association of the king with the sun god, Ra, and the joining of Ra with Amun as the supreme deity Amun-Ra. Also royal women came to prominence in the roles of “king’s mother” and “great royal wife.” The Eighteenth Dynasty reached its high point in the magnificent opulence of Amenhotep III, who reigned for almost 40 peaceful and prosperous years. Two large statues of this king stand forlornly beside the tourist road to the Valley of the Kings, all that survives of his mortuary temple. Every class of Egyptians appears to have prospered, and Amenhotep III was later revered as a fertility god. The cult of the sun god increased at Thebes and devotion centered on the, *aten*, the sun disc or sphere, as the giver of life.

Amenhotep III was followed by his second son, Amenhotep IV (1352–36 B.C.E.). Initially he ruled from Thebes and did not disrupt traditional religious life. The cult of the Sun reached its climax in his reign: The *aten* was depicted with its rays ending in hands holding the ankh, symbol of life. In year five of his reign he abruptly ordered the building of a capital at a site in Middle Egypt, el-Amarna, called Akhetaten, “Horizon of the Aten,” where the court moved in year nine. His name change to AKHENATEN, “servant of the Aten,” signaled his complete rejection of the other gods, notably Amun.

Akhenaten’s famous wife, Nefertiti, played an equal role with her husband. The Amarna idyll lasted only until his death in 1336 B.C.E. The boy-king Tutankhaten was moved to the ancient capital at Memphis, and his name changed to Tutankhamun, a clear return to the old ways and gods of Egypt, notably Amun. Enormous effort was made to expunge the Amarna period from Egypt’s history and to obliterate Akhenaten’s memory.



*The huge mortuary temple built for Ramses II, the Ramesseum, stands on the West Bank at Thebes.*

Tutankhamun died after 10 years, probably of natural causes. Paradoxically, this obscure teenager is the best known of Egypt's kings due to the discovery of his intact tomb in 1922. The reigns of the nonroyal Ay and Horemheb brought the Eighteenth Dynasty to an end.

RAMSES I, a close adviser and military officer, succeeded Horemheb. He was the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295–1186 B.C.E.). This dynasty is defined by the 67-year reign of his grandson RAMSES II (1279–12 B.C.E.). Ramses (born of Ra) was a larger-than-life figure who filled Egypt with his statues, recorded his military campaigns on temple walls, and built on a scale of unparalleled magnificence. His huge mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, stands on the West Bank at Thebes. His greatest monument is his temple carved into the mountainous cliffs at Abu Simbel above the Second Cataract. It was saved from the rising waters of Lake Nasser during the 1960s by an international effort and, with Giza and Karnak, remains a prime archaeological site. Two enormous statues of Ramses flank the entrance.

Ramses built a residence at Piramesse in the Delta where his family came from. The events of the biblical Exodus are traditionally associated with him, without much evidence. His first and beloved “great royal wife” was Nefertari, whose magnificent tomb in the Valley of the Queens has been carefully restored. Father of more than 100 sons and daughters, several of his sons by his chief wives held high positions. He died around the age of 92 and was buried in the Valley of the Kings. Ramses's mummy remains in good condition in the Cairo Museum. He outlived 12 of his sons and was succeeded by the 13th, Merneptah, already in his 60s. In his 10-year reign Merneptah subdued the Libyans and sent military expeditions to Nubia and Palestine. After Merneptah a disputed succession ushered in the last four short reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty ending with Queen Twosret.

The origins of the Twentieth Dynasty (1186–1069 B.C.E.) remain confused: From its second pharaoh, Ramses III, all its rulers were named Ramses. Ramses III reigned for 31 years and was the last powerful pharaoh. He successfully prevented the Sea Peoples from entering Egypt but ruled an Egypt whose influence abroad had diminished. At home the centuries-old policy of lavishing endowments on the major temples, particularly that of Amun-Ra at Karnak, led to a priesthood whose political and economic power rivaled that of the pharaoh. During the 28-year reign of the last pharaoh, Ramses XI, the high priest of Amun at Karnak, Herihor, adopted some royal titles and was virtual ruler of Upper Egypt. Royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were pillaged and the royal envoy to the ruler of BYBLOS, Wenamun, was re-

ceived with scant courtesy. The power of Amun-Ra had finally eclipsed that of the pharaohs, and Egypt's imperial age slid into decline and civil discord.

See also HITTITES.

**Further reading:** Allen, James P. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Clayton, Peter A. *Chronicles of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998; Gardiner, Alan. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964; Grimal, Nicolas. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Blackwell, 1995; Kemp, Barry J. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 2, *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976; Manley, Bill. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996; O'Connor, David, and Eric H. Cline, eds. *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

## Nicaea, Council of

Christianity in the early fourth century C.E. was a complex spectrum of beliefs, whose adherents were faced with the additional problem that their religion was illegal in the Roman Empire. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT recognized Christianity as a legal religion in 313 C.E. in the Western Roman Empire. With Constantine's unification of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires in 324, an approach to the growing Christian population and the implications of its theological diversity and disputes became a matter of national interest. At the heart of this Christian diversity was a theological dispute concerning the divinity of the Son of God that had developed in ALEXANDRIA. Bishop Alexander of Alexandria formulated traditional theology in somewhat novel formulas. He emphasized that the Word is eternally generated from the Father and that, if it is correct to call God Father, God always must be the father of a son. Alexander expressed these thoughts in slogans such as “Always God, always the Son.”

To some this view endangered monotheism by suggesting, in effect, the existence of a second co-eternal and equal god alongside the one God. Arius, a well-respected senior presbyter and preacher in Alexandria, became the leader of the opposition called ARIANISM and attacked Alexander's theology by presenting a radicalized

version of a view of God as absolute unity outside of time, boundaries, and definition. The Word, in contrast, was to be understood as the principle of multiplicity. God the Father, as absolute unity, thus can and did subsist without the Word, a situation for which Arius and his supporters employed the slogan “There was [a time] when He [the Word] was not.” The Word therefore does not have to exist, but rather, as Arius interpreted Proverbs 8:22, the Word, or “Wisdom,” was “created . . . at the beginning.” Still, the Word was not like other creatures, since the Word was in fact the first of all that was created and also functioned in turn as creator of all that subsequently was created.

At a local council of bishops from Egypt and LIBYA, Bishop Alexander of Alexandria had Arius’s teachings condemned. Arius himself was deposed, but he quickly became the leader and figurehead of the opposition to Alexander’s theology, concentrated in a group of clergy who were students and followers of the exegete and martyr LUCIAN of Antioch (d. 312 C.E.). The theological dispute became quickly politicized, as both sides attempted to impose their position through the enlisting of popular sentiment and military and political support. A civil crisis ensued.

In response to this crisis Constantine called a council of all of the bishops of the Roman Empire to convene in Nicaea to decide this theological question and thereby put an end to the civil unrest it engendered. This council was inaugurated on May 20, 325. At the council the pro-Arian bishops, under the leadership of Eusebius of Nicomedia, presented a formula of faith that expressed the subordination of the Son to the Father and declared that the Son and the Father were of different natures. EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, whose doctrinal orthodoxy previously had been called into question as pro-Arian, now seized the opportunity to free himself of charges and presented his formula of faith that in the end, with a few modifications, served as a basis for the Nicene Creed. The creed that was finally adopted was not a new creed but one that reflected the baptismal confession of Jerusalem, with an additional postscript of anathemas (curses) against Arian subordinationism.

The most important aspect of the creed is its explicit mention that the Son is “of the same substance” as the Father, expressed in the term *homoousios*, translated in the Nicene Creed today as “begotten not made.” The insertion of this term was probably motivated by the fact that Arius had rejected it.

Arius had stressed that the Father was the source of all creation in a strict sense, meaning that he was also the creator of the Son. Some bishops had difficulty ac-

cepting the philosophical term *homoousios* because it was an expression found neither in other earlier Christian creeds nor in the Bible.

Therefore, the list of expressions “God from God, light from light, true God from true God” were added before the word *homoousios*. Immediately following the term *homoousios* in the creeds is the clarification “that is, of one being with the Father” to emphasize the equal divinity between Father and Son. In addition to attempting to solve the Arian controversy, the Council of Nicaea had other items on its agenda.

The date of the celebration of the feast of Easter was fixed to occur on the first Sunday after the first full moon of spring in order to settle the Quartodeciman controversy. The Quartodecimans stipulated that Easter should be celebrated on the 14th of the first month of spring, since this was the historical date of Christ’s resurrection.

A number of questions concerning church hierarchy in the empire were addressed in 20 canons. Most significant of these was the definition of the jurisdictions of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The decision to place CONSTANTINOPLE, the city called New Rome, and the residence of Emperor Constantine, on a par with Old Rome and over the older see of Alexandria created ecclesiastical tensions that would contribute to the fracturing of the church in the course of the Christological controversies of the fifth century. The results and effects of the Council of Nicaea included, on the one hand, the first creation of a universal statement of Christian faith, the attempt to organize the church into a coherent administrative structure, and the definition of its rights and responsibilities in reference to the Roman state.

However, the creed that resulted from the council did not eliminate the Arian controversy, nor did it settle the key questions of the relationship between the Father and the Son and between the divinity and humanity of Christ. The creed of Nicaea was not binding on all Christian bishops. It was modified at the Council of Constantinople (381), which added language to state more clearly the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Only at the Council of Chalcedon (451) did acceptance of the Nicene (Constantinopolitan) Creed become binding.

Nicaea was a step, but only a first step, toward a unified expression of Christian faith and the creation of the church as an integrated and hierarchical administration.

See also EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; WISDOM LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Chadwick, Henry. *The Early Church*. New York: Penguin, 1990.

CORNELIA HORN AND ROBERT PHENIX

## Nineveh

For all of the attention Nineveh receives in the Jewish Bible, it was not the capital of ASSYRIA until the last few decades of the Assyrian Empire in the seventh century B.C.E. The earliest biblical reference to the city is in the first few chapters of the book of Genesis, where it is said that Nimrod, “the mighty hunter,” founded Nineveh, and also founded Babylon, the nemesis city-state of Nineveh. Nineveh’s ruins are in modern-day Mosul, Iraq. There the Khosar River flows into the Tigris River, providing natural protection for ancient Nineveh. There are three reasons why the location was advantageous. First, the water of the Khosar could be diverted into the moats that surrounded the massive city walls. Second, the land around Nineveh was agriculturally rich and productive, just south of the Kurdish foothills. Third, trading paths crossed this area, going north and south along the Tigris River and going east and west following the foothills.

The city was one of ancient Assyria’s four population centers (the others were Ashur, Calah, and Arbela), but before that the city was known for its connection with Ishtar, goddess of love and war. At its high point it was populated by more than 175,000 people, almost three times the size of Calah. The first archaeological records are Akkadian (2400 B.C.E.) and tell of a king named Manishtushu who restored Ishtar’s temple there. Writings tell of other kings who invaded for the glory of Ishtar, 400 years later. It was not until 300 years later that the city-state of Ashur took the city from the Mittanis and began to forge the fearsome Assyrian Empire. Shalmaneser I (c. 1260 B.C.E.) and Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.E.) made Nineveh their royal residences.

The Assyrians continued Nineveh’s Ishtar traditions throughout all the periods of their hegemony. The city grew in prominence as an imperial center. One of the great Neo-Assyrian emperors, Sennacherib, who nearly conquered Jerusalem about 700 B.C.E., made Nineveh his capital. He conducted a lavish building program: One of his famous projects was digging aqueducts and canals—one 32 miles long—for irrigating his city gardens and parks; another was building the enormous city walls and gates, which still partially stand. The emperors that followed him presided over the days of As-

syrian glory. A vast cache of tablets from Nineveh’s libraries has been discovered, making Assyrian literature better known than that of any ancient Semitic peoples except the Hebrews.

In 612 B.C.E. the Babylonian Chronicle says that a coalition of MEDES, Babylonians, and Scythians captured the city and defeated the Assyrian Empire, astonishing the peoples of the FERTILE CRESCENT. Nineveh went into decline, and by the time of the Greek historian Xenophon (401 B.C.E.), the city was unrecognizable. That Assyria was feared and hated can be seen in many books of the Jewish Bible where the destruction of Assyria is almost gleefully announced. This antipathy toward Assyria is also found most vividly in the book of Jonah, the biblical prophet ordered to preach salvation for Nineveh. Only when a whale swallowed Jonah did the prophet relent and go. Today the area where Nineveh is buried, Tell Nebi Yunus, literally means “Hill of the Prophet Jonah,” and Nestorian Christians first and then Muslims have erected a major shrine in his honor there.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; NESTORIUS.

**Further reading:** Grayson, A. Kirk. “Mesopotamia, History of: History and Culture of Assyria.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 4, edited by David N. Freeman, 733–755. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Nubia

Egypt provides the earliest historical record of northern Sudan, the land of KUSH at the First Cataract. The Egyptian name for Nubia was Kush, meaning “wretched.” Kush encompassed modern-day northern Sudan and southern Egypt. Nubia was the place where African and Mediterranean civilizations met. Nubia was sometimes under Egypt, sometimes independent, and has been inhabited for 60,000 years. By the eighth millennium B.C.E. Neolithic people lived a sedentary life in fortified mud-brick villages. They hunted, fished, gathered grain, and herded cattle. They had contact with Egypt by means of the Nile. The Nubian city of Kerma produced ceramics as early as 8000 B.C.E., earlier than in Egypt. Nubia was rich in minerals and gold needed for building temples and tombs. In the mid-fifth millennium B.C.E. central Sudan’s abundant savanna and lakes made a settled life with agriculture and domestication of animals possible for the Nubians who inhabited

the region. The early Nubians engaged in a cattle cult similar to those found in Sudan and elsewhere in Africa today.

Around 2400 B.C.E. the Neolithic culture evolved into the Kerma culture, and Kush prospered due to trade in ebony, ivory, gold, incense, and animals to Egypt. By 1650 B.C.E. Kerma was a city-state with territory, stretching from the First Cataract to the Fourth. The power of Kerma rivaled that of Egypt. Over time trade developed between Kush and Egypt, with Egyptian grain trading for Kushite ivory, incense, hides, and carnelian. Periodic Egyptian military forays into Kush produced no permanent presence until the MIDDLE KINGDOM (2100–1720 B.C.E.). At that time the Egyptians built forts to protect shipments of gold mined at Wawat. From the OLD KINGDOM (2700–2180 B.C.E.) for 2,000 years Egypt dominated the central Nile region economically and politically. Even during times of diminished Egyptian power, the Egyptian religious and cultural influence remained strong in Kush.

The nomadic Asian HYKSOS conquered Egypt around 1720 B.C.E., ending the Middle Kingdom, destroying the Nile forts, and cutting ties with Kush. An indigenous kingdom developed at Karmah. In 1500 B.C.E. Nubia fell to Egypt, which established an empire ranging from the Euphrates in Syria to the Fifth Cataract. The PHARAOHS of the NEW KINGDOM ruled for more than 500 years. Egyptian power renewed with the New Kingdom (c. 1570–1100 B.C.E.), and Kush became an Egyptian province that provided gold and slaves, with the children of local chiefs taken as pages in the Egyptian court to ensure the chiefs' loyalty. As a province of Egypt, Kush became attractive to Egyptian settlers, including merchants, military personnel, government officials, and priests. The Kushite elite converted to the Egyptian language, culture, and religion, preserving Egyptian culture and religion even during Egyptian decline and with temples to the Egyptian gods remaining in use until the coming of Christianity.

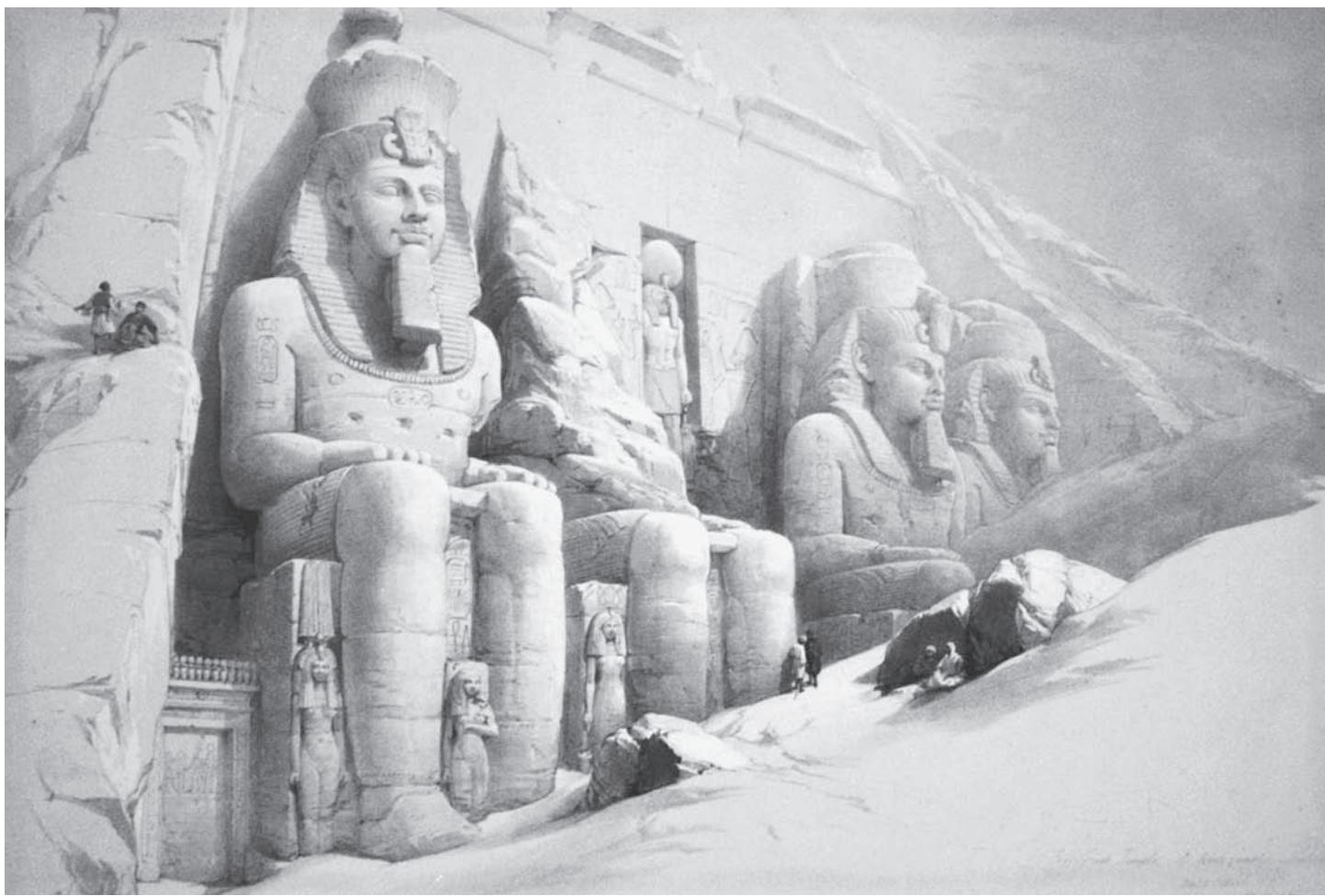
Egypt was weak and divided in the 11th century B.C.E., and Kush became autonomous for the next 300 years. Little is known about that period, but Kush reappeared as an independent kingdom in the eighth century B.C.E. The Kushites conquered Upper Egypt in 750 B.C.E. and all of Egypt later in the century, ruling Kush and THEBES for about 100 years. Egypt occupied Nubia for about 500 years. Then in 856 B.C.E. Nubia under the Twenty-fifth Dynasty ruled Egypt. The dynasty at Napata was known as the Ethiopian dynasty, making it a great African power despite its holding to Egyptian culture and religion. Conflict with ASSYRIA in the seventh

century B.C.E. led to the withdrawal of the Kushite rulers from Egypt to their capital of Napata. In 713 B.C.E. King Shabaka of Kush came to power. He controlled the Nile Valley to the Delta. His dynasty fell to Assyria. In 590 B.C.E. an Egyptian incursion led to the relocation of the capital to MEROË, and Egypt came under Persian, Greek, and Roman domination during subsequent centuries.

Isolated from Egypt, Kush developed its own culture, peaking in the third and second centuries B.C.E. The proximity to black Africa showed in the increased influence in Kushite civilization. They modeled their jewelry on African styles. Meroë had an elected kingship with the succession strongly influenced by the queen mother. The rulers at Meroë continued the Egyptian practices of raising stelas as records of their exploits and using pyramids as their tombs. The kingdom at Meroë enjoyed a centralized political system capable of bringing together the large numbers of artisans and laborers needed for building projects. The still-undeciphered Meroitic script that replaced Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS in the first century B.C.E. was an adaptation of the Egyptian writing system.

Meroë prospered due to trade and commerce, especially after the introduction of the camel to Africa in the second century B.C.E. and the concurrent flourishing of the African caravan trade. Meroë benefited from its access to the Red Sea. It was noted for its pottery, woven cloth, and jewelry. The kingdom also used Nile water and acacia trees (charcoal) to smelt iron for spears, arrows, axes, and hoes. It developed agriculture and irrigation in a tropical region. In religion Kush worshipped the Egyptian state gods but also its own regional gods, including Apedernek, the lion god.

Over time northern Kush, home of the religious center of Napata, fell to predatory nomads, the Blemmyes. Nevertheless, Meroë maintained contact with the Mediterranean world through the Nile, dealt with Arab and Indian traders on the Red Sea coast, and began to include Hindu and Hellenistic cultural influences. Meroë had occasional friction with Egypt. In 23 B.C.E. Meroë raided Upper Egypt, leading to Roman retaliation, the razing of Napata. The Romans regarded the area as too poor for colonization, so the army left. Meroë began to decline in the first or second century C.E. due to war with Roman Egypt and the decline of its traditional industries. The manufacture of iron had exhausted the acacia forests, and deforestation caused the loss of fertility in the land. The Nobatae were horse- and camel-riding warriors who occupied the west bank of the Nile in northern Kush in the second century C.E. Initially they sold protection to the Meroitic popula-



*An illustration of the Temple of Abu Simbel (Semple), built during the reign of Ramses II in the 13th century B.C.E., in commemoration of Ramses's Egyptian queen and to intimidate his Nubian neighbors.*

tion. Then they intermarried and became the military aristocracy. Until around the fifth century, they received subsidies from Roman Egypt, which used Meroë as a barrier between itself and the Blemmyes.

During this period Meroë shrank as the Abyssinian state of Axum took over. In 350 Ezana, king of Axum, invaded Meroë. By then the Meroites had already given way to the Noba. In the sixth century Meroë was home to three successor states: Nobatia, or Ballanah, in the north, with a capital at Faras in modern Egypt; Muqrura in the center, with a capital at Dunqulah; and Alwa in the south, with its capital at Sawba. Warrior aristocrats ruled all three cities, but the court officials styled themselves after the Byzantine model. The Nubian kingdoms converted to Christianity in the sixth century. The form of Christianity taken by the Nubian rulers was Monophysite Christianity, the Coptic version, and the spiritual head of the Nubian church was

the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, who held strong influence over the church and confirmed each ruler's legitimacy. The monarch in return protected the church's interests. The queen mother preserved the Meroitic right to determine the succession, making possible the accession of nonroyal warriors through marriage. With the change to Christianity, Nubia reestablished cultural and religious ties to Egypt and renewed contacts with Mediterranean civilization. The Nubian language replaced the Greek liturgy, but Coptic remained common in both religious and secular activities. Arabic grew in influence from the seventh century particularly in the world of commerce.

The Christian Nubian kingdoms attained their highest prosperity and military power in the ninth and tenth centuries. Arab domination of Egypt hampered Nubian access to the Coptic patriarch and ended the supply of Egyptian-trained clergy, causing the

Nubian Christians to become isolated from the rest of Christianity.

Islam changed Sudan and split the south from the north. It also promoted political, economic, and educational development among its adherents, mostly in the urban commercial centers. Islam began spreading shortly after the death of Muhammad in 632. Islam had converted the Arab tribes and cities, and Arab armies began spreading Islam into North Africa during the first generation after Muhammad's death. Within 75 years North Africa was Muslim. The conquest of Nubia began with invasions in 642 and again in 652, at which time the Arabs besieged Dunqulah (Dongala) and destroyed its cathedral. The Nubians refused to surrender, so the Arabs accepted an armistice and withdrew.

Nubians and Arabs had contacts long before the rise of Islam, and the process of Arabization took about 1,000 years. Intermarriage and exchange of cultural values were common. With the failure of the early efforts at military conquest, the Arab commander in Egypt, Abd Allah ibn Saad, established the first of a series of treaties that lasted for almost 600 years. Arab rule of Egypt meant peace with Nubia. Periodically, non-Arabs ruled Egypt, and that generated conflict. The Arabs wanted commerce and peace, and treaties facilitated travel and trade between the two. Trade flourished, with Arabs exchanging horses and manufactured goods for ivory, gum arabic, gems, gold, and cattle. Arabs had treaty rights to buy Nubian land, and Arabs moved into Nubia as merchants, engineers in the gold and emerald mines, and pilgrims who used Nubian Red Sea ports, which also served as entrepôts for cargoes from India to Egypt.

Arab tribes who immigrated to Nubia during this time provide the ancestors of most of the region's mixed population. The two most important are the Jaali and

the Juhayna. The Jaali were sedentary farmers, herders, or townspeople. The Juhayna families are nomadic descendants of 13th-century migrants into the savanna and semidesert regions. The Arabs and indigenous peoples intermarried. Arabization occurred without forced conversion or proselytization.

The Christian kingdoms remained politically independent until the 13th century. Nubian armies invaded Egypt in the eighth and 10th centuries to free the imprisoned Coptic patriarch and reduce persecution of Copts under Muslim rule. Then in the mid-14th century the kingdom of Makuria fell in a combination of conquest and intermarriage to the joint forces of the Juhayna Arabs and Mamluk. In 1276 the Mamluk (Arabic for "owned") soldier-administrator elites overthrew the monarch of Dunqulah and gave the crown to a rival. Dunqulah was Egypt's province. Nubia converted to Islam and Arabic. Intermarriage brought Arabs into the royal succession as the two elites merged. The king in 1315 was a Muslim prince of the royal Nubian line. Islam expanded, and Christianity declined. In the 15th century Nubia became politically fragmented, and slave raiding became a major problem. Towns fearful for their safety asked for Arabic protectors. By the 15th or 16th century Arabs formed the majority in the region.

See also AFRICAN CITY-STATES; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; NABATAEANS.

**Further reading:** Adams, William. *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984; Metz, Helen Chapin, ed. *Sudan: A Country Study*. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, 1991; Redford, Donald B. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

JOHN H. BARNHILL

# O

## Odovacar

(c. 433–493 C.E.) *king of Italy*

Odovacar was the chief of the Heruli tribe of Germans and possibly a member of the Sciri tribe who lived in the Carpathian Mountains in the early fifth century C.E. and were defeated and integrated into the Ostrogothic tribal confederation. His name is probably made of the Germanic elements *od*, meaning “wealth,” and *wacar*, meaning “vigilant.” Odovacar was a commander of the Germanic mercenaries who were in service of Julius Nepos, the Western Roman emperor (474–475 C.E.). Upon the removal of Julius Nepos by his Romano-Germanic master of the army, Orestes, Odovacar’s troops, mainly made of the Heruli, revolted against Orestes and his son, the puppet emperor Romulus Augustulus. With Odovacar as their chief, the revolting mercenaries defeated Orestes at Piacenza and removed Romulus Augustulus from the throne and put an end to the Western Roman Empire (476). Odovacar was then confirmed as a patrician by the Eastern Roman emperor, Zeno, and set up his administrative capital in RAVENNA, which was already the capital under Julius Nepos and Romulus Augustulus.

Not content with the title of patrician, Odovacar chose to call himself king of Italy (*Rex Italiae*) and refused to accept the restoration of Julius Nepos to a real position of power, as requested by Emperor Zeno. In the early years of his reign Odovacar minted coins in the name of Nepos, accepting his superiority in formality. However, Odovacar’s position as the master and king of Italy was established beyond doubt. In 476 he

managed to gain control of Sicily via a treaty with the Vandals of North Africa. This was part of Odovacar’s plan to restore and revive the territorial integrity and the military strength of the Roman Empire, despite occasional setbacks and territorial losses to the Germanic tribes to the north of Italy. Odovacar changed very little in the administrative system of Italy and ran the government based on the imperial administration of the now defunct Western Roman Empire. He had the approval of the Roman Senate and was largely accepted as the ruler of Italy by the population.

Following provocations for regaining the power by the deposed emperor, Julius Nepos, who was residing in Dalmatia, Odovacar invaded that territory in 481. Shortly after (484), he attacked the western regions of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire in accordance with a treaty drawn with Illus, commander of the Byzantine forces who was planning to depose Zeno. The quick territorial expansion of Odovacar, together with his open hostilities against Zeno prompted the latter to provoke the Rugi tribe of Austria to attack Odovacar’s kingdom from the north. Despite the fact that Odovacar managed to defeat the Rugi in their own territory, his rapid expansion and foreign campaigns had made him weak enough to fall prey to THEODORIC the Great, the king of the OSTROGOths. Theodoric, appointed in 488 by Zeno as the king of Italy, repeatedly defeated Odovacar and conquered all of Italy between 488 and 490. In 493 Ravenna, in which Odovacar was taking refuge, also fell to Theodoric. The conqueror made peace with Odovacar by offering to rule Italy jointly with him. However,

pletion contained approximately 2.3 million blocks of stone, ranging from 2.5 to 15 tons each, was built under the orders of Khufu, the second king of the Fourth Dynasty. The other famous PYRAMIDS OF GIZA were built during the Fourth Dynasty reigns of Khafra and Menkaure, with the Great Sphinx built (presumably in his own facial likeness) to guard Khafra's pyramidal tomb. These massive building projects obviously strained the Egyptian economy and reduced the royal treasury. Probably as a result, although pyramids continued to be built in later Old and MIDDLE KINGDOM dynasties, they were never to the magnitude of those built in the Fourth Dynasty.

Contrary to the once popular view that the pyramids were built using slave labor, it is now thought that they were built by paid workers who rotated between the building projects and their own private work, with the bulk of the labor occurring in the inundation season, when agricultural work ceased. This contention has been supported by archaeological finds of workers' tombs, bakeries, and other elements associated with a workers' village just south of Khufu's pyramid complex.

The downfall of the Old Kingdom was likely the result of several decades of poor inundation levels (due to global cooling, which reduced rainfall to the Nile's sources in ETHIOPIA and East Africa), resulting in famine. Reliefs from the causeway of Unis (from the Fifth Dynasty), which depict scenes of starving men, and the account of the sage Ipuwer, which discusses the horrible conditions of this time, provide support for this theory. The Old Kingdom ultimately fragmented, with different factions taking control of separate nomes, the once-powerful central state becoming a collection of fiefdoms that would not be unified again until the advent of the Middle Kingdom nearly 200 years later.

**Further reading:** Brewer, Douglas J., and Emily Teeter. *Egypt and the Egyptians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Hassan, Fekri. "The Fall of the Egyptian Old Kingdom." Available online. URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk> (May 2006); James, T. G. H. *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979; Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Berkeley: University of California, 1973; Malek, Jaromir. *In the Shadow of the Pyramids: Egypt during the Old Kingdom*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986; Trigger, Bruce G., et al. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

JASON A. STAPLES

## Olmecs

The Olmec thrived in the Gulf of Mexico coastal lowlands (in the present-day Mexican states of Veracruz and Tabasco) from around 1500 to 400 B.C.E. The Olmec are one of several interrelated but largely independent cultural formations developing in Mesoamerica during roughly the same time period. Together with the highland and lowland Maya, the Zapotec and Mixtec peoples of the Oaxaca Valley, and various culture groups in the central highlands and Basin of Mexico, the Olmec were among the first and most sophisticated Mesoamerican civilizations. Linguists classify their language in the Mixe-Zoquean family, remnants of which survive in various pockets in southern Mexico. *Olmec* is a Nahuatl word (the language of the Aztec), imposed by U.S. archaeologist Matthew W. Stirling in the 1940s, roughly translating as "people of the land of rubber." By around 1800 B.C.E. the semisedentary peoples occupying the gulf coast region exhibited cultural traits not dissimilar from their neighbors elsewhere in Mesoamerica. During the next few centuries, a kind of cultural critical mass was reached, prompting the Olmec to create one of Mesoamerica's first and most distinctive state and cultural systems.

With the Gulf of Mexico providing ample maritime resources and a fertile plateau with the Tuxtla Mountains and their raging rivers looming behind it, the region exhibited many of the environmental attributes necessary for the emergence of complex civilization. By 1500 B.C.E. the Olmec had built an elaborate ceremonial structure at San Lorenzo, within which the ruling groups resided. It is estimated that some 81 million cubic feet of rock, most probably floated on rafts from mountain quarries nearly 50 miles away, provided the structural foundation for the ceremonial platform, which rose 151 feet high and covered nearly 0.5 sq. mile. Surrounding the ceremonial center were hamlets and villages inhabited by farmers, artisans, and commoners, covering nearly 3 sq. miles. The magnitude of the construction indicates a high degree of control over surplus labor by members of the ruling elite. For reasons still not understood, San Lorenzo fell and was abandoned around 1200 B.C.E. Archaeologists have interpreted evidence of ritual desecration of the site's structures and sculptures as originating in internal rebellion, as a kind of religious cleansing.

Around 1150 B.C.E. and some 50 miles to the northeast, the Olmec successors to San Lorenzo began building an even larger and more imposing urban center at La Venta. For the next six centuries, from around 1150 to 500 B.C.E., the city thrived. At its ceremonial core was a

cone-shaped clay mound rising some 101 feet into the air, a large pavilion, and a sunken rectangular plaza, along with lesser structures. The walls and floors of the pavilion and plaza were decorated with pigmented clays and sands, while elaborately stone-chiseled sculptures, including numerous colossal stone heads, were placed strategically throughout. The ceremonial center was reserved for the ruling elite, while the vast majority of La Venta's inhabitants resided in surrounding hamlets and villages. The Olmec built similar urban complexes to the northwest of San Lorenzo, at Tres Zapotes; about midway between the two at Laguna de los Cerros; and elsewhere in the gulf coast lowlands.

The economic underpinnings of Olmec civilization rested on a combination of intensive and extensive agriculture, harvesting of diverse maritime resources, and networks of local, regional, and long-distance trade and exchange. Long-distance trade and exchange relations extended throughout much of Mesoamerica, including the Maya zones to the south and east; into the central highlands; and far to the west and south, into contemporary Oaxaca and Guerrero States.

The Olmec left no written record beyond petroglyphs, carvings, and paintings, leaving the core features of Olmec cultural, religious, and political systems a mystery. Olmec art was highly stylized, technically advanced, and innovatively crafted and carried a host of religious and cosmological meanings. The Olmec are perhaps best known for their massive stone heads, most carved of basalt. Some have noted that these stone heads exhibit distinctly African characteristics, with their broad, flat noses and large lips, and suggested African influence in the formation of Olmec civilization. Most scholars discount the African-influence hypothesis, instead interpreting the Olmec as a distinctly Mesoamerican cultural tradition that emerged from wholly indigenous cultural antecedents.

Other artistic objects crafted by the Olmec include huge and elaborately carved stele depicting various mythological and cosmological scenes, masks and mosaics composed of diverse precious stones and minerals, intricately crafted ceramics and vessels, and small and exquisitely carved figurines made of jade, serpentine, greenstone, and other rare minerals. Many of the latter exhibit what has been called "howling baby" or "were-jaguar" imagery. Olmec art also includes stylized depictions of snakes, toads, eagles, and many other natural creatures and supernatural entities. By around 350 B.C.E. La Venta and other Olmec centers were, like San Lorenzo nearly nine centuries earlier, destroyed and abandoned. What the Olmec left in their wake was of

inestimable influence in shaping the subsequent history of Mesoamerica.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading:** Chan, R. Pina. *The Olmec: Mother Culture of Mesoamerica*. New York: Rizzoli, 1989; Coe, Michael D. *The Olmec World: Ritual and Rulership*. Princeton, NJ: Art Museum at Princeton, 1996; Flannery, Kent V., and Joyce Marcus. "Formative Mexican Chiefdoms and the Myth of the 'Mother Culture.'" *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* (v.19, 2000); Miller, Mary Ellen. *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Olympic Games

The Olympic Games of the ancient world were one of four athletic competitions associated with four ancient Greek religious celebrations. In addition to the Olympic Games, which were held every four years in Olympia in honor of Zeus, these athletic competitions included the Nemean Games, held every two years in Nemea also in honor of Zeus; the Pythian Games, held every four years in Delphi in honor of Apollo; and the Isthmian Games, held every two years in Corinth, in honor of Poseidon. By the fifth century B.C.E. these biannual and quadannual athletic celebrations formed an athletic circuit, in which the most outstanding athletes of the ancient world competed.

The Olympic Games were the oldest and the most significant of these athletic festivals. While the origins of the Olympics are unknown, the Greeks developed several legends celebrating physical strength, competition, and skill. These include Hercules founding the games in honor of his own physical prowess. Others contended that the games celebrated Zeus's defeat of Cronus in their battle for the hills overlooking Olympia, and yet others claimed the games commemorated Pelops, who won a beautiful bride in a chariot race contested in Olympia. Legends aside, Olympia became a shrine for Zeus in c. 1000 B.C.E., and it is then that historians believe the athletic competition associated with the religious celebrations in honor of Zeus began. At the beginning of the games the athletes pledged to compete fairly in the name of Zeus, otherwise suffer significant fines, which went to the erection of statues and shrines to the god of Olympia.

The first recorded Olympic competition was in 776 B.C.E.; the footrace of approximately 200 meters (656 feet) long, the *stade*, was the only competition held at that time. In 724 B.C.E. the games expanded to include a double race of approximately 400 meters (1,312 feet). A long-distance race of 4,800 meters (15,748 feet) was added in 720 B.C.E., wrestling and the pentathlon in 708 B.C.E., boxing in 688 B.C.E., and a chariot race in 680 B.C.E. From 632 to 616 B.C.E. footraces, wrestling, and boxing were added for adolescent athletes. Finally a 200-meter race in armor was added in 520 B.C.E. Until 550 B.C.E. these events were held in open spaces at the foot of the hills surrounding Olympia. In that year construction began of a hippodrome, a stadium with the capacity to seat 40,000 spectators, a GYMNASIUM, and a palaestra. Footraces were held in the stadium, the inside length of which equaled the distance of the *stade*.

In 472 B.C.E. the format and order of the Olympic Games were standardized over five days, of which only two and a half were devoted to sport. Religious ceremonies, pledges, sacrifices, and singing took place on the first day. Athletic competition started on the second day with the chariot race and the pentathlon, an event consisting of the discus and javelin throws, standing broad jump, a 200-meter race, and wrestling. The longer footraces were held on the third day. Heavy events took place on the fourth day, which included wrestling, boxing, pancratium, and the 200-meter race in armor. Prizes—wreathes of olive branches to the winners—were distributed on the fifth day, in addition to religious celebrations, praises to Zeus, and a banquet of meat from sacrificed animals.

Every four years before the Olympic Games started, three heralds left Olympia, traveled throughout the Greek world, and declared a sacred truce in honor of Zeus. Athletes, coaches, trainers, and spectators embarked to Olympia, allowed free and unrestrained travel through regions ravaged by war, and arrived about a month before the start of the games. Athletes had to verify that they were Greek citizens and that they were not slaves or criminals. They then swore to Zeus that they had trained for at least 10 months before reaching Olympia. The final month of training, the most rigorous of the athlete's preparation, was conducted under strict supervision of judges. During this period elimination rounds were held in most events.

For the most part the ancient Olympians were wealthy aristocrats, who could afford to spend their time training for sport, could hire coaches and trainers, and owned horses and chariots. In 450 B.C.E. athletes from the lower classes began to compete in the Olympic



*The ancient Olympic Games were held in honor of Zeus and included religious celebrations, banquets, and praises to Zeus.*

Games and the other periodic contests. Wealthy patrons from the GREEK CITY-STATES financed the training and travel of these athletes, who represented the Greek city-states. While Olympians may have been amateurs in the sense that they did not receive material reward for their athletic achievement, the Olympic movement was a great commercial enterprise. Moreover, the Olympic Games were not open to women athletes or spectators, but women had their own athletic competition at Olympia—the Heraean Games—in honor of Hera, the sister-wife of Zeus. Held in celebration of fertility, the Heraean Games predate the Olympics, reflecting the matriarchal character of early Greek society.

The Olympic Games began to decline in the third century C.E., as the Greeks lost faith in their classical deities, in whose honor the games had originated and flourished. Names of Olympic champions were no longer officially recorded after 285 C.E. By the end of the fourth century Christian reformers demanded that all pagan temples be closed, and the religious rites associated with them ceased. Although the religious rituals associated with the Olympic Games came to an end in 393–394 C.E., the athletic competition persisted into the fifth century. In the late fifth and early sixth centuries northern invaders ravaged Olympia, destroying the temples, athletic facilities, and statues to Zeus and other heroes; the final blow to Olympia

came in 522 and 551, when two terrific earthquakes redirected the Alpheus River, turning Olympia into marshland.

See also CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON.

**Further reading:** Baker, William J. *Sports in the Western World*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988; Finley, M. I., and H. W. Pleket. *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1979; Gaff, Jackie. *Ancient Olympics*. Chicago: Hannemann Library, 2004; Mandell, Richard C. *Sport: A Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984; Young, David C. *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*. Chicago: Ares, 1984.

ADAM R. HORNBUCKLE

## Oriental Orthodox Churches

The cluster of ancient churches that were not in agreement with the councils of the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH are often referred to corporately as the Oriental Orthodox Churches. These churches include the Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Malankara, Eritrean, and Syrian churches, because these do not accept the Chalcedonian formula that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH has two natures in one person. As a result they fell out of communion with the rest of the Christian world and did not participate with the church councils after 451 C.E.

These churches often were not understood and were disparaged by Greek and Latin theologians. They were wrongly labeled in ancient times as Monophysites ("one-nature" believers"), but in reality they affirm that Jesus was an inseparable union of divinity and humanity, a position not much different from the Chalcedonian formula. The word *Copt* is a derivation of the word for Egyptian. Copts considered themselves descendants of the PHARAOHS and believed that King SOLOMON had ties to their land. Their biblically rich legends say that they were converted and organized by the gospel writer and disciple of Jesus, Mark. Their Christianization is hinted at in the New Testament (Acts of the Apostles), and DIOCLETIAN's severe persecution of Egyptian Christians (c. 300 C.E.) proves that Christianity had made great strides there.

It was in ALEXANDRIA that a wellspring of creative thinking emerged. Two of its most notable teachers were Christian, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN. Their predecessor, PHILO, was Jewish. All three were known for their religious accommodations to the

Greek conceptual world. Origen's pupils were Heraclas (first to be called "pope" in Coptic annals) and Gregory Thaumaturgos; other Egyptians influenced by him were the Christian authorities Anthony and ATHANASIUS, as well as non-Egyptians such as JEROME, EPHREM, and the CAPPADOCIANS. The atmosphere of Alexandria was open and experimental, and many new ideas of the faith were tried out there. Alexandria was every bit the equal of such other early Christian centers as Rome, Antioch, and, later, CONSTANTINOPLE.

It was with the council of 451, convened by a pro-Roman emperor, Marcion, that Alexandria and Coptic Christianity began to part company with the Greek and Latin Churches. Egypt was the main center for theology outside Constantinople and Rome, and because of its influence throughout the Near Eastern world, the other Oriental Orthodox Churches were gradually persuaded to take sympathetic positions. They ultimately decided to reject Chalcedon as unwarranted invention. Egyptian Christians who held to the Chalcedon position were called Melkites and found fellowship with the Greek and Latin Churches, while the majority of the Egyptian people held to the older formulation and became known simply as the Copts. The civil authorities vainly tried to force change upon the bishops and the people. To this day the Copts and their Oriental Orthodox confreres bitterly remember the cleavage caused by Chalcedon.

MONASTICISM took the lead in the stability of the COPTIC CHRISTIAN CHURCH, and through the Copts, monasticism played a key role in all of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The pioneer in the movement was Anthony, who fled from the world's attractions to follow Christ in the spiritual warfare of the desert. Eventually, Anthony's story was told throughout the Christian world—especially in the next century by Athanasius—and scores of devotees headed for the deserts of Egypt, the Holy Land, and Syria. The ensuing monastic movement had a direct impact on Syriac Christianity and other Oriental churches. Eventually, the movement took hold in the Greek and Latin Churches as well.

As for missionary activities, the Coptic Church is known for its efforts to reach NUBIA and LIBYA. Although Ethiopia is an autonomous Oriental church, it was converted by the influence of two Syrian Christians and connected at first to the Coptic Church. Egyptian monastics are known to have spread their ideas in Mesopotamia, and the oldest continuous monastery in the world, Mar Gabriel, at TURABDIN has archaeological evidence for Coptic residents there. Popular stories circulate concerning the "Theban Legion" of Egyptian monks who

brought monasticism to Europe long before BENEDICT's monastery in Italy. Europeans flocked to the Egyptian monasteries in the fifth and sixth centuries, along with their pilgrimages to Syria's SIMEON THE STYLITE.

Because of their extensive contacts with the imperial Roman and Byzantine world, Copts incorporate a fair number of Greek words in their theology and liturgy. Even their alphabet utilizes Greek characters. However, their vocabulary is from their native Coptic language. By the reign of JUSTINIAN (565) they had a completely separate ecclesial hierarchy, spirituality, and even architecture, reflecting their native character. The Coptic faith is intensely biblical and monastic, like many of the ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches.

Its early literature centered on the Bible, the interpretations of the Bible, and the writings of Coptic holy men and women. Valuable manuscripts of holy writings go back to the second and third centuries. Thousands of papyri survive in the Egyptian desert, making it easy to detail the Coptic culture from the fifth century onward. The writings give the sense that Egypt's upper classes were well educated and piously Christian by the early sixth century. Eventually, Coptic speech and writing gave way to Arabic as the language of the conqueror. The Copts themselves became *dhimmis* ("protected people" of the state) strictly restricted and monitored by the Muslims.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; NICAEA, COUNCIL OF; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Atiya, A. S., and M. N. Swanson. "Coptic Church." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Lindsay Jones. Detroit, MI: MacMillan Reference, 2005; Marsh, Richard, ed. *Prayers from the East: Traditions of Eastern Christianity*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2004.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Origen

(c. 185–c. 253 C.E.) theologian and church leader

Origen of Alexandria represents one of the most fascinating yet controversial figures of the early church. Specific details of Origen's life are somewhat ambiguous, and we must rely largely on the efforts of the fourth-century historian EUSEBIUS. Origen was born around 185 C.E. in ALEXANDRIA and lived during one of the most intense periods of Christian persecution under the

Roman emperor Decius. His parents raised him in a Christian home so devout that his father died willingly as a martyr around 201, and he received a strong Hellenistic education. From a young age Origen taught at the catechetical school in Alexandria, reportedly succeeding CLEMENT as its head at just 18 years of age.

Origen led a lifestyle of strict ascetic discipline, earning him the nickname Adamantios, or Man of Steel. He gained a wide reputation for his extensive teaching and scholarship on biblical exegesis, doctrine, exhortation, and apologetics.

Origen encountered some difficulties, however, when Demetrios, the bishop of Alexandria, convened a synod that excommunicated Origen for preaching as a layman before bishops and for being ordained a priest despite his reputed self-castration. Shortly thereafter, Origen left Alexandria for Caesarea to head a school of theology. He died there around 253 as the result of imprisonment and torture inflicted upon him by Roman persecutors, leaving behind a body of work so vast that it was not all preserved.

One of Origen's greatest contributions to patristic theology consists of his biblical exegesis. Writing in both commentary and homily form, Origen interpreted almost every book of the Old and New Testaments. With his characteristic style Origen usually interpreted scripture in a line-by-line, even word-by-word manner in great detail, sometimes producing multivolume commentaries on a single biblical book, such as Genesis and the Gospel of John.

Those commentaries that have survived offer a wealth of insight and testimony to Origen's exegetical method, which influenced such great patristic figures as JEROME, AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, and BASIL THE GREAT. Origen is particularly known for his use of allegory. As Origen explains in book 4 of *On First Principles*, scripture, with its divine authorship, is capable of yielding meaning on many different levels, including the literal, moral, and spiritual plains. With the guidance of church teaching and the Holy Spirit, one can determine these levels of meaning as one grows in faith.

Origen's reputation unfortunately suffered posthumously with the Origenist controversies in the fourth through the sixth centuries. Following the COUNCIL OF NICAEA in 325, some of Origen's theological views were questioned, including the tendencies to claim that in essence the Son and the Holy Spirit are less than the Father (subordinationism) and to view resurrection in terms of soul rather than body.

While these views were undeniably unorthodox, Origen lived before the ecumenical councils that

established official church doctrine, and these controversies occurred long after his death. While Emperor JUSTINIAN anathematized Origen in 553, he continues to be commended for his positive contributions, especially biblical exegesis, which was praised by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; HELLENIZATION; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Crouzel, Henri. *Origen*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T. and T. Clark, 1989; Danielou, Jean. *Origen*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955; Hanson, R. P. C. *Allegory and Event*. Rev. ed. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002.

JODY VACCARO LEWIS

## ostracism

Ostracism was a well-established practice used in classical Greece during the fifth century B.C.E. to banish public figures from the city. Created by Cleisthenes, it was used in Athens for the expulsion of Hipparchos in 488–487 B.C.E.

Ostracism represented a ritual and symbolic course of action. Far from being a judicial mechanism (no debate or speeches were allowed), ostracism was an effective weapon to attack public individuals who may have gained too much power.

The threat of ostracism was also effective at dissolving open confrontations between enemy parties. However, only a few instances of successful ostracisms have been attested, in most cases against prominent citizens from propertied families, and its actual uses were infrequent.

Each year, during the sixth *prytany* of the assembly, the people decided through a preliminary vote whether an *ostrakophoria* should be organized that year. If they agreed on that, during the eighth *prytany*—that is, two months after the decision—the polling itself took place in the marketplace (agora). During that meeting, each citizen marked a potshard (*ostrakon*) with the name of a person he wished to see expelled from the POLIS and put it into an urn.

No list of candidates was drafted before the election. The man whose name was scratched on the most *ostraka* was exiled from Athens for 10 years, but there is controversy on the number of votes needed for this result: For some specialists a quorum of 6,000 votes was required for the procedure to have effect, while

others believe that a person had to be identified in at least 6,000 votes in order to be ostracized.

Thousands of *ostraka* have been found in different excavations, especially in the Kerameikos and the Athenian agora. Many of them were found bearing the same name (for example, Themistokles) and were apparently written by the same hand and were carefully painted. It is possible that during the two months separating the first decision and the voting, a number of public campaigns were held in order to convince people on the need of ousting a certain person and that prepared *ostraka* were distributed among voters. Contrary to legal punishments ostracism had rather mild consequences. It did not imply confiscation or loss of civic status, and in many cases evidence shows that ostracized individuals, like Kimon or Aristeides, were recalled to the city before the 10-year period had expired.

The last ostracism in Athens was probably held in 416–415 B.C.E., when the demagogue Hyperbolos wanted to banish Alkibiades or Nikias from the city. Threatened by the possibility of being expelled, the two politicians managed to get rid of their common enemy, and Hyperbolos himself was ostracized. Sources indicate that the Athenian people were disgusted by the situation and that the procedure of ostracism was not implemented again. The truth is that new legal mechanisms capable of dealing with the possibility of removing undesirable politicians through lawsuits, such as the *graphe paranomon*, were put into place by this time and helped to address these issues in less unpredictable manners.

Other Greek cities such as Argos, Megara, and Milatos implemented the process of ostracism as well. In Syracuse, it was called *petalismos*, because names were written in olive trees.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES.

**Further reading:** Carcopino, J. *L'ostracisme athénien*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1935; Mossé, C., and A. Schnapp Gourbellion. “Quelques réflexions sur l'ostracism athénien.” In *Veinticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della democrazia*. Paestum, Italy: Fondazione Paestum, 1998; Rhodes, P. J. “The Ostracism of Hyperbolus.” In R. Osborne and S. Hornblower, eds. *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; Thomsen, R. *The Origin of Ostracism: A Synthesis*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1972; Vanderpool, E. *Ostracism at Athens*. Cincinnati, OH: University of Cincinnati Classical Studies, 1973.

EMILIANO J. BUIS

## Ostrogoths and Lombards

The Ostrogoths and Lombards were Germanic barbarians who successively became rulers of post-Roman Italy. The Ostrogoths were the eastern branch of the Gothic peoples, the western being the Visigoths. They first settled in the area of the Ukraine. An early Ostrogothic king, Ermanric, was defeated and conquered by the Huns around 375 C.E. Like other German peoples, the Ostrogoths regained their independence and entered the Roman Empire as Roman allies following the death of the Hunnish king Attila in 453. The Ostrogoths' most important king was THEODORIC, who became king in 474. After ravaging Thrace the young king was diverted westward by the Roman emperor Zeno in CONSTANTINOPLE. Zeno hoped that Theodoric would overcome ODOVACAR, a former barbarian mercenary leader who had overthrown the last Roman emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus, in 476. Theodoric quickly overcame Odovacar and treacherously murdered him.

The Ostrogothic kingdom under Theodoric was the most "civilized" of the post-Roman barbarian kingdoms in the western Mediterranean, marked by the persistence of Roman civilization and the continued acknowledgment of the rule of the Roman emperor at Constantinople. The Roman Senate continued to meet, and many senators served Theodoric's government. Like late Western Roman emperors, Theodoric's capital was at RAVENNA, not Rome. Unlike other barbarian states, the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy did not have different sets of laws for the Romans and the barbarians, although Goths tried Goths in military courts and Romans tried Romans in civilian courts. Like other barbarian states, however, Ostrogothic Italy faced the problem of religious differences. The Ostrogoths were Arian Christians, denying the equality of Christ with God the Father, while their Roman subjects were Orthodox, accepting the doctrine of the Trinity. Toward the end of his reign Theodoric adopted a harsher policy toward the Senate and leading Romans for fear that they were conspiring with the Orthodox emperor.

His grandson Athalaric succeeded Theodoric, but the real power lay with his mother, Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha. Traditional Ostrogoths believed that Amalasuntha leaned too far to the Roman side, and she lacked Theodoric's fame as a war leader. In 534 she was imprisoned and strangled by her husband, Theodahad, who took the Ostrogothic crown for himself. The Ostrogothic kingdom, however, was in the path of the Roman emperor JUSTINIAN I, who aimed at destroying the Arian barbarian powers of the Mediterranean. Proclaim-

ing themselves avengers of Amalasuntha, a Roman army under the famed general Belisarius landed in Italy in 535. Theodahad, a poor leader, was deposed in favor of General Witiges, who was captured and taken to Constantinople in 540. (The Ostrogoths offered to make Belisarius their king, but he refused.) The next Ostrogothic king to emerge, Totila, had some success and even retook Rome but was eventually defeated and killed in the Battle of Busta Gallorum in 552 by the Roman general Narses at the head of a mostly barbarian army. Soon afterward the Ostrogoths disappeared as a people.

The Roman destruction of the Ostrogoths and its accompanying devastation paved the way for the conquest of much of Italy by the much more barbaric Lombards. The Lombards had been established north of the Danube, where they came under increasing pressure from the Avars, a people originating in Central Asia. Under the leadership of their king, Alboin, the Lombards invaded northern Italy and established a kingdom with its capital at Pavia. In subsequent decades they expanded their control over the peninsula.

Unlike the Ostrogoths, however, the Lombards never captured Rome or became masters of all Italy. Their kingdom was also never as centralized as that of their predecessors. The Lombards competed with dukes and the popes for Rome, and with the Eastern Roman or Byzantine emperors for the peninsula. Outside the northern Lombard kingdom, semi-independent Lombard duchies were also established in the south, at Spoleto and Benevento. The Lombards, unlike the Ostrogoths, maintained the dual system of law for Romans and barbarians. Over the course of time, however, they converted from their original pagan and Arian religions to the Catholicism of their subjects, which ended the religious issue with the papacy but left the territorial one. The Byzantine emperors had relinquished their protection of the papacy after the fall of Ravenna to the Lombard king Aistulf in 751. However, the Lombard kingdom was ultimately destroyed by the Frankish kingdom.

The Frankish ruler Pepin the Short invaded Italy in 754, restoring to the papacy lands that the Lombards had taken but not subjugating the Lombard kingdom. He returned in 756, forcing Aistulf to acknowledge the Frank as his overlord. The final destruction of the Lombard kingdom was the work of Pepin's son and successor, Charlemagne, who in 774 made a prisoner of the last Lombard king, Desiderius, and had himself crowned with the iron crown of the Lombards. Bereft of their privileges as a ruling elite, the Lombards of the north assimilated with their one-time Italian subjects, leaving the name of Lombardy to denote a region of

northern Italy. The Normans conquered the last independent Lombard power, the duchy of Benevento, in the 11th century.

See also ARIANISM; LATE BARBARIANS.

**Further reading:** Burns, Thomas S. *A History of the Ostrogoths*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984; Hal-

lenbeck, J. T. *Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1982; Paul the Deacon. *History of the Lombards*. Trans. by William Dudley Foulke. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974.

WILLIAM E. BURNS

# P



## *paideia*

*Paideia* is an ancient Greek system of education designed to show young people how to become an ideal citizen, to strive toward nobility of character, excellence of spirit, usefulness to society, and to exercise the body properly. Most important, it instructs one in how to be the highest form of human possible. These ideals, which may sound lofty to modern readers, were so central to Greek culture prior to 323 B.C.E. that they were a large part of what made someone a Greek. It was believed that to destroy a GREEK CITY-STATE's educational system would destroy that city's culture, and in one noteworthy case, that led directly to a city's collapse, conquest, and obliteration.

*Paideia* was more than just an educational system, as it reflected the very essence of Greek culture. The study of this Greek educational system is the study of ancient Greece itself. In adults as well as children, the concept of *paideia* is tied to the concept of virtue, called *arete*. According to Xenophon, renowned as a scholar, philosopher, soldier, historian, and general, the *paideia* education was "the process of educating man into his true form, the real and genuine human nature." Furthermore, the oldest definition of education (to educe, to draw out) accords with the Greek notion that the ideal true form of a person resides somewhere within that person and can be drawn out by philosophical instruction. The word *paideia* is also used in the word *encyclopedia*, which comes from two Greek words meaning a "general education." The two greatest, most powerful, and most renowned Greek city-states were

Athens and Sparta. Xenophon, steeped in Spartan culture, discussed the meaning of *paideia* in his treatise on the Spartan (Lacedaemonian) constitution. *Paideia* also permeated Athenian culture. The Ephebic Oath was sworn by an Athenian youth at the completion of his boyhood training (at about age 19) at the point when he ceased to be a boy and became a man and an Athenian citizen. The goal of Athenian *paideia* was in large part to produce citizens who could live up to each of the following points of the Ephebic Oath:

I will not disgrace my sacred arms  
Nor desert my comrade, wherever I am stationed.  
I will fight for things sacred  
And things profane.  
And both alone and with all to help me.  
I will transmit my fatherland not diminished  
But greater and better than before.  
I will obey the ruling magistrates  
Who rule reasonably  
And I will observe the established laws  
And whatever laws in the future  
May be reasonably established.  
If any person seek to overturn the laws,  
Both alone and with all to help me,  
I will oppose him.  
I will honor the religion of my fathers.  
I call to witness the Gods . . .  
The borders of my fatherland,  
The wheat, the barley, the vines,  
And the trees of the olive and the fig.

The Ephebic Oath was designed to produce well-rounded guardians of the Athenian culture, belief system, and philosophical thought process. Note the emphasis on use of skill at arms to defend the laws, the religion, and the sacred. Other examples of Greek society's lasting attention on *paideia* abound, particularly in the principles that were inscribed on their most sacred places. For example, inscribed on the temple at Delphi, to which even the wisest of the Greeks journeyed to seek the advice of the god Phoebus Apollo, are such phrases as "know thyself" and "nothing in excess."

The Greek city-states were alike in many respects, and yet they fought with one another for many generations. It was not atypical for one Greek city to annihilate or completely enslave another city as a result of this internecine warfare. Perhaps the most powerful Greek city-state was Sparta, renowned for its powerful military, to which all male children were carefully indoctrinated from an early age. Many ancient authors note the number of nations that were saved from destruction by a single Spartan warrior. An endangered nation that appealed to Sparta for help would receive a single Spartan commander, who would successfully organize the defense into a victorious army. *Paideia* was instrumental in the success of this city over many generations during which a variety of powerful rivals were unable to overcome Sparta.

This conclusion is supported by the eventual conquest of Sparta by Argos, another Greek city. Argos did not destroy the town of Sparta, slaughter its citizens after the battle, or enslave its population. Argos compelled the Spartans to replace their own *paideia* with the *paideia* used in Argos. Never again was Sparta at the forefront of Greek military powers. Roman units, having heard of Sparta's reputation, eagerly sought a battle with the city but instead found a humble village inhabited by mostly elderly people, unable to mount a noteworthy defense. This points to the difference—between being a superpower and being an anonymous agrarian village—that *paideia* made to the Greeks.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HELLENIZATION; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

**Further reading:** Plutarch. *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*. New York: Modern Library, 1932; ———. *On Sparta*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2005; Swift, Fletcher Harper. *The Athenian Ephebic Oath of Allegiance in American Schools and Colleges*. University of California Publications in Education 11, no 1 (1947).

JOSEPH R. GERBER

## paleoanthropology

For three generations the Leakey family has been pioneers in the field of paleoanthropology, seeking to uncover the origins of human beings. Louis Leakey (1903–72), who was born in Kenya, started exploring remains of human ancestors in East Africa in the 1930s. Experts, according to conventional wisdom, believed that Asia had been the source of human evolution and greeted him with initial skepticism.

By the late 1940s Leakey and his wife, Mary Leakey (1913–96), had found the skull of a Miocene hominoid and went on to find fossil bones of other human ancestors. Although many of Leakey's conclusions regarding the age and classifications of his discoveries remain highly controversial, his works led the way for important new interpretations and work into the origins of hominids. In the Olduvai Gorge in northern Tanzania, Mary excavated remains of *Zinjanthropus boisei*, now known as *Australopithecus boisei*, in 1959. In 1979 she found a line of early human footprints dating back 3.6 million years, thereby showing that early human ancestors were bipedal. These and other ongoing explorations have led most experts to conclude that Africa was the evolutionary source of humankind.

Their son, Richard E. Leakey (b. 1944) and his wife, Meave G. Leakey (b. 1942), carried on work in northern Kenya on Lake Turkana where they found important skulls of *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus* and a nearly complete skeleton of "Turkana Boy," a youngster that lived some 1.6 million years ago. In 2001 Meave found a skull of *Kenyanthropus platyopsa*, a new genus and species. Their daughter, Louise N. Leakey (b. 1972), continues the family tradition and heads the Koobi Fora Research Project along Lake Turkana searching and excavating for fossils; Louise's research focuses on the evolution of early human ancestors, seeking answers to the origins of *Homo*, humankind's genus. New generations of paleoanthropologists, including Donald Johanson, Yohannes Haile-Selassie, and others, have expanded fieldwork into Ethiopia, as well as central Africa. In 1974 Johanson discovered "Lucy" an early human ancestor. Scientists now believe that human evolution dates back 6 or 7 million years with about a dozen different species of human ancestors.

The Leakeys were also ardent environmentalists and supporters of animal conservation. Louis mentored a new generation of young scholars such as Jane Goodall, Dian Fossey, and Biruté Galdikas Brindamour, who conducted groundbreaking field studies of chimpanzees, mountain gorillas, and orangutans. Similarly, Richard

became head of the Kenya Wildlife Services, championing the cause of wildlife preservation and a ban on the sale of ivory in order to preserve elephant herds, as well as serving as a member of the Kenyan parliament.

See also ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT; FERTILE CRESCENT.

**Further reading:** Johanson, Donald E., and Edgar Blake. *From Lucy to Language*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996; Leakey, Richard, and Roger Lewin. *Origins: What New Discoveries Reveal About the Emergence of Our Species and Its Possible Future*. London: Penguin, 1991; Morell, Virginia. *Ancestral Passions: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Humankind's Beginnings*. New York: Touchstone, 1995.

JANICE J. TERRY

## Paleolithic age

The Paleolithic age in the Pleistocene epoch of prehistory begins with the first use of manufactured tools by hominids and ends with the thaw of the last ice age (leading into the Mesolithic and the NEOLITHIC AGE with the advent of agriculture). Its exact duration varies from place to place and from hominid group to hominid group. Divided into three sections—chronologically the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic (with the Epipaleolithic following this last in place of the Mesolithic in parts of the world without major glaciation)—our hard data on the Paleolithic is scant compared to the archaeological riches of the Neolithic. Most of what we know is inferred from fossil record, amplified by genetic research and art from the Upper Paleolithic.

The term *hominid* refers to members of the Homidae family of primates, including all humans, chimpanzees, gorillas, and orangutans. The term *human* is more loaded and more controversial than *hominid* (or *hominine* for those hominids with a capacity for language and culture). According to paleontologist Richard Leakey, *human* refers to all bipedal hominids, which includes members of the genus *Australopithecus* and the genus *Homo*.

### BIPEDALISM

Bipedalism, or the ability to stand and walk upright, was a major change relative to the human ancestors and a significant alteration in structure. It was necessary for tool use, because it keeps two limbs free for other manipulation, although because of the several million year gap between bipedalism and tool use, there must have been some other initial benefit. There are two leading

theories, the first positing the ability to carry things while walking. Carrying may seem trivial at first, but consider the length of time that human children are helpless—compared to other species—and the gain to the species in being able to better protect those children.

The second theory privileges the energy efficiency of human bipedal locomotion. Although initial studies suggested that bipedalism is less efficient than quadrupedalism, this is true only when comparing bipeds to quadrupeds like cats, dogs, and horses—species that have evolved to make their quadrupedal motion as efficient as possible.

### TOOL USAGE AND BRAIN SIZE

There are four stages of human prehistory, the first of which is the evolution of that first human species—the bipedal ape descendant—7 million years ago. The second is the adaptive radiation of these early humans. *Adaptive radiation* is a biological term to describe the rapid creation of new species following a radical change in environment or ability, in this case the gains of bipedalism. With the third stage, the *Homo* genus arose from this speciation with a considerable increase in brain size. *Homo erectus* dates to 2 million years ago, and its predecessor, *Homo habilis* (who some researchers would classify as an australopithecine) dates to 500,000 years before that. The final stage is the arrival of modern humans: imaginative, innovative, artistic, language-using hominines.

Not every human species is an ancestor of modern humans; in fact, on the human family tree most are cousins or uncles. The most significant to the Paleolithic age are the *Homo* species. The smaller-brained australopithecines, despite their bipedalism, lacked a significant modern human feature: the two vertical canals in the inner ear are much smaller in *Australopithecus* and pre-human hominids than in the *Homo* genus. It is thought that those canals may contribute to upright balance in bipedal locomotion, and while we know from fossilized footprints and the structure of the *Australopithecus* pelvis that he must have been bipedal, he may have been less steady on his feet. *Australopithecus* was not a toolmaker, though *Australopithecus robustus* had the manual dexterity required. Non-*Homo* hominids lacked the mental capacity to conceive of tools and manufacture them, but they probably used them opportunistically—as chimpanzees can learn to use keys, for instance. Tool use only flourished in the *Homo* genus.

*Homo habilis* was probably the progenitor of the genus, descended from one of the australopithecines. Although his cranial capacity—and the surmised size of

his brain—was half as large as the australopithecines', it is still less than half that of modern humans', and some researchers are reluctant to include *habilis* in the genus, preferring to see him as the last of the australopithecines. *Habilis*'s arms were unusually long—like an australopithecine's—and his hips were wider. His increased brain size was enough to master the manufacture of stone tools. Tools allowed *habilis* to rely on meat as a larger part of his diet—an enormous metabolic and evolutionary benefit. A less specialized, more flexible diet allows a species to prosper in more environments and through more climatic changes.

### OLDUWAN INDUSTRY

*Habilis* was an Oldowan tool user. The Oldowan industry is named for the Olduvai Gorge in modern-day Tanzania. In an archaeological context an *industry* refers to a related group of artifacts and the processes directly related to them—not to the people, their other practices and behaviors, or their species. (Thus *habilis* was an Oldowan user, but Oldowan users are not by definition *Homo habilis*.) The Oldowan industry is found in eastern and southern Africa as well as Europe—where a *Homo erectus* group brought it. Oldowan tools were nearly always right-handed. Lateralization—the unequal distribution of skill and tasks between the right and left hand—developed in the *Homo* genus and possibly in *Australopithecus*. Lateralization is an evolutionary puzzle, not simply because of the question of what benefit hand specialization has, but because left-handedness has existed in a minority of the population for so long that there must be a reason for its genetic preservation.

The basic method of the Oldowan industry was to strike an appropriate stone (such as obsidian or chalcedony) with another stone, called a hammer stone, which fit easily into the hand and was sufficiently hard (such as quartz). The blow would produce flakes, and the cone of force from the blow made for easily controlled fractures to give the flakes sharp cutting edges—sharp enough to cut through animal hide or saw through tendons, the fundamental tasks of early cutting tools.

### ACHEULEAN AND CLACTONIAN INDUSTRIES

The Oldowan industry developed into the Acheulean and Clactonian industries, and the groups had contact with each other. Acheulean toolmakers refined Oldowan methods by using pieces of wood and bone to trim flakes through pressure instead of repeated hammer stone strikes, allowing the creation of cutting edges nearly as sharp as modern razorblades—and for the first hand-axes, made from the sharpened core the flakes left be-

hind. While the Oldowan industry was barely advanced from opportunism, consisting in crude terms of broken rocks, the Acheulean required advanced planning and intent—the province of the larger-brained *Homo erectus*.

### THE HOMO SPECIES

Of the many *Homo* species that existed, seven other than *habilis* and *sapiens* (modern humans) are worth examining:

*Homo rudolfensis* is attested in only one specimen, a skull estimated to be 1.9 million years old. It may be a specimen of *Homo habilis*, an ancestor, or a sibling also descended from the australopithecines, but this uncertainty demonstrates that our knowledge of the human family tree is probably full of gaps that future discoveries may fill.

*Homo erectus* was once believed to be the oldest member of the genus but remains significant not only because of its considerable cranial capacity but because it is responsible for much of humankind's migration. *Erectus* settled in much of Africa and Southeast Asia, spreading its tool industries (Oldowan and Acheulean). *Erectus* was probably the first species to exhibit social behavior similar to modern humans', and he may have abandoned *habilis*'s scavenging to become a full-fledged hunter-gatherer. He would not have been capable of complex speech: If he had a language, his vocal system would have limited it to simple sounds. *Erectus* is the common ancestor of *Homo floresiensis*, *Homo neanderthalensis*, and *Homo sapiens*, and a relation of some sort to *Homo ergaster*.

*Homo ergaster* is probably a child of *erectus*. Although some believe *ergaster* came first, he has a larger cranial capacity and generally more modern features. The fossils found with *ergaster* remains suggest that he was an Acheulean tool user and had mastered fire, perhaps using it to cook food.

*Homo antecessor* is among the oldest human remains found in Europe and was probably the child of *erectus* and an ancestor of both *Homo sapiens* and *Homo neanderthalensis*: It is widely believed to be either the parent of *Homo heidelbergensis* or a specimen of that species, and *sapiens* to be either its child or grandchild. *Antecessor* remains have been found with manmade cuts in the bone, which could indicate either cannibalism or inter-species predation among different *Homo* species.

*Homo heidelbergensis* is the parent of *Homo neanderthalensis*. Though little is known of it beyond its Acheulean tool use, it may have been the first to bury its dead, and if the genus had not already developed a capacity for language with *erectus*, *heidelbergensis* may have been the first to do so.

*Homo neanderthalensis* is popularly known as Neanderthal Man and lived for some 200,000 years, dying off 29,000 years ago, making it one of the last relatives of modern humans. Slightly shorter, stouter, and more barrel-chested than modern humans, *neanderthalensis* had a larger cranial capacity and probably a bigger brain. He was part of the Mousterian industry, with a heavy reliance on bone, horn, and wood implements for shaping flakes—and preferred working with wood and bone over stone. Since *neanderthalensis* lived in a cold climate and through part of the last ice age, these organic materials may have been more practical than flint and obsidian, which become brittle and splinter in cold temperatures. *Neanderthalensis* may have possessed human speech: Given the shape of his larynx and the position of the tongue, it would have been higher pitched and more nasal than the modern human voice. There's considerable evidence that he buried his dead, but whether this had any religious significance is a matter of speculation.

Until very recently *neanderthalensis* was believed to be the last living member of the *Homo* genus other than *Homo sapiens*—our only cousin or sibling. In the 21st century *Homo floresiensis* remains were discovered on the Indonesian island of Flores, where island speciation had resulted in the development of giant lizards, dwarf elephants, and other creatures of atypical size. *Floresiensis*, which died out only 12,000 years ago in the Neolithic, was a furry dwarf with long arms and small brain, at the low range of chimpanzee brain size. His cranial capacity is small enough to warrant debate about whether he qualifies as a *Homo* or *Australopithecus*, but with such a late date there can be little doubt of his *Homo* parentage through some child of *erectus*. It is too soon to predict how this will change our models of prehistoric man.

Modern humans—the species *Homo sapiens*—developed in the Middle Paleolithic period, a time also marked by the mastery of fire by human species, the evolution of *neanderthalensis*, and most likely the use of fire to smoke and preserve meat. *Homo sapiens* had a greater cranial capacity than any species other than *neanderthalensis*, and it may have been luck that preserved *sapiens* while his *neanderthalensis* cousin perished: Both were expert toolmakers, and both were well adapted to many environments. *Sapiens* developed in Africa, and there are two competing theories to explain how the species populated the rest of the world.

### THE ORIGIN OF MODERN HUMANS

One theory is the “out of Africa” hypothesis, also known as the “Eden” hypothesis or single-origin hy-

pothesis, which stipulates that all *Homo sapiens* stem from a common ancestral group that began in Africa and migrated elsewhere, perhaps following the migratory patterns of *erectus* (even while displacing that ancestor species). The multiregional origin hypothesis, in contrast, proposes that different ethnic groups of *Homo sapiens* developed from different groups of *Homo erectus* and did so independently. Supporters of this hypothesis believe that, facing similar evolutionary needs, *sapiens* would be the inevitable evolutionary end of *erectus* and that no common ancestor group is needed to explain the presence of *Homo sapiens* in so many different environments. While some fossil evidence can be used in support of the multiregional hypothesis, and the discovery of *Homo floresiensis* at least demonstrates that non-*sapiens* species of the *Homo* genus persisted very late into prehistory, molecular data increasingly supports the single-origin hypothesis.

### REGIONALIZATION AND LANGUAGE

During the Upper Paleolithic—about 40,000 years ago—regional cultures developed, with hunter-gatherers organizing into groups with stronger ethnic ties. Generally such groups would be composed of bands of about 20 to 25 family members, with 20 bands associating together in a loose tribe. Ethnic identity—the idea of associating with these tribal members, or a related tribe, even without direct family ties—began to develop. Bone and horn were adopted as toolmaking materials, making for better darts, spears, and harpoons; barbed fish hooks and toothed tools (like primitive saws) were developed. It was also during this last stage that humans migrated to Australia (about 50,000 years ago) and the Americas (25,000 years ago).

Language may date to the Upper Paleolithic, but researchers are at odds over the question of whether a human species with the capacity of speech could have existed without developing language. There is no evidence of language use in the Middle Paleolithic, and arguments for it depend on the biological fact that the speech organs existed and the notion that advanced tool use and hunting would not have been possible without advanced communication among members of the group.

By the Upper Paleolithic it is highly likely that language had developed. Primitive art emerges at this time: the so-called Venus figurines, the first of which (made of stone, not ceramic like the Upper Paleolithic examples) actually appear in the Middle Paleolithic. Venus figurines were small, crude figurines of women with prominent stomachs from pregnancy or obesity. They have been the subject of much speculation, particularly

in the area of prehistoric religion and magic: They may have been symbols of fertility or portraits of a mother goddess. Some researchers have used them to support a theory that early cultures were religious and/or socially matriarchal. Another figurine from the middle of the Upper Paleolithic, found in a German cave, shows a statue of a lion man similar in style to various French CAVE PAINTINGS. The craftsmanship is extremely sophisticated compared to the abstraction of the Venus figurines, with facial details and incised strokes to represent fur.

The Paleolithic ended with the coming of the ice age in those parts of the world where glaciation occurred and the coming of agriculture. The Mesolithic in glaciated areas and the Epipaleolithic in the rest of the world, transitional periods leading to the Neolithic immediately prior to "early history," followed.

See also ANDES; NEOLITHIC; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY; RELIGIOUS INCLINATIONS, PREHISTORY.

**Further reading:** Ardrey, Robert. *The Hunting Hypothesis*. New York: Atheneum, 1976; Foley, Robert A. *Another Unique Species*. New York: Longman Scientific and Technical, 1987; Gibson, Kathleen, and Tim Ingold, eds. *Tools, Language, and Intelligence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Jaynes, Julian. *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*. New York: Penguin, 1993; Johanson, Donald C., and Maitland A. Edey. *Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981; Leakey, Richard. *The Origin of Humankind*. New York: HarperCollins, 1994; Lewin, Roger. *The Origin of Modern Humans*. New York: W. H. Freeman, 1993; Pinker, Steven. *The Language Instinct*. New York: William Morrow, 1994; Potts, Richard. *Early Hominid Activities at Olduvai*. New York: Aldine, 1988; Stringer, Christopher, and Clive Gamble. *In Search of the Neanderthals*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.

BILL KTE'PI

## Palmyra

Palmyra (City of Palms), an oasis in the northeastern desert in present-day Syria, became a trading center and stopping point on the SILK ROAD as early as the 19th century B.C.E. Its importance as a trading point rose as the SELEUCID EMPIRE declined and the Palmyrenes became middlemen in trade destined for other parts of the Roman Empire. It was made a Roman protectorate in the first century C.E. whereby residents became Roman citizens, with all its benefits, but enjoying consid-

erable local autonomy. As their wealth from trade and commerce grew, Palmyrenes built lavish temples, public monuments, and elaborate stone funerary towers for the burial of their dead.

The Palmyran ruler Odaynath defeated the Sassanids in 260 C.E. and then proclaimed himself king of kings. Soon afterward he was assassinated, perhaps on orders from his wife, Queen Zenobia. Known for her beauty and ambition, Zenobia, who claimed to have descended from Cleopatra, ruled in the name of her young son. Exceedingly ambitious, she led major military battles in her own right. By 269 she ruled virtually all of Syria and then moved to invade Egypt and parts of present-day Turkey. Declaring complete independence from Rome, she had coins minted with her own image and in 271 proclaimed her son Augustus. Rome retaliated by launching a successful military attack under Domitius Aurelian on Palmyra in 272. Aurelian took the city and captured Zenobia. He spared the city, leaving only a small force to maintain Roman rule. Shortly thereafter Palmyra rose in revolt, and Aurelian retaliated by having his troops pillage and raze the city, which never recovered its former glory. Zenobia was allegedly brought back to Rome in golden chains and pensioned off to live out the rest of her days in Tibur, present-day Tivoli, in Italy.

See also NABATAEANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; SASSANID EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Cassini, Eleonora. *A Journey to Palmyra: Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2005; Stoneman, Richard. *Palmyra and Its Empire*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

JANICE J. TERRY

## Panathenaic Festival

The Panathenaic Festival (Panathenaia) was Athens's most important religious celebration and the second oldest one in the region. During the festival inhabitants of Attica (Panathenaic means "all-Athenian") and other parts of the empire honored the goddess Athena Polias's birthday (who had leaped from the head of Zeus, according to myth). Since Athena was the city's protector, the whole festivity had great religious and political significance.

It was traditionally celebrated around the 28th day of Hekatombion, the first month in the Athenian calendar (roughly July), in which some other minor festivals,

such as the Kronia and the Synoikia, also took place. In accordance with tradition it was King Theseus—an Athenian hero closely related to Athena—who instituted the Panathenaia, among other cults (other sources, however, point at Erechtonios as its creator). Under the archonship of Hippokleides and afterward under PEISTRATUS (566 B.C.E.) the festival was extended to include a number of athletic competitions and musical performances. The Great Panathenaia—including these games and contests—commenced every four years. Both literary and archaeological sources concerning the content of the Great Panathenaia are abundant: To some extent the PARTHENON frieze is consecrated to the depiction of several episodes of the festival's procession, and an inscriptional catalog of prizes for the contests of the early fourth century B.C.E. has been found on the Acropolis.

The Panathenaic Games, held during the large-scale festival, included solo and group contests. The athletic competition began with individual gymnastic activities, in which participants from all over the Greek world could take part: footraces (according to their distance they were called *stadion*, *diaulos*, *dolichos*, and *hippios*), wrestling, boxing, pancratium (a mixture of both boxing and wrestling), pentathlon (which included five events: jump, *stade* race or *dromos*, discus throw, javelin throw, and wrestling), four-horse and two-horse chariot races, javelin throwing from horseback, and *apobatai* (hoplites getting on and off moving chariots). Team contests were reserved to Athenian citizens and included a mock combat with cavalry (*anthippasia*), a beauty competition among athletes (*euandriion*), military dancing known as the *pyrriche*, and a regatta. In general, prizes for the winners consisted of amphoras filled with olive oil, since olive trees were especially sacred to the goddess Athena.

The festival also included poetic and musical competition, open to participants from all over Greece. There was a rhapsodic contest on recitation of Homeric texts and other epic poetry, and several prizes were offered for the best singers and players of instrumental music (on the *kithara* and *aulos*). Once PERICLES had built the Odeion, these activities are believed to have taken place there. In the evening a torch race (*lampadephoria*) was organized; the fire was brought from the altar of Eros in the Academy, and a nocturnal celebration with dances and singing (*pannychis*) followed.

The Panathenaic procession, which was organized the following day, was one of the most distinctive aspects of the festival, and its origin could perhaps date from the seventh century B.C.E. Every year a special robe (*peplos*) was woven and decorated, as a gift for Athena, by working maidens (*ergastinai*) carefully chosen from

Athenian aristocratic families. Being selected to work on the cloth was an important civic honor. The parade (*pompe*) started early at the Dipylon Gate, in the northern part of the city, and walked through the Agora to the Acropolis into the Erechtheion, to finally place the new embroidered *peplos*, dyed in saffron, on a human-scale statue of Athena Polias.

Maidens with head baskets (*kanephoroi*), the *ergastinai*, and several men from all ages and classes took part in the procession as well. Even *metics* (residents of Attica who were not properly citizens) joined the procession, serving as *skaphophoroi* and carrying offerings, such as cakes and honeycombs. However, they could not follow the whole parade up to the Acropolis, as they had to stay at the gateway, or *propylaia*. A large hecatomb was made afterward upon the altar of Athena, and meat from sacrificed cows and sheep was used in a ritual meal at the end of the festival. Attendance to the banquet was proportionally distributed on the basis of *demes* (local districts of Attica). As a whole the Panathenaic Festival was not only the celebration of a sacred cult but also a dynamic spectacle where the power of Athens was expressed and where the ideology of political supremacy was largely confirmed.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK DRAMA; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; GYMNASIUM AND ATHLETICS; OLYMPIC GAMES.

**Further reading:** Golden, M. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Neils, J., ed. *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992; ———, ed. *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996; Parke, H. W. *Festivals of the Athenians*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977; Simon, E. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

EMILIANO J. BUIS

## Parthenon

The Parthenon was built in Athens, Greece, during the fifth century B.C.E. to honor the city's patron deity, Athena. Following the Persian War, which ended in 487 B.C.E., Athens was at the height of its power. Under the leadership of PERICLES, the Athenians used war monies to begin building the Parthenon in 448 B.C.E. Architects Ictinus and Callicrates erected the temple atop the



In the 1970s, the Greeks started restoration of the Parthenon, and created measures to protect the historic structure.

southern flank of the Acropolis, the central hill of the GREEK CITY-STATE that was used for defensive and religious purposes, in 17 short years, completing the decorations by 432 B.C.E.

Built of marble from Mount Pentelicus, the Parthenon is of post-and-lintel construction, block on block without mortar. A simple Greek temple plan comprises two back-to-back halls. The smaller inner hall (the *opisthodomos*) housed the treasury and temple rites, while the Parthenon's larger main room (the *cella*) housed the statue of the goddess Athena. The short but wide *cella* is surrounded by a continuous wall of columns (the *peristyle*) that supports the upper elements of the structure between the tops of the columns and the roof (the *entablature*) on massive horizontal beams (the *architrave*). The *cella* also has a large front porch (the *pronaos*). The peristyle columns are of the Doric order. Doric columns are fluted and are topped by plain square or rectangular slabs, without decorated bases. The massive Doric columns have an outward curvature in the middle. This swelling, or *entasis*, is an architectural refinement used to correct the optical illusion from a distance that the column is disproportionately thinner in the middle than at the top and the bottom. Eight Doric columns spread across each end of the Parthenon, with 17 along each side, making the octastyle, peripteral building the largest of all Doric temples.

A colossal polychrome ivory-and-gold cult statue of the goddess Athena Parthenos (Athena, Virgin) by sculptor Phidias (c. 490–c. 430 B.C.E.) stood in the *cella*. A two-

story colonnade (*pteron*) of Doric columns supported a wooden roof above the statue. The roof of the smaller treasury hall was supported by four square-set Ionic columns, which are thinner and more delicate in scale, have decorative bases, and display ornamental scroll capitals (voluttes). The architect Ictinus is credited with this innovative use of the Ionic order within the Doric order. The exterior sculptural decoration of the Parthenon consisted of the metopes, pediments, and the friezes. There were 92 metopes, rectangular panels flanked by triglyphs, which are rectangular blocks containing sculptures in very high relief, above the outer colonnade.

The pediments, triangular gables at the top of the front and back of the temple, bear figures almost in the round. The birth of Athena was placed on the east pediment, and on the west, Athena's contest with the sea god Poseidon for the Athenian lands. The figure of Dionysus and the Three Goddesses from the east pediment are considered to be some of the finest extant examples of classical Greek sculpture. The frieze, a decorative sculpted band that runs horizontally along the Parthenon's entablature for 525 feet, is found above the exterior temple walls and inside the outer colonnade. These contain low-relief sculptures, which were carved in place c. 442–438 B.C.E., of a Panathenaic procession. On the north, bas-relief horsemen are preparing to mount, water bearers carry hydra, and girls and stewards follow. In the central scene on the east side a priest and an attendant holding a *peplos*, the sacred robe presented to Athena during the Panathenaia, enact a ceremony. On either side of them, seated gods look on—Hermes, Dionysus, Demeter, and Ares on the left, and Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis on the right.

In 1806 Thomas Bruce, the seventh earl of Elgin, removed many of the Parthenon sculptures and deposited them in the British Museum. Many of the Parthenon's original sculptures, hence called the "Elgin Marbles," now reside in the Acropolis Museum, the British Museum's Duveen Gallery, and the Louvre. The Parthenon existed as a temple to Athena until the fourth century C.E. During the fifth century the cult statue of Athena was taken to CONSTANTINOPLE where it was destroyed during the Fourth Crusade. Since this time the Parthenon has been used as a Christian church and a mosque. In 1687 the southern side sustained considerable damage in an explosion due to the storage of gunpowder. In 1832 when Greece gained independence, all of the medieval and Ottoman additions were removed from the Parthenon, and it became a national historic precinct of the Greek government. After 1975 the Greeks began to restore the Acropolis, including the Parthenon, and to

create measures to protect the historic structure from tourist traffic and environmental pollution. A full-scale replica of the Parthenon was built in downtown Nashville, Tennessee, in 1897 for the Centennial Exposition, and it houses a full-scale re-creation of the polychromed *Athena Parthenos* statue by sculptor Allen LeQuire.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; CLASSICAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE, GREEK; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Beard, Mary. *The Parthenon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003; Boardman, John. *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985; Carpenter, Rhys. *The Architects of the Parthenon*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1970; Cook, B. F. *The Elgin Marbles*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997; Neils, Jenifer, ed. *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

ALECIA HARPER

## Pataliputra

Pataliputra (now Patna) is located at the confluence of the Ganges and Son Rivers in northeastern India. It was the capital city of the MAURYAN EMPIRE c. 326–184 B.C.E., when it was perhaps the largest city in the world, and again of the GUPTA EMPIRE, 320–550 C.E. ALEXANDER THE GREAT invaded northwestern India in 326 B.C.E. The invasion had a catalytic effect in inspiring an Indian prince, Chandragupta Maurya, to form the first empire on the subcontinent. Chandragupta might have met Alexander and, taking advantage of the latter's death, drove the Greek forces out of India, subdued the tribes and states in northern India, and proclaimed himself ruler at Pataliputra, the capital of a previous local state. Chandragupta fought and then made peace with Seleucus Nicator, Alexander's successor in Asia and founder of the SELEUCID EMPIRE, who sent an ambassador named MEGASTHENES to Pataliputra. Megasthenes kept a diary of his stay in India. The original account has not survived, but segments that were quoted in other ancient works give us the only firsthand information of Pataliputra.

According to Megasthenes, a wooden wall nine miles long and a mile and a half wide surrounded Pataliputra, with 470 towers and a moat that was 900 feet wide. (Modern archaeologists have excavated some huge timbers that date to the Mauryan era.) Six five-men boards in charge of industries, trade and commerce, tax collection, foreigners, vital statistics, and public works administered

the city. Megasthenes also described Chandragupta's lavish palaces, also built of wood. Nothing remains of the palace except fragments of highly polished columns. Between 250 and 240 B.C.E., Chandragupta's grandson Emperor ASHOKA (who had converted to Buddhism) convened the Third Buddhist Council at this city. The council dealt with growing dissension within Buddhism over interpretation of GAUTAMA BUDDHA's teachings and concluded with expelling the followers of the Great Vehicle, or Mahayana Buddhism, and the completion of the TRIPITAKA, or Buddhist canons.

Pataliputra declined after the fall of the Mauryan Empire until the early fourth century C.E., when a man named Chandragupta (not related to the founder of the Mauryan Empire) unified northern India and crowned himself Great King of Kings. He also made Pataliputra the capital of his dynasty (320–c. 550 C.E.). Another foreigner, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim named FA XIAN (FA-HSIEN) who traveled widely in India between 405 and 411 C.E., provided an account of the city under the Guptas. He described a great, opulent, and largely crime-free city. Religion flourished, with Buddhist temples and priests co-existing with Hinduism. He also recounted the hospitals in the capital city where the poor received free treatment. Another Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuan Zang (Hsuan-tsang) traveled to India during the early seventh century, studying, lecturing, and visiting Buddhist sites and writing extensively about his travels. He visited Pataliputra but recorded that little remained of that once glorious city. Earthquakes in the region, the hot climate, and the wooden construction of the structures have left little for archaeologists to retrieve from a once great city.

See also BUDDHIST COUNCILS; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Majumdar, R. C., ed. *The History and Culture of the Indian People, The Age of Imperial Unity*. 2d ed. Bombay, India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953; Rapson, E. J., ed. *The Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, Ancient India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922; Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., ed. *A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. 2, The Mauryas and Satavahana 325 B.C.–A.D. 300*. Bombay, India: Orient Longmans, 1957.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Patriarchs, biblical

Abraham begins the discussion of the Patriarchs and, indeed, of the three modern world religions. The record

of his life is found in the Jewish scriptures and is largely reaffirmed in the New Testament of the Christians and assumed by the Qur'an. After Abraham the interpretation of the other biblical Patriarchs head in different directions, with the Jews and the Christians paying heed to Abraham's second-born son, born of his wife Sarah, and the Muslims following the line of Ishmael (Arabic: Ismail), Abraham's first-born son, born of his female slave Hagar.

The details of Abraham's life in the Jewish Bible are sometimes sketchy, sometimes biographical. Abraham came from the FERTILE CRESCENT, wandering from UR to Harran (Carrhae), in the region of EDESSA. His travels conform to known Amorite migratory patterns, and his lifestyle as a shepherd or trader also was consistent with the Mesopotamian world of the 20th–17th centuries B.C.E. He received a divine command to continue his journey farther into the far-flung corner of the Fertile Crescent, to the land of Canaan. He was promised many descendants and much land. Though the promises are repeated several times, the biblical narrative tells of Abraham's frequent trials and travails, which ultimately prevent him from realizing the fulfillment of the divine promise.

First, as Abraham waited many years for a descendant to be born, he attempted to establish his own family line by selecting his chief servant to be heir. Then, after decades of waiting, he begot a son through his wife's Egyptian servant—an ancient custom in Mesopotamia. This son was called Ishmael, and he is the one that Muslims revere as the beginning of the line leading to their prophet Muhammad. Only when Abraham had nearly reached the age of 100 did his elderly wife bear a son, whose name was Isaac, through whom the nation of ISRAEL would flourish. Though Abraham had at least one other son by another woman, no others fit into the divine promise. For Jews and for Muslims, it is only one son (either Ishmael or Isaac) upon whom the promise devolves.

Second, as the only son of the divine promise grew older, the Hebrew God ordered Abraham to make a child sacrifice to him. Abraham dutifully obeyed, and was prevented at the last minute from executing his fatal sacrificial blow. The Jewish Bible names this son as Isaac, but the Qur'an says that he was Ishmael. Both the Jewish and Islamic faiths venerate the place where the human sacrifice would have occurred (for Jews, Jerusalem; for Muslims, Hira) as a site of PILGRIMAGE or holy ground.

Third, Abraham spent his life as a pilgrim and resident alien in the land of Canaan, owning no land though his promised expanse included the territories southwest of the Euphrates all the way to the Mediterranean Sea (modern-day Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, and Palestine). When his wife died some 37 years after the birth of Isaac,

he had nowhere to bury her in this "promised land," until he negotiated for property from the local people. Though he was wealthy and respected, he died at age 175 without any land for his own burial, save his wife's tomb.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims all claim a share in Abraham's life, but historians also take into account what holy books teach about Abraham. Some of the main issues include monotheism, pilgrimage, and chosen people and lands. Out of polytheistic Mesopotamia Abraham was called to worship one transcendent divinity not connected to nature—this is monotheism. He left his Fertile Crescent home, his family, and his ethnic identity—this is pilgrimage. He maintained his unique claim to a new land and ethnic identity—that he chose. And all three of these elements are pillars of each of the "Abrahamic" religions.

Ishmael would have been the recipient of his father's favor and wealth, as the first-born. However, Isaac's jealous mother drove him and his mother out of the camp. Nonetheless, the Bible gives a generally favorable impression of him: he was father of 12 sons, who were in turn the progenitors of 12 tribes—like the Patriarch of Israel, Jacob. He was present at his father's burial. His ancestors are depicted as nomads and associated with Israel's neighbors and therefore not recipients of Abraham's divine promise. According to the New Testament, Isaac symbolizes that the divine promise is not by blood but by divine grace and sovereignty. Muslims reject this interpretation and see in the jealousy of Isaac's mother her recognition that the promise is upon Ishmael. Isaac's life was lived in the shadows of his father, Abraham, and his famous son Jacob. Only two later-life events are narrated: his marriage, arranged by his father, and his deathbed testament, manipulated by his son.

One-quarter of Genesis focuses on Jacob, and there is much material that corroborates with what is known of the second millennium B.C.E. The picture of him is not altogether flattering. He was born clutching his older brother's heel, as if he was reluctant to let him be first born. He manipulated his brother out of his inheritance, tricked his father out of his deathbed blessing, and struggled with a divine being to obtain his own ends. When he tried to barter for a wife in Mesopotamia, he tasted the bitterness of his own medicine as he was cheated out of work, wife, and time.

Through his wives Jacob had 12 sons, all of whom became leaders of the 12 tribes of Israel. Before Jacob's days ended he endured one more draught of the poison that he had brewed in his youthful days. His sons carried out a conspiracy to sell his favorite son into slavery and concealed it by blaming his disappearance on

wild animals. Only in his twilight years, after Jacob has been forced to leave the “promised land,” did he find out that his favorite son was alive. From ancient Egypt Jacob delivered his final speech, speaking of his implicit faith that he would be buried in Canaan. His speech is some of the oldest poetry in the Bible.

The favorite son, sold as a slave to Egypt, was Joseph, the final Patriarch of the Bible. Joseph’s story makes up 25 percent of Genesis, but he is rarely mentioned outside this book. Once Joseph is in Egypt he ascends to the highest office in the land, steward to the PHARAOH. From that position he is able to provide refuge for his starving family, who comes from Canaan to Egypt. Its literary role is to bring the Jewish salvation history to Egypt, where MOSES will arise and lead the people out of Egypt. Yet the story also has a religious message: Repentance and forgiveness can save even the most dysfunctional and divided family.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** Fox, E. *The Five Books of the Moses: A New Translation with Introductions, Commentary, and Notes*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995; Wright, Addison G., Roland E. Murphy, Joseph A. Fitzmyer. “A History of Israel.” In *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, edited by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## patricians

The society of the Roman Republic and ROMAN EMPIRE was made up of several levels. At the top were the patrician classes of senator and equestrian. The commoner classes of plebeians, freed peoples, and slaves had fewer opportunities in life. However, these social and political classes maintained order and structure in Roman culture. They created the first socially mobile culture in history. The Roman emperor held the title of *princeps senatus* (chief senator) and could appoint new senators, preside over the Senate, and propose new legislation. The real power of the Senate was in its judicial functions, mainly its right to crown the new emperor.

Senators were considered a political class of citizen. The Senate was made up of 600 men who were either the sons of senators or Roman citizens over the age of 25 with military and administrative experience. The senate class included all men who served in the Senate and their

families. These were mostly nobles or families whose ancestors included at least one elected consul. The first male in each family elected to the position of consul was given the title *novus homo*, meaning “new man.” In order to be considered a senator a Roman citizen had to accumulate 1 million sesterces of wealth and property. Senators were granted special privileges, priority seating at sporting events and theater productions, and the right to hold the highest judicial offices. Senators wore a gold senatorial ring and a *tunica clava* with a five-inch-wide purple stripe on the right shoulder. Children of these patricians often had private tutors to educate them. They even had their own bedrooms, toys, and slaves.

Families of senators usually had two homes, one in the city for business and one in the countryside for leisure, run by slaves. These homes usually had comforts such as running water, sewage, luxury furniture, and private baths. Wealthy patricians would display gold drinking and eating vessels as well as intricate mosaics decorating the walls. They would entertain political and social guests at large banquets, often accompanied by music and dancing. Despite these privileges senators had several restrictions placed on them. Serving the republic or the empire earned them no salary. They could not personally engage in nonagricultural businesses. They were also forbidden to practice trade or bid on public contracts.

Equestrians were the lower social group among the patricians. The basis for this class was economic in nature. A citizen had to possess 400,000 sesterces of wealth during the rule of AUGUSTUS CAESAR to become an equestrian. Emperor Augustus reorganized this social class into a military class. Equestrians were the “knights” of the Roman Empire’s cavalry and were granted a “public horse” with which to defend Rome. Equestrians were either landed plebeians or the sons of senators who had not yet entered the quaestorship at 25 years of age. Citizens of this class also had special privileges that even the senators did not have: They were allowed to be merchants and commercial traders. Equestrians held civil-service jobs such as tax collector, banker, exporter, and administrator of public contracts. They displayed their rank on a white tunic with a one-inch-wide purple stripe over the right shoulder (the *angusti clavi*). Equestrians rarely became senators.

Plebeians were the lowest class of free citizens. They were the working class of Rome and the main taxpayers. Most jobs were hereditary, and they usually worked as subsistence farmers or as sharecroppers of wealthy patricians. They could also be bakers, artisans, masons, or carpenters. None of these occupations paid very well, and most plebeians struggled to provide for their family.

Plebeians usually lived in apartment homes called *insulae*. These homes were usually built of wood and were extremely susceptible to fire since running water was not available. As the *insulae* were without kitchens, families would purchase meals consisting of coarse bread, bean or pea soup, porridge, and, if the family saved enough, chicken or rabbit once a month. Plebeians lived in very unsanitary conditions: Two families often shared one-room apartments, and chamber pots were often emptied out into the street below.

There were very few ways for a plebeian to advance socially. The first was to save enough sesterces to become an equestrian. Another way to advance was to be adopted by a patrician family. Plebeians could earn equestrian titles by achieving any of the three highest military awards: Coronae Graminea, Civica, or Aurea. The final opportunity for social advancement was in politics. Plebeians could seek election as a tribune of the plebs. He was elected by the Assembly of the Citizens and was the only plebeian allowed to participate in Senate meetings. After a six-month term, tribunes automatically became a member of the Senate and the equestrian order.

Roman social and political classes provided the world with new concepts of citizenship. These concepts included placing limitations on the upper class as well as opportunities for the lower classes to advance themselves. They revolutionized the way the Western world looked at society.

See also ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Guy, John. *Roman Life*. New York: Scholastic, 1998; Simpson, J., et al. *Ancient Rome*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1997.

GEORGE DERR

## Patrick

(c. 390–461 C.E.) *Christian leader*

The folklore surrounding St. Patrick is bigger than life, out of proportion to the modest historical information we have. But it is not so outlandish in comparison to the impact he had on Ireland. Patrick began his mission precisely at the time that Celtic spirituality was coming out of the shadows of the Roman Empire and the Western LATIN CHURCH. Patrick was born in Britain as Roman imperial order waned. He was kidnapped by Irish pirates at the age of 15 and sent to Ireland as a slave for six years. Most likely during this period Patrick devel-

oped a rapport with his captors and learned their native Gaelic language. Though he was born into a Christian and Romanized family, he was not particularly religious until his imprisonment. He began to pray and had some kind of religious experience, an assurance that he would be delivered. He was converted in Ireland.

He escaped from his captors, returned to his homeland, and began studies for the priesthood. It is not certain where he did his studies, but he might have traveled to GAUL where he read and wrote in Latin and learned the particulars of the monastic life. There he had another religious experience, a dream, which confirmed for him that he was to return to Ireland as a missionary. Perhaps as early as 432 C.E. the pope commissioned Patrick as bishop to spread Christianity among the Irish people. He resolutely set off for this remote and dangerous island, never to return to the Romanized world. He probably worked in the northern parts of the island, leaving the south, where there were pockets of Christianity, to the first bishop of Ireland, Palladius. He spent his time consulting and conciliating among local Irish chieftains, educating their sons, preaching among the Celtic peoples, and eventually institutionalizing the Irish church through native ordinations and the establishment of monasteries.

For more than 30 years his work was difficult and exhausting. He was not as inclined to scholarship and writing as he was to hard work and prayer. Thus, he left behind only two compositions: *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, a piece that criticizes the British military authorities for their harsh treatment of Celtic Christians, and *Confession*, an autobiographical apologia for his life and mission.

The popular stories of miracles involving snakes and shamrocks are the stuff of medieval legends. His writings mentioned above show that Patrick was a devoted and prayerful pastor of his Irish flock, yet conscious of the need to submit to the mainline Latin Church. His creeds and doctrines were most likely quite conventional. Nonetheless, he also allowed for the indigenous church to develop its own monastic forms, and Irish abbots and monasteries soon assumed their dominant position that typified Celtic spirituality. The Western Church celebrates his feast day on March 17.

See also BRENDAN THE NAVIGATOR; CELTS; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Bieler, Ludwig, and Richard Sharpe, eds. *Studies on the Life and Legend of St. Patrick*. London: Ashgate Publishing, 1985; Freeman, Philip. *St. Patrick of Ireland*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Paul

(1st century C.E.) *religious leader*

Paul has had an immense influence on Christianity in particular and Western civilization in general. Among those who were influenced by Paul are AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and John Wesley. Paul's letters, written between 51 and 59 C.E., are the most important sources of information about him. The New Testament contains 13 letters bearing his name. Of these, nine are written to churches (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians), and four are written to individuals (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon). Scholars dispute the genuineness of six of these letters (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians). Church tradition also included Hebrews among Paul's letters, but scholars today almost universally reject Paul as its author. Another important source of information about Paul is *Acts of the Apostles*.

Paul was born to a Jewish family in Tarsus of Cilicia (southern Turkey) around the turn of the first century C.E. In those days Tarsus was the third most important educational center in the Roman Empire, after Athens and Rome. It was also a cosmopolitan port city that became home to rich crosscurrents of cultures and ideas. Paul was a Roman citizen by birth and had at least a secondary education in Greek. According to *Acts*, he studied in Jerusalem under a renowned rabbi named Gamaliel. He was also a persecutor of the church. Sometime in the early 30s C.E., as he made a journey toward DAMASCUS in Syria to apprehend followers of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, he experienced a dramatic conversion when the resurrected Jesus appeared to him in a vision and told him to bring the good news of his resurrection—called “the gospel”—to the Gentiles. Paul never met Jesus in real life, and some of his contemporaries challenged his claim to be an apostle. Notwithstanding, between 50 and 60 C.E. he emerged as the most influential (albeit controversial) and widely traveled spokesperson of the gospel in primitive Christianity.

Paul became the primitive church's most successful missionary to the Gentiles. In fact, Christianity owes its basic Gentile character to Paul's mission. He conducted aggressive missionary campaigns throughout the area that is now Syria, Turkey, and Greece. The focal point of controversy in his missionary activity and several of his letters was circumcision. He rejected circumcision (along with “the works of the law”) and insisted that faith in Christ is sufficient for salvation and admission to the Christian community. Paul worked in major cit-

ies of the empire. For example, Corinth and Philippi were Roman colonies where military veterans settled with privileges. Colonies were the highest-ranking cities of the empire, each being a miniature Rome. Paul delivered his gospel to the heart of the Roman political system, hoping to spread it throughout the empire. He succeeded beyond his wildest imagination. Paul's letters abound with imagery taken from the Roman games and military. In addition, like the Roman writer CICERO, Paul selected and synthesized materials from diverse sources. This practice (called eclecticism) helped him appeal to a wide audience.

Paul was the most able theologian of the primitive church. First, he argued that humans are saved by faith in God's free grace that was revealed in the death and resurrection of his Son, Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth (known as the Christ event). Paul's second argument was that every person deserves to be treated with equality and dignity, regardless of race, social rank, or gender, because he or she is a redeemed creature of God. His third and most important argument was that Jesus Christ, as the crucified one, fulfills all the promises in the Jewish scriptures (the Old Testament). Other New Testament writers also held similar views, but only Paul was able to articulate their complex reasoning.

Paul's theology is a blend of Judaism and Hellenism. As a faithful Jew, Paul accepted the Jewish scriptures as the revelation of God. Paul quoted mostly from the Greek translation of these scriptures, the Septuagint (or LXX), which was widely used by the Greek-speaking Jews. He also made Jewish monotheism a foundational assumption of his theology. However, Paul differed from later Jewish sources mainly in his approach to the TORAH (the Law of Moses). These rabbinic sources were written at least a century after Paul and represent modifications made to Judaism after the fall of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. Paul built his theology mostly on the narrative portions of the Torah, such as the creation, Adam's fall, and Abraham's experiences. In contrast, the later rabbinic sources focused primarily on the legal portions of the Torah, such as the laws of purity.

Paul's writings also exhibit Hellenistic characteristics. He wrote in Greek, using Hellenistic rhetorical devices. Also, his moral exhortations resemble the ethical teachings of the Stoics and Cynics. Like these Hellenistic philosophical schools, Paul highlighted the importance of self-control through lists of virtues and vices and household codes of ethics (*Haustafeln*). Moreover, many scholars feel that Paul's teachings about Christ's death and resurrection resemble the myths attached to Hellenistic MYSTERY CULTS. Whatever may be the case,

Paul's immense influence ultimately came from his extensive missionary work among the Gentiles and his powerful ideas about God's transforming grace. Paul eventually went to Rome as a prisoner and died there as a martyr in the early 60s C.E. under NERO.

See also HELLENIZATION; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MISHNAH; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT; STOICISM; ZAKKAI, YOHANAN BEN.

**Further reading:** Duling, Dennis C. *The New Testament: History, Literature, and Social Context*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2003; Sanders, E. P. *Paul. Past Masters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; Stewart, S. James. *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930.

P. RICHARD CHOI

## Pax Romana

*Pax Romana*, two Latin words meaning “Roman peace,” refers to the historical period between 27 B.C.E. and 180 C.E. Unlike former times, it was a long period of relative peace, although Rome still fought a number of wars against neighboring states and tribes. The arts and architecture flourished, along with commerce, the economy, and political stability.

The 200-year Pax Romana period consisted of four ages: the Augustus age (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), the Julio-Claudian dynasty age (14–69 C.E.), the Flavian dynasty age (69–96 C.E.), and the Five Good Emperors age (96–180 C.E.).

### AGE OF AUGUSTUS, OR THE PRINCIPATE

In 44 B.C.E. several members of the Roman Senate assassinated one of the greatest Roman rulers, JULIUS CAESAR. This was just one month after he had declared himself dictator of the Roman world, abolishing the Roman Republic. Before his death Julius Caesar and two men, Gaius Cassius and POMPEY, had formed the First TRIUMVIRATE, which did not have official support and did not rule. Later, Octavian, who was Julius's Caesar great-nephew and adopted son, learned that Marcus Junius Brutus and Cassius, one of the members of the First Triumvirate, were guilty of assassinating Julius Caesar. Octavian, together with Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who were Caesar's principal colleagues, formed the Second Triumvirate in 43 B.C.E.

As years went by, political and personal differences grew between Antony and Octavian. Antony married Octavian's sister but then abandoned her to be with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with whom he had three children. Meanwhile, Octavian built a network of allies in Rome and spread propaganda that Antony was becoming less than Roman because of his preoccupation with Egyptian affairs and traditions. These tensions finally resulted in a military conflict decided at the Battle of Actium, where Antony was defeated.

Octavian emerged as the sole master of the Roman world. In January 27 B.C.E. Octavian appeared before the Roman Senate and laid down his military supremacy over Egypt, which created the First Settlement between him and the Senate. Augustus closed the Temple of Janus for the first time in 200 years as a sign that peace had finally returned to the empire. Besides giving him authority over the western half of the empire, the Senate also gave him the title *augustus*, an honorific title meaning majestic, and *princeps*, meaning first citizen among equals. According to the new Augustus, with his mandate, the Republic had been restored.

Augustus's main achievement was to set up an empire that was able to maintain a peace for many centuries. AUGUSTUS CAESAR initiated a public works program that gave citizens jobs and increased his popularity among the people of Rome. Since access to the provinces was essential for control, Augustus made sure that the roads were kept in repair and in some cases rebuilt. He replaced the facades of many temples and state buildings with marble, completed many buildings that had been started by Julius Caesar, and built many new buildings on his own. Among these was the Forum of Augustus, including the temple of Mars Ultor.

Augustus's interests lay in the administration and management of government. To this end he revised the layout of the city by dividing the metropolis into 14 *regiones*, or wards, with more than 250 precincts, and extended the limits of the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city). He appointed a board of *curatores* to help oversee the maintenance of public buildings, roads, and the water supply. An element that was key to his administration, as well as that of future emperors, was the development of the Praetorian Guard, the elite military unit of the ROMAN EMPIRE. It was the only legion allowed in Rome and served not only as the police force for the city of Rome but the police force for the country of Italy as well.

Augustus used religion to reorganize the state and to establish his own rule. He assumed the title of *pontifex maximus* (head priest) and revived old religious traditions like the Lupercalia festival to further associ-

ate the emperor with the state cult. He also promoted the cult of emperor as divine by building a temple to the Divine Julius. His views on morality extended to laws regarding adultery, unchastity, and bribery.

During Augustus's age the empire developed an efficient postal service, fostered free trade among the provinces, and built many bridges, aqueducts, and buildings adorned with works of art created in the classical style. Literature flourished, with writers including Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Livy all living under the emperor's patronage.

### AGE OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN DYNASTY

During this age Rome reached the height of its power and wealth; it may be seen as the golden age of Roman literature and arts, but it was also a period of imperial extravagance and notoriety. The Julio-Claudians were Roman nobles with an impressive ancestry, but their fondness for the ideals and lifestyle of the old aristocracy created conflicts of interest and duty.

The dynasty is so named from the *nomina*, or family names, of its first two emperors: Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus and Tiberius Claudius Nero. Octavianus was a descendant from the *gens Julia* (the Julian family), while Tiberius was a scion of the *gens Claudia*. When Augustus died leaving no sons, his stepson Tiberius succeeded him. Tiberius's government ruled from 14 to 37 C.E. and was the first of the Julio-Claudian EMPERORS. His early years were peaceful, securing for Tiberius the power of Rome and enriching its treasury. However, with time, having been blamed for the death of his nephew Germanicus, Tiberius began a series of treason trials, executions, and persecutions against those he believed to be traitors. Tiberius entered into a state of paranoia that lasted until his death in 37 C.E.

At the time of Tiberius's death most who might have succeeded him had been brutally murdered. The logical successor (and Tiberius's own choice) was his grandnephew, Germanicus's son Gaius (better known as Caligula) who seized power in 37. Caligula may have suffered from epilepsy and was probably insane, ordering many absurd actions. In 41 the commander of the guard Cassius Chaerea assassinated Caligula. The only member of the imperial family left to take charge was his uncle, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus.

Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, or Claudius, began his rule in 41. Unlike his uncle Tiberius or his nephew Caligula, Claudius was skilled at administering the empire's affairs. He improved the bureaucracy and led the citizenship and senatorial rolls. Claudius's main achievement was to encourage the conquest and colonization of

Britain and eastern provinces into the empire. He also ordered the construction of a winter port for Rome, at Ostia, thereby providing a place for grain from other parts of the empire to be brought in inclement weather.

Rome prospered during the reign of Claudius. He engaged in a vast program of public works, including aqueducts, canals, and the development of Ostia as the port of Rome. Claudius married his niece Agrippina the Younger, whose son Lucius Domitius Nero, better known as NERO, became his successor at only 16 years of age, after the death of Claudius in 54. At first Nero left the rule of Rome to his mother and his tutors but became more ambitious and had his mother and tutors executed. Under Nero's rule, the frontiers of the empire were successfully defended and even extended. Nero was a patron of the arts; his coins and imperial inscriptions are among the finest ever produced in Rome. After a great fire destroyed half of Rome in 64 he spent huge sums on rebuilding the city and a vast new imperial palace, the so-called Domus Aurea, or Golden House, whose architectural forms were as innovative as they were extravagant. Nero antagonized the upper class, confiscating large private estates in Italy and putting many leading figures to death. His tendency toward despotism, as well as his failure to keep the loyalty of the Roman legions, led to civil strife and opposition to his reign.

Nero committed suicide in 69, a year of civil war known as the Year of the Four Emperors, with Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian ruling as emperors in quick succession. Nero was the last emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

### AGE OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

The Flavians, although a relatively short-lived dynasty, helped restore stability to a declining empire. The reforms and rule of the three FLAVIAN EMPERORS helped create a stable empire that would last well into the third century C.E. However, their background as a military dynasty led to further irrelevancy of the Senate, and the move from *princeps*, or "first citizen," to *imperator*, or "emperor," was finalized during their reign.

Seizing power at the age of 60, Vespasian became emperor in 69 C.E. Vespasian increased the number of senators from 200 to 1,000, most of the new senators coming not from Rome but from Italy and urban centers within the western provinces. Vespasian liberated Rome from the financial burdens placed upon it by Nero's excesses and the civil wars. To do this he not only increased taxes but created new forms of taxation. It was he who first commissioned the Roman Colosseum (Flavian

Amphitheater). In addition, he allotted sizable subsidies to the arts. Perhaps the most important military reform he undertook was the extension of legion recruitment from exclusively Italy to GAUL and Spain, in line with the Romanization of those areas. He ruled until 79.

After Vespasian's death, his eldest son, Titus—who had served as a general under his father—seized power in 79. He quickly proved his merit, even recalling many exiled by his father as a show of good faith. However, his short reign was marked by disaster: In 79 Mount Vesuvius erupted in POMPEII, and in 80 a fire destroyed much of Rome's population. His generosity in rebuilding after these tragedies made him very popular.

Titus died of an unknown illness and was succeeded by his younger brother, Titus Flavius Domitianus, or Domitian, in 81. After a series of catastrophes in Rome (the great fires of 64 and 80 C.E., and the civil wars of 68–69 C.E.), Domitian erected, restored, or completed more than 50 public buildings. As an administrator, Domitian soon proved to be a disaster. The economy came to a halt and then went into recession, forcing him to heavily devalue the denarius (silver currency of the Roman Empire). Taxes were raised and discontent soon followed. Domitian's greatest passions were the arts and the games. He finished the Colosseum, started by his father, and implemented the Capitoline Games in 86. Like the Olympic Games, they were to be held every four years, including athletic displays and chariot races, but they also included oratory, music, and acting competitions. He was also very fond of gladiator shows and added important innovations like female and dwarf gladiator fights.

In 85 Domitian made himself *censor perpetuus*, “censor for life,” and thus took charge of the conduct and morals of Rome. He was not much of a military figure, and his campaigns were minor at best. In 96 he was murdered in a palace coup. That same day Nerva succeeded Domitian. His reputation in the Senate aside, he kept the people of Rome happy through various measures, including donations to every resident of Rome, wild spectacles in the newly finished Colosseum, and continuing the public works projects of his father and brother. He had the good fiscal sense of his father, because although he spent lavishly, his successors came to power with a well-endowed treasury. He was murdered in 96, closing the Flavian dynasty age.

### AGE OF THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS

With Domitian's death began what 18th-century historian Edward Gibbon called the Age of the Five Good Emperors, a long period that lasted from year 96 until 180 C.E. The succession was peaceful, though not dy-

nastic, and the empire was prosperous. Under the Five Good Emperors the frontiers of the empire were consolidated to the north and to the east. Under Emperor TRAJAN the empire's borders briefly achieved their maximum extension, with provinces created in Mesopotamia in 117 C.E. The bureaucracy was opened up to all social classes, trade and agriculture flourished, and there was much public building.

Although things did seem to be getting better, there were problems on the horizon. Barbarian pressures were mounting. There was a considerable decline in the slave population, and the army was no longer large enough to maintain the frontier. As a result, Emperor MARCUS AURELIUS, the last of the Five Great Emperors, spent most of his time defending the frontier and spent very little time in Rome. Following his death in 180, the imperial office passed to his 19-year-old son, another Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.

The first of the Five Good Emperors was Marcus Cocceius Nerva, also known as Nerva, who became Roman emperor in 96 and had a short ruling period until 98. He released those imprisoned for treason, banned future prosecutions for treason, restored much confiscated property, and involved the Roman Senate in his rule. He probably did so as a means to remain relatively popular (and therefore alive), but this did not completely aid him. In October 97 the Praetorian Guard laid siege to the Imperial Palace on the Palatine Hill and took Nerva hostage. Nerva then adopted Trajan, a commander of the armies on the German frontier, as his successor shortly thereafter in order to bolster his own rule.

After Nerva's death, in 98 Marcus Ulpius Traianus, or Trajan, became the second good Roman emperor. Trajan was different from other emperors, being from Seville, in Spain. During his military career Trajan had won distinction in the Parthian, German, and Dacian campaigns. He spent most of his time away from Rome in military campaigns. As a result, in 117 the Roman Empire reached its maximum territorial extent ever. His internal administration was sound, and he kept up a policy of public works across the empire. Perhaps the most ambitious military man since Julius Caesar, Trajan suffered a stroke and died in 117.

Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus, also known as HADRIAN, was Trajan's successor. Despite his excellence as a military administrator, Hadrian's reign was marked by a lack of major military conflicts. He surrendered Trajan's conquests in Mesopotamia, considering them to be indefensible. There was almost a war with Parthia around 121, but the threat was averted when Hadrian succeeded in negotiating a peace. His only military vic-

tory was obtained in Judaea when his army crushed a massive Jewish uprising in 132–135 C.E.

Hadrian's policies were defensive, the most famous of these being the massive Hadrian's Wall in Britain. The Danube and Rhine borders were strengthened with a series of mostly wooden fortifications, forts, outposts, and watchtowers, the latter improving communications and local area security. To maintain troop morale, Hadrian established intensive drill routines, and personally inspected the armies.

Hadrian also patronized the arts: Hadrian's Villa at Tibur (Tivoli) was the greatest Roman example of an Alexandrian garden. In Rome the Pantheon built by Agrippa was enriched under Hadrian and took the form in which it remains to this day. Hadrian was famous for his love relationship with a Greek youth, Antinoüs. While touring Egypt, Antinoüs mysteriously drowned in the Nile in 130. In his honor, Hadrian founded the Egyptian city of Antinopolis. Hadrian drew the whole empire into his mourning, making Antinoüs the last new god of antiquity.

Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus Pius, or Pius, followed Hadrian. His governing period spanned from 138 to 161. He built temples, theaters, and mausoleums, promoted the arts and sciences, and rewarded teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. His reign was comparatively peaceful; there were several military disturbances throughout the empire in his time, but none was serious.

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, better known as Marcus Aurelius, followed Pius and became the fifth and last of the Five Good Emperors. Aurelius was Pius's nephew and adopted son. Marcus Aurelius was almost constantly at war. Germanic tribes and others launched many raids along the long European border. Marcus Aurelius sent Verus to command the legions in the east. Verus could command the full loyalty of the troops but was also powerful enough to have little incentive to overthrow Marcus. This plan succeeded, and commander Verus remained loyal until his death on campaign in 169. Marcus Aurelius probably sent out the first of several Roman embassies to China. Aurelius died in 180. Marcus Aurelius's successor, Commodus, was a political and military outsider, as well as an extreme egotist. Many historians believe that the decline of Rome began under Commodus. For this reason Aurelius's death is often held to have been the end of the Pax Romana.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: FOUNDING; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Amey, Peter. *Pax Romana*. St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press, 1980; Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1985; Kagan, David. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: Why Did It Collapse?* Boston: Heath, 1962; Petit, Paul. *Pax Romana*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976; Shotter, D. C. A. *Rome and Her Empire*. New York: Longman, 2003.

DIEGO I. MURGUÍA

## Peisistratus

(c. 605–527 B.C.E.) *Athenian leader*

Peisistratus (Pisistratus) was tyrant of Athens and led the drive for the unification of Attica, which enabled the city-state to achieve an eminent position in Greek history. Peisistratus was related to the reformer SOLON, whose previous administrative improvements involved ending the monopoly of power exercised by the aristocracy and the implementation of a less savage code of law. Peisistratus would ultimately build on the work of Solon and move Athens toward a state run by plural political and economic interests. He was seemingly not averse to theatrical stunts to entertain and sway the masses, from whom he appears to have received a considerable level of support. This was particularly true of the rural and poorer people, whose support he eventually rewarded with the granting of land loans.

Although political monopoly had been ended, different factions led by aristocratic families contended for power. Two in particular were influential: the Coast of Megacles and the Plain of Lycurgus. Peisistratus organized his own faction, the Hills, based on his native eastern part of Attica, and sought the support of Megacles by marrying one of his daughters. He managed briefly to unite enough lesser interests to seize power in 560 B.C.E. and govern from the Acropolis. However, this was briefly held, and his life was interspersed with periods of warfare, exile, and hardship. During exile in northern Greece, he gained control of silver mines and obtained support from factions on Naxos, in THEBES, and on the island of Euboea. This enabled him to mobilize an army with which he invaded Attica and conquered Athens, attacking while his enemy was asleep. This time his ownership of power was much lengthier, and he was able to cement his position until his death, after which his sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded him.

Peisistratus supported religion and the arts, and various cultural institutions flourished during his period of

influence. It is inaccurate to characterize Athens as being a democracy in the modern sense, but under Peisistratus some democratic elements were preserved and strengthened. The economy was also improved, and coinage was introduced during this period. His life and times are recorded in the *Histories* of HERODOTUS, which show him to be a man of resolve and resource.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES.

**Further reading:** Andrewes, A. "The Tyranny of Pisistratus." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982; Cartledge, Paul, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Herodotus. *The Histories*. Trans. by Aubrey de Selincourt. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Pomeroy, Sarah B., et al. *A Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, Society, and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

JOHN WALSH

## Peloponnesian War

The Peloponnesian War was a Greek conflict fought by the Peloponnesian League, led by Sparta, and the Athenian Empire. The war lasted 27 years, from 431 to 404 B.C.E., with a six-year truce in the middle, and ended with an Athenian surrender. The war involved much of the Mediterranean world, and large-scale campaigns and intense fighting took place from the coast of Asia Minor to Sicily and from the Hellespont and Thrace to Rhodes. The conflict is often viewed as an archetypal case of warfare between a commercial democracy and an agricultural aristocracy and of warfare between maritime and continental superpowers. Thucydides, an Athenian general and historian, documented the events of the conflict in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. It was, consequently, the first war in history to be recorded by an eyewitness and talented historian.

Historians posit multiple causes for the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides argued that the underlying cause of the war was Sparta's fear of growing Athenian power during the fifth century B.C.E. This perspective is supported by the well-documented rise and power of Athens in the 50 years prior to the outbreak of the war. After a coalition of Greek cities, which included both Athens and Sparta, defeated a Persian invasion of Greece, several of these states formed a more formal coalition called the Delian League in 478 B.C.E. The

purpose of the league was to enhance economic ties and establish a navy to deter further Persian aggression. Athens was afforded leadership of the league, which gave it control over the league's treasury.

Through a series of political maneuvers by Athens in the decades following the creation of the league, the coalition was transformed into an Athenian-dominated empire. After 445 B.C.E. the Athenian leader PERICLES began consolidating Athenian resources and expanded the Athenian navy to such an extent that its power was without equal in Greece. In 433 B.C.E. Pericles forged an alliance with another strong naval power, Corcyra, which was the chief rival of Sparta's ally Corinth. These actions greatly enhanced Athenian power and, conversely, weakened the power of other Greek cities, particularly those who were members of Sparta's Peloponnesian League. Athenian naval dominance allowed them to control virtually all sea trade, which threatened the supply of food from Sicily to cities in the Peloponnes, including Sparta. Furthermore, Athens boycotted cities that resisted its growing power, including Sparta's ally Megara. It was on these grounds that Corinth demanded that Sparta take up arms against the Athenian empire. The appeal was backed by Megara—nearly ruined by Pericles's economic boycott—and by Aegina, a reluctant member of the Athenian Empire.

The actual outbreak of fighting in 431 B.C.E. sprung from Sparta's desire to capitalize on a moment of Athenian weakness. The city of Potidaea, a subject member of the Athenian empire, revolted in the spring of 432 B.C.E. The rebel city held out until the winter of 430 B.C.E. and its blockade by Athens meant a constant drain on Athenian naval and military resources.

Sparta's leaders were so confident of a quick and easy victory over Athens that they refused an offer of arbitration made by Pericles. Instead, Sparta issued an ultimatum that would have practically destroyed Athens's imperial power. Pericles urged his people to refuse, and Sparta declared war.

Hostilities began in 431 B.C.E. with a Theban attack on Athens's ally, Platea, and 80 days later by a Peloponnesian invasion of Attica. Now capable of invading Attica through the Megarid, Sparta did so numerous times through 425 B.C.E. Sparta only curtailed these attacks when Athens captured a number of Spartan hoplites and held them hostage. At first, on Pericles' advice, the Athenians employed a defensive strategy, taking refuge inside the walls surrounding the city and the port of Piraeus, and limiting offensive operations to brief cavalry missions, raids into the Peloponnes, and a series of invasions of the Megarid.

However, following Pericles' death in 429 B.C.E. and the failed Mytilenean revolt in 427 B.C.E., Athens adopted a more offensive strategy. This included establishing bases on the Peloponnesian coast. Athens also attempted to force Boeotia's surrender through a pair of elaborate invasions, the second of which ended in a stunning defeat at Delium in 424 B.C.E. The Spartans marched overland to Chalcidice and, through persuasion and threats, convinced a number of Athens's allies to join the Spartan cause. Brasidas's own death in battle outside Amphipolis in 422 B.C.E. and that of the Athenian demagogue Cleon led to the conclusion of a temporary peace.

The peace was unsatisfactory to many of Sparta's allies, and the Athenian ALCIBIADES created an anti-Spartan coalition in the Peloponnese. At the Battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.E. the Spartans were victorious. With Sparta's position in the Peloponnese once more secure, Alcibiades turned elsewhere for a field in which to exercise his talents, and in 415 B.C.E. Athens sent an expedition to Sicily, where he served as one of three commanders. Historians believe it was either a preemptive strike to prevent Syracuse from conquering the island and providing military aid to the Spartan-led coalition in the Peloponnese, or simply to bolster a long-held Athenian interest in the island. Regardless, the expedition ended in disaster in 413 B.C.E. During the siege Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to face charges of sacrilege but fled to Sparta rather than stand trial.

In the meantime, mainland Greece had once more slipped into open warfare. The Athenians raided the Peloponnese, while the Spartans invaded Attica in 413 B.C.E. and seized a strategically important base at Decelea in the foothills north of Athens. However, the loss of so many Athenian ships and trained crews in Sicily changed the nature of the war. The Spartans understood that the way to defeat Athens at sea was to win control of the Hellespont and Propontis, thus choking off essential supplies to the struggling city. By 411 B.C.E. the conflict became increasingly focused on that area of Greece. Athens was hampered by internal problems, culminating in the overthrow of the democracy in June 411 B.C.E. The oligarchs who seized power were unable to reconcile the Athenian fleet at Samos to their rule, and in September they were overthrown. Initially, only a limited form of democracy was restored, but the victory near Cyzicus in 410 B.C.E. led to the restoration of the old system.

Alcibiades returned to Athens by way of Persia, and was elected once again as commander of the Athenian forces. He arrived in time to take part in the victory off Abydos and another near Cyzicus the subsequent

year. Following additional success in the north, such as the recovery of Byzantium in 408 B.C.E., Alcibiades returned to Athens in triumph in 407 B.C.E. and was awarded supreme command of the Athenian navy on the west coast of Asia Minor.

Lysander successfully attacked one of Alcibiades' subordinates while the Athenian commander was absent. The furious Athenians dismissed Alcibiades, who fled to Thrace. Lysander ultimately achieved a victory at Aegospotami in 405 B.C.E. As a result, while Athens valiantly held out until the spring of 404 B.C.E., it succumbed to economic starvation imposed by overwhelming Spartan forces and surrendered.

Ultimately, despite some daring strategies, the Peloponnesian War was a war of resources. The Spartans were victorious because Persian gold enabled them to build more ships and to purchase more mercenaries than Athens could. However, Sparta also understood from the outset that Athens, as a maritime power that depended on port trade, would have to be defeated at sea. Conversely, the Athenians do not appear to have understood that Sparta, as a land power, could only be defeated on land.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Hanson, Victor Davis. *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War*. Toronto, Canada: Random House, 2005; ——. *The Wars of the Ancient Greeks*. London: Cassell, 1999; Kagan, Donald. *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969; ——. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003; Keegan, John. *A History of Warfare*. Toronto, Canada: Random House, 1993; Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. New York: Penguin Books, 1972.

SCOTT FITZSIMMONS

## Pericles

(495–429 B.C.E.) Athenian politician

Pericles was the most important statesman and politician of classical Athens. He was a son of Xanthippus, a Persian War-era general and politician, and Agariste of the prominent but allegedly cursed Alcmaeonids. The rationalist philosopher, Anaxagoras, intellectually influenced him. He was a friend of the sculptor, Phidias, to whom he entrusted supervision of the construction of the PARTHENON.

The two most important ancient sources for Pericles' life are the historian Thucydides, who admired him and focused his account in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* on Pericles' intellectual prowess and wartime record, and the moralizing and gossipy Plutarch, who wrote his *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* about 500 years later. After fathering two sons, Pericles divorced his wife to live with his brilliant and beautiful mistress, Aspasia, who, along with his friends and political allies, became the butt of often-bawdy jokes of popular comics and dramatists.

Pericles' early public career is sketchy. Plutarch says that Pericles at first feared OSTRACISM because he supposedly resembled the tyrant PEISTRATUS and was a rich nobleman with a dicey ancestral history. As Victor Ehrenberg (*Sophocles and Pericles*) writes of classical Athens, "the theater was the polis," and it is likely that Pericles understood his native city's profoundly cultural politics. Much later Pericles supported rebuilding Athenian temples destroyed by the Persians and supported constructing the Parthenon.

Though strenuously opposed by the crafty oligarchic politician Thucydides of Alopece, an ally of Cimon, Pericles' patriotic urban renewal program continued unobstructed after 443 B.C.E., when Thucydides was ostracized. From then on, according to Plutarch, Pericles "got all Athens and all affairs pertaining to the Athenians into his own hands," more or less unopposed. It is true that Athens's material prosperity reached its peak between 454 and 431 B.C.E., when Pericles was elected to the board of 10 generals. However, Pericles' building program likely had strategic and political causes as well. Whether Pericles played a personal role in the anti-oligarchic movement led by the elusive Ephialtes is unclear, but Pericles prosecuted Cimon for bribery in 463–462 B.C.E., supported legislation to pay citizens for holding public office, and backed a law to limit citizenship to children of native-born Athenians. He may also have been inspired to support a general public works policy by observing the economic consequences of construction of the Long Walls fortification around Athens after 461 B.C.E.

Pericles stood adamantly for making Athens the predominant power in the Hellenic world. Though tactically cautious at first, he was not averse to expanding Athens's formidable naval and commercial power, as he demonstrated in punitive and trading expeditions and in his defeat of maritime rival, Samos.

Pericles' tough-minded diplomacy grew from his conviction of the superiority of Athenian cultural and civic values and institutions. Periclean strategy in the PELOPONNESIAN WAR that began in 431 B.C.E. arose directly

from previous Athenian policies toward rebellious cities of Athens's empire and from the geopolitical consequences of the Thirty Years' Peace between Athens and Sparta in 446–445 B.C.E. At that time the Athenians agreed to abjure mainland protectorates in the interest of the long-term safety and congruity of their maritime empire. As a result, Athenian security thereafter necessitated extending the Long Walls all around the city and its port at Piraeus and maintaining free navigation into the Black Sea. As Thucydides described the working of Pericles' policy, "The Athenians listened to his advice, and began to carry in their wives and children from the country, and all their household furniture, even to the woodwork of their houses which they took down." When war finally came after impassable deadlocks over Megara's commercial status and Athenian intervention in Corcyra's civil strife, Pericles probably thought he had done as much as he could to prepare for it. He could not foresee the onset of a terrible plague that soon severely afflicted the city's crowded living space and claimed Pericles' own life in 429 B.C.E.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Ehrenberg, V. *Sophocles and Pericles*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1954; Kagan, Donald. *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Free Press, 1998; McGregor, M. F. *The Athenians and Their Empire*. Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 1987; Podlecki, Anthony J. *Pericles and His Circle*. New York: Routledge, 1998; *What Was Life Like at the Dawn of Democracy: Classical Athens, 525–322 BC*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1997.

LEO J. MAHONEY

## persecutions of the church

Church tradition speaks of 10 great persecutions, probably in imitation of the 10 plagues of MOSES. Persecutions struck a nerve among Christians, and they produced MARTYROLOGIES and legends. In reality there were diverse and localized persecutions but three widespread persecutions under Decius (249–250 C.E.), Valerianus (257–258 C.E.), and Diocletian (303–312 C.E.).

Stephen was the first martyr (c. 35 C.E.), and then James of Zebedee, and a general persecution broke out under Herod Agrippa (c. 42 C.E.). The biblical book of Revelation speaks of societal hostility against the early Christians. Rarely did this persecution come from the government; usually it was from other religious groups

(such as the Jews or the pagans). NERO (54–68) and Domitian (81–96) were known to have blamed Christians for problems of their own administration. The legal basis for these persecutions is known from the correspondence between Pliny and the emperor TRAJAN around 110: If a resident did not make offerings to the Roman gods, he or she could be executed. However, the Christians were not sought out by prosecutors, and emperors did not make it their business to conduct widespread campaigns against them. Later persecutions occurred when specific charges were filed: Polycarp of Smyrna (156), the Lyons martyrs (177), the Scillitan martyrs in CARTHAGE (180), Felicity and Perpetua (203). Nonetheless, the persecutions were sporadic and local.

The first empire-wide persecution broke out in 249, when Emperor Decius tried to restore traditional values to the Roman state. He ordered that the annual Roman sacrifices be mandatory in various cities, and that prominent Christian leaders in those places be arrested and executed. Local commissions were set up to enforce these decrees. Only Decius's death in 251 cut short the serious threat to the church. The second big persecution was initiated by Valerius in 257. Initially, the decrees seemed to be motivated by a desire for church wealth, but a year later executions and cruel forms of punishment went beyond confiscations. Valerius would condemn Christians to the mines, beat them with whips, and shave their heads as runaway slaves and criminals. Eventually, the ROMAN EMPIRE backed away from its anti-Christian position, and the church began to go public.

After 40 years of relative calm, the empire under Diocletian returned to its hostility against the church. Diocletian's major goal was to unify and rejuvenate the moribund empire, and the Christians were viewed as uncooperative. For nine years (303–312) the government pursued a program against the Christians, banning all scriptures, tearing down churches, prohibiting meetings, and stripping Christians of legal rights. At first Diocletian did not kill Christians, for he did not want martyrs, but later his deputies carried out massive executions, especially in North Africa.

When Diocletian retired in 305, persecution died out in the West but continued in the East. Later, when paganism did not revive and Christianity only grew, grudging official acceptance of Christianity was given in 311–312. The empire had little to gain by crushing the church.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; CONSTANTINE THE GREAT; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Fox, Robin Lane. *Pagans and Christians*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986; Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity*. New York: HarperCollins, 1984.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana

Persepolis, literally “the City of the Persians,” was founded by DARIUS I the Great, the third king of the Achaemenid, or Persian, Empire (539–331 B.C.E.). Work on the city began around 518 B.C.E. but was not completed until about 100 years later by King ARTAXERES I. It was conceived of as a royal city in Pars, the heartland of Persia, the central-southern province of modern-day Iran, and Darius's refuge away from the summer heat of the Mesopotamian plain. It is located just 25 miles southwest of Pasargadae, the historical capital of the Achaemenids, where the Persian Empire's founder, CYRUS II, was buried.

Unlike the other capital cities of the empire—Ecbatana, Susa, and Babylon—Persepolis was never designed to be a populous city, rather a ceremonial city. The Greek writer HERODOTUS (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.) tells us that the city was not much lived in by the kings, who moved between the other capitals. Persepolis had one key purpose and that was as a location for the celebration of the New Year festival. Even today Iran has a totally different New Year from that observed in the West, a year that begins at the equinox on March 21. In ancient Persia, as in much of the ancient Near East, the New Year was a time when the gods were especially appeased, and therefore its ceremonies were the most important of the year. At New Year, delegations from all the satrapies (or regions) of the empire would come to Persepolis not only to pay homage to the emperor, bringing tribute, but also entering into the festivities.

The ruins of the city, visible today, are filled with friezes that enact the arrival of the ambassadors from all over the empire, each one wearing national dress, and all overseen by the Immortals, the elite personal guard of the emperor. Persepolis was partially destroyed by ALEXANDER THE GREAT when he ended the Persian Empire in 331 B.C.E., and according to the Roman author Plutarch, its vast treasures were carried away on 20,000 mules and 5,000 camels. However, the remoteness of the location and its mystique have meant much of the ancient city was preserved.

Unlike Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana were working cities and capitals in their own right before the advent

of the Persian Empire. Susa is situated on the Karun River on the southeastern corner of the Mesopotamian plain, on the Iranian side of the Iran-Iraq border, where Mesopotamia touches the foothills of the Zagros Mountains. Susa was the capital of the Elamite people at the time of the Persian Empire, but the site has been occupied since at least 4000 B.C.E. Around 2000 B.C.E. the Elamites, undoubtedly setting out from Susa, destroyed the power of the city of UR, famous in the Bible as the city from which Abraham's family came.

Possibly the greatest period in the city's history was in the 13th century B.C.E. when the Elamites successfully sacked Babylon, carrying off many of its treasures to enrich Susa. However, the fortunes of war meant that Susa itself was sacked a number of times, one of the most famous of which was in 639 B.C.E. when Ashurbanipal, king of ASSYRIA, the nation so feared in the ancient world, invaded.

Susa is possibly best known as the residence of the biblical Daniel and ESTHER, who were there during the Persian era. During this period the city underwent a major building program with the construction of a citadel, moated walled city, and royal palaces. Early on in his conquests Alexander the Great received the surrender of Susa as soon as he approached the city, and he plundered much of its wealth. After Alexander, Susa became part of the SELEUCID EMPIRE and then the Parthian Empire. Its importance gradually waned and from the beginning of the 13th century C.E. little was left but crumbling ruins.

Ecbatana, modern-day Hamadan in the west of Iran, was the ancient capital of the Median people. It was strategically situated on the eastern edge of the Zagros Mountains, guarding one of three ancient passes linking the Mesopotamian plain with the lands to the east. The Greek writer Herodotus of Halicarnassus records that Deioces, the legendary first king of the Medes, founded the city. It was the capital of Media during the period of Median strength before Cyrus the Great, but it possibly acquired greater fame when Cyrus defeated the Medes in 550 B.C.E. and made Ecbatana his summer palace. Its high altitude made its summers delightfully cool in comparison to the heat of the Mesopotamian plain. Later Ecbatana became one of the capitals of the Seleucid and then Parthian Empires.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; FERTILE CRESCENT; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; XERXES.

**Further reading:** Matheson, Sylvia A. *Persia: An Archaeological Guide*. Tehran, Iran: Yassavoli Publications, 2000;

Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## Persian invasions

The Persian Wars, or Greco-Persian Wars, were a succession of conflicts between shifting alliances of Greek states and the Persian Empire. Wars were fought for the control of strategically important territories, also determining whether Greek or Persian culture predominated in the Aegean Sea. As a result of victories at the Battles of Salamis and Marathon, the Greeks were able to resist the superior manpower and resources of the Persians. Had it been otherwise, the democratic and philosophical traditions of ancient Greece that did so much to shape the Western consciousness might have been delayed or even suppressed.

In the sixth century B.C.E. Persian kings, including CYRUS II and CAMBYSES II, expanded Persian possessions on the Anatolian coast and annexed a series of Greek colonies and island settlements. This process was intensified under DARIUS I, who acceded to the throne in 522 B.C.E. and eventually inspired the Ionian Revolt, which lasted from 500 to 494 B.C.E., during which various Persian conquests rose up and attempted to claim independence. Eventually, the revolt was crushed, but the fact that Athens had sent a small naval force in support of the rebels provided a pretext for subsequent attempted expansion of Persian rule in Europe. A Persian force landed to the northeast of Athens in 490 B.C.E. in the vicinity of Marathon. There, an Athenian force of around 10,000 troops met them, together with some of their allies. The Athenians under Miltiades found the Persians without their large cavalry force in attendance and rapidly attacked and defeated them. The Persians fled and returned to Asia Minor.

Darius was succeeded by XERXES, and he set about mobilizing a huge invasion force, made ready in 479 B.C.E. The force moved only in an unwieldy fashion, and while the Greeks were terrified of what it could achieve, they had time to prepare for its arrival. A League of Defense was created and led jointly by Athens and Sparta, with the former commanding the sea and the latter the land, in accordance with their military and logistic capabilities. In both cases the Greeks were hugely outnumbered. However, the Persians had to cope with significant supply problems, forcing their ships to keep in contact with the land force. The Spar-

tans sent their famed hoplite infantry to meet the advance of the Persians at the pass of Thermopylae. They withstood the continual Persian onslaught, aided by the narrow ground, which limited the number of Persian troops able to attack at one time. However, the Spartans were eventually defeated, according to legend because of a traitor who enabled the Persians to outflank the position and attack from behind. Realizing that defeat was inevitable, King LEONIDAS of Sparta sent most of the 7,000 Greek troops south to safety but remained to the bitter end with his Spartan troops and their Thespian allies. This is the battle that prompted Simonides to compose the monumental text “go tell the Spartans, passer by, that here, obedient to their laws, we lie.”

At the same time that Leonidas was resisting the Persian army, the Athenian navy and their allies, under THEMISTOCLES, were facing the Persian navy. It is recorded that Themistocles commanded 271 ships. The Persians dispatched 200 ships to try to lure the Athenians into battle, unsuccessfully. Instead, the Athenian ships retired to their harbor while the Persians waited outside and were largely destroyed by a powerful storm. Many Persian ships remained, and the Athenians were persuaded to abandon their city and take refuge further inland. The Persians burned Athens but, desiring to achieve a decisive victory over the Athenian army, Xerxes allowed himself to be outmaneuvered by Themistocles in deploying his fleet in the Straits of Salamis, where the more skillful Athenian sailors managed to destroy the Persian fleet at close quarters. The remnants of the Persian fleet returned to Asia Minor.

The Battle of Salamis represented the end of the second Persian invasion, with the army unsupplied and demoralized. A final victory at the Battle of Plataea ensured that the Greek mainland would be free of colonization. However, military operations continued for several decades as the Athenian-led Delian League undertook naval actions throughout the Aegean with a view to liberating Persian-held Greek colonies. These actions achieved some success and persuaded the Persians to agree to the Peace of Callias in 449 B.C.E. The Persian invasions represented genuinely significant attempts to conquer and annex Greece and to convert Greece into a satrapy of the Persian Empire.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; MARATHON, BATTLE OF.

**Further reading:** Boardman, John, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, eds. *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Herodotus. *The Histories*. Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Kitto, H. D. F. *The Greeks*.

New York: Penguin Books, 1950; Strauss, Barry. *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter That Saved Greece—and Western Civilization*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

JOHN WALSH

## Persian myth

Iranian myths do not belong to just one era but many epochs over the 12,000-year chronology. The history of myth in Iran is divided into four eras, each covering three millennia. The first quarter refers to creation as a spiritual essence in which no place or time could be felt, and the world was far from any substance or movement. However, the spiritual world manifested itself in two types of existence: one belonging to Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), the knowledgeable master, good and truthful spirit; and the other belonging to the evil spirit, Ahriman. The conflict between good and evil is prevalent in Iranian myth.

Zorwan is a god who prays to have a son with Ormazd's characteristics to create the world. At the end of the 1,000th year Zorwan doubts his prayers are working. Because of this doubt, Ormazd and Ahriman simultaneously arise in him. The former represents his patience, while the latter signifies his doubt. Zorwan promises to make the elder ruler and lord of the world. Ahriman is born first, and Zorwan, because of his promise, appoints Ahriman as the ruler for a finite part of the 9,000 remaining years. Zorwan is sure that Ormazd will triumph over Ahriman and successfully rule over the world for eternity.

In the second quarter the world turns to a material one, and the first emblems of the world's prototypes are created. Ormazd creates the six major prototypes of creation: sky, water, earth, plants, animals, and human beings. The human prototype, Kiumarth, is mortal. He is created to help god and is called Ahlav (the holy man).

The third quarter presents a mixture of good and evil, light and darkness, and a blending between Ormazd and Ahriman's wills. Ahriman moves toward the borders of light, leaving darkness behind and becoming aware of many good creatures that Ahura Mazda has created. In competing with him he destroys his creatures and invades every prototype created by Ormazd and spoils the mundane world. This period is referred to as *gumizishn* in Pahlavi writing and signifies that both Ahriman and Ormazd are triumphant. Ormazd seeks god's help and assistance. Ormazd, employing good forces, is able to reproduce each one of

the prototypes of creation destroyed or spoiled by Ahriman. After Kiumarth's death, Ormazd reproduces the human prototype. It is said that Kiumarth's seed falls on the earth while passing away, is purified by the Sun's rays, and after 40 years turn, into Rivas, a holy plant with two stems. These stems become the first human couple, Mashya and Mashayana.

Evil forces lie in wait for the couple. The first couple tells the first lie, attributing creation to Ahriman. To punish their wrongdoing they are deprived of having children for a long time, before their reparation is accepted. At last they have seven sons and seven daughters. Each of the pairs marries and leaves for one of the seven territories or realms—according to Iranian mythology, ancient Iran was made up of seven countries. Humans expanded in number in the seven countries.

The last part of the fourth quarter deals mainly with Zoroaster. This was the 10th millennium of creation when "Good Religion" expanded and developed throughout the world. Zoroaster visits Ormazd by the Daieti River in ancient Iran and stays with him for 10 years, when Ormazd reveals the religion's mysteries to him. Zoroaster announces his prophethood, and based on the Pahlavi writings, Zoroaster is a complete human being in mazdaism (praising and worshipping Ahura Mazda).

The middle texts and the Sassanids' writings tell of the end of the world. The prophetical literature of Zoroastrians is simultaneous with the internal conflicts in the SASSANID EMPIRE, expanding during Bahram Chubin's rebellion. After the collapse of the Sassanids by the Muslim Arabs such literature is encouraged and revived. According to Sassanid texts, there are three saviors of the world. Houshidar, Houshidarmah, and Saoshyanth appear in the millennium after Zoroaster and expand good. All are miraculously born of Zoroaster's seed and are his sons. Bahram (the victorious) and Pashootan are among the most famous. Bahram is a warrior, seeking truth by coming to Iran, riding on a white elephant. He defeats cruelty and clears Iran from impurity, providing a tranquillity that had been long lost.

The middle texts report the birth of the trichotomous Saoshyanth as follows:

Zoroaster makes love with his wife three times during a three-month period, after which his wife washes in the Kiyanseh River and Zoroaster's seed is mixed with the river's water. Naryousang, the lord, leaves the seeds with Anahita to mix with that of a mother at the proper time. A 15-year-old virgin swims in the Kiyanseh River, and she becomes pregnant and gives birth to the first savior, Houshidar. At the age of 30 he meets Ormazd and learns

all the teachings of Mazdins and continues the prophethood, previously held by his father Zoroaster. Houshidar cleanses religion, destroys Ahriman's traditions, decreases famine and starvation, and helps expand the forces of good. In his reign children are born smarter, rivers become full, and plants only experience autumn every three years. Wild animals and predators disappear.

Thirty years before Houshidar's millennium ends, again a 15-year-old virgin swims in the Kiyanseh River and becomes pregnant, giving birth to Houshidarmah. Houshidarmah visits Ormazd when he is 30 years old and becomes responsible for bringing salvation to the world. The 20-day stoppage of the Sun is one of the signs of his emergence. At the beginning of his millennium plants experience autumn every six years, and all forces of evil are defeated. The thirst and hunger ghoul becomes too weak, and everybody can live on one meal a day. In the last 53 years of his millennium people become vegetarians and milk drinkers rather than flesh eaters. Medicine flourishes during this era, and life expectancy increases. However, Zahak's rebellion again unbalances good and evil in Iran. Ormazd resurrects Garshasb's spirits to fight with Zahak and destroy him, and the golden years restart.

Thirty years before the end of Houshidarmah's millennium, Saoshyanth, the last creature of Ormazd, would be born miraculously of the prophet Zoroaster's seed by a virgin mother and would become the world's savior. At his revelation the Sun stays unmoved in the sky for 30 days. Saoshyanth is received warmly by Kay Xusrav who is riding on Izadwai (God of wind). Saoshyanth appreciates Kay Xusras's braveries by destroying the idols and defeating Afrasyab and thereby making way for the reconstruction and renovation of the world. Kay Xusrav becomes king of all seven countries during the Saoshyanth's millennium, while Saoshyanth is Moubad-e-Mubadan (lord of clergies).

During Saoshyanth's millennium, which lasts 57 years, everything would be accomplished according to Gathas (Zoroaster's original teachings). He gathers an army and fights the infidelity ghoul, who then hides in a hole. Shahrivar (the guard of metals in the mundane world) pours metal into the hole to imprison the evil ghoul and send him to hell. Saoshyanth overcomes all ghouls and evil forces through his five prayers. Ahriman and his evil emblems are forgotten, and the wicked evil spirits are destroyed. The world becomes full of kindness, and happiness reigns. Ahriman's creatures—ugliness, diseases, pain, lies, and greediness—disappear and plants and trees never experience autumn; they are evergreen.

In the first 17 years of Saoshyanth's millennium, people eat plants. For 30 years they drink only water, and in

the last 10 years they have no food and are instead fed with spiritual food. The ideal world is formed, and earth is restored to its original goodness. Such a world represents the combination of all of Ormazd's potential forces and his absolute supremacy. This is how the world ends and resurrection, what man is waiting for, comes to pass, and the finite life turns into the infinite one.

See also PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Further reading:** Boyce, M. "Apocalyptic in Zoroastrianism." In E. Yarshater, ed. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. New York: Routledge, 1985; Charles, R. H. *Religious Development between the Old and New Testament*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1914; Dhabhar, B. N. *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Faramarz and Others*. Bombay, India: n.p., 1932; Hellholm, D. *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr, 1983.

FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH, MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR,  
AND MEHRDAD AMIRI

## Persians

See MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES.

## Petronius

(c. 27–66 C.E.) *Roman author*

Petronius was a courtier under NERO and the most likely author of the Roman novel *Satyricon*. If he was the man identified by Tacitus as the “arbiter of elegance” who “idled into fame” by refining debauchery into a science, his full name would be Caius Petronius Arbiter, although manuscripts of the *Satyricon* give the name as Titus Petronius Niger. As proconsul in Bithynia and later as consul elect, Petronius gained a reputation as a capable administrator. However, the following portrait from Tacitus’s *Annals* would lead one to think otherwise: “Petronius passed the day in sleep, the night in business and in life’s pleasures. As industry brought other men to prominence, so idleness bored him to fame. He was not considered a debauchee or a profligate, as with most wastrels, but a polished artist of excess.”

His vices won him admission into the circle of Nero’s intimates, and the Roman emperor thought nothing elegant unless Petronius pronounced it thus. As such, he soon incurred the jealousy of Tigellinus, a rival who considered himself superior in the science of pleasure. Tigellinus engineered Petronius’s fall by charging him with

friendship with Scaevinus, who had been implicated in Calpurnius Piso’s conspiracy in 61 C.E. Deprived of a chance to defend himself, most of his household was imprisoned, and an order for his detention was issued.

Under such circumstances an ancient might seek consolation in philosophy, taking comfort in the permanence of the soul, much like SOCRATES in *Phaedo*. In Nero’s Rome, of course, it was expected that the soon-to-be-deceased should flatter the emperor in his will. Petronius, however, lived out his final hours in a grand parody of heroic suicides in theater. Without waiting for the inevitable he had a surgeon slit his vein and then bind it up again, so as to allow time for a leisurely dinner party with friends. Rather than speculating on the afterlife, he passed the evening listening to frivolous songs and light poetry. Instead of writing a will in his final hours, Petronius supposedly detailed the abominable acts of the emperor and enumerated his catamites, whores, and innovations in perversion. This scandalous document, sealed with his ring-signet, was sent to Nero.

Some hypothesized that this last testament of Petronius was his great work the *Satyricon*, which they considered a roman à clef of Nero; however, this claim is rather unlikely. The length and sophistication of what survives of the novel bespeak sustained effort. In 1420 Poggio Bracciolini discovered a Carolingian manuscript in Cologne that aimed to preserve the poems in the *Satyricon*, excising its salacious narrative. Almost 200 years later another manuscript surfaced that had the opposite and complementary purpose: preserving the narrative. These two furnished the basis for the modern edition of the *Satyricon*.

In the *Satyricon* the protagonist, Encolpius, with his boy-lover Giton, stumbles from one misadventure of sexual excess, humiliation, and human folly to another. Petronius’s dissolute world admits no place for romantic love, and sex—preferably with boys or men—results only in comedy and/or degradation. Indeed, the *Satyricon* is the very opposite of the idealized love stories found in the ancient Greek novel. Petronius is keenly interested in the attitudes and behaviors of the various social classes, realistically portraying them against a backdrop of Roman life in settings such as the rhetorical school, the brothel, and even a banquet—the so-called Cena Trimalchionis that detailed the menagerie of tasteless horrors on the estate of the notorious parvenu Trimalchio. This scene was a central feature of Federico Fellini’s idiosyncratic film that takes its title from the novel.

*Satyricon*’s social scope is equaled by the range of literary models it parodies, from Homer’s *Odyssey* to Virgil and Lucan, not to mention tragedy, philosophy,

and even popular literature. It does not offer the reader any moral lens to enable judgment but instead offers a vision of decadent Rome without flinching from the unsavory—a work unequalled in the ancient world for its complexity, length, and unerring focus on human depravity.

See also HOMERIC EPICS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY.

**Further reading:** Conte, Gian-Biaggio. *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Müller, K., ed. *Petronius Satyricon Reliquiae*. Munich, Germany: Saur, 2003; Rimell, Victoria. *Petronius and the Anatomy of Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Walsh, P. G., trans. *The Satyricon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

S-C KEVIN TSAI

## pharaoh

Although in ancient Egypt the term *pharaoh* (great house) referred to the royal palace and was used in reference to the monarch only as an instance of metonymy, modern historians follow the biblical convention of using the term for the monarch himself. Some Egyptians of the NEW KINGDOM and later used the term the same way, but informally and never in official contexts. The first time *pharaoh* was used to refer to the monarch himself was in reference to AKHENATEN.

The pharaoh wore a double crown to symbolize his rule of both Lower Egypt (Ta-Mehu, in the north, where the Nile Delta drains into the Mediterranean) and Upper Egypt (Ta-Shemau, in the south but upstream along the Nile River). The First Dynasty unified the two kingdoms in the 31st or 32nd century B.C.E. It is not entirely clear who was the first pharaoh of a unified Egypt. No pharaonic crown has been found; pharaohs apparently were not buried with it, and there may have been one crown that was passed on from one ruler to the next.

The record of pharaohs is incomplete and often conflicting; the case of Menes is only one of several in which modern Egyptologists believe a recorded name may refer to a pharaoh we know by another name, or may only be legend. In the Intermediate Periods and the early dynasties, there are dozens of pharaohs about whom we have only fragments of names, names without further information (such as the length of their reign or when it transpired), or dubious names that do not seem to fit with the information we do have.

Many pharaohs we know according to different parts of their full title, which by the MIDDLE KINGDOM became the fivefold titulary, a system of increasingly formalized names arranged to describe the pharaoh's rule. These five names were the Horus name (also called the Banner name and the Ka name), the Nebty (or Two Ladies) name, the Golden Horus (or Gold) name, the praenomen, and the nomen.

The Horus name represented the pharaoh's divine relationship with the god Horus and was written in HIEROGLYPHICS in a pictograph of a palace, usually alongside the god in the form of a falcon. Horus names date to the OLD KINGDOM period and are frequently the only surviving name of early pharaohs, who adopted it upon ascending the throne and ceased using their birth names. In the earliest dynasties Horus was read as part of the name: Hor-Aha, had he ruled in a later time, would simply have been Aha. During the New Kingdom period Horus was often depicted wearing a double crown and appeared with a sun and a *uraeus* (a stylized cobra appearing on the pharaoh's crown).

The Nebty name became standard in the Twelfth Dynasty and was associated with the patron goddesses of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt: Wadjet (symbolized by a cobra) and Nekhbet (symbolized by a vulture). Each goddess's symbol appeared beside the name.

The significance of the Golden Horus name is somewhat less clear. It appeared beside a falcon perched above the hieroglyph for gold, and the Greek portion of the ROSETTA STONE translates as “superior to his foes.” Many Egyptologists believe the name symbolizes Horus's triumph over his brother Seth, but gold's symbolic meaning as “eternity” may be equally important, and the name may reflect something about the pharaoh's wishes for the afterlife, an aspect of himself he considered immutable in any world.

At the end of the Old Kingdom most pharaohs were known only by their praenomen and nomen. Each of the names was enclosed in a cartouche, an oblong that enclosed a name to indicate its royal status. Other names were reserved for official formal purposes and record keeping. The nomen was the birth name given to the crown prince and was represented by a duck (a homonym for the word for “son”) and a sun to represent Ra. “The good god” or “the lord of apparitions” was sometimes added before the nomen. The praenomen was a name chosen upon ascending the throne and usually included a reference to Ra. It often appeared along with the title “Lord of the Two Lands,” another reminder of Egypt's pluralism. The full name of Thutmose I, a Nineteenth Dynasty pharaoh, was therefore Kanakht

Merymaat Khamnesretnebetaapehti Neferrenputseankhibu Aakheperkare Thutmose, with various titles inserted between the names according to the occasion.

### THE PHARAOH'S ROLE IN RELIGION

As the son of Horus (and as a result of his connection with sun deities), the pharaoh had a divinely paternal relationship with his nation: personal, disciplinary, protective, and sustaining. The pharaoh was the source not only of the land's fertility and abundance but of the maintenance of *maat*, a distinctly Egyptian concept sometimes translated as "truth" or "justice" (as the goddess Ma'at presided over both) and related to the Greek *logos*. *Maat* is perhaps best understood, as "the way things ought to be," a blueprint of a healthy and working universe in which everything is interdependent and in proper balance: Without it there would be chaos. When *maat* was in balance, the annual Nile floods would nourish the farmland, the people would have enough to eat and would not be beset by illness or plague, and Egypt would remain unconquerable. The pharaoh's responsibility was to preserve *maat* not merely through appropriate action but by being sufficiently divine, as a people ruled by a god would live in balance. The pharaohs' extraordinary and labor-intensive construction projects resulting in the Sphinx, the pyramids, and other monuments reinforced the pharaoh's importance.

The pharaoh's *ka*, a part of the soul—in ordinary people passed on from the father, for the pharaoh from his divine parent—was unique in that, perhaps like the double crown, it was passed on from one pharaoh to the next. It did not matter if the successor was the blood relative of his predecessor: As celebrated in the Opet festival of the New Kingdom, the pharaoh received his *ka* from Amun and returned it to the god in the form of ritual and offerings so that it could be strengthened and maintained for the pharaohs to come. The Opet festival was one of many which celebrated the pharaoh's relationship with his kingdom and the divine and consisted largely of ceremonies and rituals in which the public did not participate, not even to bear witness. Increasingly, especially during the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom periods, participatory religious activities were absorbed into the religiopolitical framework of Egyptian government, and the priesthood was indistinguishable from the court bureaucracy.

### SIGNIFICANT PHARAOHS

#### *Sneferu*

Sneferu was the founder of the Fourth Dynasty and a prolific builder of pyramids and monuments. Under his

reign the pyramid of Huni at Meidum was completed and turned from a step pyramid into the world's first true pyramid (one with smooth sides). At the royal necropolis of Dahshur, he also built the so-called Bent Pyramid (the top of which was built at an angle 11 degrees shallower than the rest, making it appear to bend or dimple) and the Red Pyramid, so called for its exposed granite surface. All of Sneferu's pyramids show an interest in experimenting with building styles not seen under other pharaohs.

#### *Khufu*

Best known by his Greek name, Cheops, Khufu was the son of Sneferu and builder of the Great Pyramid of Giza. The only one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World that stands today, the Great Pyramid originally stood at 481 feet with a base covering 53,000 sq. miles and weighed about 6 million tons, or as much as 17 Empire State Buildings.

#### *Khafra*

A Fourth-Dynasty pharaoh, Khafra was most likely Khufu's grandson and continued in his family's tradition of building. After building a smaller pyramid at Giza, he built the Great Sphinx, a half-man/half-lion statue 260 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 65 feet tall. The lion was often a symbol of the Sun, as well as one used



Labor-intensive construction projects such as the Great Sphinx (above) reinforced the pharaoh's importance and divine status.

to represent the pharaoh during those early dynasties. *Sphinx* is a Greek name; it is unclear what the Egyptians called it and unknown whether the face of the Sphinx is meant to be that of Khafra or perhaps his father, or even Sneferu, the dynastic founder.

### *Pepi II*

A Sixth Dynasty pharaoh whose reign began at age six and lasted for 94 years (2278–2184 B.C.E.), Pepi enjoyed the longest reign of any monarch in history. It was not a strong reign: Pepi's rule is associated with the decline of the Old Kingdom, as power, influence, prestige, and wealth shifted from the pharaoh to the nomarchs (provincial governors). It is not clear whether Merenre Nemtyemsaf II or Nitiqret succeeded Pepi.

### *Nitiqret*

The last pharaoh of the Sixth Dynasty is believed to have been a woman named Nitiqret. Her existence is attested both by Greek historian HERODOTUS and in detail by third-century B.C.E. Egyptian historian Manetho. Manetho credits her with the third pyramid at Giza, while Herodotus describes her fratricide and subsequent suicide. Many modern Egyptologists believe that Nitiqret never existed, and that "Nitiqret" originated as a bad transliteration of the male pharaoh Netjerkare Siptah I.

### *Sobekneferu*

Sobekneferu, on the other hand, was certainly a pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, and the first known female ruler of Egypt. She was most likely the daughter of Amenemhat III, whose son (her brother, Amenemhat IV) died without a male heir. She reigned for just less than four years, and the Twelfth Dynasty ended with her.

### *Akhenaten*

Originally called Amenhotep IV at the beginning of his Eighteenth Dynasty reign, Akhenaten is a complicated figure. The son of Amenhotep III and Tiy, and possibly a co-regent in the last few years of his father's reign, Akhenaten was a religious heretic whose beliefs would become the central focus of his reign. He revered the obscure solar deity Aten; for Akhenaten the Aten was not simply a deity of the Sun but the solar disc itself and the properties of light responsible for sustaining life. The Aten had previously been associated with a syncretic deity, a combination of Horus, Ra, and Amun, but Akhenaten dismissed those humanoid gods in favor of the disc itself and eventually declared the Aten the only true deity. Atenism, also called the Amarna heresy, thus began as a monotheistic faith, one that

acknowledged the existence of other gods but did not worship them (an unusual stance in the ancient world). Akhenaten emphasized a personal relationship with the divine Aten over the rituals that had so dominated Egyptian spiritual life—something which modern commentators have fixated on, sometimes calling him “the first individual.”

While Sigmund Freud argued that Akhenaten's monotheism inspired Judaism, there is no reasonable evidence for this, and the theory ignores the significant evidence that Jewish monotheism developed out of early monotheistic (and perhaps polytheistic) traditions that predate Akhenaten's reign. It is also unlikely that Akhenaten is either of the two pharaohs referred to in the biblical book of Exodus.

### *Tutankhamun*

After Akhenaten's and the Amarna heresy Egypt returned to traditional worship under Tutankhamun, best known now as “King Tut.” Howard Carter discovered his well-preserved tomb at the apex of Egyptology's hold on the popular imagination, in 1923, leading to urban legends of “the mummy's curse” and inspiring a new generation of tomb raiders.

### *Cleopatra VII*

Generally referred to now simply as Cleopatra, Cleopatra VII Philopator was the last Hellenistic ruler of Egypt, the last member of the Ptolemaic dynasty that had begun when Ptolemy, a Macedonian general to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, declared himself ruler of all Egypt in the aftermath of Alexander's death. The Ptolemaic dynasty had included seven queens, all named Cleopatra (Greek for “father's glory”). All the kings were named Ptolemy. Though perhaps not technically a pharaoh, Cleopatra is significant in the discussion of Egyptian monarchic rule, not for her romances with Roman general Mark Antony and JULIUS CAESAR, but because with her suicide Egypt passed into Roman hands. While Roman rulers proclaimed themselves “Pharaoh of Egypt” from that point until the fall of the empire, there was never again a true pharaoh.

See also PTOLEMIES; PYRAMIDS OF GIZA.

**Further reading:** Arnold, Dieter. *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Dodson, Aidan. *Monarchs of the Nile*. London: Rubicon Press, 1995; Hobson, Christine. *The World of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987; Hornung, Erik. *The Valley of the Kings*. New York: Timken, 1990; Quirke, Stephen. *Who Were the Pharaohs?* New York: Dover, 1990; Shaw, Ian. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 2000; Watterson, Barbara. *Amarna: Ancient Egypt's Age of Revolution*. Charleston, SC: Tempus, 1999; Weeks, Kent R. *Valley of the Kings*. New York: Friedman, 2001.

BILL KTE'PI

## Pharisees

The common interpretation of the Pharisees comes to modern audiences through the speeches of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in the New Testament. There they play the role of Jesus's opponents and are almost seen in a negative light.

Their arguments with Jesus revolve around issues of religious customs, like the observance of the Sabbath day, the keeping of a special diet that is biblically approved (kosher), the physical contact with people outside their sect, and obligatory religious donations (tithing). The overall picture that the reader makes out is that the Pharisees are not so concerned for the spiritual well-being of their devotees as for preserving their own prestige and authority.

This picture is balanced with a more objective reading of the New Testament. The Gospels portray the fact that the Pharisees are zealous for correct interpretations of the scriptures and are willing to mix with the people in order to disseminate this information. The Pharisees therefore worked with the laypeople in a way that no other Jewish group, besides the followers of Jesus, cared to do. The SADDUCEES, for example, sequestered themselves in the administration of the central temple, and the monastic community called QUMRAN often epitomized the reclusive ESSENES.

Jesus and the Pharisees share many common views about religious doctrines. This is well attested by PAUL's trial defense when he cleverly notes that he is accused of believing what the Pharisees believe. In other situations Paul tells his audience that he is a Pharisee and proud of it. Many of the early church followers come from the ranks of Pharisees. When it comes to the passion and death of Jesus, the Bible generally does not give the decisive role to the Pharisees. Instead, the temple authorities (the Sadducees) and the Romans are the main perpetrators of the execution of Jesus.

On the other hand, a sanitized view of the Pharisees can be found in the writings of the rabbis. The rabbis, especially in later centuries, liked to trace their lineage to the Pharisees and, before them, to the biblical lawgivers such as MOSES and EZRA. The father of the rabbinic movement, YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, is portrayed

as the next in line to the Pharisees. The rabbis liked to imagine that their ancestral Pharisees included the likes of the legendary sages HILLEL, SHAMMAI, and AKIBA. The problem is that these rabbinic tales are compiled too long after the demise of the Pharisees and hence tell more about 150–650 C.E. than 150 B.C.E.–150 C.E. The rabbinic sources, though, do show some of the same issues brought out in the New Testament, namely, diet, Sabbath, fraternizing with outsiders, and tithing, so it is fair to say that it reflects some more ancient historic realities.

JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian of the first century C.E., tells the third perspective on the Pharisees. For Josephus the Pharisees are one of the three main Jewish philosophies, including the Sadducees and the Essenes. Although Josephus admits that the Pharisees have influenced him, he is ambivalent about the Pharisees, sometimes applauding them for their influence over the people and for their moderate position between the doctrines of the other philosophies, sometimes finding fault with them due to their political meddling.

The Pharisees must be contrasted to their rivals, largely, the Sadducees and the Essenes, and likened to their later competitors, the Christians. They were in some ways a reform group who did not agree with the temple authorities, yet they did not abandon mainstream society in the form of a counterculture. Thus, they actually reached out to the Jewish towns and villages and attempted to bring their interpretation of the biblical rules to everyday life. In effect, they decentralized and democratized Jewish religion. The home and the local synagogue became parallel centers of holiness, and this measure prepared the Jews for the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.

The Pharisees also believed in some of the same doctrines that the followers of Jesus did, like the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment, heaven and hell, and a spiritual world. These ideas were truly innovative for the Palestinian world that otherwise would have been controlled by the status-quo Sadducees. The Pharisees rejected the Roman world order, optimistic that a new age was about to begin.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); MESSIANISM; MISHNAH.

**Further reading:** Meier, J. P. *A Marginal Jew*, Vol. 3, *Companions and Competitors*. New York: Doubleday, 2001; Saldarini, A. J. *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees*. Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1988.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Philip of Macedonia

(382–336 B.C.E.) *king of Macedonia*

King Philip II, expansionist ruler of Macedonia from 359 to 336 B.C.E., paved the way for his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquests. Philip was born in Pella in 382 B.C.E., the third son of King Amyntas III and his first wife, Queen Eurydice. After Amyntas died in 370 B.C.E. Macedonia disintegrated because Philip's brothers King Alexander II, assassinated in 367 B.C.E., and King Perdiccas III, who died in battle in 359 B.C.E., were unable to stop the overwhelming foreign attacks. The Thracians already possessed eastern Macedonia. THEBES, capital of Illyria, which bordered western Macedonia, occupied northwest Macedonia.

From 368 to 365 B.C.E. Philip was a political hostage in Thebes and lived in the house of Pammenes. The learned Epaminondas taught him Greek lifestyle, customs, military tactics, and diplomacy. Upon his return to Macedonia Philip helped reform the Macedonian army. Despite the reforms Macedonia suffered 4,000 casualties, Perdiccas among them, in a battle against Illyrian king Bardylas in 359 B.C.E. The energetic, diplomatic, yet ruthless Philip ascended the throne at age 21, overthrowing his nephew Amyntas IV, the infant son of Perdiccas.

Philip sought to advance in his political and military pursuits by reorganizing the Macedonian army, which was patterned after the Greek-style phalanx. His uniquely Macedonian phalanx gave each hoplite a longer, 18-foot spear called a *sarissa*. The eight to 16 rows of the phalanx moved toward the enemy, easily killing them from a distance of 20 feet. Another of Philip's innovations was the creation of a professional army with financial support that enticed enlistment. The newly organized Macedonian army instilled pride and strong loyalty toward Philip. Philip freed the northwest from the Illyrians by decisively defeating them in 358 B.C.E.

Philip used numerous marriages to cement political alliances. Among his wives were Illyrian princess Audata, Phila, and Princess Olympias of Epirus, daughter of Neoptolemus, who gave him a son, Alexander, in 356 B.C.E. Philip decided he wanted the strategically important city-state of Amphipolis returned to Macedonia and captured it in 357 B.C.E., giving him access to the forests and ownership of the gold mine of Mount Pangeus.

Philip captured the town of Crenides, which had been occupied by Thracians in 356 B.C.E., renaming it Philippopolis and eliminating Thrace as a threat. The Greek cities of Potidaea and Paydna were captured in 356 B.C.E. He exiled non-Macedonians and sold them into slavery.

An arrow cost Philip his right eye at the Battle for Methone in 354 B.C.E. where he defeated his enemy Argaeus. Philip was in control of Thessaly by 352 B.C.E. DEMOSTHENES delivered three speeches from 351 to 349 B.C.E. denouncing Philip. He also conquered Olynthus in 348 B.C.E. and sold the Greeks into slavery. Within a few years he defeated 34 GREEK CITY-STATES, including Stageira, the birthplace of ARISTOTLE.

In 346 B.C.E. the Thebans asked his support in their "Sacred War" with the Phocians. Philip destroyed the Phocian city at the Battle of Crocus Field. He made peace with Athens in 346 B.C.E. but six years later waged war by besieging Byzantium and Perinthus. Greek resistance emerged against the "barbarian" Philip who had ruthlessly suppressed Illyrian, Thracian, Greek, and Epirote rebellions. By 339 B.C.E. he defeated the Scythians near the Danube River and took 20,000 Scythian women and children as slaves. During this battle Philip was injured in his upper leg causing him to become permanently lame.

In order to conquer Greece Philip amassed a large Macedonian army and sent his 18-year-old son Alexander to command the left wing of the phalanx as a general. The Battle of Chaeronea was fought on August 2, 338 B.C.E. The Greeks had 35,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry on the field, opposed by 30,000 Macedonian infantry, leaving Philip outnumbered. However, with outstanding military tactics Philip defeated the Greeks. He had Macedonian garrisons built at Chalcis, Thebes, and Corinth. In 337 B.C.E. Philip organized the Greek city-states into the League of Corinth, which he headed, becoming de facto king of Greece.

Philip married a noblewoman, Cleopatra, niece of his general Attalus. This act caused a fissure with Alexander, who fled with his mother to Epirus, her home country. Philip and Cleopatra had a son named Caranus. In 336 B.C.E. Philip began his invasion of Persia but stayed behind to attend the wedding celebration of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus, the brother of Olympias. The Macedonian nobleman Pausanius assassinated Philip during the wedding and was immediately executed. Cleopatra and Caranus were later murdered. It was the legacy of Alexander III to destroy Persia and create the largest kingdom of antiquity. Alexander would not have been as spectacularly successful had Philip not made Macedonia a superpower.

**Further reading:** Borza, Eugen N. *Before Alexander: Constructing Early Macedonia*. Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1999; Cawkwell, George. *Philip of Macedonia*. London: Faber and Faber, 1978; Ellis, John R. *Philip II and Macedonian Im-*

perialism. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976; Hammond, Nicholas G. L. *Philip of Macedon*. London: Duckworth, 1994; Nardo, Don. *Philip II and Alexander the Great Unify Greece in World History*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers, 2000.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Philo

(c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.) philosopher and scholar

The first-century C.E. Jewish author and philosopher Philo of ALEXANDRIA is an important figure for both Hellenistic Judaism and EARLY CHRISTIANITY. He was born around 20 B.C.E. in Alexandria into one of the wealthiest and most distinguished Jewish families. Alexandria had a thriving Jewish community and was known for its intellectual vigor. In addition to his Jewish education, therefore, Philo received schooling in the Greek custom, including the philosophy of Plato, Middle PLATONISM, NEOPLATONISM, and STOICISM, as well as Greek literature and rhetoric, all of which are evident in his work. For example, he refers to God with the Greek term *logos* when discussing the divine creation of the world. The influence of Greek traditions on Judaism in Philo's work becomes in part representative of what is generally known as Hellenistic Judaism in distinction from Palestinian Judaism and its rabbinic traditions.

While Hellenism influenced Philo, he remained a pious and loyal Jew who used his education to explain and defend Judaism and its beliefs. To this end he was very involved with the synagogues in Alexandria. His writings consist largely of philosophical, apologetic, and exegetical works. In addition to his intellectual pursuits, belonging to a prominent family ensured that Philo had public and political responsibilities as well. In a well-known incident around 39 C.E., Philo unsuccessfully led a Jewish delegation to the emperor Gaius Caligula in Rome, seeking rights for Jews, who were being severely mistreated by Alexandrians, who wished to deny Greek citizenship and its privileges to Jews. We also know that Philo traveled at least once on PILGRIMAGE to the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. He died around the year 50 C.E.

Much of Philo's work is exegetical in nature, and many individual writings include or consist entirely of commentaries on the biblical books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and DEUTERONOMY, with a special focus on the PATRIARCHS Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and the laws of MOSES. Working with the

Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures known as the Septuagint, Philo sought to demonstrate that the Jewish teachings in these books, especially Mosaic law, were compatible with and indeed were ultimately the source of the wisdom, natural law, and virtues of classical Greek philosophy. Thus, one must study divine revelation in scripture to gain knowledge of true philosophy.

Philo's exegesis is characterized by the allegorical method, which begins with the literal or historical level of meaning and then moves to the allegorical or spiritual level of meaning. Greek authors had used allegory for centuries, mainly to discover philosophical meanings in the writings of Homer, and Philo realized that it would help to uncover the higher meanings of scripture. This allegorical or spiritual meaning aids in the quest for spiritual perfection and knowledge of God, or in Philo's terms, the transcendence of the soul above the body.

With the decline of Alexandrian Jewish writings and the rise of rabbinic Judaism, ironically, Christians rather than Jews tended to read Philo. Well-educated Christians in Alexandria such as CLEMENT and ORIGEN also used allegory, and traces of Philo's influence are evident in their exegesis of Genesis, for example. Subsequent Christians like AMBROSE and JEROME either read Philo or those authors influenced by Philo. Early Christians are responsible for preserving many of Philo's works, and some even refer to Philo by the honorary status of "Philo the Bishop" or "Philo Christianus."

See also HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHERS; SOCRATES; TORAH.

**Further reading:** Runia, David T. *Philo in Early Christian Literature*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993; Winston, David. *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria*. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College, 1985.

JODY VACCARO LEWIS

## Phoenician colonies

Beginning with the Greek Dark Ages, *Phoinikoi* was the word used by Greeks to refer to the urban populations of the eastern Mediterranean seacoast. Phoenician cities from coastal Syria and Lebanon to the northern shore of Palestine, such as Ras al-Bassit (Poseidon), Tell Sukas (Sianu), Arwad (Arados), Tell Kazel (Sumur, Simyra), Tripolis, BYBLOS, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Ushu, Akhzib, Akko, Tell Keisan, Tell Abu Hawam, and Dor, clung to

the rocky islands, sheer cliffs, promontories, and open plains of the coastline. Inhabitants of these cities shared some degree of common ancestry and spoke a common language, also called Phoenician. The Phoenician-speaking populations were also united by numerous similarities of material culture, social organization, religious belief and practice, and economic enterprise. The Phoenicians are perhaps most famous for promulgating the 22-letter alphabet in which their documents were composed. The Phoenician alphabet is an ancestor of or inspiration for all succeeding alphabetic systems.

The Phoenician dialect of Tyre and Sidon reached its most extensive use in the Neo-Assyrian period (c. 860–600 B.C.E.). North of Syria, the Cilician region of Anatolia (modern Turkey) adopted the Tyrian-Sidonian Phoenician language and script for royal, administrative, and legal texts, generally with a parallel version in the local Luwian language, which was written in a hieroglyphic script. Westward expansion of Phoenician exploration and settlement would carry the language and script to Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean islands, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, the Balearics, and to the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula. Cádiz, ancient Gades, now in Spain, was the westernmost Phoenician city.

An eighth-century B.C.E. inscription from Castillo de Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, near Cádiz) identifies its writer as originating from Akko, suggesting that westward expansion radiated from Tyre, as traditionally held. Tyre was also the mother city of colonies on the African continent: Utica the oldest, Lixus on the Atlantic coast of West Africa the most remote, and CARTHAGE the largest and best known. Phoenician cultural influence extended south to the Sahara and sustained later Christian and Muslim Arab traditions that the indigenous population of North Africa was descended from Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The territory of contemporary Syria, Lebanon, and Israel/Palestine from Ras al-Bassit in the north to Dor in the south was called “Canaan” in ancient times, and people in the western Phoenician diaspora referred to themselves as “Canaanites.”

Phoenician material culture is readily detected by the distinctive traditions of pottery form and decoration, with bichrome decoration giving way to black-on-red and an enduring red-slipped style. Phoenician graphic and plastic arts developed Egyptian themes and later Anatolian and European and African styles, often in exquisite miniature forms on seals and amulets. Early Phoenician settlements generally lack evidence of pork consumption, but later sites under European influence show a more varied diet. Both cremation

burials and inhumation were practiced. Western loci exclusively for cremation burials of infants and children are widely interpreted as evidence of ritual infanticide. Phoenician religion was local, polytheistic, and family centered. Lineages of priests male and female conducted animal sacrifices and life cycle rituals; individual piety often combined Canaanite traditions with Egyptian magical practices.

In the Levant, distinctives of Phoenician culture weakened under Hellenistic and later Roman influence. Christianity replaced earlier beliefs in many Phoenician cities; in North Africa, the Punic (late Phoenician) language and some other cultural practices survived—largely among the Christian population—until the Arab conquests.

See also ASSYRIA; HANNIBAL; HELLENIZATION; HIEROGLYPHICS; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Lipinski, E. *Itineraria Phoenicia*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2004. Markoe, G. E. *Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

## pilgrimage

From time immemorial religious people have believed that certain places are more sacred than other places. They have made it a practice to visit these places, believing that they can obtain special advantages in so doing. The journey to such a destination is called a pilgrimage. Archaeological remains and epigraphic evidence abound for the ancient practice of pilgrimage. Usually the destination of pilgrimage had been set apart a long time before any particular religion had chosen it. What often distinguished the site were things like natural elevation, a grove of trees, a freshwater spring, or a sheltering cave, and then in the religious narrative about the place, some divine appearance or visitation marked the location.

### DELPHI AND THE GREEK GODS

Such a case in point is Delphi, the place where the usually aloof Greek god Apollo made himself known. At the foot of Greece's Mount Parnassus, wooded enough to be cool and high enough to give a commanding view of the sea below, Delphi was thought by Greeks to be the center of the Earth. Pilgrims had been coming here for centuries to drink from its sacred spring and to worship the serpent daughter of Mother Earth, Python, who was believed to live in a nearby cave.

When the INDO-EUROPEANS migrated to Greece and prevailed with their pantheon of gods, Delphi became the site where Apollo slew Python and established his summer home. They built a temple to him over the ruins of the earlier cult, and inside they erected a pockmarked stone that they said was the actual navel (*omphalos*) of the Earth. Beginning around the eighth century B.C.E., pilgrims began to flock to Delphi to seek advice from the priestess there who was known as the DELPHIC ORACLE. Other pilgrimage places sprouted up throughout the ancient world. Oracles and healing shrines (such as the Asclepion) drew thousands of tourists, devotees, and needy people, making pilgrimage something of a factor in economic prosperity and international relations. Pilgrimage sites could both keep the peace and bring prosperity and provoke religious wars and economic hard times.

### THE ARK OF THE COVENANT

For the people of the Bible many of the same elements constituted the pilgrimage experience. Naturally endowed places and previous religious sites had drawing power, but more emphasized was a sense of divine visitation, or theophany. For example, the father of the 12 tribes of Israel, Jacob, had some kind of physical struggle with Israel's God on his way to Haran. This place (called Bethel, "house of God") then became a sacred place where an altar was set up and periodic worship conducted. The ARK OF THE COVENANT later became a focal point of the religion of Israel, and wherever it was, the people would go to seek divine assistance. Eventually, Jerusalem outweighed all the other pilgrimage spots, for here is where the Ark was sheltered and where Israel's God chose to dwell. As with Delphi, the pilgrimage site became the source for both unity and peace among the 12 tribes.

The pilgrim of the Jewish Bible would go to Jerusalem for the three feasts: Passover, Pentecost (Shavu'ot), and Tabernacles (Sukkot). Though not every male could fulfill this annual duty, the prominence of Jerusalem and the Temple united the people and centralized much of the common life. Even after the Temple was destroyed in 70 C.E., Jews continued to keep pilgrimage for many years and even later observed pilgrimage customs in rabbinic Judaism. The Western (Wailing) Wall of Herod's reconstructed Temple became the last vestige of the pilgrimage destination up until the present day.

### CHRISTIAN AND JESUS'S PILGRIMAGE

The Christian people departed from their Jewish forebears in one respect: Pilgrimage was not a duty for them but an

advantage for spiritual growth. Christians believed that some places were "holy" and worthy of pilgrimage, but they felt that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH had already fulfilled the obligation of pilgrimage through his final journey to Jerusalem and its Temple, just before he died. Christians would imitate their savior by pilgrimage, but their motivation would be for reasons of personal piety. The church instead taught that there are two ways that a pilgrim grows devotionally: First, the pilgrim relives the life of Jesus through visiting the places where he lived. This sense is liturgical and is related to the Hebrew word connected with pilgrimage, *hag* ("keeping festival," or literally, "going in a circle"). Second, the pilgrim metaphorically demotes this temporal life and promotes the spiritual life when he or she cuts off ties to ordinary life (home and family). This sense is related to the other Hebrew words connected with pilgrimage, *gur* and *yasab* ("sojourn" and "live as a stranger").

The first sense led to an influx of pilgrims to the Holy Land in the first few centuries of the Common Era. The names of those who journeyed include such luminaries as Melito of Sardis (160), BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea (351), EGERIA (361), the DESERT FATHERS AND MOTHERS (fourth century), and JEROME (386), to name a few. Such pilgrims wanted to walk in the steps of Jesus, and this motivation later made the Christian Church connect its Sunday liturgies to specific events in the life of Jesus and corresponding Bible readings. It induced the liturgies to involve marches and processions, which became important in later Byzantine and Latin worship. Finally, the following of Jesus's steps persuaded CONSTANTINE THE GREAT and his mother, HELENA, to embark on a program of church and monument building that resulted in even a higher regard for the Holy Land. The second sense however became the core of asceticism and MONASTICISM. When the PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH ended with Constantine's Edict of Toleration, Christians took up such spiritual exercises to remind them that all of life is a brief pilgrimage and that the final destination is heaven. As Bernard of Clairvaux famously put it: "Your cell is Jerusalem." Ironically, when the Holy Lands were closed, due to Islamic restrictions, the monks became a new attraction for pilgrims who wanted to walk in their steps.

### MUSLIM, HINDU, AND BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGES

Though Islamic pilgrimages fall outside the framework of this volume, it is necessary to point out two relevant facts. First, *hajj* is related to *hag*, and thus it is based on the same liturgical walking in the steps of religious heroes. All of the religious sites of *hajj* commemorate in ritualistic fashion key events in human salvation

history. Mecca is the site of divine, angelic, prophetic, and auspicious human activity since the beginning of creation. Second, it is clear that the high regard for Mecca is based on pre-Islamic reverence for such places as Arafat, Muzdalifah, Mina, and the Kaaba. All of these sites are connected with celestial and mountain deities.

Two other pilgrimage groups have ancient roots: the Hindus and the Buddhists. One cannot speak about Hinduism without mention of their many holy sites in the land of India. The Sanskrit word for pilgrimage place is *tirtha* (water-crossing place, or ford). This word has important historical overtones, for it explains why the ancient INDUS CIVILIZATION sites such as MOHENJO-DARO and the Harappa are also religious pilgrimage sites. The ancient Vedic scriptures cite this river and seven other Punjab “mother rivers” in northwest India.

The Hindu classics of the BHAGAVAD GITA, the *MABHARATA* and *RAMAYANA*, also detail places of religious veneration, including the Ganges River valley, that go back before the Common Era. The most popular site for Hindus unto this present day is Banaras, a northward bend in the Ganges River, where the largest concentration of *tirthas* are found. It is said that a devotee is certain of *moksha* (liberation) if he or she dies at Banaras. Nonetheless, the Hindu mystics have tried to deemphasize pilgrimage by saying that “the true Ganges is within.” Though Buddhists stress that nirvana (liberation) is achieved internally and outside of time, there is a history of pilgrimage in the religion. As far back as ASHOKA, the Buddhist Indian king (270–232 B.C.E.), Buddhists were erecting stupas (shrines) to attract converts. It was felt that ultimate deliverance came from within, but interest in the religion could come only from without.

Buddhist shrines tried to entice worldly people to consider religion. Ashoka’s own chronicles confirm that he made several of his own pilgrimages and sponsored the building of stupas to increase his subjects’ interest. Undoubtedly he traveled to Bodh Gaya, the place where GAUTAMA BUDDHA first achieved enlightenment (sixth century B.C.E.). This place is the most important pilgrimage site for Buddhists in India. Another important voice comes from the Chinese traveler FA XIAN (Fa-hsien), whose fifth-century B.C.E. journey to India testifies to the popularity of Buddhist pilgrimages.

Eventually, as Buddhism fell out of favor in India and Hinduism continued its dominance, pilgrimage sites were found in other Southeast Asian lands. As Mahayana Buddhism blossomed in China, Mount Wutai attracted many pilgrims as the place where a famous bodhisattva (angelic intermediary) figure, Manjusri, had his home. Even here, however, Buddhists built

upon the residual Daoist belief that Mount Wutai was already holy.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PATRIARCHS, BIBLICAL; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Hitchcock, S. T., and J. L. Esposito. *National Geographic Geography of Religion—Where God Lives, Where Pilgrims Walk*. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2004; Ousterhout, Robert, ed. *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990; Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips, 2002.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Platonism

Platonism is the philosophy or worldview of Plato, a Greek scholar who believed in a world beyond the everyday world, a world in which things were more real and vital than the world that one typically perceives with one’s senses. Plato, who lived 427–347 B.C.E., was a citizen of Athens. SOCRATES, who Plato called “the most just man of our times,” taught him. Socrates claimed that he was only wiser than others in that, “I know what I do not know.” Socrates did not write anything down; it is largely through the writings of Plato that modern readers learn about Socrates. Plato attempted to defend Socrates when he was tried and put to death, but the judges were quite biased against Socrates. Following the death of Socrates, Plato traveled the known world in search of further training, studying geometry from Euclid, mystical philosophy from the Italian schools founded by PYTHAGORAS, mathematics from the African Theodorus, and philosophy in Egypt. Eventually, he opened the Academy, outside of Athens, where he taught philosophy. Plato taught ARISTOTLE, who taught ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

### IDEAS (FORMS) AND PARTICULAR INSTANCES

Central to Plato’s worldview is the reality of archetypal Ideas, often mistranslated as Forms. These Ideas are reflected in our language: A flower is an idea, but that small sunflower that one steps on is a particular instance of a flower. The fact that we have a word for flower indicates that we have an abstract, archetypal concept—an Idea of a flower. Plato says that this idea is more real because unlike the sunflower, which fades and dies, the Idea of a

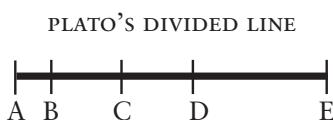
flower lives on. Plato does not say where Ideas are, but modern scholars clearly state that time and space do not apply to Ideas; as above, the Idea of a flower does not die. Though ideas are not seen in the normal way, Plato is convinced that they can be apprehended through the means of intelligence and reason.

### DOCTRINE OF RECOLLECTION

In his Meno dialogue Plato has a Socrates character assert that we do not learn things so much as recollect them. The human spirit was trapped in a body and forgot everything but can remember it without outside help. Meno was skeptical of this, and in the dialogue, Socrates answers Meno's skepticism by calling over an uneducated boy. Socrates clearly demonstrates that the lad lacks all training in geometry. Socrates then sets before the slave a problem involving squares, triangles, and trying to double the size of a given square. Socrates provides no information, but keeps prodding the boy to look at the problem. The boy solves the problem easily and elegantly enough that any reader can follow the steps to the solution. Scholars call this an example of a priori knowledge—knowledge that does not come from prior experience. Plato and his Socrates character assert that all humans have an innate knowledge of geometry from before birth, which can be recollected. Modern mathematics is founded upon this doctrine, that mathematics is part in the world of archetypal Ideas and can be discovered or recalled through mathematical research.

- A square is only an Idea of a square, due to imperfections in the thickness of the lines, for example.
- The Idea of a square is based on the Idea of a line, the Idea of a right angle, etc.
- Since a human cannot see an infinitely thin line, it is assumed that such lines exist. Geometry assumes that the Ideas of squares, lines, and points exist.
- Ordinary geometry cannot exist without these basic assumptions.
- The assumptions cannot be verified.
- If the assumptions are changed, then the entire system of geometry has to change with them.
- These Ideas, called fundamental assumptions in geometry, are the most pivotal aspect of this branch of mathematics.

### DIVIDED LINE



This concept of a divided line also relates to the Greek notion of the Golden Mean, or Extreme and Mean Ratio. Imagine a line, with points ABCDE.

Let the length of CE be X times longer than the length of AC. Plato declares that AC represents all entities one can comprehend with vision. For instance, a person can see a particular rose, so it is an object in AC. CE represents all things that are comprehensible through intelligence or reason. For example, the Idea of a rose is not something seen with the eyes, but rather something that is apprehended with the heart or mind. CE is longer than AC, and in this diagram, the longer something is, the clearer it is and the easier to comprehend. X is the ratio of the length of CE to the length of AC. This would mean that things apprehended with reason are X times as understandable as those comprehended with mere vision.

- Things represented in BC are the ordinary objects.
- Things represented in AB are the images of these objects. For example, reflections and shadows are images of objects that cast reflections or shadows.

Plato instructs to make sure that the length of AB is to the length of BC as AC is to CE, or  $BC/AB = X = CE/AC$ . This is an example of the Golden Mean. Images of objects are harder to understand: It is easier to learn to type by looking at the keyboard to see where the keys are, rather than to look at the shadow of the keyboard. Similarly, it is easier to understand all objects by looking at them rather than their images, reflections, or shadows. Now break the line CE into two parts, analogously to the division made in the visible arena:

- The lower part, CD, will represent things that are mere images of the things in DE.
- Things in CD will be comprehended by understanding, whereas things in DE will be comprehended by reason. And again, the lengths of CD and DE are such that  $DE/CD = X$ . In Plato's terminology, as CD is to DE, so is BC to AB.

Things in CD will be Ideas, like the Idea of a point, the Idea of the line, or the Idea of a square. To get more information about an Ideal square, a geometer draws a picture. The picture is a physical object, seen with vision, so it is in the arena represented by AC, things which are apprehended by sight. Yet one can draw the square on a piece of paper, hold it up to a mirror, and have a reflection of the drawing. Therefore, the drawing is a thing in BC, and the reflected image of the drawing is a thing in AB. This example can explain how to move up the ladder to

higher forms of comprehension. The reflection is just an image of the paper, and to better understand the square, one can turn attention not to the reflection, but to the paper on which the square is drawn. And if one goes beyond looking at the drawing of the square to considering the Idea of a square, it is considering a higher form of the concept by turning to the realm of the intelligence.

The reflection is a mere image of the physical object on which the square is drawn, because everything in category AB is a mere image of something in category BC. However, this physical object is a mere image of the Idea of a square. This teaches that just as everything in AB is an image of something in BC, everything in BC is an image of something in CD. Because of how the line is constructed, everything in CD is an image of something in DE, so things in each category are mere images of things in the category above. And just as it is easier to understand something by looking at the object itself than by looking at its image, it is always easier to understand the world by looking at a higher category. Plato claims it is still easier to comprehend the world by looking at the higher-level ideas in DE than the lower-level ideas in CD. The ideas in CD are mere images of the ideas in DE. The higher ideas in DE partake more directly of the Idea of goodness than do the Ideas in CD. The Ideas in CD are apprehended by reason.

The Ideas of points, lines, and squares are assumptions. Therefore, when reason allows humans to see beyond these assumptions in CD to the clearer and more intelligible things above it in DE, they will achieve an understanding that transcends assumptions. The process by which reason allows a vision of the clearest things in DE is the process that Socrates uses in teaching his students: the process of dialectic. Once this amazing state of seeing the thing in DE has been achieved, one can then use this new understanding to move down the line, by first creating a better assumption in CD, and then viewing the consequences of this new assumption, achieving a new and better understanding of the world.

### THE ALLEGORY OF THE CAVE

Imagine a group of people born to a cave, where they are chained to stone benches so that they cannot turn around: They are forever facing one large wall of the cave. Behind them is a great bonfire, and between the chained people and the fire, a handful of people hide behind a partition like puppeteers and hold up things to make shadows on the wall at which the others stare. The chained people spend their lives looking at the shadows on the wall and trying to describe them. Thus, the chained people only experience the lowest things mentioned in the divided line

discussion—the shadows of objects. All that the chained people know about life comes from their observations of these shadows. The chained people judge one another by their skill at quickly recognizing shadows, and they dislike people who judge poorly or take a long time to recognize the shadows. Plato then describes a process of gradual philosophical awakening. Suppose a chained person breaks free, turns around, and sees both the fire and the people who make the shadows. Plato remarks that his eyes will initially be blinded by the firelight, and the things he sees will appear less real than the shadows he has spent his whole life watching.

But, over time the freed individual's eyes will adjust to the fire, and he will be able to see it and the puppets that are held up to make the shadows. Perhaps he will realize that what he has been looking at his whole life are not real things but shadows of puppets. Perhaps then the freed prisoner will ascend the long passage that leads from the underground cave to the surface. Imagine that he is compelled to do so quickly. When he arrives at the surface, the light will be too bright and will overwhelm the prisoner's eyes. At first, the prisoner will see nothing, and then perhaps he will be able to see the shadows of objects that are in the sunlight. In this upper world the shadows are images of the real objects in the sunlight; hence they are like the things represented in CD, in the discussion of the Divided Line. Plato says that in time the freed prisoner may accustom his eyes to see actual objects in the light of day and even to look at the Sun itself, and to see what the Sun is and how it moves across the sky to create the seasons. At this point the freed prisoner can begin to understand what life is and how it works, because he is contemplating the things represented in the category DE from the Divided Line discussion; he is contemplating things that can only be perceived by the true light of reason. At this point the freed prisoner becomes a philosopher. Plato notes that the freed prisoner will desire to remain in the sunlight contemplating the higher things by the light of reason, since the shadows in the cave will seem trivial to him. The newly created philosopher, understanding things by the light of reason will have no desire to discuss shadows.

Yet, Plato asserts that this is exactly what is required for society to improve: The philosopher must return to the cave. No one else understands things as they really are, since everyone else is talking about shadows of puppets, and only the philosopher who understands the nature of the world can lead the people. However, Plato notes that upon returning to the cave, the philosopher will be unaccustomed to the darkness and will at first perform poorly in the shadow-naming contests and

be unable even to see the shadows. The prisoners will laugh at the philosopher and think that his journey to the sunlight has ruined his vision. If someone else were to try to free these prisoners by showing them the fire, they would try to kill that person rather than having their vision ruined like they believe the philosopher's vision has been destroyed. Plato asserts that if the philosopher remains in the cave and becomes reacclimated to the darkness, the philosopher might be able to get others to the surface most quickly, and the philosopher might teach them to see in the shortest period of time. That art is the dialectic study of philosophy, which is how Socrates taught Plato and others.

See also GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; NEOPLATONISM; PAIDEIA.

**Further reading:** Hamilton, Edith, and Huntington Cairns, eds. *Plato: Collected Dialogues*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985; Liddell, H. G., and Robert Scott, eds. *An Intermediate Greek English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; Peck, Harry Thurston. *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898.

JOSEPH R. GERBER

## polis

The polis was a city-state in ancient Greece and was a significant feature of Greek civilization. Most of Greece was controlled by a polis, and they were organized with sufficient efficiency for the central city to administer large tracts of land. The surrounding areas were dominated by agricultural activities, and any surplus was taxed by the city, which in return provided military security and housed items of ceremonial and religious importance. In many parts of Greece, small city-states existed in close proximity of one another. The study of politics began with the management of the polis.

Most GREEK CITY-STATES passed through a succession of government types, starting with a hereditary king (*vasileus*) and moving through tyrants and oligarchs, eventually becoming democracies. Not all states passed through every form of government, and the state could even revert to what might be considered an earlier form of governance. Sparta, for example, retained its kings and its rigid military government while contending with democratic Athens during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Those cities that tended to side with Athens or were influenced by it were more likely to have a democratic basis to their government. However, during the

Mycenaean period, early cities were abandoned sometime around 1100–1200 B.C.E., and the people resumed living a tribal, seminomadic lifestyle.

Under kings and the tyrants such as PEISTRATUS, members of the polis could scarcely be called citizens since they had few recognizable rights. As tyrants gave way to oligarchs, competing political interests developed a motivation to capture increasing amounts of forms of economic production and use them to reward their own followers. This may have transformed into a continued privilege that became customary in time. Citizens in functioning democracies had the greatest degree of freedom, although Greek democracy, even in Athens, bore little resemblance to modern conceptions. Only a small group of elite males, for example, was permitted to vote. The size of the polis had to be kept comparatively small so that the democratic system could reach decisions with some efficiency. A large city would find democratic norms too unwieldy and would be more likely to resort to tyranny. During the PERSIAN INVASIONS of 490 and 480 B.C.E., Athens provided 10 generals, each of which was to command for a single day in strict rotation. Yet, as soon as the threat became imminent, the generals voted to place one man in absolute control. Plato observed that a polis should have no more members than one man could recognize.

A number of Greek commentators and philosophers wrote about the polis and its nature. ARISTOTLE considered the polis based on the household as the unit of analysis. The household consisted of an extended family, together with servants, slaves, and clients who would be capable of contributing a significant amount to the life of the polis, while the latter would provide opportunities to the household that would not be available in other governmental models. This depended on maintaining a comparatively small size for the polis, to which the household could make a noticeable contribution because increased size would have the effect of reducing the value of the household and, hence, sense of identity.

It was common for people to move to a different polis, although no doubt this was impossible or very difficult for some classes of society or women. Consequently, city-states competing for scarce human resources would have felt pressure to offer their citizens favorable living conditions. Moving to a polis was no guarantee of being able to partake of its benefits. Citizenship was variously defined but customarily required descent from at least one parent who was a citizen. There were periodic exceptions made to this rule, resulting most commonly from need inspired by warfare, famine, or other environmental disaster. In most cases the armored, spear-wielding

infantry (hoplites) on which city-states relied for defense were composed of citizens who were obliged to support themselves and their equipment. Naturalization of incoming people was a new development for the polis and increased identification of individuals with the state.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Kitto, H. D. F. *The Greeks*. New York: Penguin, 1950; Mitchell, L., ed. *The Development of the Polis in Ancient Greece*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Nagle, Brendan D. *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

JOHN WALSH

## Pompeii and Herculaneum

Pompeii and Herculaneum were two Roman towns destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. A community had existed at Pompeii, near present-day Naples, in proximity of the Sarnus River and the Bay of Naples since the eighth century B.C.E. Initially the ETRUSCANS, then the Samnites, and finally the Romans controlled the prosperous trading town that was colonized and known as *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* by 80 B.C.E. Mount Vesuvius, which had formed at least 17,000 years earlier, was one mile away.

Pompeii endured numerous landslides due to extensive rains. A series of earthquakes, some minor, but one particularly strong one, wreaked havoc on Pompeii in 62 C.E. and caused massive structural damage to the town and its buildings. The citizens began an extensive rebuilding process in Pompeii and used richer materials for their houses and their art. Despite some volcanic rumblings and the wells drying up, the Pompeiani had no inkling of the calamitous event to follow because Mount Vesuvius had been idle for centuries. Although a few people left the city on August 24, 79 C.E., the majority of people went about their daily business.

Around one o'clock in the afternoon Mount Vesuvius erupted and spewed 18–20 feet of ash and cinders that buried the town and asphyxiated and mummified most of the 20,000 people in Pompeii. The intense ash clouded the Sun for several days and created a tsunami in the Bay of Naples. The volcanic debris had a temperature of 1500 degrees Fahrenheit. As it flowed for two days toward Pompeii, its temperature fell to 660°F. The town, which had been a vacation resort for Rome's nobility, was completely covered by ash, although not destroyed. Some survivors claimed their possessions, but there was

no thought of restoration. Pompeii remained buried for the next 16 centuries. An excellent description of the event is found in *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*.

Although some excavations were undertaken in the 16th century, the first serious excavations at Pompeii took place under the patronage of King Charles VII of the Two Sicilies (r. 1735–59). His team withdrew numerous artifacts that were displayed in the National Museum in Naples. Then, from 1863 to 1875 more scientifically acceptable excavations under Giuseppi Fiorelli (1823–96) took place. His meticulous note taking, recording, and preservation revealed a fascinating glimpse at a Roman town. He innovated and made plaster casts of the 2,000 skeletons found in Pompeii indicating how and where they died. Some of the buildings still stand: the forum, the houses, villas, stores, bakery, baths, a huge hotel, the theaters, and amphitheater indicate a prosperous town. Numerous other excavation directors have worked on Pompeii, which was around 66 percent uncovered in 2006. Pompeii is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is visited by thousands of tourists every year. Although the Italian government has offered financial incentives to the nearly 1 million citizens in the area to relocate in case Mount Vesuvius erupts again, many modern-day Pompeiani refuse to leave.

Herculaneum, a small town between Pompeii and Naples, known as Ercolano since 1969, was decimated by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. The luxury town of approximately 5,000 inhabitants had suffered an earthquake in 63 C.E. After considerable rebuilding Herculaneum enjoyed a booming economy and was comprised of vacation villas, a number of restaurants, a market, and a mill. On August 24, 79 C.E., the town was obliterated by 75 feet of disastrous poisonous air, gases, lava ashes, small stones, and pumice that spewed from Mount Vesuvius and suffocated the inhabitants. Herculaneum was rediscovered in 1738 after a huge stash of impressive statues was found there. Excavations were carried on from 1738 to 1780, and tunnels were built to access the ruins. Major excavation occurred when some 1,500 workers uncovered Herculaneum from 1805 to 1815. Some 300 bodies were found during one excavation.

More excavations occurred during the 19th century and revealed magnificent paintings and 1,803 rolls of papyri from a library that contained the works of Demetrius, Epicurus, and other famous authors. After lengthy painstaking labor some 194 of the unrolled papyri were publicized. Although some modern chemical solutions allowed for revealing the scrolls, some unfortunately could not be interpreted. During excavations in

the 1990s more than 200 skeletons were found on the beach. The exquisite buildings, mosaics, paintings, and art indicate that Herculaneum was materially and culturally superior to Pompeii.

See also EPICUREANISM.

**Further reading:** D'arms, John. *Romans on the Bay of Naples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970; Etienne, Robert. *Pompeii: The Day the City Died*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1992; Harris, Robert. *Pompeii*. London: Arrow Books, 2003; Radice, B., trans. *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*. New York: Penguin, 1968; Walstein, Charles, and Leonard Schoobridge. *Herculaneum, Past, Present and Future*. London: Macmillan, 1908.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Pompey

(106–48 B.C.E.) *Roman general*

The Roman statesman and general Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was given the title “the Great” by his troops in Africa in 81 B.C.E. and later by the Roman authorities. Initially an ally of JULIUS CAESAR, Pompey opposed Caesar’s march on Rome in 49 B.C.E., resulting in the civil war that ultimately saw Pompey dead and Caesar in control of Rome and its empire.

Pompey was born on September 29, 106 B.C.E., into an important Roman family. His father was a Roman general. Pompey’s family initially supported MARIUS against Sulla in a struggle for control of the Roman Republic. After the death of his father he joined Sulla, taking part in the defection against Marius. The dictator Sulla gave the young general command of an army that was sent out against supporters of Marius in Sicily and Africa. In two quick campaigns in 82–81 B.C.E., Pompey destroyed the Marians. When Marcus Lepidus became consul and tried to get rid of Sulla, Pompey crushed Lepidus’s troops. He then went to Spain to fight supporters of Marius and scored a military triumph in his reconquest of Spain. With control over Spain, Transalpine Gaul (modern-day southern France), and Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy) he returned to a triumphal procession through Rome and was elected consul in 70 B.C.E.

Pompey joined forces with Marcus Licinius Crassus, his main rival, and the two became joint consuls. Pompey then made an alliance with Julius Caesar, forming the First TRIUMVIRATE with Caesar and Crassus. It was a strong political partnership, with Pompey further cementing the union by marrying Caesar’s daughter Julia. Yet,

Pompey and Caesar began to have political differences. When Crassus was killed in battle in 53 B.C.E., the triumvirate ended, leading to rioting and the burning of the senate house. The Senate called on Pompey to take over and restore law and order, and he became sole consul.

Pompey reformed the legal system, particularly as the law concerned Caesar, including an attempt to have Caesar turn over control of his armies. The increasing rift between the two led to Caesar and his troops marching on Rome. Pompey retreated south, leaving Caesar to chase after him. Caesar engaged Pompey in battle at Dyrrachium (Durrës in modern-day Albania) where Pompey’s forces triumphed. However, at a battle in Pharsalus, in modern-day Greece, Pompey was decisively defeated. Pompey again fled and, finding no options to submission to Caesar, sought refuge with Ptolemy XIII in Egypt, whose father Pompey had helped restore to the throne. Ptolemy thought that aiding the defeated Pompey would drag Egypt into war and believed it a better option to have Pompey murdered. As he approached the Egyptian shore by boat on September 28, 48 B.C.E., Pompey was killed by an officer who had formerly served under him, allied with Ptolemy. Pompey’s head and ring were presented to Caesar soon afterward. Caesar was said to have been disgusted by this action and later deposed Ptolemy.

Pompey’s sons and supporters continued fighting Caesar for several more years but only delayed Julius Caesar’s inevitable control of the incipient ROMAN EMPIRE.

See also CATO, MARCUS PORCIUS (THE YOUNGER).

**Further Reading:** Greenhalgh, Peter A. L. *Pompey: The Roman Alexander*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980; ———. *Pompey: The Republican Prince*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Pontius Pilate

(first century C.E.) *Roman governor*

Pontius Pilate was a Roman prefect who governed Judaea from 26 to 37 C.E. Pilate rose to prominence in history when in about 30 C.E. he condemned JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH to be crucified. Judean prefects had command over five to six auxiliary military cohorts (each consisting of 500 to 1,000 soldiers), which provided tactical support to the legion stationed in Syria. There were 25 legions (each consisting of 6,000 soldiers) in the ROMAN EMPIRE. As a governor, however, Pilate also had administrative, judicial, and fiscal responsibilities, since

the main job of a Roman governor was to ensure the uninterrupted flow of tax revenues to the Roman treasury. The Roman governors of Judaea lived in Caesarea and traveled to Jerusalem only at the major religious feasts.

The figure of Pilate is somewhat shrouded in mystery not only because so little is known about him but because the Gospels and Jewish sources are at odds with each other in their portrayals of him. The four New Testament Gospels give the impression that he was a weak figure whom the Jewish authorities manipulated into executing Jesus. According to PHILO and JOSEPHUS, however, he was a cruel and arrogant man, who, rather than being manipulated by the Jews, did much to agitate them. For example, he set up either shields or standards in Jerusalem to honor the emperor Tiberius, which triggered a bitter protest among the Jews. He also took sacred funds from the Temple treasury to build an aqueduct. When a large crowd of Jews showed up in Jerusalem to protest his action, he put down the protest with brutal violence. Pilate perpetrated these and other acts of provocation fully aware that they would offend Jewish sensitivities. So, the question is how to account for the two disparate pictures of Pilate in the Gospels and the Jewish sources. Three basic theories have been advanced to solve this problem.

According to the first theory, the reason Pilate suddenly changed his behavior at the trial of Jesus was that his enormously powerful patron, Sejanus, commander of the Roman Praetorian Guard (a cohort providing armed protection to the emperor and his family), had been executed in 31 C.E., and Pilate felt the need to alter his conduct toward the Jewish authorities, whom his earlier actions had offended. However, the historical evidence behind this neat theory is ambiguous at best. For example, the coins struck by Pilate before 31 C.E. do not carry images that were particularly offensive to the Jews. If Pilate had indeed wanted to offend Jewish sensibilities in the years preceding the death of Sejanus, he would certainly have put more offensive images on the coins, such as those of Roman deities.

According to the second theory, the Gospel writers falsified the historical facts to put the blame on the Jews in hopes of appeasing Rome. The problem with this theory is that the Jewish sources may be just as biased as the Gospels. According to the third theory, rather than being manipulated by the Jewish authorities, Pilate, ever a cunning and cruel bargainer, was exploiting the occasion to manipulate the crowds and the Jewish authorities into pledging their allegiance to the Caesar. It appears, however, that the change in Pilate's behavior must have been due at least in part also to the extraordinary presence and demeanor of Jesus, which, according to the Gospels,

had power to disarm and overwhelm his opponents. According to later Christian traditions, Pilate, having been impressed by Jesus, eventually converted to Christianity.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; JEWISH REVOLTS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Carter, Warren. *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989; Bond, Helen K. *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

P. RICHARD CHOI

## pre-Socratic philosophy

The pre-Socratics were Greek philosophers who speculated about the nature of the world for more than 150 years before SOCRATES flourished. Their philosophizing about nature sought answers to questions that were metaphysical and scientific, although these disciplines were not then separated. The metaphysical questions asked by the pre-Socratics were inquiries into the ultimate nature of everything. Their questions included What is the beginning (*arche*) or source of all things? What is reality and what is only appearance? What is everything made of? Is it one "stuff" or many "stuffs?" This last question is now called the problem of "the one and the many." Other problems addressed by the pre-Socratics included the nature of change, of being, of becoming, and quantity.

The great importance of the pre-Socratics lies in their speculative use of reason without reference to myths, authorities, religion, popular opinion, or other sources of knowledge. They used reason to supply answers about the metaphysical nature of the universe. In doing so they initiated a great philosophical conversation that applies human reason to the quest to understand everything. The pre-Socratics were a varied group of thinkers, but all were Greeks. They lived and worked in widely scattered locations. Most of their writings were lost in antiquity. Fragments, along with *testimonia* (what was reported by other writers as direct quotations or as summaries of their thought), have survived that give a general picture of their thought. The first school of the pre-Socratics was the Ionian school. These Ionian Greeks produced the Milesian school and two independent philosophers.

### MILESIAN SCHOOL

The first Greek philosopher, according to ARISTOTLE, was Thales (c. 624–545 B.C.E.). He was counted as one of the legendary Seven Sages and the founder of the

Milesian school. His *POLIS* (city-state), Miletus, was located on the southwestern coast of what is now Turkey. Thales is noted for predicting an eclipse of the Sun in 585 B.C.E. More important, he explained why the eclipse would occur, saying that it would occur when the Moon passed between the Sun and the Earth. The Moon would consequently block the rays of the Sun and would cast its shadow on the Earth until it moved on in its orbit around the Earth. This explanation was a naturalistic explanation. It did not rely on the religious mythopoetic explanations of gods, demons, or other spiritual forces that abounded in the beliefs of that time. This explanation is counted as the beginning of Western philosophy. It served as a corrective to the poetic views of Homer, HESIOD, and other Greek poets.

Thales, in a search for the ultimate unity of the cosmos, pondered the question What is everything made of? His answer was water. This seemed to be a plausible answer because much of the surface of the Earth is covered with water; water comes in solid, liquid, and gaseous states, and water is the basis of life on Earth. However, the answer, while wrong, is valuable because it can be “falsified.” Answers to questions that can neither be proven as true or false have little value. Those that can be falsified shut the door to further research in that area and direct inquiry to other areas.

Thales's immediate follower was Anaximander (c. 610–545 B.C.E.), the second member of the Milesian school. Anaximander speculated that the basic “stuff” of the cosmos was not water. Instead, he reasoned it was an odorless, colorless, weightless substance that he called “the boundless” (*aperion*). His thought was that *aperion* was the *arche*, or source of all things, and it was infinite in supply. His answer also initiated “philosophical criticism” because it was a reasoned analysis of the speculations of Thales. For Anaximander all particular things such as earth, air, fire, and water had been spun out of the whirling mass of the boundless. These particulars were in constant warfare with each other. This viewpoint presented a primitive form of the idea of evolution.

However, his view of “evolution” was cyclical. He argued that the continual change in the cosmos was part of a cycle of creation and destruction. By adding time to his speculative ideas he was able to express a cyclical view of history. In addition, by using reasoning about the unseen ultimate nature of the cosmos he introduced a primitive rationalist method.

Anaximenes (c. 560–28 B.C.E.) was the third member of the Milesian school. He was a younger contemporary of Anaximander. He rejected the speculation of Anaxi-

mander that *aperion* is the basic stuff of the universe. He reasoned that the answer is of limited use because there is too little that can be known about a stuff that is “unbounded.” Agreeing with Anaximander that the basic stuff should be eternal, unlimited, and at the same time a singular “stuff,” and using the criterion of clarity, Anaximenes declared that all thing are derived from air. When this assertion is compared to the gaseous state of the universe immediately after the “big bang,” when all matter everywhere was stripped to protons, his answer can be viewed as surprisingly modern.

### INDEPENDENT IONIAN PHILOSOPHERS

The first of the independent Ionian philosophers was Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. c. 500 B.C.E.). He is known as the philosopher of flux because he asserted that everything is changing and that the only thing that does not change is change itself. He is famous for the saying “I can step into a river once, but I cannot step into the same river twice.” This means that the basic characteristic of the cosmos is “becoming.” Everything is constantly becoming something else. Heraclitus taught that the basic “stuff” is fire. He went beyond physical fire to argue that the fire was a divine reason, or *logos*, that was constantly in motion. He used the metaphor of law courts to include a moral vision to his philosophy. The cosmos is constantly changing, but there is a pattern such that “justice” (*dike*) seeks to establish a balance. Constantly, if there is an “offense” it must be balanced. This vision of the world was to greatly influence ADAM SMITH’s vision of the “harmony” (*harmonia* or *concordia*) of the marketplace that is controlled by an “invisible hand.”

Xenophanes (c. 560–470 B.C.E.) of Colophon (located 40 miles north of Miletus) is included among the Ionians, but Aristotle placed him among the Eleatics. He lived for a time in Sicily and at Elea, where he may have founded Eleatic philosophy. Xenophanes’ contribution to philosophy was a radical critique of popular Greek religion, specifically the works of Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and Hesiod (*Theogony*). The Greeks were polytheists with the Olympian gods serving as the public state gods. For Xenophanes the Olympian gods lacked moral inspiration and were shameful. His critique began the philosophy of religion. Xenophanes was neither an atheist nor an agnostic but believed in one god that was greater than any other and who was utterly different. He also accepted the common ancient belief that order was the sign of intelligence that ultimately was divine.

All of the Ionian pre-Socratic philosophers were materialistic monists. As metaphysical monists their

claim was that the basic “stuff” of the cosmos was a single material substance (*monism*).

### PYTHAGORAS

PYTHAGORAS (c. 570–495 B.C.E.) was a monist, but in contrast to the materialism of the Ionians, he was an idealist (or immaterialist). Pythagoras is classified as a member of the Italian school of pre-Socratic philosophers. According to legend, one day Pythagoras walked by the blacksmith’s shop and heard the tones of different hammers beating on the anvil. He went home and worked with notes produced by different lengths of string. From his experiments he concluded that the basic stuff of the universe is numbers. It was in effect a discovery of quantity—every physical thing in the cosmos has quantity associated with it.

Pythagoras organized a school that was more of a mathematical cult, open to both men and women. The Pythagorean school flourished, and eventually the Pythagoreans took control of several city-states. The greatest success of Pythagoras in mathematics was the Pythagorean formula ( $A^2 + B^2 = C^2$ ). The formula says that the sum of the squares of the lengths of the sides of a right-angled triangle is equal to the square of its hypotenuse. All went well until it was discovered that if sides A and B of a triangle were equal in length, then the resulting square root would be an “irrational” number. When news of hypotenuses with irrational numbers leaked out of the inner circle of Pythagoreans, it meant that the Pythagorean belief that everything could be rationally comprehended by mathematics was flawed. The natives rose up in revolt and attacked the Pythagoreans. In the violent turmoil Pythagoras fled for his life, but coming upon a bean field he stopped and would not cross it because he believed that beans were sinful. He was soon caught and killed, but the teachings of the Pythagorean school lived on.

### ELEATIC SCHOOL

The city-state of Elea, south of Naples on the western Italian peninsula, was the home of the Eleatic school of pre-Socratics. The first of these was Parmenides, whose method was rationalistic. He challenged the claim of Heraclitus that everything was in flux. For Parmenides (515–c. 450 B.C.E.) the basic “stuff” of the cosmos is being. Everything that exists “is.” It has the property of “isness” because it “exists.” This is in contrast to not being or “no-thingness” (nothingness). For Parmenides change was an illusion. If a thing exists then it “is,” and if it “is,” then it cannot both be and not be at the same time by somehow being and then changing to become something else. Parmenides’ argument is a radical affirmation of

being. As a rationalist, Parmenides argued for “the Way of Truth” and rejected “the Way of Opinion.”

The second of the Eleatics was Zeno of Elea (c. 470 B.C.E.). He is famous for paradoxes he posed to demonstrate that change is an illusion. Some of his paradoxes are about the experience of motion. They seek to demonstrate that belief in motion entraps those who believe in motion as a form of change into an impossible contradiction. His paradoxes included “The Stadium,” “The Runner,” “The Race between Achilles and the Tortoise” and “The Arrow.” The goal of each paradox was to lead opponents into a *reductio ad absurdum* in which motion was seen as a confused condition of life.

The Pluralists are those pre-Socratic philosophers who claimed that the basic stuff of the cosmos were many. This school includes two independent thinkers, most notably Empedocles and Anaxagoras. Empedocles (c. 495–435 B.C.E.) flourished in Sicily. Ancient legend says that he ended his life by jumping into the crater of Mount Etna. For Empedocles the basic “stuff” of the universe is plural. Specifically everything is made of earth, air, fire, and water. Aristotle agreed with his views and spread them widely. “On Nature” and “Purifications” are two poems by Empedocles and are the longest surviving works of the pre-Socratics.

The thought of Parmenides influenced Empedocles in several ways. For both men reality was a complete *plenum*. There is, in their view, a plenitude of being in the cosmos so that there are no gaps where there is “nothing.” They also agreed that nothing comes into existence nor goes out of existence. Nor do things move in empty space. Empedocles is reported by the ancients as having found fossils in the high mountains of Sicily. He concluded that life began in the sea. His poem “On Nature” presents a proto-evolutionary view of the development of the world in which the four elements of the universe—earth, air, fire, and water—are combined and destroyed by the forces of love and strife. For Empedocles random combinations create the world cycle. However, he also believed that there was a god of the process. He held it to be a flashing sacred mind that influenced the cosmos with rapid thought of its divine mind.

Anaxagoras (c. 500–428 B.C.E.) was from Clazomenae in Asia Minor. He taught in Athens and for a short time taught Socrates. Questionable sources say that he was convicted of teaching impiety by declaring that the Sun was a red-hot rock. Unlike Socrates, who would be executed some year later on a similar charge of impiety, Anaxagoras was exiled from Athens because of the intervention of PERICLES, his former student. Anaxagoras reworked the thought of Empedocles. He rejected the

idea that the four basic elements are earth, air, fire, and water, which combine and disintegrate due to the forces of love and strife. Instead, he asserted that there was an infinite variety of minute “seeds” that are the basis for all of the variety of things in the world. Moreover, many new combinations of the seeds create the myriad objects in the world because of the actions of an orderly divine mind, or *nous* in Greek.

### ATOMISTS

The final school of Pluralists was the Atomists: Leucippus (c. fifth century B.C.E.) of Elea or Miletus, and Democritus (c. 460–370 B.C.E.) of Abdera. Little is known of Leucippus, who may have studied with Zeno. It is believed that Democritus studied with Leucippus, and scholars believe that their teachings were essentially the same. Democritus taught that if he took a rock or some material and crushed it until it was no longer cut-able, then he would have “a-tome.” The Greek word *tome* means “to cut,” and the prefix *a-* means “un-.” The result of the cutting of a thing to its uncut-able state would be an *atomos*, or in the plural, *atomoi*. Modern atoms are taken from this ancient idea but are qualitatively different. Democritus was a pluralist. For him there were in the cosmos a myriad of different *atomoi*. Some were small and smooth like small ball bearings, others were sticky like Velcro, while others were rough with hooks, or others very tiny and dissipated quickly like perfume.

For Democritus even the gods were made of atoms moving in the vortex of the cosmos, which appeared to the ancients as the Milky Way. Two implications of this materialist pluralism were a denial of the eternity of the gods and the denial of punishment in an afterlife. For Democritus material things in the cosmos had been created by the myriad *atomoi* combining as they moved in the vortex. The “furniture” of the cosmos (which for the Greeks included everything that is) was the result of accidental “makings” caused by the bumping together and the separation of the myriad different *atomoi*, which produced and by separating destroyed the world.

Furthermore, the *atomoi* moved in empty space that was not “nothing” as Parmenides had taught, but a “no-thing” in empty space. In this way Democritus distinguished between a void in which there are no material bodies and nothingness, which is the total absence of space and any body as well. The implications were that souls were atoms that quickly dissipated and that the gods would go in their turn as well. Hence, there would be no eternal survival of the soul and no judgment in a life to come. At the end of the era of the pre-Socratics no solution had been found that was a

conclusive analysis of the nature of the cosmos. Their work would be utilized by both Plato and Aristotle in their struggles against the Sophists.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PLATONISM; SOPHISM.

**Further reading:** Burt, B. C. *A Brief History of Greek Philosophy*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1889; Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. Translated by R. D. Hicks. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925; Fideler, David, ed. *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library*. Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1988; Guthrie, W. K. C. *The Greek Philosophers: From Thales to Aristotle*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975; Hussey, Edward. *The Pre-Socratics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972; Kingsley, Peter. *Ancient Philosophy Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Long, A. A., ed. *Early Greek Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Kirk, G. S., J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield. *The Presocratic Philosophers*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## prophets

Both Jewish and Christian traditions regard the Bible as a divinely inspired book in and through which God reveals to human beings what they could not know of themselves. This revelation came chiefly through the prophets, privileged men and women to whom and through whom God spoke. Because of their access to this revelation they carried great authority and at times exercised as decisive an influence on the course of Israel's history as did the kings and rulers.

### THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY IN ISRAEL

The first person referred to as a prophet is Abraham, the Patriarch of Israel, and prophets appear throughout the history narrated by the writers of the Bible. However, the prophets are not a uniform phenomenon; they differ greatly in their manner of prophesying, in their role among the people of Israel, and in the significance accorded them by the biblical writers.

The origin of prophecy among the Israelites is obscure. Although both Abraham and MOSES are referred to as prophets, because of their role as intermediaries between God and Israel, prophet is only one of the many titles given them in the Bible, and they are not commonly called prophets. Generations later, a few figures are referred

to as prophets in the very early days of Israel's settlement in Canaan (such as Deborah and an unnamed prophet in the book of JUDGES), but prophets as a distinct religious phenomenon first appear clearly with Samuel, the great leader of Israel. Samuel was a judge in Israel, that is, a ruler or political leader of the people, but he became a judge because he received revelation from God, by which he was able to establish his leadership. Here we see clearly for the first time the most distinctive trait of the prophets—the capacity to receive revelation from God, to receive the word of the Lord and make it known.

But Samuel was not the only prophet in Israel at that time. The biblical book of Samuel also refers to "bands of prophets" whose nature and role is very obscure. These prophets gathered in groups under a master and engaged in "ecstatic" religious worship. But in spite of great academic interest in the nature and identity of these bands of prophets, little is known of them. Immediately after the time of Samuel, Nathan and Gad appear as prophets, not as leaders or rulers themselves, as Abraham, Moses, Deborah, and Samuel had been, but rather are attached to the court of King DAVID as advisers. They gave their counsel not only in religious matters but in military and political concerns as well. The advice they give is not always presented as the word of the Lord, but they were valued as advisers because what they said was not simply their advice but rather revelation of God's will.

In the period after David's kingship the prophets become increasingly important in the life of Israel. They appear frequently in the histories known as Kings and Chronicles and are often involved in conflict with the rulers over religious matters or in the conflicts between rulers. Their authority derives from their privileged access to the word of the Lord, that is, the knowledge of what God is doing or is going to do, and the encounters between prophets and kings or between prophets were often tense and dramatic. The outstanding figures of this period are Elijah and Elisha, of whom many stories of miraculous activity are recorded and who were deeply involved in the political conflicts of their time. Like Samuel, Elijah and Elisha are closely associated with the obscure bands of prophets, sometimes referred to as "the sons of the prophets." Both Elijah and Elisha were engaged in conflict with rulers of Israel (such as AHAB) over religious matters.

These rulers sought to introduce in Israel various forms of Canaanite worship, and Elijah and Elisha used their prophetic authority to oppose replacement of the worship of Israel's God with worship of other gods. In the history told by the writers of the Bible this

clash with idolatry was the classic struggle of many of the later prophets.

The words and deeds of all of these earlier prophets are accessible to us through writings that took shape long after the times of the prophets. Possibly these accounts are based on writings preserved and passed on by the bands of prophets, but if so we now have only the much later written accounts. But in the period just before the invasions of both the northern and southern kingdoms (ISRAEL AND JUDAH) by the Assyrians and the Babylonians, prophets appeared whose words were recorded more extensively and are passed on in the books referred to as "the later prophets," or "the writing prophets," that is, the books from Isaiah to Malachi, each bearing the name of an individual prophet. These books are sometimes referred to as the "major prophets"—the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel—and the "minor prophets"—the books of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Although the dates and circumstances in which these prophets appeared are in many cases difficult to determine precisely, their activities focus on the great crises that led to the overthrow of both the northern kingdom (Israel) and the southern kingdom (Judah). The work of the earliest of these writing prophets is usually dated about the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. (750 B.C.E.). Most of their prophecy is directed toward Israel, warning that failure to remain faithful to Israel's God will result in personal and national catastrophe. But there are also collections of sayings directed to other nations, often promising retribution for having opposed the nation of Israel.

In the end the Assyrians conquered the northern kingdom (c. 721 B.C.E.), and later the Babylonians conquered the southern kingdom (the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.). The prophets who witnessed these events interpreted them as punishment of Israel for idolatry and failure to keep the law that God had given. The dates of some of the prophetic books are disputed, but the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah at least were written in the period after the Babylonian conquest. The tone and message of these books is dramatically different from that of the prophets who were active before the great crisis.

These later prophets bring messages of hope and consolation for the survivors of the national disaster. After the time of the restoration of Jerusalem in the fifth century B.C.E. no great prophets appear, and it is common to say that prophecy ceased in Israel. However, the existence or absence of prophecy during this later period is a matter of debate.

The preaching and teaching of the prophets covered a wide range of concerns and varied from prophet to prophet and through time. The activity and pronouncements of the earliest prophets often dealt with political concerns because for them the life of the nation of Israel was very much the concern of Israel's God. They also were deeply involved with the monotheism of Israel as it was being shaped in its earliest stages. As time went on these themes remained important, but the prophets' concerns broadened. The teaching of the prophets covered these major themes: true worship of God and avoidance of idolatry; obedience to the TORAH, both personally and in the conduct of government; interpretation of historical events as God's action; the expectation of a future glorious kingdom for Israel; concern for the welfare of the poor and helpless; and God's dealing with neighboring nations, especially as a consequence of how they treated Israel.

### TRUE AND FALSE PROPHESY

The prophets claimed that they were speaking on behalf of God, and that bold claim led naturally to the question of how one determined whether the claim was true or false. Prophets also disagreed with one another and at times had sharp confrontations, each claiming that he had the word of the Lord and that his opponent was either deceived or a deceiver. Some simple tests for determining the genuineness of prophecy are presented in the Jewish Bible; and the prophet Jeremiah, in his conflict with the prophet Hananiah, introduces an interesting criterion (Jer. 28:8–9), but these tests are difficult to apply, and conflict between prophets was common.

### CHRISTIAN PROPHETS

While it is clear that there were people considered prophets in the times of the early church (cf. Acts 21:9, 10, 1 Cor. 12–14), the primary interest of the writers of the New Testament was in the Jewish Bible prophets and what they said as it applied to JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. Very little of what the early Christians prophets said is recorded, and they did not play the dominant role their counterparts played in the Jewish Bible history. Very little is said of Christian prophets after the time of the New Testament, in fact, so little that until recently it was widely thought that Christian prophets disappeared after the first century C.E. However, in 1873 a manuscript was discovered in CONSTANTINOPLE that turned out to be very significant for the study of Christian origins. This manuscript, the *Didache* as it is now called, appeared to demonstrate the activity of Christian prophets in the early decades of

the second century and sparked a renewed interest in the phenomenon of Christian prophecy. Scholarly and popular interest in the topic has produced a flood of books and articles since the middle of the 20th century, but while much has been learned about the presence and activity of prophets in EARLY CHRISTIANITY, there is little consensus about the nature of early Christian prophecy.

See also BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** Forbes, Christopher. *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and Its Hellenistic Environment*. Tübingen, Germany: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995; Heschel, Abraham J. *The Prophets*. New York: HarperCollins, 2001; Linblom, Johannes. *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962; Von Rad, Gerhard. *Old Testament Theology*. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1965.

BRUCE T. YOCUM

## Psalms

The book of Psalms is actually a collection of five books, each of which ends with a note of praise. It is found in the JEWISH BIBLE or Old Testament. Known as "the book of praises" in Jewish tradition, almost every composition in it is suffused with praise, culminates in praise, or anticipates offering praise to the national deity of Israel. A doxology closes book 1 (Psalms 1–41), book 2 (Psalms 42–72), book 3 (Psalms 73–89), and book 4 (Psalms 90–106). Several psalms of praise close book 5 (Psalms 107–150). In the Psalms the chief calling of God is to respond to the needs of his creatures. The chief calling of his creatures is to offer him praise and spread abroad his greatness.

### MULTIPLE ORIGINS

Psalms manuscripts recovered from the caves of QUMRAN demonstrate that the book of Psalms as passed on to posterity by rabbinic Judaism is not identical in content and arrangement to psalms collections in existence before the standardization of the biblical text of the second half of the first century C.E. For example, 11QPSA, dated c. 50 C.E., contains compositions previously unknown, psalms appended to the standardized collection in Greek and Syriac but absent from the Masoretic Psalter, and many of the psalms in books 4 and 5 of the Masoretic Psalter (used by rabbinic Judaism) but not in the same order. The existence of once separate collections is also evidenced by the

inclusion of the same psalm in more than one collection (for example Psalm 14 is the same as Psalm 53). Psalms 42–83 evidence the complexity of the compositional history of the Psalter, in which a generic term for God (Elohim) takes the place of the name of the deity (Yahweh).

As elsewhere in ancient Hebrew poetry, semantic, prosodic, syntactic, morphological, and sonic parallelisms recur across verses, lines, and groups of lines in the psalms and give the psalms their characteristic stamp. A common rhetorical style and vocabulary and similar forms of expression mark the psalms. They share a common understanding of the obligating relationship that binds deity to a nation and king and a common set of expectations regarding the role of the king, the role of the temple, the conduct of war, and the logical precedence of acts of justice relative to acts of piety. Many of these understandings and expectations are reflected in hymns and prayers of other ancient Near Eastern literatures. In a few cases it can be shown that a psalm closely follows a non-Israelite model that originally involved a deity other than Yahweh. Examples are Psalms 20, 29, and 104.

### PSALMS FOR DAVID AND SOLOMON

Comments were added to the headings of some psalms so as to situate them in the life of DAVID as known from other sources. Psalm 18 is a unique example because it is found with minor variations in 2 Samuel 22 as an inset in the narrative of David's life. Psalms unlikely to have been intended for use by a Davidide were labeled as "for" David or "for" SOLOMON because they were designed to be recited to the king by another (20, 21, 72), because they seem apt in the king's mouth (124, 127, 131, and 133), or because they make reference to him (122). Psalms 73–89, book 3 of the Psalter, present themselves as another collection of psalms meant for the Davidide king and the Temple singers. Psalms 74 and 79 are the first psalms in the Psalter that clearly date to a time after the destruction of the First Temple, the time of the exile of the sixth century B.C.E.

Psalms 90–150, books 4 and 5 of the Psalter, include a few psalms for the Davidide king from First Temple times (101, 108–110, 138–145), but themes, language, and theology suggest a date in early Second Temple times (late sixth–fifth century B.C.E.) for the majority of the psalms in them. A date for the hymns to Yahweh's kingship (93, 95–99) is suggested by a superscript to 96 in the ancient Greek translation: "when the house [Temple] was being rebuilt after captivity." They are prefaced by prayer and prophecy attributed to MOSES (90, 91) and an introductory hymn of praise (92). Psalms 102, 105–107, and 137 are clearly postexilic. Psalms 111–

117 and 145–150 are collections of psalms that begin and end with *Hallelujah*, meaning "Praise Yah(weh)!" Psalms 120–134 is a collection of "songs of ascent" of diverse origins intended to be sung by pilgrims as they approached the Temple in festival seasons.

As alluded to above, the "I" of many of the psalms is plausibly understood to be that of the Davidide king. The relationship of national deity to king is very close and is fraught with privileges and obligations. See Psalms 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 60, 72, 89, 101, 108, 110, 132, and 144. Yahweh is bound by oath to the king who rules in Jerusalem, and Mount Zion in Jerusalem is Yahweh's earthly seat. Zion as the seat of Yahweh's earthly presence is celebrated in several psalms (46, 48, 76, 84, 87, and 122). The end of the Davidic dynasty, the destruction of Jerusalem and Temple, and the consequent experience of exile and national humiliation are the theme of other psalms (74, 79, 89, 102, 105–107, 137, 147, and 149). Precisely from the point of view of many psalms it might appear that history had dealt a mortal blow to Israel's faith.

### EXILE AND COMMUNAL PRAYER

But the theological resources of Israelite faith overcame these devastating events. The tradition of communal prayer in times of national humiliation was not dependent on the "I" of the king. See Psalms 44, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 89, 94, 106, 123, 126, and 137, where the "I" behind the "we" is either a Temple singer or a common worshipper who identifies with the whole community (cf. Lamentations 1–5). A single hymn celebrating the kingship of Yahweh is preserved from the First Temple period (47). In the psalm collection whose contents derive largely from the Second Temple period (90–150), hymns celebrating Yahweh as king and judge of all the earth, God of gods, and shepherd and redeemer of Israel are copious and occupy key positions (Psalms 93–100, 135, 136, and 146–150). An earthly king has no role in these psalms. Yahweh remains great in Zion, but now the roles of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel are celebrated (Psalm 99).

Hope of a restoration of the Davidic dynasty is not dead (note Psalm 132 among the songs of ascent), but a theology and piety develop in which a Davidic hope is not central. See Psalms 146 and 147, which build on 145 and a long tradition of understanding the locus of the divine presence on Earth as a place of refuge for the poor and needy. That understanding is now disjoined from the concept of the king as God's viceroy (contrast Psalm 72). The community as a whole is now implied to be God's viceroy on Earth.

The impact on culture of the thought and poetry of the psalms is almost immeasurable and extends well beyond the realm of religion narrowly defined to include literature, music, drama, law, civil religion, and statecraft wherever Judaism and Christianity are or have been potent cultural factors. The role of the psalms in Jewish and Christian liturgy and in the personal piety of believers is pervasive. The recitation of Psalms 113–118 and 145–150 in Jewish liturgical practice is very ancient. Many other psalms were added from the beginning of the Islamic period on for daily or Sabbath use. In the daily and Sunday readings of Catholic and more ecumenical practice, some 130 of the 150 psalms appear once or more every three years, following traditions hallowed by use in the monastic movements of the Middle Ages and before. The impact on culture of the thought and poetry of the psalms is almost immeasurable and extends well beyond the realm of religion narrowly defined to include literature, music, drama, law, civil religion, and statecraft wherever Judaism and Christianity are or have been potent cultural factors.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERO DOXIES); SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Abegg, Martin, et al. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins, 1999; Berlin, Adele, and Mark Zvi Brettler, eds. “Psalms: Introduction and Annotations.” In *The Jewish Study Bible*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; Gillingham, Susan E. *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; McCann, J. Clinton, Jr. “Psalms.” In *The New Interpreter’s Bible*. Edited by Leander E. Keck, et al. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996; Sarna, Nahum M. *Songs of the Heart: An Introduction to the Book of Psalms*. New York: Schocken, 1993.

JOHN HOBINS

## Pseudepigrapha and the Apocrypha

The Pseudepigrapha refer to Jewish writings that are not included in the Jewish scriptures. These writings are often promulgated under the assumed pen names of famous biblical heroes. They were composed before or at the time of the New Testament, so they help to explain the background to the New Testament. Biblical books that did not come into the Jewish scriptures but are in the Greek (Septuagint) Bible are called the Apocrypha—and also called by Catholic and Orthodox Christians “Deuteroca-

nonical.” The New Testament Apocrypha refer to the books written by Christians (often under pen names) that are not accepted into the Bible, though they are written after the New Testament and help to explain the development of church teachings. In short there are three types of literature considered here, and they have varying degrees of authority and relationship with the Bible.

The Pseudepigrapha can be divided into two categories according to the parts of the ancient world from which they emerged. The first is of Palestinian origin, and the second is of Hellenistic Jewish origin. Within both categories are several types of literature, such as poetry, testament, and apocalypse. Among the Palestinian writings are the Odes of Solomon, perhaps of the late first century C.E., a collection of psalms and prayers, supposedly penned by King SOLOMON, that speak about the messianic kingdom of God. A testament is a type of literature that is based on a deathbed statement by a biblical hero. A couple of examples of this type are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, consisting of Jacob’s last words to his sons; and the Testament of Job that JOB supposedly delivered to his second wife and his two daughters before he died. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs probably goes back to the second century B.C.E., with later interpolations that appeared perhaps 200 years later. The Testament of Job may go back to a strict Jewish sect of 100 B.C.E.

By far the most important composition is the book of Enoch, an apocalyptic work found in the QUMRAN caves as well as in other ancient caches. There are five sections of Enoch: the first consists of future judgment, even of the angels; the second is called the “Similitudes,” and it deals with future judgment and the messianic hope; the third is an astronomical book for the calendar; the fourth deals with past history, including the primordial deluge; the fifth, called the “Apocalypse of Weeks,” is a collection of apocalyptic and miscellaneous material. Enoch may have had some degree of authority among sects of Jews before the birth of Jesus and thus was read like a book of the Bible. Two important apocalypses are worth mentioning: the Apocalypse of Ezra (or 4 Ezra) and the Apocalypse of Baruch (or 2 Baruch). Both of these works have to do with the malaise of the Jews after the debacle of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and probably were written before 100 C.E. They offer consolation to Jews who feel that history has no purpose and tell of the coming age of fulfillment.

Among the many Hellenistic Jewish works, space allows only a discussion of the Sibylline Oracles. These imitate the Greek oracles that operated in the Mediterranean

Greco-Roman world, such as the DELPHIC ORACLE. Written around 140 C.E. they lay out a structure of history, the coming of a Jewish messiah, and the judgment of the nations. The Pseudepigrapha are written after the voices of prophecy had ended and before the New Testament and hence are often referred to as intertestamental literature. They are filled with apocalyptic revelations that are supposed to fortify Jewish resolve to endure the hardships of the Greco-Roman world. Often they speak of a transcendent messiah-like figure and a future age of fulfillment for the Jewish people, and these ideas are somewhat different from those of biblical prophecy. Yet, even though they are not books of the Bible, the New Testament often adopted their language and concepts.

*Apocrypha* means “hidden things” and refers to materials that show an otherwise unknown side of the Bible. The Apocrypha, or deuterocanonical writings, are biblical for many Christians. They are books and parts of biblical books that are in the Bible that Greek-speaking Jews used, yet they are not in the Bible that Jews eventually accepted as the official text. There are 12 or more books or parts of books that were not in the official text. Protestant Christians follow the official text, but many of the Apocrypha have been found among the ancient manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, bolstering the argument that even the Jews of Palestine must have known and used the Apocrypha. These books include 1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Daniel, Additions to ESTHER, BARUCH, Sirach, and Wisdom, and the books of the MACCABEES.

The New Testament Apocrypha include Christian-inspired works that are modeled on New Testament books. The most important of these materials are “gospels,” because they give a perspective on the four Gospels of the Bible. Some are fragmentary gospels gleaned from the writings of the fathers of the church (such as the Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of the Nazoreans, and Gospel of the Ebionites); others are recently discovered from such places as Nag Hammadi and Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. Many of these latter gospels show an unfamiliar, perhaps Gnostic, JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH, and the date of their writing often cannot be determined. They show the life of Jesus in formats emphasizing such things as his childhood, his sayings, and his afterlife dialogues.

Other apocryphal gospels are discounted because they do not exist in ancient manuscripts, but they may have some claim for early roots. These include the Protevangelium of James, the Gospel of Thomas, the Apocryphon of James, and the Gospel of Peter. Nongospel apocryphal writings are less helpful for New Testament studies, including the pseudo-Pauline letters, the “acts”

of various apostles, and various apocalypses. Many of these types of writings show definite late and Gnostic tendencies. Whether these apocryphal materials reflect the “true beliefs” of the early church or affected the New Testament is unknown. Some of the strongest voices asserting the authenticity of these writings minimize the later Gnostic influences in the very areas where such texts have been found. The New Testament Apocrypha of these areas might be Gnostic editions or perhaps complete Gnostic fabrications.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIAN DUALISM (GNOSTICISM); CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY; MESSIANISM; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Charlesworth, J. H. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. New York: Doubleday, 1983; Hennecke, E., and W. Schneemelcher. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Westminster, UK: John Knox Press, 1991.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Ptolemies

One of ALEXANDER THE GREAT’s conquests in the eastern Mediterranean was Egypt. On Alexander’s death his empire broke up for lack of a suitable designated successor. Ptolemy (367–283 B.C.E.), a trusted general under Alexander, had counseled that the empire be divided into a series of satrapies, each under the control of a leading general. The alternative, he believed, would be anarchy or warfare between the Macedonians. Ptolemy took control of Egypt, establishing a dynasty of Ptolemies that lasted for nearly 300 years until the death of Cleopatra VII, who died in 30 B.C.E., after which Egypt was incorporated as a province of the Roman Empire.

Ptolemy I took the name of Soter and set about establishing a formidable, independent Hellenistic state. He improved methods of administration and captured territories, adding to ARABIA and LIBYA, which were already within the satrapy of Egypt. These territories included Cyprus and parts of Cyrenaica and Syria. Ptolemy was drawn into warfare with Perdiccas in Asia Minor as one of the DIADOCHI to Alexander. During the subsequent reallocation of satrapies, Antipater of Macedon was named as regent of Alexander’s empire, and Ptolemy strengthened his possessions by marrying Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater. Further wars among the successors brought mixed fortunes, but Ptolemy was never seriously threatened with losing his core Egyptian territories. By presenting himself as an Egyptian ruler in appearance

and style of rule, Ptolemy gained support from the Egyptian people that lasted, by and large, throughout the length of the dynasty. Even so, Ptolemaic Egypt retained a distinctive Macedonian Greek nature.

A total of 15 Ptolemies were named, although only 14 reigned since Ptolemy VII was not able to take the throne. Seven of these Ptolemies were in fact named Cleopatra, and these 11 women reigned as regents while their sons or brothers were too young to rule. The prominence of female rulers was unprecedented in Western antiquity and would be surprising even in the 21st century. The second Ptolemy, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 b.c.e.) introduced the practice of sibling marriage when he took his sister as his wife; she became Arsinoe II. This shocked the Greeks but was considered appropriate for an Egyptian monarch. She was widely regarded as the power behind the throne, and while her influence was almost certainly less than that, her example does show the importance of women in the administration of the Ptolemaic state. Her likeness appeared on official coinage, and she benefited from monarch worship cults.

The Ptolemies improved administration by the introduction of advanced taxation regimes, together with measures to prevent extortion by corrupt tax collectors. A great deal of industry came under state control, and the fertile Nile delta lands and overseas possessions were used to provide security and a measure of shared prosperity for the Egyptian people. A census was conducted under Ptolemy II Philadelphus that itemized all sources of water and other resources and was used to plan for agricultural innovations and improvements. Irrigation was greatly increased and the newly fertile lands were used for the settlement of migrant Greeks. They in turn contributed to the growth of ALEXANDRIA, which grew into a formidable example of Greco-Egyptian intellectual endeavor. It held a monopoly on papyrus throughout much of the Mediterranean and controlled trade in goods from the east.

Throughout the third century b.c.e., external dangers to the Ptolemaic empire came from successor states to the east, together with occasional resurgent GREEK CITY-STATES. These wars were generally fought outside Egypt on overseas possessions; however, internal revolts developed following the Battle of Raphia (217 b.c.e.), fought in Palestine and resulting in a victory for the Ptolemaic side against the Seleucids. Ptolemy's army contained large contingents of native Egyptians, and it appears that their success emboldened them into believing that a native could once again lead Egypt. Uprisings in the upper Nile region continued for years but did not seriously threaten the Ptolemaic state. A greater threat was arising in the western Mediterranean as the Roman Republic became

increasingly influential. Romans had long coveted the riches of Egypt, particularly the wheat that would eventually feed Roman citizens and sustain the empire.

The Ptolemaic empire gradually declined to Egypt and Cyprus. It was not until JULIUS CAESAR pursued POMPEY to Egypt after the latter's defeat in the civil war that a concerted effort was made to bring Egypt under Roman military control. Ptolemy Cleopatra VII became the lover of Julius Caesar in an attempt to retain Egyptian independence. After Caesar's assassination Cleopatra contracted a relationship with Mark Antony, chief loyalist of Caesar, and when Octavian and his allies at the Battle of Actium in 31 b.c.e. defeated him, she committed suicide, and Rome took control. Although both the preceding pharaohs and the succeeding Romans are better known in popular culture, the Ptolemies were no less influential in shaping the ancient world.

See also MIDDLE KINGDOM, EGYPT; NEW KINGDOM, EGYPT; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT.

**Further reading:** Bagnall, Roger S. *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1976; Bowman, Alan K. *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC–AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996; Chauveau, Michel. *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra: History and Society under the Ptolemies*. Trans. by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000; Stanwick, Paul Edmund. *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

JOHN WALSH

## Punic Wars

See HANNIBAL; ROMAN EMPIRE.

## pyramids of Giza

The pyramids on the Giza Plateau of Egypt were erected as royal tombs in the 26th century b.c.e. The Great Pyramid, largest of three major structures, housed the remains of the PHARAOH Khufu (Cheops), while the other two were built for Khufu's son Khafra and grandson Menkaure. One of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—and the only one still standing—the Great Pyramid was the tallest human-made building on earth until 1885, when the Washington Monument was completed. The pyramid stands 481 feet high. Experts estimate that its original 2.3 million blocks of limestone and granite, quarried from

a site southeast of the pyramid, weighed an average of 2.5 tons each. These blocks were moved over a series of ramps up to 164 feet wide to the construction site.

All of the pyramids at Giza were built during the Fourth Dynasty of the OLD KINGDOM. Several factors combined to make the switch of labor from agriculture to building feasible. Egypt faced no strong foreign threats; its only military efforts were raids on weaker states. Better administration and collection of taxes and a favorable trading position allowed Khufu to trade royal land for labor from the nobility. The first king of that dynasty, Sneferu, built the Bent Pyramid and Red Pyramid, south of Seqqara at Dahshur. Khufu, his son, reigned from 2589 to 2566 B.C.E. Khufu's vizier (and cousin), Hemiunu, who was also the son of Sneferu's vizier, oversaw the building of the pyramid complex and was buried in the western cemetery of the complex.

Archaeologists are certain now that neither the Great Pyramid nor other edifices in Giza were built by slave labor. Up to 40,000 workers toiled for 10 to 15 years during Khufu's reign to erect the pyramid as well as the temples, causeways, and other tombs that lined the Giza Plateau. Three smaller pyramids for wives of Khufu were constructed on the east, exactly one-fifth

the scale of Khufu's. Khufu was buried in his pyramid in the King's Chamber, which was reached through ascending corridors and the Grand Gallery. Only his red granite sarcophagus remains; grave robbers took his body and personal effects centuries ago. Khufu was followed by two sons: Djedefre, who was buried in his unfinished pyramid at Abu Rawash, and Khafra, who ruled Egypt from 2558 to 2532 B.C.E. Khafra's son Menkaure ruled from 2532 to 2503 B.C.E.

Both Khafra and Menkaure built pyramids at Giza, and those, along with the Great Pyramid, dominate the site. Khafra's pyramid looks almost as large as his father's because it was built on higher ground; it reaches 471 feet high. Khafra's complex includes the Great Sphinx, a unique statue close to the causeway, with an early sun temple in front of it.

The pyramids at Giza are surrounded by smaller, stone *mastabas* of family members, officials, and priests. Often, these were gifts of the pharaoh and built by the same artisans that erected the pyramids. Giza is unique in that these *mastabas* are arranged in grids, like city blocks with streets running by them.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.



*The pyramids of Giza served as royal tombs, with the Great Pyramid, the largest, housing the remains of the pharaoh Khufu. One of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—and the only one still standing—the Great Pyramid was the tallest human-made building on Earth.*

**Further reading:** Isler, Martin. *Sticks, Stones, and Shadows; Building the Egyptian Pyramids*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001; Smith, Craig B. *How the Great Pyramid Was Built*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004; Verner, Miroslav. *The Pyramids*. New York: Grove Press, 1997.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Pyrrhus

(318–272 B.C.E.) *king of Epirus*

Pyrrhus (the Greek word for “fiery red”) was the pugilistic king of the Hellenistic kingdom of Epirus from 306 to 301 B.C.E. and again from 297 to 272 B.C.E. His costly but successful military tactics against Macedonia and Rome gave rise to the phrase *Pyrrhic victory*. Primary sources for his life include *The Life of Pyrrhus* by the Greek historian Plutarch, the *Periochae* by the Roman historian Livy, and the *History of the Samnite War* by Appian of ALEXANDRIA. Born the son of Epirot king Aeacides and a Greek named Phthia, the daughter of a hero in the Greek war of liberation against the Macedonians, Pyrrhus spent his first two years in the royal court of Epirus. When Aeacides was deposed by his subjects and his adherents executed, Pyrrhus was smuggled out of the country and taken to safety to the court of King Glaucias of Illyria, who reluctantly agreed to raise Pyrrhus with his own children. When Pyrrhus was 12 (306 B.C.E.), Glaucias invaded Epirus and restored Pyrrhus to its throne.

Hated by his Molossian subjects, Pyrrhus’s first reign came to an end as a result of a coup that occurred while he was attending the wedding of a son of Glaucias. The revolutionaries, led by Cassander, plundered Pyrrhus’s property and invited Neoptolemus II to be king in 302 B.C.E. Pyrrhus took refuge with his sister’s husband, Demetrius—son of Antigonus, the king of Asia. After Antigonus and Demetrius lost the Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.E.), Ptolemy I of Egypt took Pyrrhus hostage. This seemingly inhospitable situation proved fruitful for Pyrrhus, who impressed Ptolemy with his strength and courage at hunting parties and worked his charm on Berenice, Ptolemy’s wife, leading her to permit Pyrrhus to marry Antigone, her daughter from a previous marriage. In 297 B.C.E. Ptolemy financed a new coup in Epirus and sent Pyrrhus back to his homeland with an army of mercenaries, where he reclaimed the throne through a series of shrewd political dealings. Announcing that he would share power with Neoptolemus, Pyrrhus first became leader of the Epirote confederacy and

then duped his people into believing that his colleague had committed treason, finally killing Neoptolemus at a banquet to assume the kingship. Pyrrhus now acted as Ptolemy’s watchdog in Europe, guarding Egyptian interests against archrival Cassander of Macedonia.

When Cassander died, he left his throne to his son Philip IV, who died within two months. Consequently, Cassander’s other two sons, the elder Antipater and the younger Alexander, unsuccessfully attempted to divide the kingdom. When hostility between the brothers erupted, Antipater sent Alexander into exile, with Alexander fleeing to Pyrrhus. In exchange for invading Macedonia in 294 B.C.E. and securing a balance of power between the two brothers, Pyrrhus received more territory in the northwestern parts of Greece. When Demetrius, Pyrrhus’s erstwhile friend and ally, killed Alexander and took over Macedonia, the relationship between the two rulers grew bitter and soon broke out into war in 291 B.C.E. Pyrrhus defeated Pantauchus, one of Demetrius’s generals, and then invaded Macedonia in search of plunder. For a brief period Demetrius became dangerously ill, and Pyrrhus came close to capturing the whole of Macedonia. Once Demetrius had recovered enough to take the field, Pyrrhus made a hasty retreat back to Epirus.

This retreat was short lived, as Pyrrhus, with the help of King Lysimachus of Thrace, invaded Macedonia in 288 B.C.E. when the Macedonians revolted against Demetrius. In 287 B.C.E. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus were recognized as co-regents of Macedonia, with the river Axios as border between the former’s western and the latter’s eastern regions. Two years later Pyrrhus was forced to resign his Macedonian lands to Lysimachus. Temporarily resigned to Epirus, the warrior king next turned his attention to conquering Roman territories.

In 281 B.C.E. the citizens of Tarentum came under attack from Rome and turned to Pyrrhus for help. Pyrrhus sent more than 3,000 soldiers and his adviser Cineas, followed by a fleet and 20 elephants, 3,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, 2,000 archers, and 500 slingers. Upon arriving at Tarentum, Pyrrhus assembled his forces and imposed a more disciplined way of life upon the inhabitants. Setting out from there, Pyrrhus defeated the Roman army in a battle on the banks of the river Siris. He proceeded to march toward Rome, but when he learned that the Romans had raised more troops, he sent Cineas to make peace with the Romans.

Although initially inclined to accept Cineas’s proposals, an impassioned speech by Appius Claudius convinced the Senate to reply that Pyrrhus leave Italy without a treaty or alliance. Unwilling to accede to the Senate’s wishes, Pyrrhus embarked on the infamous Battle of

Asculum (279 B.C.E.), where he won at the devastating price of 4,000 casualties.

It was on this occasion that Pyrrhus remarked, “Another such victory and I shall be ruined,” resulting in the term *Pyrrhic victory* for a victory obtained at too great a cost. At this juncture the Sicilians sought Pyrrhus’s aid against the Carthaginians, thus giving him an excuse to leave Italy. Pyrrhus campaigned in Sicily for two years, but the Sicilians came to hate him because of his execution of Thoenon, one of their leading citizens, on suspicion of treason. Pyrrhus then returned to Italy, where he was defeated at Beneventum in 275 B.C.E. Three years later the Peloponnesian ruler Cleonymus invited Pyrrhus to intervene in his struggle with the Spartan king Areus. Notwithstanding his army of 25,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 24 elephants, Pyrrhus was unable to capture Sparta. Attacked en route by the Spartans at Argos, Pyrrhus and his forces took to street fighting, in which a tile hurled from a roof by an Argive woman stunned Pyrrhus. While he was partly unconscious, one of Areus’s men recognized him and killed him.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; PTOLEMIES; ROMAN HISTORIANS.

**Further reading:** Garoufalias, Petros E. *Pyrrhus: King of Epirus*. New York: Robert Beard, 1999; Lévêque, Pierre. *Pyrrhos*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957; Plutarch. *Pyrrhus: The Fool of Hope*. In *Plutarch's Lives*. Trans. by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.

KIRK R. MACGREGOR

## Pythagoras

(fl. 530 B.C.E.) Greek philosopher

Pythagoras was a Greek thinker and contributor to PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY who was born on the isle of Samos. He fled tyranny to establish a school in southern Italy at Croton, which contained both scientific and mystical streams of thought. Pythagoras achieved influence at Croton for a period, but this eventually waned, and he retired, perhaps fleeing elsewhere. It appears that Pythagoras wrote nothing himself—or at least nothing that has survived—and his disciples and subsequent followers, the Pythagoreans, ascribed their own ideas to their master out

of respect. Assessing his contribution accurately is subject to speculation; however, the enormous and unusual levels of respect shown to him by his followers suggest that his personal contribution was significant. Re-creation of his life and times is assisted by fragmentary mentions in the works of Plato and ARISTOTLE and hints that he may have visited or studied with Anaximander and Thales.

The contribution of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans is divided between the religious and the scientific, the latter is better known today, especially the theorem and its impact on musical theory. Pythagorean geometry featured the specification of the hypotenuse to identify the lengths of the sides of right-angled triangles, although this was probably not the first statement of the proposition. The use of ratios to explain the mathematical relationships underlying the structure of music have also been very influential. The underlying concept was that it was relationships between the ratios of the first four integers (known as the Decad), which gave rise to the melodic intervals. A series of 10 opposite pairs, or dualities, was established, both of which were necessary for existence. One half of these pairs were “limited” and the other half “unlimited,” and together they connected all the many points that constituted the universe. Eventually, this gave rise to the concept of the music of the spheres, in which complex numerical relationships existed, which regulated the movements and natures of all physical phenomena according to moral principles.

In religious or spiritual terms, Pythagoreans led a rather ascetic life that stressed moral principles underlying the nature of the universe and the transmigration of the soul—that is, reincarnation—that all people would undergo on numerous occasions, not always taking human form. His disciples followed strict dietary guidelines and may have avoided making animal sacrifices, an important feature of Greek religious practices at the time, as part of their commitment to a vegetarian way of life. In any case the Pythagoreans excited compassion and sympathy rather than dislike or contempt.

**Further reading:** El-Koussa, Karim. *Pythagoras the Magician*. Lebanon: Cloonfad Press, 2005; Kahn, Charles H. *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans: A Brief History*. Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 2001.

JOHN WALSH

# Q

## **Qin (Ch'in) dynasty**

The Qin state was founded in 897 B.C.E. during the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY; it became an important state in contention for leadership in unifying China the in mid-fourth century B.C.E. The Qin lasted only 15 years as a national dynasty between 221 and 206 B.C.E. but left a lasting impact for inaugurating the imperial era in Chinese history. The rise of Qin paralleled that of Zhou almost 1,000 years earlier. Both were frontier states toughened by wars against barbarian tribes, and both were far from the refined court. It was located in the northwest frontier in modern Gansu (Kansu) Province west of the Wei River, protected from enemies in the east by mountains and gorges. It first gained national attention in 770 B.C.E. when Duke Xiang (Hsiang) of Qin provided protection for the Zhou court against the Rong (Jung) barbarians as it moved from Hao to the eastern capital at LUOYANG (LOYANG). After the 600s B.C.E. Qin moved its capital several times, finally to Xianyang (Hsienyang) close to Hao and the modern city Xi'an (Sian) in 350 B.C.E.

Qin led China in developing an extensive irrigation system that made its rich soil productive. When Qin conquered Sichuan (Szechuan) in the upper Yangtze Valley its engineers built an intricate water control and irrigation system in the rich Chengdu (Chengtu) Plain, which is still operating now. A surplus of food allowed it to divert manpower to the army when Qin embarked on campaigns to conquer its rivals. Qin was also open to employing talented people, regardless of their ori-

gin. In 356 B.C.E. it appointed a man from the state of Wei, named Shang Yang (better known as Lord Shang), chief minister. He served until 338 B.C.E. and developed a political philosophy called **LEGALISM** that his successors Han Fei and Li Si (Li Ssu) continued. Their reforms included the abolition of feudalism, bringing land under central government control, administered by bureaucrats appointed and promoted on merit. Serfdom ended, making tillers tax-paying owners of their land on the assumption that free people worked and fought harder. Therefore, hard-working farmers and disciplined soldiers were esteemed, and merchants and scholars were suspected as unproductive and perhaps subversive. Legalists emphasized law to uphold the state's power and promulgated severe laws, uniformly applied, to encourage good conduct and deter wrongdoing. These measures made Qin the strongest among the states during the late Warring States era.

In 256 B.C.E. Qin destroyed the Zhou ruling house. Its final drive for unification began in 246 B.C.E. when a young man born in 259 B.C.E. mounted the throne as King Zheng (Cheng). At first his mother and a former merchant, chief minister Lu Buwei (Lu Pu-wei) acted as regents. He ruled alone after 238 B.C.E., with Li Si as chief minister; together they completed the defeat of all rival states and established a unified empire called the Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.E. King Zheng became Qin Shi-huangdi (Ch'in Shih Huang-ti), which translates as "first emperor of the Qin." He was so confident that China (our name for the country derives from *Ch'in*) would be governed by his family for all time that he ruled that his



*Thousands of terra-cotta soldiers were buried with Emperor Qin, who died in 210 B.C.E. Life-sized terra-cotta figures of warriors and horses were arranged in battle formations and are said to have distinct facial features, as if each one were modeled on a real figure.*

descendants would only need a numeral to distinguish them, for example, as the second emperor.

The first emperor and Li Si were responsible for changing the course of China. They extended many of Qin state's reforms to the whole country, abolishing feudalism and organizing the empire into a number of commanderies (provinces) and subdividing them into counties. This system persists to the present. No office except that of the ruling house would be hereditary, and all officials would be appointed by the central government and promoted or demoted on merit. All serfs were freed. Standardization was their watchword and was applied to the width of roads, weights and measures, laws, coinage, and even the written script. Thought was also controlled.

Only Legalism could be taught, all other philosophies were banned, and all books except technical ones and the history of the house of Qin were to be burned (only one copy of all banned books were to be kept in the imperial library, accessible to officials alone). The emperor had 460 scholars buried alive for opposing him and had his

eldest son, the crown prince, banished to duty along the GREAT WALL OF CHINA for having defended them.

The first emperor also embarked on massive construction projects. He ordered General MENG TIAN (MENG T'IEN) to connect existing walls into one Great Wall to guard against the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) nomads. A network of roads were built to facilitate troop movements, likewise a system of canals to connect the lower Yangtze Valley with Guangzhou (Canton) in the south to transport troops and supplies for their conquest of southern China and present-day northern Vietnam. Xianyang became a grand capital with sumptuous palaces and residences, and outside the city a massive mausoleum was built as his resting place.

The first emperor died suddenly in 210 B.C.E., and his will designated the exiled crown prince as successor. However, Li Si and chief eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) changed the will, ordered the crown prince and Meng Tian to commit suicide (which they did) and installed a weakling younger prince as second emperor. Zhao Gao then had both Li Si and the second emperor killed

and installed another prince on the throne. Soon spontaneous rebellions were everywhere, and by 206 B.C.E. the Qin dynasty was gone. The Qin state unified China and briefly ruled as a national dynasty. Its rise was due largely to Legalism; its fall discredited Legalism forever. Although the dynasty was short lived, it inaugurated the imperial era in Chinese history, and many of its reforms would remain.

**Further Reading:** Bodde, Derk. *China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu* (280?–208 B.C.). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires*, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Qumran

The Dead Sea Scrolls have rightly been called the most important manuscript discovery of the 20th century. In 1946 Bedouin shepherds were grazing their flocks near a place called Wadi Qumran. (*Wadi* is the Arabic word for “dry river bed.”) One of these shepherds, named Jum'a Muhammad Khalil, threw a stone into a cave that was later named Cave 1. Having heard the sound of shattering pottery, he fled in fear. Another shepherd returned to the cave at a later time and discovered that the cave contained several jars, one of which was filled with ancient scrolls. It was not clear to the Bedouin shepherds at that time that these scrolls were ancient Jewish scrolls, written in Hebrew, dating at least one millennium earlier than the oldest copy of the JEWISH BIBLE.

One of these scrolls was a copy of the biblical book of Isaiah. The other two scrolls were not previously known texts: a copy of the Rule of the Community of the Scrolls (the Community Rule, also known as the Manual of Discipline) and a commentary on the biblical prophetic book of Habakkuk. Once it became clear to scholars what the scrolls were, a team of archaeologists set out to explore other caves in the area to see if they could locate more hidden scrolls. A total of 11 caves near Wadi Qumran were identified, yielding more than 900 manuscripts of varying condition, many extremely fragmentary. Scholars have dated these texts to approximately 250 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. by comparing the handwriting in these scrolls with other known styles of ancient handwriting. The study of handwriting styles

and their relative dating is called paleography. These dates have been consistent with dates achieved by other means such as carbon-14 dating.

The largest quantity of scrolls (and the most fragmentary ones of all) comes from Cave 4. This cave is clearly visible from the ancient ruins of a settlement that had been known to archaeologists as early as 1850. It is referred to today by its modern Arabic name, Khirbet Qumran. Scholars believe that it was destroyed during the Roman occupation of Israel sometime during the first century C.E. Various scholarly theories were proposed concerning the original purpose of the site: a Roman villa (a type of summer home), a military fortress, or a sectarian settlement. Many find the sectarian settlement theory to be the most compelling identification for the ruins. Adjacent to the ruins are the remains of a cemetery.

A major question for scholars is the relationship between the caves and the Qumran ruins. In the beginning the nearby caves could not be identified with certainty with the settlement because very little material evidence existed to link the two together. While both the scrolls and the settlement are dated to approximately the same time period, no scrolls were found in the settlement. The strongest material evidence linking the scrolls to the settlement is the pottery. The pottery that contained these manuscripts in the caves matches the pottery that was found in the settlement. Another link between the scrolls and the settlement is their strong interest in purity concerns. References to purity and the ritual use of water in the Dead Sea Scrolls correspond with the large number of plastered reservoirs found throughout the settlement. Some scholars, however, would like to keep open the possibility that the close proximity between the caves and the settlement ruins was entirely accidental. Such scholars hold the view that the library found in the caves at Qumran was brought by people fleeing Jerusalem and concealed there for safekeeping.

The Dead Sea Scrolls contained a great variety of writings and provide a rare glimpse of the Jewish scriptures before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. A significant number of the texts were identified as biblical books from the Jewish Hebrew scriptures. The most popular book is PSALMS, with 36 copies, DEUTERONOMY is second with 29 copies, and Isaiah is third with 21 copies. Almost every book of the Bible has been identified among the scrolls and fragments at least once with the exception of the book of ESTHER. It is possible that the Community of the Scrolls would not have preserved the book of Esther. Another category of writings that is well represented among the

scrolls is the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA. While these writings would not have been considered scriptural texts, they would have been known and read by many different Jewish groups during that time.

The scrolls also yielded various sectarian writings (manuscripts of texts that seemed to be unique to the sect of Judaism responsible for the Qumran library). These texts include legal texts, such as the Temple Scroll (11QT) and Some Works of the Law (4QMMT); specialized texts such as the previously mentioned Community Rule (1QS), the War Scroll (1QM), and the Pesharim (commentaries on various biblical prophetic texts); and the Thanksgiving Hymns Scroll (1QH). Scholars knew one text from this group of sectarian writings previously as the Damascus Document. This interesting text was first discovered in 1896 by Solomon Schechter of Cambridge University who came across copies of this text from a repository for old nonusable sacred texts in Cairo, Egypt. With the help of ultraviolet and infrared photography, scholars are able to read scroll fragments that are extremely damaged and inscrutable to the naked eye.

Although there are other theories, many scholars are convinced that the Dead Sea Scrolls and the community at Qumran should be identified with a Jewish sect that has long since died out known as the ESSENES. The

Dead Sea Scrolls have opened a window into a time and place that would later see the rise of two great world religions, rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. While the Community of the Scrolls is probably not the precursor to either of these groups, the scrolls themselves make an important contribution to our overall understanding of the context from which these other religious movements emerged.

See also APOCALYPTICISM, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JOHN THE BAPTIST; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERO DOXIES); MESSIANISM; PROPHETS.

**Further reading:** Magness, Jodi. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002; Schiffman, Lawrence H. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity*. New York: Doubleday, 1994; Shanks, Hershel, ed. *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reader from the Biblical Archaeology Review*. New York: Random House, 1992; VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994; ———, and Peter Flint. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 2002.

ANGELA KIM HARKINS

# R



## *Ramayana*

The *Ramayana* (Romance of Rama) is the shorter of two great epic poems from ancient India. It was originally written in SANSKRIT in the tradition of the VEDAS as an account of the lives of the gods. The poem tells a story of court intrigue, romance, and the struggle for good over evil. It is shorter than the *MAHABHARATA* (Great Bharata dynasty), the other great epic poem of India. Some of the followers of the *Ramayana* date its origin to 880,000 B.C.E. While its exact origins are lost in Indian antiquity, the *Ramayana* is today attributed to the poet Valmiki. Most scholars believe that it was written in the third century B.C.E. The *Ramayana* has been redacted several times, leading to several versions. These are divided into five, six, or seven books. The *Ramayana* contains 24,000 couplets. The verses are called *sloka* (two-line verses, each of 16 syllables), in Sanskrit. They have a complex meter called *anustup*. The verses are grouped into individual chapters called *sargas*, which are grouped into books called *kandas*. The name *kanda* is taken from the internode stem of sugarcane. It suggests that each phase of the story is connected to the next phase.

The *Srimad Valmiki Ramayana* version is arranged into six books. The first book is the *Bala Kanda* (Book of youth, 77 chapters). The second book is the *Ayodhya Kanda* (Book of Ayodhya, 119 chapters). The third book is the *Aranya Kanda* (Book of the forest, 75 chapters). The fourth book is the *Kishkindha Kanda* (Book of the empire of holy monkeys, 67 chapters). The fifth book is

the *Sundara Kanda* (Book of beauty, 68 chapters). The sixth book is the *Yuddha Kanda* (Book of war, 131 chapters). The *Ramayana* is included in the great collection of Hindu books that were remembered, or *smriti*. These are different from the *shurti*, which are books that were heard. Books in the *shurti* category include the Vedas. The *Ramayana* is known also as the *Adi Kavya*, which means the “original poem,” and is certainly one of the oldest, if not the first, epic poem produced in India.

The *Ramayana* tells the story of the history of Rama, who was a king from a line descending from the sun god Surya. With his wife, Sita, he ruled an earthly kingdom. In some versions the beginning is the birth of Rama in the kingdom of Ayodhya; in others the beginning is Rama’s wooing of Sita, daughter of King Janaka. He wins her hand by being the only suitor able to bend the mighty bow of Siva (Shiva) at a bridegroom tournament. In yet other versions the *Ramayana* begins when Prince Rama is chosen as the heir of his father, King Dasartha of Ayodha. However, King Dasartha’s wife, Kaikeyi, pleads for the appointing of another son, Bharata, to be made king instead. King Dasaratha reluctantly agrees, and Rama is exiled from his kingdom. He goes into the forest for 14 years with his beautiful wife, Sita, and his half brother Laksmana.

In the forest Rama meets the demoness Surpanakha, who falls in love with him. He refuses her advances while Laksmana wounds her. She flees to the island kingdom of Lanka, where her brother, also a demon (*raksasa*), Ravana rules. Surpanakha tells Ravana of the beauty of Sita. Desiring Sita for himself, Ravana decides to take

her. He disguises himself as a holy man and finds her in the forest. He kidnaps Sita and carries her off to his palace at Lanka. He tries to have his way with her, but she refuses and remains loyal to Rama. Grief stricken, Sita mourns in Ravana's garden, as Rama and Laksmana search for her. Eventually, they meet Surgriva, the monkey king, who agrees to help. The monkey general Hanuman searches for Sita. He finds Sita and shows her Rama's ring to prove that he is Rama's messenger. However, Ravana catches Hanuman and sets his tail on fire. In the excitement the monkey escapes and sets fire to the island of Lanka.

Rama and Laksmana attack Lanka, aided by the monkey army led by Hanuman. After a long siege Rama kills Ravana and regains Sita. However, Rama makes Sita prove her virtue by putting her to a test of fire. She undergoes the test successfully, proving her chastity. Rama, however, later abandons her after public opinion will not accept her. She goes to the ashram of the sage Valmiki, to whom she tells her story. There she bears twin sons—Lava and Kusa. When they are grown they are united with their father, Rama. Rama and Sita are often pictured as the ideal couple for their devotion to *charma* in the quest for victory over evil. The *Ramayana* greatly influenced Indian poetry, establishing the *sloka* meter that developed in later Sanskrit poetry.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Blank, Jonah. *Arrow of the Blue-Skinned God: Retracing the Ramayana through India*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992; Dharma, Krishna (Kenneth Anderson). *Ramayana: India's Immortal Tale of Adventure, Love and Wisdom*. Badger, CA: Torchlight Publishing, 2000; Smith, H. Daniel. *Reading the Ramayana: A Bibliographic Guide for Students and College Teachers—Indian Variants on the Rama-theme in English Translations*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University, 1983.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Ramses I

(d. c. 1290 B.C.E.) *Egyptian pharaoh*

Though often overshadowed by his successors, Ramses (Rameses, Ramesses) I is a significant PHARAOH from Egypt's NEW KINGDOM period and the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The son of a noble family, the future pharaoh (then called Paramessu) served with Horemheb when both were soldiers, and when Horemheb became pharaoh he made Paramessu his vizier and the high priest

of Amun. In this latter role Paramessu was responsible for finalizing the restoration of the old religion in the wake of the Amarna heresy propagated by AKHENATEN a generation earlier. As vizier, his titles also included—reflecting his military background—Controller of the Nile Mouth, Charioteer of His Majesty, the Pharaoh's Envoy to Every Foreign Land, Royal Scribe, Master of Horse, Commander of the Fortress, and General of the Lord of the Two Lands.

When the heirless Horemheb made Ramses first his co-regent and then his successor as pharaoh (1295 B.C.E.), Paramessu adopted the praenomen (royal name) of Menpehtyre (established by the strength of Ra) and the nomen (personal name) Ramses (Ra bore him). Ramses's pharaonic names, his position as high priest, and his devotion to the sun gods displaced by Akhenaten's Atenism, all point to his commitment to traditional Egyptian religion, which had formed a key part of domestic policy in the last years of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In a sense Ramses's religious restoration cleared away the vestiges of the Amarna period in order to prepare Egypt for the clean slate of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Ramses's reign was brief—only two years, with his son Seti I as co-regent—and important largely because it ushered in the Nineteenth Dynasty, one marked by prosperity and reconquest under the rule of Ramses's successors.

Ramses's mummy enjoys at least as much fame as the pharaoh. Sometime in the mid-19th century Ramses's tomb was looted, his mummy stolen, and—though it may have passed through several hands in the interim—sold in 1860 to a “freaks of nature” museum in Niagara Falls, New York, where it was displayed with other mummies and Egyptiana alongside preserved animals and frontier memorabilia. Neither the thieves nor the museum's curator were aware of the mummy's identity. Eventually, the museum's Egyptian collection was purchased in 1999 by the Carlos Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, and the mummy was radiocarbon-dated by researchers at Emory University. Further scans and other computer-assisted techniques, along with a physical resemblance to the mummies of Seti I and RAMSES II (Ramses I's grandson), made the identification of the mummy as that of Ramses I almost certain. The mummy was returned to Egypt in 2003.

**Further reading:** Ray, J. D. *Reflections of Osiris: Lives from Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, 2002; Taylor, John H. *Mummy: The Inside Story*. London: British Museum Press, 2004; Winlock, Herbert. *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

BILL KTE'PI

## Ramses II

(c. 1303–1213 b.c.e.) Egyptian pharaoh

Also known as Ramses the Great, Ramses (Rameses, Ra-messes) II was the most significant Egyptian PHARAOH of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the son of Seti I and grandson of dynastic founder RAMSES I. Ramses II is believed to have reigned for 66 years and two months, assuming the throne on May 31, 1279 b.c.e. He is thought to have died in the summer of 1213 b.c.e.; giving him a probable birthdate of 1303 b.c.e. It is likely that Ramses II was born during or before his grandfather's reign as pharaoh. Although many Egyptologists have proposed co-regency between Ramses II and his father, the evidence is scant at best.

The importance of Ramses II's reign to the Nineteenth Dynasty cannot be understated: He ruled as pharaoh longer than the seven other Nineteenth-Dynasty pharaohs combined and his reign was marked by the dynasty's most important military campaigns. His lengthy reign made him a formidable figure, as he saw foreign monarchs come and go. He engaged commanders in battle who had grown up hearing of his exploits. This was a factor in his dealings with the HITTITES—his opponents in the second Battle of Kadesh, fought at the Orontes River in modern Syria. Egypt had been gradually pushed away from this region during the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties and particularly during the Amarna period when AKHENATEN was more concerned with internal and religious matters than the expansion or restoration of Egyptian occupation. Ramses's father and grandfather had both resumed the campaign to regain the lands around Kadesh, with Ramses II accompanying his father to at least one such battle.

In 1274 b.c.e., the fourth year of Ramses's reign, he engaged King Muwatalli's Hittite forces in the second Battle of Kadesh. The largest chariot battle in history, the battle involved some 5,000 chariots and nearly twice as many foot soldiers. The battle ended in a stalemate, as neither force was able to overpower the other. Ramses was almost captured but was rescued by the sudden arrival of troops from Amurru, the land of the Amorites, former Hittite subjects who had defected to Egypt. Rather than acknowledge the stalemate, each side declared they had been victorious, as they had avoided defeat. Various Egyptian-Hittite conflicts continued over the next two decades, mostly over contested territory. Murshili III, who fled to Egypt when his uncle ousted him from power and assumed the throne as Hattushili II, succeeded Muwatalli. Hattushili demanded the extradition of Murshili, who remained in Egypt planning a coup; Ramses, though caring little over Hittite internal affairs, refused. But rather than allow the



*Due in part to the length of his reign, Ramses II had more statues sculpted of him than did any other pharaoh.*

situation to escalate into full-blown war—and remembering the stalemate of Kadesh—the two parties settled their disagreements with a treaty in 1258 b.c.e. Though Murshili has disappeared from history, the treaty established rules of extradition and borders that both rulers acknowledged, gave Amurru and Kadesh to the Hittites along with access to Egypt's Phoenician harbors, and allowed the Egyptians northern passage as far as UGARIT, a privilege lost for more than 100 years. This was not only the first extradition agreement between nations but also the earliest known international peace treaty. Both Hittite and Egyptian copies survive; an enlargement of the Hittite version hangs in the United Nations.

Like many pharaohs, Ramses was fond of self-aggrandizement. He claimed to be the son both of Seti I and the god Amun, the sort of claim common in the OLD KINGDOM but rare for NEW KINGDOM pharaohs. Thanks in part to the length of his reign, no pharaoh built more temples or erected more obelisks. No pharaoh had so many statues sculpted of him, both before and after his death. No other pharaoh save Amenhotep III had a wife who was worshipped during her lifetime: Nefertari had temples erected to her and was an important member of the pharaoh's retinue. Legend claims that Ramses had dozens of wives and 100 children, but it is likely that his family was more reasonably numbered.

Ramses the Great presided over an expanding Egypt that prospered without radical changes. Modern scientific examination has shown that the pharaoh was physically unusual as well: He was a redhead, an uncommon trait among Egyptians, and though his hair grayed in old age, the hair on his mummy remains red,

dyed either before death or by the priests who prepared him for the afterlife. Merneptah, his 14th son, succeeded him: His older sons had predeceased him, and even Merneptah was 60 years old when he took the throne. Unlike many pharaohs whose names were forgotten until the advent of Egyptology, Ramses was remembered as Ozymandias (a corrupted HELLENIZATION of Usermaatre, his praenomen), a figure who fascinated scholars for centuries.

**Further reading:** Freed, Rita E. *Ramses II: The Great Pharaoh and His Time*. Denver, CO: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1987; Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960; Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Philips, 1982; Menu, Bernadette. *Ramesses II: Greatest of the Pharaohs*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999; Schmidt, John D. *Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for his Reign*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1973; Tyldesley, Joyce. *Ramesses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh*. New York: Penguin, 2000.

BILL KTE'PI

## Ravenna

The settlement of Ravenna may date from the Villanovan period of Italy, the earliest Iron Age culture of central and northern Italy. The fact that Ravenna began as a settlement on a lagoon, like Venice, may indicate even earlier habitation than the Villanovan era. Many European prehistoric settlements were groups of houses built on stilts in the middle of lagoons for purposes of defense against marauding tribes. Such lagoon or lake settlements date from the Bronze Age, some 4,500 years ago. Simon Adams writes, in *Castles and Forts*, “most of these villages were built on the shores of lakes or by rivers—often located on small islands that could easily be fortified. A group of around 20 rectangular houses stood on stilts to cope with seasonal flooding.”

Not much attention was paid to Ravenna, as the city did not threaten Rome, and the legions were needed to consolidate Roman power in Italy and elsewhere. In the first century B.C.E. Rome became involved in the civil wars that would end with the fall of the Republic to JULIUS CAESAR. Ravenna became accepted as part of the Republic in 89 B.C.E., and in 49 B.C.E. gained historical importance as the city from which Caesar marched to “cross the Rubicon” in the drive for power that would

ultimately make him dictator for life. He did not live long to enjoy it—in March 45 B.C.E. he was killed in the Roman Senate, at the foot of the statue of his great rival, POMPEY.

Caesar’s great-nephew Octavian, who would rule as Emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), realized the importance of Ravenna to Roman control of the Adriatic Sea. He established a military harbor for the Roman fleet at nearby Classe, in part to patrol against pirates. Pirates in the second and first centuries B.C.E. had become a major threat to Roman commerce in the Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean Seas.

With the onset of conflict with Persia in the East, Ravenna became the Roman gateway to Asia. Emperor TRAJAN (98–117 C.E.) built an aqueduct to ensure a supply of freshwater for this strategic city. During the fourth century C.E., the ROMAN EMPIRE came constantly under the assault of barbarian tribes. The imperial capital was moved from Rome to Milan and finally to Ravenna by Emperor Honorius—the ruler of the western half of the empire—in 402 C.E. Honorius did so because it was easily defended from its location on the lagoon. In 409 Honorius’s wisdom soon proved correct. When Alaric, king of the Visigoths, marched to sack Rome, he bypassed Ravenna. In 476 the German warlord ODOVACAR of the Heruli tribe finally brought an end to the Roman Empire in the West by deposing the emperor Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Roman emperor, Zeno, recognized the rule of Odovacar but later sent THEODORIC to reconquer Italy for the empire. After the death of Odovacar in 493 Thedoric effectively carved out his own kingdom, with Ravenna at its center.

Eastern Roman emperor JUSTINIAN I, aided greatly by his consort, Theodosia, aimed at nothing less than the total reconquest of Italy for the empire. His invasion began in 535, and he largely achieved his goal. Ravenna became the center of the restored Roman Empire in northern Italy in 539. The area was considered of prime military importance because it provided the Eastern empire not only with a strategic center in Italy but also with a major base on the Adriatic for the navy. And, as in the days of Trajan, the Danube remained of great importance as a frontier against the barbarians. For this strategic reason Ravenna became the administrative focus for an imperial exarchate, or military colony, in much of northern Italy. The exarchate was formed under Emperor Maurice (582–602), largely to combat the incursions of the Lombards, who had invaded Italy in 568 from what is today’s Austria. The military force commanded by the exarch at Ravenna became known as the Exercitus Ravennae and came to

include many Italians, in addition to soldiers from the Byzantine army. However, during a period of fighting the Lombards, the Muslim conquest erupted from what is now Saudi Arabia. Inspired by the teachings of the prophet Muhammad, the Muslims overran the Holy Land. Between 674 and 678 the Muslims even besieged Byzantium, before finally being driven away. The result in Italy was a drastic loss of Byzantine power. In 726 the citizens of Ravenna defeated an expeditionary force sent by Emperor Leo III to reimpose strong Byzantine rule. The area was gradually diminished under almost constant pressure from the Lombards. In about 750 the Lombards finally conquered Ravenna. The Byzantines, faced with Persian and barbarian invasions, could not keep their hold on Italy, even when supported by their powerful navy, whose oared warships, or *dromonds*, were the most powerful battle ships of their day.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; OSTROGOths AND LOMBARDS.

**Further reading:** Adams, Simon. *Castles and Forts*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003; Dudley, Donald R. *The Romans, 850 BC–AD 337*. New York: Knopf, 1970; Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Everyman's Library, 1993; Hildinger, Erik. *Swords against the Senate: The Rise of the Roman Army and the Fall of the Republic*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2003; Holland, Tom. *Rubicon: The Last Years of the Roman Republic*. New York: Anchor, 2003; Warry, John. *Warfare in the Classical World*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 2000.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Red Eyebrow Rebellion

The Red Eyebrows were a rebel group formed in China in 18 C.E. against the regime of the usurper WANG MANG that helped defeat him, resulting in the restoration of the HAN DYNASTY. The year 9 C.E. saw the Wang family reach the zenith of power. The family had climbed to power due to the marriage of one of its daughters to the future emperor Yuan of the Han dynasty. She bore him a son, who became emperor. As mother and then grandmother of emperors, she wielded enormous power, appointing her brothers to key government positions and after the death of her brothers appointing her nephew Wang Mang regent for a young emperor. In 9 C.E. Wang Mang deposed the child emperor and ascended the throne, founding the Xin (Hsin) dynasty. *Xin* means "new." Wang embarked on an ambitious

program of reforms that included the nationalization of land, price fixing, and changes to the taxation system. Some of the reforms could not be carried out; all were widely unpopular. Natural disasters exacerbated Wang's problems; they included a shift in the course of the Yellow River in the Great Plain, which trapped large numbers of people in the Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula between the two branches of the river.

Famine followed, creating numerous peasant revolts. One was called the Red Eyebrow Rebellion, from the rebel practice of staining their foreheads red as a distinguishing mark. Since red was also the color of the deposed Han dynasty, perhaps the illiterate rebels were identifying themselves with the imperial house. However, the Red Eyebrow movement was without religious identity or political ideology; its members were desperately poor people seeking food. No significant leader emerged among them, and they remained a poorly organized motley army. The inability of Wang Mang's army to defeat the Red Eyebrows gave hope to surviving members of the Liu family of the deposed Han dynasty, who also rose against Wang. In 23 C.E. a descendant of the founding emperor of the Han was proclaimed emperor. Troops of the new Han emperor and the Red Eyebrows then marched on the capital city CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an), where Wang Mang was captured and executed.

Civil war continued between different claimants of the Han throne, while the Red Eyebrows also proclaimed a descendant of the Liu clan, whom they had kidnapped, as emperor. The Red Eyebrows were incapable of setting up a government, appointing mostly illiterate men as ministers, and merely sacked and looted Chang'an when they captured it for the second time in 25 C.E. and then abandoned it the next year when they had consumed all its food. They were finally defeated in 27 C.E. by the army of the newly proclaimed GUANGWU (Kuang-wu) emperor, founder of the newly established Eastern, or Later, Han dynasty, surrendered to him, and disappeared from history. The Red Eyebrow rebels, though incapable of forming a government and governing, nevertheless played a key role in bringing down the rule of Wang Mang and the restoration of the Han dynasty.

**Further reading:** Beilstein, Hans. *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, Vol. 1. Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1954; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## religious inclinations, prehistory

Deductions about the religious beliefs and practices of prehistoric people rest largely on archaeological evidence. Grave goods and burial practices, carved figures, cave paintings, and designs on potshards may be the only scraps left of a rich and intricate cosmogony. Graves dating back more than 50,000 years indicate that burials were deliberate, which by itself may imply belief in an afterlife. Whether bodies were interred to trap ghosts, show respect, or facilitate travel to another world is not known. The bodies of several Neanderthals buried in the Zagros Mountains of Iraq between 40,000 and 70,000 years ago were positioned and possibly buried with herbs and flowers. Other Neanderthal sites in Europe feature stacked bones of cave bears. In France, Neanderthal bodies were sprinkled with red ocher and buried with tools. A lump of red ocher showing intentional scraping was found near burials in the Qafzeh Cave in Israel and is believed to be 90,000 years old. Alignment of the body with the Sun might have had ritual importance. Red ocher may have represented blood or rebirth; grave goods including food, tools, and shell ornaments may have been stored for use in the afterlife or as status symbols. Modern interpretations of CAVE PAINTINGS, such as paintings some 17,000 years old at Lascaux, France, may have had great ritual and religious meaning but cannot be accurately interpreted today.

Ethnographic studies of tribal people in the recent past may shed light on the beliefs of ancient humans, but comparisons can also be misleading. Mircea Eliade saw parallels between the shamanism and trances of 20th-century hunters and pastoralists and those of the PALEOLITHIC AGE implied in their art and artifacts. Eliade, a historian of religion, posited that the difference between tribal and modern people is the perception of the entire world and time itself as a reflection of a sacred cosmos. Within this view he linked early hunters, animism, and blood sacrifices to later aggressive military conquests. The growth of agriculture gave rise to new creation myths and a strong link between women, food, and ritual. Women controlled reproduction; lunar phases, seasonal renewals, and harvests all reflected feminine power. By the time cities emerged in the NEOLITHIC AGE religious statuary emphasized femininity and linked it with death and rebirth. Cranes are often paired with birds of prey, and men with bulls or horned animals. Dancing and feasting have ritualized meanings, and masks are used in ceremonies.

The evidence of early beliefs are also fragmentary in that only a minuscule part of people's art and iconog-

raphy survived at all and only through fortuitous accidents. By 3000 B.C.E. the writings of Sumer, Egypt, and other lands describe a hierarchy of deities and formulas for their worship. Some of these formulas may have been handed down orally for centuries or millennia; others may have been new and innovative.

See also ANDES, NEOLITHIC; FOOD GATHERERS AND PRODUCERS, PREHISTORY; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; PALEOANTHROPOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Collins, John J. *Primitive Religion*. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1978; Eisler, Riane. *The Chalice and the Blade*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins, 1987; Eliade, Mircea. *A History of Religious Ideas*. Trans. by Willard Trask. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Roman Empire

The Roman Empire was the largest in the ancient world and at its height controlled the land around the Mediterranean and most of continental Europe, with the exception of modern-day Germany, Denmark, and Russia. The incipient Roman Empire led to the demise of the Roman Republic and the accession of Octavian (better known by his posthumous title AUGUSTUS CAESAR).

### THE PUNIC WARS

The first lands occupied by the Romans were in the Italian peninsula. From the days of the creation of the Roman Republic with the expulsion of the Tarquin dynasty in 510 B.C.E., the Romans had started attacking and ruling lands held by rival cities in central Italy. Rome's being sacked by the Gauls in 390 B.C.E. significantly weakened it in the eyes of many. It rebuilt its military strength, and its defeat of CARTHAGE in the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.) led to Rome gaining a foothold in Sicily. From 241 until 218 B.C.E. the Romans conquered Sardinia, Corcyra (modern-day Corfu), and Lombardy (northeastern Italy). During the Second Punic War, when HANNIBAL invaded the Italian peninsula in 218 B.C.E., the Romans were able to stop his attack on Rome, but their hold over the Italian peninsula was tenuous. Hannibal exploited this by forming alliances with the Gauls in northern Italy (Cisalpine GAUL) and also with predominantly Greek cities in the south, such as Capua and Tarentum.

When Hannibal was recalled to North Africa to defend Carthage and defeated at the Battle of Zama in 202

B.C.E., the Romans expanded their landholdings, taking many areas that had sheltered Hannibal during his 15 years in the Italian peninsula. The defeat of Hannibal also gave them the confidence to attack and conquer other lands, initially parts of Spain, and then attack Syria in 191 B.C.E.

This came about over tensions between Rome and the Seleucid Empire, with Rome declaring war in 192 B.C.E. and attacking in the following year. Ptolemy V of Egypt allied himself with Rome against his neighbor. A Roman fleet commanded by Gaius Livius destroyed the Seleucid navy off the coast of Greece in 191 B.C.E. and again in the following year at Eurymedon where Hannibal was helping the Seleucids in his first (and last) naval battle. At the same time a large Roman army advanced into Asia Minor and in December 190 B.C.E., at the Battle of Magnesia, destroyed the Syrians. In an agreement signed at Apameax, the Romans returned most of the land they had taken, only retaining the islands of Cephalonia and Zacynthus (modern-day Zante).

During the conflict of the Third Macedonian War (172–167 B.C.E.), the Romans defeated the Macedonians at the Battle of Pydne on June 22, 168 B.C.E. The following year the Romans took over Macedonian lands and divided them into four republics under Roman protection, establishing a protectorate over most of the Greek peninsula. Over the next 40 years the Seleucid Empire fell apart, and the power vacuum was exploited by Rome.

However, before the Romans were able to conquer the eastern Mediterranean, they had to deal with Carthage in the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.E.). With the Romans preoccupied in North Africa, rebellions broke out on the Iberian Peninsula. Sparta, a city allied to Rome, was also attacked. The Romans responded by sending soldiers to Spain and defeating the Lusitanians. They sent an army to help Sparta, which resulted in the annexation of Greece. By 146 B.C.E., Rome was in control of all of the Italian peninsula, modern-day Tunisia, modern-day Spain and Portugal, and the Greek peninsula.

## JUGURTHINE AND MITHRIDATIC WARS

From 112 to 106 B.C.E. the Romans fought the Jugurthine War, sending soldiers back to North Africa and eventually capturing the Numidian king Jugurtha. The Cimbri and other Germanic tribes from modern-day Switzerland then moved into southern Gaul, destroyed a Roman army of 80,000 at the Battle of Arausio, and slaughtered 40,000 Roman noncombatants. This led to war in Gaul, culminating with the Battle of Vercellae. The Roman commander Marius destroyed the Cimbri at the Battle

of Vercellae, killing an estimated 140,000 tribesmen and their families and capturing another 60,000.

Although the Roman Empire had control over much of the Mediterranean and Rome became the wealthiest city in the region, problems were brewing in the Italian peninsula with the Social War (91–88 B.C.E.). Some cities on the peninsula were angered that their people were discriminated against for not being Roman citizens. The Romans, with difficulty, overcame their opponents; the Roman soldiers had not shown the same brutality as they had in Gaul and other places. As the Seleucid Empire faltered, the Romans sought to expand into Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey).

This coincided with the emergence of Mithridates VI of Pontus, who was intent on capturing Bithynia and Cappadocia. The Roman commander and politician Sulla defeated the army of Pontus at the Battle of Chaeronea in 86 B.C.E. and the Battle of Orchomenus in the following year. He then returned to the Italian peninsula for the Roman civil war in which Sulla had himself proclaimed dictator, later returning to Asia Minor in the Second Mithridatic War (83–81 B.C.E.). The Third Mithridatic War (75–65 B.C.E.) saw the Romans under Lucullus defeat the army of Pontus at the Battle of Cabira in 72 B.C.E., essentially removing them as a threat to the Roman Empire in the East.

## THE GALLIC WARS

With no further threat from the eastern Mediterranean, the Romans turned their attention to Spain. Julius Caesar fought there 61–60 B.C.E., taking the Iberian Peninsula firmly under Roman control. From 58 to 51 B.C.E. Caesar waged the Galllic Wars, and the Gauls were defeated in a number of large battles culminating in the Battle of Alesia in 52 B.C.E. At this battle a massive Gallic force was annihilated while trying to relieve the Gallic chief Vercingetorix in Alesia, and Gaul was brought under Roman rule. For the next 20 years there were large numbers of Roman civil wars with, initially, Caesar fighting and defeating Pompey; Mark Antony and Octavian defeating Brutus; and then Octavian defeating Mark Antony. Control of the empire was split into three sections, with Octavian controlling the Italian peninsula, Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, Dalmatia, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. Mark Antony was in control of Greece and Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus. The third member of the Triumvirate, Lepidus, was in control of North Africa west of Cyrenaica. The final defeat of Mark Antony saw Octavian invade and capture Egypt and establish Roman rule there.

### AUGUSTUS CAESAR

Octavian never used the title *emperor* or the name *Augustus*—both were added to him posthumously. However, he is recognized by historians as being the first Roman emperor, Augustus Caesar, and hence the Roman Empire officially dates from his rule, which began in 31 B.C.E. and ended with his death in 14 C.E.

Initially, Roman governors were politicians, eager to advance their political career by proving administrative ability. Octavian reformed the system by raising gubernatorial salaries and making appointments longer to encourage governors to become more familiar with the areas they controlled. It also allowed some governors to mount challenges to central authority. Under a governor procurators were made responsible for raising revenue and for day-to-day administrative matters. The most famous procurator was PONTIUS PILATE, procurator of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumea from 26 to 36 C.E.

At the accession of Augustus the Roman Empire covered the entire Italian peninsula, Istria (in modern-day Slovenia and Croatia), the Greek peninsula, western Asia Minor, Syria, Cyrenaica (in modern-day Libya), the area around Carthage (modern-day Tunisia), the Iberian Peninsula (modern-day Spain and Portugal), Transalpine Gaul (modern-day France, Belgium, parts of western Germany, and southern Holland), and the islands of the Mediterranean (the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Malta, Crete, the Ionian and Dodecanese Islands, and Cyprus). It also had protectorates over the rest of Asia Minor, Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula and southern Palestine, the eastern part of modern-day LIBYA, and Numidia (modern-day eastern Algeria).

Because of its immense size Octavian devoted much of his time and energies to maintaining, rather than enlarging, the territory under the control of Rome. There was conflict along the frontier with Germany, with a massive Roman loss at the Battle of the Teutoberg Forest in September or October 9 C.E. Although the Romans sent in forces to avenge the loss, they held back from a full-scale invasion of Germany, which Octavian judged would be a disaster. He was a cautious ruler, as was his adopted son and successor Tiberius (r. 14–37 C.E.).

### CALIGULA, NERO, VESPASIAN, TITUS, AND DOMITIAN

After Tiberius the emperor Caligula (r. 37–41 C.E.) saw no advances in the empire, but Caligula's uncle and successor, Claudius (r. 41–54), invaded Britain under Aulus Plautius. Some British tribes chose to oppose the Romans, while others supported them. Under the next emperor, NERO (r. 54–68), there was trouble with the Parthians,

and a revolt broke out in 61 in Britain, led by BOUDICCA of the Iceni tribe. She was eventually defeated, but her rebellion put an end to Roman plans to send an expeditionary force to Ireland. Nero was overthrown in 68, and his three successors had brief rules before being overthrown. The Roman army in Judaea, flushed with its victory—including sacking Jerusalem and the burning of the Jewish Temple—returned to Rome with their commander, Vespasian, at their head. He became emperor, to be followed by his sons Titus and Domitian.

The rule of Vespasian (r. 68–79), Titus (r. 79–81), and Domitian (r. 81–96) saw a period of some internal peace in the Italian peninsula and a gradual expansion of some parts of the Roman Empire. The Romans eventually controlled all of England, Wales, and southern Scotland. In central Europe parts of southern Germany were added to the Roman Empire, which had come to include the whole of the coast of northern Africa. Domitian's assassination caused many to expect another Roman civil war, but the accession of Marcus Cocceius Nerva ensured that this did not occur. He nominated his son Marcus Ulpis Trajanus to succeed him.

### TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

The emperor TRAJAN (r. 98–117) extended the empire further, in large part due to the Dacian Wars (101–107) in which Roman armies attacked the Dacian king Decebalus, a powerful force in east-central Europe (modern-day Romania). With cruelty unparalleled since Caesar's invasion of Gaul, the Romans pushed their frontier to the Carpathian Mountains and the river Dniester. After that Trajan added Arabia Petrea (modern-day Sinai and nearby regions) to the Roman Empire. Next Trajan waged war against the Parthians, with Osroes, king of Parthia, having placed a “puppet” ruler on the throne of Armenia. The Romans felt this violated a long-standing treaty with the Parthians, and Trajan, aged 60, attacked and captured Armenia and Mesopotamia, taking over the remainder of the former Seleucid Empire, which the Romans had attacked 200 years earlier. This gave the Romans access to the Persian Gulf.

Trajan's successor, Publius Aelius Hadrianus (r. 117–138), or HADRIAN, decided to consolidate Roman rule over recently conquered areas and is best known for building a wall along the English-Scottish border, known as Hadrian's Wall. Making peace with the Parthians, he gave up land east of the Euphrates and crushed a revolt in Mauretania and the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Judaea. This was the last large-scale Jewish revolt against the Romans and was destroyed with massive repercussions in Judaea.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed. Jews were subsequently banned from entering Jerusalem.

### PIUS, MARCUS AURELIUS, AND COMMODUS

Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161) succeeded Trajan, initiating a “forward movement,” pushing Roman rule back into southern Scotland and building the Antonine Wall, which stretched from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth. This meant that Hadrian’s Wall was no longer a barrier, and it briefly fell into disuse until the Romans discovered that they were unable to control southern Scotland. The Antonine Wall was abandoned in favor of Hadrian’s Wall. The empire was approaching its greatest extent. At this point, the only places added to the empire were parts of Mesopotamia, which had been given to Parthia by Hadrian, and parts of Media (modern-day Iran). Of the next Roman emperors some are well known, but most had only a minor role in the history of the Roman Empire. MARCUS AURELIUS (r. 161–180) was known for his philosophical teachings encapsulating what many saw as the “golden age” of the Roman Empire; and Commodus (r. 180–193), for his brutality, decadence, misrule, and vanity. The reign of Commodus led to infighting in the imperial court, with subsequent emperors becoming worried that regional commanders were becoming too powerful. In response they only gave them as many troops as were necessary. This in turn led to troop shortages in some areas and worry of invasion.

### TRADE AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Roman Empire was a trading empire as well as a military empire, and Roman money was widely recognized throughout the region, and beyond. Latin became the language of the educated elite of the entire empire and of government officials and soldiers who settled in various parts of the empire. Gradually, Greek began to supplant Latin in the eastern Mediterranean, and it became the language of business and commerce in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Surviving tombstones show that many Romans came from distant lands. Goods were traded extensively—Rome had to import large amounts of corn and wheat to feed its growing population. Ideas also traveled throughout the Roman Empire. Initially these were connected with the *PAX ROMANA*—the Roman legal system. Under Antoninus Pius, Roman citizenship was extended in much of the eastern Mediterranean, and Roman citizens had to be tried in a Roman court, leading to Roman law becoming the standard in the eastern part of the empire. The Romans encouraged the spread of learning, philosophy, and religion. Christianity and the belief in Mithras

rapidly spread to all corners of the empire, with archaeological evidence for both religions stretching from Spain to northern England and to the Middle East. Since the founding of Rome, the citizenry had traded with other empires. Roman goods found their way to the KUSHAN EMPIRE in southern Pakistan and Afghanistan. The SOGDIANS, in Central Asia (modern-day Uzbekistan), traded with both the Romans and the Chinese, and Roman coins have been found in archaeological sites in some parts of the Far East.

### DIOCLETIAN, CONSTANTINE, AND THEODOSIUS

DIOCLETIAN (r. 284–305) was an administrator rather than a soldier, even though he came from an army background, and sought to erode the influence of the army on politics. When news was received in Rome that there was an uprising or an attack on the Romans, Diocletian complained that he needed a deputy who could dispatch armies efficiently but not want to claim the throne. In 286 he appointed an Illyrian called Maximian, the son of a peasant farmer. Maximian was posted to Milan, where he could respond to attacks in the West, especially along the frontier with Germany. Diocletian then moved to Nicomedia, in modern-day Turkey, where he would supervise the empire and respond to attacks from Parthia or Persia. Although the empire remained undivided, there were definite lines of demarcation. These would manifest themselves years later in the division of the Roman Empire. Diocletian, however, is probably best known for his persecution of the Christians. Soon after he abdicated, Christianity would become an important part of the Roman administration.

The emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (r. 306–337) provided a unity to the empire, and his mother, HELENA, greatly influenced her son in Christian ideas. However, under THEODOSIUS I (r. 379–395) many felt that the western part of the empire was becoming a liability, with the eastern part being far more prosperous. As a result, in 395 the Roman Empire split to form the Western Roman Empire, with Rome as its capital, and the Eastern Roman Empire, with its capital at Byzantium (modern-day Istanbul). Only 15 years after this split the Western Roman Empire suffered a major shock when Visigoths invaded the Italian peninsula and sacked Rome. The capital had been briefly moved to RAVENNA, but the psychological damage was done. Rome was retaken from the Visigoths, and authorities called back Roman legions guarding other parts of the western empire, withdrawing soldiers from Britain and the German frontier, to try to defend the Italian peninsula. In 476 the last Roman emperor of the West, ODOVACAR, the leader of the

Ostrogoths, deposed Romulus Augustulus. The eastern empire continued as the Byzantine Empire, although gradually lost much territory.

The Roman Empire was founded on military glory, but its legacy was much more broad. Roman roads connected many cities and towns, most of which are still inhabited, and archaeological digs uncovered the remains of Roman walls, buildings, and lifestyle. Roman aqueducts can be seen in many parts of the former empire, with Roman plumbing and sewage disposal being unmatched in western Europe until the Italian Renaissance. The Roman system of law is still followed by many parts of the former Roman Empire, and many other Roman customs survive.

**Further reading:** Burn, A. R. *The Government of the Roman Empire: From Augustus to the Antonines*. London: Historical Association, 1952; Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996; Shotter, David. *Rome and Her Empire*. London: Longman, 2003; Wells, J., and R. H. Barrow. *A Short History of the Roman Empire to the Death of Marcus Aurelius*. London: Methuen, 1950.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Roman golden and silver ages

The Roman golden and silver ages represent the periods of Latin literature from the career of CICERO (106–43 B.C.E.) to the death of AUGUSTUS CAESAR (14 C.E.) and from the beginning of Tiberius's reign as Roman emperor (14 C.E.) to the close of HADRIAN's reign (138 C.E.), respectively. The golden age has been so named by classical scholars because the greatest authors of the Roman Empire, including Lucretius (99–55 B.C.E.), Catullus (84–54 B.C.E.), JULIUS CAESAR (100–44 B.C.E.), Cicero, Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.), and Ovid (43 B.C.E.–18 C.E.), flourished during this time. Politically, the golden age saw the final overthrow of the senatorial Republic (Latin: *res publica*) and the inauguration of a single monarch over the Roman state.

Depending on the date of composition, therefore, its literature reflects one of three distinct themes: public oratory, characteristic of the speeches of Roman senators; an uncontrollable anxiety stemming from the political unrest and civil wars between the assassination of Julius Caesar (44 B.C.E.) and the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.); or the peace indicative of the reign of Augustus, which was undergirded by EPICUREANISM.

While the silver age was surpassed by the magnificence of the preceding century, a considerable corpus of masterpieces were generated during this era by such authors as SENECA (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.), Lucan (39–65 C.E.), Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.), Quintilian (35–95 C.E.), Statius (45–96 C.E.), Martial (40–104 C.E.), Tacitus (55–120 C.E.), Juvenal (60–130 C.E.), and Suetonius (69–140 C.E.). Exerting a powerful influence on this age was the contemporary educational system based on letters and rhetoric, which inspired prospective writers with the treasures of Greek and Latin literature and systematically trained them in the art of declamation, influencing their proficiency in figures of speech, exclamations, apostrophes, interrogations, and an assortment of other literary devices.

### GOLDEN AGE AUTHORS

Little is known about Lucretius besides the years when he lived. His purpose of his didactic poem *De Rerum Natura* (On the nature of things) was to convert the Roman aristocrat Memmius to Epicureanism. According to Lucretius's interpretation, the aim of this philosophy was to reveal how to obtain peace of mind (Greek: *ajtaraxiva*) in difficult times. Based on his conviction that the world is made up of random combinations of atoms moving in a void, which yield all physical objects and (via the motions of the finer atoms of the soul) all mental processes and emotions, Lucretius argued that such combinations eventually separate, spelling the mortality of the material world and the soul. Consequently, *De Rerum* maintains that only the atoms and the void in which they move are eternal. This worldview led Lucretius to the anti-supernatural results that the gods either do not exist or take no interest in human affairs and that religion is a malicious facade. The poem concludes with two practical applications—"live in secret" and "keep out of politics"—which purportedly point the way to true pleasure and the coveted "peace of mind."

In contrast to Lucretius, a great deal is known about Catullus from the many autobiographical passages in his poetry. Spending much of his life in Rome, Catullus thrived in a sophisticated literary circle that admired and imitated the Greek poetry of ALEXANDRIA. He then fell in love with a woman he styled as "Lesbia," who was almost certainly Clodia, the wife of a Roman aristocrat and sister of Julius Caesar's supporter and agent. She became the protagonist in Catullus's personal LYRIC POETRY of the heart, which borrowed and modified Greek meters.

Catullus took the epigram, typically used for tombstone and monument inscription and trivial brief poetry, and transformed it into a vehicle for the expression

of deep personal meaning. Upon being spurned by Lesbia, Catullus left Rome and took a junior staff position under the governor of Bithynia, where he abandoned love poetry in favor of poems that clandestinely slung invective at his political adversaries. Classical scholars regard these complex and learned works as treasures of taste and scholarship.

Corresponding to the brilliance of Roman poetry during the golden age was comparable achievement in prose. Julius Caesar's lucid and powerful commentaries on the Gallic and civil wars, *De Bello Gallico* and *De Bello Civilis*, serve as benchmarks for their genre. The era's leading prose writer was Cicero, a prolific orator, who, after amassing a reputation as a bold and highly competent lawyer by successfully defending Sextus Roscius from murder charges, embarked on a political career in Rome. Beginning with his election to the quaestorship in 75 B.C.E., Cicero rose through the ranks to the office of praetor in 66 B.C.E. and, despite his status as a *novus homo* (a "new man," or a candidate whose family had no precedent in holding office), to the highest position of consul in 63 B.C.E.

In the decade following his consulship Cicero played a less active role in politics and fashioned prose writings of a peaceful style, including treatises on rhetoric and philosophical discourses on friendship and old age. However, Cicero returned briefly to the political scene after Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C.E., vehemently attacking Caesar's would-be successor, Mark Antony, in a series of speeches known as the "Philippians." This would ultimately lead to Cicero's demise, as Antony quickly joined ranks in the Second TRIUMVIRATE with Lepidus and Octavian and decreed the statesman's beheading, carried out on December 7, 43 B.C.E.

Virgil, recognized as the foremost of all Latin poets both during his lifetime and by modern scholarly assessment, split most of his time between Rome and Naples, in the latter of which he served as charter member of a literary circle under the patronage of Maecenas, the adviser of Augustus. Virgil's first work, the *Bucolics*, or *Eclogues*, consists of 10 short poems in a pastoral style, emulating the third-century B.C.E. Greek poet Theocritus, which depict both imaginary country scenes and contemporary events such as the loss and restoration of his own farm at Andes. Their charm and elegance immediately established Virgil as a poetic genius, and Maecenas encouraged Virgil to compose something more worthy of his talent.

In response he wrote his most artistic work, the *Georgics*, a poem in four books pertaining to the growing and nurturing of trees, vines, and olives, the breed-

ing of cattle and horses, and bee-keeping. Classical scholars regard its grammar and style as the optimal use of the Latin language and its meter as the perfection of Latin hexameter.

Augustus then suggested that Virgil create a national epic linking TROY and the heroic age with the foundation of Rome and the family to which Julius Caesar and Augustus belonged. This 12-volume work, the *AENEID*, stands as Virgil's most enduring masterpiece and recounts the exploits of a Trojan prince named Aeneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, who was destined to be the ancestor of Romulus, the legendary ancestor of Caesar and first founder of the Roman race. A paradigm of balance, this epic harmonized the desire for peace with traditional respect for military honor. Virgil's compatriot Horace continued in this lyric tradition through his mastery of the ode, ingeniously converting Greek meters into Latin and choosing his words with great precision and care.

Mirroring Virgil's grand poetic success in prose was Livy, reputed as one of Rome's most eminent historians. Raised in the north Italian region of Patavium, known for its strict ethical conservatism, Livy shared Augustus's concern over the moral decline that plagued Roman society. Aiming to remedy this problem, Livy composed his monumental 142-volume history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita* (From the founding of the city, or *History of Rome*), the narratives of which were intended to depict the glory days of a virtuous past as a model for present and future generations. Livy's work furnished an accurate account of what his fellow Romans believed about the moral standards, faith, and virtue of their predecessors.

Through a dynamic blend of myth and fact, *Ab Urbe Condita* displays Livy's consummate narrative ability and his staunchly patriotic goal of authenticating the courage and high ethical character of the Roman people and their heroes even in the midst of catastrophe. A seemingly conflicting purpose was pursued by Ovid, whose elegies on love were thought to be so counterproductive to Augustus's reform of Roman morals that the emperor exiled him to Tomis on the Black Sea, where he remained until his death. Among his most renowned poems are the *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), a handbook on seduction and sexual pleasure, and the *Heroides* (*Heroines*), imaginary letters from heroines of Greek legend to lovers or husbands who had abandoned them. His greatest work, the 15-volume *Metamorphoses*, lay in the domain of religion and depicted the miraculous transformations in Greek mythology. Ovid is remembered not only as a graceful poetical craftsman but also as the master of the elegiac couplet, a form that he perfected beyond the scope of any other Roman poet.

### SILVER AGE AUTHORS

An eminent neo-Stoic philosopher, Seneca earned fame as an author of philosophical treatises and as tutor to the infamous Roman emperor NERO (r. 54–68 C.E.). Seneca attempted to impart his conviction that the neo-Stoic worldview provided the best practical guide to conduct and filled the void of the soul. He contended that spiritual satisfaction came through turning away from the world, through contempt for worldly goods, the duty of self-examination, the joys of conversion (which he defined as the sign of grace to see one's faults), and the call to enlighten others. Seneca's corpus includes at least 152 treatises on subjects as varied as geography, physics, natural history, biography, and ethics. His nephew Lucan was a celebrated poet in Nero's court who, in his *Pharsalia*, drew upon the epic tradition in his vivid depiction of major battles in the Roman civil war.

Lucan's animated style featured drama and rhetoric often at the expense of historical accuracy. In 62 C.E. Nero began to be influenced by younger, power-hungry advisers, who exhorted him to shake off his mentor, Seneca. Cognizant that he might be slain, Seneca made an impassioned speech before Nero, where he defended his loyalty and contribution to the emperor's education and submitted his request to retire. Nero denied the request and, three years later, discovered that Lucan was part of Piso's conspiracy to overthrow him, which provided him a convenient excuse to eliminate his teacher. Nero charged Seneca with complicity in the plot and ordered the suicide of both Seneca and Lucan.

The prose of the first century C.E. encompasses a number of significant didactic authors. Pliny the Elder was an indefatigable scholar who composed the monumental 37-volume encyclopedia on the physical and social sciences, the *Naturalis Historia* (Natural history). Sponsored by the emperor Titus, its subjects ranged from ancient physics, Pliny's cosmography in relation to God, geography, human physiology, zoology, and botany to mineralogy and metallurgy in the fine arts. An invaluable source, the *Naturalis Historia* stands as the fullest application of Aristotelian categories to the sphere of scientific knowledge.

Equally prominent in the literary domain was the educator Quintilian; his *Institutio Oratoria* (Institute of oratory) constitutes an authoritative manual to the theory and practice of rhetoric. Believing that to educate a speaker was to mold a Roman lady or gentleman, Quintilian emphasized the importance of character building in the pedagogical process, centered on PLATO's four cardinal virtues of justice, wisdom, courage, and moderation.

Following in the tradition of Virgil, Statius is famous for his *Thebiad*, an epic that pushes each feature of his forerunner's style to the extreme. This tribute to Theban mythology, recounting the story of Oedipus and the legends of Amphion, Cadmus, and Dirce, relies upon the tragedies of AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES, and Antimachus as primary sources. Perhaps Statius's paramount contribution to the silver age was his approach to literature as performance, or exhibition of talent, where each work would comprise a series of virtuoso pieces intended to evoke admiration from its audience. Such a tendency moves toward the independence of the parts of a work and away from the concord of the whole.

Harkening back to the golden age in the manner of Statius, Martial enhanced the epigram style from its previous development under Catullus by overlaying it with a polished and multifaceted verse in which he conveyed sharp wit toward current events. He crafted poems of genuine feeling, in which he discusses his poverty, social endeavors, the true enjoyment of life, and the positive relations that could exist between humane masters and their slaves. With his brief tales in verse Martial paints a stirring portrait of ancient Rome in dazzling tones that make the ancient city seem near the modern world.

Writers of the silver age, notwithstanding their biases, penned largely accurate reports of their time and followed standards of verification that would not be bettered until the critical biographies of seventh-century C.E. Irish monastic scholars. The leader of this movement was Tacitus, acknowledged by classical scholars as the greatest historian of ancient Rome, who lived through the reigns of more than a half-dozen Roman emperors and preserved many of their memoirs. He is best known for two works, the *Annals* and the *Histories*, the former covering the period from Augustus's death to that of Nero (14–68 C.E.), and the latter beginning after Nero's death and proceeding to that of Domitian in 96 C.E.

The *Annals* are best remembered for accounts of Tiberius's closed and suspicious character in the capital, and the control of the weak emperor Claudius by the powerful freedman Narcissus, causing Nero to be placed on the throne and the fire of Rome. This work also contains a reference to the crucifixion of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH in Judaea under PONTIUS PILATE and the origin and imperial persecution of the early Christian movement. The most memorable scenes in the *Histories* revolve around the years 69–70 C.E., from the reign of Galba to the close of the Jewish War. Tacitus provides striking insight on the struggle between Otho, who murdered Galba, and Vitellius for the title of emperor and on the military campaigns waged by Vespasian against Vitel-

lius in Rome and Titus against the Pharisaic, Essene, and Zealot forces in Jerusalem. Tacitus's mastery of the Latin language can be summarized in terms of brevity, variety, and poetic color. His repertoire contains modified meanings to terms, neologisms (new words which he invented from previously existing ones), innovative extensions of idiom, and asymmetry of expression. Less prominent but also distinguished among Roman historians is Suetonius, who oversaw the imperial archives and public libraries as secretary under TRAJAN. He carefully integrated the sources under his disposal in his *De Vita Caesarum* (On the life of the Caesars), a collection of 12 biographies on the emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian. This work is remarkable for its rejection of a strict chronological ordering in favor of a loose one, only concerned that each successive Caesar follows one another.

Juvenal was one of the world's greatest satirists. His disillusionment stemmed largely from his failure to procure a political appointment after completing the requisite military training. When he saw foreigners succeeding through corruption where he was ignored, he published a lampoon attacking the influence of court favorites in making promotions. Outraged at being convicted by the truth, in 96 C.E. Domitian confiscated his property and banished him to a remote frontier in Egypt. After living for a brief spell in poverty, he launched himself in writing the *Satires*, his most popular poems, out of infuriation from his maltreatment and the injustices prevalent to Roman politics. His satirical pieces are matchless for his synthesis of journalistic precision, descriptive clarity, oratorical persuasion, dramatic characterization, and linguistic command into a multifaceted poetic unity.

Parallel with the administrative triumphs of imperial Rome and its services to Western civilization, the Roman golden and silver ages fostered artistic production of enduring quality, thought commensurate to the achievement of the times, and a captivating depiction of life. Their authors' practical interest in learning of an encyclopedic sort showed the academic discontent with social amenities and empty rhetoric and consequent quest for an all-encompassing and systematic worldview. Displaying mastery of virtually every literary genre, the classics created during these periods disclose a full spectrum of emotion and an engaging reflection with political, legal, and academic institutions. These works bear a universal relevance to all times and places and have offered renewed pleasure and fascination throughout the ages.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY.

**Further reading:** Braund, Susanna Morton. *Latin Literature*. London: Routledge, 2002; Conte, Gian Biagio. *Latin Lit-*

*erature: A History*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994; Copley, Frank Olin. *Latin Literature: From the Beginnings to the Close of the Second Century A.D.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969; Duff, J. Wight. *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960; ———. *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960; Grant, Michael. *Roman Literature*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1967; Hadas, Moses. *A History of Latin Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952; Kennedy, E. C., and A.R. Davis. *Two Centuries of Roman Poetry*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1996; Ogilvie, Robert Maxwell. *Roman Literature and Society*. New York: Penguin, 1980.

KIRK R. MACGREGOR

## Roman historians

In the mid-fifth century B.C.E., when the great Greek historian Herodotus settled in the Athenian colony of Thurii in southern Italy, Rome had not yet consolidated its control over the peninsula. The struggle with the declining but still powerful ETRUSCANS was ongoing. The GAULS, a Celtic people of the north, sacked Rome in 390 B.C.E. The Punic Wars concluded in the second century B.C.E., after which Rome would assert its dominance across the Mediterranean basin.

Early Roman historians did not look to Herodotus as a guide, at least not directly. They were largely uninterested in geography and ethnology, unlike Herodotus, considered the Father of History. Their emphasis was on politics, and the cultural influence of Greece remained profound. The first great historian of Rome was not Roman, nor did he write in Latin; he was Greek and employed that language. Polybius (202–120 B.C.E.) believed that Rome's power derived from its institutions, most notably its constitution. Aristotelian political theories and Thucydides' histories influenced Polybius greatly. Polybius lacked his forerunner's political acumen, but his call for archival research shaped future historiography. Polybius would serve as a touchstone of later Roman historians, including Livy.

Prior to Livy, Roman historiography followed a pattern seen in early Greece. The earliest "documentarians" of Rome were epic poets. These poet-historians tapped directly into Greek mythology. Gnaeus Naevius (270–201 B.C.E.) traced Rome's origins back to Aeneas, the Trojan prince, as did Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.E.). Naevius and Ennius wrote in Greek, despite their Roman citizenship. The oldest extant fragment of Latin

poetry is a translation of Homer's *Odyssey*. The first Roman prose historian was Q. Fabius Pictor, but his task was accomplished in Greek. Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.E.), known as Cato the Elder, was the first Roman who wrote Roman history in Latin prose. Like Fabius before him, Cato was a politician. He was, however, of plebeian origin, a fact that would produce his excoriations of aristocratic families. Fabius and Cato were typical of what became the model of Roman historians. They were politicians possessing access to official archives and also gave thematic importance to moralistic patriotism. That tone became typical of Roman history writing.

The annalists merit mention, especially as they later served as resources for Livy. Annalists recorded the events that took place in a given year, as well as the names of the ruling magistrates. They made no attempt to provide a true narrative of historical events, much less an interpretative one. L. Coelius Antipater, Valerius Antias, and Q. Claudius Quadrigarius were active in the second and first centuries B.C.E. and were the most noteworthy of the era. One exception to the dry chronicle generally offered was M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.E.). Comparisons have been made between his work and that of modern-day cultural historians. As a contemporary of Varro, Sallust, a retired army general, was more typical. His vision would encourage the notion that moral laxity had led to Roman decline. Sallust's particular emphasis created a myth of Rome's fall well before the occurrence of the actual event.

Livy (Titus Livius) was born in Patavium (modern Padua) in Cisalpine Gaul, in either 64 or 59 B.C.E. He would ultimately die there, in either 7 or 12 C.E. He moved to Rome at the age of 30. There, he wrote his voluminous *Ab Urbe Condita* (*History of Rome*). The original work covered some 744 years of history in 142 books. Only 35 of these actually survive, covering the periods from 753 to 243 and from 210 to 167 B.C.E. Livy was the first professional historian, devoting himself full time to his endeavors. He diverged from the Roman model in that he was not a politician; however, he firmly believed in the idea and symbol of Rome. Livy admits to basing his account on the myths that circulated.

He wrote of events that took place more than 500 years prior to his writing about them. To accomplish this he synthesized all six versions of the annalists, as well as assorted poems and legends. He was particularly indebted to Asinius Pollio and Valerius of Antium. Some have argued that Livy should be regarded more as a novelist and less as a historian.

There are many references to the supernatural in Livy's work, though he was dismissive of the phenomena on occasion. He attributed these references to popular superstitions and rumor exaggerated in times of crisis. To omit them from his work, however, would have erased a vital aspect of Roman history. The flight patterns of birds, the alignment of animal entrails, these required and dictated specific actions on the part of the political, military, and priestly elites. Heated debates have taken place over whether Livy was a full-fledged Stoic. His alleged STOICISM might well explain the systematic inclusion of auguries in his work. As represented by CICERO, Roman Stoicism accepted the supernatural as a near commonplace, woven into the fabric of everyday life. Not all of antiquity accepted such matters outright; the Epicureans and the Sceptics firmly rejected auguries. Some have dismissed Livy as a mythographer, a dramatically gifted craftsmen of literary prose. But epigraphy and archaeological discoveries have proven him to be more accurate than was once imagined. His range was certainly wider in scope than Sallust's, or even that of Tacitus.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–c. 117 C.E.) originated in either Cisalpine Gaul or Narbonese Gaul (southern France). His father was a procurator of Lower Germany and affiliated with the army along the Rhine river basin. In 77 C.E. he married into the family of a consul. From there his path to the Senate was paved. As a historian, his best-known work is *Germania*, or *On the Origin and Land of the Germans*. It provides a window into the early history of the tribes along the frontier. As these groups would later play a key role in both the collapse of Rome and the dawn of a European civilization, the contribution of Tacitus is invaluable. Tacitus also studied rhetoric in Rome and enjoyed success as a public speaker. His work *Historiae* (c. 109 C.E.) examines Rome from 68 to 96 C.E. Though only portions remain extant, his account of the civil wars of this period is a masterful exploration of both the chaos and irrationality of the era. Composed later, the *Annals* cover the era beginning in 14 C.E. Tacitus is praised for his qualities as a writer and a historian and set new standards for the extent and scope of archival investigations.

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus was born around the year 70 C.E. to a knightly family of North Africa. Moving to Rome, Suetonius was a teacher of literature, as well as a lawyer. Between 110 and 112 C.E. he began to hold a variety of imperial posts. He was responsible for the epistolary of HADRIAN but was dismissed for impoliteness directed at the empress Sabina. His books the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, which survives only in fragments, and

the *Lives of the Caesars*, from JULIUS CAESAR to NERO, entirely extant, are his most important works. Some of the more salacious scenes have earned Suetonius a reputation as a shallow tabloid reporter of antiquity, but his capacities for research and observation were formidable. His habit of including, within the body of his text, source materials in their original Greek or Latin has furnished a treasure trove to posterity. It is from Suetonius that Julius Caesar's famous declaration upon crossing the Rubicon, "The die is cast," derives. Contemporary scholarship has tended to downplay the role any one person can have as an agent of historical change. Yet the importance of biographers, such as Suetonius, to provide a coherent snapshot of a given historical period by emphasizing the life and importance of the individual, has endured.

See also ARISTOTLE; EPICUREANISM; GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; HOMERIC EPICS; ROMAN POETRY; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Fornara, C. W. *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983; Grant, Michael. *Greek and Roman Historian: Information and Misinformation*. London: Routledge, 1995; Laistner, M. L. W. *The Greater Roman Historians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947; Luce, T. J. *Livy: The Composition of His History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977; Marincola, John. *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Mellor, Ronald. *The Roman Historians*. London: Routledge, 1999.

R. O'BRIAN CARTER

## Roman pantheon and myth

Roman religious belief evolved over time. Many of the well-known gods, goddesses, and heroes of Rome were adopted from other cultures and civilizations. Greek mythology, with its focus on gods with humanlike characteristics, greatly influenced later Roman mythology. What we know about early Roman mythology comes from archaeological findings, artwork, and writers such as Marcus Terentius Varro, Virgil, and Ovid. Roman myth borrowed greatly from the Greeks, replacing Greek deities with Roman names, creating a hybrid Greco-Roman mythology.

Only after Rome came into contact with Greece during the sixth century B.C.E. did Roman gods and goddesses assume human qualities. Early Romans envisioned their deities as powers that demanded appeasement.

*Pax deorum*, or "peace of the gods," was the ultimate goal of early Roman religious practices. Romans believed that through ritual, worship, and public festivals their gods would ensure continued prosperity for the community. Early Roman deities controlled aspects of everyday life. Romans worshipped two classes of gods. The major deities, or *di indigetes*, were the original gods of the Roman state. Lesser gods, the *di novensides*, were adopted later when the need for a specific power was warranted.

While the personalities of the deities were unimportant to early Romans, the attributes of the gods and goddesses were important. The heads of the earliest Roman pantheon were Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Janus, and Vesta. Jupiter, the head of the gods, brought life-giving rain for the crops and provided protection to Romans engaged in military activities outside their own borders. Mars was originally the god of fertility and vegetation but later became associated with activities of young men and especially war. The month March was named for the Roman god Mars because of his association with spring and fertility. Quirinus, the patron god of the military in times of peace, was often worshipped in conjunction with Mars. Janus, associated with new beginnings, was depicted as a two-faced god who presided over all that was double-edged. January takes its name from this god because the month represents a time for looking backward and also forward to the future. His double-gated temple in the Forum was said to have kept its doors closed only in times of peace. Consequently, the doors of the temple rarely closed.

Vesta, goddess of the hearth fire, held a special status in the Roman pantheon. Vestal virgins, or virgins who took a 30-year vow of chastity, served as Vesta's priestesses. Vesta's priestesses attained a larger role in Roman society than other women. They were often consulted in matters of state and were entrusted with sensitive documents, such as wills and treaties. After 30 years of chastity, vestal virgins could marry if they so wished. Other deities represented the agrarian and war-like culture of the Romans. The Lares, a purely Roman invention of house guardians, protected the fields and the home. Saturn governed the sowing of seed. He was celebrated in the Saturnalia Festival (December 17–23), during which masters and slaves exchanged roles. Ceres protected the growth of grain, Pomona governed fruit, and Consus presided over the harvest.

As Rome conquered its neighbors, foreign gods and goddesses were added to the Roman pantheon. Conquered peoples were encouraged to continue the worship of native gods. Combined with an ever-increasing

influx of new territories and foreigners visiting the city, Rome experienced the largest cultural diffusion of the time. Consequently, Rome became religiously diverse. Divinities such as Minerva, Venus, Diana, Hercules, and Mithras, along with other lesser deities, were added to the Roman pantheon. Cults appeared in Rome that worshipped deities from as far away as Egypt. The worship of Isis, for example, became popular in Rome. The Roman practice of accepting the gods of its conquered peoples allowed for greater control in the territories. It also gave Rome a comprehensive mythology, most of which was borrowed or adapted to fit earlier deities.

Though the Romans did not provide a well-defined mythology for their gods or for the creation of the world, they did create an elaborate mythology for the founding of Rome. Early myths concerning Rome's founding were created with bits of historical fact mixed with mythical retellings. Tales of Rome's first kings were almost completely mythical in nature. Most of Roman myth concerns the first seven kings to rule Rome. The earliest myth about the founding of Rome was based on Rome's first king, Romulus. According to the myth, Rhea Silvia the only daughter of Numitor, the king of Alba Longa, was destined to become a vestal virgin. Instead, she was raped by the god Mars. She bore twins, Romulus and Remus, who were cast into the Tiber River. To ensure that his sons would survive, Mars sent a she-wolf to care for the twins. Eventually, a shepherd named Faustulus discovered Romulus and Remus, and he raised them as shepherds.

The twins eventually set out to found their own city. A dispute arose between them, and Romulus murdered Remus. Romulus ruled Rome, and the city flourished. However, the city lacked enough women. Romulus solved the problem by kidnapping some Sabine women. The kidnapped women saved the city from war by claiming they were happier with their newfound husbands. After a reign of 40 years Romulus ascended to the heavens to become the war god Quirinus. Borrowing from the Greeks, later renditions of the Romulus and Remus myth trace the lineage of Romulus and Remus back to the surviving prince of TROY, Aeneas.

The original Roman pantheon and myth is often obscured by the later Greco-Roman mythology. Romans were deeply religious but being a practical people lacked the imagination to create a myriad of personalities to compliment their deities. As Rome came into contact with other cultures, their mythology was enhanced. The Romans adopted the heroes and deities of others, borrowing the elaborate myths and humanlike personalities that accompanied them.

## MAJOR ROMAN DEITIES

Apollo	God of the sun and music
Bacchus	God of wine and intoxication
Ceres	Mother Goddess, earth
Cupid (Amor)	God of love
Diana	Moon goddess, protector of animals and virginity
Fortuna	Goddess of luck and good fortune
Janus	God of gates, doorways, and new beginnings
Juno	Queen of gods, protector of women and childbirth
Jupiter	King of gods, lightning, storms, protector of military pursuits and oaths
Maia	Goddess of earth, plains, and growth
Mars	God of war, fertility, spring, and farming
Mercury	God of wind, messenger of the gods
Minerva	Goddess of wisdom, arts and crafts, and war
Neptune	God of watering and the sea
Pluto	King of the underworld
Proserpine	Queen of the underworld
Quirinus	God of defense, war, and the state
Saturn	God of agriculture, sowing of the seed
Uranus	God of the heavens
Venus	Goddess of sexual love and beauty
Vesta	Goddess of hearth and ceremonial fire
Vulcan	God of fire and forges

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROMAN POETRY; ROME: FOUNDING.

Further reading: Cotterell, Arthur, and Rachel Storm. *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Mythology*. London: Lorenz Books, 1999; Hamilton, Edith. *Mythology*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998; Jordan, Michael. *Encyclopedia of Gods*. New York: Facts On File, 1993.

MARK AARON BOND

## Roman poetry

The Greeks had a strong belief in the importance of poetry, and the Romans continued this with a large number of poets, some of whom wrote short poems and others, like Virgil, composed massive epics such as the *AENEID*. Other famous Roman poets include Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal.

Roman poetry borrowed the style of the Greeks; however, it surpassed that style. A significant number of the poets were actually Greek, and many were influenced by visits to Greece. In addition to Greek mythological themes, Roman poets used poetry to express their love and anxieties, philosophical positions, and the telling or retelling of historical epics, especially the early years of Rome, with the story of Aeneas a recurring theme.

There were some very early Roman poets, but few details survive except that they recorded the early history of Rome, later used by historians and poets. After the victory of Rome in the First Punic War in 241 B.C.E., there was considerable interest in Roman history, encouraging many to write about the early triumphs and disasters that Rome had faced. The first to make use of this enthusiasm was Lucius Livius Andronicus from Taranto, in southern Italy. Taranto was a largely Greek city, and it sided with HANNIBAL for four years during the Second Punic War. One of the tasks Andronicus undertook was the translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin. From the fragments that have survived, scholars believe that the translation was not accurate with some parts of the text expanded. The next poet was Cornelius Naevius (c. 270–c. 199 B.C.E.), who wrote epic poems and plays, although only fragments have survived. He started the trend of linking Rome with TROY through Aeneas, and therefore contrasting it with CARTHAGE, established by Queen Dido, who met Aeneas on his way from Troy to Italy. This interest was to reach a peak with Virgil.

The next well-known Roman poets were Ennius and Lucilius. The former was born in Calabria in 239 B.C.E. and although Greek by birth became a Roman subject, serving in the Roman army. In 204 B.C.E. he came to the attention of the quaestor Cato who invited him to Rome. There he started writing poetry, continuing his military career. In 189 B.C.E. he accompanied Marcus Fulvius Nobilior in his campaign in Greece. When Nobilior returned to Rome in triumph, Ennius took part in the parade through the city.

Nobilior's son then ensured that Ennius became a Roman citizen. Before his death in 169 B.C.E. Ennius composed an epic poem called the *Annales* which told the history of Rome from its founding by Aeneas through its creation until the second century B.C.E. It was well known during the “golden age” of Roman literature, ensuring that Ennius would become known as the Father of Roman poetry. Only a few fragments of the poems by Ennius have survived to the present day. Lucilius, the second early Roman poet, was a satirist who lived from 180 B.C.E. until 102 when he died at Naples. As with Ennius, he was a great influence on later poets such as Horace,

Persius, and Juvenal, and as with Ennius, only a few of his poems survive.

In the age of CICERO, in the mid-first century B.C.E., Titus Lucretius Carus (94–55 B.C.E.) was a major poet who wrote *De Rerum Natura*, a philosophical poem in hexameters. The poem, written to Gaius Memmius, a politician, who was subsequently persecuted for corruption and forced to flee to Athens, consisted of about 7,400 lines. Unlike his predecessors, Lucretius, in his poem, deals with the metaphysical premise of being an Epicurean and that nothing comes out of nothing. Gradually his other poems define the nature of motion, atoms, the human soul, and the system of belief in gods. His own life was subject to some accounts by fellow Epicureans who allege that Lucretius was driven mad by a love potion resulting in his suicide.

Living at the same time as Lucretius, although about 10 years younger, Gaius Valerius Catullus was from Verona and spent most of his life in Rome. He served under Gaius Memmius, the man who inspired Lucretius, but for most of his life with no direct involvement in politics. Catullus died at about the age of 30, and some 114 of his poems survive. Some are general but others describe Catullus and his falling in love with a married woman he called Lesbia. As many of his poems are autobiographical, it has been possible to deduce much about his life, and the Greek Hellenistic influences on it and his literature. The theme of love is explored in a later Roman poet, Sextus Aurelius Propertius, who was born in Assisi in about 51 B.C.E. He gave up a promising legal career to become an important elegiac poet, becoming a friend of both Virgil and Ovid.

Probably the most famous Roman poet was Publius Vergilius Maro, better known as Virgil. Born in 70 B.C.E., he lived until 19 B.C.E., during which time he wrote a number of poems, the best known being the *Aeneid*. Virgil was immensely influenced by the political events of his teenage years, which saw the rise of Caesar, the war with Mark Antony, and the emergence of Octavian. It was the dispute between Mark Antony and Octavian that influenced Virgil's *Elegies*, which were written c. 39–38 B.C.E. Virgil followed with his *Georgics*, which are dated at 29 B.C.E., partly as they mention the Battle of Actium that had taken place two years earlier. Virgil's *Aeneid*, in the tradition of Ennius, gave a historical account, in verse form, of Aeneas and the founding of what became the Roman Empire. The *Aeneid* is of epic length and, as with his other poems, written in hexameters. Virgil finished the poem in 19 B.C.E., planning to travel for three years in Greece and Turkey, during which time he would revise it. When in Athens, at the start of his trip,

obvious connection between the burials and the remains of the huts. Nearby, in ancient Rome, the Lapis Niger, made from black marble, is said to have been the sanctuary marking the place where the Romulus was buried, although some scholars express doubts.

If the “house of Romulus” was possibly the oldest building, some of the decorations in the temple of Vesta are said to trace their origins back even further, to Aeneas. It has been claimed that some of the “pledges” displayed at the temple had been brought by Aeneas from TROY. The “cradle of Rome” is also said to have dated from before the time of Aeneas, with the Roman poet Virgil writing that the Arcadians met both Hercules and Aeneas at the site that was to become the main residential area during the Roman Republic.

The second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius (r. 717–673 B.C.E.), constructed the Regia during his reign. This “royal house” was his residence, which included the House of the Vestal Virgins, later becoming the residence of the *pontifex maximus* but was twice damaged by fire during the Roman Republic. During the reign of the third king, Tullus Hostilius (r. 673–641 B.C.E.), there is a reference to a temple of Jupiter on the summit of Mount Alba. It was probably during his reign or that of the next king, Ancus Marcius (r. 641–616 B.C.E.), that the Temple of Vesta was built, with the vestal virgins moving from the Regia to this purpose-built temple that incorporated pieces brought from Troy by Aeneas. He was also involved in fortifying the Janiculum, the bridge over the river Tiber.

Tarquinius Priscus (r. 616–579 B.C.E.), the fifth king, was the first to hold the Roman Games. To this end he had cleared a patch of ground that became the venue for sporting events. Many years later it was expanded but had to move to make way for the construction of the famous Circus Maximus. The new fields were more formally laid out in the second century B.C.E., showing the influence of the Greeks, and they were subsequently enlarged by JULIUS CAESAR. Tarquinius Priscus also drained some ground that was to become the location of the Roman Forum, which rapidly developed into the focal point in Rome for politics and business. It stretched from the Capitoline Hill to the Palatine Hill and became known as the Forum Romanum. Within it were many temples, and several basilicas were later added. The sixth king, Tullus Servius (r. 579–534 B.C.E.), was responsible for expanding the size of the city to include the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline Hills. This saw an enlargement of the city walls and further building work. During this period it has been estimated that the population of Rome was about 80,000. The overthrow of the last king of Rome, Tar-



*The Romans were famous for their road-building skills; most roads were made from cobblestones.*

quinius Superbus (534–510 B.C.E.), involved the battle at a bridge over the river Tiber with Horatius and two companions holding off the ETRUSCANS, while Romans were able to destroy the bridge.

In 509 B.C.E. the Roman Republic came into being, and a number of early buildings date from soon after the establishment of the Republic. The population at that time is estimated at 120,000–130,000. The most important of these was the Capitol, or Capitolium. It was the main temple to the God Jupiter, gaining its name from its location at the summit of the Mons Capitolinus. Over time the building was richly decorated and served as a central location in Rome that could be defended in time of invasion. Indeed in 390 B.C.E. when the Gauls sacked the rest of the city of Rome, Romans managed to hold out in the Capitol.

The other important project from the early years of the Republic was the Temple of the Dioscuri. At the Battle of the Lake Regillus in 499 B.C.E., during which the Romans defeated the Latins, two mysterious horsemen appeared and were said to have been responsible for the Roman victory. These became associated, in the public imagination, with the legendary Pollux and Castor, known as the Dioscuri, and a temple to them was built soon afterward. It was restored during the reign of the emperor Tiberius, and three Corinthian pillars of the temple still survive. In about 497 B.C.E. the temple of Saturn was built to serve as the state treasury and records office for the Roman Republic.

Rome had always had problems with water, and there were a number of wells throughout the city and, later, fountains, such as the Fountain of Juturna. The

water in the Fountain of Juturna was said to have medicinal properties. It was named after Juturna, the sister of the Dioscuri. Many Romans received their water from this fountain before the construction of Aqua Appia, the first aqueduct into Rome, built in 312 B.C.E. After the Roman victory at Antium in 338 B.C.E., the Comitium, a circular area with stepped-seats for people to sit and listen, was built and served as a center for political discussions during much of the Roman Republic. Bronze figureheads from ships captured at the battle were used to decorate some of the structure. With Rome's growing population, a second aqueduct, Aqua Anio Vetus, was built in 272–269 B.C.E. At this time the population of Rome was said to be between 290,000 and 380,000.

In 204 B.C.E., the Temple of Magna Mater was built in part in celebration for the victory of Rome over CARTHAGE in the Second Punic War. The temple was finally completed in 191 B.C.E. and provided a place to worship Cybele, the "Great Mother." Soon afterward, in 170 B.C.E., work began on the Basilica Julia, which was organized by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the GRACCHI brothers. It was restored by the emperor Diocletian but was destroyed in subsequent sackings of Rome. In 144–140 B.C.E. the praetor Quintus Marcius Rex built a third aqueduct, Aqua Marcia, bringing more water into Rome. Soon afterward, in 125 B.C.E., the Aqua Tepula was built. By this time the population of Rome was estimated at 400,000 people.

Although the period of the Roman revolution saw big changes in the use of buildings in Rome, there were not many new building projects within the city, although the Gracchi did attempt major civil engineering projects, including roads and the provision of freshwater into Rome. When the Comitium in central Rome was demolished, the Imperial Rostra was built on the site and was inaugurated by Mark Antony in either 45 or early 44 B.C.E., just prior to the assassination of Julius Caesar. It was later modified by AUGUSTUS CAESAR, possibly to remove parts of the design credited to Mark Antony. Julius Caesar felt the existing forum was too small and had the Forum Julium (also known as the Forum Caesaris) built, providing more room for the conduct of public business. However, it was in the old forum that the body of Julius Caesar himself was cremated, prior to being interred in what became the Temple of the Divine Julius. Augustus was also involved in the construction of the Temple of Apollo and the paving of the Forum in about 9 B.C.E. The population of Rome during the reign of Augustus has been estimated as being more than 4 million persons. Of these, a relatively high proportion would have been slaves. However, the figure shows the dramatic increase

in the population during the Roman revolution and the period that immediately followed it.

The Romans were well known for their road-building skills, and the roads into and from Rome were heavily used, with many having roadside graves alongside them. Most roads were made from cobblestones, but there were often stones cut to allow the easy use of carts and wagons. There were five more aqueducts built to bring freshwater to Rome: the Aqua Julia (built in 33 B.C.E), the Aqua Virgo (19 B.C.E), the Aqua Alsietina (2 B.C.E), the Aqua Claudia (52 C.E.), and the Aqua Anio Novus (52 C.E.). The great fire of Rome, which broke out on July 18, 64 C.E., during the reign of the emperor NERO destroyed many buildings in Rome, and Christians became the scapegoats for the disaster. However, Nero was able to rebuild, making the new structures better able to withstand fires. He also had a massive Domus Aurea (Golden House) built in an extravagant fashion, which caused much consternation. A massive bronze statue of Nero, 120 feet high, was placed in the atrium of the Domus Aurea, which dominated the site of what became the Temple of Venus. The next major works constructed were the Temple of Vespasian and, subsequently, the Arch of Titus, dedicated to the emperor Vespasian and his son Titus.

The major civil-engineering project during this period was undoubtedly the Colosseum, built in the 70s C.E., with work starting in 72 C.E. when Vespasian initiated the project. It occupied some of the site of Nero's Domus Aurea and was completed in 80 C.E. during the reign of Titus and then enlarged during the reign of the next emperor, Domitian. It remains one of the marvels of civil engineering and one of the most recognizable images of ancient Rome. The Colosseum was 510 feet in diameter, and 157 feet high, with 80 arches on three levels. The arena was 280 feet by 175 feet and covered in sand to allow for naval combat reenactments. The emperor Domitian started work on yet another forum, but it was not completed and dedicated until the reign of the emperor Nerva and as a result is known as the Forum Nervae. The fifth and last of the forums in Rome was the Forum Trajani, built by the emperor Trajan. Within it Trajan's Column (98 feet high), finished in 113 C.E. and topped by a statue of a bird, later replaced by a statue of Trajan and many years later by a statue of St. Peter. On the column there are friezes showing Trajan's victories against the Dacians.

The next large temple construction was that of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, erected in 141 C.E. by the Senate of Emperor Antoninus Pius in memory of his late wife, Faustina. Twenty years later when the em-

peror died, his name was added to the dedication. In the eighth century it was transformed into the Church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. After a long period of steady construction work in Rome SEPTIMUS SEVERUS became emperor in 193 c.e. In 203 c.e. he began work on a massive stone structure that became known as the Arch of Septimus Severus, dedicated to his memory after his death in 211 c.e. It was completed by Caracalla who is best remembered for the massive baths structures he built for Roman citizens. These baths cover 33 acres, with the main building being 750 feet long and 380 feet wide and could accommodate approximately 1,600 bathers at a time. In 308 c.e. the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine was built, and work began on the Temple of Romulus in the following year. Mention should also be made of the Church of St. Croce built by HELENA, the mother of the emperor CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. It was to house many holy relics that Helena brought back from the Holy Land including the True Cross, a piece of wood that was believed to have been part of the cross used to crucify JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. As more Romans embraced Christianity, a number of temples were converted into churches, and others were destroyed.

**Further Reading:** Morton, H. V. *The Waters of Rome*. London: The Connoisseur and Michael Joseph, 1966; Shotter, David. *Rome and Her Empire*. London: Longman, Pearson Education, 2003; Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1977; Woodward, Christopher. *Rome*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995.

JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Rome: decline and fall

The deposition of the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476 c.e. by the Gothic chief ODOVACAR marks the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the subsequent transition from classic antiquity to the Middle Ages. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus was a chronological benchmark that was conventionally established by later commentators to schematize complex historical events. Contemporary chroniclers took little notice of the fate of Romulus Augustulus. In a seminal article Arnaldo Momigliano referred to it as “the noiseless fall of an empire.” Chroniclers and laypeople alike had been far more traumatized by the Roman defeat at Adrianople (near Istanbul) in 378 c.e. in the East, the worst since Cannae, when HANNIBAL seriously threat-

ened to overrun Rome, or by the Sack of Rome in 410 c.e. in the West. By the late fifth century c.e. barbarians had built their kingdoms within the imperial borders, most emperors were figureheads, and the imperial institutions had already crumbled.

Instead of a “fall,” it would thus be more appropriate to speak of a steady decline, with episodic recoveries, beginning with the successor of HADRIAN (117–138 c.e.). The next emperor, the celebrated MARCUS AURELIUS (163–180), had to confront the first wave of invasions from the north, which were barely contained in northern Italy, while a catastrophic epidemic of plague visited the empire, and the traditional Eastern enemy, the Parthians, took advantage of the Roman weakness to launch a large-scale offensive campaign in the Middle East. The killing of his despotic and capricious son, emperor Commodus, in 193, marked the beginning of a long period of instability for the empire, which was ruled by very few capable men, who were mainly usurpers. Most of the emperors died a violent death, and the legions of GAUL time and again rebelled against Rome, while various remote provinces gained increased autonomy and sought to become independent.

It was only in 284 that DIOCLETIAN, a former slave from Illyria, restored order by enacting a series of important administrative, economic, and military reforms. When he died in 305, several aspirants to the throne set off a civil war that lasted for almost two decades, until CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, in 323, managed to defeat all opponents. He moved the capital to Byzantium (now Istanbul, in Turkey), which was rechristened CONSTANTINOPLE so that the empire’s center shifted from West to East. Constantine took on the functions and prerogatives of an Oriental despot, reformed the army, and authorized the Christian cult, personally attending the COUNCIL OF NICAEA in 325, which established the principles and dogmas of Christian orthodoxy. He died in 337, and his son Constantine II in 353 defeated another civil war for his succession. Meanwhile, pressure on the eastern and northern frontiers was mounting, as the cohesion of the empire weakened.

In 378 the Goths destroyed the entire eastern Roman army at Adrianople, and emperor Valens fell on the battlefield. His successor, THEODOSIUS I, was the last great emperor to rule over the whole of the empire. Upon his death in 395 the empire was definitively split into the Western and the Eastern Roman Empires, governed by Theodosius’s heirs Honorius and Arcadius. While the eastern part withstood the Germanic and Hunnish invasions, the western part, which was the most coveted, rapidly collapsed. In 476 Odovacar sent the imperial insignia

to Constantinople and ruled Italy on behalf of the Eastern Roman emperor. In Gaul, Spain, Britannia, and Africa, various Roman/Germanic kingdoms were founded; some, like the kingdom of the Franks, would play a central role throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

**MIGRATIONS OF SLAVIC AND GERMANIC PEOPLES**  
 The fall of the ROMAN EMPIRE calls for a multicausal explanation. AUGUSTUS CAESAR's major accomplishment had been the creation of a sociopolitical entity that functioned smoothly for a couple of centuries. This prolonged period of peace and relative affluence generated a widespread sentiment of self-righteousness and invincibility. Many Romans believed that they lived in the best of all possible worlds, one that was immutable and unchallengeable (the so-called *Roma aeterna*). This presumption was seriously undermined toward the middle of the second century C.E., when Slavic and Germanic populations, moving from present Hungary, crossed the Roman fortified frontier (the *limes*), reaching northwestern Italy. This dramatic event had huge psychological repercussions. It not only shattered the feeling of safety and security of the Roman population; it also inflicted a terrible wound to the Roman model of civilization, a wound that, it turned out, could not be completely healed.

This moral crisis was aggravated by a pestilence that brought about a demographic collapse and the breakdown of the economy, which was heavily committed to crop production. The ensuing decrease of tax revenues forced the administration to levy new taxes to maintain the taxation yield. Unfortunately, such measures depressed the economy, while the inflation rate reached intolerable levels. The outcome was a disastrous economic crisis, the bankruptcy of small and middle-size rural businesses, and the pauperization of thousands of farmers, who in many cases turned into the serfs of rich landowners.

Central governments increased public spending, instituted primitive forms of welfare assistance, pegged prices, and fought inflation, but the concentration of wealth and political influence in the hands of local landowning dynasties called *potentes* (5 percent of the population controlled all the wealth of the empire) caused the evaporation of trust in the public institutions—no longer seen as protective and motivating—the erosion of civic spirit, and the progressive decline of Roman towns and cities, which were the backbone of the empire.

The lack of significant technological innovation, especially in agriculture, sapped the strength of Roman

society and forced thousands of farmers to live barely above subsistence. Simultaneously, Diocletian's imperial reforms reduced the prospects of upward mobility, crystallized power relations, and prevented the formation of a new class of enterprising modernizers who could have imposed radical changes in Roman society. Finally, the sustained rise of inflation triggered the transition from a monetary economy, based on coins (the denarius)—which had greatly contributed to preserving the unity of the empire—to barter and to a natural economy. The late empire was a winter of discontent and instability, generally provoked by unscrupulous military leaders, who proclaimed themselves to be the saviors of the glory of Rome, even though their plans involved insubordination, civil war, and the carnage of Romans and Germanic allies. The decline of the late empire should be credited, to a large extent, to the interneccine fighting of the military, as civil institutions (like the Senate and the consul) lost their functions and influence.

### THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Meanwhile, a struggle ensued between Christian loyalists, those who sought a compromise with the heathen rulers, and Christian fundamentalists, those who were not prepared to sacrifice their autonomy and orthodoxy in exchange for social integration and a greater influence on the administration of public affairs. In the third century C.E., Christian loyalists gained a substantial victory. Christians remained the only powerful, efficient, and cohesive organization of the empire and a constant challenge to the heathen leadership.

The authorities soon realized that the fabric of Roman society could not be purged from Christianity without causing the final collapse of Roman institutions. This is the reason why Roman emperors, starting with Constantine, reached a series of agreements with Christian loyalists, which ultimately led to the amalgamation of "Romanity" and Christianity in 391, when Christianity was proclaimed the official religion of the state in return for its unstinting support of the Roman system. As a consequence of the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, the church would take over most of the secular functions of the state.

By the end of the fourth century, for all its weaknesses, the empire was still immense, stretching from the Middle East to Caledonia (today's Scotland) and from North Africa to the Black Sea. While the center of the European Union is the Atlantic Ocean, which features some of the world's most heavily trafficked sea routes, Roman economy revolved around the Mediterranean basin. Romans never attempted to conquer regions

that lay too far from the Mediterranean Sea (*Mare Nostrum*) and the Black Sea, the only exception being Britain, which was rich in mineral deposits. Conversely, the large central European rivers (Rhine, Danube) that traverse the core of the European Union marked the Roman frontier, the outpost of civilization. The Romans had created a huge commercial network across the Mediterranean, planting vineyards and olive groves, building villas, harbors, and market towns. Merchant ships crossed the sea to supply Rome, a megalopolis of more than a million inhabitants.

We now call that period “Lower Empire,” evoking the idea of the unstoppable decadence of Rome, plagued by corruption, moral decay, and theological disquisitions. But the two most serious plights were the disloyalty of generals and the poverty of barbarians. Troops were more faithful to their generals than to the emperors, and they often acclaimed their leaders as the only emperors worthy of their recognition. Such usurpations generally led to civil wars and widespread political instability. Barbarians looted frontier provinces and requested the payment of tributes in exchange for peace.

The empire had survived thanks to capable and tyrannical emperors-generals like Aurelian, Diocletian, and Constantine. They had introduced conscription, doubled taxation, strengthened the bureaucracy and the secret police, and to stifle social protest promulgated extremely severe laws against desertion, tax evasion, and political dissent (even an unfavorable premonition about the emperor’s life could cost a fortune-teller his life). They incarnated the notion of the “Oriental despot” and militarized Roman society, but their recipe, a combination of pragmatism, far-sightedness, and callousness, momentarily saved the unity of the empire and helped the economy to recover. The cost they paid was enormous: the alienation of the population from the political establishment.

The Roman Empire, a multicultural and multiethnic society, was undergoing a thorough transformation from a pagan to an essentially Christian community. Constantine issued the EDICT OF MILAN in 313, which granted religious freedom to all his subjects and empowered the Christian Church. Like his successors, he hoped that Christianity, with its vitality and fervor, would generate a unity of purpose that Roman secular institutions could no longer guarantee.

### THE BARBARIAN HORDES

Various Germanic tribes and populations had been converted and were gradually changing their customs and

mores. They were “Romanizing” themselves. Paradoxically, the beginning of the end for the Roman Empire was in part the result of the peaceful Gothic resettlement in the Balkans. At the time Flavius Valentinianus, a brilliant general, had become emperor (364), and one month after his accession to power he had appointed his brother Flavius Valens as the eastern emperor, keeping the western portion for himself. Valens was not a military man, but he did his best to gain the favor of his subjects by fighting corruption, reducing taxation, and building a new aqueduct. However, people never took a liking to him, in part because he was a religious fundamentalist when conciliatory tones would have been far more advisable.

Valens had to confront a usurper, Procopius, who had seized control of Constantinople while Valens’s army was marching toward the eastern front. Traditionally accustomed to attach far more importance to bloodlines than to state legislation, the Goths backed Procopius because he was a relative of Constantine, an emperor with whom they had signed important agreements. However, when the Gothic reinforcements arrived, the insurrection was nipped in the bud, and all were enslaved. Valens then ordered savage retaliatory attacks that brought the Goths to their knees in 369 but did not exterminate them. Roman emperors were expected to display benevolence and generosity toward a defeated enemy. A significant testimony of this tradition is provided by the orations dedicated to Valens by two heathen rhetoricians during the campaigns against the Goths that would result in the military and political disaster of Adrianople, in 378.

The contrast between the merciless conduct of warfare and the political pragmatism of Roman bureaucrats and legislators, who pressed for economic sanctions and compulsory recruitment of young Goths to be used as cannon fodder in the Middle East, and the humanitarian and progressive slogans of the elite, intent on incorporating their northern neighbors into Roman society, was truly noteworthy. Themistius, a senator and a philosopher, stated that just as the Romans strove to protect endangered species of animals in Africa and Asia, so the emperor should be praised for not annihilating the Goths in 369, who are human beings, like the Romans. This oration, like several others, as for instance those delivered by Libanius, encapsulates the universalistic and civilizing thrust of late Roman imperialism. Roman generals probably envisioned genocidal schemes, but they were unpalatable for a political leadership that offered security and literacy in return for loyalty, recruits, and tax money. Rome was to set an example for all other peoples.

When the Huns, a fierce nomadic population whose existence had never been recorded in Roman history, pushed the frightened Goths southward, the gap existing between humanitarian rhetoric and Realpolitik became obvious. Thousands of starving Gothic refugees, fleeing from a cruel enemy, reached the riverbanks of the Danube and pleaded for acceptance within the Roman borders. The emperor's counselors saw a huge opportunity: The Goths would be allotted less fertile lands, and many of them would join the army and exempt an equal number of Roman citizens from military service. They were transported across the river and immigration officers attempted to record their names in order to plan their resettlement. But the sheer number of refugees and the confusion were so huge that they realized the futility of such an operation.

They opted to take advantage of the situation by accepting bribes and selecting slaves for their own villas. Meanwhile, other tribes had been informed that the border was open and the mass of refugees kept growing until the alarmed Roman functionaries decided that the maximum quota had been reached and left thousands of furious Goths on the other side of the Danube. Worse still, refugee camps were flooded with people who did not receive enough supplies because the commanding officers sold the provisions that had been destined to the refugees on the black market. When they were finally escorted to relocation areas by the frontier garrisons, thousands of Goths who had been overlooked crossed the river clandestinely.

### THE BATTLE OF ADRIANOPOLE

Panic ensued amid the Roman population, and the proud and desperate Gothic immigrants could no longer tolerate their debasement and destitution. A seemingly unstoppable process led to war and to the Battle of Adrianople (378), where up to 40,000 Romans were killed, together with emperor Valens, who chose not to wait for reinforcements sent by the western emperor because he desperately needed a decisive victory to shore up his position. AMBROSE, bishop of Milan, and one of the fathers of the Catholic Church, called this battle "the end of all humanity, the end of the world," while the most famous contemporary Roman chronicler, Ammianus Marcellinus, commented as follows: "Never, except in the battle of Cannae, had there been so destructive a slaughter recorded in our annals." After Adrianople, Rome lost its superpower status and was no longer able to keep the barbarians in check by purely military means.

More and more Goths and Huns were absorbed by the Roman legions or engaged as mercenaries, and the

Roman population felt increasingly insecure and threatened by their presence. Commentators lamented that Emperor Theodosius I had allowed too many barbarians, parvenus with their hands still covered with Roman blood, to reach the highest ranks of the army. How could Romans tolerate the arrogance of those barbarians who dressed like Romans and spoke Latin only when they met Romans, and spent the rest of the time speaking their own language and deriding Roman customs?

It is undeniable that someone like Alaric—a nobleman who served for various years as a commander of Gothic mercenaries in the Roman army and, after Theodosius's death, was elected king of the Visigoths, only to sack Rome in 410—confirmed this impression. But there were also loyal and brilliant generals like Flavius Stilicho, the son of a Vandal, who repeatedly defeated Alaric before 410 and could have deferred Rome's ultimate humiliation if the antibarbarian party in Rome had not resolved to have him executed for treason, together with the families of those tribesmen serving in the Roman army who subsequently could only defect to Alaric. Some of the most successful and loyal champions of Rome were barbarian generals, who thought, spoke, and acted like Romans, or mixed-blood generals like Stilicho and Aetius, "the last Roman," who was the son of a Scythian and became the most powerful man in the Western Roman Empire. Emperor Valentinian III assassinated him in 454. This prompted Sidonius Apollinaris (430–489) to declare: "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who has cut off his right hand with his left."

Aetius's well-deserved fame arose from his untiring effort to keep the empire together, with the help of various barbarian tribes and, above all else, from the strategic victory he secured for the Roman-Gothic-Frankish-Christian alliance against Attila's Huns and their allies at the Catalaunian Fields (451) near Chalons-en-Champagne, the last major victory of the western empire.

This was the last, short-lived attempt to reunify the Roman Empire. After Justinian's death the eastern Byzantine Empire, which for a century continued to claim sovereignty over the West, although to no avail, became increasingly Hellenized and greatly influenced the development of eastern European cultures, while barbarian and western Romans lay the foundations of western European civilization.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Banaji, Jairus. *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*. Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 2001; Clarck, Gilian. *Christianity and Roman Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, n.d.; Heather, Peter. *The Fall of the Roman Empire*. London: Macmillan, 2005; Hingley, Richard. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*. New York: Routledge, 2005; Kagan, Donald. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: Why Did It Collapse?* Boston: Heath, 1962; Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

STEFANO FAIT

## Rome: founding

Numerous stories have been drafted of the origins of Rome, mostly crossed with mythological and literary elements. Historical sources include epigraphic evidence, narrations from Greek or Roman historians, and various archaeological findings. According to legend, Aeneas disembarked in Italic shores, his son Ascanius founded Alba Longa, and their successors ruled the city for centuries (a different version omits the succession of Alban kings and considers Romulus to be Aeneas's grandson).

Not willing to share his power, it is said that one of Aeneas's descendants, Amulius, dethroned and expelled his brother Numitor. He killed his lineage as well, with the exception of his daughter Rhea Silvia, who was introduced into the cult of the goddess Vesta to ensure her eternal virginity. Haunted by her beauty, the god Mars possessed her while she was asleep, and the vestal priestess gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus. Instead of killing them, an enraged king Amulius decided to put both children in a cradle on the banks of the Tiber River for them to die. The god Tiberinus protected the cradle as it was carried downstream, and Romulus and Remus were safely placed on the river's shore. A she-wolf nursed them with her milk. After discovering their true origin, the brothers went back to Alba Longa to take revenge on Amulius and to reinstall their grandfather Numitor in power.

They did not stay there for a long time; accompanied by a group of men, they walked to found a new city in the hills of the Tiber. It was necessary to decide who would be considered the founder and where the city would be placed, so they agreed that he who would see a greater number of birds would be the winner of the dispute: Remus saw six vultures on the Aventine, and Romulus spotted 12 over the Palatine. The ritual ceremony was then organized: Two white oxen began digging a ditch, which symbolized the walls. Anyone

who crossed the limits of the city had to be put to death, so when Remus leaped across the trench, implying that the new city would be easily breached, Romulus had to kill him in sacrifice, in an event dated in 753 B.C.E.

If archaeological evidence is considered, some aspects of the legend may be true. From a scientific point of view, it is possible to affirm that 2,000 years before JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH several tribes arrived in Italy from central Europe. They headed southward and founded the city of Villanova, perhaps near Bologna. The city gave name to the civilization that is believed nowadays to be in the origin of Umbrians, Sabines, and Latins. They founded various villages in the regions extending from the Tiber to Naples, and Alba Longa seems to have been the biggest one. The explorers who several years later founded the city of Rome, some miles to the south, apparently came from that primitive urban center. Some strategic advantages of the chosen spot included the closeness to the sea—but at the same time a relative distance that prevented pirate attacks—an easily navigable river, and hills that could serve as natural protection. It was precisely on one of those hills, the Palatine, that the first inhabitants of the village settled, according to the evidence discovered.

See also ROMAN PANTHEON AND MYTH; ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Alföldy, G. *Römische Sozialgeschichte*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1984; Aymard, A. *Rome et son Empire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954; Cornell, T. J. *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Piganiol, A. *Histoire de Rome*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949.

SILVANA A. GAETA

## Rome: government

As Rome developed into a veritable power on the Italian peninsula and later throughout Europe, so too did the famous Roman Republic, based around the Roman Senate. But Rome's first governmental system was monarchial. The Roman king had absolute power, referred to by ancient Romans as *imperium*. He served as the creator and enforcer of laws, the leader of the military, the head of the judiciary, and as the chief priest among his people. Even in the beginning, however, the Roman monarch was limited by a constitution. The Roman

monarchy was patriarchal, like the Roman society. The king had supreme power over his “family” but was also responsible for their welfare. A weak senate and assembly advised the king and had the power to approve the appointment of a king. In many ways the Senate, made up of wealthy and respected Roman leaders and elders, known as patricians, acted in a fashion similar to the U.S. Supreme Court; they judged the constitutionality and correctness of the king’s actions but rarely acted against his wishes. The Assembly, on the other hand, was made up of male citizens of Rome whose parents were native Romans. It was the institution that represented the majority of the population, known as plebeians, and granted absolute authority to the king. In the sixth century B.C.E. the Roman monarchs were ETRUSCANS from a powerful empire based in northern Italy who briefly controlled Rome. When an Etruscan prince from the ruling family, known as the Tarquins, raped the wife of a prominent patrician, Rome rebelled and expelled the Etruscans. The reign of the Roman Republic began following the expulsion. Two consuls inherited monarchial power, patricians elected to serve as head of state for one year.

Although the consuls held imperium, they were severely limited by annual reelection, by the ability to veto the actions of the other consul, and by an empowered Roman Senate. These constraints caused conservative governance, which proved harmful during extended military conflicts, leading to the creation of proconsuls who were consuls permitted by the Senate to extend their term of office. Below the consuls were financial officers known as quaestors, military officers known as praetors, and accounting officers, known as censors.

Even though imperium was separated by different branches of Roman government, it was concentrated in the hands of patricians. In response to this reality, the plebeians struggled to gain political power and equality. In 450 B.C.E., the Law of Twelve Tables resulted from the class struggle, codifying Roman law. By 445 B.C.E. plebeians gained the right to marry a patrician and in 367 B.C.E. gained the right to run for the consulship and other positions, leading to the Licinian-Sextian Laws, which required one consul to be plebeian. JULIUS CAESAR’s assumption of power led to the establishment of the Roman emperorship, known as the *princeps*, in 44 B.C.E. For the following half-millennium, Roman emperors controlled a vast European and Mediterranean empire, which slowly eroded. In an attempt to prevent the collapse, Emperor DIOCLETIAN split the empire in two and based it in Rome and

CONSTANTINOPLE in 285 B.C.E., ultimately leading to a full split in 395 B.C.E. and Rome’s fall in 476 B.C.E.

SEE ALSO POLIS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Cary, M., and H. H. Scullard. *A History of Rome: Down to the Reign of Constantine*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975; Hooker, Richard. “Rome.” Washington State University. Available online. URL: <http://www.wsu.edu> (September 2005).

ARTHUR HOLST

## Rosetta Stone

The Rosetta Stone was discovered by French soldiers during the Napoleonic conquest and occupation of Egypt (1798–1801). With the same inscription in HIEROGLYPHICS, demotic (a later form of ancient Egyptian), and Greek, the text is a 196 B.C.E. commemoration to Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The French savants (intellectuals) that Napoleon had brought with him to study all aspects of Egypt and its society, recognized the stone’s importance as possibly providing vital keys to decoding and translating ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, but they were forced to give it, along with a large number of other ancient Egyptian artifacts, to the British after the French were militarily defeated by British forces.

The British ultimately placed the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum in London, where it is still displayed along with a vast number of other ancient Egyptian artifacts. The French scholar Jean-François Champollion used the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone to decipher names and other hieroglyphic pictographs and letters. Beating out a number of rivals to be the first to decipher hieroglyphic texts, Champollion’s work led to subsequent translations of hieroglyphic texts and to a fuller understanding of ancient Egyptian history and society and was a major contribution in the field of Egyptology.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; PTOLEMIES.

**Further reading:** Adkins, Leslie, and Roy Adkins. *The Keys of Egypt: The Race to Read the Hieroglyphs*. London: HarperCollins, 2000. Ray, John. *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

JANICE J. TERRY

# S



## Sadducees

The popular conception of the Sadducees is a “straw man” set up in parallel with the PHARISEES. The Sadducees disappeared after the Romans invaded Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple (70 C.E.). They left no written records, much less apologia. Historians relate negative reports from the antagonists of the Sadducees. Based on such evidence it is difficult to conjure up an accurate image of them. There are three main firsthand witnesses to consider. JOSEPHUS calls the Sadducees one of the main Jewish “philosophies,” by which he means an intellectual school. But Josephus is clearly less than happy with them in comparison to the other main Jewish philosophies, the Pharisees and ESSENES. The Sadducees reject the immortality of the soul, emphasize free will over fate, and generally dissent from traditions and customs. He identifies them as aristocratic in their interests and contrarian in their disposition—in contrast to the more popular Pharisees and idealistic Essenes. Many historians associate the Sadducees with the priests of the Jewish Temple because Josephus says that they supported the high priest’s family against King Herod. Then historians go one step further and maintain that the Sadducees collaborated with the Roman overlords.

The second witness comes from the Bible. The New Testament offers a slightly different, but better known, picture: The Sadducees can scarcely be differentiated from the Pharisees, and thus Christians often assume that they collaborated with the Pharisees. In the popular mind the Sadducees and Pharisees form a common

front against JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH. The New Testament says that the Sadducees do not believe in a resurrection of the dead, an afterlife reward or punishment, and an invisible spirit-filled universe. They are located in Jerusalem and active in the Temple, perhaps as priests, and members of the centralized ruling council called the Sanhedrin. Because Romans would have insisted on dealing with ethnic authorities, the likely assumption is that the Sadducees were collaborators.

The rabbis, as the third witness, distinguish the Sadducees as opponents to the Pharisees. They make the Sadducees the foils for their own “correct” positions, since they conjure up for themselves a Pharisaical background. Specifically, the rabbis would have readers believe that Pharisees and Sadducees disagree on purity issues, the role of civil rulers, temple ritual, and Sabbath observance customs, all of which are of vital concern to rabbinic Judaism. Like Josephus and the New Testament, the TALMUD says that they do not believe in the resurrection of the dead.

The Sadducees’ teachings were conservative. Fathers of the church such as ORIGEN believed that the Sadducees rejected divine inspiration outside of the TORAH (the first five books of the Bible), but this is something of an exaggeration. Nonetheless, the sources agree that the Sadducees were suspicious of later Jewish ideas of a final judgment, heaven and hell, and heavenly beings—and these ideas are not found in the early books of the Bible. They are temple-based and so would most likely be suspicious of efforts to spiritualize or decentralize the religion.

They possibly were more pro-Roman because they wanted to keep the temple cult operating and protect

their privileged position. Most likely they were among the most active in the conspiracy against Jesus. Since some Pharisees are identified as priests, and some priests cannot be identified as Sadducees, Sadducees should not simply be exclusively seen as part of the priestly clan, nor can all high priests be seen as Sadducees.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; HERODS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); JEWISH REVOLTS.

**Further reading:** Meier, J. P. *A Marginal Jew*: Vol. 2. New York: Doubleday, 1991; Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. New York: Macmillan, 2006.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Sakyas

The Saka kingdom of early northern India is renowned as the homeland of GAUTAMA BUDDHA. It should be distinguished from the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism that is associated with Vajrayana Buddhism. Sakya is identified as a territory on the borders of Nepal and India and had a capital at Kapilavatthu, from which Gautama Buddha's mother traveled on foot on a visit to her parents and, on the way, gave birth to the Buddha in a park called Lumbini. The Sakyas have been identified with a clan and also with the nomadic people better known as the Scythians. The Scythians were present during ALEXANDER THE GREAT's invasion of India and inflicted the only defeat upon the Macedonian as he sought to cross the river. The Scythians eventually moved westward and established an empire that stretched as far as eastern Europe during the period of the early Roman Empire.

The *MAHABHARATA* records the Kiratas as rulers of eastern Nepal, and there were other tribes Tibeto-Burman in nature. The ARYAN INVASIONS of India represented an influx of peoples who created numerous small states that existed in a state of conflict but also represented increased opportunities for trade. In response a confederation of tribes began to congregate in the Tarai region at the far extremity of the Ganges Plain. Among the Tarai Confederacy was the Saka clan. This confederacy continued in different forms until the arrival of King ASHOKA (r. 268–231 B.C.E.), who consolidated the MAURYAN EMPIRE into which Nepal was subsumed.

See also THERAVEDA AND MAHYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Rhys-David, Caroline A. F. *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*. Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1978;

Whelpton, John. *A History of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

JOHN WALSH

## San and Khoi tribes

The San and Khoi (or Khoi-Khoi) tribes are among the first identifiable tribes in southern Africa. The San, considered southern Africa's indigenous population, were later displaced by the Khoi-Khoi in a struggle for survival in one of the planet's most unforgiving regions. In earlier accounts the two groups have been generally known as the Bushmen and represent one of humankind's most enduring adaptations to a severe climate. Both the San and the Khoi-Khoi, called in some accounts the Khoisan, were adept hunters with their small bows and were able to make poisons strong enough to kill the largest prey, much as the Jivaro tribe in Brazil concocted the deadly *curare*. They would gain the name "pygmy" because of their small stature. However, while the San were often hunter-gatherers, the Khoi-Khoi also raised livestock. The Bushmen over the centuries would find refuge in the Kalahari Desert, where few foes would dare to follow them.

However, around the 11th century C.E. the Bantu people began their historic migration into southern Africa from the north. Speaking a different language from the San and Khoi-Khoi and organized into tribal units, the Bantu would change the entire face of southern Africa. The Bantu would give rise to the Zulu nation that, under Shaka in the early 19th century, would control much of what is now the Republic of South Africa. CAVE PAINTINGS in the Sahara show hunting scenes, perhaps painted by the Bantu there, from over 2,000 years ago.

When the Dutch settled what became known as Cape Town in 1652, the life of the San, Khoi-Khoi, and Bantu inhabitants was changed forever. Although first intended as a trading station for the vast Dutch East India Company (the Netherlands then rivaled England as the greatest European maritime power), the Dutch in Cape Town, on the Cape of Good Hope, soon desired to colonize southern Africa. Inevitably, they followed the logic of conquest: To gain the land they desired, they pushed off the indigenous African inhabitants. Called Hottentots by the Dutch, the San and Khoi-Khoi rapidly were reduced to the status of virtual slaves, while the hardiest followed their ancient custom of fleeing into the deserts. In a brutal attempt at ethnic cleansing the Dutch launched a campaign to virtually exterminate the tribes to gain room for their own farms and

cattle. Despite colonization the Bushmen still thrive in the Kalahari Desert.

See also AFRICAN CITY-STATES; AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

**Further reading:** Primack, Richard B. *A Primer of Conservation Biology*. Sunderland, UK: Sinauer Associates, 2000; Reader, John. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage, 1991.

JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Sanskrit

Sanskrit is an ancient Indo-Aryan language that has for thousands of years become associated with religious teachings and beliefs, notably Hindu and Buddhist forms of thought. Its earliest use is associated with the migrating Aryan peoples who settled in north India and Iran and from whom several families of languages descended in various forms. *Aryan* means “noble” in Sanskrit. The long history of its use and the fact that so many religious and philosophical concepts are expressed in the language means it has become almost impossible to separate consideration of the language from the content it has most commonly been used to convey. Sanskrit remains an important language in religious expression in the modern world, although it is not spoken widely otherwise. Some religious experts and scholars are able to communicate in Sanskrit.

### VEDIC AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Vedic Sanskrit is the oldest form of the language and was used to explain the VEDAS (knowledge) that framed the first known forms of Indian religious expression. Vedic literature includes the Samhitas, which are four collections of texts: the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, and the Rig-Veda. The last three of these consist of verse forms used by priests in ritual chants. However, the *Yajur-Veda* may be divided into two parts, one of which—the Black, or Krishna, *Yajur-Veda*—contains both ritual verses (*mantras*) associated with sacrifice, as well as explanatory Brahmana, which detail meanings for mythological terms and concepts and also the derivations of some words. These works predate Buddhism and have been dated to c. 1000 B.C.E.

As the VEDIC AGE continued, more literature was written in Sanskrit that was of a nonsacred nature. Panini, the earliest known writer about Sanskrit and its structure, considered the nonsacred forms of communica-

cation to be *bhasa*. Meanwhile, sacred texts included a growing number of sutras, or apophthegms. The Chanda texts and particularly the Brahmanas represent the foundations of the Brahmanical practices that spread across India and later Southeast Asia. The sacred Vedic Sanskrit texts were considered by Hindu believers to be in a mystical way at one with the universe and uncreated even by the divine gods. Since the language was universal and immortal, it follows that words expressed by it should be treated with respect, and it was particularly fitting for certain types of thoughts and concepts. Nevertheless, the language was also used for mundane and even profane communication. The fact that no definitive single script has been used for the language is an indication that meaning drift between different groups of Sanskrit speakers took place.

Subsequent development of the language meant that it became polished or crafted—more versatile for literary expression. Two of the great literary epics, the *RAMAYANA* and the *MAHABHARATA*, were created in this phase of epic or classical Sanskrit. The *Mahabharata* details at some length the struggle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, together with a large amount of additional religiomythical material. Contained within the *Mahabharata* is the *BHAGAVAD GITA*, which is an extended treatise on religious and human duties and forms a central strand of Hindu thought.

The *Ramayana* concerns the romance of Rama and was compiled according to tradition by the poet Valmiki c. 300 B.C.E. In the *Ramayana*, Prince Rama and his companions are instructed in virtue and duty and then suffer the loss of the prince’s wife, Sita, to the demon king of Lanka. Sita is ultimately recovered with the assistance of the monkey god Hanuman, but her trials continue, as Sita is made to demonstrate her fidelity to Rama, which she resents. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* constitute a basis of poetic expression and intellectual exploration that greatly expanded the mental vocabulary and reference material of all those people able to understand and converse in Sanskrit. To these were added a variety of dramatic and poetical works (*nataka* and *kavya*), together with narrative works. The language evolved considerably over the centuries, and this is evident in changes to pronunciation, word choice, and grammar.

Sanskrit was also used to create technical, philosophical, grammatical, and other scientific texts that were widely used throughout ancient and medieval Asia. It was used for Buddhist works in India and Sri Lanka, and these spread to mainland Southeast Asia where the language is known as Pali and formed the basis for educated discourse, as well as influencing the development of local

languages. Chinese monks and pilgrims traveled to India in search of Buddhist texts to translate into Chinese, and they formed an important medium through which Sanskrit-expressed ideas entered into the Chinese world and its intellectual tradition. Sanskrit is also the language through which early Jainist thought is expressed.

### SANSKRIT IN THE COMMON ERA

Sanskrit moved from being a spoken language to one that was better known for its use in sacred rituals and written literature. The great Buddhist king ASHOKA, for example, followed GAUTAMA BUDDHA's teaching to use vernacular languages to spread religious teachings. Although religious and philosophical texts used Sanskrit, government-produced monuments and pronouncements employed other languages (Indo-Aryan) until the early centuries of the Common Era. A parallel development was for commentators to insist that only correct pronunciation in Sanskrit should be permitted and that this could only be achieved by studying the methods of the past. Sanskrit became separated from the masses, who were excluded from learning and mastering the language. Grammarians distinguished between words of Sanskrit origin and words influenced by Sanskrit. Sanskrit witnessed the importation of words from other languages, especially those necessary to describe new concepts or proper nouns.

Sanskrit also spread as a result of political and military change. The expansion of first the Persian Empire and subsequently the entry into northern India of ALEXANDER THE GREAT provided conduits through which the language could spread to the West. Contact with the Arab world in later centuries was also important in the transmission of cosmology and mathematics.

Sanskrit epics had tremendous influence on cultural and artistic production throughout India and Indian-influenced societies. Some works, including the retelling of part of the *Mahabharata* by Nannaya Bhatta (1100–60 C.E.), took as their subject well-known tales of the past and brought them into contemporary focus both through the contrast between the heroic milieu and that familiar with the audience, and also by presenting existing characters with new encounters and events to face. This has begun a tradition of inventive mixing of the past and present that has led to a burgeoning form of popular culture in both oral and written forms. Some critics maintain that the use of Sanskrit has been a tool by which the central Indian state has sought to oppress local traditions and cultures. Sanskrit studies became popular in Europe in the early modern period both as a subject of scholarly inquiry and also as a source of spir-

itual sustenance. Its popularity has waxed and waned with interest in Eastern philosophies.

### STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE

Sanskrit has come most commonly to be expressed through the Devanagri script, although this is a comparatively modern invention. Sanskrit has a complex and highly mannerized structure, resulting from its origins as a deliberately created language. There are three genders and three numbers, with 10 types of verbs, eight cases, and 10 noun declensions. There are a variety of voiced and unvoiced aspirated sounds in the language and the retroflex sound that has been introduced and distinguishes Indian languages from the Indo-European family. The language is highly inflected and numerous suffixes, for example, govern different shades of meaning and emphasis. Expressions of time in verb tenses are also complex and contain various types of meaning embedded within them.

See also ARYAN INVASION; BUDDHISM IN CHINA; JAINISM.

**Further reading:** Deshpande, Madhav. *Samskrta-Subodhini: A Sanskrit Primer*. Detroit: University of Michigan Press, 1999; Filliozat, Pierre-Sylvain. *The Sanskrit Language: An Overview: History and Structure, Linguistic and Philosophical Representations, Uses and Users*. Varanasi, India: Indica Books, 2000; McGrath, Kevin. *The Sanskrit Hero: Karna in Epic Mahabharata*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill 2004; Narasimhan, Chakravarthi V., trans. *The Mahabharata*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; Sen, Amartya. "Indian Traditions and the Western Imagination." *Daedalus* (v.134/4, 2005); Valmiki. *The Ramayana*. Translated by Arshia Sattar. New York: Penguin Global, 2000.

JOHN WALSH

### Sappho

(fl. early 6th century B.C.E.) Greek poet

Sappho is one of the most important of the lyric poets of the ancient Greek world. She probably lived from the middle part of the seventh through the early part of the sixth centuries B.C.E. Though the exact date of her birth and death are unknown, it is fairly certain that she was born in the city of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, which is located in the eastern Aegean Sea near Turkey. She came from a noble family. Her father's name was Skamandronymos, her mother's Kleiss, and her husband's Kerkylas. She had a daughter named Kleiss and either two or three brothers. Around the year 600

B.C.E., she, along with the other nobility on Lesbos, were forced into exile to the island of Sicily when a middle-class tyranny, led by Myrsilos, took control of Lesbos. Eventually, she was able to return. Some argue that she taught at a school for young women, others that she was simply at the center of a local poetry clique.

Her reputation was great in the ancient world; Plato, about 200 years after her death, called her the “tenth Muse,” referring to the nine Greek goddesses who were the patrons of the arts and sciences and who were the source of inspiration and artistic excellence. Little of her work has survived, but what has is highly praised in the modern world and still has the power to move people.

LYRIC POETRY in the ancient Greek world refers, first of all, to the fact that a lyre originally accompanied the poetry. Unlike our modern conception of the lyric, Greek lyric poetry fit into at least two major categories: choral ode and monody. The monody is closest to our modern conception of the lyric, that is, a short, personal poem expressing intense emotion. This was the type of poetry that Sappho wrote. She created the Sapphic stanza and may have been the first to accompany her poems with a harp.

She is known to have written between seven and nine books of poetry, with the last being a book of wedding songs. Her poems are often favorably mentioned in ancient writing (in fact, the ancient world erected at least one statue to her), but during the Byzantine era, Pope Gregory Nazianzus, in 382 C.E., had most of them destroyed. In 1073 Pope Gregory VII likely burned any of the books that still survived. The problem, from the Catholic Church’s perspective, was that Sappho was likely bisexual, and much of her poetry was erotic and concerned with love between women.

Unlike much of the Greek poetry before her, most of Sappho’s poetry is personal, not social. The worlds of beauty, personal relationships, and love are the typical topics of her poems. Unfortunately, all that is left are mostly scraps, sometimes a line, sometimes a stanza, and in only one or two cases, a complete poem. They come to us as quotes in the writings of authors from antiquity and in strips of papyrus used to wrap mummies in Egypt. The most recent discovery of her poems was in 2004 in papyrus wrappings from a mummy and was combined with a previous fragment, also written on papyrus and found in 1922, resulting in a new, nearly complete 12-line poem. This particular poem is about growing old and is a type of *carpe diem* addressed to a group of girls. The Egyptians copied it about 300 years after her death. The 2004 wrappings also contained two other new fragments.

A typical remnant of her poetry is the three lines often titled “The Blast of Love”: “Like a mountain whirlwind / punishing the oak trees, / love shattered my heart.” One of her other likely complete poem is called “A Prayer to Aphrodite.” It is generally presented as a seven-stanza poem and ends by asking the goddess to “labor for my [Sappho’s] mad heart.” Despite the scarcity of surviving poetry, she has influenced English-speaking writers as diverse as Philip Spencer and Ezra Pound, as well as many writers in other languages. She continues to have the power to fascinate and delight, and her poetry—as fragmentary as it is—is still worth reading.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

**Further reading:** Barnstone, Willis. *Greek Lyric Poetry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967; Bowra, C. M. *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961; Rose, H. J. *A Handbook of Greek Literature from Homer to the Age of Lucian*. London: Methuen, 1956).

WILLIAM P. TOTH

## Sargon of Akkad

(2334–2279 B.C.E.) *king of Sumer and Akkad*

Sargon of Akkad was the first Mesopotamian ruler to control both southern and northern Babylonia thus becoming the king of SUMER and AKKAD and inaugurating the Akkadian Empire. He established his capital at the newly founded site of Akkad in northern Babylonia; its exact location is unknown but perhaps near modern Baghdad.

Two things can be known from his name, which means “the legitimate king”: This was not his birth name, and he was probably a usurper. One legend names him as the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, king of Kish. He started the practice of maintaining a standing army, which allowed him to campaign from eastern Turkey to western Iran. While he fought battles in these areas, it is unclear if he sought and maintained permanent control everywhere he fought, or if he conquered some areas just for the plunder. In many areas he was content to have the local rulers continue as governors so long as they pledged allegiance to Sargon, providing him with taxes and acknowledging him as the “legitimate king.” It is known that he received tribute from EBLA in northern Syria and ELAM in western Iran.

In later literature he was seen as a good and triumphant king, in contrast to Naram-Sin, who was usually incompetent and disrespectful to the gods. In the

“Sargon Legend” his mother, a priestess not allowed to have children, abandons him in a basket in the Euphrates in order to hide his birth. From this humble beginning, Sargon establishes himself as the king of the first Mesopotamian empire. The “King of Battle” is another tale that tells of how Sargon traveled to Purushkhanda in central Turkey in order to save the merchants there who were being oppressed. After defeating the king of the city, Nur-Daggal, the local ruler is allowed to continue to govern as long as he acknowledges Sargon as king. The version of the story that we have comes from 1,000 years after Sargon’s reign and shows the difficulty we have in reconstructing Sargon’s reign with texts that are not contemporaneous. Because of all the successes of this king, Sargon’s name was adopted by a Neo-Assyrian king of the eighth century B.C.E.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; MOSES.

**Further reading:** Gadd, C. J. “The Reign of Sargon,” pp. 417–434. In I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 1, Part 2. 3d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

JAMES ROAMES

## Sassanid Empire

The Sassanid Empire was the last pre-Islamic Iranian dynasty that ruled over a large part of western Asia. Following the Achaemenid dynasty, the Sassanids are considered one of the most powerful and famous Iranian dynasties that positively influenced the evolution of Iranian nationality and culture during their 400-year sovereignty (224–651 C.E.). The dynastic name, Sassanid or Sassanian, is derived from Sasan, said to have been father or grandfather of Ardashir I, also called Artaxerxes.

### ARTAXERXES

Founder of the Sassanid dynasty, Artaxerxes was first appointed as the governor of Darabgard because of his firm familial relationship with the local royal families of Fars. He took advantage of the weakness of the Parthian (Arsacide) kings and expanded his realm. Having achieved a successful supremacy over Fars, he conquered Isfahan and Kirman and won a face-to-face battle with Arsacid Artabanus V, the last Parthian king, defeating and killing him in 224 C.E., leading to the invasion of Ctesiphon, the Parthian’s capital, in 226. He was crowned as the “king of kings of Iran,” according to the fire temple of Anahita at Istakhr.

He expanded his kingdom by conquering the east of Persia, invading Sistan, Khurasan, Marw, Khwarazm, and Balkh. Kushan’s kings, who ruled over Punjab and Kabul, sent envoys to announce their obedience to him. To expand his territory Artaxerxes moved toward the west and was involved in a war with the Roman Empire in 228, in which he defeated the Romans several times. Through these wars he invaded Carrhae and Nisibis and then conquered Arminiya and annexed it to Persia.

Following Artaxerxes, 34 Sassanid kings ruled over Persia. Amalgamation of clerical institutions with the monarchy provided the Sassanid monarchs a divine legitimacy, which led to the interference of Zoroastrian priests in the social and political affairs of the country, especially when less powerful kings were ruling. This mix of state and Zoroastrian religion threatened the lives of followers of other religions when religious and biased kings ruled the country.

### SHAPUR I

During the reign of Shapur I, ARMENIA, which had gone undisciplined, was brought under control. Gordian III, the Roman emperor who had attacked Nisibis and Mesopotamia, was defeated and killed, while his successor, Philip the Arab, established peace with Shapur in return for submitting a heavy indemnity to Shapur, as well as a free hand in Armenia. In a war between Rome and Persia near EDESSA, the Roman army was defeated, and Valerian was taken captive. The event increased the Sassanids’ self-confidence and dignity. Shapur used tens of thousands of captives to advance economic development of his empire. The fall of the KUSHAN EMPIRE by Shapur was one of the most influential events of his kingdom, because it caused the civilized world to be divided between the two empires of Persia and Rome. This new Persia was no longer a partner with Rome but a more powerful rival.

### HURMUZ I, BAHRAM I, BAHRAM II, AND BAHRAM III

Shapur’s successor, Hurmuz I (272–273) was called “brave” for his courageous actions in wars with Rome and Armenia. By allowing the freedom of various religions and limiting the power of clergies and nobles, he followed his father’s lead. These activities brought him an early dismissal from the throne. In Manichaean literature Hurmuz has been mentioned as the “good king.”

Following Hurmuz I, his brother Bahram I (273–276) took the throne. In his reign the policy of tolerance toward non-Zoroastrians was discontinued. Limiting other religions, the clergies of the time gained more

king of Perse-Armenia, rebelled. Bahram IV defeated him and made his brother (Bahramshapur/Vramshapuh) king of Perse-Armenia. Another significant event during his reign was the formal division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western parts (395), which was apparently one of the outcomes of THEODOSIUS I's death, who was killed by his own son. Bahram IV was killed in a violent attack, possibly by a conspiracy of the nobles, which led to a rebellion in his army.

Yazdadjird I (399–420) was most likely a brother of Bahram IV and was to some extent successful in limiting the power of nobles in his court, though he was enthroned by them as a pawn. He was called “delight of the state” and “Rameshtras” meaning “peace-seeker” on his coins.

Tolerating other religions and their followers, Yazdadjird I was not welcomed by the strict Zoroastrian priests, who had labeled him as a “sinner.” However, he imposed his power rather than endanger the stability and independence of his monarchy. Yazdadjird was not able to escape the nobles’ violence and was killed in a conspiracy.

### **BAHRAM V AND FIRUZ I**

Attempting to exclude the son of Yazdadjird from succession, nobles enthroned a descendant of Ardashir I, Khosrow, but he later abdicated, and Bahram seized the throne as Bahram V (420–438). Bahram V was the son of Yazdadjird I. Bahram V had been raised at al-Hira by al-Mundhirir of Lakhm.

Early in his reign Bahram V defeated an invasion of Hayatila Hephthalites in the northeast of Iran and killed their king. In the west of Iran the wars with the Byzantines ended (422) with a 100-year peace treaty between Byzantines and Iran, providing security and religious freedom of Zoroastrians in Byzantium and freedom for Christians in the Sassanid state. Bahram V was a comfort-seeking man and apparently was not concerned with the interference of clergy in his affairs. He was fond of hunting and is said to have died after falling into a swamp while hunting.

The growing interest in Christianity in Armenia created negativity, and to prevent independence Armenia was invaded, and many Christians were killed. The death of Yazdadjird II was followed by a civil war between his sons. His wife, Dinak, as the “queen of queens,” ruled over the country in Ctesiphon for a short time, until her son Hurmuz III (457–459) took the throne; however, the king’s brother Firuz, who was supported by the nobles and priests, defeated and killed Hurmuz and seized power.

A major problem during the reign of Firuz I (459–484) was a seven-year-long famine and drought. Trying to control and manage the country, Firuz remitted taxes and distributed stores of corn and even imported more corn. Following famine and starvation, the country was involved in a war with Hephthalites. In about 469 Firuz was captured and lost Harat to them, agreed to pay tribute, and left his son Kubadh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a poll tax over his entire state to provide his ransom.

Firuz fulfilled his promises, but the Hephthalites did not release Kubadh. Firuz waged war and was killed. The Hephthalites captured many areas in Iran, but Zarmehr, known as Sukhra, one of the great nobles of the state, prevented their advance toward the center of the country. In 484 Zarmehr and other nobles enthroned Balash, Firuz’s brother (484–488), who established peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute. Balash was a kind and just king as mentioned in Christian and Armenian documents, but having an empty treasury, he was not able to control the state and provide stability, even though he encouraged agriculture to improve economic conditions in Iran. In 488 he was deposed by the nobles and priests, whos enthroned Kubadh I (487–531) the son of Firuz.

### **KUBADH I AND KHOSROW I**

The early years of Kubadh I's reign were accompanied by growth of the Mazdakites in Iran. The Mazdak revolution was mainly a reaction toward the increasing power of aristocrats, religious nobles, and the pressure imposed on ordinary people as productive sectors of society and as taxpayers. Mazdak believed that the world was covered in dark, and a resurrection was required to help the light overcome the “darkness.” Accordingly, human beings, who are equally born, should share wealth. It is likely that Mazdak’s philosophy was the first egalitarian and socialistic idea. The competition between the monarchy and clerical institutions caused Mazdak’s thoughts to flourish and spread in the Persian Empire.

Kubadh I, with popular support against the nobles and priests, allied with the movement and their leader, Mazdak. The nobles and priests who found the ongoing situation against their own interests, deposed and imprisoned Kubadh and enthroned his brother, Djamasp. Kubadh escaped prison with the help of his wife and one of his generals and took refuge among the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. In the second phase of his reign Kubadh gradually changed his policies toward Mazdakites and tried to attract the priests’ and nobles’ support. In spite of

the Mazdakites' announcement of Kawus as the crown prince, Kubadh appointed his younger son Khosrow, who successively executed the Mazdakite heads and settled the dispute. Kubadh became involved in a 10-year war with the Hephthalites (503–513) and defeated them so heavily that they were never a threat to Iran's territory again. He defeated the Byzantines in two wars; the first one in 503 at the reign of Anastase and the other in 531 at the reign of JUSTINIAN I.

KHOSROW I (531–579) was remembered as Anushirwan (of immortal soul) and became the subject of legends. He was recorded in history as the most powerful and knowledgeable king of the Sassanids. He led Iran toward a flourishing period. Although he was cruel with Mazdakites at the beginning, in his governing policies he followed Mazdak's socialism and prevented cruelty from the nobles. Properties that had been taken by force were returned to their former owners. The nobles kept their status but lost their power. He tried to satisfy the poor and afterward was entitled as "dadgar," meaning "fair." He implemented a tax reform that paid for his expanded governing system.

At the beginning of his reign he accepted the peace treaty proposed by the Byzantine emperor, Justinian I, and tried to reconstruct the state, especially the destruction left by Mazdakite rebels. With a well-equipped army he revived Sassanid power. A new class of militant landlords was created, and the military was trained and paid regularly so that the army could be a continual power. Kharsaw, who found Byzantine growth and power a threat to Iran, invaded Byzantium and occupied many cities in that state. The Byzantines were obliged to pay tribute and sign a 50-year treaty accepting the expenses for the common defense of the Caucasus passes. Khusraw I destroyed the Hephthalites through an accord with the western Turks and divided Hephthalite territory between the Sassanids and the Turks. At the end of his reign Khosrow occupied YEMEN and annexed it to Iran, expanding Sassanid territory up the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea.

### HURMUZ IV, BAHRAM VI, AND KHOSROW PARWIZ

Khosrow Anushirwan was succeeded by his son Hurmuz IV (579). He was remembered as "Turkzad" meaning "born as a Turk" since his mother was connected to the kings of western TURKS. The conflict between the crown and the nobles resurfaced in his reign. Hurmuz IV is said to have favored common people against the nobles, possibly as a basis of support for his crown. The

Zoroastrian clergy were dissatisfied with Hurmuz IV's tolerance toward other religions and turned against him. Ongoing peace negotiations with Byzantium were progressively impeded by Hurmuz IV, and war broke out again, although there was no clear victor.

At the same time the king of Turks invaded the eastern borders of Iran. Bahram Chubin of the Mihran family, one of the Parthian princes, fought heavily with the Turks and defeated them at Harat, killing their king. Hurmuz IV, afraid of Bahram Chubin's fame and wisdom, sent him immediately to Georgia to fight with the Byzantines, where he was defeated. Jealous of Bahram's popularity, Hurmuz IV disgraced him on the pretext that he held back war booty, provoking Bahram to rebel. Groups of nobles and the military supported Bahram Chubin, and the first steps for the collapse of Hurmuz IV's throne were taken. The rebel forces, including Hurmuz IV's brothers-in-law, dethroned Hurmuz IV, enthroning his son Khosrow. Hurmuz IV was killed. Bahram Chubin, who had more widespread objectives, did not recognize Khosrow's monarchy and attacked Ctesiphon and defeated Khosrow and his uncles. Bahram Chubin entered the capital in 590 and took the throne as Bahram VI (590–591), with upper-class support.

Khosrow, who was later named Khosrow Parwiz (the triumphant) sought help from the Byzantine emperor Maurice. Maurice sent two armies accompanied by his own daughter, Maria, who married Khosrow. Khosrow then defeated Bahram in 591, and he fled to the Turks, where he was killed in the next year. Bahram never was able to obtain legitimacy among the nobles since he did not belong to a royal family. Khosrow Parwiz took preventive measures by selecting his own guards from the Byzantine army and eliminated rival sources of power. His lenient treatment of Christians might have been influenced by the fact that both of his wives (Maria and Shirin) were Christian.

In 602 Maurice was dethroned and killed. His son fled to Iran, and Khosrow recognized him as the new Caesar. Supporting the young Caesar to take over by posing as Maurice's avenger, Khosrow found an opportunity to regain territories ceded to the Byzantines. Khosrow started the last and greatest of Sassanid-Byzantine wars, which lasted about 20 years (604–624). Between 604 and 610 Sassanid armies conquered Armenia, Mesopotamia, and many cities in Syria. Consequently, Byzantium could not control other parts of the empire as firmly as before. Khosrow Parwiz arrested and killed Noman-b-Mundhar, the king of Hira. This unwise violence later proved to be very costly, because Khosrow destroyed the wall between Iran and the Arabs of the

desert. During wars between Iran and Rome, Heraclius found his way to the throne in Byzantine following a revolt; however, he was not able to overcome the chaotic situation. The vigorous Sassanid army conquered Antioch and Damascus (613), and Shahrbaraz, the Sassanid commander, joined by 26,000 messianic Jews, conquered Jerusalem. He burned the churches of the city and deported 35,000 captives to Ctesiphon, the Sassanid capital, along with the patriarch of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross. Then Shahrbaraz invaded ALEXANDRIA (619) and the rest of Egypt.

Another Iranian commander, Shahin, also conquered Asia Minor. Sassanid territory was at this point comparable to Persia of the Achaemenids. Khosrow's victories, especially conquering Egypt, which was a major source of food for CONSTANTINOPLE, forced Heraclius to move his capital to CARTHAGE, an ancient city on the coast of North Africa near Tunis. Using the property and treasurers of the churches, the Roman army was again well equipped and able to defend Rome against Iran.

In this phase of the war the Byzantine army, enjoying an effective navy, crossed the Black Sea and took the war to the Asian arena. In 622 Heraclius invaded Armenia and Adharbaydjan in 626. The Byzantines allied with the Khazars north of the Caucasus. Heraclius advanced into the Mesopotamia plains and descended into the Tigris Valley, where he defeated Sassanid forces at NINEVEH. Khosrow fled to Ctesiphon, leaving Dastagered, his royal palace and animal preserve, for Heraclius to capture in 627.

Although weakened, Khosrow obstinately rejected the peace proposal suggested by Heraclius. At the same time he killed and imprisoned many people, including some of his own army officers. Furious at his behavior and rejection of the peace proposal, in 628 a group of generals and high-ranking officials entered the capital and revolted against him, captured and imprisoned Khosrow, and proclaimed his son Kubadh II as king.

They later asked Kubadh to execute Khosrow. In the ancient history of Iran Khosrow is famous for his luxurious lifestyle. Some experts believe that his interest in such a lifestyle promoted and expanded fine arts, music, and architecture in his reign. After the execution of Khosrow Parwiz, the Sassanid dynasty lost its power and started to collapse.

### **YAZDADJIRD III**

During the four-year period between Khursaw's execution and the enthroning of Yazdadjird III, the last king of the Sassanids (628–632), more than 10 people took power and claimed to be king, none of them exceeding

two months in their reign. The real and absolute governors were the priests and nobles to whom the kings were nothing but a pawn. Shiruya, Khosrow's son, who was enthroned and entitled as Kubadh Firuz (victorious), did not reign more than eight months. He started peace talks with Heraclius and accepted the peace proposal, being aware of Iran's political instability.

Shahrbaraz, the most famous Sassanid general, broke with Khosrow II by the end of his reign and refused to abdicate his provinces, Egypt and Syria. In the summer of 629 he negotitated with Heraclius on his own and left Syria and Egypt. Kubadh II remitted taxes for three years and released many prisoners, in an effort to be unlike his father, Khosrow, but to stabilize his reign and kingdom he killed all of his adult brothers. Leaving only sisters and children, he created subsequent dynastic problems.

Kubadh was succeeded by Ardashir III, just a child (628); Sharbaraz was dissatisfied with the chaotic situation and revolted and killed Ardashir III and made himself king. He reigned for only 42 days before being killed by his own guards.

This was followed by a dynastic crisis, with 11 rulers taking the throne in two years. Khosrow III, who had made himself king in the eastern lands of the Sassanid Empire, was killed, and Jawanshir's reign was also brief. Since none of Khosrow Parwiz's sons were alive, his daughter Buran (who was Kubadh II's wife) was enthroned by the support of the nobles in 630. She struck coins, built bridges, and completed peace negotiations with the Byzantines before being deposed in 631. Her successors were Firuz II, Adhar Midukht, Hurmuz V, and Khosrow IV. At the end of 632 a grandson of Khosrow II, Yazdadjird III (632–651) was proclaimed king. He was the last Sassanid monarch.

The Sassanid position in the Arabian Peninsula had already been weakened by widespread revolts. Arab Muslims formed their own alliances and Sassanid governors acknowledged the prophet Muhammad and converted to Islam. The Muslim forces claimed "equality" and "justice" and promised a "better life" for people and were respected and received warmly in the frontiers and even the capital.

Yazdadjird III, who hoped to reinvigorate his army, fled to Marw and was killed in 652 by a rogue who coveted his elegant clothes and jewelry. Yazdadjird III's death put an end to the Sassanid monarchy in its known frontiers. His son Firuz took refuge in Tang China and was permitted to establish a fire temple.

See also BYZANTINE-PERSIAN WARS; MEDES, PERSIANS, AND ELAMITES; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

**Further reading:** Huart, Clement. *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*. Trans. by M. R. Dobie. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972; Rawlinson, George. *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1875.

MOHAMMAD GHARPOUR AND FARAMARZ KHOJASTEH

## Saul

(c. 1020 B.C.E.) *first king of Israel*

The story of Saul is the story of how ISRAEL received its monarchy. It is a tragic story because Saul represents the acceptance of a line of kings, yet the biblical commentary makes known that this new form of government represents a rejection of direct divine government represented by PATRIARCHS, JUDGES, and PROPHETS. It is doubly sad for Saul because he is the divinely conceded choice for the first king, yet he is by the end of his life the divinely rejected king, displaced by a new divine choice, DAVID. For David (c. 1000 B.C.E.) there is good evidence of his existence, but for Saul all that historians have is the biblical narrative.

Saul's story is told in 1 Samuel 8–31. The text speaks of public dissatisfaction with Israel's lack of the centralized and continued authority that other nations have because of their kings. The main motivating factor is that Israel is disunited in the face of many neighboring hostile nations. The age of the charismatic Judges was over. Samuel as popular leader is the bridge figure between the era of leadership by the Judges and leadership by kings. He is the last remaining judge of his day—also a prophet—and he seeks to find someone who can facilitate the unity and security of Israel. Samuel's choice, Saul, seems like a natural candidate for kingship: He is physically head and shoulders above his compatriots, meek in judgments, courageous in battle, and magnanimous in victory. This first phase of Saul's career as king stunningly accomplished, Samuel, who has dominated the first part of the book of 1 Samuel, now exits the scene.

However, once Saul is on his own, the unraveling of his kingdom begins. Three times he specifically ignores or rejects a royal mandate given to him by Samuel, and three times Samuel reappears in the text to reject Saul's decisions. What is interesting is that Saul does what kings of other nations around Israel do: He wins battles, gives terms of surrender, and presides at national celebrations, but what Samuel faults him for revolves around specifically religious obligations. He should have not presided at a religious sacrifice,

he should have slaughtered the enemy king Agag as a sacred vow, and he should not consult with witches: These are actions that Samuel as prophet finds such fault with that he announces the divine rejection of Saul. Now the divine choice would find another and more unlikely candidate, one who put religious devotion above the human expectations for kings. That new choice would be David, "a man after God's heart." The rest of Saul's story is intertwined with his rival and erstwhile page David. He fights a civil war with David and chases him out of his kingdom into the land of Israel's enemies, the Philistines. The sense of inescapable Greek tragedy envelopes the last phase of his life, as popular opinion, many of his family members, and even his own sanity often desert him. At the end of his troubled life he is surrounded in battle by the Philistines and commits suicide. Yet, the narrative of his life does not end in complete darkness. The people whom he had gallantly rescued at the beginning of his reign risk their lives to retrieve his body from the victorious enemies. And David, his rival, grieves his tragic death, lifting up an elegy of praise for his fallen "hero" at the national funeral.

**Further reading:** King, Philip J., and Lawrence E. Stager. *Life in Biblical Israel*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002; Edwards, Gene. *A Tale of Three Kings*. Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House, 1992.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## scribes

Scribes were key to the administrative and legislative aspects of many societies after the creation of writing and fulfilled numerous functions other than simply record keeping. Very often scribes were instrumental in creating and maintaining the legal, economic, and religious aspects of a culture. In many cultures scribes were a ruling class, and those who possessed literacy maintained a monopoly of knowledge over the largely illiterate agrarian and working-class members of society. In cultures where only a small amount of the population was literate, or even had no concept of symbolic representation, scribal culture was also closely associated with ritual and religion, and in many cases scribes were responsible for the codification of writing, religion, and law. The role of the scribe became important in castes or administrative classes within societies that helped develop and demonstrate the importance of symbolic forms and helped

develop more sophisticated methods of notation. These cases in the West led to the development of the alphabet and in the East to the codification of the Chinese language. Scribes were also extremely important in political structures, and many theorists link scribal culture to the expansion and political solidification of many civilizations.

### MESOPOTAMIA

Mesopotamia was the birthplace of writing and civilization, and as a result, scribes were extremely important as key administrators who maintained administrative and economic offices and also aided in the development of literature, religion, and historical documents. Scribes in Mesopotamia were trained early, in schools known as Tablet Houses, which were associated with important temples.

Scribes were initially not as vital in the FERTILE CRESCENT, growing in importance when the Akkadians settled among Sumerians c. sixth millennium B.C.E. and became the dominant culture in 2350 B.C.E. Their scribes undertook a more systematic notation of the language, retaining the Sumerian ideograms, reading them in their own language, and creating a syllabary based on the Akkadian language.

The Akkadians used writing as something akin to a grid for comprehending and ordering the way in which the world worked. The systems of codified law are also attributed to the influence of scribal culture, and the Sumerian codes, while not the first, were the basis of legal codes for the following 1,000 years. Scribes effectively maintained a monopoly of knowledge where literacy was restricted to a relative few who were trained from birth to belong to the administrative class. Scribal culture was also key in the diffusion of written systems for record keeping and codifying religion that spread throughout the region, particularly to Egypt and other surrounding kingdoms.

### EGYPT

Scribes were extremely important to Egyptian culture, and it is generally thought that writing appeared c. 3150 B.C.E. in Egypt, two centuries after it appeared in SUMER. Scribes in Egypt used papyrus and as a result of its relatively perishable nature compared to the clay tablets used by the Sumerians for their CUNEIFORM writing, much of early Egyptian work has vanished. There is evidence that Egyptian scribal culture helped develop writing systems and HIEROGLYPHICS. In doing this they created a writing system that used phonetics and signs to represent consonants, which, unlike the Sumerian system, helped avoid ambiguity.

There was even a god of writing and of scribes, Thoth, who was considered a tricky god, and the written word was endowed with power where names had hidden meaning. Hieroglyphs were considered, not representations, but living realities that aided in religious ritual and funerals. Hence, scribes were heavily involved in ritual and the organization of Egyptian culture and politics. Egyptian scribes may have been among the earliest in history, and Sumerian writing could be derived from Egyptian writing.

### CHINA

Writing developed independently in China. Earliest surviving examples of Chinese writing date to the 14th century B.C.E., found on bovine scapula bones and tortoise shells used for divination in Yin, the last capital of the SHANG DYNASTY. Already advanced, the writing system consisted of ideograms, pictograms, and logograms that evolved into modern Chinese writing. Short written inscriptions were also cast into Shnag ritual bronze objects, which became long texts detailing political and military events after the establishment of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY c. 122 B.C.E. Bamboo and wood slips and silk fabrics were also probably used as early writing materials but have not survived.

The earliest surviving Chinese writings were the works of priests/diviners who asked questions of the supernatural on behalf of kings and recorded the answers and outcomes. During the Zhou dynasty the diviners became scribes and historians charged with the task of keeping accurate records. Paper was invented in China around the beginning of the Commen Era. The growing size and complexity of the Chinese state and society resulted in a trend that gradually systematized and simplified Chinese script. Written Chinese was adopted as the basis of written Korean, Japanese, and Vitenamese.

### JUDAISM

Known as the people of the book, Judaic culture enjoyed a much higher level of literacy than most cultures, as most of the Judaic tribes were encouraged to read in order to fulfill their religious duties. By the seventh or sixth century B.C.E. scribes became central to religious practice, codified under David when scribes served under a minister in the king's court and wrote and copied official texts, such as those inserted later into the book of David. Priestly scribes were leaders of the dispersed communities in Babylon who kept records of what had been left behind during the Diaspora. Scribes helped the king keep order and levy taxes, and as time went on the importance

of scribes in Judaic culture increased to the point where scribes became key to the political life of the Judaeans.

The scribal figure was often connected with the idea of wisdom and read and commented on the TORAH in synagogue, becoming the primary interpreters of Jewish law. They also played an essential part in the courts and were indispensable in administrating and diplomacy. SOLOMON may have been a scribe king who annotated a mass of texts, commentaries, and translations. As time went on, scribes became associated with Talmudic scholarship, and some scribes wrote copious commentaries, which were only cast in definitive form in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.

Scribal culture was extremely important in the development of ancient civilizations, and they not only developed systems of writing that allowed the passage of knowledge down through history but also helped to codify the languages of various cultures and were extremely influential in most societies in governmental, administrative, religious, and economic aspects of state.

See also AKKAD; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; LIBRARIES, ANCIENT.

**Further reading:** Avrin, Leila. *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1991; Davies, Philip. *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998; Emanuel, Tov. *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 2004; Innis, Harold. *The Bias of Communication*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1951; Logan, Robert. *The Alphabet Effect: The Impact of the Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986; Martin, Henri-Jean. *The History and Power of Writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994; Schams, Christine. *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period*. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

BRIAN COGAN

## Sea Peoples

At the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennia B.C.E. Egypt was beset by a series of invasions. Diverse groups whom the Egyptians associated with “the north” and the Mediterranean Sea carried out these invasions. The most distinguishable groups were the Denyen, Ekwesh, Lukka, Peleset, Shardana, Shekelesh, Teresh, and Weshesh. It is from Egyptian records

that these ethnic groups have come to be designated as Sea Peoples. All came to Egypt from the Aegean region or Cyprus, though individual origins of the separate peoples have been ascribed to regions extending from Sardinia to Syria.

The main sources for information about the Sea Peoples are inscriptions of the Egyptian kings Merneptah and Ramses III, who defeated respectively a Libyan invasion in which some of the Sea Peoples served as mercenaries (1220 B.C.E.) and a direct assault of Sea Peoples on Egypt (1186 B.C.E.). Reliefs at Medinet Habu illustrate the victory of Ramses III over all enemies including the Sea Peoples in highly symbolic representation. For the Philistine community, major sources consist of Assyrian inscriptions, biblical narratives, and archaeological excavations. Numerous minor references associated with the Sea Peoples have been proposed from throughout the Mediterranean.

In the 13th century B.C.E. the most influential civilizations in the eastern Mediterranean (the Egyptian, the HITTITES, the culture of MYCENAE) collapsed. The Sea Peoples, already existing as raiders, traders, and pirates in the region of the Aegean Sea, became major threats to the coasts of these former political powers. The Hittite and Mycenaean Empires disappeared as much due to internal conflict as to the incursion of Sea Peoples, but Egypt survived. Reconstructions of the demise of these powers all include Sea Peoples, but the extent to which these seafarers influenced the actual collapse varies from the catastrophic theory of mass invasion with military conquest, to the opportunistic theory with settlement following the rise of political vacuums.

Successful at colonizing the southern coast of Asia Minor, some Sea Peoples moved down the Levantine coast to form settlements stretching from Asia Minor to Egypt. Established cities that attempted to slow or stop this activity, such as UGARIT, might have been overrun by these invaders; however, most settlement may well have come about by infiltration from other communities. Skilled at sailing and fighting, many of the Sea Peoples turned to mercenary service. Egypt itself had made use of mercenary Shardana even as the Hittite Empire had employed the Lukka when these two empires fought each other. When the Libyans and Meshwesh allied to attack Egypt, they hired Shardana, Shekelesh, and Ekwesh for their unsuccessful invasion. Under their own command 34 years later the massed Sea Peoples attacked Egypt from the Mediterranean Sea by ship and from their communities to the northeast by land. Entire families came with the invaders intending to settle the Nile Delta in line with the Levant. Instead, the invaders

were decisively defeated by the Egyptians, resulting in large numbers of both dead and captured, which ends the story of the Sea Peoples.

In the Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs the Sea Peoples are depicted with unique features and costumes reflecting the diverse cultures now included in the blanket term *Sea People*. However, the ships associated with the invasion are all of a kind, with prows and sterns shaped into the form of a stylized bird's head. Square sails provide the propulsion, and there is a crow's nest for observation. The vessels resemble ships of the early Phoenician trading variety, save that no oars are represented. The warriors wear various styles of short kilts, neckbands, and some form of breast covering. Headdresses are of two major kinds: horned helmets and feathered, flanged "top hats." Spears, swords, and shields are the standard weapons displayed. In the Egyptian depiction the Sea Peoples are both chaotic in their attack before the orderly Egyptian archers and defeated and captured even as they fight; these depictions are a form of Egyptian propaganda.

At the conclusion of Ramses III's defeat of the Sea Peoples, the Peleset and their allies were driven from Egypt proper into the Mediterranean coastal area northeast of the Egyptian border where they were thenceforth known as Philistines. Their warrior culture settled down to a sedentary life around five central cities: Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gath, and Gaza. After expanding their territorial control westward to the hill country, the Philistines took up agriculture, modest manufacturing, metallurgy, and trade, for which their location was ideal. Egypt to the south, the Phoenician cities to the north, and the Mediterranean to the west allowed them to become the market center for the state of Judah to their east. The cities remained autonomous and independent until the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, who invaded Philistia in 734 B.C.E. and subjugated the region. The end of the Philistines is generally accepted to come with the disappearance of the region in 604 B.C.E. into NEBUCHADNEZZAR II's Neo-Babylonian Empire.

Archaeological excavations at Philistine sites confirm material and religious connections to the Aegean and to Cyprus. Pottery resembling Mycenaean ware continued to be manufactured along with the distinctive Philistine "beer mugs" even as pottery construction adapted from the indigenous population was produced. Evidence of trade or migration related to Anatolia and Syria also appears at the sites. By the time of the incorporation of the Philistine cities into the Neo-Babylonian Empire the culture had been assimilated into regional traditions.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, LATER PERIODS; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; ISRAEL AND JUDAH; PHARAOH.

**Further reading:** Oren, Eliezer D., ed. *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*. University Monograph 108; University Symposium Series 11. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000; Sanders, N. K. *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

LOWELL HANDY

## Second Sophistic

The philosophical school of SOPHISM, which first flourished in fifth-century B.C.E. Athens, underwent a revival in the second century C.E., and for a brief period it attained a measure of intellectual fashionableness. Although the political center of the Western world moved from Greece to Rome, the new capital did not feel the need to enforce its status as the center of the intellectual world. Instead, many Romans were happy to accept the importation of new ideas and religious systems, from whichever part of their burgeoning empire they should arise. Within this generally liberal atmosphere, Greek and especially Athenian systems of thought held a special place.

Greek was likely to be the language of intellectual discussion among the educated urban elite, and familiarity with the works of the past was an essential part of refinement and statesmanship. A revival in interest in Greek learning was ushered in by the emperor HADRIAN in the second century C.E., and this inspired the growth of a set of professional teachers who came to be labeled Sophist and to be members of the Atticist school—that is, to be from Attica, or Athens. Unlike the original Sophists, the later teachers focused entirely on the techniques of rhetoric and ability to argue so as to win an argument. Their methods had no ethical or truth-seeking element and were, therefore, susceptible to the criticism of sophism that it was amoral and improper for a person of good faith to use.

Those whose writings have been preserved and who have been associated with this movement include the historians Dio Cassius and Herodian, Maximus, Aelius Aristides, and Polemon of Athens. Polemon managed a successful school of rhetoric at Smyrna and was highly regarded by the emperors TRAJAN, Hadrian, and ANTONINUS PIUS. According to legend, Polemon had himself buried alive at the age of 56 to escape the misery of chronic gout. Since most extant works of this group are

concerned mostly with substantive matters rather than in the practice of sophistry as a deliberate technique, there is no specific body of work that commemorates the Second Sophistic movement.

**Further reading:** Cassius, Dio. *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustine*. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert. New York: Penguin Classics, 1987; Danziger, Danny, and Nicholas Purcell. *Hadrian's Empire*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2005; Maximus of Tyre, *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*. Ed. and trans. by E. M. Trapp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

JOHN WALSH

## Seleucid Empire

The Seleucid Empire (312–63 B.C.E.) was the largest of the Hellenistic states that emerged from the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Seleucus I (c. 358–281 B.C.E.), one of Alexander’s generals, founded the Seleucid Empire in 312. Seleucus, who took the title Nicator, or “victor,” was the most successful combatant in the bloody and protracted wars of the DIADOCHI. The empire he founded stretched from the Middle East and Asia Minor to BACTRIA in Central Asia. Seleucus initially claimed the Macedonian conquests in India as well but was forced to abandon them to CHANDRAGUPTA II around 305 B.C.E. Seleucus was later killed by Ptolemy Keraunos, a member of the ruling Egyptian dynasty.

The Seleucid dynasty drew from both Greco-Macedonian and Near Eastern traditions of rule. The Seleucid monarch was theoretically not identified with a particular people, but in practice, was Greek in culture. Greeks and Macedonians constituted the vast majority of the kingdom’s governing elite, known as the king’s friends. The Seleucids claimed a particularly strong relationship with the Greek god Apollo but also patronized the traditional religion of Babylon and presented themselves as rulers in the Mesopotamian and Persian traditions. Like other Hellenistic rulers, they claimed divinity.

The original capital of the empire was Seleucia on the Tigris, but it finally settled at Antioch in Syria. The empire’s vast size made complete centralization impossible. Drawing from the Persian Achaemenid political tradition of dividing the empire into satrapies, the early Seleucids divided their empire into large administrative districts mostly assigned to members of the royal family.

Another disadvantage of the size of the Seleucid Empire was that it faced problems on several frontiers,

making it difficult for Seleucid kings to follow consistent foreign and military policies. After Seleucus the Seleucids lost much of their direct control over Iran and Bactria. Around the middle of the third century B.C.E. a new Greek kingdom arose in Bactria, while Iran fell to the Iranian Parthians. Antiochus III (r. 223–187 B.C.E.), known as Megas or “the Great,” reasserted Seleucid overlordship in this area in the late third century B.C.E., but his success proved short lived. In Asia Minor the Seleucids lost territories to invading Gauls and to a secession that led to the foundation of the independent Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamum, which would become a perpetual rival.

The Egyptian PTOLEMIES challenged Seleucid leadership in the Hellenistic Middle East. Antiochus expelled the Ptolemies from Palestine and Phoenicia, a long-standing area of contention between the two dynasties, after the Battle of the Panium in 200 B.C.E. However, the most fatal rival of Seleucia was the rising power of the Mediterranean, the Roman Republic. Antiochus came into conflict with the Romans when he sought to expand into Asia Minor and Greece. After two defeats Antiochus agreed to the Peace of Apamea in 188 B.C.E., withdrawing from Europe and western Asia Minor and disbanding his navy and elephant force.

After Antiochus the Seleucid Empire was caught between the Romans in the west and the Parthians in the east. The empire also faced a major internal challenge from the population of Judaea. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (r. 175–163 B.C.E.) was an avid promoter of Hellenic culture and of his royal cult. These policies provoked a revolt of the Jews, led by the MACCABEES, who eventually managed to establish Judaea as an independent kingdom. Antiochus IV was also forced into a humiliating withdrawal from Egypt, which he had reduced to a Seleucid satellite, when the Roman Senate sent an emissary demanding that he leave. The fact that Antiochus agreed to withdraw when faced merely by a representative of the Senate, not a Roman army, was particularly humiliating.

Antiochus died attempting to restore Seleucid power in the east. His death was followed by more defeats and turmoil within the Seleucid house between the descendants of Antiochus IV and his brother and royal predecessor, Seleucus IV Philopator (r. 187–175 B.C.E.). Mithridates I of Parthia took Babylon in 142 B.C.E. and captured the Seleucid ruler Demetrius II Nicator (r. 145–138, 129–126 B.C.E.) in 138 B.C.E. There was a partial Seleucid recovery under Demetrius’s brother Antiochus VII when he advanced far into Parthian territory, but he was killed in battle in 129 B.C.E. The wife of both Demetrius and Antiochus, Cleopatra Thea from

the Ptolemaic family, was the only Seleucid woman to rule under her own authority (r. 125–121 B.C.E.). Seleucid power dwindled to Syria while the last Seleucids fought bitterly among themselves. Tigranes of Armenia briefly conquered the late Seleucid state, and finally the Roman general POMPEY in 64 B.C.E. reduced Syria to a Roman province. The last Seleucid, Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (r. 69–64 B.C.E.) was murdered shortly thereafter.

**Further reading:** Green, Peter. *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990; Sherwin-White, Susan and Amelie Kuhrt. *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Tarn, W. W. *Hellenistic Civilization*. New York: New American Library, 1961.

WILLIAM E. BURNS

## Seneca

(3 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) *Roman philosopher and statesman*

Lucius Annaeus Seneca's father, Marcus Annaeus Seneca (Seneca the Elder, c. 55 B.C.E.–39 C.E.), was an imperial procurator. He so mastered public speaking and debate that he became an authority on rhetoric. Marcus Annaeus had two other sons besides Lucius Annaeus Seneca. The eldest was Junius Annaeus Gallio, who as governor of Achaea declined to exercise jurisdiction over PAUL (Acts 18:11–17). Marcus Annaeus's third son Annaeus Mela was an important financier and the father of Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) the poet. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (Seneca the Younger) was born the middle son at Corduba, Iberia (modern Córdoba, Spain). He became the leading Roman intellectual of his day and a successful orator, lawyer, tragedian, Stoic philosopher, statesman, and wealthy financier.

Seneca the Younger studied the Greek poets and playwrights and law in his youth. He was also attracted to the mysticism associated with Pythagorean philosophy. Later in life he adopted STOICISM. As a young man, Seneca served in the Roman administration of Egypt under Tiberius (16–31 C.E.) where he gained experience as an administrator and financier. He also acquired a taste for natural philosophy, studying geology, marine life, and meteorology. After 31 C.E. Seneca went to Rome to train as a Roman lawyer. There he distinguished himself with brilliant legal oratory, causing the emperor Caligula to threaten his life. He was accused of having illicit relations with Julia Livilla, sister of Caligula. The reason

for the accusation is not clear but the notorious Valeria Messalina (c. 22–48 C.E.) may have been involved as an opponent of the potential wealth and power of Seneca.

Seneca went into exile on Corsica, and while there he wrote numerous works, including tragedies, poems, and essays. In 49 C.E. Seneca was appointed a praetor by the Senate and recalled to Rome by the empress Agrippina to serve as the tutor of her son, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. Then aged 12, he would become emperor NERO after the poisoning death of the emperor Claudius in 54 C.E. During the first five years of the reign of Nero both Seneca and Burrus, a Roman army officer, aided the management of the public affairs of Rome. They were able to restrain Nero and Agrippina. Neither one actually held office but were able to influence public affairs to the benefit of the empire. Nero eventually listened to the more demagogic of his courtiers who encouraged his murderous impulses. They also sowed suspicion in Nero's mind about Seneca and Burrus.

In 58 C.E. Seneca was the target of political attacks by a number of people, including Publius Suillius Rufus, on an array of charges from sleeping with the emperor's mother to introducing Nero to pederasty to abuse of power. However, the most serious charge was the contrast between Seneca's philosophical teachings and his political practice. Using his position with Nero, Seneca was able to gain fame and wealth. During the early years of Nero's reign Seneca and Burrus were almost as powerful as Nero. Eventually, Marcus Suillius Nerullinus charged Seneca with hypocrisy for denouncing tyranny while tutoring a tyrant. He also charged that there was no philosophy in the world that showed how to gain the immense wealth held by Seneca or that justified Seneca's opulent spending.

In 62 C.E. Burrus died under suspicious circumstances, which broke Seneca's power. To escape Nero he retired with the emperor's permission, and in the three remaining years of his life he wrote on philosophy, including *Epistulae Morales to Lucilius the Younger*. He traveled a good deal with his second wife, Paulina, and rarely visited Rome. In 65 C.E. the conspiracy against Nero conducted by Caius Calpurnius Piso, and others, implicated Seneca. Nero ordered Seneca to commit suicide, which he did.

Seneca's death is described in the works of Tacitus, and his surviving literary works include 12 philosophic essays. His essay *Consolations (On Consolation)* expressed his grief at the loss of sons. His essay *De Clementia*, addressed to Nero, commends mercy in a ruler. His *De vita beata* and *De Otio* discuss living as a Stoic sage. Seneca's surviving meteorological essay

was, as was his work on scientific questions in *Naturales Quaestiones*, inspired by the Stoic philosophy of Poseidonius. Nine of Seneca's plays have survived. They are tragedies that express the Stoic belief that disaster comes when passion destroys reason. They were greatly influenced by the plays of EURIPIDES, AESCHYLUS, and SOPHOCLES. Of Seneca's letters 124 have survived. His surviving satire, *Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii* (*The Pumpkinification of the Divine Claudius*) ridicules the deification of the emperor Claudius.

See also PYTHAGORAS; ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Campbell, Robin. *Letters from a Stoic: Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969; Lucius Annaeus Seneca. *The Stoic Philosophy of Seneca: Essays and Letters of Seneca*. Ed. by Moses Hadas. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958; Holland, Francis Caldwell. *Seneca*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969; Motto, Anna Lydia, and John R. Clark. *Seneca, a Critical Bibliography, 1900–1980: Scholarship on His Life, Thought, Prose, and Influence*. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1989.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Septimus Severus

(146–211 C.E.) Roman emperor

Septimus Severus was founder of the African dynasty of Roman emperors. He came from a family of Roman citizens who had served as imperial bureaucrats in northern Africa. He found favor with the emperor MARCUS AURELIUS and served in many high provincial positions.

Under Emperor Commodus, Septimus Severus was appointed the legate of the fourth legion in 191 C.E., stationed on the Euphrates. He disdained traditional Roman ways and saw himself as a soldier and ruler of the East, becoming immersed in the religion and culture. He married a member of a priestly family of Emesa and solidified his influence over the politics of the eastern provinces. When his own soldiers killed Emperor Pertinax in 193, Severus was proclaimed emperor by his own legions of the East and by the Danube legions. Some scholars speculate that support for Severus in both the East and West make it clear that he was a part of the conspiracy to overthrow Pertinax, but there is no concrete proof.

Severus believed his destiny to rule the empire was found in careful study of the positions of the stars in the heavens. He strengthened his control over the empire by

executing the prefect of the infamous Praetorian Guard and put his trust in barbarian troops over the Roman legions under his control. Granting of land and money to troops showed his preference for the barbarians, as well as giving Roman women in marriage to barbarian officers and displaying their likeness on new coins. The Roman soldiers in the Praetorian Guard were replaced by barbarian troops from the outlying districts of the empire.

Although he had the support of many legions in the East and south of the Danube, Severus had trouble taking control of the whole empire and spent many years fighting battles against regional generals in Britain, GAUL, and Mesopotamia. Not every opponent was a rival for the title of Caesar; many simply did not want Septimus Severus to rule the empire. After defeating every opponent, Severus shook the social circles of Rome by granting the right of every common soldier to enter the equestrian order and serve in the Roman Senate. This incensed the Roman gentry, but Severus suffered no repercussions from his actions.

He began the fifth persecution of Christians and made it a crime against the state to convert to Judaism or Christianity. Saints Perpetua and Felicity, highly revered by the church, were martyred during this persecution. Severus traveled to Britain in 208, trying to restore order to the province and gain support for a vigorous military program.

While there, he restored HADRIAN's Wall and ensured the protection of the province from the barbarian Picts to the north. He gave control over the outlying province to his sons and died amid a family feud for control of the area.

See also DRUIDS AND PICTS; MARTYROLOGIES; PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Magno, Cyril, ed. *The Oxford History of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Scarre, Christopher. *Chronical of the Roman Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial Rome*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

RUSSELL JAMES

## Servant Songs of Isaiah

The Servant Songs refers to a group of texts found in the biblical book of Isaiah. These passages center upon someone known as the Servant of the Lord. This person or character is commissioned by the God of the Bible to carry out a mission in relation to the nation of ISRAEL.

There are at least four such blocs in the book of Isaiah that have been identified as Servant Songs: 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12. All these blocs are found in the latter half of Isaiah, often called “Second Isaiah.” Bible scholars beginning with Bernhard Duhm (1892) isolated these passages and suggested that they could be separated from the rest of the book without changing the literary development of the surrounding material. Together these passages appeared to tell their own story and theology. At the same time they do not necessarily form a clear-cut literary unit as though together they form a complete book. Almost all Bible scholars now accept the existence of the Servant songs. In addition to the four blocs, some scholars also think that some of the surrounding material of Isaiah has been adjusted to accommodate the songs. Thus, 42:5–9; 49:7–13; 50:10–11 respond to each of the first three songs. The last Servant Song, the longest and most poignant, might serve as a fitting conclusion to all the other songs and responses.

The first song features the “Lord” of Israel as the speaker. The Lord has chosen the Servant and given the Spirit so that he can bring “judgment” to the nations that oppose Israel. The Servant will accomplish the task without violence. The Servant delivers the second song. He says that he is chosen to restore Israel and to be a light for the nations surrounding Israel. The third song also has the Servant for the speaker. He is a teacher who encounters opposition, but God will grant success and accomplish the divine plan through the Servant. The fourth song is the longest and most eloquent and elevated of the songs. The speaker is not identified. The Servant has died, but the death has accomplished something for “the many,” a Semitic way of saying human beings. The Servant had been popularly regarded as guilty of wrongdoing, but he will be vindicated and raised up by God. Sometimes it is regarded as the climax of the Servant Songs. The lines of the fourth song are the most frequently cited passage of the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament.

If the songs can be put together into a progression of action, they tell of the Servant’s career, that is, his calling, activities, popular rejection, death, and vindication. The level of misunderstanding, opposition, and hostility is so great that often Jews and Christians refer to the person as the “Suffering Servant.” In the ancient world someone who was a servant was not always an abject slave or menial laborer. Often the servant would publicly represent the master and carry authority of the master, so the Servant might be a dignified or important person for the writer of Isaiah. At the same time the servant’s fate would reflect on the master, so the treat-

ment of the Servant in these songs suggests the relationship between Israel and Israel’s God.

The problem is determining who Isaiah considers to be the Servant. Readers often find several candidates: Israel as a nation, a collective body within Israel (“the remnant”), the community surrounding the writer of the songs (“Isaiah’s disciples”), or a specific person (MOSES, DAVID, Cyrus). Jews are traditionally sympathetic to the corporate Servant identity; while Christians normally find in Jesus the “Suffering Servant.” It is also possible that Servant may be an idealized Israel as represented in an idealized person, thus adopting a composite among the above options and appealing to traditional Jews and Christians.

Christians find in the Servant Songs a messianic image of Jesus Christ (e.g., Acts 8:32–35). JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH himself may have seen himself as the fulfillment of these passages (see Mark 8:31; 9:30–32; 10:33–34). Christians see in the Servant an explanation for Jesus’s expiatory suffering, that is, he was commissioned by God to bear the sins of the people. Thus, Christianity teaches that suffering has a positive value and that it is not simply a punishment for sin. On the other hand, the apostle PAUL also adapts the image of the Servant to his own life and mission among the Diaspora Jews and non-Jews (Acts 13:47; Gal. 1:15; Rom. 15, 21). Paul’s use shows how Christians and Jews can agree on what the Servant image represents: an insight into the way that the biblical God interacts with humanity in the realm of suffering, judgment, and salvation.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERO-DOXIES); MESSIANISM.

**Further reading:** McKenzie, J. L. *Second Isaiah*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1968; Seitz, Christopher R. “The Book of Isaiah, 40–66.” In *New Interpreter’s Bible*, Vol. 6. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Shang dynasty

The Shang is the first truly historic Chinese dynasty (c. 1766–1122 B.C.E.). It is also called the Yin, after its last capital city, where the last 12 kings ruled c. 1395–1122 B.C.E. Traditional accounts of the Shang came under doubt until the discovery of inscribed oracle bones unearthed near a modern town called ANYANG in present-day Henan (Honan) Province in 1900. Systematic digging at Anyang beginning in 1928 revealed an

extensive city and more than 100,000 oracle bones; the writing on some of them is the oldest deciphered from which later written Chinese evolved. Numerous sites excavated since show that by the mid-third millennium B.C.E. an interrelated culture had spread over a wide area in China. However, the core of Shang civilization lay across northern China from the western edge of the Yellow River valley to the coast in Shandong (Shantung) Province, with the core region in modern Henan.

Tang (T'ang) the Successful founded the dynasty, overthrowing the last tyrant king of the XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY, named Jie (Chieh, c. 1766 B.C.E.). According to tradition, Tang established his capital at Ao or Xiao (Hsiao). The dynastic name Shang derived from the name of its sacred city, near Shangjiu (Shang-ch'iu) in eastern Henan. Ruins beneath the present city, called Zhengzhou (Chengchow), correspond to early Shang in time. Shang kings moved their capital five times, the last capital being Yin, which gave its name to the last phase of the dynasty. Although a Shang-era city wall has been uncovered at Zhengzhou, which would be consistent with the site being a capital city, the absence so far of contemporary written records or royal tombs there preclude definite identification of this and other sites as the various dynastic capitals. The fact that later Shang-era remains in Zhengzhou were of poorer quality than the earlier layer suggests the moving of the capital to other locations. It is not clear why the capital moved five times, exhaustion of tin mines near to each capital could have been a motive because the Shang was a Bronze Age culture. Bronze was power in ancient China, and tin is a key alloy in bronze.

### THE SHANG CAPITAL AT ANYANG

Mature Shang civilization excavated at Anyang shows that Yin was divided into several sections totaling over 16 sq. miles. The royal palace complex had a huge tamped earth platform above a drainage system, on which there were placed regularly spaced stone or bronze bases that once supported timber pillars. The palaces and ritual buildings once had walls of wattle-and-daub construction. Smaller houses nearby presumably served for storage or to accommodate other persons. There were also bronze foundries, stone and jade workshops, pottery kilns, and living quarters for workmen. The royal cemetery consisted of 11 large graves, each for the 11 kings who ruled from Yin, excluding the last one, who died in his burning city and did not get a kingly burial; they are surrounded by more than 1,000 smaller graves. The large graves are square or oblong and had ramps that led to the burial chamber 30 feet

underground. Although all had been looted, it is apparent that they were richly furnished with objects to serve the owner in the next life. Besides objects, dogs, horses, chariots, and human sacrificial victims also accompanied the grave owner to the next world.

Archaeologists estimate that it required 7,000 working days to excavate each of the large graves. In 1976 the intact tomb of Lady Fu, a wife of the powerful king Wuding (Wu-ting) was excavated. It contained more than 1,600 precious objects of jade, bone, ivory, bronze, and other materials and sacrificial victims. Buildings once stood atop the underground graves where rituals were held for the dead, but they have long perished. Beyond the city core at Yin and other sites were the semisubterranean dwellings of farmers. There was no city wall around Anyang, but a wall of pounded earth 30 feet high, 65–100 feet wide, and 4.5 miles long protected Ao. Archaeologists estimated that it took 12 years for 10,000 workmen, each working for 330 days a year, to complete the task. This suggests that the Shang government was rich in human and material resources.

### ORACLE BONES

The use of tortoiseshells and scapula bones of bovines for divination was peculiar to China. They were used during the Neolithic, Xia (Hsia) dynasty, and early Shang, but only during the Yin phase of the Shang dynasty was writing found on the oracle bones. Shang kings consulted the high god, called Shangdi (Shang-ti), and their ancestors very frequently for advice on many subjects, including the weather, crop conditions, war and peace, the rulers' health, their wives' pregnancy, and hunting.

The usual formula specified the date, the diviner's name, the king's name, and the question, all written down on the bone. Then a heated bronze rod was inserted into an indentation predrilled into the bone, causing cracks, which contained the answer, also written down, and often the actual outcome. The used oracle bones had holes drilled on top through which cords were threaded to bind them together.

Bundles of them must have been stored, thus their preservation. The oracle bone inscriptions are the oldest deciphered Chinese writing. They were already sophisticated and therefore must have gone through a long evolutionary process. They contain symbols that are pictographs, ideographs, and logographs, all characteristic of later written Chinese. The oracle bone inscriptions contain the names of all 30 rulers of the dynasty, proving the traditional accounts correct. They give data on natural phenomena such as eclipses and comets, which

help date the events. They also include the names of many officials but without details of their functions.

The oracle bone inscriptions make clear that a king ruled the Shang state, with the throne passing among men of the royal clan that varied from one brother to another and between father and son. The kings had multiple wives, some like Lady Hao, a wife of king Wuding, was very powerful, commanding troops and managing her own estates. Royal wives came from other clans than the royal one. Officials bearing different titles assisted the king, and they were probably aristocrats, but we do not know their functions. Many oracle bones discuss the king waging wars with 1,000 to 5,000 troops against neighboring "barbarians." The leaders rode to war in chariots drawn by two or four horses, wielding bronze weapons, leading infantrymen. The main weapons were bronze dagger-axes, swords, compound bows, and arrows with bronze tips. When not warring, Shang kings and nobles hunted for sport and probably for meat; many oracles dealt with hunting and big game.

### METALWARE AND CRAFTS

While bronze was used for weapons and chariot fittings, the largest use of bronze was to make ritual vessels used in sacrifices to gods and ancestors. The earliest Chinese metalware dates to approximately 2000 B.C.E., and many of the early forms have their prototype in potteryware. By late Shang the bronze smiths' works had reached the highest form of artistry and technological progress. Vessels of complex form and decorated with intricate geometric patterns and animal masks weighing up to 1,500 pounds were made by the piece mold method. They differed from the lost wax method used by metalsmiths in the ancient West. Short inscriptions were also cast into many bronze vessels that bear the personal or clan name of the owner and that clearly designated the pieces for ritual use. More than 30 different shaped vessels of different sizes were produced for the storage, cooking, serving, and consumption of food and alcohol in ceremonies that honored gods and ancestors. Those pieces that survived were buried with the dead. Jades were used as luxury items such as ornaments and also used in rituals. Shang craftspeople also excelled in making a high fired pottery that approached stoneware, in using the sap of a lac tree to make lacquerware, and in making silk fabrics. No Shang silks have survived but there are imprints of silk fabric in bronzes that were once wrapped in them.

### FARMING

Farming continued along the lines developed since the NEOLITHIC AGE, using the same stone and wooden

tools, for bronze was too precious for ordinary use. The principal grains of north China were various forms of millet, followed by wheat. Animals provided protein, hides, bones, and antlers. Dogs, pigs, cattle, water buffalo, sheep, and horses were domesticated, used for meat, as draft animals, and in ritual sacrifices. Many different kinds of fowl were raised, as were fish for food, and turtles for shells used in divination. Hunting of wild animals provided sport and food. Several kinds of fermented alcoholic beverages were drunk in rituals and feasting; they were made from millet. Archaeologists have found a site that was possibly used for manufacturing alcohol. The many bronze objects for serving and drinking alcohol testify to the frequency of its use. The founding fathers of the successor ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY accused the last Shang king of many crimes and vices, among them were excessive drinking and warned their people against drunkenness.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Shang dynasty was directly descended from the Neolithic cultures of northern China and was centered along present-day Henan Province. Their unity of conception of Shang art and the unique and independently derived writing system define the Shang people and civilization as distinctive. In its fully mature phase, called the Yin, it headed many states that bore variants of the same culture and were less powerful and sophisticated than Yin. Shang was a complex and highly organized society, headed by a king, who was supported by his officials, artisans, and farmers. It is uncertain who the sacrificial victims were, whether they were enslaved prisoners of war or retainers who accompanied their superiors in death. The agricultural economy did not seem sophisticated enough to require the labor of slaves.

See also WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chi. *Shang Civilization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980; Li, Chi. *Anyang*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; Rawson, Jessica. *Ancient China, Art and Archaeology*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

### Shintoism

Believed to be an indigenous religion of Japan, Shintoism (or Shinto) involved the worshipping of *kami* and

prescribed shrine rituals as a way of showing respect and devotion. The term was not in use until the 19th century. Shinto is the religious structure that provides definition and a framework in which the practitioner can navigate the worship of specific *kami*. Shintoism is also believed to encompass the indigenous animistic beliefs of the Japanese and was an attempt to formalize different types of beliefs into a cohesive structure. The word *kami* is the collective term used to describe the representation of what can be referred to as beings (or deities) found within such things as mountains and rivers. Deceased persons are sometimes able to become *kami*; however, this is a rare occurrence. The written characters that make the word *Shinto* consist of two *kanji*, the first being *shin* (meaning “god” but also translated as “*kami*”) and the second being *tao* (meaning “path”). The literal translation means “way of the gods.” It is believed that the Yamato imperial court systematically deployed *kami* worship as a religious system during the third century C.E.

Shinto is widely recognized as an essentially Japanese religious system, having come into existence during the animistic Jomon Period (12,000 to 400 B.C.E.) and practiced by rural rice-cultivating peoples from the Yayoi Period (400 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.). Before the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which saw Shinto becoming the sanctioned religion, there were three distinct forms of Shinto, or more appropriately, *kami* worship: These were Rural, Shrine, and Imperial Shinto. Before the intervention of the imperial state *kami* worship was, at best, disorganized and highly individualistic. From the fifth century C.E. Shinto practices amalgamated with Mahayana Buddhist and Confucian theology. Shinto’s amalgamation with Buddhism and the ritualistic nature of Buddhist practices contributed to its remarkable integration into all levels of society, from the imperial family to the rural population. It is believed that the naming of the religion occurred as a way of distinguishing it from Buddhism and Confucianism.

Rural *kami* worship was often referred to as folk Shinto. In order to ensure prosperous crops and a harmonious village life *kami* would be worshipped through rituals designed to appeal to or appease the deities. Each region in Japan was thought to have different rituals concerning the *kami* in their area, and each ritual was defined by the type of *kami* worshipped (such as rice cultivation and fish farming), hence different regions in Japan would have had entirely different and diverse systems of worship. As agricultural developments increased and society underwent social and political change, ritual was increasingly employed to ensure a balance between the deities (*kami*) and the people. As



*Shinto is a Japanese religious system that began before the historic era in Japan.*

society modernized so did the need for a codified structure of religion and religious practices.

Shrine Shinto and imperial Shinto are similar in that they were dependent upon *kami* worship as ritual. During the beginnings of the imperial state an official network of shrines was established, and through imperial decrees and ritualized (and state-controlled) prayers (*norito*) the *kami* system was formalized. Chinese influences and concepts of deities during the Yamato court, such as *ama-tsukami* (heavenly deities), also contributed to the continual construction of Shintoism. The majority of information obtained from primary sources concerning Shinto comes from those written during the Yamato court era. The construction of *ritsuryo* law (Japanese imperial law) focused particularly on shrine rituals that meant that many indigenous rituals or practices had not been written down. Imperial Shinto practices are more likely to have survived in historical record, as imperial households commissioned such records.

One such practice is the continual use of clerical titles denoting Shinto priests and practitioners in relation to their duties at various shrines. The highest-ranking priest or priestess in Japan is referred to as Saishu and is affiliated with the Grand Shrine of Ise. A member of the imperial family most often holds this position. The lowest-ranking Shinto priest is the Toya, a part-time layperson chosen from village members to enter the shrine for a specific amount of time. Women were originally allowed to hold ceremonial positions within Shinto; however, as the religion underwent a

metamorphosis from a rural-based practice to an imperial one they were increasingly relegated to positions that entailed less power, as assistants to the male members of the priesthood.

The oldest known texts in which Shinto practices appear is the 712 c.e. *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters) and the 720 c.e. *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan). Both texts make mention of the belief that two *kami* (Izanami and Izanagi) created Japan. Izanami gives birth to a *kami* of fire but dies in the process and resides in a place called Yomi no Kuni (Land of Darkness). Izanagi is shocked to witness Izanami in such a place and returns to the living, stopping on the way to wash himself of his visit to Yomi no Kuni. The stories indicate an early belief in death as a pollution of the living and are thought to have guided the creation and formulation of other Shinto practices. The chronicles also legitimized the rule of Emperor Mimakiri-hiko by ascribing him the name *hatsu-kuni-shirasu sumera-mikoto* (First Emperor to Rule the Realm). The emperor initiated a state-sponsored adoption of *kami* worship that included all members of the royal family and the elite ruling members of society. Before this, *kami* worship lay in the hands of the local rulers and was based more upon shamanistic principles than ritualized worship.

*Kami* were, and still are, found in prominent and often strategic locations throughout Japan. The original underlying foundation of Shinto is the worship of *kami* to ensure prosperity, health, and an abundance of food and supplies. The Yamato court focused on the Mount Miwa *kami* called Omononushi, which appeared in the form of a snake and was the subject of agricultural ritual. The area was fertile and consistently provided sustenance for the population, thus the *kami* was considered powerful. Strategic sites such as the opening of a sea route also had important *kami* associated with them, such as Sumiyoshi, the *kami* of Naniwazu (Osaka). However, while *kami* tied to the environment were viewed as important, the Yamato court also worshipped *kami* spirits found in ritual objects and objects such as ceremonial weapons. This type of worship became centralized in court life as it pointed toward the power of the court and enabled the transference of power through an object (for example, *kami* spirits embodied within a ceremonial sword) that was readily visible.

Shinto became a structured religious system by the systematic integration of *kami* worship into early imperial Japanese law and society. It is an indigenous religion that has also absorbed Buddhist and some Confucian rituals and philosophies. Shintoism is notoriously difficult to define, especially in light of the fact that the rituals associated with the religion were often fluid in

their approach and highly interchangeable depending on the circumstances of offering.

See also JOMON CULTURE; THERAVEDA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM; YAMATO CLAN AND STATE; YAOI CULTURE.

**Further reading:** Inoue, Nobutaka, ed. *Shinto: A Short History*. Trans. by Mark Teeuwen and John Breen. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003; Shinto Committee for the Ninth International Congress for the History of the Religious. *An Outline of Shinto Teachings*. Tokyo: Jinja Honcho and Kokugakuin University, Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1958; Teeuwen, Mark, and John Breen, eds. *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000; Toki, Masanori. "Priesthood: Shinto Priesthood." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Detroit, MI: Macmillian Reference USA, 2004; Underwood, A. C. *Shintoism: The Indigenous Religion of Japan*. London: Epworth Press, 1934; Watson, Katherine. *The Heian Civilization of Japan*. London: Phaidon Press, 1983.

SAMAYA L. SUKHA

## Silk Road

A German explorer of western China and Central Asia coined the name *Silk Road* at the end of the 19th century. It describes a route of international commerce that linked China and Rome, exchanging many luxuries by camel caravans, most important of them China's coveted silks. Seres, which means the "land of silk," probably referring to China, was first mentioned in Greek accounts in the sixth century B.C.E.; some Chinese silk fabrics must have been traded to western lands in early times. During the early HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) China appeased the powerful nomads called the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) by regularly giving them large quantities of silk, silver, and food. The Xiongnu traded some of the silk with other peoples. Seeking to end the Xiongnu's threat to China and their stranglehold of Chinese exports, Emperor Wu launched huge military expeditions against them beginning in 134 B.C.E., ending in the surrender of some Xiongnu tribes and the flight of others.

The overland route covered was more than 4,000 miles. No caravan traveled the entire route; rather it was a series of journeys in a network of trading centers where buyers and sellers converged. The trans-Asian route began in China's capitals LUOYANG (LOYANG) or CHANG'AN (Ch'ang-an); proceeded westward to China's frontier city DUNHUANG (TUN-HUANG), where the route split into two, skirting the Taklamakan Desert; then converged at Kashgar (at China's present western

frontier) on to Tashkent and Bukhara in Central Asia, where one branch split southeastward across Afghanistan to the Indian subcontinent and another westward through Merv in Iran (ancient Parthia) to Baghdad in Iraq, Antioch or Tyre on the eastern Mediterranean coast, thence by sea to Rome. For much of the journey merchants were protected by the power of China and Rome under the Pax Sinica and PAX ROMANA. States and cities along the way benefited from charging of taxes and dues. When they became too burdensome, as happened with the Iranians, the trading countries sought to open new routes. Thus, in the first century C.E. a sea route was opened that linked the southern Chinese port Guangzhou (Canton), across the Strait of Malacca and Bay of Bengal to India, then through the Persian Gulf or Red Sea to the Roman East to the Mediterranean. After the fall of the Han dynasty and the Western Roman Empire, the Tang (T'ang) dynasty in China and the Byzantine Empire continued the trading relations.

In addition to silk, other textiles, metals, gems, glass, horses, and spices were important items of trade. The road was also important for introducing new crops and food items across cultures and for exchange of technological innovations, for example, ground glass lenses from India and paper from China. Finally, it was the route of missionaries and pilgrims that brought Buddhism from India to Central Asia and China and, less important, Nestorian Christianity, Judaism, and Manichaeanism from the Roman East and Iran to East Asia. Marco Polo from Venice traveled via the Silk Road to China in the late 13th century, bringing tales of the fabled East to Europe. The Silk Road was finally eclipsed when Europeans discovered a sea route to Asia via Africa after 1498.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'IEN).

**Further reading:** Franck, Irene M., and David M. Brownstone. *The Silk Road: A History*. New York: Facts On File, 1986; Vollmer, John E., et al. *Silk Roads, China Ships: An Exhibition of East-West Trade*. Toronto, Canada: Royal Ontario Museum, 1983.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien)

(145–87 B.C.E.) Chinese historian

The prestige of history as a field worthy of study and historical writing as an honored pursuit were strongly rooted in Chinese intellectual life from earliest antiquity. The

HAN DYNASTY had the distinction of producing the earliest and most important major historical work. It is titled the *Shiji (Shih-chi)*, or *Records of the Historian*. It was the work of two men, Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an), who died in 110 B.C.E., and his more famous son, Sima Qian (145–87 B.C.E.). The monumental work totaled 130 chapters and more than half a million words. The father-and-son team successively held the title Lord Grand Astrologer in the Han government. The title suggests that in antiquity the role of historian was closely associated with astronomical affairs and divination. With their deep knowledge historians were also accepted from antiquity as mentors and teachers of rulers. Such ideals were endorsed and encouraged by CONFUCIUS and Confucians who held a deep sense of history and honored memories of the past. Confucians believed that to understand humanity, one had to study history. Two of the five CONFUCIAN CLASSICS, the *Book of History (Shujing)* and the *Annals of Spring and Autumn (Qungiu)*, are works of history.

Sima Dan began a project to write a complete history of the world, as the Chinese knew it, from the beginning down to his own time. Although the feudal states during the preimperial period had kept their historical records, the unification of China by the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY and the following Han dynasty required a national history. Sima Dan's position gave him access to government archives, but he died long before he could complete the task. According to Sima Qian, his father: "Grasped my hand [when on his death bed] and said weeping: 'Our ancestors were Grand Historians for the house of Chou . . . Will this tradition end with me? If you in turn become Grand Historian, you must continue the work of our ancestors . . . Now filial piety begins with the serving of your parents; next you must serve your sovereign; and finally you must make something of yourself, that your name may go down through the ages to the glory of your father and mother . . . Now the House of Han has arisen and all the world is united under one rule. I have been Grand Historian, and yet I have failed to make a record of all the enlightened rulers and wise lords, the faithful ministers and gentlemen who were ready to die for duty. I am fearful that the historical materials will be neglected and lost. You must remember and think of this!'"

Sima Qian received an excellent education. He traveled widely throughout China and knew of local traditions and men who had participated in the great events of the day. He carried on his father's legacy, completing his monumental work, especially considering the tragic circumstances in his later life. He had taken the unpopular stand of defending a general who had surrendered to the nomads called XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) for which he was

sentenced to death in absentia. This infuriated Emperor Wu (HAN WUDI), who condemned him to be castrated. Although a fine would have been accepted as substitution, Sima Qian did not have the required sum and refused to accept help from his friends. Thus, he suffered the humiliating punishment but lived to complete his work.

The *Shiji* is a multifaceted masterpiece of organization. It is divided into five sections as follows:

1. Basic Annals (12 chapters): the account of principal events from the legendary YELLOW EMPEROR down to the reign of Emperor Wu.
2. Chronological Tables (10 chapters): tables of dates for important events, holders of government positions from the establishment of the Han to that date, and genealogical information of ruling families down to his time.
3. Treatises or Monographs (eight chapters): essays devoted to history and important subjects, for example, music, economics, the calendar, astronomy, rites, and the Yellow River and canals.
4. Hereditary Houses (30 chapters): detailed accounts and collective biographies of earlier feudal families.
5. Biographies (70 chapters): lives of famous or interesting people, including good and evil officials, historians, philosophers, politicians, rogues, rebels, assassins, imperial favorites, merchants, and foreign lands and peoples, including aboriginal tribes, some lumped together as groups, others receiving individual chapters. This section ended with a biography of his father, Sima Dan, an outline of his own career, and his motives and methods in writing the work

Sima Qian's format became the standard and was copied by authors of subsequent dynastic histories that chronicled imperial China. They are unsurpassed in the world for their detail and order. This work is also notable for its elegance of style, emulated but never equaled by later historians. In addition, the work is a model of objectivity, with quotations from firsthand sources. In the first century C.E., another family of great historians, surnamed Ban (Pan), would write another great work of historiography called the *Hanshu* (*Han Shu*, or *Book of Han*). Begun by BAN BIAO (PAN PIAO), 32–92 C.E., it was completed by his son Ban Gu (Pan Ku) and daughter Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao). These two monumental works mark the Han dynasty as the era of great historians who set the standard for later generations.

**Further reading:** Dawson, Raymond, trans. *Historical Records by Sima Qian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1994. Hardy, Grant. *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Simeon the Stylite

(392–459 C.E.) religious leader

St. Simeon Stylites was a famous Byzantine ascetic. Many devout Christians in Byzantine society were convinced that the way to higher religious experience and demonstration of faith came through the mortification of the flesh or by depriving themselves of all earthly pleasures. These ascetics often entered monasteries or became cavedwellers, devoting their lives to fasting and praying in their search for god through privation.

As a means of demonstrating his religious devotion Simeon began sitting on top of a 10-foot pillar in a remote area outside the city of Aleppo in northern Syria. Over the next 30-plus years he increased the pillar's height to almost 50 feet. He added to his suffering by wearing an iron collar; he was tied to the pillar, and food was brought up by a basket on a rope. Simeon preached to the crowds who, as his fame spread, made PILGRIMAGES to see and hear the famous ascetic. Like most Byzantine ascetics, Simeon was a confirmed misogynist, who yelled and threw things at women pilgrims.

His fame created something of a fad for pillar sitting in the GREEK CHURCH in the Middle East: More than 200 other people took up Simeon's lifestyle over the next 1,500 years. Pillar mounting became a common tourist attraction throughout the whole region. Whenever many pilgrims gathered, inns had to be built, religious goods were manufactured, and books were written and sold. Mystics like Simeon and their devotees from as far as the corners of Europe stimulated spiritual—and financial—revival. Simeon was ultimately canonized.

A mere 50 years after Simeon's death, the Byzantine emperor Zeno had a large octagonal church and monastery complex constructed around the pillar. The sanctuary was the largest in the Christian world, surpassed only by the HAGIA SOPHIA in CONSTANTINOPLE more than two generations later. Every attempt of Simeon to escape this world's grasp by climbing higher on his pillar had failed: His death had brought only more of the same attention and following. The "stylite" movement of Simeon was the last big revival of

Byzantine Christianity in the Middle East before the advance of ISLAM.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; DAMASCUS AND ALEPO; MARTYROLOGIES; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Doran, Robert, trans. *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*. Collegeville, MN.: Cistercian Publications, 1992. Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity*. New York: HarperCollins, 1984.

JANICE J. TERRY

## Sinai, Mount

Judaism and Christianity regard Mount Sinai (also called Mount Horeb) as the place where their common spiritual ancestors entered into a unique and exclusive relationship with the supreme deity. The name of the ancestral group was “the children of Israel”; the name of the deity was given as *yhw*, not pronounced by religious Jews and often transliterated as *Yahweh* or *Jehovah* in versions of the Jewish Bible. (Traditionally, the term used for the deity’s name is *the Lord*.) The relationship between the two parties, the Lord and ISRAEL, was formalized into an abiding covenant with 10 main planks, called the Ten Commandments.

The Jewish Bible tells the story of MOSES first encountering the Lord on Mt. Sinai in the form of a burning bush. Years later Moses returned with a throng of refugees who had escaped from Egypt. They stayed for a year or so, during which time the Lord appeared on the mount in an awesome way, revealed the terms of the covenant, and inscribed the Ten Commandments on stone tablets. The ARK OF THE COVENANT was then carefully built as a portable shrine to transport the stone tablets. Sinai also served as the place where Israel raised up institutional community leaders, both priests and judges.

From these various literary contexts, especially in the TORAH, scholars have been able to sketch out how Mt. Sinai functioned for early Israel. Sinai served as a place that symbolized the people’s remarkable solidarity and focused on their religious obligations. Sinai also symbolizes the place where the Lord lived or came from and thus perhaps was a destination for PILGRIMAGE in the early days of Israel.

However, as Israel became more ensconced in Canaan and in political stability, pilgrimage to Mt. Sinai became rare. “Mt. Zion” (Jerusalem) replaced Mt. Sinai as the center of cultic attention.

Where is Mount Sinai? Today Sinai refers to the whole peninsula or triangle of desert land between Israel and Egypt, surrounded by the waters of the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Mediterranean Sea. In the south of this region is Jebel Musa, “the mountain of Moses” (7,497 feet), the place popularly associated with Mt. Sinai. In the shadow of this mountain is the ancient monastery of St. Catherine, which JUSTINIAN I built because he considered that this was the location of the burning bush. Many ancient pilgrims, such as EGERIA, testify to Jebel Musa as the site of Mt. Sinai.

However, alternative sites have been proposed, with varying degrees of persuasiveness. Among them is Har Karkom—also in the Sinai region—and various hills in Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Har Karkom comes closest to the geographical location described in the Jewish Bible, but archaeological excavations there show that it was venerated as a religious center only in the third millennium B.C.E., long before Moses is thought to have lived. The heights of Saudi Arabia and Jordan have some indirect support from early Jewish scriptures and inconclusive references in the writings of PHILO, PAUL, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, and JEROME, as well as archaeological remains that date to the time of Moses.

**Further reading:** Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972; Brown, Raymond E., and Robert North. “Biblical Geography.” In R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy, eds. *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Six Schools of classical Hindu philosophy

The Six Schools are part of the Sutra Period in the development of Hinduism. Beginning in the 200s C.E. several schools wrote systematic treatises. Their speculations developed into the basic philosophical systems that were classics in modern times. Their speculations saw philosophy as something to be lived rather than simply as a vehicle for understanding or for social reform. The historical development of the schools is difficult to construct because Indian intellectuals were not particularly concerned with chronology, consequently records have been lost or were never kept.

Originally most of the schools of HINDU PHILOSOPHY were nontheistic, or naturalistic, meaning they did not use stories or beliefs about the gods, goddesses,

theistic tendencies into a system. He taught that the soul (atman) is an aspect of the impersonal Absolute (Brahman) from which everything in the cosmos has come. The result is that the world is an illusion (*maya*) that tricks people into believing that the world is real. He taught that by means of knowledge obtained by identification with the Absolute, the soul might find release.

Shankara's argument is nondualistic because he claims that ultimate reality (Brahman) and temporal reality are of the same essence. He opined that *moksha* (liberation) arises from the knowledge that Brahman and atman are one. Shankara's system is called Advaita (nondualism) Vedanta. Its implications for Hinduism were great. The inferences that arise from his nondualism are that the world is an illusion (*maya*). Furthermore, the practice of *bhakti* is devotion to an illusion. For those who achieve the liberation of understanding from the Advaita system the ultimate implication is that there is only one Brahman and all else including dharma, gods, rituals, scripture, and devotional practices are illusions.

Later Vedanta philosophers rejected his radical nondualism. Ramanuja (c. 1017–1137 C.E.) was a member of the Vedanta tradition who wrote commentaries that moved devotion to a mode or avatar of Brahman back to the center of spiritual belief and practice. His system is called Vaishnavites (qualified nondualism). This system allowed for worship of Vishnu. In the 1200s C.E. the Vaishnavite theologian Madhva taught dualism in the Davait (dualist) Vedanta school. A little earlier Ramanuja (1100s C.E.) took a middle qualified nondualistic position between Madhva and Shankara. This meant that there was a real difference between the Brahman and the individual self that worshipped. This theology aided the development of *bhakti* movements in south India. It allowed for a tension between identity with the divine power (*abheda*) and individuality (*bheda*) to created *bhedaabheda*.

The Samkhya ("knowledge" or "wisdom") school taught "evolutionary dualism." It is probably the oldest of the Hindu philosophical systems. It is believed by some to have been founded by Kapila after 100 B.C.E. References in the Svetasvatara Upanishad and the Bhagavad Gita are considered to be references to the philosophy in its preliterate form. One of its important ideas was *prakrti* (matter).

Another important idea was *purusha* (consciousness). Both *prakrti* and *purusha* are words in the *MAHABHARATA*, suggesting that these ideas are at least as old as the *Mahabharata*. The opposition of *prakrti* and *purusha* was basic. Individual souls were infinite and discrete, so

salvation occurred when the soul recovered its original purity, completely purged from matter.

The Samkhya school taught that *prakrti* is composed of three *gunas* ("strands" or "ropes"). The *sattva* ("reality" or "illumination") rope is the psychological rope that produces happiness. The *raja* ("foulness" or "corrupt activity") rope leads to pain. The *tama* ("darkness" or "unilluminated") rope leads to darkness of mind or ignorance. The Yoga (disciplined meditation) school of philosophy is usually paired with the Samkhya school. It developed and practiced the disciplines necessary to achieve liberation from karma in accordance with Samkhya philosophy. The yogi (practitioner of yoga) applying the Samkhya metaphysics used ascetic meditation disciplines and a strict moral code to purge himself or herself of *prakrti*. Eventually, the Samkhya, Yoga, and Vedanta schools adapted their philosophy so that it served as a base for their theistic system.

See also ARYAN INVASION.

**Further reading:** Bernard, Theos. *Hindu Philosophy*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947; Guenon, Rene. *Introduction to the Study of the Hindu Doctrines*. Trans. by Marco Pallis. London: Luzac and Co., 1945; Gupta, Anima Sen, and Chen Mon. *Classical Samkhya: A Critical Study*. Lucknow, India: Monoranjan Sen, 1961; Larson, Gerald J. *Classical Samkhya*. Delhi, India: Motilal Bararsidass, 1979; Mohanty, J. H. *Classical Indian Philosophy*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000; Muller, F. Max. *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*. New York: AMS Press, 1977; Radhakrishnan, S., and Charles Alexander Moore. *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957; Sharma, Arvind. *Classical Hindu Thought: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Zimmer, Heinrich. *Philosophies of India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Socrates

(c. 470–399 B.C.E.) Greek philosopher

Socrates is one of the three greatest philosophers of Greek classical thought and, together with ARISTOTLE and Plato, helped to provide the foundations of Western thought. Socrates was the first of this triumvirate, although he did not produce any written records of his beliefs. A number of issues concerning his beliefs remain controversial, and there is still doubt about the reasons for his death and whether he could or should have sought to escape his fate.

Socrates was born in Athens a decade after the Battle of Salamis signaled the end of the Persian attempts to conquer Greece. Consequently, he was born into a society that was coming to terms with its physical independence and matching that with intellectual independence, although that had been expressed by what are now called the pre-Socratics in terms mostly of vague metaphysics and religious speculation. The main event during his lifetime was the PELOPONNESIAN WAR fought between Athens and Sparta, which was also seen as a struggle between personal independence and the militarization of society. The ultimate defeat of militarism did not occur until the long and perilously difficult years of warfare had passed, with the coarsening of public life and morals that accompanied the war.

Socrates was at the forefront of public life in Athens. Xenophon describes him as being part of the circle of PERICLES and the other prominent leaders of Athenian society. It is also possible that he worked for a period with Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras, who is reputed to be the first Athenian philosopher. He also may have been familiar with the subjects of geometry and astronomy. Notwithstanding these advantages in society, it is believed that the later part of his life was lived in poverty, as he is so depicted in a play by ARISTOPHANES. Socrates spent most of his working life teaching and practicing philosophy, and he has been depicted as a man so captured by the world of the mind that he could be found unmoving like a statue, completely rapt in thought.



*Socrates chose to self-administer the fatal hemlock that killed him and ensured that all his domestic duties were completed.*

He married Xanthippe comparatively late in his life and had three children with her, who survived him when he was arrested by the state on charges of corrupting the youth of Athens and not worshipping the gods of the city. He was brought to trial and condemned to death. Socrates chose to swallow the hemlock that killed him even though it is likely that he could have escaped from confinement had he so desired. However, Socrates believed it was his duty to continue to serve the state and so acquiesced in the process.

### SOCRATIC BELIEFS

It is from Aristotle and, especially, Plato that understanding of Socrates' beliefs may be found. Aristotle's main commentary is contained in *Metaphysics*, while Plato created a number of dialogues in which Socrates was supposed to have been a participant, notably in *Crito* and *Phaedo*, while his *Apology of Socrates* claims to be a set of speeches the philosopher made at his trial in making a case for his vindication. Both Aristotle and Plato report that one of his main philosophical methods is the use of syllogism in the effort to ascertain what a thing is. Socrates was concerned with the application of reason in the search for the true nature of humanity and of society, which was quite a different body of knowledge from that which occupied PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.

The syllogism is a technique that requires the pupil to question personal beliefs through answering the questions of the teacher. The pupil must first state a position in respect of some ethical concern, which is one that cannot be settled by an immediate objective test and is subjective. Socrates then poses supplementary questions that the pupil is required to answer by either an affirmative or a negative response. Socrates guides the dialogue until the pupil is obliged to come to the opposite of his or her original statement. Socrates uses this technique both as a philosophical tool, with which he develops knowledge by adding premises to those already existing and thereby developing the argument, while also claiming that he had no real knowledge of any sort, which could be demonstrated by the same method. This technique can be used by the skilled questioner to demonstrate the opposite of any moral position and comes close to the accusation made against the early Sophists that they would use debating technique merely to advance their own interests rather than in the pursuit of truth.

Socrates tried to bypass this accusation by claiming that he never taught anybody anything and that his technique merely pursued the answers to genuine questions, and that it was beyond his control (or even inter-

est) what those answers ultimately turned out to be. Socrates left himself open to accusations of impropriety by this method, and he was condemned by a number of people who supported the concept of immutable truths or moral guidelines for a variety of reasons. But this form of inductive reasoning is at the heart of the beginning of the scientific approach, which was subsequently used by Aristotle to start the classification of existing knowledge. The word Socrates used for the opposing premise used in constructing a syllogism was *irony*, and this concept has survived to the modern day as meaning an action that contradicts the words used to describe it.

Despite the complaints made about Socrates, he believed he was a staunch defender of the concept of absolute morality. He considered this the center of the soul's quest for truth and virtue, a quest on which the great majority of people had scarcely embarked. Only through a rigorous application of reason could there be any kind of understanding of true morality, which is that which also provides the greatest level of pleasure to the soul, the soul being identical with the individual. He rejected the existing religious concept that held the soul separate from the individual. Consequently, what is good for the soul is also good for the body. This leads to a connection with hedonism, which became more fully expressed through the work of Epicurus and his followers.

However, Socrates was more concerned to show that the pleasure a person derives from life and to some extent the value of a person's life depends on the soul's ability to understand true goodness. Only true goodness brings happiness, according to Socrates, because any activity that is not inspired by the quest for goodness will bring unintended unhappiness or misfortune to the individual, the surrounding people, or society as a whole. For this reason Socrates opposed early innovations with the concept of democracy since the majority of people were not to be trusted to be motivated by true goodness but, instead, false and probably unexamined desires. This should not really be construed as elitism since Socrates believed that the elite of society was no more likely to be properly educated in morality than anyone else. However, he would have maintained that he was the only person in Athens suited for rule, and that the optimum arrangement would have seen him installed as a tyrant like PEISTRATUS.

## THE LEGACY OF SOCRATES

As one of the seminal thinkers of Western philosophy, Socrates's legacy has been enormous. Perhaps his most influential legacy was one of the earliest—the distinction

between idea or concept and reality that was to become such an important part of Plato's thought. Socrates was also influential in the development of the educational system. He opposed the utilitarianism of the early Sophists and their tuition that was aimed at educating people and empowering them into achieving a better type of life. Instead, he believed that since virtue was the true goal of humanity but could not be taught, the proper type of education should center on the rigorous and personal search for reality. This led to a debate as to the purpose of education in society that has persisted until the present day. However, the Socratic idea that it is possible to lead the mind to profound truths without previous knowledge of the background to those truths is no longer widely supported in academic institutions. Instead the Western tradition features the mastery of content as well as the ability to guide the mind to the truths behind or beyond that content.

Socrates has also been considered a founding father of science and of agnosticism, although these attributions depend on contested ideas of exactly what he originally said and believed. It is perhaps in his trial and death that Socrates remains most central to the Western imagination. Some have conflated the charges of corrupting the youth of Athens with homosexual activities with his followers, which would have been a common enough activity at the time. He has been viewed as both foolish pederast and heroic supporter of the truth in an age of religious persecution and the suppression of freedom of speech. Existing Athenian popular sources referring to Socrates are mostly those found in satirical plays in which he is lumped together with Sophists as a kind of disreputable wordsmith with questionable hygiene habits. This representation clashes noticeably with the striking and compelling personality of Plato's descriptions.

His legendary status as defender of personal liberty has been buttressed by the notion that he would have been able to escape from confinement in Athens had he so desired. That he chose to stay and administer to himself the fatal poison renders him something of a martyr. According to Plato's account, at the moment of his death, Socrates was concerned with ensuring that all his remaining domestic duties and chores were complete.

See also EPICUREANISM; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON; SOPHISM.

**Further reading:** Brickhouse, Thomas C., and Nicholas D. Smith. *Plato's Socrates*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; Plato. *The Last Days of Socrates*. Ed. by Harold Tarrant; trans. by Hugh Tredennick. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Rudebusch, George. *Socrates, Pleasure, and*

*Value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; West, Thomas G., ed. *Four Texts on Socrates: Plato's Euthyphro, Apology, and Crito, and Aristophanes' Clouds*. Trans. by Grace Starry West. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998; Xenophon. *Conversations of Socrates*. Trans. by Robin H. Waterfield and Hugh Tredennick. New York: Penguin Classics, 1990.

JOHN WALSH

## Soga clan

The Soga became the most powerful ruling clan in the early Japanese Yamato state between the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. The origins of the Soga clan are unclear, but they claimed to be descended from the Katsuragi clan leader who survived the purge of emperor Yūryaku in the fifth century C.E. Some scholars believe that the Soga were an immigrant family from the Korean peninsula. They moved to the Soga region of the Yamato state in central Japan and formed alliances with immigrants from the Korean kingdoms, providing scribal and managerial technical skills. The Soga clan's rise to power began with Soga no Iname, the head of the clan and the first Soga to hold the position of grand minister. He was victorious in the policy debates of 540 C.E. and married two of his daughters to Emperor Kimmei. However, neither of Iname's grandsons became heir to the throne.

The next Soga clan head, Soga no Umako, also grand minister, succeeded in marrying one of his daughters to Kimmei's son, King Bidatsu, and the couple produced a son who was one of three candidates for the throne. The Soga candidate was eventually enthroned as emperor Yōmei after fierce military battles between the Soga clan and their rivals, the Mononobe, who also supplied a male heir to the throne through a Mononobe woman. Yōmei took another daughter of Soga no Iname to be his queen, and the two produced the famous prince Shōtoku Taishi. The victory was short lived however when Yōmei fell ill, and fighting between the Soga and Mononobe resurfaced. Again the Soga were victorious, and another male offspring of a Soga woman became the sovereign King Sushun. Once the main line of the Mononobe was massacred in 587 the Soga dominated court affairs.

Despite Sushun's connection to the Soga, rumors spread that Sushun would betray his uncle Umako, so Umako had him assassinated and Sushun's consort, Suiko, became empress. Suiko ruled alongside her son and regent, Shōtoku, during a time when the Soga clan heads Emishi and his son Iruka attempted to assert Soga dominance by levying taxes and trying to expand their

lands. Suiko, despite being a part of the Soga, refused requests to expand Soga lands. Iruka even killed Prince Shōtoku's son. Histories of the time criticize the Soga for trying to become monarchs. The most tyrannical of the Soga patriarchs, Iruka, was assassinated in 645 in a palace coup that effectively ended the Soga rule.

The significance of the Soga dynasty was their importation of culture, government, and religion from China and Korea and their influence in domestic politics through marriage arrangements and intrafamilial assassination. The Soga supported Buddhism over other forms of court-related native religions, creating several large Buddhist temples, statues, and bells that attested to their power in the physical and spiritual realms. This support for Buddhism further antagonized other clans, who often held key religious-political positions.

See also YAMATO CLAN AND STATE.

**Further reading:** Ebersole, Gary. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989; Hall, John. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 1: Ancient Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Piggot, Joan. *Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

MICHAEL WERT

## Sogdians

Sogdiana was the meeting point of Asia and Central Asia before 100 B.C.E. The Sogdiana area encompassed modern-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and was also called Transoxiana. The use of the word *Sogdiana* was an attempt to distinguish surrounding BACTRIA from Transoxiana, and the provincial Persian terminology has persisted in modern historical literature. *Sogdiana* was a collective term to describe the various principalities within its area. Positioned alongside the SILK ROAD, it is where Greco-Roman, Indian, and Persian culture collided. The major cities of Sogdiana—Samarkand (Samarqand), Bukhārā, and Pendzhikent (Penjikent, Panjikand)—enjoyed the fruits of trade that came with their positioning along the Silk Road and played an important part in establishing and maintaining trade relationships between Asia and Central Asia.

Merchants and trade caravans traversed the Silk Road during the early first century B.C.E. Contrary to popular belief, the Silk Road was actually a network of roads that crossed from China into Europe. It was at least 2,000 years old by the time the Chinese had set up

satellite towns along specific routes to facilitate trade and commerce. Some cities were the creation of such trade and were in existence from the Bronze Age.

Inscriptions dating to the reign of King DARIUS I (522–486 B.C.E.) refer to the Sogdian area as Sugudu or Sughuda (in Persian), and the whole region was under the patronage of the Achaemenids for some time. Each province functioned much like a separate state, with its own political, economic, and even social systems. Greek and Latin manuscripts speak of a “Land of the Thousand Cities,” roughly located in the area surrounding Bactria, and in 329 B.C.E. ALEXANDER THE GREAT overthrew the area, placing it under the control of his extended empire. Later, Transoxiana experienced various political changes due to a wave of strategic invasions led by nomadic tribes. The KUSHAN EMPIRE (an offshoot of a Chinese nomadic tribe called the YUEZHI [YUEH-CHIH]) established a state that encompassed the Transoxiana area, however Sassanians overthrew them in 300 C.E. The SASSANID EMPIRE is believed to have been partly responsible for the reformation of Sogdiana (politically, economically, and socially) and hence contributed to its rise among the trading cities along the Silk Road. Sogdian cities endured various foreign rulers such as the Samanids, who had their capitals at Samarkand and Bukhârâ, and the Mongols from 1219 to 1369 C.E. under Genghis (Chinggis) Khan and Tamurlane (Timur).

The area was a melting pot of religion and culture. Major religions included Buddhism, Manichaeanism, ZOROASTRIANISM, DAOISM (TAOISM), and Nestorian Christianity, and all were tolerated by the Sogdians. Different ethnic and religious groups were free to worship any god until Islam became the dominant religion. From around the seventh century C.E. Islam strongly permeated the Sogdian area and as a consequence the area is renowned for its Islamic architecture and for the urbanization of the surrounding areas for irrigation, housing, and farming. The inhabitants were skilled linguists as they often acted as translators to the Chinese with whom they traded and delivered Buddhist scrolls. The spoken language of Sogdiana was primarily an Iranian dialect (Sogdian); however, due to the mixture of nationalities other languages as diverse as Tajik (Persian as spoken by Tajik ethnic groups of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), Mongolian, Greek, and Chinese were widely used. Indo-European languages spread quite quickly as the popularity of the trade route grew, and the numbers in the trading cities increased substantially. Written language was highly evolved. Sogdian script was derived from Aramaean script and was used to communicate business deals (among other things) between the trading cities along the Silk Road.

The Sogdian cities first participated in intracountry trade with China around 140 B.C.E. The great Chinese diplomat ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH’IEN) established commercial trade with the Sogdiana area as well as other parts of Central Asia. The Silk Road is thought to have originated from CHANG’AN (Ch’ang-an), a prosperous and thriving Chinese city whose markets sold silk, glassware, perfumes, and various spices. It is from this city that Asian traders journeyed to the west, passing such cities as Samarkand, Bukhârâ, and Pendzhikent.

Due to the wealth attained by commerce the cities of Samarkand, Bukhârâ, and Pendzhikent all had internal palaces, surrounded by housing, independent shops, and bazaars. Most bazaar spaces could accommodate more than 2,000 people. The inclusion of palaces pointed toward the existence of a sophisticated social network and hierarchy. Sections of the cities were transformed into market gardens that produced food for the city inhabitants, as well as providing a surplus for close intra-city trade. Most cities of sizable proportions were heavily fortified, its citizens protected by the walls of the city. The cities also had their own citadels outside of the city that offered added protection to inhabitants and wandering traders. Each city, though it encouraged trade, could be self-reliant when required. The Sogdian region was an area that traditionally had a strong Turkish and Iranian presence, politically, economically, and socially.

The trade routes between some cities were in heavy use, especially that between Samarkand and Bukhârâ, which was referred to as the Royal Road, or Golden Road. The area was famed for the production of artwork and architecture, and Sogdiana artisans were in high demand along the Silk Road. Pendzhikent and Bukhârâ were known along the route for their frescoes and murals, and Bukhârâ was believed to have functioned more as a city of artisans and scholars than as a commercial trading city, such as Samarkand. Bukhârâ was also infamously known for its trade in Turkish slaves, who were often used as city laborers or transported to Baghdad for use by the courts. Despite an emphasis on artworks by Bukhârâ artisans, Samarkand and Bukhârâ were seen as the two major trading towns in the Sogdian area. This perhaps contributed to the small size of Pendzhikent in relation to Samarkand and Bukhârâ.

Samarkand is one of the oldest known inhabited cities in the world. The original city was called Afrasiab (Samarkand expanded and outgrew the old city) and may have been Marakand or Marakanda, the Greek name given by Alexander the Great and his forces. It functioned as the eastern administrative region for the Achaemenid empire and functioned as the commercial



An 1860s photograph of residents near tea stalls in Samarkand, one of the oldest known inhabited cities in the world.

center of the Sogdian region. It was also named the capital of Mongolian rule in Central Asia by Tamurlane. The city had an eclectic and diverse history of rulers, having experienced mild domination by the Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, and Turkish empires. Though each empire had acted as an overlord of sorts, Samarkand, Pendzhikent, and Bukhārā were able to maintain some degree of independence (much like a state would function within a country) and thus continued to flourish due to the influx of trade and the different social and cultural customs of the merchants.

Samarkand was considered the epicenter of trade in Sogdiana; the local traders had established a mint and produced their own coinage. The city was known for trading lustrous textiles and gilded ware (silver and gold). It had established profitable commercial trading ties with China to the extent that Samarkand traders lived in China and had established a trading embassy of sorts. Samarkand was also known for its military prowess and for the breeding of military grade horses.

Similarly, Pendzhikent was a highly organized and economically stable city. It was located southwest of Samarkand, overlooking the valley, and was the smallest of the satellite capitals. Pendzhikent acted as a capital of the local area before Samarkand rose in popularity and is believed to have been established around 500 B.C.E. It experienced a prominent role in the region during the seventh to eighth centuries C.E., mainly due to the trade and commerce brought into the region by the Silk Road.

The city was quite wealthy and had a well-established and famous bazaar that indicated a constant influx of traders and merchants had passed through. The city was used by the Hephthalites (an Iranian tribe believed to have ancestry with the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) of Central Asia) as a capital, then also by Persian invaders aiming to control the lucrative region.

Bukhārā had strong ties with Samarkand and once functioned as a capital for the Samanids. The word *Bukhārā* is thought to mean “favored place” in ancient Sogdian, or it is thought to refer to a Buddhist word *vihara*, meaning “place of learning.” Persian sources (verbal and written histories such as *Tarikh-i Bukhara*) speak of a city in the area after Alexander had established his sovereignty. It was already an established crafts center in 709 B.C.E. Archaeological sites have been uncovered that point toward the city being somewhat active during Kushan rule. A female, Khatun, ruled Bukhārā on behalf of her son Bukhar Khudah Tughshada sometime before 670 B.C.E. Persian sources confirmed her existence when their invading forces came into contact with Sogdiana.

The Samanids were interested in trading with Europe, and coinage from Bukhārā has been located as far north as Scandinavia. This points toward a sophisticated commerce culture, something that the three cities are well known for in their own right. The Sogdian cities enjoyed a relatively long period of influence in the area and even managed to survive numerous political, religious, and social changes. Samarkand, Bukhara, and Pendzhikent contributed greatly to commerce between Asia and Central Asia, even extending as far as the northern tip of Europe. They disseminated learning, in the form of manuscripts and scrolls, cultural exchange, and political and social tolerance.

**Further reading:** Christian, David. “Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History.” *Journal of World History* (v.11/1, 2000); Dien, Albert, E. “The Glories of Sogdiana.” Silkroad Foundation. Available online. URL: <http://www.silk-road.com> (October 2005); Drege, J. P., and E. M. Buhrer. *The Silk Road Saga*. New York: Facts On File, 1989; Faltz, Richard. *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002; Franck, Irene, and David Brownstone. *The Silk Road: A History*. New York: Facts On File, 1986; Gangler, Anette, et al. *Bukhara: The Eastern Dome of Islam, Urban Development, Urban Space, Architecture and Population*. Stuttgart, Germany: Axel Menges, 2004; Grotenhuis, Elizabeth Ten. *Along the Silk Road*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002; Vaissiere, Etienne. *Sogdian Traders: A History, Handbook*

*of Oriental Studies*. Trans. by James Ward. New York: Brill Academic Publishing, 2005; Wood, Frances. *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

SAMAYA L. SUKHA

## Solomon

(10th century B.C.E.) *king and religious leader*

The life of Solomon enters like a fairy tale into religious and political traditions, stretching from his life to the times of JUSTINIAN I and Muhammad some 1,600 years later. Israel became a political power and military empire never again achieved in its history when Solomon presided as king from 962 to 922 B.C.E. His reign brought unmatched prestige and prosperity to his people and civilization. On the other hand, Solomon also represents a life of precipitous moral decline. The traditions that claim his authorship or inspiration mark a man who squandered his inheritance and ended up in dissolution and lechery. As the Jewish Bible might paraphrase the lesson, it was the best of times for Israel as a nation of might, the worst of times for Solomon as a man of character.

He was born as the son of King DAVID, also called Jedidiah (the Lord's beloved). He was the son of Bathsheba, the woman whom David scandalously took while her husband was away fighting David's wars. Bathsheba's first son by David died in infancy, and perhaps Solomon was the second. After a period of court intrigue his mother succeeded in obtaining David's choice of Solomon as his successor. His 40 years as king were marked by a burst of public works. His most famous effort was the construction of the Temple, confirming Jerusalem as the religious center of the kingdom. Its beauty and its size were so touted by its pilgrims that it was eventually considered, like the DELPHIC ORACLE for the Greeks, as the center of the world. Solomon's successors made the Temple a symbol of unity and hope in their less glorious times.

Other building projects that Solomon began or oversaw were the fortification of major cities around his territory. A whole host of fortresses and military stations went up in the desert to the south, protecting the flank of Israel against marauders coming from Egypt or the Arab lands. Strategic cities like Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer became food storage cities to serve as refuges against invading armies from the north and northeast. They also prospered because they were on important trade routes. Archaeological investigations confirm a

higher standard of living for these times. Israel most likely served as a hub for trade coming from such places as Sheba (YEMEN) in the south, Phoenicia (Lebanon) in the north, and in Aramaea (Syria and Turkey) in the northwest. The Jewish Bible speaks of rulers of these lands paying homage to Solomon and of Solomon being involved with an extensive trade in horses, chariots, and timber. Remarkably, his kingdom invested in seafaring, something that ancient Israel invariably shied away from. The endeavor ended in failure, and Israel never tried again.

The moralizers who wrote about Solomon's kingdom were not reticent to speak about his character. Solomon was supposedly endowed with divine wisdom in a dream shortly after he assumed the kingship. Then two women came to him and claimed the same child as their own. As proof of his wisdom he discerned who the true mother was by a test. The legendary queen of Sheba also came to him seeking advice from the young king and went away marveling about his magnificence. Solomon's name was associated with poetry, songs, scientific investigations, and even the occult; the Jewish Bible says that Solomon's wisdom "surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt" (1 Kings 3).

Nonetheless, Solomon's writers then describe his downfall: womanizing. He acquired 700 full wives and 300 concubines. No doubt many of these were for political alliances with foreign peoples—in fact his son and successor, Rehoboam, was born from an Ammonite woman, and Solomon is recorded as building a special home for PHARAOH's daughter.

Nonetheless, the judgment of his biographers is negative. The foreign women brought their foreign gods, and the king compromised his exclusive devotion to the Lord. Internal opposition emerged as Solomon's projects required more and more taxation and national resources. One critic, Jeroboam, later became an insurrectionist and self-appointed king of the northern tribes (called Israel or Samaria), who seceded from the southern tribes (called Judah). External opposition also challenged Israel's temporary control of the region.

Among the many uplifting works attributed to him are the book of Proverbs and several psalms. The Songs of Solomon and Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) probably reflect darker days in Solomon's life when he was carried away by hedonism, materialism, and cynicism. Other works associated with him are not part of the Jewish Bible canon but are viewed as possibly divinely inspired: the Psalms of Solomon and Testament of Solomon. He seems to have been a role model for such later "good"



A blacksmith, sitting on a stool next to the throne of Solomon, is thought to be a usurper. The man explains to Solomon that the Temple could not have been built without tools made by blacksmiths (ironworkers), whereupon Solomon grants him a seat of honor.

kings of Judah as HEZEKIAH and JOSIAH. Even Byzantine emperor Justinian claimed that his famous church, the HAGIA SOPHIA, made him the Solomon of his day. In later history Solomon is cited as a heroic figure by the major religious traditions. JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH cites him as a wise man, and the Gospel of Matthew lists him as an ancestor of Jesus. Rabbinic Jews add to his lore their various tales, and the fathers of the church add to the lore surrounding him. Islam finds in him a good statesman and governor, and even the Ethiopian Christians of the ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCH claim him as a full ethnic ancestor.

See also ARAMEANS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PILGRIMAGE; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; WISDOM LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Ishida, Tomoo. "Solomon." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York: Doubleday, 1992; Vaux, Roland de. *Ancient Israel. Vol. 1: Social Institutions*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Solon

(c. 635–559 B.C.E.) Greek politician

Solon was an important leader and lawmaker of ancient Athens, who brought political reform and stability to the region in the sixth century B.C.E. One of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, he also wrote poetry that still exists and demonstrates his philosophy. Some of the sayings attributed to him are, "I grow old learning something new each day," and "Speech mirrors action." Solon, son of Execestides, was born to a noble family. Athens at that time followed laws laid down by Draco—laws so cruel that the word *draconian* still connotes harsh and pitiless treatment. All power rested with the aristocrats; the poor became poorer and were often imprisoned for debt. Violent rebellion was a constant threat.

Not yet a center of culture or learning, Athens suffered several losses as it battled with a smaller city, Megara, over control of the island of Salamis. Solon returned to Athens after years of travel and trading and led the Athenians to victory against Megara c. 600 B.C.E. In six years he was elected archon, or chief magistrate, and

given unusual power. The city—or at least, the all-male, wealthy electorate—knew it faced a crisis. Plutarch says Solon was empowered as a lawmaker by the rich because he was wealthy and by the poor because he was honest. Solon warned that enslavement and oppression would lead to civil war, destroying rich and poor alike, and avoided it with the power he was given.

Solon cancelled all debts and mortgages, enabling the poor to keep their farms and allowing those who had fled indebtedness to return. Families who had been sold into slavery to pay off debts were brought home as well. To further safeguard the economy, Solon restricted food exports, standardized weights and measures, offered citizenship to craftsmen who settled in Athens, obligated children to support their aged parents, and ordered parents to provide for their children's futures with either land or training. Solon reclassified Athenian society so that taxes and duties were fairly distributed and created the Council of Four Hundred, a legislative body that would debate issues prior to a populace vote.

Solon repealed the death sentence that Draco had assigned to trivial crimes so that only manslaughter and murder received such punishment. Some of his laws were innovative, such as the one that stripped a citizen of his rights if he did not join a side during a civil war. Presumably, Solon saw danger in the inaction and apathy of citizens. Solon's laws were written on wooden tablets, mounted on display panels in public, and all citizens swore obedience to them.

Solon was urged to assume absolute authority and become a tyrant—at that time, an acceptable role. He refused and left Athens for 10 years. Popular legend tells that he met with the wealthy King Croesus and AESOP, the teller of fables. Solon learned of Atlantis during a trip to Egypt and wrote part of the story in his old age. He did not complete the work, but a distant relative, Plato, took up the story in his dialogues some 200 years later.

Returning to Athens, Solon found the people had split into factions. He took on the role of adviser and peacemaker. Eventually, his own cousin, PEISASTRATUS, became a tyrant. Solon spoke against him without fear of reprisal and urged the people of Athens to throw off tyranny and servitude. When they did not, Solon retired to write and died in 559 B.C.E.

See also ATHENIAN PREDEMOCRACY; GREEK CITY-STATES.

**Further reading:** Ehrenberg, Victor. *From Solon to Socrates*. London: Methuen, 1973; Meier, Christian. *Athens: A Portrait of the City in Its Golden Age*. New York: Metropolitan

Books, 1998; Randall, Bernard. *Solon: The Lawmaker of Athens*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2003.

VICKEY KALAMBAKAL

## sophism

The development of thought and society in the democratic Athens of the fifth century B.C.E. and the increasing sophistication of society inspired and benefited a class of peripatetic philosopher-teachers who became known as the Sophists. There were numerous Sophists practicing their profession, and around 30 of them are particularly well known, including Protagoras, Isocrates, Gorgias, and Thrasymachus. Their teachings included not just speculation as to the nature and substance of the universe but also rhetoric and the art of life and politics. The education they offered was, therefore, a practical one and suited to contemporary life in Athenian society. Subsequent philosophers such as SOCRATES and Plato established permanent schools, and their education was more focused on the search for truth. Adherents of these later schools used the term *sophist* as a term of abuse to imply that the method of sophism deliberately failed to engage with the truth and used philosophical methods falsely to win arguments in an underhanded way. However, in the fifth century B.C.E. the term was not assigned to any one particular school of thought.

Perhaps the greatest of the Sophists was Protagoras of Abdera, who was active in approximately 450–440 B.C.E. He traveled from city to city teaching for pay. His particular area of expertise was in the practice of *arete*, which involves the development of political and rhetorical skill. He believed that because there was a subjective, human element involved in every judgment or decision, it was impossible to reach ultimate truth about any external phenomenon. Opposing statements could be made about anything, for example, the existence of the gods, without any means of determining what was true because of the imperfection of the human mind (or the shortness of life) and the complexity of issues involved. He observed: “Man is the measure of all things, of the existence of the things that are and the non-existence of the things that are not.” In other words, final or ultimate truth could not be known.

His fellow Sophist Gorgias, meanwhile, argued (perhaps satirically) that nothing exists, or if it does exist it cannot be known, or if it could be known it could not be communicated to anyone else. These forms of arguments were in opposition to the Eleatic school, which was then

flourishing in the southern Italian colony of Elea and was best represented by the thought of Parmenides and his pupil Zeno. Eleaticism featured the monistic belief that thought, expression, and existence all coalesced into being. The Sophists found this to be of little practical value in the Athens of PERICLES, where they mostly congregated and where the limits of personal influence were being extended for those not of noble birth. Exactly to what extent individual doctrines can be ascribed to individual Sophists is difficult to ascertain because knowledge of those teachings is mediated by the writings of Plato, whose dialogues feature debates between Sophists and more modern thinkers such as SOCRATES but whose audience would have been expected to know in some detail what individual Sophists taught and does not itemize those beliefs in detail. Other sources of early Sophist thought include the "Exhortation to Philosophy" by Iamblichus (third century C.E.) and the "Dissoi Logoi" of Sextus Empiricus (third century C.E.).

A particular use of antilogic employed by Sophists was the opposition of custom and nature. Possibly employing a line of thought that had been developed earlier, Sophists aimed to contrast the existing laws of society with the higher laws of nature, either because laws were not sufficiently rigorous to deal with the nature of humanity or, more commonly, to free people from unwanted restrictions.

This form of political discourse represented a feature that could be characterized as an attack on public morals, and so Socratic thinkers claimed it. A number of Sophists were brought to trial for impious teaching, not least because their ideas challenged the existing social order. Critias, for example, taught that the gods were invented by the powerful elites of society to intimidate and help tyrannize the rest of society. Prodicus suggested a sociological approach to the development of the gods of Olympus, while Protagoras, as has been shown, refused to accept that the existence of the gods could ever be known.

The Sophists were important as part of the development of education, politics, and philosophy. They represented an early example of the professional educator and the political tutor, one who tempered in his students the desire to succeed with the importance of virtue.

See also PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Dillon, John, and Tania Gergel, eds. and trans. *The Greek Sophists*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; Guthrie, W. K. C. *The Sophists: A History of Greek Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977; Plato. *Gorgias*. Translated by Chris Emlyn-Jones and

Walter Hamilton. New York: Penguin Books, 2004; Plato. *Protagoras and Meno*. Translated by Adam Beresford. New York: Penguin Classics, 2005.

JOHN WALSH

## Sophocles

(496–406 B.C.E.) *Greek dramatist*

Sophocles was one of a trilogy of great Athenian tragic dramatists, along with AESCHYLUS and EURIPIDES. Sophocles was the greatest of these dramatists and was the most decorated of the three at theatrical festivals. Sophocles was born into a comparatively wealthy family. His father was an armor-maker who lived in Colonus, a small village close to Athens. Sophocles received a high level of education and was a golden youth, noted for his athletic abilities and personal beauty. At the age of 16 he had the honor of leading the formal celebrations in praise of the naval victory over the Persians at Salamis, which helped end the threat of the invasion of Greece.

He was also an actor in the earlier part of his life and received some fame and recognition. However, he abandoned acting in favor of civic and religious duties, in addition to his writing. He served as a *strategos* on three occasions, when he was elected as one of 10 Athenian officials placed in charge of military affairs. He was later elected a *proboulos*, which was one of 10 officials charged with overseeing the finances of the city. He also gave the oration at the funeral of Euripides, in the same year in which he himself later died. These achievements indicate that he was not only a popular individual who recognized the duties laid upon the privileged of Athens but also one trusted to enact important roles.

Sophocles wrote more than 120 plays, although only seven still exist in complete form. The most notable of these works is *Oedipus the King* (*Oedipus Rex*). However, Sophocles is perhaps better appreciated as an innovator of the theater rather than for the quality of his individual works. At the beginning of his career the Athenian stage was a somewhat inflexible and formalized institution, but as a result of Sophocles' innovations it became a place where dramatic tension and characterization could be more deftly manipulated. Perhaps his most important innovation was to introduce a third actor. Previously, only two actors were able to act onstage at one time, although it was possible for those actors to take other roles.

The third actor allowed a great deal more flexibility in the nature of the action and in the possible interactions between the characters. Sophocles was skilled in

creating characters with terse but powerful strokes that were capable of impelling themselves toward an inevitable doom through the possession of innate tragic flaws. This conception of tragedy was documented by ARISTOTLE and formed the basis of Western tragic drama. Other Sophoclean innovations include the expansion of the chorus and the intensification of the action through focusing on the resolution of the plot within a single play rather than a trilogy.

The play *Oedipus the King* recounts the story of Oedipus, who was initially the happy and fortunate king of Thebes, but whose fortune unravels as his bad-tempered arrogance leads him to kill an old man in an act that subsequently causes his kingdom to be plagued. He finally comes to realize that, through a combination of his own character flaws and the ineluctable nature of fate, he has married his mother and murdered his father. At the conclusion of the play Oedipus blinds himself and prepares to face the world in a state of utter desolation. The early play *Ajax* considers the conventional plot material of the Trojan War. The eponymous hero is outraged by his failure to murder the enemies he has made and kills himself. Odysseus, whose victory over Ajax in a contest had sparked the action, persuades the ruling Greeks to permit Ajax to be buried with dignity. This play shows a possibility of redemption in the character of Odysseus.

The play *Oedipus at Colonus* takes place between the action of *Oedipus the King* and of *Antigone*. Oedipus is wandering the world in desolation but refuses to assent to his son Polyneices and his request to take action against Creon. For thereby standing for honor and duty, Oedipus appears to transcend to divine status. The other important plays are *Antigone*, *Electra*, and the *Trachiniae*. Several hundred lines also exist of a satyr play and the names of various other plays exist, especially those rewarded by the 24 victories in the Dionysia festival, in addition to several other fragments. Sophocles rarely diverges from the orthodox religious conception of the universe and adds little to philosophical understanding. However, the power of his dramatic vision and some of the lyrical verse employed within it testify to his standing as a major figure in world literature.

See also GREEK DRAMA; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Beer, Josh. *Sophocles and the Tragedy of Athenian Democracy*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 2004; Segal, Charles. *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999; Sophocles. *The Complete Greek Tragedies: Sophocles*. Trans.

by Robert Grene. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 1992.

JOHN WALSH

## Spartacus

(first century B.C.E.) *gladiator and rebel slave leader*

Slavery was widely practiced in the ancient world, though documentation of it is uncommon. Sparse records show that slave revolts were frequent. The ancient Spartans and other Greeks had slaves; in Sparta the conquered people of Messenia were tied to the land as agricultural slaves, called *helots*. The *helots* outnumbered the Spartans and fought for freedom but were kept under control for centuries by the militaristic, disciplined government. Other stories of Greek slaves include that of Drimakos, who led a band of escaped slaves on the island of Chios. They lived by robbery, so Drimakos negotiated a treaty with local landowners. The slaves agreed not to steal too much in exchange for being left alone, and Drimakos promised only to accept new runaways into his group if they could prove mistreatment at the hands of their masters.

Roman historian Livy tells of revolts south of Rome, involving men recently enslaved after the Second Punic War. Their plot to escape was revealed, and 500 slaves were arrested and executed. Within 12 years a revolt in Etruria and one in Apulia led to the execution of 7,000 slaves. Diodorus Siculus reported two major slave wars in Sicily. The first lasted at least five years and ended in 132 B.C.E. The second slave war occurred in 104–100 B.C.E. In both, Syrian slaves rallied around a leader with mystical powers and joined forces with a second slave rebellion. During the first war the slaves, some 200,000 strong, took over several cities until betrayal from within their ranks led to their downfall. A new law that freed some 800 slaves prompted the second war. Landowners complained, the manumissions ceased, and slaves revolted. A second group, led by Athenion, joined this slave army. Rome's Senate sent an army of 17,000 to defeat them. The Romans killed 20,000 slaves but won no firm victory until its general dueled with Athenion and killed him. A thousand slaves were dispatched to Rome to become gladiators, but all of the men killed each other when they learned of their destination.

Historians Plutarch, Sallust, Appian, Florus, and others reported the most famous slave revolt in 73–71 B.C.E.—that of Spartacus, a gladiator in Capua, who may

have once been a Roman soldier. Gladiators were slaves or enemies who had committed an offense deserving of special punishment; as a gladiator, Spartacus would have been trained to fight to the death. Spartacus and at least 50 other gladiators staged an escape from their combat school using kitchen knives as weapons. They hid near Mount Vesuvius and elected three leaders: Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus—the latter two from GAUL. They defeated the initial force sent from Capua to recapture them and were soon joined by other rebel slaves.

Italy's estimated population of 6 million included 2 million slaves, and revolt was taken seriously. Approximately 3,000 soldiers marched to the Vesuvius area but were tricked and defeated by the slaves. Another army engaged the slaves several times but was constantly outwitted by them. Spartacus's force grew: By some estimates it numbered 70,000 and included slaves from Gaul, Thrace, and the German tribes. The Senate was humiliated and afraid and dispatched consuls Publicola and Lentulus with nearly 9,000 men. Publicola defeated a force led by Crixus, but Spartacus beat both armies and marched his troops north to the Alps where they met and defeated the army of Cisalpine Gaul, led by the Roman governor.

While many of the details of Spartacus's revolt are confusing, a true mystery evolved at this point: Spartacus, so close to escape and freedom, turned his army around and headed south again. After months of enduring raids up and down the Italian peninsula, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the most powerful man in Rome, gathered legions of men and began a hunt for the slaves and their leaders. When one of his legates led two legions into an unwise attack, Crassus had one of every 10 of the soldiers clubbed to death by his fellows, a practice called decimation.

After a failed attempt to cross the sea to Sicily, Spartacus drove further south. Crassus began to build a wall across southern Italy, trapping the slaves. They would not be trapped, however, and crossed the trench that was dug, even though thousands of them died. Still in the south, the slaves won a victory against one part of Crassus's army but were finally defeated. Crassus lost only 1,000 men, but the battlefield was littered with more rebel corpses than the Romans could count, and Spartacus was among the dead. Five thousand slaves escaped but were cut down by the army of POMPEY, Crassus's rival, and Crassus pursued other rebels into the mountains. About 6,000 survivors were rounded up and crucified along the Appian Way, the road leading from Capua to Rome.

More revolts are recorded in the ROMAN EMPIRE after Spartacus's time, including a rebellion of gladi-

tors during NERO's reign. As late as the third century C.E. a gang of 600 slaves led by Bulla eluded capture for two years. None of these reached the proportion of Spartacus's army, though, and none endured through millennia, as Spartacus's story has, to inspire and serve as a symbol of resistance to oppression.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Barrow, Reginald. *Slavery in the Roman Empire*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968; Shaw, Brent D. *Spartacus and the Slave Wars*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001; Urbainczyk, Theresa. *Spartacus*. London: Bristol Classical, 2004; Wiedemann, Thomas. *Greek and Roman Slavery*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.

VICKY KALAMBAKAL

## Stoicism

Stoicism was a belief system founded by Zeno of Citium at the end of the fourth century B.C.E., at a time when the system of GREEK CITY-STATES was coming to an end and apparent chaos was about to descend. Stoicism reflected this situation until the end of its period of influence, about the beginning of the fourth century C.E. Important additions to the philosophy were made by Chrysippus and subsequently by the Romans SENECA, Epictetus and MARCUS AURELIUS. The term *stoicism* was developed from the *stoa*, or column, alongside which Zeno customarily taught.

The early period of Stoicism is closely associated with Athens, where successive generations of philosophers had flourished and helped associate the city with the tradition of thought. However, influential early Stoics arrived in Athens from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean, showing how Greek culture had spread, most particularly as a result of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquests. Zeno was born on Cyprus and traveled to Athens at the age of 22, where his early career was associated with the Cynics, and there is an undercurrent of cynicism in Stoic thought. The Cynics believed that happiness, a suitable goal for humanity, can only be achieved by focusing the mind on what can be achieved and what is under the power of the individual. Since physical phenomena such as personal health and wealth are beyond the control of individuals, they should not be regarded as appropriate goals.

The only things that can be controlled are personal virtue and mental fortitude. To this, Stoics added the concept of logos, which is divine reason and the inspiration

of the universe. The presence of logos divides matter into the passive and the active, all of which combines to make an integrated whole. Logos, cognate with the fire aspect of the four elements, makes up the human soul and the reason of the soul, which is at one with the nature of the material of the universe, and can be fully expressed only when it fully comprehends its place in the universe.

As a result of the nature of the material that makes up the universe, it follows that people are formed with various desires and attributes that are entirely natural. In common with most forms of Greek philosophy, Stoicism aimed to find the ideal relationship between the individual and nature. Aiming to achieve the desires with which people are naturally endowed, for example, for security, comfort, wealth, was a perfectly acceptable form of behavior.

However, it was possible for the individual to approach these goals in the wrong way, owing to imperfections in personal perception, which is the method of seeking to understand the universe. The true Stoic, therefore, should have a rigorous grasp of true perception and an understanding of the reality of the universe, and this tends to lead to a certain acerbity of character. Moral duty and personal virtue are inescapable characteristics of a properly Stoic individual.

The second period of Stoic thought occupied the first and second centuries B.C.E. and was dominated by the philosophers Panaetius and Posidonius. These men made some alterations to the nature of Stoic thought but did not significantly change the basis of the philosophy. They were more interested in restoring Stoicism to its Platonic and Aristotelian roots. This conflicted with the additions of Chrysippus, who had added an ethical component to Stoicism that had not been present in Zeno's teaching. Posidonius and Panaetius were largely responsible for the popularity of Stoicism in Rome, where it was seen as a moral corrective to the temptations of conquest and empire. This was recorded in the second book of CICERO's *De Natura Deorum* (*On the Nature of the Gods*).

Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) achieved prominence both for his scholarly works, which adopted Stoicism for the Roman world, and for his tutelage of NERO and subsequent position as joint regent emperor of Rome. His works provided consolation to BOETHIUS in prison, and he then later restated the philosophy as a means of escaping from the trials of the world by rejecting the importance of transitory events and phenomena. The freed slave Epictetus (c. 55–135 C.E.) established his own school of Stoicism that focused on practical humanity and individual freedom. He favored universal justice

and the cultivation of a calm indifference to the slings and arrows of fate. Since failure was an inevitable part of human life, it was not to be condemned; only hypocrisy and falsehood was to be avoided. The thought of Epictetus had considerable impact upon subsequent Christian thought. It was warmly embraced by Marcus Aurelius (121–180 C.E.), emperor of Rome.

Marcus Aurelius maintained a personal journal in which he recorded his thoughts and moral injunctions, most of which were drawn directly from Epictetus's statements of Stoic philosophy. His *Meditations* have subsequently become extremely influential in shaping subsequent thought of the Western world.

Stoicism has been one of the most enduring thought systems to emerge from ancient Greece. Its influence can be traced to numerous subsequent schools of thought, including various forms of Protestantism and Puritanism. In focusing on the separation between the attainable and the worthless and its concentration on the moral imperatives of the individual, Stoicism has proved useful in many contexts.

See also ARISTOTLE; GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC; PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Boethius, Ancius. *The Consolation of Philosophy*. Trans. by Victor Watts. New York: Penguin Classics, 2000; Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *The Nature of the Gods*. Trans. by Horace C. P. McGregor. New York: Penguin Classics, 1972; Epictetus. *The Discourses of Epictetus*. Ed. by Christopher Gill; trans. by Robin Hard. Phoenix, AZ: Everyman Paperback Classics, 1995; Inwood, Brad, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Marcus Aurelius. *Meditations*. Trans. by Maxwell Staniforth. New York: Penguin Books, 1964.

JOHN WALSH

## Suiko

(d. 628 C.E.) empress of Japan

Suiko ruled Japan from 592 to 628 C.E. alongside her regent, the crown prince Shotoku Taishi. She was the daughter of Emperor Kimmei and his consort, a woman from the powerful SOGA CLAN. After Kimmei's death his son Bidatsu took the throne, and Suiko, his half sister, became his wife. Bidatsu soon died, and another of Suiko's brothers, Yomei, became sovereign until his death two years later. A subsequent power struggle over the throne ended in victory for the Soga as Sushun, one of Suiko's half brothers, took the throne. However, the

head of the Soga clan, Umako, did not trust Sushun's growing resentment toward the Soga, and Umako had him assassinated in 592 C.E. After his murder Umako asked her to accept the throne, which she conceded. Shōtoku became her regent and coruler.

Scholars used to emphasize Shōtoku's role over Suiko's in the governing of Japan, stating that Suiko merely served as the head priestess of the court *kami* worship. This is due in part to Chinese texts that focused more on Shōtoku's activity. In Confucianism males rule over women, and thus the Japanese court may have used Shōtoku as the proper male representative in its relations with China.

It is also possible that Confucian scholars chose to write more about their interactions with the Yamato state through Shōtoku rather than Suiko. Some scholars note, however, that Suiko was active in sending the Yamato state's first embassy to China in 600 and established relations with the Korean kingdom Silla in 621. Both Japanese and Korean sources demonstrate that Suiko was just as active as Shōtoku in her administrative rule over the Yamato state.

Suiko even asserted her rule against attempts by her uncle Soga no Umako to expand the Soga clan's power. She rejected Umako's request for more land, claiming that future scholars would castigate her for being a foolish woman if she allowed the Soga clan to obtain more power. An overly powerful Soga clan encroaching on the power of the sovereign was said to be analogous to two kings in one kingdom, which was like having two Suns in the sky. Suiko's death in 628 created a power vacuum that led to yet another showdown between the Soga and their rivals.

Crown Prince Shōtoku had died before Suiko, and Suiko died before declaring an heir. The Soga forged documents that stated Suiko preferred the Soga-backed candidate of her two remaining sons. The forgery and authoritarian rule by the Soga, especially that of Iruka who used the military to eliminate his critics, pushed opponents to join forces in a coup. Iruka was assassinated in 645, bringing an end to Soga power.

See also YAMATO CLAN AND STATE.

**Further reading:** Ebersole, Gary. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989; Hall, John. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 1: Ancient Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Piggot, Joan. *Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

MICHAEL WERT

## Sulla

See MARIUS AND SULLA.

## Sumer

Sumer is the name for the region of southern Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates (modern-day southeastern Iraq and Kuwait), settled during the third millennium B.C.E. The Sumerians were a non-Semitic people whose place of origin and ethnic identity remains unknown. The Sumerian civilization may have been the first to invent writing. Sumerian early writing, called CUNEIFORM, consisted of drawing pictures on clay tablets with a writing instrument called a stylus. Originally used to keep economic and administrative records, the art of writing later expanded to include religious texts such as hymns, prayers, and myths. Due to their extreme age, these texts are often not fully understood by modern scholars.

According to some scholars the earliest form of government in Sumer appears to have consisted of something like a primitive democracy with elected leaders who occupied two main offices known as the *en* and the *lugal*. In addition to these leaders, the government had a bicameral legislature consisting of two groups: a council of elders and a body of younger, military-aged men. The offices of the *en* and the *lugal* were not hereditary and would later be replaced by kings in the Early Dynastic Period (c. 2900–2300 B.C.E.). During the period of the monarchy the city-state was the main type of government. Each significant city governed a small amount of territory, which also included smaller towns and villages. Some of the prominent cities include Kish, Lagash, UR, Uruk, Eridu, and Nippur. Although each city was autonomous and had its own particular deity, the city of Nippur served as the religious center of Sumer.

Between c. 2334 and 2154 B.C.E. the empire of AKKAD interrupted Sumerian control of southern Mesopotamia. Founded by SARGON OF AKKAD and ruled from the city of Akkad, this empire stood for nearly two centuries until it finally succumbed to internal anarchy and external pressure from a foreign people known as the Gutians. After an interlude of a little over two centuries, the original Sumerian population reasserted itself and regained control c. 2112 B.C.E. The result was the Ur III dynasty, which was governed from the city of Ur. Sometimes called the "Sumerian renaissance," the Ur III period was a reestablishment of Sumerian power and culture. This Indian summer of the Sumerian civilization featured building programs, the flourishing of the arts and literature, and the emergence of

law codes. This revival did not last long, however. After about 100 years the Ur III dynasty fell in 2004 B.C.E., eventually to be replaced by the Babylonians.

Sumer left a lasting impression on the cultures that followed. Some of the inventions the Sumerians contributed include writing, the city-state, the wheel, legal documents, and schools. Although the language of Sumer is not related to any other known language, it had some influence on Akkadian, the Semitic language that eventually became the dominant language of the ancient Near East. The influence of Sumerian culture, however, continued through the later periods of the Babylonians and the Assyrians in their mythology and historiography.

See also ASSYRIA; BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; CUNEIFORM; FERTILE CRESCENT; GREEK CITY-STATES; SCRIBES.

**Further reading:** Snell, Daniel C. *Life in the Ancient Near East, 3100–332 B.C.E.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997; Van De Mieroop, Marc. *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

DEWAYNE BRYANT

## Sunzi (Sun Tzu)

(6th century B.C.E.) Chinese general and author

Sunzi means “Master Sun” in Chinese. He was also known as Sun Bin (Pin) or Sun the Cripple because his feet were amputated as punishment for some crime. He was the putative author of a book titled *Sunzi Bingfa* (*Sun-tzu ping-fa*), or the *Art of War of Sunzi*, which analyzed warfare and strategy. He lived toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. and led the army of one of China’s warring states to victory. In time Sun became almost a legend.

Several new groups of men gained prominence during the Warring States period (487–221 B.C.E.), when warfare among the Chinese states became intense and large scale. One group was the diplomats, who could negotiate successfully. Another group was the professional warriors, because valor in battle provided one avenue of upward mobility for the officers and exemption from taxes and labor services and rewards for common soldiers. Strategists and tacticians were also in demand; Sunzi belonged to this group.

The *Sunzi Bingfa* opens thus: “The art of war is of vital importance to the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence under no circumstances can it be neglected.” The work consists of 13 chapters: Laying Plans, On Waging War, The Sheathed Sword, Tactics, Energy, Weak Points and

Strong, Variation of Tactic, The Army on the March, Terrain, The Nine Situations, Attack by Fire, and The Use of Spies. Each chapter is short and succinct. For example, chapter 3, “The Sheathed Sword,” opens this way: “To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting. In the practical art of war, the best thing of all is to take the enemy’s country whole and intact; to shatter and destroy it is not so good. So, too, it is better to capture an army entire than to destroy it . . . Thus the highest form of generalship is to balk the enemy’s plans; the next best is to prevent the junction of the enemy’s forces; the next in order is to attack the enemy’s army in the field; and the worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities.”

The *Sunzi Bingfa* has been an influential book for Chinese generals since the fourth century B.C.E. It was first translated into French in 1782 and was translated into English in 1905. It has been used as a textbook in all Western military academies since the early 20th century and, more recently, in business schools because the strategies it offers are applicable to many endeavors.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Griffith, Samuel G. *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963; Kierman, Frank A., Jr., and John K. Fairbank, eds. *Chinese Ways in Warfare*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974; Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. Edited by James Clavell. New York: Dell Publishing, 1983.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Susa

See PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA.

## Syracuse

In 421 B.C.E., with the establishment of the Peace of Nikias, Athens and Sparta managed to set a provisory truce on the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.E.). However, a period of mutual suspicions and instability followed, which created new conflicts for both poleis and their allies. In the winter of 415 B.C.E. the Sicilian city of Segesta decided to ask for Athenian support against their neighbor Selinus, which was helped by Syracusan forces. According to Thucydides (in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*), Athens agreed to organize and send 60 ships to the island under the joint command

of ALCIBIADES, Nikias, and Lamakhos. Full power was granted to the three generals in order to assist Segesta.

Strong debates were held concerning the opportunity and the need of the expedition, and Nikias expressed his view against the inconvenience of sending troops far from Athens with an imperialist goal. However, the people supported Alcibiades in favor of the expedition. Shortly before the departure of the fleet a shocking event interpreted as a bad omen took place: It is recorded that in one night almost all of the statues of Hermes in the city (known as the *Hermai*) were mutilated. This violent destruction of the busts was seen as a clear act of conspiracy against the state. Alcibiades was suspected in the episode, and claims for responsibility were presented against him. But he had a popular image and was not immediately charged.

The huge fleet, composed by Athenian and allied *triremes*, constituted the biggest military expedition ever conducted in classical Greece. They left Athens in June 415 B.C.E. and, after joining other forces in Corcyra, reached Sicily. As soon as it was clear that Segesta had no money to support the military deployment, the generals clashed: Whereas Nikias proposed a return to Athens, Lamakhos wanted an immediate attack in Syracuse, and Alcibiades suggested some initial negotiations with the enemy. Informed about his condemnation in Athens, Alcibiades decided to escape to the Peloponnesian islands, where he contacted the Spartans. However, the other two generals followed his plan and decided to put off the main attack. They settled their fleet in Catana, where Syracusan troops under the command of Hermokrates prepared for combat. A first encounter between cavalry forces occurred, and the Syracusans had to flee the battle camp.

During the winter both parties discussed alliances with different cities in Italy, reinforced their military capacity, and built defensive walls. Called in to help by the Syracusans, a Spartan contingent under Gylippos arrived in the city and successfully held some skirmishes with the Athenians, turning the tide. The Athenians received reinforcements from DEMOSTHENES and Eurymedon. Nonetheless, this support was not enough to overcome the local horsemen.

A mistake by Nikias, who decided to postpone the Athenian homecoming, sealed their defeat: Syracusan and Spartan vessels took advantage of the situation, attacked the rival ships in the harbor, pushed them into the shore, and started a blockage. Athenians decided to leave camp, guided by Nikias and Demosthenes. But they were obliged to split troops in two, and after final encounters with Syracusans, both generals were forced to surrender (413 B.C.E.).

Many Athenians were massacred, a few escaped and asked for refuge in Catana, and the remaining were taken as prisoners under harsh conditions. The effects of this catastrophic expedition put the POLIS at stake. Even if Athens was able to go on with the war against Sparta for another nine years, the truth is that the Sicilian disaster entailed an absolute loss of power and clearly represented the beginning of its final military and political decadence.

See also GREEK CITY-STATES; HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

**Further reading:** De Saint Croix, G. E. M. *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*. London: Duckworth; Meiggs, R. *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; Kagan, D. *The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.

EMILIANO J. BUIS

## Syriac culture and church

The Syriac culture and church are found in northern Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers, dominated by the cities of EDESSA, Nisibis, and Mosul (from west to east). Syriac, a form of Aramaic, was spoken throughout this area from the time of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH to the 13th century C.E., when Arabic prevailed. Its culture is often traced back to the Aramaic and Assyrian civilizations. Sebastian Brock, a noted Oxford scholar, calls the Syriac culture and church an authentic Semitic descendant of the biblical world and an ancient voice of early Christianity.

Beginning in the first century C.E. Christianity spread quickly in the Syriac region. The fifth-century *Doctrina Addai* tells of the disciple Addai sent by Thomas the Apostle to convert the people of Mesopotamia. There are second-century Christian writings in Syriac such as the Odes of Solomon and the Acts of Thomas, and there is likelihood that other books only available in Greek or Coptic, such as the Pseudo-Clementines and the Gospel of Thomas, were composed originally in Syriac. The famed teachers Bardeanes and Mani, who founded their own widespread sects, began in the Syriac-speaking Christian communities. Many other groups and movements had their beginning here as well: the Elkesaites and the Mandaeans of southern Iraq and the Christian ascetics called the Encratites, the celibate and elusive “Sons and Daughters of the Covenant.”

The principal Roman city of the region, Antioch, was its link to the West, while its link to the East was Persian Ctesiphon (Baghdad). Thus, the cradle of Syriac culture was on the frontier between the two empires and civilizations. The effects of this geographic position were dramatic: The Syriac Church split in 484 according to its location, with the establishment of an autonomous (Assyrian) church in the Persian domain and the remaining (Syrian) church in the Roman domain. Another split occurred in the sixth-century Syrian Church, with one side identifying with the adherents of Council of Chalcedon (Melkites), the other side dissenting (Syriac Orthodox). All three Syriac-based groups claimed their biblical roots in Antioch, the city out of which Peter and PAUL launched their missions. Their political affiliations varied: the Assyrians identified with the Persians, the Melkites with the Romans and Byzantines, and the Syriac Orthodox somewhere in the middle.

Among the Syrians, the Melkites were concentrated in urban and Hellenized areas (Antioch, ALEXANDRIA, and the Mediterranean coast), while the Syriac Orthodox were in the countryside and hinterlands. The Syriac Orthodox adherents were not alone in their resistance to the Council of Chalcedon: Together with the Egyptians, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Ethiopians, they formed the core of the ancient ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES. The divisions between the Melkites and the other Syriac churches were mainly a result of cultural, linguistic, and political factors rather than theology. The Syriac churches formally rejected the Chalcedonian Creed that Christ has two natures, divine and human, in one person as an innovation of the ancient traditions. Their Byzantine (Melkite) opponents incorrectly held them to be Monophysites, heretics who believed that Christ had only one nature. In fact, the Syriac position was that "Christ is perfect God and perfect man" and was only slightly different from the Chalcedonian formula.

The fourth through the sixth centuries were the most prolific era for Syriac writers. During this time the language came to flourish in its classical forms of Jacobite (*serto*) and Eastern (Nestorian), together with Estangelo, the common written language. The Syriac Bible, called the Peshitta, was written early enough in the development of Judaism and Christianity that it was one of the oldest witnesses to the scriptural text. The *Diatessaron*, attributed to Tatian, is an indispensable witness to the gospel texts of the New Testament. Some of the notable religious writers of this period include Aphraates (fl. 336–345), EPHREM the Syrian (d. 373),

Narsai (d. c. 503), Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), and Philoxenus of Mabbugh (d. 523). Their elevated prose and poetry manifest in metrical homilies and hymns, some of which spread into the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH. The secular chronicles and histories of Syriac origin are valuable for filling in the gaps left by Latin and Greek works. Some of the outstanding early historians include John of Ephesus (c. 575–585), Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor (c. 580), and Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).

By the early 600s Syriac missionaries had spread their religion as far east as China. The Assyrian Church maintained valuable connections to the silk and spice routes, so they were able to carry their religion into far-flung areas. Syriac Orthodox villages and churches were oftentimes swallowed up by the Persian Empire as the Romans and Byzantines retreated toward the Mediterranean Sea. But they did not fight the new regime because they had experienced disparagement and persecution from their Melkite coreligionists and former Byzantine rulers.

By contrast, the Assyrians and the Syriac Orthodox often took positions of influence in science, administration, and education among the Persians, Muslims, and Mongols. Many scientific and philosophical books, otherwise lost to the West during the early Middle Ages, were transmitted from their Greek origins to the Arabs by way of the Syriac scholars. Syriac missionaries are legendary for spreading Christianity into India, where their descendants are called Thomas Christians (because of their purported link to the mission of Thomas the Apostle). They follow customs that show affinities with Judaism. In fact the largest group of Syriac Christians resides in contemporary India.

See also APOSTLES, TWELVE; ARAMAENS; ASSYRIA; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON, COUNCILS OF; FERTILE CRESCENT; GEORGIA, ANCIENT; HELLENIZATION; NESTORIUS AND THE NESTORIAN CHURCH; SASSANID EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Chaillot, C. *The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch and All the East: A Brief Introduction to Its Life and Spirituality*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches, 1998; Griffith, S. "Syria, Syriac." In E. Ferguson, ed. *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990; Hollerweger, Hans, with Andrew Palmer. Introduction by Sebastian Brock. *Turabdin: Where Jesus' Language Is Spoken*. Linz, Austria: Friends of Turabdin, 1999.



# T



## Talmud

The Talmud of Judaism is a collection of commentaries. It is the extended and loosely organized elaboration of selected tractates of the MISHNAH, an earlier religious book. Its contents are not limited by the Mishnah but often serve as the base for wide-ranging discussions. Ancient rabbis found all kinds of reasons for recording their discussions on Talmudic topics, and this eventually became the constitution of medieval Jewish life. It is the source for the TORAH among rabbinic Jews today, binding on orthodox Jews. Legal rulings within the Talmud are called the Halakhah, and the interpretations and the stories that support the rulings are the Haggadah. Technically the Talmud means the whole body of rabbinic materials, namely, the Mishnah and its later commentaries, while the Gemara refers specifically to the commentary on the Mishnah. In common parlance, however, the Talmud refers to the Gemara, or commentary on the Mishnah, written between 200 and 600 C.E.

The writers of the Talmud are the “sages” of various periods of Jewish history. The rabbis before the Mishnah are called the *tannaim*, from a Hebrew word meaning “teach” or “repeat.” The rabbis who lived after the Mishnah are called the *amoraim*, from an Aramaic word meaning “discuss.” The *sevoraim* come after the *amoraim*, and their name comes from the Aramaic word for “reconsider” or “rethink an opinion.” Finally come the *geonim*, from the Hebrew word for “learned,” usually applied to the authoritative later teachers. The Talmud loosely follows the organization of the Mishnah,

divided into the orders or tractates, then chapters, and then paragraphs. The technique of developing the topic is to go over each phrase of the Mishnah and discuss it thoroughly. Sometimes digressions slip in and go on for pages before the Mishnah lines are taken up again.

For several generations sages debated and consulted about the meaning of the Mishnah. These discussions were collected and passed down orally or as makeshift documents. Additions and revisions and shifting within the collections meant that they were not standardized texts. Sometimes free associations of ideas and even extraneous materials were included and added to the confusion of the collections. As time went on, rabbis felt free to comment on the original commentaries in order to give clarity and relevance. The earliest comments were mostly law related: brief, apodictic statements of law; later, comments were longer dialectical treatments of laws and principles.

There grew to be two centers where Jews compiled available Gemara into their own Talmuds: Palestine and Babylonia. The Yerushalmi, or Palestinian, Talmud mostly reflects the work of Galilean rabbis, and it was completed by the mid-fifth century C.E. It is characterized by brevity and an absence of clarification and editorial transitions, which is in keeping with its early dating. Its discussions are seen as elliptical and terse, but occasionally dialogues arise and show development of argument and resolutions. The Bavli, or Babylonian, Talmud was completed by the year 500 C.E. However, there are discussions that show development over a longer time period (450–650). The Bavli is far more worked out than

the Yerushalmi. It is more sophisticated and technical and formal for introducing source materials, considering objections and counterobjections. The *sevoraim* took a much bigger role in the Bavli, composing entire sections, especially introductions and transitions. In general, the Bavli is of a superior literary quality and logical clarity, and it is much longer. The last period of the Talmud teachers, the *geonim*, consists of Bavli authorities.

The Bavli leaves out a lot of the first order ("Blessings") because many of the issues concern obligations that do not apply outside Israel. Harder to explain is the Bavli's fascination with the regulations concerning the Temple—not found in the Yerushalmi. Otherwise, the two books of Talmud mostly cover the same ground. The Bavli gradually grew in its influence over the Yerushalmi. It is clear the Babylonian *geonim* of the latter part of the first millennium C.E. were more prestigious than the Palestinian rabbis. Diaspora Jews gradually adopted the Bavli as their primary book. Palestinian Jewry declined, while the Diaspora communities spread throughout Spain, Portugal, and North Africa. Another blow to the Jews of Palestine and their Talmud was the CRUSADES.

At a certain point the Talmud always meant the Bavli, and that Yerushalmi only applied where the Bavli was silent or ambiguous. And the momentum continued: It became the focus of more and better commentaries and larger numbers of scribes. Modern scholarship therefore has more to work with in terms of Bavli materials, while Yerushalmi is less polished and extensive.

Early Mishnah study and commentaries were oral, so that the Gemara was in the beginning an approximation of the spoken tradition. There is no reason, then, to speak of the "original Talmud," and there are many parallel texts in various centers of Jewry. Standardization of text has come largely because of the Diaspora Jews' adaptation to the modern world and eventually their access to the printing press and formation of education institutions. All these factors stood in favor of the Bavli. It is traditional to believe that MOSES presented the Torah as the written laws for Israel but that his rulings about various applications of the written laws were passed on orally at the same time.

As medieval Judaism developed more and more oral laws to interpret the Torah and to expand its application, the rabbis gave credit to various legendary non-biblical figures (the "Great Synagogue" officials, Hillel and Shammai and YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI). The only historical person to corroborate this process is JUDAH HA-NASI, who presided over the compilation of the Mishnah around the year 200 C.E.

The mode of composition is in dialogue form, a bit like the dialogue between SOCRATES and his followers. Questions regarding the Mishnah are introduced and then the dialogue seeks after causes and origins. The lengthy digressions are the Haggadah, while the conclusions are the Halakhah. While this method may strike the modern reader as drawn out and boring, it actually is a novel way of dealing with the complexity and monotony of legal rulings. The Talmud contains the rejected as well as the accepted opinions of the rabbis. The Talmud is a book of laws and opinions on the laws. Rarely does it appeal to the reader's sense of inspiration and elevated speech. To the casual reader the rabbis appear as judges, teachers, and public administrators, and that was their role within the medieval Jewish community. The personalities of the thinkers—the rabbis—were not important in the Talmud, but the legal chains of thought were. Their genre was the text commentary, and even today the Talmud text page contains the text surrounded by several later celebrated commentaries.

The religious current of the text is deeper and more satisfying. The law is a source of God's creativity and thus a gift to Jews and a joy to fulfill. The task of the rabbi is to apply this law to every aspect of life, an opportunity and not a burden. In fact, by expanding the oral Torah, the rabbis were imitating what previously God accomplished through the written Torah. Thus, study and application of Torah were engaging in a form of divine creativity. Everyone was expected to join in the creative process, whether it was the ascetic holy man who studied 20 hours per day, or the common Jew who studied Torah only at the Sabbath service. Rabbinic skill was expressed in finely honed argumentation, and the argumentation became a sign of holiness. The rabbis taught that they became a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" when they sufficiently studied and understood the Torah.

Rabbis were elected and rated according to their command of the Talmud. As medieval rabbis devoted themselves to Talmudic studies, they enhanced their stature as community leaders. As a result they had to work out their relationships with the political rulers of the lands where their Jewish followers were. The Roman authorities, the Byzantine governors, and even the designated Jewish officials (the Jewish patriarchs and the exiliarchs) eventually had to accommodate the rabbis. Nonetheless, the rabbis kept a low political profile. The rabbis found their niche in the internal religious life of the Jews (marriages, divorces, religious rituals, calendar, and the education of the youth). Their opinions were treasured much like medieval Christians valued the fathers of the church.

The Talmuds are the major sources of information about Jewish culture and religion in the period of late antiquity and the early medieval period. Often its pages reveal even earlier stages of Jewish life and culture—perhaps preserving fragments of teachers and teachings of the period after the last writings of the Bible and before the completion of the New Testament. The problem is that the Talmuds add layer upon layer of editing so that the original historical kernel cannot be identified with certainty. Another problem with determining the historicity of the Talmud came from outsiders: Christians often censored or destroyed copies of the Talmud in various regions of Europe. Often, in order to avoid destruction, Jews submitted the Talmud to censorship so that early rabbinic discussion of such topics as JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH or EARLY CHRISTIANITY was lost or scattered.

See also JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** Goldenberg, R. "Talmud." *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Detroit, MI: MacMillan Reference USA, 2004; Hezser, Catherine. *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997. Neusner, Jacob, ed. *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 1: Literary and Archaeological Sources*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1995; Safrai, S., ed. *The Literature of the Sages*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Tantrism

Vajrayana Buddhism, or Tantrism, is a form of Buddhist thought that has flourished in northern India and particularly Tibet. The term *vajra* is a Sanskrit word that can mean either "diamond" or "thunderbolt." Vajrayana Buddhism provides enlightenment in a single lifetime, rather than as a result of numerous incarnations as posited by other forms of Buddhism. These means, which are known as *upaya*, include meditation techniques, thought exercises, chanting, and sexual practices. Like Mahayana Buddhism, Vajrayana Buddhism aims to recreate the experience of GAUTAMA BUDDHA and to enable the individual to attain Buddhahood, rather than just to escape from the endless wheel of death and rebirth that is caused by attachment to the insubstantial things of the world, which is the goal of Theravada Buddhism. Like the other forms of Buddhism, Vajrayana Buddhism also enjoins upon the follower to take such measures as proper behavior, abstinence from

intoxicants, and supporting the monkhood. An alternative name for Vajrayana Buddhism is Mantrayana Buddhism, owing to the practice of reciting mantras to escape from the human desire to grasp illusory and impermanent sensory data as reality.

Vajrayana Buddhism developed from Mahayana (or Great Vehicle) Buddhism around the sixth–seventh centuries and was particularly influential until the 11th century. Tibetan adherents claim that Sakyamuni Buddha taught the tantras as secret texts that were preserved in writing some time after the sutras. A tantra is a continuum that flows from fundamental ignorance to enlightenment, as well as being the text in which this message is recorded. Tantras include continua of the path, the ground, and the result. Three inner tantras, in addition to six outer tantras, once mastered, offer the capability of entering the Buddhahood. This is managed through sophisticated mental techniques that facilitate the resolution of states of mental dissonance into one of enlightening union. The three inner tantras are the Mahayoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, which are the generation stage, the perfection stage, and the Great Perfection (*dzogchen*) stage. The Indian spiritual leaders Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Budhaghushya (among others) introduced them. Their works have been subsequently collected in multiple-volume canons, notably in Tibetan translation by Buton Rinchen-drub (1290–1364). The different collections of works gave rise to different schools of Vajrayana thought.

Vajrayana adherents stress the importance of the teacher-student relationship and the esoteric transmission of knowledge and *upayas* through that relationship. Not only is meditation involved but also ritual chanting, the drawing of mystical charts, and the practice of tantric sexual congress with female priests known as *yoginis*. The most well known repetitive chant is *Om mane padme hum* (ah, the jewel is indeed in the lotus), which when repeated can help the mind overcome dissonance. Sexual congress is important in the quest for enlightenment because it is part of the attempt to resolve and unite opposing principles. In addition, as one of the Four Delights, it aims to unite bliss with emptiness, by means of liberating the body's energy center to receive the pristine cognition of supreme delight.

In some cases tantric activities, including sexual yoga, became associated with occult activities and sacred drinking of alcohol. Tantrism on the island of Java, for example, included drinking and fornication with *yoginis* that rather scandalized some visitors, unaware of the purpose of the rituals. Kertanagara (r. 1268–92), the last king of Singosari on Java, for example, was obliged to protect his people and demonstrate the legitimacy of

his kingship by combating the demoniac energies loose in the land through seeking ecstasy through bouts of drinking and sexual congress. Kertanagara was unfortunately murdered in the course of one of these bouts. Tantric practices are also associated with Hinduism and differ from Buddhist tantra accordingly.

Vajrayana Buddhism was influential in Tibet and India, but has also been practiced in Central Asia, China, Java, Nepal, and what is now Pakistan. In addition, the Mongols adopted aspects of Tibetan Buddhist practice and helped spread them through the Asian continent. Variations of tantric practice spread further, although often dissociated from the essence of Vajrayana Buddhism. In aesthetic and artistic terms Vajrayana Buddhism has inspired the creation of the mandala, which is a representation of the universe employed in meditation. A series of concentric circles identifies the individual and the womb and its connections with wider reality. Characteristic forms are found in China, Japan, and Tibet. Tibetan versions are one form of *thang-ka* (*tanka*), which are cloth paintings that may be used in personal meditation, used for display, or in processions. They are created according to a series of strict canonical rules and began to appear from about the 10th century.

See also THERAVEDA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Hall, D. G. E. *A History of South-East Asia*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press, 1994; Padmasambhava. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation by Hearing in the Intermediate State*. Revealed by Terton Karma Lingpa, trans. by Gyurme Dorje, ed. by Graham Coleman, with Thupten Jinpa. Introduction by the Dalai Lama. London: Allen Lane, 2005; Rinpoche, Kalu. *Secret Buddhism: Vajrayana Practices*. Ashland, OH: Clearpoint Press, 2002.

JOHN WALSH

## Taoism

See DAOISM (TAOISM).

## Teotihuacán

Located some 25 miles northeast of Mexico City in the Basin of Mexico, the massive ruins of the great city of Teotihuacán have long puzzled and intrigued observers. Despite more than a century of archaeological investigation, many mysteries remain about the people who built, ruled, and lived in this vast urban complex. The city was founded in the first century B.C.E., just north-

east of Lake Texcoco, which lay at the basin's center. Its builders were most likely the former inhabitants of the ancient ceremonial center of Cuicuilco, at Lake Texcoco's southwest corner, which was destroyed in the eruption of the volcano Xitle around 50 B.C.E. Construction on Teotihuacán began soon after the abandonment of Cuicuilco. The city flourished for the next 600 years, dominating most of the central highlands, before its partial destruction and abandonment around 650 C.E.

The city's civic and ceremonial core was built in stages, from its beginnings in the first century B.C.E. to its completion by 300 C.E. Carefully designed in a grid-like pattern, the core was dominated by several towering structures connected by a broad avenue: the massive Pyramid of the Sun; the slightly less imposing Pyramid of the Moon; the Temple of Quetzalcoatl (Plumed, or Feathered, Serpent); and the large open-air Citadel. Scholars offer varying interpretations of its builders' intentions regarding its orientation, with the Avenue of the Dead at 15.5 degrees west of south. Some argue that it is aligned with solar equinoxes; others, with the constellation Pleiades; others, with the nearby Cerro Gordo volcano; still others have proposed mathematical relationships between the city's orientation and the sacred 260-day calendar. All agree that its exacting alignment carried deep meaning for its designers and builders.

Its largest and oldest vertical structure, the massive Pyramid of the Sun, was built over a series of caves (discovered in 1971) whose interior chambers were modified and used extensively during the pyramid's construction phase (1–150 C.E.). In Mesoamerican mythology caves were linked to the underworld, the dwelling place of the gods, and the origin of creation, suggesting that the pyramid's location held profound cosmological significance to its designers.

Estimates of the city's population range from a low of 80,000, to a high of 200,000. During its first century its population grew rapidly, reaching perhaps 80,000 by 150 C.E., with many thousands of people from the Basin of Mexico migrating to the city. Growth slowed in subsequent decades, with the city's population reaching its height probably around 200 C.E. In the 200s and 300s a series of more than 2,000 apartment or residential compounds were built to house the city's huge population. The sizes and qualities of these compounds varied considerably, suggesting an intricate system of socioeconomic stratification based on wealth, occupation, status, and lineage. Most scholars agree that persons claiming a common lineage inhabited these compounds.

Different districts or neighborhoods within the city also varied widely. In some areas, specialized craft or

artisan workshops predominated. Elsewhere, distinct ethnic enclaves are evident, most notably, a cluster of some dozen compounds evidently inhabited by Oaxacans from Monte Albán.

A “merchant’s neighborhood” has been identified near the city’s eastern perimeter. Throughout much of the city, however, it is difficult to identify specific qualities that defined its spatial demographics. While the remnants of walls can be found in various parts of the city, there is no evidence that the city as a whole was walled. An estimated two-thirds of the city’s inhabitants worked in agriculture, in the fields surrounding city, with the remainder engaged in various types of craft production.

The inhabitants of Teotihuacán employed a system of notational signs but had no system of writing comparable to the Maya during this same period. Scholars have identified no grammatical or phonetic elements in the notational system and thus do not know what languages its inhabitants spoke or what they called themselves. Some scholars have proposed that its rulers sought to create a secretive, mysterious symbolism; others suggest that the signs’ meanings were probably clear to their creators and those who viewed them. The artistic style at Teotihuacán is repetitive, uniform, and

somewhat stiff, in sharp contrast to the great variability of styles and motifs among the Maya city-states.

Religion was practiced in at least two distinct spheres: at the level of the household and village and at the level of the state. Village- and household-level religious practices focused on ancestors and deities linked to specific lineages. There is no evidence that these household- and village-level religious practices were in conflict with the state or that there was any organized or lower-class resistance to the state or ruling groups. State religion was very distinct from village-level religion, emphasizing especially the cult of the Feathered Serpent, most graphically expressed in the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, with its hundreds of huge sculpted heads gracing its massive walls and stairs. Other major state deities included what is commonly called Tlaloc, the rain god (though interpretations differ on whether this was indeed Tlaloc), the storm/war god, various death and underworld gods, and what E. Pasztory has termed the Great Goddess.

State religion focused on legitimizing the dominance of ruling groups and providing ideological underpinning for the state and its political, military, and ideological dominion within the Basin of Mexico and beyond.



*Located northeast of Mexico City in the Basin of Mexico are the massive ruins of the great city of Teotihuacán. Despite extensive archaeological investigation, many mysteries remain about the people who built, ruled, and lived in this vast urban complex.*

This was a highly stratified and militarized society with both extensive and intensive military capacities. The city dominated the Basin of Mexico, though probably not much beyond it, and regardless of the extent of its direct rule, it carried enormous ideological prestige throughout Mesoamerica. Perhaps providing a template for the later Aztec military, Teotihuacán's armies were divided into military orders associated with particular creatures, such as the eagle and jaguar. Its military forces consisted of both commoners and elites that fought in disciplined groups and were highly effective in their use of dart- and spear-throwers (*atlatl*) and obsidian-studded clubs.

The city's impressive military capacities and ideological prestige worked together to facilitate exchange and trade relations with neighboring polities. Trade routes, as far south as Central America and as far north as the present-day U.S. Southwest, linked the city to all of Mesoamerica's significant polities. Long-distance trade was especially active in prestige items, such as shells, ceramics, obsidian, mica, hematite, jade, turquoise, and cinnabar. Marketplaces within the city were especially important, some suggesting that the Great Compound was also the city's central marketplace, with cacao serving as a form of currency. Ritual human sacrifice was practiced at Teotihuacán, though the practice is depicted in the city's artwork principally through portrayals of human hearts, some impaled on knives. Skeletons of sacrificial victims have been unearthed in the Pyramid of the Sun, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, and other buildings.

The decline of the great city was rooted in long-term ecological crises, particularly water shortages, deforestation, and soil degradation, trends exacerbated by a series of invasions or attacks by nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples from the north. Between 500 and 600 these deleterious ecological processes had become irreversible. Around 650 much of the city was destroyed by fire, probably by external assailants, and most of its buildings and compounds were abandoned. The core ceremonial area around the temples saw the greatest destruction, suggesting a conscious effort to incapacitate the city's ritual and ideological power. By 750 the city was completely abandoned. Some six centuries later, upon their arrival into the Basin of Mexico from the northern deserts, the Aztec would look upon the ruins of Teotihuacán as the dwelling place of the gods. Today Teotihuacán remains one of Mexico's most popular tourist attractions.

See also MAYA: CLASSIC PERIOD; MAYA: PRECLASSIC PERIOD; MESOAMERICA: ARCHAIC AND PRECLASSIC PERIODS; MESOAMERICA: CLASSIC PERIOD.

**Further reading.** Cowgill, George L. "State and Society at Teotihuacán, Mexico." *Annual Review of Anthropology* (v.26, 1997); Millon, R. *Urbanization at Teotihuacán*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973; Pasztory, E. *The Iconography of the Teotihuacán Tlaloc*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974; ———. *Teotihuacán: An Experiment in Living*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

M. J. SCHROEDER

## Tetrarchy

The Tetrarchy, or "rule of four," was a reform of the Roman imperial government initiated by the emperor DIOCLETIAN in 286 C.E. This was a total change of the *princeps* system begun by the emperor AUGUSTUS CAESAR in 30 B.C.E. Augustus, despite his name of "revered one," was addressed while emperor as "*princeps*," or "first citizen," and his imperial rule was built informally around government offices of the Roman Republic. His true power had come from a combination of the office of tribune and his role in society as "first citizen." Diocletian, on the other hand, changed the position of Roman emperor from one cloaked in republican virtue and office into a full Eastern-style monarchy. Access to the emperor was limited under Diocletian and he was addressed as "*Dominus Noster*," or "our lord." This change in the imperial system had two main goals. The first was a more efficient military command and control, and the second was an attempt to change the way the emperor was chosen.

Diocletian had good reason for instituting new changes for the Roman world. Prior to Diocletian's imperial rule, beginning in 286, the Roman world had seen what historians now call the Crisis of the Third Century. Since only 235 C.E., which had seen the death of the emperor Alexander Severus, Rome had been ruled by generals, by some accounts as many as 50. During the exceedingly short rules of these generals, Rome had been raided by Vandals and Goths and attacked outright on her eastern border by the SASSANID EMPIRE. While the ROMAN EMPIRE was both politically and militarily unstable, Rome was also in terrible financial straits. The Roman Empire had seen years of hyperinflation due to the debasing of the coinage. When Diocletian came to power, he had ample reason to introduce reforms, reforms that some scholars say saved the empire for two more centuries.

This new imperial system was designed first to provide for an increased military command capacity within the empire. No longer would the Roman army sit only

on the frontiers, but there would now be a “defense in depth” policy. The army would patrol the farthest reaches of the empire and also provide a defense for all Roman territory. Diocletian secured these changes with two fundamental alterations to military policy. The first was a de facto division of the empire into an eastern and western half, with each half having its own emperor. Beneath these two emperors, who held the title of Augustus, were two junior emperors who held the title of Caesar. In all, the new imperial college would contain four members: two Augusti and two Caesari. For the military this allowed for a total of four military commanders who could campaign on the very edge of empire, without the others having to worry about a victorious general being elevated to the rank of emperor by his troops. In addition to the edges of empire, there would be military resources and military commanders for the new defense in depth policy.

The imperial college was also intended to create a sense of stability in the empire. The political division between East and West was not intended to be a true division. In fact, all imperial decrees continued to be made in the name of all four men of the imperial college. This allowed for a sense of stability during the sometimes-unstable transfer of power between Roman rulers. The previous *princeps* system of government had for hundreds of years left the empire with no formal way to choose a new emperor after the death of the previous reigning emperor. Diocletian’s reforms sought to rectify this. In theory, when the senior Augustus died, his Caesar would be elevated and would in turn choose a new Caesar. In this manner the Caesar would gain both experience and legitimacy with the Roman populace.

In practice, however, Diocletian’s reforms did not even last for one full transfer. In order that he see his system of succession put into effect, Diocletian decided to retire after 20 years as emperor and forced his co-Augustus, Maximian, to retire as well. When this occurred, each man’s Caesar was elevated to the imperial throne, and two new Caesari were chosen. Maximian did not agree to this forced abdication, and eventually he attempted to regain his position as head of the Western Roman Empire. This failure by Maximian marked the beginning of the end of the Tetrarchy. By the end of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT’s reign in 337, most of Diocletian’s reforms had failed. The rule of Constantine and his progeny was marked by civil war and competing imperial claims, just as had been the case before Diocletian’s reforms of 286.

See also LATE BARBARIANS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1997; Shelton, Jo Ann. *As the Romans Did*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; Williams, Stephen. *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

STEPHEN GRIFFIN

## Thebes

In the *Iliad* Homer famously described the city as “hundred-gated Thebes.” However, Thebes is better understood as an entire site that encompassed the east and west banks of the Nile, containing temples and palaces, the dwelling-places of the living and the everlasting homes of the dead. On the east bank were the temples of Amun at Karnak and Luxor. The ancient city lay to the east of the great temple of Karnak. As the temple expanded, the city had to move and was laid out on a grid plan. Across the river on the west bank, bordering the strip of cultivated fields, stood the mortuary temples of PHARAOHS from the Middle and New Kingdoms. Behind them lay the cemeteries of the nobility, while beyond in the desert valleys, the tombs of kings and queens of Egypt. On the west bank was the village of skilled craftsmen and scribes, who worked on the royal tombs, their burial places, and those of commoners. In effect there were two Thebes, one for the living, the other for the dead. Ironically, the mud-brick city of the living has long vanished under the fields and houses of the modern city of Luxor, while Thebes of the dead on the west bank remains one of Egypt’s primary tourist locations. It is one of the largest archaeological sites in the world.

Thebes lies about 400 miles south of Cairo, just south of the Wadi Hammamat where the Nile Valley comes closest to the Red Sea. The Egyptians called the town Waset, “dominion,” and later simply Nwt, “the city.” Although there are some remains from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods (3100–2181 B.C.E.), it was a small town, the capital of the fourth nome (district) of Upper Egypt. The Greeks would name it Thebes after the principal city of Boeotia in Greece. A family from the Theban nome ruled Upper Egypt at the close of the First Intermediate Period (2181–2055 B.C.E.). One of these rulers, Mentuhotep II (2055–04 B.C.E.), gained control over all Egypt founding the MIDDLE KINGDOM. His mortuary temple lies beside that of the female ruler Hatshepsut, at Deir el-Bahri. Although subsequent pharaohs moved away from Thebes, the rulers



The ancient city of Thebes lay to the east of the great temple of Karnak. As the temple expanded, the city had to move.

of the Twelfth Dynasty (1985–1795 B.C.E.) made it the capital of Upper Egypt.

At the end of the Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 B.C.E.), the local Theban princely family drove the HYKSOS from Egypt and reunited the “Two Lands.” This inaugurated the NEW KINGDOM, the time of Thebes’s greatest glory and that of Amun, its god. The Eighteenth Dynasty (1570–1293 B.C.E.) ruled from Thebes, with the brief exception of AKHENATEN (1350–44 B.C.E.). The rulers of this dynasty built extensively at Thebes. The present temple of Amun at Karnak was begun at this time and endowed, enlarged, and embellished right down to the Greco-Roman period. The pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1293–1185 B.C.E.) moved their capital to the eastern Delta, but Thebes remained a prestigious religious center and burial site. Power inevitably passed into the hands of the high priests of Amun, who controlled a huge clerical corporation that owned land all over Egypt. By the end of the New Kingdom (1069 B.C.E.) the priesthood of Amun controlled two-thirds of all temple lands and 90 percent of Nile shipping. Thebes was sacked and looted by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in 664 B.C.E. By this time the importance of the city even as a religious site had begun to diminish as successive foreign conquests, Persian, Greek and Roman, forced Egypt to look north to the Mediterranean.

On the east bank of the Nile stand the temples of Amun at Karnak and Luxor. The site at Karnak includes the temple of Amun, the temple of Mut (the Mother), his wife, and the temple of their son Khonsu, a moon god. To the north of the precinct of Amun sits the temple of Montu, the old falcon war god of Thebes. At the south, at the end of an avenue of sphinxes, is the

temple at Luxor. This is dedicated to Amun in his fertility aspect: It was called the “Place of Seclusion.” It was the destination of the Theban Triad at the “Beautiful Festival of Opet,” celebrated in the second month of the Inundation. Statues of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu were placed on their barques, loaded onto barges, and towed amid scenes of great jubilation from Karnak to Luxor.

Thebes of the dead on the west bank is a rich archaeological site. At Deir el-Bahri, the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut preserves the illustrated record of the expedition to the fabled land of Punt that she ordered. There are several well-preserved mortuary temples including that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. The Valley of the Kings contains the famous tomb of Tutankhamun, the tomb of Ramses VI with its astronomical ceiling, and that of Thutmose III. The Valley of the Queens holds the magnificently restored tomb of RAMSES II’s chief wife, Nefertari. Any Theban palaces, built of mud brick, have long since vanished. Even the grand palace of the opulent Amenophis III at Malqata on the west bank has disappeared. However, the site of the craftsmen and artisans’ village at Deir el-Medina and their tombs opens a window into the lives and hopes of ordinary Egyptians.

See also EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; OLD KINGDOM, EGYPT.

**Further reading:** Clayton, Peter A. *Chronicles of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998; Romer, John. *Ancient Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984; Siliotti, Alberto. *Guide of the Valley of the Kings*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1997; Strudwick, Nigel and Helen. *Thebes in Egypt*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.

JOHN BARCLAY BURNS

## Themistocles

(c. 524–459 B.C.E.) statesman and general

Themistocles was a great Athenian statesman and general who played an important role in the Second Persian War by leading the Greeks to victory. Born to an Athenian father, Neocles, and what seems to have been a foreign mother, Themistocles demonstrated great potential from an early age. He is said to have spent his leisure time in youth composing and performing mock speeches, unlike other children who remained idle or engaged in play. An early teacher of Themistocles told him the following: “there is going to be nothing insig-

nificant about you; somehow or other you will become a great man, either for good or for evil."

With much determination Themistocles strove for greatness in action and longed to distinguish himself from others, both politically and militarily. Themistocles also fought the Persians at the BATTLE OF MARATHON, and while most Athenians were convinced that the victory at Marathon would keep the Persians at bay, he believed otherwise. He sought to ensure that his city and its inhabitants would be ready for the enemy's return. Themistocles successfully persuaded the Athenians to increase their naval fleet by building more than 100 ships with the silver that was mined at Laurium, despite the many arguments against the idea and the desired alternative of distributing the wealth.

His effectiveness was due to the fact that he played on popular Athenian fears of Aegina, a traditional enemy; however, Themistocles himself was undoubtedly preparing for the next encounter with Persia. Additionally, Themistocles persuaded his fellow citizens to believe in his interpretation of a prophecy given by the priestess at the DELPHIC ORACLE. It spoke of a wooden wall and great destruction at Salamis. While others felt that the allusion to a wooden wall meant the Athenians should hide behind the wall of the Acropolis, Themistocles convinced them that the wooden walls represented the naval fleet and that the Athenians were destined to win the battle at Salamis against XERXES. Sure enough, in 480 B.C.E. the enlarged Athenian fleet met the Persians to wage the naval battle of Salamis with the courageous Themistocles at the helm.

Themistocles managed to bring many of the GREEK CITY-STATES together to fight on behalf of a common goal and against a common enemy, despite their recurring internal animosities. Largely due to the Athenian general's wisdom the Greeks managed to fight in the narrow strait of Salamis, which was crucial for the Athenian advantage. Despite being outnumbered by nearly twice as many Persian ships, the Greeks fought valiantly and came out victorious in the end. The judgment and timing of Themistocles was instrumental as he crowded the large Persian fleet in the strait and used the winds as well as the maneuverability of the smaller Greek triremes to ram and sink more than 200 enemy ships while only losing roughly 40 of his own. The Persians eventually retreated, and not only was Greece saved, but so too was Western civilization. Themistocles was generously honored for his leadership, and the historian HERODOTUS wrote, "Themistocles was acclaimed throughout the whole of Hellas and deemed to be the wisest man by far of the Hellenes." As a political leader

Themistocles rebuilt and fortified Athens, which had suffered prior to the successful naval battle.

The initial respect and praise that Themistocles was showered with quickly came to an end. Such was the nature of a fickle citizenry and manipulative rulers who used the city-state's democratic structure to their advantage. By 471 B.C.E. Themistocles was ostracized by his political opponents and forced to live in Argos for a number of years. He was later summoned back to his native city due to criminal charges of treason, which were likely fabricated by his rivals in Athens. Convinced of certain failure against such powerful adversaries and trumped-up charges, he went into self-imposed exile. Ironically, he eventually ended up in Persia. Themistocles managed to convince the Persian king that he arrived voluntarily as an ally and that it was because of his decision making that the Hellenes had not pursued and destroyed more retreating Persian ships at Salamis. Having successfully convinced and wooed the king, the bounty that was formerly on Themistocles' head was removed and instead the reward was given to him. After learning the Persian language Themistocles became a consultant on Greek matters in the Persian king's court. He took up residence in Magnesia, one city of three in Asia Minor that he was additionally rewarded with.

However, around 459 B.C.E. the Persian king called upon Themistocles not simply for the purposes of consultation but to fight directly against the Greeks. Instead of tarnishing and undermining his earlier reputation and the deeds done on behalf of his homeland, he is said to have called a banquet with friends at his home in Magnesia whereupon he poisoned himself. Disagreement persists surrounding the factual manner of Themistocles' death, and it is not certain whether it was truly his loyalty to Athens that drove him to suicide. In any case the life and story of Themistocles remains a legendary and heroic one that continues to serve as an example of how a single man as both statesman and general can have a significant impact on a political community and important historical events.

See also OSTRACISM; PERSIAN INVASIONS.

**Further reading:** Herodotus. *The Histories*. New York: Norton, 1992; Lenardon, Robert J. *The Saga of Themistocles*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978; Plutarch. *Plutarch's Lives*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876; Richard, Carl J. *Twelve Greeks and Romans Who Changed the World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

## Theodoric

(c. 454–526 C.E.) Ostrogothic ruler

Theodoric the Great was king of the Germanic tribe of the OSTROGOths, who dominated the western Balkans in the fifth century C.E. He received a Roman education during his teenage years spent as a political hostage in CONSTANTINOPLE under the watchful eyes of the Byzantine government. When he returned to his people, Theodoric took up arms against the empire and gained additional land, a position in the Byzantine military command, and imperial rank. Faced with a powerful and sometimes hostile neighbor, Byzantine emperor Zeno encouraged Theodoric to attack Italy where another German, ODOVACAR, had deposed the last legitimate Roman ruler, Romulus Augustulus. Theodoric and his Ostrogoths migrated to Italy, defeated Odovacar, and ruled as the representative of the Byzantine emperor. His capital was in the northeastern Italian city of RAVENNA, located on the Adriatic Sea.

As ruler of Italy, Theodoric attended to the redevelopment of this land. He encouraged settlement to areas that had been depopulated due to war and fostered agricultural production and trade. He was also concerned with the repairing and building of walls, aqueducts, churches, and other buildings in Roman cities. Several of his impressive monuments still stand in Ravenna, including the Church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, the Arian Baptistery, and his own mausoleum.

Although a German king, Theodoric respected Roman traditions. Since the majority of the subject population was Roman, Theodoric respected prevailing structures of government, from local urban magistrates to the Roman Senate, as well as Roman law. Many Romans served in his court, such as BOETHIUS and Cassiodorus, two of the most important Latin authors of the period. Even the pope and the Roman Senate received him in the city of Rome, where he stayed for a short period before returning to Ravenna. Besides developing a certain harmony between cultures, Theodoric was also a shrewd and powerful German king, cognizant of the reality of German power in the West. He sought to expand his kingdom and also to secure his position. He married a sister of Clovis, the king of the Franks and founder of the Merovingian dynasty, and joined his family by marriage to the kings of the Vandals, Visigoths, and Burgundians.

The Italian cultural harmony was made more difficult by the fact that the Ostrogoths were Arian Christians, while the Roman population was Orthodox Christian. They differed theologically over their understanding of Jesus's relationship to God the Father, whether he was

created (Arian) or begotten (Orthodox). The Orthodox condemned Arian theology at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325) and Council of Constantinople (381). At first Germans and Romans joined together as allies against the East. But when rapprochement occurred between Rome and Constantinople, Theodoric feared a Byzantine invasion with potential Roman support.

Making matters worse, the Byzantine government began to persecute Arians in the early 520s. Theodoric commenced a more hostile approach to his Roman population. Roman officials were accused of collaboration and arrested, among them Boethius, who wrote his *Consolation of Philosophy* while awaiting his execution. Theodoric sent the pope to negotiate with Constantinople but did not trust him and, upon his return, imprisoned him. Theodoric died in 526, only a few years before the start of the Byzantine invasion that did, in fact, end Ostrogothic rule.

See also ARIANISM; LATE BARBARIANS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Bury, J. B. *A History of the Later Roman Empire*. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Dover, 1958; Moorhead, J. *Theodoric in Italy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

MATTHEW HERBST

## Theodosius I

(c. 347–395 C.E.) Roman emperor

Theodosius was born in Spain and followed in his father's footsteps as an able military commander. This changed when his father was condemned and executed, and Theodosius withdrew from public life. The Western Roman emperor desperately needed his talents in 378 C.E., when the German Goths defeated the Roman army and killed the Eastern Roman emperor at the BATTLE OF ADRIANOPLIS and overran the Balkans. Theodosius was recalled to military command and promoted to Eastern Roman emperor in 395. He recruited a new army (including many Germans), fought the Goths, and made peace by settling them as independent allies (*foederati*) inside the empire. They ruled their own people, provided military service, and received positions in the empire's military command.

It was a precarious situation, but it restored a level of order and security. Theodosius's military ability was also demonstrated by two victorious campaigns against western usurpers in 384 and 394. In the latter campaign, the usurper murdered the Western Roman emperor but

was defeated by Theodosius, which left him sole emperor for the entire empire from Britain to eastern Anatolia. This was the last occasion when a single emperor ruled both halves of the ROMAN EMPIRE. Theodosius governed not from Rome in the West but at CONSTANTINOPLE in the wealthier and more populous East.

Theodosius was a zealous Christian. When he fell ill in 380 and believed that he was near death, he was baptized. It was not uncommon to wait until just before death for baptism in order to wash away sins. However, he recovered unexpectedly, becoming the first emperor to reign as a full member of the church. This gave bishops tremendous influence during his reign.

When Christians destroyed a Jewish synagogue in an Eastern city, Theodosius ordered the local bishop to pay for its restoration. AMBROSE was appalled, believing that this demonstrated the triumph of Judaism over Christianity. He demanded the emperor rescind his order if he wanted to stay in good standing with the church. The emperor yielded. In 390, after Theodosius had massacred several thousand citizens in Thessalonica for the murder of his military governor, Ambrose threatened Theodosius with excommunication. The emperor again yielded, publicly repenting for his action.

When Theodosius had first reached the East, he found the church struggling against ARIANISM, even though Arian theology had been condemned at the COUNCIL OF NICAEA (325). Theodosius expelled Arian clergy in Constantinople and firmly stood by the Orthodox Church, including Patriarch Gregory Nazianzus. He called the Second Ecumenical Council that met in Constantinople in 381 and ended the Arian threat. Theodosius also supported the church by legislating against non-Christians. He closed pagan temples, banned pagan sacrifices, ended the pagan Olympic Games, and declared Orthodox Christianity the official religion of the empire. Henceforth, loyalty to the emperor was determined by adherence to his theological position. Upon his death in 395 his younger son Honorius ruled in the West, while his older son Arcadius ruled in the East. The dynasty of Theodosius ruled the empire until at least 450.

See also CAPPADOCIANS; LATE BARBARIANS; ROME: DECLINE AND FALL.

**Further reading:** Bury, J. B. *A History of the Later Roman Empire*. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Dover, 1958; Williams, S., and G. Friell. *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

MATTHEW HERBST

## Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism

Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism (often called northern Buddhism) are forms of Buddhism, a spiritual religion and philosophy created by GAUTAMA BUDDHA (b. c. 566 B.C.E.) and followed by more than 700 million people worldwide. Developed over thousands of years, Buddhist tradition ultimately leads to what is called enlightenment, becoming a Buddha, and breaking the cycle of reincarnation. Mahayana, derived from Theravada Buddhism, dominates in India, China, Taiwan, Tibet, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Theravada is often called southern Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism is more conservative and is popular in Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Myanmar (Burma).

After his enlightenment the Buddha delivered his first sermon and set the framework for his teachings, consisting of the Four Noble Truths. Buddha laid out the fundamental principles of nature that ruled the human condition. He taught that these Four Noble Truths were the way people should frame their experiences. The Four Noble Truths are Dukkha, the suffering of people, stress, and discontent of ignorance; Samudaya, the cause of this dissatisfaction is desire; Nirodha, the cessation of desire and the achievement of nirvana (extinguishing or liberation); and Magga, the path of practice that leads out of suffering and into nirvana, Noble Eightfold Path. Buddha wandered the Indian plains for 45 more years. Along his travels he taught what he had learned in the moment of his awakening. Around him a community of monks, and later nuns, developed from every tribe and CASTE. These followers believed in his path, or dharma, and devoted themselves to his teachings. Buddha did not call himself a deity, nor did he wish to be worshipped.

### THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS AND THE EIGHTFOLD PATH

Buddhist tradition teaches that living in ignorance of the Four Noble Truths is due to inexperience and desire to frame the world on one's own terms and thus, one remains bound to the cycle of birth, life, aging, illness, death, and rebirth in another life. Craving and desire propel this cycle over the course of countless lifetimes in accordance with karmic actions. The Buddha taught that gaining release from this cycle requires adherence to each of the Four Noble Truths and to assign a task to each one. The first is to comprehend, the second to abandon, the third to realize, and the fourth to develop. The full realization of the third is the path to enlightenment and the achievement of nirvana.

The Noble Eightfold Path is a set of personal qualities that must be developed. It is not a sequence of steps along a linear path. The Noble Eightfold Path is the right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The development of the right view and right resolve, wisdom, and discernment facilitate the movement of right speech, right action, and right livelihood, the three factors associated with virtue. As virtue develops, it is thought that the factors associated with awareness, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration are further developed. Buddha taught that the practitioner is then lifted in an upward spiral of spiritual maturity that eventually leads to enlightenment.

As the practitioner begins the Noble Eightfold Path, an individual's well-being is not predestined by fate, nor is it left to the whims of a divine being or by random chance. Responsibility for happiness is only dependent on the individual. With this realization it is taught that habitual ignorance is replaced with awareness. The practitioner is then mindful of his or her actions and chooses them with care. At this point some followers make the personal commitment to become enlightened and become a Buddha.

Buddha died at around the age of 80. His last words were "Impermanent are all created things; strive on with awareness." Naming the religion and philosophy he founded the Dharma-vinaya, the doctrine and discipline, Buddha created a social structure supportive of his practice. The monks and nuns who followed his teachings organized and preserved his teachings for prosperity, although none of his teachings were recorded until hundreds of years after his death.

Buddhism is sometimes criticized as a negative, or pessimistic, religion and philosophy in its assertion that life is suffering and disappointment. The Buddha based his teaching on what is considered a frank assessment of the plight of human life. Practitioners believe that the Buddha offered hope for an end to suffering. His teachings were thought to offer the reward of true happiness and the cycle of rebirth. Although release from the cycle of rebirth means to become extinct after death, this extinguishing is considered the ultimate freedom from suffering.

Assimilating Hindu, Persian, and Greco-Roman influences, Buddhism grew across India, Central Asia, and Eastern Asia into the first century B.C.E. In the third century C.E. the emperor ASHOKA of India converted to Buddhism, sponsored several monasteries, and sent missionaries into neighboring countries. During this period the practice spread across India and into Sri Lanka. As Buddhism spread, differing interpretations of the

Buddha's original teachings emerged, which led to the differing schools of Buddhism. One of these gave birth to a sect called Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle), and from it emerged Theravada (the Lesser Vehicle, also the Teaching of the Elders). Due to the pejorative nature of the terms and the historical regions in which the two branches became popular, the two sects are often called northern Buddhism and southern Buddhism.

### **THERAVADA BUDDHISM**

Theravada Buddhists believe that they practice the original form of Buddhism as it was handed down by the teachings of Buddha. The doctrine of Theravada Buddhism corresponds with the recorded teachings of Buddha and is based on the Four Noble Truths. Through the practice of the Eightfold Noble Path, an individual can eventually achieve nirvana. However, Theravada Buddhism primarily focused on meditation, the eighth of the Eightfold Noble Path, and emphasized a monastic life removed from society. In addition, Theravada Buddhism required an extremely large amount of time to meditate. These strict ideas were not practical for the majority of people. The Theravada texts are written in a language called Pali, which literally means "text" and is based on a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect probably spoken in central India during Buddha's lifetime. Pali was originally a spoken language with no alphabet. It is thought that Ananda, Buddha's cousin and personal attendant, committed the Buddha's teachings to memory. After the Buddha's death, Ananda and 500 senior monks recited and verified the sermons they heard. Because the teachings were committed to memory, the teachings begin with the words "Thus I have heard..."

Teachings were passed down orally within the monastic community. The body of classical Theravada literature consists of Buddha's teachings arranged and compiled into three divisions. The Vinaya Pitaka, "basket of discipline," concerns rules and customs. The Sutta Pitaka, "basket of discourses," is a collection of sermons and utterances by the Buddha and his disciples. The Abhidharma Pitaka, "basket of higher doctrine," is a detailed psychological and philosophical analysis of the dharma. Together, these are known as the TRIPITAKA, "three baskets." By the third century C.E. monks in Sri Lanka created a series of commentaries on the Tripitaka, and by the fifth century they were translated into Pali as the Tipitaka. Since then the Tripitaka has been translated into many different languages. However, many Theravada students commit to learning Pali in order to deepen their understanding of the Tripitaka and related commentaries.

The Tripitaka and related commentaries are not considered statements of divine truth to be accepted by pure faith. The teachings of Buddha are to be experienced and assessed through personal experience. It is the finding of truth in the teachings of Buddha that matter, not the words of the teaching themselves. In this way the Tripitaka's passages serve as a guide for followers to use in their own path to enlightenment. Until the late 19th century the teachings of Theravada were unknown outside of southern Asia, where it had grown for more than 2,000 years.

### MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

While Theravada was constructed for serious followers who could devote a large bulk of their time to meditations, Mahayana Buddhism could accommodate a greater number of people. Calling their path the Greater Vehicle, Mahayana Buddhists distinguished themselves from Theravada by calling Theravada the Lesser Vehicle. Instead of following a direct line of teachings from the Buddha, the Mahayana Buddhists believed they were recovering the original teachings of the Buddha. Their canon of scriptures represented the final teachings and accounted for the loss of their presence for hundreds of years by claiming that these secret teachings were only given to the most faithful. Regardless of its origins, Mahayana Buddhism is a departure from Theravada philosophy in that the overall goal was to extend religious authority over a greater number of people.

In this quest Mahayana Buddhists developed a theory of progressions for attaining enlightenment. At the top level was becoming a Buddha. Preceding enlightenment was a series of lives, called the bodhisattvas, or beings of wisdom. The bodhisattva was a major contribution to Mahayana Buddhism in that it was a concept created to explain Buddha's lives before his last. In this tradition the lives of Siddhartha Gautama before his last were spent working toward becoming a Buddha. In those lives he was a bodhisattva, a Buddha-to-be, that could achieve wonderful acts of joy and compassion for others. Literature surrounding those lives is collectively called the Jataka, or the Birth Stories.

Although much is unknown about the earliest traditions in Buddhism, some evidence exists that followers thought there would only be one Buddha. Within a short amount of time, it was believed that another Buddha would soon follow. This concept of the Maitreya Buddha, or Future Buddha, grew to include the belief that if a Future Buddha was coming then a Buddha or bodhisattva was already on earth passing through life. This meant that someone alive at any given moment

was the Maitreya. In addition, the numbers of Maitreya Buddhas were uncertain. The person serving food or cleaning the floors may be the Maitreya.

Instead of the goal of attaining full enlightenment, as in Theravada Buddhism, a practitioners' goal is to be the *arhant*, or the "worthy." The worthy is one who has learned the truth from others and has realized it as truth. Mahayana Buddhists believe that in this way, the follower hears the truth, realizes it as truth, and then passes into nirvana.

Mahayana Buddhists adhere to seven particular features of Mahayanism. The first is Its Comprehensive-ness. Mahayana Buddhists do not confine their beliefs to one Buddha but strive to see truth wherever it may be found. The second is Universal Love for All Sentient Beings. This belief differs from Theravada Buddhism in that it strives for general salvation of all people. Third is Its Greatness in Intellectual Comprehension, meaning that all things in general are not directed by a metaphysical deity. The fourth is Its Marvelous Spiritual Energy. The bodhisattvas are thought never to tire of working for universal salvation, and they do not worry about how much time it takes to achieve this. The fifth feature is Its Greatness in the Exercise of the Upaya. *Upaya* translates as "expediency," or acting as appropriate to achieve a goal. The sixth feature is Its Higher Spiritual Attainment, meaning that followers strive to achieve their highest spiritual level. Seventh is Its Greater Activity. When a bodhisattva becomes a Buddha, it is then able to manifest everywhere to minister to the spiritual needs of all beings.

Mahayana Buddhism disappeared from India during the 11th century. In Southeast Asia, Theravada Buddhism replaced Mahayana Buddhism. However, Mahayana Buddhism is the most popular of branch of Buddhism in the world today.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA; BUDDHIST COUNCILS; SAKYAS; TANTRISM.

**Further reading:** Eastman, Roger. *The Ways of Religion*: New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; Gross, Rita M. *Buddhism after Patriarchy*. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1993; Lester, Robert C. *Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1973; Lopez, Donald S. Jr. *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005; Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro. *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*. New York: Schocken Books, 1963; Trainor, Kevin, ed. *Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

## Three Kingdoms, China

The Three Kingdoms period lasted between 220 and 280 C.E. It inaugurated almost four centuries of political division in Chinese history, comparable to the Dark Ages in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. This is because similar to the Roman Empire in western Europe, the fall of the unified HAN DYNASTY signaled a period of civil wars, intrigues, and nomadic invasions and rule over northern China.

Several events heralded the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty, beginning with the YELLOW TURBAN REBELLION in 184 C.E. This peasant revolt with messianic overtones was put down by regional warlords, who proceeded to war against one another, with the hapless emperors as their pawns. Cao Cao (Ts'ao Ts'ao) emerged as the most powerful warlord, but his attempt to reestablish unity under his leadership ended at the Battle of the Red Cliff in 208, when his forces were defeated by a coalition of two rivals. As a result, Cao could only control northern China, while one rival Liu Bei (Liu Pei), who was a descendant of the Han imperial house, established himself in Sichuan (Szechwan) and the southwest with a capital city in Chengdu (Cheng-tu), while Sun Quan (Sun Ch'uan) controlled the southeast from the Yangtze River valley to northern Vietnam with his capital in Nanjing (Nanking). Cao Cao, known as one of the most wily and ruthless politicians in Chinese history, consolidated his rule in the north, gave himself the title of king, and would probably have usurped the throne but died in 220.

In 220 Cao Cao's son Cao Pi (Ts'ao P'ei) forced the last Han emperor to abdicate in his favor and proclaimed the establishment of the Wei dynasty. However, his rivals immediately challenged him. Liu Bei proclaimed himself emperor because of his imperial lineage, and his dynasty was called the Shu Han (Shu is another name of Sichuan). Zhugo Liang (Chu-kuo Liang), a brilliant tactician who gained legendary renown, and Liu Bei's sworn brothers, Zhang Fei (Chang Fei) and Guan Yu (Kuan Yu), aided him militarily. The latter became known as Guandi (Kuan-ti), or Emperor Guan, and was deified as the god of war in Chinese popular religion.

Liu Bei's early death in 223 and the inability of his successor resulted in the annexation of Shu Han by Wei in 263. Sun Quan also proclaimed himself emperor in 222 and called his realm the Wu dynasty. Meanwhile, Cao Cao's weak descendants would suffer the same fate as the last Han emperor. In 265 the last Wei ruler was forced to abdicate to his powerful general, Sima Yuan (Ssu-ma Yuan), who founded the Jin (Chin) dynasty.

Sima Yuan then destroyed Wu in 280 and ended the era of the Three Kingdoms. It was an era of chaos, wars, and murderous intrigues but has been romanticized as one of chivalry and romance.

See also ERA OF DIVISION (CHINA).

**Further readings:** Crespiigny, Rafe de. *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970; Fang, Achilles. *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952–65.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Three Kingdoms, Korea

The Three Kingdoms period refers to an era in Korean history in the fourth century C.E. when the three states of Koguryo, Silla, and Paekche existed simultaneously until the unification of the peninsula by Silla in 668 C.E. Koguryo was the largest and earliest unified kingdom, followed by Paekche and Silla. Our knowledge of the three kingdoms comes from archaeology and ancient historical texts from China, Japan, and Korea, particularly the *Samguk Sagi*, Korea's first history written in 1145.

Koguryo was unified as a kingdom under the sixth ruler, King T'aejo, and occupied the northern part of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria in northeastern China. The Yemaek tribes, who conquered the Puyo state in 37 B.C.E., founded Koguryo. For centuries Koguryo kings fought against tribes to the north and China to the west. In 313 C.E. the Koguryo king drove the Chinese out of their Lo-LANG commandery centered in Pyongyang. However, the Chinese retaliated in 342, successfully attacked the Koguryo capital, dug up the corpse of the Koguryo king, and departed with 50,000 prisoners. Paekche took advantage of Koguryo's weakness by invading the capital near Pyongyang and killing the ruler.

The golden age of Koguryo's territorial expansion was during the rule of King Kwanggaet'o. According to an inscription in his tomb, he conquered 64 fortresses and 1,400 villages. He also took over the Liaotung region of northeastern China, which had been a focal point for Chinese attacks against Koguryo. He drove back a Japanese invasion of Silla in 400 C.E. In 475 Kwanggaet'o attacked the Paekche capital and expanded his borders southward by defeating an allied force of the Chinese Northern Wei kingdom and Paekche soldiers. Koguryo

dominance did not last, however, and starting in the early seventh century Koguryo was constantly at war with the Chinese Sui dynasty. Although Koguryo defeated the Sui invasions, the largest consisting of 1 million soldiers, the years of warfare significantly weakened the country. The subsequent Tang (T'ang) dynasty also invaded Koguryo and was defeated until a fateful alliance with Silla, which led to the unification of the peninsula.

After the fall of the Sui dynasty Koguryo prepared itself for further invasion by the Tang, setting up defenses along the border between the two states and forming an alliance with the Turks. The key to Koguryo's destruction was the pact between Tang and Silla and internal power struggles. Under this agreement the Tang helped Silla defeat Paekche, and then the two attacked Koguryo. The Tang court was not content to simply defeat its Koguryo enemies but intended to incorporate the peninsula into its state. The Chinese left 10,000 troops in Paekche after the latter's surrender in 660. They also established administrative and military offices throughout Paekche. The Chinese planned a similar strategy with Koguryo when the Tang-Silla alliance laid siege to the capital, Pyongyang, in 661. After the Koguryo king surrendered in 668, the Chinese removed the king, officials, and 200,000 prisoners and placed rule over the territory under a military governor and established commanderies.

Paekche was a kingdom that mixed Puyo refugees (who had moved southward after their defeat by the Koguryo) with native Mahan tribes. Although the *Samguk Sagi* claims that Paekche was founded in 18 B.C.E., the state was unified by the reign of King Koi in the mid-third century C.E. and became a centralized aristocratic state a century later. Paekche was located in the southwest part of the peninsula and shared a border with Koguryo to the north and Silla to the east. Between the mid-fourth and mid-seventh centuries Paekche maintained a relatively friendly and consistent relationship with Japan, providing various technical and cultural advisers in return for occasional military support against Koguryo. It was Paekche that acted as the main conduit of culture and technology between China and Japan.

Silla unified as a state under the rule of King Naemul (356–402 C.E.) when the Kim family was established as the reigning family of the kingdom. Silla's unification was aided by adopting Buddhism as the official state religion.

Located in the southeast section of the peninsula, Silla often allied with Koguryo to help defeat the smaller tribes that were eventually incorporated into their

realm and to fight off the invading Japanese. Silla also unified with Paekche to counter Koguryo's dominance of the peninsula.

During the Three Kingdoms period Silla had a famous military academy and a group of young warrior aristocrats called the Hwarang. Originally a local institution for educating young males and providing them with military training at the village level, it quickly grew into a national center for young, elite male cultivation. Even after the fall of the unified Silla state, the Hwarang (flower knights) were the heroes of legendary tales. The legends of the Hwarang should not belittle the very real military power of the Silla kingdom. Although it was the smallest of the three kingdoms, the great Koguryo and Paekche formed an alliance in an unsuccessful attempt to stave the rise of Silla and its alliance with the Tang Chinese.

The Silla leaders understood that the Tang planned to take over the peninsula, and immediately after the surrender of Koguryo, Silla began supporting rebellions in the fallen kingdom. The Silla followed up with an attack on Chinese-controlled Paekche in 671, eventually defeating the Chinese. In addition to Silla-supported rebellions in Koguryo, however, were the Malgal tribes who fought against the Tang and eventually took control of the Manchurian area of former Koguryo. The Koguryo natives and Malgal formed a new state called Parhae. The chaos accompanying the fall of the Tang dynasty weakened Parhae, which was eventually invaded by the Khitan tribes in 926. Refugees fled south into Silla and became part of the Koryo dynasty.

See also CHOSON; KIJA; THREE KINGDOMS, CHINA; WEI MAN (WIMAN).

**Further reading:** Best, Jonathan. "Diplomatic and Cultural Contacts between Paekche and China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42, no. 2 (1982); Lee, Ki-Baik. *A New History of Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984; Lee, Peter, and William Theodore de Bary. *Sources of Korean Tradition*, Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; Nahm, Andrew. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Korea*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2004; Woo-Keun, Han. *The History of Korea*. Honolulu, HI: East-West Center Press, 1971.

MICHAEL WERT

## Thucydides

See HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

## Toba (T'o-pa) dynasty

The Toba, or Northern Wei, were nomads variously described as belonging to Tungusic or Turkic ethnicity. During the ERA OF DIVISION after the fall of the HAN DYNASTY in 220 c.e., and after invading nomads drove the Jin (Chin) dynasty to south China, confusion reigned in northern China. In 386 the Toba established a dynasty called the Northern Wei that would control most of northern and northwestern China until 534.

The first capital of the Northern Wei was near modern Datong (Tatung), a frontier city near the GREAT WALL OF CHINA, important because it guarded the boundary between agricultural China and the steppes. There they built a city modeled on Han capitals CHANG'AN (Ch'angan) and LUOYANG (LOYANG). The Toba converted to Buddhism and showed their devotion by commissioning the carving of huge cave temples into a rocky escarpment near their capital called Yungang (Yunkang), which remains a monument to Buddhist art. In 494 the Northern Wei dynasty capital was moved to Luoyang, a city resonant with the history of China. Outside Luoyang they began to build another monument to Buddhism called the Longmen (Lungmen) Caves. The move showed the sinicization of the Toba aristocracy and their identification with Chinese civilization.

In 494 the Northern Wei government outlawed the Toba language, names, and clothing and ordered the Toba people to adopt Chinese names and clothes and to use Chinese exclusively. The imperial family led the way by adopting the surname Yuan. Claiming to be the legitimate successor of ancient Chinese dynasties, the government also forbade tribal ritual and allowed only Confucian and Buddhist observances. Intermarriage between the tribal aristocracy and Chinese upper classes was actively encouraged. The Northern Wei also behaved toward other nomadic peoples beyond its frontier in the same manner as traditional Chinese dynasties, when not warring against them, accepting tribute and bestowing gifts, including princesses when necessary.

These policies resulted in a severe split among the Toba. The tough Toba soldiers who still lived by their ancient ways and who guarded the northern and western frontiers revolted in 523. Ten years of civil war followed during which Luoyang was sacked and many of the sinicized aristocrats were massacred, including the empress dowager and the child emperor. Two strongmen emerged in 534 who divided the territory: One part was called Western Wei, with its capital city in Chang'an; it retained tribal traditions and Toba heritage. The other was called Eastern Wei, with its capital city at Ye (Yeh) in Henan

(Honan), where the Toba and Chinese governed in collaboration. Both of them were short lived and were replaced by two equally ineffective dynasties of nomadic origin. In 581 a nobleman of mixed Sino-nomadic ancestry named Yang Qian (Yang Chien) proclaimed the founding of the Sui dynasty under his leadership. He would unify north and south and end the Era of Division. Among the northern dynasties the Northern Wei had the longest existence and controlled the most territory. It owed its success and also its ultimate destruction to the policy of sinicization.

See also BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

**Further reading:** Gascoigne, Bamber, and Christina Gascoigne. *The Dynasties of China: A History*. New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2003.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Torah

The Torah of MOSES is a unique collection of writings that either refers to the first five books of the Bible, the whole of the Jewish Bible, or, generally speaking, the "teaching" or "instruction" of the religion of ISRAEL. In this article the first meaning will principally be used. Because the first five books cover most of the laws related to the religion of Israel and to the current Jewish faith, it is also called the Law. In Greek these books are called the Pentateuch, because they are five (*penta*) and they are set apart as an order or collection (*teuch*) of books. The five books are Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, and DEUTERONOMY.

The first five books of the Bible tell the story of the faith of the true religion, beginning with the creation and ending with the relationship that the God of the Bible makes with a particular people called Israel. There is no other work of such scope in the ancient civilized world, either in terms of length, complexity of sources, or subject matter. There are older religious canons that have endured even to modern times (such as the VEDAS for Hindus), but the Torah is more systematic and coherent in its present form. For modern Jews it is the oldest and most important part of the Bible, and Jews and Christian alike view it as the introduction to the whole Bible.

According to Deuteronomy, the Torah refers to the teaching copied by Moses on MOUNT SINAI in response to the divine command. The teaching was inscribed on stone tablets and deposited in the ARK OF THE COVENANT, and so it was something like a written contract uniting Israel's God and God's Israel. However, only half of the Penta-

teuch is legal code. The rest consists of narrative stories and rhetorical exhortations so that the reader can read it as an interesting and persuasive book and not simply as a compendium of religious law. The story line, or plot, can be summed up in the following broad outline: the history of the human race (Genesis 1–11), the history of Israel's origins and ancestry (Genesis 12–50), the history of Israel in Egypt before the Torah (Exodus 1–18), the collection of laws for Israel (Exodus 19–Numbers 10), Israel's response to the Torah laws (Numbers 11–36), and Moses's final exhortation to Israel to follow the Law contained in the Torah (Deuteronomy 1–34). Moses is important but is not present in all of the material. The reason for calling it the "Torah of Moses" is that Moses is its chief character and is also considered by religious tradition to be its author. Writings as early as 400 B.C.E. assign the authorship of the Pentateuch to Moses, as do later Jewish and Christian authorities, like JOSEPHUS, PHILO, the MISHNAH, the fathers of the church, and the TALMUD. This belief continued almost unanimously until the time of the Renaissance when its authorship was questioned.

Ancient authorities had a different notion of authorship than moderns: For them it was sufficient to consider as author the one who provided the initial impulse and served as inspiration for the writing more than the one who actually finished the job. For them the author was the one who bore responsibility for the creative enterprise, not the scribe or editor. Today, however, few modern scholars regard Moses as the only—or even the main author—of the Pentateuch. No passage in the Bible says so in such terms, although certain parts are specifically stated as his writings. Later readers probably felt that if Moses wrote some of the pieces, he probably wrote them all: After all, he spent more than 40 days on Mt. Sinai learning about the Torah's Law. A good parallel to Moses and the Pentateuch is SOLOMON and Solomonic literature, that is, a famous person comes to be associated with a particular type of literature so that the popularity of both is increased.

In the legal material there are 613 commandments that define the relationship that Israel is to have with its God. These laws pertain to ethical, religious, and civil matters. They date from the earliest days of Israel's founding as a nation to the later stages of the Bible's formation. There may be several sources of material for the five books, and these arise from various perspectives and dates.

Scholars claim to discern the outlines of these documents in the Torah, but often there is not agreement about the seams and interpretations. Other scholars have noticed the similarity between the Torah's cov-

enant and the ancient treaties that the HITTITES' rulers imposed upon their client vassal peoples.

The centrality of the Torah of Moses is evident in the later parts of the Bible. It becomes the basis for the legitimacy and inspiration for these books even before they are included in the canon. The writings of the New Testament, especially those of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and PAUL, and the Mishnah and the Talmud also claim their authority from the Torah. This is especially seen in the rabbinic doctrine of the "oral Torah," that is, the words of Moses that were not written down in the Bible. The purpose of this new canon (Mishnah and Talmud) is to unlock the secrets of the written Torah of Moses.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES).

**Further reading:** Boadt, Lawrence. "The Pentateuch." In *The Catholic Study Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990; Murphy, Roland E. "Introduction to the Pentateuch." In Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy, eds. *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Trajan

(53–117 C.E.) Roman emperor

Trajan was one of the greatest Roman emperors. Born within a distinguished Roman family from Hispania, he spent the first years of his public life as a renowned general whose victories spread quickly through the empire. During the last years of the first century C.E. Nerva—one of the ANTONINE EMPERORS—decided the destiny of such an extensive territory. Adopted by him in 98 C.E., Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus managed to seize power and hold it until 117. He was a good example of how adoption proved to be extremely fruitful, since its system allowed minimizing the contingencies of heritage. Under Nerva and Trajan, after almost 100 years of empire, a new understanding commenced between the supreme authority of the *princeps*, and the community submitted to him, based on a twofold concession: the acceptance that this form of government was indispensable and the recognition by the emperor of the legitimate privileges of the upper class. Thus, the *princeps*'s power not only became stable and dominant, but also his relationship with the citizens improved.

Trajan was more a good administrator than an innovator, believing in the supremacy of good management

over an excessive confidence in reforms. Nonetheless, he reacted militarily when the king of the Dacians, Decebalus, prevented the advance of the army in Germania. He declared war against Dacia and conducted the army to his territory, where the king was completely beaten. Trajan did not kill his enemy, but despite his mercy, two years later Decebalus organized a new rebellion against the emperor. This time the traitor was fiercely defeated, and all the gold mines in the area were confiscated. Trajan used the great bounty to finance a huge program of public works. He built a large aqueduct, a new port in Ostia, four new big roads, and the amphitheater in Verona. His most famous construction was the Trajan Forum.

During Trajan's period Roman culture flourished with masterpieces of Latin literature. Pliny the Younger was one of the prominent advisers of Trajan. He left hundreds of letters in which we can appreciate the emperor's personality as well as the customs of the time. Aiming at concluding the work of Caesar and Antony, Trajan tried to expand the limits of the empire as far as the Indian Ocean, which he managed to do by fighting the Parthians. He was also able to conquer Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Susa. Unfortunately, several rebellions arose, and he was compelled to return to Rome. He never arrived back to the *urbs*, as he died on the way. HADRIAN succeeded him.

See also ROMAN HISTORIANS; ROME: BUILDINGS, ENGINEERS.

**Further reading:** Bennett, J. *Trajan Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Cizek, E. *L'Époque de Trajan. Circonstances Politiques et Problèmes Idéologiques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983; Lepper, F. *Trajan's Parthian War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948; ———, and S. Frere. *Trajan's Column: A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates*. Wolfboro, NH: Alan Sutton, 1988; Rossi, L. *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.

SILVANA A. GAETA

## Tripitaka

The Tripitaka (or Tipitaka) is the SANSKRIT (or Pali) canon of religious discourse most highly regarded in Theravada Buddhism. The literal translation is the "three baskets," so named because the original writings were kept in baskets. The three elements of the canon are the Vinaya Pitaka, which are the disciplinary rules by which monks are expected to live their lives; the Sutta Pitaka, which are the discourses of the Lord Buddha and other leading schol-

ars of Buddhist belief; and the Abhidharma Pitaka, which are a series of philosophical discourses on the nature of the universe and of Buddhist belief. The Tripitaka was assembled shortly after the death of GAUTAMA BUDDHA through a *sangha*, or council of monks. It was preserved in oral tradition for some four centuries before being committed to palm-leaf manuscript in the first century C.E.

Owing to linguistic and cultural differences, the Tripitaka varies from country to country where Theravada Buddhism is practiced. In each case the writings are extensive and occupy many volumes. The Sutta Pitaka, for example, contains more than 10,000 sutras of the Buddha. These include details of the life of the Buddha and his road to nirvana, or enlightenment; Mahayana and Vajrayana forms of Buddhism also have their own Tripitaka canons. The Vinaya Pitaka consists of rules and junctures for both monks and nuns, although in some societies the role of nuns is not officially accepted. Various offenses against the *sangha* are enumerated together with their degree of severity and, hence, the sanctions that they attract. Monks are expected both to know and to abide by the 227 rules of the Great Division (Maha-vibhanga), which greatly expand on the five basic precepts that all followers of Buddhism are expected to follow.

An additional section of the Vinaya Pitaka is the Khandhaka, which contains a variety of different sections that are not presented in an intuitively logical order. This section contains precepts for the monkhood that vary from country to country. Members of the *sangha* spend much of their time studying and attempting to master the many meanings and lessons inherent in the Tripitaka. Lay Buddhists may also do the same, either directly from the original canon or, more commonly, through the mediation of well-read monks who are able to translate the lessons into language and concepts easier for most people to understand.

See also TANTRISM; THERAVADA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

**Further reading:** Conze, Edward, ed. and trans. *Buddhist Scriptures*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1959; Rahula, Walpola. *What the Buddha Taught*. New York: Grove Press, 1974.

JOHN WALSH

## Triumvirate

The years prior to the First Triumvirate were unstable and anticipated future conflicts. A series of external struggles—such as a long war to suffocate the rebel-

lion of Sertorius in Spain, the second war against Mithridates, and the fight against the gladiators and slaves commanded by SPARTACUS—weakened the vigor of the already wounded Roman Republic. After MARIUS AND SULLA disappeared from the political arena, the civil wars seemed to be over but only temporarily. A much bloodier struggle was about to begin. The First Triumvirate was a tripartite alliance shared by three of the most influential men in politics during those days: JULIUS CAESAR, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (POMPEY), and Marcus Licinius Crassus. This coalition lasted from 60 to 54 B.C.E.; however, the name First Triumvirate was never used by the Romans, and it is somewhat deceptive since many other men were involved in the agreement, such as Lucius Lutceius and Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

### THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND CAESAR

By 60 B.C.E. Caesar was the foremost figure of the popular party, particularly after his achievements in Spain, which put him in a position to demand an opportunity in the near election for consulship. The Senate considered him a powerful opponent, and his candidature arose considerable resistance from the *optimates*. Even though Caesar had overwhelming popularity within the citizen assemblies, he was compelled to forge alliances within the Senate in order to secure his election. He needed a wealthy ally to support his ambitions, and he found that backing in one of Pompey's rivals, Crassus. Pompey was discouraged by the lack of land reform for his eastern veterans, and Caesar skillfully mended any differences between the two powerful leaders. On the other hand, Crassus, whose business in the East was significant, could not achieve his projects without a politician like Caesar supporting his interests, so he joined the coalition with enthusiasm.

Under the protection of these two prominent men, Caesar won the consulship in 59 B.C.E., and one of his main concerns was conciliation with Pompey. He managed to secure the passage of an agrarian law providing Campanian lands for 20,000 indigent citizens and veterans, which was expected not only to lighten the problem of the unemployed mass in Rome but also to please Pompey and his legions. Julia, Caesar's daughter, married Pompey, further securing the alliance.

By the end of his consulship, through the lex Vatinia, he succeeded in obtaining the proconsulship of Cisalpine GAUL and Illyricum with four legions for the term of five years, from 58 to 54 B.C.E. The extension of this period, unprecedented for an area with no imminent seditious crisis, was a real sign of Caesar's ambition for external conquests. During this time he accomplished remarkable achievements, such as the conquest of the Britons and the

successful defeat of one of his greatest enemies, the Gaul leader VERCINGETORIX, who was vanquished in the Battle of Alesia in 52 B.C.E. During his absence old rivalries between Pompey and Crassus returned, and in 56 B.C.E. Caesar returned to Rome to patch up matters, and it was agreed that both Pompey and Crassus should be consuls in 55 B.C.E. They obtained—as proconsular provinces—Spain and Syria, respectively, and Caesar gained an extension of his command in Gaul until 49 B.C.E.

### BREAKUP OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

The bonds that connected these three personalities were soon broken. The first symptom of the imminent rupture was the death of Caesar's daughter, Julia, in 59 B.C.E. Furthermore, during the years Caesar spent abroad, Pompey progressively withdrew from the senatorial party, which had never fully accepted Caesar's power. Since the beginning it was clear that the weakest element of the group was Crassus. He died soon after the Battle of Carrhae, leaving the ground ready for an open clash between the two remaining forces. Civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey; they fought for control over Rome.

In 49 B.C.E. Pompey convinced the Senate that Caesar was a danger to their interests. Ceaser was immediately ordered to disband his army and give up the province of Gaul. Instead, Caesar crossed the Rubicon River. The river, close to Rimini, indicated the frontier between the Cisalpine Gaul, where the proconsul had the right to instruct his army, and the Italic territory, where it was forbidden to drive the army. No Roman could legally cross that line, so Caesar's decision was a slap in the Senate's face, and war against Pompey and the *optimates* began.

As Caesar marched to Rome, Pompey and his allies escaped to Brundisium and, from there, to Greece. Finally, in 48 B.C.E. in the famous Battle of Pharsalia, Caesar struck Pompey, who retreated to the court of King Ptolemy XII of Egypt, where he was assassinated as a gesture of gratitude to Caesar. Caesar went to ALEXANDRIA and participated actively in the internal political conflict between opposing Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

From 47 to 45 B.C.E. Caesar fought with followers of Pompey. After Pompey's death Caesar's power grew, and the Senate felt unease with his power. In 44 B.C.E. a conspiracy grew, led by Cassius and Brutus—thought by some to be the illegitimate son of Casear. Caesar was murdered on the Ides of March before a meeting of the senators. The political situation changed abruptly after the assassination of Caesar, and the political map had to be redesigned. His murderers were amnestied and forced to leave the city, while Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius

Lepidus, also named *pontifex maximus*, became the two official heads of state.

In his will Caesar adopted Gaius Octavius (Octavian) as his heir—the future AUGUSTUS CAESAR—and left him almost all of his fortune. This practically unknown, inexperienced, and extremely young man was studying in Illyricum at the time of Caesar’s murder and promptly set out for Rome to take control of his heritage. He tried allying with Antony, who refused to help him, having been offended at not having been appointed Caesar’s legitimate inheritor.

Octavian gained power and raised a private army. He gained influence in Rome, which he secured through a series of demagogical acts, such as the provisions of food and entertainment for the urban plebs and adopting the name of the late Caesar.

**MARK ANTONY AND THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE**  
 Antony departed to Gaul where, by means of the powerful legions that were stationed there, he gained increasing strength. In November Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus met near the river Bononia with their legions and formed the Second Triumvirate. Whereas the First Triumvirate was almost a secret pact of mutual help, the *lex Titia* presented to the tribunal assembly consolidated the Second Triumvirate within an official framework and invested the initiative with legality.

The triumvirate was backed and sealed by the marital union of Octavian and Antony’s stepdaughter, Claudia, and by Antony’s marriage to Octavia, Octavian’s sister. Lepidus, a former consul in 46 B.C.E. with no major political accomplishments, had an impressive military force in Spain and was wealthy enough to support the huge expenses that foreign campaigns demanded. He also acted as a shield between Antony and Octavian, whose personal relationship was never quite strong, both eagerly looking for power.

One of the first political acts carried out by the new government was the persecution of Caesar’s assassins. Brutus, after finding out that the Senate’s support could no longer save him, escaped toward the East, but he was captured and executed on the way, and according to Suetonius, his head was sent to Rome to be placed under Caesar’s statue. The punishment extended to some 300 senators, and 2,000 knights were banned and their possessions confiscated.

The most famous case was the murder of the orator Marcus Tullius CICERO. In 40 B.C.E. the Roman territories were divided into three regions: Lepidus received Africa, the West was granted to Octavian, and Antony obtained the Middle East, Greece, and Egypt, where in

42 B.C.E. he encountered Cleopatra. It was the beginning of a relationship that would seal Rome’s fortune and their destinies.

### ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Octavian in Rome was dealing with one last menace: that of Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey, member of the First Triumvirate. Being the provincial governor of Sicily, he had a large amount of power in the area, and therefore many of the outlawed citizens sought his help. In 37 B.C.E. the Pact of Tarentum renewed the triumvirate for another five years.

Nevertheless, the relationship between Octavian and Antony was deteriorating daily. In 36 B.C.E. as the triumvirate foresaw a clear danger, the island of Sicily was invaded, and Agrippa—one of Octavian’s men—defeated Pompey’s army. Later that year Lepidus tried to keep Sicily for himself, but his troops did not support him and deserted to Octavian, who consequently deprived Lepidus of all his triumviral powers, leaving Octavian with 40 legions.

In 35 B.C.E. Antony and his wife were in Greece, and he sent her back to Rome and carried his army against Labienus (the son of a general who had betrayed Caesar), who was helping the Persian king to assemble a powerful army. Cleopatra joined him. In 34 B.C.E. he celebrated a huge triumph in Alexandria. He repudiated Octavia, married Cleopatra, and declared Caesarion, Caesar’s son, the legitimate heir of Egypt and Cyprus. By doing so he cut the final bond that connected him to Octavian. The latter openly attacked him and turned him, in the eyes of Rome, into an Eastern enemy, dominated by the Egyptian queen. In 31 B.C.E. Octavian, elected consul for the third time, defeated Antony in the famous naval battle of Actium, which sealed not only Antony’s fate—he and Cleopatra committed suicide in 30 B.C.E.—but also the Republic’s destiny.

See also ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Beard, M., and M. Crawford. *Rome in the Late Republic*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985; Brunt, P. A. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*. New York: Norton, 1971; ———. *Italian Manpower, 225 BC–AD 14*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971; Carter, J. *The Battle of Actium: The Rise and Triumph of Augustus Caesar*. London: Hamilton, 1970; Clarke, M. L. *The Noblest Roman: Marcus Brutus and His Reputation*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981; Gelzer, M. *Caesar: Politician and Statesman*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.

## Troy

The ancient city of Troy is the basis of Homer's *Iliad* and site of the Trojan War. Troy lies in present-day western Turkey, at Canakale on the ancient Scamander River. Troy is known through the writings of the poet Homer and the stories of Heracles, Laomedon, King Priam, Hector, Paris, Achilles, the Trojan Horse, and HELEN OF TROY. Virgil vividly discussed the Mycenaean Greek sacking of Troy in his book the *AENEID*. The events that Homer reported as taking place in Troy occurred around 1200 B.C.E., and he wrote and sang them around 800 B.C.E.

Troy was thought to be a mythical city in modern times, but archaeologists found proof of its existence. In the 19th century a succession of excavators determined that the ancient city consisted of nine layers, one on top of the other. Troy is known as the cultural center of classical antiquity. After the Trojan War the city was abandoned for four centuries, until 700 B.C.E. when the Greeks settled there. The Romans captured Troy in 85 B.C.E., and the Roman general SULLA attempted to restore the city. Excavators determined that Troy I to IV existed from 3000 to 1900 B.C.E., during the early Bronze Age. At this time fortifications were built around the city. Troy VI existed from 1790 to 1250 B.C.E., and Troy VII existed during the middle to late Bronze Age. An extensive fire destroyed Troy V. Troy VI, an embellished reconstruction of Troy V, was destroyed by an earthquake. Survivors built Troy VII around 1250 B.C.E., but they died in the Trojan War. This is confirmed by the existence of a mass grave containing the remains of a Greek army. Troy IX was a trading city during the reign of Roman emperor Augustus, however it waned in importance after the rise of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Concrete knowledge about Troy emerged with the excavations of Charles McLaren, who found the ruins of Troy VII to Troy IX in 1822. German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, a wealthy retired businessman, illegally excavated the city three times from 1870 to 1890. He ruined much of the site, taking most of the treasures he found, and was forced to pay a huge fine to the Turkish government for the theft. The treasure was displayed at the Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin. At the end of World War II the Soviets claimed the treasure. Further excavation was done in 1893–94 and again in 1932–38. Sponsored scientific excavations took place after 1988 under the leadership of Manfred Korfmann, and no further levels were discovered. Two geologists, Jan Craft and John V. Luce, determined in 2001 that the geology of present-day Troy is depicted in the *Iliad*. The

site of Troy is known as New Ilium and consists of a huge mound, a replica Trojan Horse, and a small tourist museum.

See also GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND PANTHEON; HOMERIC EPICS.

**Further reading:** Latacz, Joachim. *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Moorehead, Caroline. *Lost and Found: The 9,000 Treasures of Troy: Heinrich Schliemann and the Gold That Got Away*. New York: Viking, 1996.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Trung sisters

(first century C.E.) Vietnamese heroines

Trung Trac and Trung Nhi are sisters who led a failed revolt against Chinese rule in northern Vietnam between 40 and 43 C.E. and are honored as heroines in Vietnam. The Southern Yue (Yueh), or Nanyue, people are a branch of Mongoloids who lived in tribal society and practiced slash-and-burn agriculture along the coast of China in present-day Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kuanghsia) Provinces and the northern part of present-day Vietnam. The area was conquered during the reign of the first emperor of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY between 220 and 210 B.C.E. and divided into three commanderies. When the Qin dynasty fell in 206 B.C.E., a man from northern China named Zhao Tuo (Chao T'o) proclaimed himself king of Nanyue and made his capital in modern Guangzhou (Canton). Gaozu (LIU BANG), the first emperor of the HAN DYNASTY, confirmed Zhao as king, and a loose tributary relationship was established between Nanyue and Han. In 113 B.C.E. the queen dowager of Nanyue, who was Chinese and wanted a close relationship with Han China, was murdered by her opponents. This action resulted in war between Han and Nanyue, the destruction of the kingdom, and its annexation by Han, which established nine commanderies in the former kingdom.

Chinese rule resulted in economic advancement, with the introduction of irrigation and iron tools for agriculture. It also resulted in the gradual influx of Chinese immigrants to the best new lands, especially in the Red River valley. Friction led to a revolt led by two sisters, surnamed Trung (Zheng or Cheng in Chinese transliteration), daughters of a local chief, in 40 C.E. One proclaimed herself queen. A number of local tribes from 65 towns and settlements joined their cause. Emperor GUANGWU (KUANG-WU) of the Han dynasty reacted slowly, waiting

until 42 C.E. to appoint General MA YUAN as commanding officer in charge of suppressing the revolt. An experienced general, Ma was given the title “general who calms the waves.” He reached Guangdong in 43, sent his supplies via ships, and led the 10,000 troops overland to the Red River delta. The campaign was quickly over, the sisters were captured and executed (some say they committed suicide), and the mopping up was completed by the end of the year. Ma returned to capital city LUO-YANG (LOYANG) in 44 and presented the emperor with a huge bronze horse, cast with the bronze melted from Yue drums that symbolized the power of the chiefs.

Resistance to sinicization and Chinese immigration was the likely cause of this revolt and many other similar revolts by aboriginal peoples in the southern borderlands of the Han empire during the first and second centuries C.E. The primary cause was Chinese immigrants moving deeper into the river valleys and appropriating good land, either assimilating the natives or driving them to less accessible areas. Some natives revolted, and the Han government felt compelled to put down the revolts to protect the Chinese settlements. Whereas Guangdong and Guangxi were eventually fully integrated into the Chinese state, Vietnam (Yuehan in Chinese transliteration) became a separate state in the 10th century. In light of this the rebellion led by the Trung sisters had nationalistic overtones, and for this reason they were revered as symbols of resistance to Chinese domination. General Ma Yuan became deified in Chinese popular religion and was especially revered in southern China.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI).

**Further reading:** Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Turabdin

While the history of Christianity focuses on the GREEK CHURCH and the LATIN CHURCH, a third major source of the faith is often ignored or unknown: Syriac (or Semitic) Christianity. Its traditional center lies in southeast Turkey in a region called Turabdin, which may mean “mountain of the servants.” It is not truly a mountain but a limestone plateau overlooking modern Syria, on which were founded at least 80 monasteries of the Oriental Orthodox Christian tradition.

Its people descended from the ARAMEANS, who were the dominant group of biblical times. The language of its inhabitants even today reflects ancient Aramaic roots, a dialect of Syriac called Turoyo. Centuries later the Eastern Roman Empire established its epicenter near Turabdin, in ancient EDESSA and its frontier city Nisibis. The region then became the bloody border between the Persians and the Romans and, later, the Byzantines. Edessa—to the west of Turabdin—did not fall to the Persians until 609 C.E. Nisibis—much closer to Turabdin—was largely cut off from the Greco-Roman world when the Persians took the area in 363 C.E. and kept the region isolated from the West for centuries afterward. Successive groups of Muslims kept up the same policy under the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Seljuk Empires. Thus, because of Turabdin’s origins and its colonial status, it is one of the most authentic descendants of the biblical world.

Legends speak of Thomas the Apostle, Addai, MARI, and others who first took the Christian message to Mesopotamia. The first bishop came as early as 120 C.E., but full conversion of the region did not happen until the fourth century. Residents of Turabdin set such a high standard for themselves that nearly every town and village had its own monastery and its own mystics and miracle workers. The oldest continual monastery in the world, Mor Gabriel, owes its foundation to that burst of Turabdin enthusiasm between 350 and 400 C.E.

Turabdin boasts an honor roll of teachers, poets, and missionaries. In the foothills nearby Jacob and his pupil EPHREM taught one of the most important schools of theology. Awgin, the founder of Mesopotamian MONASTICISM, and Abraham of Kashkar, the reformer of Syriac monasticism, also claim the heritage of Turabdin. Many of its monks possessed healing gifts and supernatural abilities of self-denial.

One of the great benefactions of Turabdin is its collection of Syriac manuscripts, many of which have not yet been published. From its earliest days Turabdin has preserved manuscripts so that Syriac Christianity will not stray from its Aramaic cultural and linguistic moorings. It is through these ancient books that scholars have been able to discern the roots and development of Christian liturgy in the other Greek and Latin churches.

See also ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; SYRIAC CULTURE AND CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Hollerweger, Hans, with Andrew Palmer. Introduction by Sebastian Brock. *Turabdin*. Linz, Austria: Friends of Turabdin, 1999.

MARK F. WHITTERS

# U



## Ugarit

Ugarit was an ancient harbor city located on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria. The site is known today as Râs Shamra. Archaeological expeditions began there in 1929, and since that time over 1,250 clay tablets containing CUNEIFORM texts have been discovered. The tablets, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C.E., are written in the alphabetic language of Ugaritic, a northwest Semitic language closely related to Hebrew. The culture reflected in the texts has shed great light on the Canaanite backdrop of the JEWISH BIBLE, providing scholars a look at the linguistic and cultural conditions of the Canaanites from their point of view. In addition to the clay tablets, archaeologists have uncovered a royal palace and several administrative buildings, as well as an extensive residential area. The palace was enormous, consisting of approximately 90 rooms and six large courtyards. In addition, several temples have been found, one of which was dedicated to Baal.

Although the material finds at Ugarit are certainly impressive, the most significant find is the texts. In the very first season of excavations, clay tablets were found littering the floor of a house. This nicely built house turned out to be the home of the high priest of Baal. It was near the temple of Baal, and the texts were from the priest's personal library. Particularly interesting are the numerous tablets containing mythological poems about the Canaanite gods Baal, Baal's sister the warrior goddess Anat, El, the head of the pantheon, and El's consort, Asherah, the mother of the gods. Other gods

in the texts include Athtar (biblical Ashtaroth) and the divine craftsman Kothar wa-Hasis. These mythological texts help scholars understand the backdrop of biblical admonitions to avoid contact with the gods of Canaan, as well as the worldview of the ancient inhabitants of Ugarit. Legendary figures in the texts include the hero Daniel and his son, Aqhat.

The main mythological texts from Ugarit are the Baal cycle, the Kirta epic, and the legend of Aqhat. The Baal cycle tells the story of Baal's efforts to establish his kingship over the universe as well as the building of his temple. The Kirta epic tells of the near extinction of a royal house and its subsequent restoration at the hands of the creator god El. The legend of Aqhat, who is the son of Daniel, is the primary text showing the relationship between a human hero and the gods. Since the mythological texts are poetic, much has been learned about the conventions of Canaanite poetry, helping scholars understand the biblical poetry contained in the PSALMS and Proverbs.

There have also been many administrative and ritual texts discovered at Ugarit. Five separate archives have been found at the royal palace, yielding texts in Ugaritic as well as Akkadian. Other libraries have been recovered from the private homes of priests, lawyers, government officials, and professional scribes. The administrative documents show how the kingdom of Ugarit was organized as well as the nature of its interactions with surrounding nations, allowing scholars to reconstruct the political history of the last seven kings of the city. The ritual texts shed light on Canaanite

cultic rituals and present many parallels to the sacrificial sections of the Jewish Bible. The kingdom of Ugarit ended with the invasion of the SEA PEOPLES in approximately 1200 B.C.E. Tablets discovered abandoned in a kiln date to the fall of the city and describe the transfer to the north of Ugarit's army and navy, leaving the city defenseless against attack. One tablet records the sack of the city from which the kingdom was never able to recover.

See also AKKAD; SARGON OF AKKAD; SOLOMON.

**Further reading:** Parker, Simon, ed. *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997; Smith, Mark. *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001.

ERIC SMITH

## Ulfilas

(c. 311–c. 383 C.E.) *religious missionary*

Ulfilas (Gothic: Wulfila) was a tireless missionary and educator among various Gothic tribes of the Western Roman Empire in the latter half of the fourth century C.E. Not only did he contribute to the culture and education of the “barbarian” tribes before they were integrated into civilized Europe, but he profoundly affected the course of Christianity in the Western LATIN CHURCH.

He was born in Cappadocia, in modern-day Turkey, probably to a Christian family. Like another great Christian missionary, PATRICK, a marauding tribe captured him and taught him barbarian customs and language in his youth. At some later point in his life he received a classical education, so that by the time he was an adult he was fluent in Greek, Latin, and the language of his former captors, Gothic. He became a priest and then was consecrated a bishop by EUSEBIUS of Nicomedia, a leading proponent of ARIANISM.

His skills in languages made him a valuable asset for spreading the Christian faith. He was assigned missionary work among the Gothic tribes who were just outside the Roman Empire in the area around the lower Danube River. He did missionary work for seven years before being forced out by a hostile Visigoth chief. Nonetheless, he persisted in his work for 30 years on both sides of the imperial border, sending out missionaries among the Visigoths and putting the Gothic language into writing. At last he succeeded at both of his projects: The Visigoths as a people became Christian, and he translated the Bible into Gothic.

The Christianity that he taught his followers was not that of the COUNCIL OF NICAEA. Ulfilas apparently believed that JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH was “like” the Father and not of the same essence or being with the Father. Few of his theological writings remain, but a statement of his faith quoted by one of his students, recorded by a bishop in opposition to AMBROSE of Milan, shows Arian language. This same tendency can be found in the tribes among whom he worked. His most famous writing, however, is the Gothic Bible, done alone or with collaborators. He may have devised the first alphabet for the Goths, using a combination of Greek and Latin letters. This achievement by itself had enormous repercussions for the transmission of Roman and Greek ideas into Gothic culture. The New Testament part of the Gothic Bible now includes only the four Gospels and the letters of Paul, and the Old Testament survives only in small parts.

The ideas of Arianism spread from the tribes with whom he worked to other Germanic groups across the Danube River. Eventually all barbarians were converted: Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, and Lombards. When the Huns invaded and forced all of these tribal groups into Roman territory, they brought their Arianism with them and made it as big an influence in the West as it had been in the East. Were it not for emergence of the Franks—who were Orthodox Christians—Arianism might have become the predominant belief of the Latin Church.

See also BIBLE TRANSLATIONS; GREEK CHURCH; LATE BARBARIANS.

**Further reading:** Sumruld, William A. *Augustine and the Arians: The Bishop of Hippo's Encounters with Ulfilan Arianism*. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1994; Thompson, E. A., *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Ur

The Sumerian city of Ur is identified with Tell el-Muqayyar in southern Iraq, along a course of the Euphrates River that has dried up. It is commonly related to the birthplace of Abraham (“Ur of the Chaldeans” in Genesis 11:28–31). Excavations at Ur began in 1849, but C. Leonard Woolley did most of the work in 1922–34. Ur was first occupied from the middle of the Ubaid period (c. 5000–4000 B.C.E.), attested by only



*The Ur III dynasty of 2112–2004 B.C.E. was a period marked by urbanization and academic accomplishments. Dated to this time are the famous ziggurat temple tower of Ur-Nammu (above) and the Temenos (temple complex) of Nanna, among others.*

pottery, tools, and a few graves. The Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods (c. 4000–3000 B.C.E.) saw the construction of a temple platform adorned with clay cones, suggesting the city's religious importance even at this early stage. A huge cemetery site indicates a thriving local population.

Rubbish deposits near the temple platform contain proto-CUNEIFORM clay tablets and pottery dated to the Early Dynastic period (c. 3000–2350 B.C.E.). Seal impressions bear symbols that supposedly represent city names, implying Ur's relations with other cities. Furthermore 16 “Royal Tombs” of the Early Dynastic III period (c. 2600–2350 B.C.E.) were discovered in these deposit layers, including the magnificent burials of King Meskalamdug and Queen Pu-Abi. Numerous burials in the tombs' outer rooms suggest that attendants were sacrificed along with the dead king. The strata above these tombs have yielded seal impressions of King

Mesannepada, named in the Sumerian King List as the founder of the First Dynasty at Ur.

During the Akkadian period (c. 2350–2193 B.C.E.), SARGON OF AKKAD appointed his daughter Enheduanna as the en-priestess of Nanna, the moon deity whose cult center was Ur. This strategy helped legitimize the new Akkadian dynasty by emphasizing its continuity with Sumerian tradition. From then and into the Ur III period, a pattern emerged in which the en-priestess at Ur was a princess from the dominant royal family.

The Ur III dynasty (2112–2004 B.C.E.) was founded by Ur-Nammu. Like Sargon, Ur-Nammu reigned over an empire encompassing SUMER and AKKAD, this time with Ur as the capital. This period was marked by intensive urbanization and proliferation of written (mostly economic) records, as well as the standardization of the writing system, weights and measures, and the calendar sequence. Also dated to this time are

the famous ziggurat (pyramidal temple tower) of Ur-Nammu, the Temenos (temple complex) of Nanna, the Ehursag palace, and the Giparu, where the en-priestess lived. Shulgi, the son of Ur-Nammu, claimed deification for himself, a status later adopted by his successors. The Ur III city was eventually captured by the Elamites of the Shimashki dynasty, and its last king, Ibbi-Sin, was carried away into exile.

Ishbi-Erra, founder of the first dynasty of Isin, expelled the Elamites from Ur and rebuilt the city. Henceforth, the rulers of Isin claimed to be heirs of the Ur III heritage. The city, however, soon came under the control of the rival dynasty at Larsa. Babylon's ascendancy under Hammurabi further eclipsed any political power at Ur. Nonetheless, Ur remained an important religious center in the years to follow. Ur-Nammu's ziggurat and the Temenos enclosure

underwent restoration by the Kassite king Kurigalzu, and the Neo-Babylonian kings NEBUCHADNEZZAR II and Nabonidus. Also, Nabonidus revived the then-obsolete tradition of appointing the king's daughter as Ur's en-priestess. Ur, however, eventually declined in the fourth century B.C.E., possibly due to the Euphrates' shift away from the city.

See also BABYLON: EARLY PERIOD; BABYLON: LATER PERIODS; ELAM; FERTILE CRESCENT.

**Further reading:** Woolley, C. Leonard. *Ur of the Chaldees*. Rev. by P. R. S. Moorey. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982; ———, et al. *Ur Excavations and Ur Excavation Texts*. 19 vols. London and Philadelphia: n.p., 1927–76.

JOHN ZHU-EN WEE

# V



## Vajrayana Buddhism

See TANTRISM.

## Vardhamana Mahavira

(c. 599–527 B.C.E.) *religious leader*

The Mahavira (Great Hero) Vardhamana was one of the 24 Tirthankaras (Conquerors, or Ford-makers) who were founders of the Indian religious philosophy of JAINISM. Vardhamana was born in Ksatriyakundagrama in India in approximately 599 B.C.E. and died in 527 B.C.E. Jainism, or its antecedent, was developed by the first Tirthankara, Rishabhadeva, who lived c. 1500 B.C.E. Through the example of his life and teachings, Vardhamana helped establish Jainism throughout India. The facts of his life may have become distorted by the desire of followers to lend additional spiritual meaning to them. Nevertheless, he was born a prince of the Kshatriya, or military CASTE, and lived his youth enjoying the perquisites of wealth before renouncing this at the age of 30.

Jainism depends on the concept of *ahimsa*, which means avoiding injury to all living beings. In addition, it requires obedience to various *vratas*, or vows relating to the correct behavior. Vardhamana lived a life of extreme asceticism and obedience to the five great *vratas* of renunciation of the physical world. These vows are similar to Buddhist precepts and call for avoidance of all violence, speaking the truth, avoiding theft, chastity, and the avoidance of attachment to any physical

thing or person. Jainists reject the concept of a universe created by God and focus on the perfectibility of humanity and the attainment, therefore, of freedom from the physical world. Vardhamana attained the state of *kevala*, which means a form of omniscient perception beyond that possible for the average person. As a contemporary of GAUTAMA BUDDHA, who was born in the same region of India, Vardhamana lived in an era of considerable religious excitement and development. Jainism had similar characteristics to Buddhism but stood in contrast to Hinduism, which in its earliest form was influenced by Brahmanical ritualism.

Recognized as the final Tirthankara of the current age, Vardhamana attracted many followers and disciples. He appointed 11 Ganadharas (disciples) to continue his work—each were converts from Brahmanism—but only two survived him. At the time of Vardhamana's death, some 14,000 monks and 36,000 nuns served in his congregation. These then split according to various schisms, the most notable of which continues to the current day and features on one side the Shvetambaras (white-robed) and the Digambaras (naked), who believe theirs is the appropriate costume for monks and who deny the possibility that souls can transcend from the female body. Vardhamana's disciples collected his thoughts and teachings in works known as the Agam Sutras but the originals of these have been lost.

See also HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Sethia, Tara, ed. *Ahimsa, Anekanta and Jainism*. Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 2004; Shah, Natubhai.

*Jainism: The World of Conquerors.* Sussex: UK: Sussex Academic Press, 1998.

JOHN WALSH

## Vedas

The Vedas are the oldest sacred writings of all of the world's major religions. Most scholars believe that the Vedas were transmitted orally for hundreds if not thousands of years before they were committed to writing. When written down, they were recorded in archaic SANSKRIT and organized into collections called Samhitas. There are several versions of the Vedas in different parts of India. Internal evidence in the Vedas suggests that they were first composed to serve as rituals at the performance of sacrifices.

The Aryans who moved into the Indus Valley region around 1500 B.C.E. produced the Vedas. They were Indo-European-speaking peoples from the steppes of Central Asia, whose language when committed to writing became Sanskrit. The Aryan invaders (or possibly immigrants) moved through what are today areas of Iran and Afghanistan before crossing the Hindu Kush through the Khyber Pass or other mountain canyons. There may have been five tribes of Aryans who called themselves *arya*, which means "noble" or "kinsman" in Sanskrit. They conquered the original residents or pushed them southward as they moved down the Indus River valley and eventually spread across much of the north Indian plain. The Aryans brought their own religion to India. The gods (*devas*) and goddesses of the nomadic cattle herding Aryans were usually primal forces of nature. Their Vedic religion practiced rituals that used songs and sacrifices.

The title Veda(s) comes from a Sanskrit word, *veda*, which means "knowledge" or "sacred teachings." They were the heard revelations (*shruti*) of holy men (*rishis*). The *rishis* did not "create" the Vedas, but "heard" the Brahma speak them and recorded them. The Vedasamhitas are a huge body of materials, six times the length of the Bible. There are four Vedas: the Rig-Veda, the Sama-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda (hymn knowledge) is a collection of more than 1,200 hymns. A *rig* is the Sanskrit word for "hymn," and each *rig* is addressed to a single god or goddess. The oldest of the *rigs* date from well before the Aryan migrations into the Indus Valley. They were addressed to the sky god, Dyaus Pitar, who can be identified with the classical Olympian god Zeus Pater or the Latin Deus (Ju)pitar. In a subsequent stage in the develop-

ment of the Vedas the old gods faded and were replaced by new gods. These newer gods include Indra, the sky god and the king of the gods. Among the newer Aryan gods included in the Vedas are Agni, the Vedic god of fire, and Soma, the god of a hallucinogenic drug.

The hymns in the Rig-Veda developed during the period of 1500–1200 B.C.E. They reached their final form around 1200 B.C.E. and were used as part of the cult of Soma. They were also used at the sacrifices used to extol the personified deities of fire (Agni), the sun (Surya and Savitr), the dawn (Usas), the storms (Maruts), war and raid (Indra), honor (Mitra), divine authority (Varuna), and creation (Indra and Visnu). A priest would chant the *rigs* of the Rig-Veda during the performance of a sacrifice. The gods that are praised in the Rig-Veda hymns are addressed individually, and each is praised above all the other deities to create a form of henotheism. There is first an invocation of the deity. Then the deity is presented with a petition. Then the deity, a god or goddess, such as Varuna, Mitra, Aditi (mother of the gods), and Uma (the dawn) is given praises that recount the deeds of the deity. The final part of the form of the *rig* is a summary restatement of the worshippers' request.

The themes of the *rigs* in the Rig-Vedas include creation, death, the elements of sacrifice, the horse sacrifice, gods of the storm, solar gods, and to sky and earth gods. In addition, *rigs* may be dedicated to Agni, to Soma, to Indra, to Varuna, or to Rudra and Visnu. The *rigs* that are dedicated to Indra tell of things such as the birth and childhood deeds of Indra. Some *rigs* were written about speech used to sing of Indra's origin. Other *rigs* express delight in the drawing of the bow to strike those who hate prayer. Others *rigs* were used during the investiture of a new king. The Sama-Veda (chant knowledge) is a collection of chants and melodies (*saman*) used in sacrifices. It was composed after the Rig-Veda was completed. Most of the words in the Sama-Veda were taken from the Rig-Veda. The lines of the Rig-Veda quoted in the Sama-Veda were to be sung to fixed melodies making them in effect mantras. The melodies used to sing the Sama-Veda materials were not captured in the text but are passed on from a singing priest to his disciples. The priests who sang the Sama-Veda were different from those who used the Rig-Veda. Proper lyrics and music are essential to the success of the rite.

The Yajur-Veda (ceremonial knowledge) was also written after the Rig-Veda. Most of it is a collection of prose sacrificial formulas (*yujus*), used by the presiding priest in a sacrifice. More specifically they are directions for conducting the sacrifice. The Rig-Veda, Sama-Veda, and the Yajur-Veda are today known in Hinduism as

the “threefold Veda” (*trayi-vidya*). These reflect the religious life of the priestly group. The Atharva-Veda (knowledge from the teacher Atharva) differs greatly from the other three. It is composed of spells, prayers, curses, and charms that are practical in nature. They include prayers for warding off snakes or sickness. When sacrifices were performed the priest would sing or chant materials from the Vedas that were appropriate to the type of sacrifice. A different priest would handle each part of a sacrifice. There were at least three groups of priests using the Rig-Veda at the sacrifices. The chief priest (*hotr*) would take material for his changes from the Rig-Veda. The priest responsible for chanting the sacred formulas (mantras) was the *adhvaryu*. A third group of priests, the chanters (*udgatr*), would chant melodic recitations that were linked to the Rig-Veda.

Over time additional materials came to be attached to each of the four Vedas. Most commonly the Vedas are viewed as including the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The Brahmanas (Brahman books) were the name for the priests, or Brahmans. They are the manuals for sacrifice. They discussed in detail rituals, proper time and place for ceremonies, the preparation of the ground, ritual objectives, purification rites, and other matters.

Ascetic holy men who went into the forests to meditate composed the Aranyakas (forest books). These books interpreted the Vedas in a nonliteral and symbolic ways. They contain speculations on sacrifice, especially the sacrificial fire and the New Year festival. The Upanishads (Sittings near a teacher) were the last to be composed and added to the Vedic collections. Several theories have been proposed to explain the origin of the name *Upanishad*. The belief is that they were composed as disciples sat near a guiding teacher. With the disciple sitting near the priest, both of them would experience spiritual enlightenment. They would experience the spiritual reality that is the unifying reality underlying all of the separate realities of the world.

Most of the Upanishads are dialogic. The prose Upanishads, like the Chandogya, Birhadaranyaka, Taittiriya and the Kena are probably earlier than the poetic ones such as Katha and Mandukya. The emphasis on spiritual experience suggests a shift in Vedic religion from the view that only hereditary priests can be religious masters to the view that both priests and nonpriests can experience spiritual realities. The Upanishads are the most philosophical of the Vedas and are concerned with ultimate philosophical truth. They number about 100. Their concerns are to record insights into internal and external reality.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY; VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Basham, A. L. *The Origins and Development of Classical Hinduism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Bloomfield, Maurice. *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda: Together with Extracts from the Ritual Books and the Commentaries*. Reprint, Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1964; ———. *The Religion of the Veda: The Ancient Religion of India*. New York: AMS Press, 1969; Chatterji, Jagadish Chandra. *The Wisdom of the Vedas*. Wheaton, IL: Theosophical Publishing House, 1980; Elizarenkova, T. Y., and Wendy Doniger. *Language and Style of the Vedic Rsis*. Albany: State University of New York, 1995; Gonda, J. *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*. The Hague, Switzerland: Mouton, 1963; ———. *Vedic Literature: Samhitas and Brahmanas*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 1975; ———. *Vedic Ritual: The Non-solemn Rites*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1980; Griffith, Ralph T. H., and Jagdish Lal Shastri. *The Hymns of the Rgveda*. Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1973; Keith, Arthur Berriedale. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971; Miller, Jeanine. *The Vision of Cosmic Order in the Vedas*. Boston: Routledge, 1985; Muller, F. Max, and Hermann Oldenberg. *Vedic Hymns*. Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1964; O’Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. *The Rig Veda: An Anthology*. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.

ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Vedic age

The roughly 1,000 years between 1500–500 B.C.E. is called the Vedic, or Aryan, age. The beginning of the Vedic age corresponded with the end of the INDUS CIVILIZATION (c. 2500–1500 B.C.E.), although it is not clear what precise role the Aryans played in the final fall of the Indus civilization. The two peoples belonged to different racial groups, and the Indus urban culture was more advanced than the mainly pastoral society of the Indo-European Aryans.

The 1,000 years after 1500 is divided into the Early and Late Vedic age, each spanning about 500 years, because of significant differences between the cultures of the two halves. The earlier period marked the conquest and settlement of northern India by INDO-EUROPEANS who crossed into the subcontinent across the Hindu Kush passes into the Indus River valley, across the Thar Desert and down the Ganges River valley.

The latter half saw the development of a more sophisticated sedentary culture. The name *Vedic* refers to the VEDAS, sacred texts of the Aryans, which is a principal source of information of that era.

## THE RIG-VEDA

There are no significant archaeological remains from the first five centuries of the Vedic, or Aryan, era. Therefore, scholars must rely on the hymns and prayers of the Aryans, called the Vedas, or Books of Knowledge, for information about the earliest centuries. The most important work of the Aryans is the Rig-Veda, consisting of 1,017 hymns and songs addressed to various gods. Initially memorized by a class of priests, they were collected and written down c. 600 B.C.E. after a written script, called SANSKRIT (related to other Indo-European languages such as Greek and Latin), was invented. The Rig-Veda is the oldest surviving Indo-European literature.

Some hymns of the Rig-Veda refer to a god named Indra who demolished forts that could have been the walled Indus cities. They refer to themselves as Aryans, which means “high born” or “noble,” while the non-Aryan enemies are called the *dasas* or *dasyus*, which means “dark” and also came to mean “slave.” Aryan social organization was patrilineal. Upon marriage women became members of their husbands’ joint families. Sons were prized over daughters because they performed the family sacrifices, and only sons could inherit from their parents. Related Aryan families belonged to a clan, and associated clans formed a tribe, ruled by a raja, or king. Many Aryan tribes took part in the conquest and settlement of northern India. The most powerful one was called Bharata, which is the Sanskrit name of present-day republic of India. The battles between the ancient kings, many of them related to one another, is related in a long epic poem titled the *MAHABAHARATA* (Great Bharat).

## SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Aryan society was stratified, based on function, and after the conquest, also on skin color. It is called CASTE, or class in English, and *varna* in Sanskrit, which means “covering,” referring to the color of the skin that covers one’s body. The top castes were the Brahman, who were priests and teachers, and the Kshatriya, or rulers and warriors. They were followed by the Vaisya, who were landowners and artisans. The secular hymns in the Rig-Veda mention many occupations that include carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, tanners, weavers, spinners, farmers, and herders as members of the Vaisya caste. All three were of Aryan origin and called “twice-born,” the second birth referring to religious initiation or rebirth, which qualified the males to participate in religious rituals. The fourth caste was called Sudra, who were servants and manual laborers, probably many of them were originally the pre-Aryan *dasas*. Thus the invaders were able to integrate the conquered indigenous

people and assign them a position in society. The division of people into castes was sanctioned in Vedic literature. Vedic literature describes the Aryan culture as one dominated by warrior heroes, men who fought hard and enjoyed feasting and strong drinks, and gambling.

## RELIGION AND GODS

The Rig-Veda was the most sacred text of the Aryan religions. It was supplemented by three other ancient collections of poems, spells, and incantations, called the Sama-, Yagur-, and Arthava-Vedas. Other ritual works were added later. They were the Brahmanas, which elaborated on the ancient hymns and described the necessary steps for priests in performing the rituals and sacrifices. The Upanishads, philosophical essays written during the last centuries of the Vedic era, 108 of which survive, followed the Brahmanas. The above works are the core religious literature of Hinduism.

The early Aryans worshipped a pantheon of nature gods, offering them sacrifices in return for granting their requests. There were many sacrifices that ranged from the daily domestic sacrifices performed by the head of the family, to great sacrifices ordered by kings that were presided over by many Brahman priests with many animal sacrifices. The most powerful early gods were Indra, the warrior god, who wielded the thunderbolt, killed *dasas* and destroyed their forts, and also brought rain. Varuna was the god of universal order and punished sinners by afflicting them with diseases. Agni was the god of fire and protector of the home and hearth. Soma was both the god of immortality and a hallucinogenic drink made from a hemp-type plant and drunk on the same day at religious ceremonies. There were many other gods and demigods in charge of various functions.

## SANSKRIT

Writing began around 1000 B.C.E., although nothing has survived from the earliest period. It was called SANSKRIT. The Vedic literature continued to be memorized by Brahman priests and was not written down until around 600 B.C.E. By that time some of the vocabulary had already become archaic. Classical Sanskrit used by scholars and government officials in the Late Vedic age was less complex grammatically than the Sanskrit of the Vedas.

Less important writing was done in vernacular tongues, called Prakrits, meaning, “unrefined,” as opposed to the “perfected” or “refined” form of writing called Sanskrit. Modern languages in northern India are descended from Sanskrit and are related, whereas languages of southern India belong to the indigenous

DRAVIDIANS and are unrelated to Indo-European languages. The year 1000 B.C.E. also marked the transition from the Early to the Late Vedic age.

There are still few archaeological sources for the Late Vedic age, so scholars must principally rely on sacred texts: the later Vedas, the Brahmanas, and Upanishads. Other written sources include the epics (*MAHABHARATA* and *RAMAYANA*) and *Puranas*, which include legends that seem to refer to this period. By the Late Vedic age the Aryan tribes had spread across north India and almost forgotten their earlier home in the northwest and Punjab. Territorial kingdoms had replaced the tribal state and old kinship relationships were being replaced by geographic alignments. Late Vedic society was more advanced economically compared with that of the Early Vedic.

Most people had settled down and become farmers. Many different kinds of trades and crafts were mentioned, indicating a more advanced material culture. They include jewelers, goldsmiths, basket makers, dyers, and potters. The rich had servants; there were also references to professional acrobats, musicians, fortune-tellers, and dancers who entertained the townspeople. While most people lived in villages, texts from the period mention towns; some of those names persist to the present.

## NEW RELIGIOUS TRENDS

Two religious trends emerged. One had Brahman religious leaders challenging the power of the kings. Another was dissatisfaction with established religious rituals because they no longer satisfied the popular longings nor answered the questions of people whose lives had become more prosperous but felt insecure as a result of the changes. New religious ideas emerged. One was the doctrine of karma (*karma* means “deed” or “action”), which held that that one’s position in this life is the result of actions in previous lives and that one’s actions in this life will influence future lives.

This doctrine of the transmigration of the soul gave ethical content to human conduct and also justified inequities in life. Since the doctrine included all living things, it inspired kindness to animals, which resulted in vegetarianism. Some sought an answer in asceticism and joined bands of holy men debating religious questions and seeking answers. Out of the intellectual quest came the writing of the Upanishads and the emergence of two new religions, Buddhism and JAINISM. The end of the Vedic age also ended the shadowy early historic age in Indian civilization.

See also ARYAN INVASION; HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

**Further reading:** Basu, Praphullachandra. *Indo-Aryan Society, Being a Study of the Economic and Political Conditions of India as Depicted in the Rig Veda*. London: King and Son, 1925; Dutt, Romesh Chander. *A History of Civilization in Ancient India Based on Sanskrit Literature*. Rev. ed. Vol. 1, B.C. 2000 to 320. New Delhi, India: Cosmo Publications, 2000; Ghurye, G. S. *Vedic India*. Bombay, India: Popular Prakashan, 1979; E. J. Rapson, ed. *The Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, Ancient India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922; Majumdar, R. C. *An Advanced History of India*. London: Macmillan, 1958.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Vercingetorix

(72–46 B.C.E.) *Gallic chieftain*

Vercingetorix was a tribal chieftain of the Gallic Celtic Arverni tribe who attempted to stop the encroachment of Romans into his territory, Provence, in present-day France, from 53 to 52 B.C.E. The Roman leader, Gaius JULIUS CAESAR (100–44 B.C.E.), and his lieutenant Quintus Atius Labienus (100–45 B.C.E.), lost early engagements against Vercingetorix, who against all odds had managed to unite the generally warring tribes in Provence. This temporary alliance allowed Vercingetorix the upper hand. He retreated by using hit-and-run tactics within the natural boundaries of Provence that were unknown to the Romans. To prevent the Romans from finding sustenance, they scorched over 20 towns.

In the spring of 52 B.C.E. Caesar ordered siege fortifications to be built in order to capture the capital of Avaricum, present-day Bourges, which contained huge supplies of grain. Through unrelenting rain his troops built two 80-foot towers with more than 300-foot ramps in one month. The Gauls tried to sabotage the Roman siege works unsuccessfully. In the end 800 Gauls fled to Vercingetorix. The angry Romans massacred the 40,000 remaining inhabitants of Avaricum. Caesar, tired of the ceaseless and unproductive skirmishes and battles, had no desire to face the fierce Celtic tribes and decided to starve them out before reinforcement could reach Alesia. Caesar had his Romans build encircling fortifications around the Arverni stronghold at Alesia, near present-day Dijon, from which Vercingetorix had planned to fight and in which he was ultimately trapped.

Caesar once again used siege warfare to obtain his objective. He had his troops build a two-walled perimeter that would keep the Arverni and the Romans within close contact. The outer ring held the Romans,



Vercingetorix Throws His Arms at Caesar's Feet. A reproduction of a painting by Lionel-Noel Royer, created in 1899.

who besieged the Arverni. Modern-day excavators found the first wall to be 13 miles long with an 18-foot ditch that was meant to starve the Arverni. The second wall faced pointed stakes that could easily impale unsuspecting tribesmen. Yet another wall, 9 feet high and full of breastworks of earth, was constructed. In addition, every 130 yards, observation towers were erected. Two siege towers were built, each 80 feet high, that could contain ramparts of varying lengths. Vercingetorix tried to destroy the walls and often had skirmishes with the Romans, but to no avail.

His last attempt to alleviate the siege led to failure, his men fell onto the spikes, and the Romans killed many Gauls. Alesia was so well fortified by the Romans that Vercingetorix was given no choice when reinforcements failed to arrive. The war council in Alesia decided to wait for the end. The Arverni were slowly starving, so Vercingetorix released the women and children from his stronghold, hoping Caesar would take pity and treat them as prisoners, but he refused, and the women and children perished. Caesar won the five-day Battle of Alesia because the tribes under Vercingetorix were poorly organized and some betrayed their leader.

Various stories surround the surrender of Vercingetorix. One story relates that Vercingetorix and several tribal leaders simply surrendered to Caesar. The second story, written by Plutarch at least 100 years after the event, accounts that Vercingetorix rode out of Alesia in a stately fashion and around Caesar's camp, removing his battle armaments and surrendering with theatrical gestures before kneeling to him. His death is also shrouded

in debate. One historian claims he was killed shortly after his surrender. Another argues that for the next five years Vercingetorix was Caesar's prisoner in the Tullianum in Rome. Vercingetorix allegedly became a show-piece and was paraded around various Roman cities for five years in between stays at the Tullianum prison in Rome. Vercingetorix was publicly beheaded in Rome in 46 B.C.E. The Celtic tribes never fought again in present-day France and were absorbed into the ROMAN EMPIRE.

See also CELTS; GAUL.

**Further reading:** Harmand, Jacques. *Vercingetorix*. Paris: Fayard, 1984; Julian, Camille. *Vercingetorix*. Paris: Hachette, 1963.

ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Visigoth kingdom of Spain

The earliest Visigoths were a Germanic group that alternated between opposing and serving the ROMAN EMPIRE. Unlike some other Germanic tribes, the Visigoths retained elected leaders, never shifting to a fully hereditary kingship. The early Visigoths, like other Germanic peoples in the late Roman and early post-Roman periods, were Arian Christians—believing that the Son, Christ, had been created by the Father rather than being coeternal, as the Catholic Church believed. This meant that Visigothic kings could not be fully sure of the loyalty of the Catholic Church in their dominions, although they did not attempt to destroy the church or extirpate Catholicism.

After the famous sack of Rome by the Visigothic king Alaric in 410 C.E., the Visigoths settled in southern France, from which they first spread into the Iberian Peninsula in 416, as allies of the Roman emperor Honorius. The Roman government was trying to regain control of the province, then in the hands of a barbarian coalition. The Visigoths returned to Spain, this time permanently, under their King Theodoric II in 456. The most significant king of this phase of Visigothic history was Euric, who reigned from 466 to 484, under whom the Visigothic kingdom, with its capital at Toulouse, reached its greatest geographical extent, incorporating most of Iberia. Euric eliminated the last areas of direct Roman rule in Spain following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in 476.

The Visigothic kingdom was based in Spain after 507, when the Visigoths were defeated and the Catholic Franks under Clovis killed their king, Alaric II. In

alliance with the Burgundians, the Franks drove the Visigoths out of nearly all their possessions in France. The sole remainder of the French Visigothic kingdom was Septimania, between the Pyrenees and the lower Rhone. The Visigoths also lost some coastal territories in southern Spain to the Byzantines under the Emperor JUSTINIAN I. The most important rulers in sixth-century Visigothic Spain were Leovigild, who reigned 568–586, and his son Recared, who reigned 586–601. Leovigild reinvigorated the Visigothic monarchy, defeated the Suevi kingdom of northwestern Spain and incorporated it into the Visigothic kingdom, and drove the Byzantines from all but a few small footholds in the south. He also established a permanent capital at Toledo—previously, Visigothic rulers had traveled through the peninsula rather than having a permanent base. Leovigild was also a lawgiver, promulgating extensive revisions of the earlier code of King Euric.

In 587 Recared solved the problem of the kingdom's religious divisions by converting to Catholic, Trinitarian Christianity, the religion of nearly all of his non-Visigothic subjects, as well as a growing number of Visigoths. He extended this conversion to his kingdom in the Third Council of Toledo in 589. At this council Recared, his family, and other leaders of the kingdom formally renounced ARIANISM before the Catholic bishops. The new regime was intolerant toward Arians, and Recared crushed a series of rebellions led by Arian clergy and believers. The removal of the religious divisions between the Visigoths and the Roman elite led to greater assimilation between the two groups.

The seventh-century Visigothic monarchy was marked by strong cooperation between church and state, with the king making ecclesiastical as well as civil and military appointments, building churches, and working closely with the bishops. The Catholic Church in Spain, although in communion with Rome, was more subject to the king than to the pope. The Visigothic kingdom was also one of the more peaceful and prosperous areas of the post-Roman West, retaining its links to the Mediterranean economy and a relatively high degree of urbanization.

One way in which the strongly sacral nature of Catholic Visigothic kingship was expressed was a series of

decrees against the Jews. The Catholic Visigothic kings were an exception to the generally tolerant practices of Germanic barbarian kings toward the Jews in the early Middle Ages. King Sisebut (r. 612–621) ordered that Jews be forcibly baptized or exiled from the kingdom. Sisebut was one of the most learned early medieval kings, writing in Latin the *Life of St. Desiderius* and a poem on eclipses. Legislation was an important component of Visigothic kingship.

The legal decrees and codes issued by the Visigothic rulers show a progression away from different laws for Visigothic and Roman subjects, toward a single code of law for all peoples in the kingdom. This process of assimilation culminated in the Laws of the Visigoths, issued in 654 by King Recceswinth. Recceswinth, following the path laid out by his father, King Chindaswinth, abolished previous codes of Visigothic and Roman law in favor of a law applying uniformly over Visigothic territory and drawing from both Germanic and Roman sources. The Laws of the Visigoths, revised again by King Erwig in 681, was the most detailed and sophisticated law code of the early post-Roman kingdoms. The Laws of the Visigoths continued to influence law in Christian Spain long after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom.

Late seventh-century Visigothic kings, although supported by the church, suffered disputed successions, rebellions, and problems with the nobility. A dispute weakened the kingdom before the Arab invasion in 711. The Arabs also benefited from the Visigothic rulers' alienation of the Jewish population, who welcomed the Muslim invaders as liberators. The Arabs killed the last Visigothic ruler, King Rodrigo, or Roderic, and the Visigothic kingdom and ethnic identity came to an end.

**Further reading:** Collins, Roger. *Visigothic Spain 409–711*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004; Heather, Peter, ed. *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1999; James, Edward, ed. *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

WILLIAM E. BURNS



# W



## Wang Mang (45 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) Chinese usurper

Wang Mang's fame derived from his failed attempt to establish a dynasty called Xin (Hsin), meaning "new," between 9 and 23 C.E. when the HAN DYNASTY divided into two parts, the Western, or Former, Han (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) and the Eastern, or Later, Han (25–220 C.E.). His rise reflected the great power the families of imperial consorts of Han rulers often enjoyed, leading to his usurpation of the Han throne.

The Wang family was gentry; some of its male members served in the civil service, but its rise to power was due to the selection of one of its daughters. Wang Cheng-jun (Wang Cheng-chun) was sent to the harem of the future emperor Yuandi (Yuan-ti) and bore him a son in 51 B.C.E., for which she was made empress. When her husband died in 33 B.C.E. and was succeeded by her 18-year-old son, she gained the powerful position of empress dowager. Her longevity and the youth and short life span of her son and his successors enabled her to dominate the Han government and to appoint her family members to the most important offices of the land. After the death of all her brothers the now Grand Empress Dowager Wang appointed her nephew Wang Mang regent, then acting emperor. Finally he proclaimed himself emperor of a new dynasty called Xin (Hsin) in 9 C.E., crushing revolts by loyalists of the Han dynasty.

As emperor, Wang Mang made drastic changes to the government, rationalizing his changes on his interpretations of Confucian teachings. He thus reinstated feu-

dalism, made many offices hereditary, nationalized land, changed the monetary system, and made laws that discriminated against the merchants. Although many of his changes were unenforceable and were soon rescinded, they nevertheless provoked popular discontent. His attempts to change the relationship with the nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU) and Central Asian states produced unrest along the borders. Finally, even nature turned against his regime: droughts in the capital region, breaks of the Yellow River dikes, extensive flooding due to a change of the course of the Yellow River, and other natural disasters resulted in famine and revolts. The most serious peasant revolt was called the RED EYEBROW REBELLION. Several princes of the imperial Liu clan rose to lead the rebel forces in 22 C.E., and Wang Mang was killed the following year. Two more years of civil war ended in the restoration of the Han dynasty in 25 C.E. Although some of his reforms were well intentioned, Wang Mang is remembered in history as a usurper, and Chinese historians do not recognize his brief Xin dynasty as legitimate.

See also GUANGWU (KUANG-WU).

**Further reading:** Sargent, Clyde B. *Wang Mang: A Translation of the Official Account of His Rise to Power Given in the History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Shanghai, China: Graphic Art Book, 1947; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Way of the Sea

See KING'S HIGHWAY AND WAY OF THE SEA.

### Wei Man (Wiman)

(second century B.C.E.) *founder of Korean state*

Wei Man came from northern China and lived in the second century B.C.E. He staged an unsuccessful uprising against the newly established HAN DYNASTY in 195 B.C.E. and fled with 1,000 followers to the northern Korean peninsula, where he founded a state called Caoxian (Ch'ao-hsien) in Chinese—the name is anglicized as CHOSON, one of the names by which Korea is called. His capital was close to modern Pyongyang, capital of modern North Korea. Choson was a sinicized state, reflecting the accelerated penetration of Chinese economic, military, and political power into the Korean peninsula since the late Warring States era in China in the third century B.C.E.

With superior military and economic strength, Wei Man's successors (who controlled highly developed ironworks) were able to expand the kingdom throughout the northern part of the Korean peninsula against Korean tribes. The killing of a Chinese envoy by Choson soldiers and the harboring of Han deserters by Choson led to war between the two states. A Chinese force invaded Choson in 109 B.C.E. and forced its surrender in 108 B.C.E. after the assassination of King Ugo, Wei Man's grandson. The establishment of four commanderies in Korea followed the destruction of Choson; they were administered as territories of the Han dynasty.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Gardiner, K. H. J. *The Early History of Korea*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1969; Weems, Clarence Norwood, ed. *Hulbert's History of Korea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

### Wen and Wu

(fl. 12th century B.C.E.) *dynastic founders*

Kings Wen (the Literary or Cultivated) and his son Wu (the Martial) are the founders of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY, c. 1122–256 B.C.E. The Zhou people lived to the west of the Shang in the Wei River valley on the plain of Zhou (hence the dynastic name) in present-day Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province, west of the Shang heartland.

Both were descended from the Neolithic Longshan (Lungshan) culture, but the Zhou people were less cultivated. The Shang oracle bones described them as sometimes enemies and also as allies against the Jiang (Chiang) barbarian tribes further west. A Zhou leader was also referred to as "Chief of the West," to whom a Shang noblewoman was given in marriage. A son was born of the union, King Wen.

King Wen was described as a paragon of virtue. Wen paved the way for overthrowing the SHANG DYNASTY by forming coalitions with other states but died in the 50th year of his reign, about 1133 B.C.E., before he could accomplish his goal. Since Zhou rulers practiced primogeniture, his oldest son, Wu, succeeded him. Around 1122 B.C.E. King Wu led a second campaign against the Shang, a coalition army purportedly 45,000 strong that consisted of forces from eight anti-Shang states, including men from a faraway Yangtze River valley state called Ba (Pa) in present-day Sichuan (Szechwan).

At a place called Muye (Mu-yeh), meaning "Shepherd's Field," not far from Yin, Wu gave a speech that detailed the crimes of Shang king Shou. In a decisive battle against a larger but disaffected Shang army Wu's forces won decisively. King Shou retreated to his palace in Yin, set it afire, and died.

Wu restored order quickly, even placing a Shang prince in Yin as his vassal ruler, to continue conducting sacrifices to his powerful ancestral spirits, but under the supervision of three of Wu's brothers. Wu then returned to his capital in Hao, located just southwest of the modern city Xi'an (Sian), but died soon after, in 1116 B.C.E. while still young and before consolidating his conquest. The throne passed to Wu's oldest son, King Cheng (Ch'eng), but under the supervision of one of Wu's younger brothers, Dan (Tan), the DUKE OF ZHOU. As regent, the duke consolidated the new state and laid down the foundations that made the dynasty a great and lasting one. Kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Zhou are remembered as great men and ideal rulers in Chinese history.

Early Zhou proclamations justified the transfer of power as the wish of their high god, Tian (T'ien), or heaven, who was equated with Shangdi (Shang-ti), the Shang high god. From this came the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, that heaven oversaw the affairs of humans and appointed a virtuous human to rule on its behalf. The mandate could be passed down the generations in the ruling family, provided they ruled justly. If they did not rule justly, as was the case with the last Shang king, he forfeited the mandate. A righteous man would be appointed to replace him, in this case the Zhou king. This concept became central to Chinese political thinking.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. 4th ed., rev. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986; Creel, Herrlee G. *The Birth of China, a Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization*. New York: Frederich Ungar Pub., 1937; Hsu, Cho-yun, and Kathryn Linduff. *Western Chou Civilization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## wisdom literature

Historians of the ancient world have come to recognize that wisdom literature represents the expressions of cultures and civilizations that rely on human experience to cope with life's mysteries and uncertainties. The genre is pervasive over a wide spectrum of peoples in many ages and places. Wisdom literature in the Bible is a genre that is somewhere between the prophetic and the apocalyptic writings in its content and style. When the prophets of the Bible became fewer and less vocal after the Babylonian captivity, the teachers of wisdom began to promote their perspective as the representatives of biblical faith. After them there arose, centuries later, the seers and mystics who were writers of APOCALYPTICISM. In many ways the teachers of biblical wisdom coincided with the development of philosophy in the Greek intellectual world as it outgrew the mythical explanations of the creation and life crafted by Homer and HESIOD. The time period for both biblical wisdom and Greek philosophy was the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E. and later, otherwise known as the Persian, or Attic, Period.

The Hebrew people drew upon three sources for their wisdom literature. First, ISRAEL had produced leaders and thinkers over the centuries whose achievements had been remembered, studied, and emulated. In the course of its history, such figures as SOLOMON, Daniel, and BARUCH had made an impression on later generations as teachers of wisdom. Thus, traditions developed that were native to the Hebrew people and distinctive in comparison to neighboring ethnic groups. By the same token, many other ancient kings and rulers had reputations for dispensing wisdom and sound advice, and stories circulated in their societies that would enhance public trust in their administration. Second, the nature of government and civilization favored the emergence of educated classes who could organize peoples and run social institutions. These people had to learn reading and writing, and they specialized in bringing stability to otherwise chaotic situations. This source of wisdom

literature, therefore, relied on SCRIBES and bureaucrats who had the leisure for reflection and writing. They might have had the resources to travel, learn other languages, and consider moderate reforms.

Third, the surrounding nations of the Middle East also presented a rich matrix for biblical wisdom literature. The Egyptians, the Sumerians, and the Babylonians were most famous for their wisdom teachings. Their traditions emerged long before the Greeks and the Hebrews of the fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E. Scribal schools probably sprang up in response to the demands of Middle Eastern governments for able administrators. Masters who exercised great influence over their pupils led such schools. This phenomenon also is similar to the education that was offered by the purveyors of SOPHISM (and perhaps SOCRATES, Plato, and ARISTOTLE) in the Greek world. Invariably, in most of these environments the scribal classes favored stability and order, and so wisdom literature was largely supportive of the status quo.

Ancient Egypt in particular was the center for learning for thousands of years. As is often the case in wisdom literature, Egyptian materials come in the form of a father's advice to his sons. One very old collection of sayings, the *Instruction of Vizier Ptah-hotep* (2400 B.C.E.), shows parallels to the biblical book of Proverbs. Schools set up for educating Egyptian civil servants about their roles in court life are the background for passages in the *Instruction of Amenemope* (1000–600 B.C.E.) and excerpted and adapted by the editor of Proverbs. The civilization of SUMER has proverbs almost as old as Egypt's. Clearly it also had scribal schools set up by its government. Sumerian editors organized their wisdom materials by topic and theme, while it is hard to find the organizational thread that unites much of biblical wisdom. Sumerian observations on nature also do not moralize as much as the Hebrew writings.

The city-states of AKKAD and BABYLON also gave a milieu for Hebrew biblical traditions. One theme of wisdom literature has to do with undeserved suffering, most famously expressed by the long-suffering hero JOB in the Bible. This theme is found in the Babylonian poem *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom*, whose main character is often called the Babylonian Job, and in other works such as *Dialogue about Human Misery* and *Dialogue of Pessimism*. There are a couple other possible influences on Hebrew wisdom literature. First, there is a fragmentary book from the ARAMEANS called *Proverbs of Ahiqar* that was well known in the ancient Middle Eastern world and translated into many languages. The earliest written text, however, for Ahiqar comes from the Persian Period. Then there is the Greek world, with its later emphasis on

rationalism and science. Biblical books such as Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes may betray familiarity with late Greek philosophy.

The themes of Hebrew wisdom imply that the God of the Bible works through creation, natural phenomena, and life experiences. Contemplation of the created order gives perspective for life's most vexing problems: death, sickness, and poverty. There is often optimism in early wisdom literature that everything has a purpose and that this purpose can be discovered. Later wisdom literature, however, shows skepticism that nature alone will supply answers. Even wisdom has its limits in the face of the mystery of suffering. Wisdom books in the Bible are distinguished from others because they do not depend on law and prophecies—direct revelation—for their validity. These books include Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon (Greek). Other candidates for this category are Song of Solomon and specific parts of Genesis, Psalms, Jonah, Daniel, and Baruch (Greek).

In the New Testament one can find the semblances of wisdom sayings in many of the speeches of JESUS (CHRIST) OF NAZARETH and in the practical teachings of the letter of James. In fact, there is a tension between the wisdom dimension of much of the New Testament and the apocalyptic urgency of the KINGDOM OF GOD in its preaching. Outside of the Bible canon are later pseudopigraphical sources (e.g., 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch [Syriac], Odes of Solomon), and many believe that rabbinic Judaism has its roots in the traditions of Hebrew wisdom literature. According to the Bible, true wisdom is personified as a woman in a variety of positive female roles. The book of Proverbs especially shows her to be a hostess, a sister,

a wife, and source of intimate revelation about how the biblical God relates to creation. In some cases she serves as a mediator between God and humanity. Early models for this image can be found in the Egyptian concept of *maat*, or cosmic truth or balance, and in the Canaanite fertility goddess of Asherah, who was symbolized as a tree of life and who hosted banquets in the Ugaritic myths of Baal. In the New Testament aspects of personified wisdom were incarnated in the divinized identity of Jesus Christ. Rabbinic Jews tended to interpret any personification of wisdom in terms of the Halakah, or the religious duties of daily life.

See also CLASSICAL PERIOD, GREEK; DAVID; EGYPT, CULTURE AND RELIGION; HELLENIZATION; HOMERIC EPICS; PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY; PROPHETS; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE APOCRYPHA; TALMUD; UGARIT.

**Further reading:** Murphy, Roland E. "Introduction to Wisdom Literature." In *New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, edited by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990; ———. *Wisdom Literature*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Wu

See WEN and WU.

## Wudi

See HAN WUDI.

# X



## Xenophon

See HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, AND XENOPHON.

## Xerxes

(fl. 486–465 B.C.E.) *Persian king*

Xerxes was the oldest son of DARIUS I, from his first wife, Atossa, daughter of CYRUS II. Xerxes is familiar to students of the Bible since he appears in two books: in the book of ESTHER he is called by his Hebrew name Ahasuerus; and in the book of Ezra (4:6) he is mentioned in relation to an accusation lodged against the Jews in his reign. We have access to more than 20 Old Persian inscriptions written during his reign, but they do not add much to our knowledge of the man and his rule. As a result, our most important source is the *Histories* written by HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (c. 480–c. 429 B.C.E.), a Greek who described the expansion of the Persian Empire from Cyrus to Xerxes.

As the crown prince, Xerxes was trained to be emperor. Although he was not an active soldier as his father had been before him, Xerxes was schooled in statecraft through his position as viceroy of Babylon. Soon after his accession he had to deal with rebellion, first in 485 B.C.E. in Egypt, and then in 484 B.C.E., and then again in 484–482 B.C.E., in Babylon. The last of these rebellions forced Xerxes' hand, and the conciliatory policy toward Babylon that had been established by Cyrus was replaced with one of severe punishment: The great temple of Marduk, the main god in Babylon,

was pulled down; a huge gold statue of Marduk was taken away and melted down for bullion; and the satrapy of Babylon lost its independent status, being merged with ASSYRIA, its erstwhile enemy.

Having dealt with rebellions relatively near at hand, Xerxes looked to the West, and in the spring of 481 B.C.E. he left Persia with what probably was the greatest ancient army ever amassed, to avenge his father's defeat by the Greeks at the BATTLE OF MARATHON in 490 B.C.E. His army wintered in Asia Minor and continued their journey in the spring of 480 B.C.E., forcing a crossing to Europe in high summer. With the defeat of the Spartan king LEONIDAS at Thermopylae in August of that year, Xerxes moved on Athens. He arrives in Attica, the surrounding area to Athens, probably in early September. If Xerxes had patiently blockaded Athens, he would most likely have won, but tempted by the chance of a glorious victory in battle, he led his ships into a trap, the Battle of Salamis, that had been prepared by the Athenian general and ruler THEMISTOCLES. The Persians retreated, and Xerxes took a ship for Asia Minor, leaving his general and cousin Mardonius in charge. Two land battles were fought in the summer of 479 B.C.E. at Plataea and Mycale, both of which ended in Greek victories.

Xerxes returned to Persia discouraged by his failure against the Greeks, and his focus shifted to the building of his father Darius's palace at Susa and the finishing of the construction of Persepolis. The early years of his life, which had seemed to bear so much promise, now saw the full weakness of his character expressed in a fierce temper and in lack of self-control in his relations with

women. The resulting palace intrigues, accusations, and murders fostered an atmosphere of decadence in the Persepolis court and weakened Xerxes' ability to rule effectively. The Greeks no doubt saw this, and in 466 B.C.E. Cimon led a Greek force to Asia Minor from where he gradually increased his strength. Xerxes was roused from his lethargy and sent out an expedition to deal with the threat, but the Greeks were too strong, and the Persians abandoned their ships at Eurymedon. The land battle that followed ended with the Greeks taking the Persian camp. Eurymedon proved decisive, and the Persian Empire lost Europe. The loss of Europe and the slow loss of Asia Minor marked the beginning of a steady, if unhurried, decline in the empire to its eventual defeat at the hands of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in the next century.

In 465 B.C.E. Xerxes was assassinated in his bed-chamber by several of his court favorites. He was buried in a rock-cut tomb excavated in a cliff to the east of his father's tomb. Xerxes' oldest son Darius was next in line for succession, but a younger son, ARTAXERXES I, had Darius slain and took the throne for himself. There was a second emperor of the same name, Xerxes II, Artaxerxes' son, who ruled for just 45 days from the end of 428 B.C.E. However, his claim to the throne was tentative and was initially only certain in Susa. One of his half brothers murdered him while he was drunk in bed following a party.

See also PERSEPOLIS, SUSA, AND ECBATANA; PERSIAN INVASIONS; PERSIAN MYTH.

**Further reading:** Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959; Yamuchi, Edwin M. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990.

ANDREW PETTMAN

## Xia (Hsia) dynasty

According to Chinese history taught until the early 20th century, culture heroes such as the Divine Farmer and Ox Tamer taught the people the arts of civilization. The Three Emperors (YAO, SHUN, AND YU), also mythical, followed the culture heroes, who were venerated because they abdicated in favor of the most worthy man rather than letting their less-qualified sons succeed them. The third of the sage rulers, called Yu the Great, solved the flooding problems that afflicted the reigns of Yao and Shun by dredging the riverbeds and channeling the

water to flow to the sea. As a result Shun appointed Yu king (r. 2205–2198 B.C.E.). The people were so grateful that they overruled Yu's choice of a successor and put his son Qi (Chi) on the throne. Thus began China's first dynasty, the Xia, which ended in 1766 B.C.E. with the overthrow of the last tyrant king Jie (Chieh). The Xia was followed by the SHANG (or Yin) DYNASTY (1766–1122 B.C.E.), which was succeeded by the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY (1122–1256 B.C.E.) Collectively they were called the Three Dynasties and established the foundations of the Chinese civilization. Students of the scientific method in early 20th-century China began a "doubting antiquity school" that rejected the traditional dating in teaching Chinese history and called both the Xia and Shang dynasties fictional or mythical. Scientific archaeology in China began in the 1920s; it has authenticated the Shang as fully historic because of the existence of writing dating to the Shang era, which has been deciphered.

Archaeological excavations in China since the 1920s show that north and northeastern China, from the Yellow River valley to the coast entered the NEOLITHIC AGE around 8000 B.C.E. Thousands of sites show regional differences in the development in the pottery, jade, stone, ivory tools, and vessels used for both utilitarian as well as religious and ritual purposes. They also show increasing sophistication with the passage of time, evidenced in advances in technology and differentiation in status from the quality and quantity of items buried with the dead. They also show a geographic expansion that ranged from the highlands in the northwest to southern Manchuria in the northeast, southward to the Yangtze River valley and along the coast. Interactions between them are manifested in similarities in the styles of items they produced.

In the third millennium B.C.E., in present-day Shandong (Shantung) Province in northeastern China, a Neolithic culture began to make the transition to the threshold of the historic age. It is called the Longshan (Lung-shan) culture. Other Longshan sites are located in Henan (Honan) and Shanxi (Shansi) Provinces, also in northern China. They date from c. 3000 to c. 2000 B.C.E. Urban centers with protective walls, elaborate tombs, and palatial sized buildings have been excavated, some cluttered with settlements stretching over several hundred sq. miles. Implements were still made of stone, bone, and shell; pottery was wheel made and high temperature fired; and objects of alloyed metals were made for the first time. As ancient Chinese historians expressed it, China had entered the era of 10,000 states; while 10,000 is an exaggeration, there definitely were hundreds, even thousands,

of such settlements, and there must have been interactions and competition among the states.

Civilizations become historic with the existence of deciphered written records. Traditional Chinese historiography is the longest continuous historiographical tradition in the world. According to that tradition, China's first dynasty, the Xia, dates to between 2205 and 1766 B.C.E. As SIMA QIAN (SSU-MA CH'ien), Grand Historian and author of *Shiji (Shih-chi)*, or *Records of the Historian* (a comprehensive history of the Chinese world from the beginning to his lifetime in the first century B.C.E.) wrote that it was begun by Yu the Great and ended with the overthrow of the tyrant king Jie by the founder of the following Shang dynasty. Sima Qian named 13 successive rulers during the dynasty and had little information for any except the first and last kings. He listed 30 kings for the Shang dynasty. No contemporary written documents have been discovered, although pottery shards bearing writing that date to the Xia have been found but have not been deciphered. On the other hand, huge amounts of Shang writing that were inscribed on oracle bones (tortoiseshells or scapula bones of large animals) have survived and have been deciphered. Shang writing is proven to be the ancestor of modern Chinese writing. Information provided by the oracle bones proved Sima Qian correct in the names of Shang kings and their relationship to one another. By the same process they proved those who doubted the existence of the Shang wrong.

Excavations since the 1970s have established a major urban site at Erlitou (Erh-li-t'ou) in Henan as of the Xia era (c. 2000 B.C.E.); it was perhaps a capital city of the Xia (Sima Qian stated that the Xia moved capital cities several times). According to Sima Qian, King Yu once summoned his contemporary rulers of the 10,000 states to meet at Tushan, his wife's home state. He went on to give details about capital cities, genealogy, and other details of Xia and not of the other states. Perhaps this indicates that by the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Xia had emerged as the leader among Chinese states, while others, including its successor dynasties, the Shang and Zhou did not become prominent until later. Since Sima Qian was right about the succession of Shang kings, perhaps in the future additional archaeological information will also prove the Xia chronology correct.

See also YAO, SHUN, AND YU; YELLOW EMPEROR.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986; ———. *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976; Ho, Ping-ti. *The Cradle of the East: An Inquiry into the Indige-*

*nous Origins of Techniques and Ideas of Neolithic and Early Historic China, 5000–1000 B.C.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu)

(d. 202 B.C.E.) Chinese general

Xiang Yu was a brilliant general who contributed to the fall of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY but failed to become the master of China. The unexpected death of the first emperor of the Qin in 210 B.C.E. created a crisis that ended the 10-year-old dynasty. In the ensuing power struggle the emperor's chief minister, Li Si (Li Ssu), and eunuch Zhao Gao (Chao Kao) got rid of the crown prince and MENG TIAN (MENG T'ien), the most powerful Qin general, and placed a weak younger brother of the deceased crown prince on the throne. Later Zhao had Li murdered in jail. Since Li had been the architect of the Qin empire, his death spelled its doom.

Meanwhile, popular revolts had broken out throughout China, led by desperate people who could no longer bear the oppression of Qin. The spontaneous peasant rebellions were followed by better-led and organized revolts by the survivors of the royal houses that had been conquered by Qin. The most notable noble leader was Xiang Yu, whose family had long served as generals of the southern state called Zhu (Ch'u). Xiang resurrected the house of Zhu and elevated one of its members to be king. Survivors of several other states followed suit. Another leader was LIU BANG (LIU PANG), a peasant by birth who had risen to minor office.

In 208 B.C.E. Xiang and Liu joined forces and agreed that whoever first entered the heartland of Qin at Guangzhung (Kwanchung) would be king. Liu achieved that honor in 206 B.C.E. when his forces entered the Qin capital Xianyang (Hsien-yang) and accepted the surrender of the third Qin ruler, thus ending the dynasty. Liu won widespread respect by not allowing his men to loot, protecting the Qin royal family, reducing taxes, and relaxing the harsh Qin legal code. Two months later Xiang Yu arrived at Xianyang and, breaking the pact with Liu, had the Qin royal family murdered and looted and destroyed the Qin palaces and the imperial library.

Because he was the foremost general, Xiang immediately undertook to create a new political order for China. Instead of continuing the unified empire set up by Qin, he created 19 feudal states, each under a king, with himself ruler of one of them and president of the

confederacy of states, heralding a return to the political model of China of 200 years earlier. Liu Bang was awarded a region called Hanzhung (Han-chung) in northwestern China and became king of Han. The rivalry between Xiang and Liu came to a head when Xiang attempted to have Liu assassinated. In the ensuing war Xiang won important victories, but his arrogance and cruelty lost him allies and supporters, while Liu won adherents with his generosity and administrative skills. Deserted by his followers, Xiang committed suicide in 202 B.C.E. Liu's followers proclaimed him emperor of the new HAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Nienhauser, William H., Jr., et al., trans. *The Grand Scribe's Records: Vol. 7, The Memoirs of Pre-Han China*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu)

Chinese texts describe the Xiongnu, a nomadic people, as ferocious warriors and raiders. Powerful Xiongnu men practiced unlimited polygamy, and when a leader died, his successor married all his father's or grandfather's wives except his mother. Likewise a surviving brother took over his deceased brother's widows. Differences in customs, languages, and lifestyles made relations difficult between the Chinese and Xiongnu. The Xiongnu language is believed to belong to the Altaic group, whereas Chinese was a Sinitic language. Moreover, the Xiongnu were nomadic, and the Chinese led a sedentary lifestyle. The Chinese were literate, whereas the Xiongnu had no written script.

North and northwest of the Yellow river valley, the increasingly arid climate allowed for mixed farming and herding lifestyle in an intermediate zone, then only herding by nomads was possible. By the fourth century B.C.E. during China's Warring States era, most of the seminomadic people had been absorbed into the northern Chinese states. As a result, Chinese and nomadic cultures came into direct contact. One of these nomadic groups was the Xiongnu. As they had no written language, the only textual accounts about them are in Chinese, starting in the fourth century B.C.E.

Around 324 B.C.E. three northern Chinese states called Qin (Ch'in), Zhao (Chao), and Yan (Yen), which

bordered on the Xiongnu, began building defensive walls along their frontiers. In 307 B.C.E. the king of Zhao, whose state was most threatened by the Xiongnu, ordered his troops to practice archery, changed their uniform to the Xiongnu style, and began to acquire a large cavalry—with good results, winning both battles and lands. China was unified under the Qin in 221 B.C.E. The first emperor of the QIN (CH'IN) DYNASTY, either pursuing expansion or to give work to his huge army or, as he stated, to prevent Xiongnu aggression, ordered his most capable general, MENG TIAN (MENG T'IEN) to clear all land south of the northern bend of the Yellow River of nomads.

General Meng defeated the Xiongnu *shanyu* (king) named Touman with an army of more than 100,000 men (some records say 300,000) and annexed land across present-day Manchuria, through Inner Mongolia to Gansu (Kansu) Province in the west. He linked existing walls and extended them to form the GREAT WALL OF CHINA with heavily fortified outposts, settled the frontier lands with convicts and colonists, and built roads that linked the borderland with the metropolitan area. Touman and his followers fled northward. However, Qin victories were quickly undone. The first emperor died in 210 B.C.E., followed by the forced suicide of General Meng in a power struggle; widespread revolts toppled the dynasty in 206 B.C.E.

Defeats by the Chinese forced the loosely knit confederation of Xiongnu tribes to reorganize. In 209 B.C.E. Touman's son MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN) murdered him. As the new *shanyu*, Maotun solidified his forces into a disciplined and loyal fighting unit. He defeated other nomadic tribes called the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH) and the Dong Hu (Tung Hu), forcing them to flee. The Dong Hu fled to Manchuria, and the Yuezhi were broken up. One group moved south of the Great Wall, while the main group, called the Great Yuezhi, moved west, eventually settling in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan. He also confronted the ruler of the new HAN DYNASTY in China. In a battle in 200 B.C.E., 300,000 of Maotun's cavalry defeated LIU BANG's mostly infantry forces.

The two sides concluded a treaty in 198 B.C.E. that stipulated peaceful relations between the two equal states, trade, fixed gifts between the two states (Han gave Xiongnu large quantities of silks, silver, liquor, and other valuables, for token return gifts by Xiongnu), and a Han princess as wife for Maotun. This was called the Heqin (Ho-ch'in) Treaty, the word meaning "peace and amity." A total of 10 Heqin treaties were signed between 198 and 135 B.C.E., when a new ruler succeed-

ed to either throne. Several more Han princesses were given as wives to Xiongnu rulers, and each revision entailed additional gifts from the Han. China agreed to the terms because the newly established dynasty was too unstable and the people were too exhausted from previous wars to pursue an aggressive policy. Although the treaties brought a measure of peace, Xiongnu raids continued. It is estimated that approximately 10,000 Chinese died annually from these continuing raids, in addition to seized people (for slaves) and property.

In 134 B.C.E. the Han, fully recovered and under a young, vigorous ruler, HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), ended the appeasing Heqin treaties. The first indecisive campaign in 129 B.C.E. had four Han armies, each 100,000 strong in simultaneous attacks. In 127 B.C.E. the Han scored a major victory, chasing the Xiongnu north across the Gobi Desert to the shores of Lake Baikal in present-day Russia.

It was a prolonged struggle, which finally broke the Xiongnu but also cost the Han huge losses in lives and treasures. Wudi sent an emissary, ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'ien) to find the Yuezhi and offer them an alliance against their common enemy, but when the envoy finally found them in Afghanistan, the Yuezhi were settled and no longer interested. He did find other allies, willing to become Han vassal states, from as far away as Ferghana and Sogdiana in Central Asia.

Xiongnu power was finally broken in 60 B.C.E. The reasons were superior Han resources and leadership, the declining ability of later Xiongnu *shanyu*, the inability of the Xiongnu tribal structure of government to handle expanded power, and better treatment of vassal states by the Han. Civil wars ensued among the Xiongnu, which broke them into two groups in 54 B.C.E. The Southern Xiongnu surrendered to the Han dynasty and became vassals; their leaders came to pay homage at the Han capital and received subsidies, while many of the tribesmen were settled along the border regions.

Campaigns against the Northern Xiongnu continued sporadically until the end of the first century C.E. when they were finally defeated in present-day Outer Mongolia and Central Asia. Some were forced to move west; those remaining became intermingled with other nomadic groups. After the fall of the Han in 220 C.E. groups among the Southern Xiongnu formed brief regional dynasties in northwestern China, and some claimed to be descendants of the Han imperial family through Han princesses who had become wives of their rulers. By the sixth century the Xiongnu had been absorbed into Chinese culture.

**Further reading:** Jagchid, Sechin, and Van Jay Symons. *Peace, War, and Trade along the Great Wall, Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989; Sinor, Denis, ed. *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Xunzi (Hsun Tzu)

(300–235 B.C.E.) *Chinese philosopher*

Xunzi means “Master Xun” in Chinese; his personal name was Qing (Ch’ing). He was a heterodox Confucian philosopher, and his collected writings of 32 chapters are named the *Xunzi*. Each well-argued chapter is devoted to a single topic, such as self-cultivation, proper kingly rule, the recruitment of officials, military affairs, and music.

Xunzi’s great mind ranked him third in importance among Confucian philosophers, after CONFUCIUS and MENCIUS. He spent most of his life studying and teaching, with a brief interlude as a magistrate. Living at a time of intense interstate warfare as China struggled toward unification, he despaired of a restoration of the old order that Confucius and Mencius had hoped for.

This may explain Xunzi’s hardheaded realism and opposition to excessive idealization of the past. He also looked to more recent role models from Chinese history, going back to the founders of the ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY rather than the remote legendary sage rulers such as YAO, SHUN, AND YU. He also rejected traditional concepts that heaven rewarded virtuous rulers and punished wicked ones; instead he postulated a mechanical universe that operated independent of the doings of humans.

Xunzi’s interpretation of Confucian teachings on human nature was opposite of that of Mencius. Whereas Mencius taught that human nature was innately good and became corrupted because of poor environment and lack of moral education, Xunzi believed human nature was evil and selfish. However, he also believed in the crucial role of education and trusted that a good moral education could make sages of all men. Therefore, Xunzi made the role of a wise and strong teacher key to moral progress. He also concluded that humans had a choice, a key element that made them superior to animals.

He said: “The nature of man is evil; his goodness is only acquired by training. The original nature of

man today is to seek for gain, if this desire is followed, strife and rapacity results and courtesy dies . . . therefore the civilizing influence of teachers and laws, the guidance of the ‘li’ [proper good conduct] and justice is absolutely necessary. . . . Hence they [ancient kings] established the authority of the prince to govern man; they set forth clearly the ‘li’ and justice to reform him; they established laws and government to rule him; they made punishments severe to warn him, and so they caused the whole country to come to a state of good government and prosperity.” However, Xunzi agreed with Mencius’s social and economic welfare plans and agreed that unworthy rulers should be overthrown, saying, “Heaven does not create people for the sake of the sovereign. Heaven made the sovereign for the sake of the people.”

While Xunzi’s interpretation of Confucianism had great influence during his lifetime, it waned during the

HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and thereafter, and the more altruistic interpretations of Mencius were accepted as the Confucian orthodoxy. Two of his students, Han Fei and Li Si (Li Ssu), would become leaders of the Legalist school, gained great power under the Qin (Ch’in) state, and engineered the unification of China under the QIN (CH’IN) DYNASTY.

See also HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY; LEGALISM.

**Further reading:** Fung, Yu-lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. 2 vols. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983; Knoblock, John, trans. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. 3 vols. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988–94; Watson, Burton, trans. *Hsun Tzu: Basic Writings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

# Y



## **Yamato clan and state**

The Yamato court is known as the birthplace of the Japanese political state. It is a term applied to the political system of the Kofun period but also its development and refinement in the late fifth to seventh centuries C.E. The Yamato state unified north Kyushu, Shikoku, and southern Honshu. The people were a clan-, or kinship- (*uji*), based society, where religion played an important part in controlling their lives, but during the Kofun period (the name given to the large key-shaped burial mounds of the time) powerful clan leaders and their families started to emerge as the stratification of communities evolved within the late YAYOI CULTURE. Small kingdoms were established, each ruled by a different clan. The rulers at this time were mainly religious figureheads using the people's faith to govern them. One of the most powerful was the Yamato clan, and after continual warfare among the different kingdoms a union of states developed—the Yamato state, under the rule of the Yamato clan.

In the fourth century C.E. the Yamato were situated in the rich agricultural region around the modern city of Kyoto. In the fifth century, when the Yamato court reached its peak, there was a shift in the power base to the provinces of Kawachi and Izumi (modern Osaka). The emergence of such powerful clans is evidenced by the increased elaboration of their burial mounds in comparison with the Yayoi period. Burial sites in the Kofun period illustrated a segregating of the workers and elite of the community. The mounds took on a new shape, a "keyhole" design, were larger in size, and were

surrounded by moats. By the fifth century it was evident that the power of the Yamato clan had increased. These huge tombs represented the power of the Yamato aristocracy, holding swords, arrowheads, tools, armor, and all the signs of military might. Only religious and ceremonial items had been placed in earlier burial mounds. As Yamato had increased the contact with mainland Asia, the items in the burial tombs reflected their power and influence. Besides the military items, there were such things as gilt bronze shoes and gold and silver ornaments.

The Yamato clan and its strongest allies formed the aristocracy of the Yamato state, occupying the most important positions in the court. A hereditary ruler headed the Yamato court, and because intermarriage within clans produced a large family network, there were constant struggles for power. Believing that they were descendants of the sun goddess, the Yamato clan developed the notion of kingship and thus began the imperial dynasty. An emperor, based on the Chinese system, represented it. The first legendary emperor of Japan was Jimmu. The emperor, the supreme religious symbol of the state, had no real political power. The power base lay with the clan leaders, headed by a prime minister-style official. These officials had very close ties with the ruler, showing the importance that was placed on the harmony between religion and the governing of the people. There was also economic and military support from the occupational groups within the court known as *be*. These groups consisted of rice farmers, weavers, potters, artisans, military armorers, and specialists in

religious ceremonies. They were subordinate to the ruling families. One group of *be* were especially important to the ruling family as they consisted of highly skilled immigrants from mainland Asia, who specialized in iron working and raising horses.

The Yamato court became the unifying force in Japan. They began to limit the power of the lesser clan leaders and started to acquire agricultural lands to be controlled by a central body. A bureaucratic ranking system was developed when the separate kingdoms were incorporated into the Yamato court, and the stronger clan leaders were given titles to reflect their status as regional chiefs. The two titles bestowed on the chiefs were *muraji* and *omi*. The greatest of the chiefs lived at the court and as a collective ruled over the productive lands and hence the farming communities. This also gave them access to large resources of manpower to be used in such activities as burial mound building and also as conscripted troops for the military forays into the Korean Peninsula.

By the fourth century the Yamato court was developed enough to send envoys to mainland Asia, sometimes military, but mostly to gain knowledge of the political and cultural aspects of the far more advanced Chinese and Korean civilizations. They also procured supplies of iron resources said to be plentiful in the south of Korea. By the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth centuries the military were involved in the expansion of Yamato power throughout the Korean peninsula. At the same time Korea was going through cultural and political changes, with warring between the three kingdoms, Koguryo (north), Paekche (east), and Silla (west). Alliances were made with the Paekche, against the Silla, with Yamato gaining some power in the region. However, in the sixth century Silla became more powerful militarily, causing Yamato to face power reversals in the region and forcing them to withdraw from the peninsula.

Paekche began to exchange knowledge and resources with the Yamato; scribes, sword smiths, horsemen, and horses were introduced to the court. The Yamato court had a large number of mainland scholars brought over for their advanced knowledge and skills. The Paekche court also sent a Confucian scholar, a Buddhist scholar, Buddhist scriptures, and an image of the Buddha. These scholars dramatically altered the fast-developing Japanese culture. Scholars were sent to China to learn about their political and cultural ideals, and in the sixth or seventh century they were brought back to the Yamato court to establish a written system based on Chinese characters and the grounding for the establishment of a

parliamentary system. Based on Chinese models of government, the Yamato court developed a central administrative and imperial court.

The sixth century saw the SOGA CLAN'S rise to power. The Soga clan, which did not claim to be descended from the gods, had entrenched themselves in the Yamato court by establishing marital connections with the imperial family. As well as having administrative and fiscal skills, this allowed them considerable influence within the court structure. They introduced fiscal policies based on Chinese systems and established the first treasury. They collected, stored, and paid for goods produced by employees. The Soga introduced to the court the idea that the Korean peninsula could be used as a trade route rather than for military conquest.

The powerful Soga clan was in favor of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, but in the beginning the Soga found opposition from other clans, such as the Nakatomi, who performed the Shinto rituals at the court, and the Mononabe, who wanted the military aspect of the court to be maintained and elevated in importance. Conflicts arose between the clans, with Soga vowing to build a temple and encourage the spread of Buddhism as the main instrument of worship if successful in battle. They were successful, and there were several Buddhist temples built, and Buddhism became a strong religion in Japan. The Soga believed that the teachings of Buddhism would lead to a more peaceful and safe society.

The intermarriage of the Soga with the imperial family paved the way for Soga Umako (Soga Chieftain) to install his nephew as emperor, later assassinate him, and replace him with Empress SUIKO. Unfortunately, Empress Suiko, was a puppet for Soga Umako and Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi. A system of 12 ranks was established, making it possible to elevate the status of officials based on merit rather than birth right. Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi was a devout Buddhist and a scholar of Confucian principles. Under his instigation Confucian models of rank and etiquette were introduced, and he introduced the Chinese calendar. He built numerous Buddhist temples, had court chronicles written, and established diplomatic links with China.

However, with the deaths of Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi, Soga Umako, and Empress Suiko, there was a coup to gain succession to the imperial throne. The coup was led by Prince Naka and Nakatomi Kamatari, who introduced the Taika (Great Change) Reforms, which established the system of social, fiscal,

and administrative codes based on the *ritsuryo* system of China. The reforms were aimed at strengthening the emperor's power over his subjects and not leaving the final decisions to his cabinet. These reforms ushered in the decline of the Yamato court by lessening the control of the court clans over the agricultural lands and the occupational groups. The reforms abolished the hereditary titles for the clan leaders and instead of them advising the emperor there would be ministries. The new order wanted to have control over all of Japan and make the people subjects of the throne. There were taxes placed on the harvests, and the country was divided into provinces headed by court-appointed governors.

See also SHINTOISM; THREE KINGDOMS, KOREA.

**Further reading:** Hong, W. *Paekche of Korea and the Origin of Yamato Japan*. Seoul, South Korea: Kudara International, 1994; Imamura, K. *Prehistoric Japan: New Perspectives on Insular East Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966; Latourette, S. K. *The History of Japan*. New York: Macmillan, 1957; Mason, R. H. P., and Caiger. *A History of Japan*. Australia: Cassell, 1972; Mitsusada, I. *Introduction to Japanese History—Before the Meiji Restoration*. Japan Cultural Society, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968.

SHELLEY ALLSOP

## Yao, Shun, and Yu

(fl. 3rd millennium B.C.E.) legendary Chinese rulers

In Chinese accounts of the beginning of their civilization, three rulers of exceptional virtue followed the legendary culture heroes Fuxi (Fu-hsi), Shengnong (Sheng-nung), and the YELLOW EMPEROR; they were Kings Yao, Shun, and Yu. Their shared characteristic was that each rejected his own son as unworthy and tried to install the best-qualified man as his successor, unsuccessfully in the case of Yu. Their unselfishness has figured importantly in Chinese historical writings and made them model rulers. Documents that purportedly date to their rule constitute the first section of the second Confucian classic, the *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History* (also called *Book of Documents*).

Yao (r. 2357–2256 B.C.E.) and Shun (r. 2255–2205 B.C.E.) are revered figures because they epitomized wisdom, humility, and unselfishness. The canon of Yao in the *Book of History* cites Yao as a descendant of the Yellow Emperor and credits him with devising a calendar of 356 days to regulate agriculture, encouraging

morality, establishing a rudimentary government, and above all selecting a successor unselfishly. After ruling for 70 years he set about choosing a worthy successor because he thought his own son unfit and found a humble man called Shun, who was admired as a dutiful son to undeserving parents. Shun did not think himself worthy, but Yao insisted and married his two daughters to Shun to observe his behavior. Yao shared his rule with Shun for 28 years and then abdicated in favor of Shun.

Shun, according to legend, also descended from the Yellow Emperor and was a virtuous and benevolent ruler. Both Yao's and Shun's reigns were troubled by great floods and attempts to build dikes that did not work. Shun then appointed an official named Yu to deal with the problem. Yu traveled the land and worked on flood control for more than a decade, succeeding because he dredged the riverbeds and channeled the water to the sea. He worked so hard that on three occasions he passed his own house and heard his wife and children weeping in loneliness but did not go in. Such was his dedication that Shun set aside his son, made Yu his co-ruler for 17 years, and then abdicated in his favor.

Yu was also a humane and wise ruler (r. 2205–2198 B.C.E.). Together Yao, Shun, and Yu are called the Three Sage Rulers. Yu also attempted to bypass his son and appoint the best man his successor. The people were so grateful to him that they insisted on putting his son Qi (Chi) on the throne. Thus began the first Chinese dynasty, the XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY. The territory under these three rulers was centered on modern Shanxi (Shansi) Province in northern China. Later, Chinese historians idealized Yao, Shun, and Yu, extolling their reign as the golden age. Their moral conduct became the grand themes of historical and literary writings for posterity. As a result of modern scientific methods of investigating history they have been assigned to the position of legendary figures.

See also CONFUCIAN CLASSICS.

**Further reading:** Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. 4th ed., rev. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986; Chen, Te-k'un. *Archaeology in China*, Vol. 1, *Prehistoric China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959; Creel, Herrlee H. *The Birth of China, a Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1937; Waltham, Clae. *Shu Ching, Book of History*. Chicago: Regnery, 1971.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Yayoi culture

Beginning in Kyushu and spreading eastward toward the north, migrants from mainland Asia introduced Yayoi culture to Japan, especially via the Korean peninsula. The Yayoi culture of Japanese history was evident between the third century B.C.E. and the third century C.E. The population practiced animism, that is, they attributed all natural phenomena as having a living soul that they called *kami*. They also worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Shrines were few in number. There was no written language in Japan at this time, so nothing was documented by the people about their culture and way of life. The Chinese, however, did have an advanced writing system, so they were able to record the development of the culture.

Clothing was simple, with most fabric woven from hemp and bark fibers. There was no currency, so bartering was used to trade farm implements. Yayoi farmers fished, hunted, gathered, and grew vegetables and rice. In the early Yayoi years there were no cities, and it was the first time in Japan's history that permanent settlements started to appear in the agricultural community. This was because of the introduction of a highly advanced form of rice cultivation using irrigation, known as wet rice farming. As time went on, the Yayoi started large-scale irrigation farming, which strengthened their economy, including the establishment of terraced paddy fields. The Yayoi were so successful in the growing of rice that there was often a surplus. To store this surplus they developed storage buildings on stilts, after finding that the traditional method of burying rice in pits resulted in moldy rice. Such surpluses allowed the villages to increase in population, and as the Yayoi era progressed, these villages would merge to create larger settlements.

As the cultivation of wet rice necessitated the building of paddies, migrants brought implements to work the land, hence the introduction of metal tools from the mainland. Iron was the first metal, mainly from Korea, followed by bronze from China. As time progressed, the local craftsmen were taught to work the metal, and they began to develop their own styles. Among the implements produced in this period were swords, arrowheads, axes, chisels, knives, sickles, and fishhooks. They also produced decorative items like mirrors and ceremonial bells that were mainly used for religious rituals and symbols of status.

Another distinctive characteristic of Yayoi culture was earthenware. The pottery wheel was first introduced to Japan in this period. Yayoi pottery was smoother and more uniform and had a better shape than earlier Jomon pot-

tery. It was unglazed and more simply decorated in comparison with Jomon pottery, more akin to early Korean pottery. The term *Yayoi* is derived from an area in Tokyo where evidence of this earthenware was discovered. Even though the Yayoi culture covered much of Japan, not all regions developed the same traits; for example, the pottery found in the north had indications of using a comb effect in the decorations to form lines or bands.

During these years there was a progression toward civilization illustrated in methods of burying the dead, regardless of their position in the community. At first the dead were buried in simple, single graves covered in dirt mounds. Later they were left in more elaborate graves, some of stone or clay, often with stone dolmens over the site. This shows one aspect of the Chinese influence on the cultural elements of the Yayoi. In the later years of the period, leading into the Kofun (Yamato) era, some of the burial sites were set apart from the others suggesting the beginning of a class stratum and that some people had started to gain power in the community.

The Yayoi period was the turning point for the development of Japanese culture. At the end of the era, when the villages had amassed wealth, conflicts began over the surrounding lands. It proved beneficial to amalgamate into larger settlements, thus initiating the beginnings of social order and the evolution of political entities that would unify the larger villages into states, finally accepting one ruling body.

See also JOMON CULTURE.

**Further reading:** Hong, W. *Paekche of Korea and the Origin of Yamato Japan*. Seoul, South Korea: Kudara International, 1994; Imamura, K. *Prehistoric Japan: New Perspectives on Insular East Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966; Latourette, S. K. *The History of Japan*. New York: Macmillan, 1957; Mitsusada, I. *Introduction to Japanese History—Before the Meiji Restoration*. Japan Cultural Society, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968.

SHELLEY ALLSOP

## Yellow Emperor (Huangdi, or Huang Ti)

(r. 2697–2597 B.C.E.) legendary Chinese hero

According to Chinese tradition or mythology, civilization began as a result of the innovations introduced by culture heroes at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E. The first ones were Fuxi (Fu-hsi) the Ox Tamer

and Shengnong (Sheng-nung) the Divine Farmer, who taught people to domesticate animals, instituted family life and settled agriculture, and established markets for trading. Their inventions or innovations denoted advancement of ancient peoples from the PALEOLITHIC AGE to the NEOLITHIC AGE.

A period of chaos ensued after Fuxi and Shengnong's rule until Huangdi (Huang Ti), or the Yellow Emperor, established most of the trappings of kingship. Many advances resulted from his reign. People began to live in wooden houses, built walled towns, traveled in boats and carts, and made pottery. His wife taught women to raise silkworms and spin and weave silk. His ministers taught the art of divination by the Sun, Moon, and stars and invented musical notations, arithmetic, and established the calendar. They also invented writing. Fuxi, Shengnong, and the Yellow Emperor are culture heroes.

Huangdi was also credited with winning a great battle against "barbarian" tribes somewhere in modern-day Shanxi (Shansi) Province in northern China, consolidating his kingdom and beginning the history of China as a nation. Later legendary rulers YAO, SHUN, AND YU (founders of the XIA [HSIA] DYNASTY) and the founders of the SHANG DYNASTY and ZHOU (CHOU) DYNASTY were all reputedly his descendants. Since the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties together constituted the formative age of Chinese civilization, and their rulers all claimed descent from the Yellow Emperor, by extension the Chinese people have regarded him as their common ancestral hero and called themselves his descendants. Thus, the legend of the Yellow Emperor is important to the Chinese civilization.

**Further reading:** Allen, Sarah. *The Heir and the Sage: Myth, Art, Dynastic Legend in Early China*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981; Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. 4th ed., rev. and enlarged. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986 .

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Yellow Turban Rebellion

The Yellow Turban Rebellion was a messianic uprising (184–185 C.E.) that was both a symptom and cause of the fall of the HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). It occurred during the disastrous reign of Emperor Lin (r. 168–189 C.E.) Ascending the throne at age 12, Lin was under the control of the regent, who sought to

eliminate the dominance of corrupt eunuchs with the assistance of the scholar-officials. However, the eunuchs acted first, killed the regent, purged the officials, and proceeded to rule unchecked during the next 20 years. They let landlordism increase unchecked while increasing taxes on the peasants. The economic distress of the population was exacerbated by natural disasters including droughts and flooding of the Yellow River, all producing famine and refugee movements.

These distresses caused peasant revolts, which combined political discontent with religious overtones. They culminated in 184 C.E. in the Yellow Turban Rebellion. The name was derived from the yellow turban the rebels wore to distinguish themselves from government troops. The rebels had chosen yellow because it symbolized the earth, their logo, which according to Chinese cosmology followed fire, represented by red, the symbol of the Han. The rebels chose signs and symbols to signify cosmic support and religious justification. The rebels were also messianic and millennial, based on certain interpretations of popular DAOISM (TAOISM). The Yellow Turbans were led by a man surnamed Zhang (Chang) who taught that the recent plague was caused by sin and could be cured by public confessions, magical and religious practices, and the wearing of amulets and charms. Zhang proclaimed that he could then renew the world and bring about a golden age of Great Peace (*taiping*). (Great Peace became the name of another major messianic peasant revolt in the 1850s.)

The Yellow Turbans met success in 16 commanderies in northern China but were defeated by 185 C.E., not by the inept regular troops, but by troops raised by powerful provincial commanders. The result was the breakdown of the central government that inaugurated an era during which emperors, all minors after Emperor Lin's death, were puppets of the regional warlords, while at the capital families of their mothers and grandmothers vied for control.

The first powerful warlord to march on the capital of LUOYANG (LOYANG) was named Dong Zho (Tung Cho), who massacred more than 2,000 eunuchs, ending their power, then deposed the young emperor, looted the city, and burned down the imperial library. Dong was soon killed. A new boy emperor was installed, named Xiandi (Hsien-ti), but he was a pathetic plaything of the rival generals. Xiandi's abdication in 220 was a mere formality that ratified the real power alignment between three major contenders. The Yellow Turban Rebellion contributed to the long decline and fall of the Han dynasty.

See also THREE KINGDOMS, CHINA.

**Further reading:** Allen, Sarah. *The Heir and the Sage: Myth, Art, Dynastic Legend in Early China*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981; Chang, Kwang-chih. *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. 4th ed., rev. and enlarged. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Yemen

Yemen is the state occupying the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Because of the extensive desert in the interior of the peninsula, Yemen has undemarcated borders with Oman to the east and Saudi Arabia to the north. The western and southern borders are marked by the coast, running along both the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. Trade characterized the history of early Yemen. The harsh climate and the generally unproductive nature of much of the interior meant that

most of Yemeni culture and history was focused on a comparatively narrow coastal strip. However, some highland areas were important economically and were settled from an early period. Recent discovery of megaliths on a coastal plain at al-Tihamah indicate that even marginally habitable desert regions of Yemen were occupied perhaps as long ago as 2400 B.C.E. However, it was not until some centuries later that a number of powerful, independent city-states emerged in the area. The basis of these states was the local monopoly control of frankincense and myrrh and the command of the spice trade from South Asia, which resulted from knowledge of wind conditions. Both myrrh and frankincense are derived from gum resins, obtained by removing the bark from a portion of a tree and allowing the resin to extrude and harden.

From the seventh century B.C.E. caravans took the myrrh and frankincense along land routes to Ctesiphon, Syria, and the Mediterranean cities. The biblical queen of Sheba was located in Yemen, an area later known



*The city of Thula in Yemen stands at the eastern foot of an ancient fort. Much of Yemeni culture was focused on the narrow coastal strip, yet even marginally habitable desert regions of Yemen were occupied perhaps as long ago as 2400 B.C.E.*

by the Romans as Arabia Felix—"fortunate Arabia." In addition to the Sabaean or Sheba state, there were also the Minaean and the Himyarite states. These states also had access to eastern Africa and traded into luxury items such as ostrich plumes. The wealth that these various items produced meant that from approximately 1200 B.C.E. to 255 C.E. they were famous throughout the Mediterranean world. Inevitably, wealth stimulated desire and a number of attempts were made to dominate the region from the outside. The most well known of these attempts was by the Romans, and eventually Arabia was annexed by TRAJAN, who redirected maritime trade to the west coast of the Red Sea. Further, Roman sailors discovered the knowledge of the winds, and monopolization of the spice trade by Yemenis ended. Both Greeks and Romans had already managed to source their own trade goods through the Yemeni port of Muza, which is now lost. Independent, wealthy Yemeni states were no longer possible. The great engineering projects began to fail as falling incomes meant lower revenues for public works. Symbolically, the Ma'rib Great Dam failed in 525, victim of the failure to reinforce its structure.

Yemeni people were a mixture of Jewish and Christians by this time, together with a mixture of adherents of indigenous beliefs. The last Himyarite king, Dhu Nuwas (Yusuf Asaf Yathar), converted to Judaism and subsequently ordered a massacre of Christians. Survivors called for help from the Byzantine emperor in the name of the Aksumite Christians of Yemen. This enabled the Aksumites to dominate Yemen and even threaten to control the area around Mecca and Medina. In return, Himyarites called the Persian Empire for help, which led to the absorption of Yemen into Persia. Subsequently, Yemen came to be governed by the Umayyid caliphate in Damascus and afterward by the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.

Islamization of Yemen occurred rapidly but has become a controversial subject among Islamic societies and their scholars, many of whom have little interest in pre-Islamic history and in some extreme cases have inhibited research into the subject. The Yemeni people enthusiastically embraced Islam, and the early conversion of the state is remembered as a matter of considerable pride.

See also ETHIOPIA, ANCIENT.

**Further reading:** Bandes, Susan J. "Frankincense and Myrrh: Objects from the Red Sea Trade Routes during the Roman Empire." *Yemen Update* (v.24, 1988); Harrington, Spencer P. M. "Yemeni Megaliths." *Archaeology*. Available online. URL: <http://www.archaeology.org>

(January 2006); Korotayev, Andrey. *Some General Trends of the Evolution of the Sabaic Language and Sabaean Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

JOHN WALSH

## Yuezhi (Yueh-chih)

In the second century B.C.E. the Yuezhi people, described as light-skinned and speaking an Indo-European language (and without a written language), lived in western Gansu (Kansu) Province and the region between the Altai and Tianshan (T'ien-shan) Mountains in present-day northwestern China. They were hereditary enemies of another nomadic group, the XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU). Their misfortune began when MAOTUN (MAO-T'UN), who had spent time as a hostage among them, became leader of the Xiongnu in 209 B.C.E. Maotun would lead his people to unprecedented power by defeating both the newly established HAN DYNASTY in China and other nomadic tribes. The Yuezhi were among his first victims: After being defeated in 175–174 B.C.E., they were expelled from the Gansu Corridor and began their westward migration.

Maotun's successors continued to wage war against the Yuezhi who had settled in the Ili Valley in present-day Xinjiang (Sinkiang) in China. One branch, called the Xiao Yuezhi (Hsiao Yueh-chih), or Small Yuezhi, moved south into areas controlled by another, nomadic people called Qiang (Ch'iang) and lost their separate identity. Another branch, called the Da Yuezhi (Ta Yueh-chih), or Greater Yuezhi, moved further west, eventually playing a role in the destruction of the Greek kingdom of BACTRIA and settling in the northwestern edge of the Indian world. There they prospered, due to the location of their new home: an important meeting point along the SILK ROAD between China, India, Persia, and the Roman Empire. A mosaic of peoples mingled in the cosmopolitan state they created, called the KUSHAN EMPIRE. Archaeologists have excavated the rich remains at Begram in modern Afghanistan, the capital of the Kushan Empire, and at other sites.

The remains included Greco-Roman sculptures and bronzes, Indian ivory, jewelry and gold ornaments, Chinese bronzes, silks and lacquerware, and Alexandrian glass, indicating that rich trade existed under the Kushans over 2,000 years ago. The dominance of Buddhist religious art shows the primacy of Buddhism among the Kushan people, though the presence of Persian and Greco-Roman deities suggest the presence of other religions among the population. In 138 B.C.E.

the Han emperor Wu sent an envoy ZHANG QIAN (CHANG CH'IEN) west to seek out the Da Yuezhi for an alliance against their mutual enemy the Xiongnu. After many tribulations Zhang did find them, not in the Ili Valley, but in Afghanistan. They had however settled down and refused to cross swords with the Xiongnu again.

See also HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI); WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Grousset, Rene. *The Empire of the Steppe, a History of Central Asia*. Trans. by Naomi Walford. New

Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994; Hsu, Choyun, and Kathryn Linduff. *Western Zhou Civilization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988; Hulsewe, A. F. P. *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage 125 B.C.–A.D. 23*. Introduction by M. A. N. Loewe. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1979; Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires*, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

# Z



## Zakkai, Yohanan ben (d. 80 C.E.) *religious leader*

Yohanan ben Zakkai was the religious and political leader who laid the foundation for rabbinic Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem and its Temple. H. J. Schoeps said of his leadership: “The state was changed into an academy, the royal dynasty into a patriarchate, and the Sanhedrin left the Temple site and continued independently in Jabneh.” As a PHARISEE, Yohanan studied under Hillel and Shammai, though he was more influenced by Hillel, the liberal sage. He found himself constantly arguing with the SADDUCEES and the Zealots, an anti-Roman group who figured heavily in the uprising of 70 C.E. Yohanan was known as a pious and pacifistic rabbi who ran his own school in Jerusalem at the time of the Roman invasion and siege. Like many Pharisees, he had specific interpretations of the Bible and predicted the doom of the Temple. To escape the city he feigned his own death and was carried out in a coffin.

Vespasian received him as a religious holy man and allowed him to run an academy of scholars and rabbis in Yavneh until his death in 80 C.E. In the literary framework laid out in rabbinic documents, both Vespasian and Yohanan are stereotypes representing Israel and rabbinism and Rome and the Gentiles. In fact, Yohanan was supposed to have prophesied to Vespasian—like the mighty prophet Jeremiah—that he would be the new Caesar. The point of the stereotypical story is that Yohanan and his band of rabbis were a prophetic movement that accurately interpreted the Bible in real-world

ways and were respected by the Romans. From the time of Yohanan until the time of Bar Kokhba, the city of Yavneh was a cultural and spiritual center for Jews in Palestine. There Yohanan is alleged to have formed his disciples and to have carried out the religious duties of the Law, good deeds, and prayer. In reality Yavneh allowed Jews to reformulate a vision for their faith. There the MISHNAH was put together as the religious constitution of what would become rabbinic Judaism. Late 19th-century German historians proposed that Yavneh was the place where Yohanan’s council of rabbis took decisive actions to formalize their faith. Based on flimsy rabbinic evidence they persuaded the world that the rabbis, between the days of Yohanan ben Zakkai and Eleazar ben Azariah (90 C.E.), chose the books that made up the Jewish Bible, chose which texts represented the true biblical texts (and rejected all other texts as deviant), and formally excluded the Christians as heretics from the faith. In short, Yavneh’s supposed decrees became for these historians the symbol of the Jewish response to a world without temple, holy city, or holy land—in the absence of solid evidence.

Yohanan’s own contributions to the deliberation, recorded by the rabbis, cannot be ascertained exactly. However, one of his important assertions was that sages had more practical authority than priests. The authority covered such things as Sabbath customs and festal and calendar observances. This position would serve Jews well in the years after 70 C.E., when keeping temple holiness in homes and villages had to serve when no temple sacrifice could be made. The legends about him suggest

that he restrained messianic fervor, urged obedience to the Law as a response to defeat, and taught that good deeds atoned for sin in a world without the Temple. After Yohanan retired from the council of rabbis at Yavneh, Gamaliel II succeeded him. Gamaliel II formalized the role that Yohanan played at Yavneh when he was recognized as “prince” by provincial Roman authorities and made his own official visit to Rome in company with other rabbinic scholars. More important, rabbis who did not initially participate at Yavneh now began to look to Gamaliel and his rabbis for leadership.

Yohanan is so revered in later rabbinic Judaism that he is simply called “Rabban” in the documents, meaning “Our Teacher.” Modern-day rabbinic Jews consider him their founding father in the faith. He also is one of the most quoted rabbis in the TALMUD. Despite all the legends told about him in the later Jewish writings, scant first-rate historical records exist about him. History’s recollection of him is based on mythical reports written centuries later.

See also CHRISTIANITY, EARLY; JEWISH REVOLTS; JUDAISM, EARLY (HETERODOXIES); PROPHETS; ROMAN EMPIRE; ROME: GOVERNMENT.

**Further reading:** Finkelstein, Louis. *Akiba: Scholar, Saint and Martyr*. Reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1970; Hezser, Catherine. *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997; Lewis, J. P. “Jamnia (Jabneh), Council of,” ABD (v.3); Neusner, J. *A Life of Yohanan Ben Zakkai: Ca. 1–80 C.E.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1970; Schoeps, H. J. *Ausfruhchristlicher Zeit*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr, 1950.

MARK F. WHITTERS

## Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien)

(d. 113 B.C.E.) *explorer and diplomat*

Zhang Qian was the greatest explorer in ancient China, having made two long journeys in 139 and 115 B.C.E. He was also an important diplomat for the Han emperor Wu. After suffering a major defeat at the hands of the nomadic XIONGNU (HSIUNG-NU), LIU BANG (LIU PANG), founder of the HAN DYNASTY (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) decided to appease his formidable northern neighbors by concluding the first of many Heqin (He-ch'in) treaties with them. The terms included gifts of large quantities of silver, food, and silks to the Xiongnu and the marriage of Han princesses to the Xiongnu rulers. Han agreed to the humiliating terms because the dynasty was new and unstable and because the people

were exhausted from previous wars and not ready to undertake new ones.

In 141 B.C.E. a young man, posthumously known as HAN WUDI (HAN WU-TI), or the Martial Emperor, ascended the throne. By this time the empire was stable, had grown materially, and commanded sufficient resources and manpower to support an expansionist policy. Moreover, appeasement of the Xiongnu had resulted in ever more exorbitant demands for gifts each time the Heqin Treaty was renewed and also because appeasement had not bought border peace from Xiongnu raids. A broad new strategy emerged. One part was to seek allies against the Xiongnu. Thus in 139 B.C.E. a young courtier named Zhang Qian was chosen to journey west to find the YUEZHI (YUEH-CHIH), a nomadic group that had suffered under Xiongnu power and had been expelled from their home in northwestern China.

Zhang set out with 100 men. He had to cross Xiongnu territory to reach his goal and was captured. He would remain among them for 10 years, marry a Xiongnu woman, and raise a family before he could escape and resume his journey. He did finally find the Yuezhi in the borderland of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan, but they were content in their new home and refused an alliance with the Han against the Xiongnu. En route home Zhang was recaptured by the Xiongnu but finally escaped and reached home in 126 B.C.E. with only one of his original entourage. Meantime, Emperor Wu had begun massive many-pronged campaigns against the Xiongnu in 133 B.C.E. Though Zhang failed in his primary mission, his reports of the lands, resources, and people of Central Asia and of the availability of Chinese silks in India, possibly via trade routes across southwestern China, piqued Emperor Wu's interest to expand in both directions.

Campaigns under Wudi's generals brought vast regions under Chinese rule. They included southwestern China, northern Vietnam, and much of Korea. China also established a tributary system in Central Asia (called Western Regions by the Chinese) whereby local rulers retained their authority but submitted to the supervision of Chinese protector-generals (similar to Roman proconsuls), rendered tribute, and left sons to be educated in China and as hostages at the Chinese court. In 115 B.C.E. Zhang was sent as envoy to Wusun (Wu-sun) and established relations with that nomadic state northwest of the Xiongnu (a Han princess was married to the Wusun ruler) and further west with such Central Asian states as Ferghana, BACTRIA, Sogdiana, and Khotan. Zhang Qian was important because his missions and reports

stimulated Chinese military, diplomatic, and commercial expansion into vast new realms.

See also SOGDIANS.

**Further reading:** Twitchett, Denis, and Michael Loewe, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Yu, Ying-shih. *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Zhou, Duke of

See DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU).

## Zhou (Chou) dynasty

The Zhou, together with the preceding XIA (HSIA) DYNASTY and SHANG DYNASTY, are called the Three Dynasties in Chinese history. They account for two millennia that are the formative era of the Chinese civilization. All three dynasties are the products of the Neolithic civilization of northern China, each occupying a different but overlapping region of the Yellow River valley. They are moreover contemporaries of one another, each achieving dominance over several centuries, then receding to subordinate status.

For example, postdynastic Xia became a state called Qi (Ch'i), while postdynastic Shang survived as a state called Song (Sung). Because the Zhou (Chou) was very long lived, it is subdivided into several shorter eras, beginning with the Western Zhou (1122–771 B.C.E.), followed by the Eastern Zhou (770–256 B.C.E.). Eastern Zhou is further subdivided into the Spring and Autumn era (722–481 B.C.E.), followed by the Warring States era (463–222 B.C.E.).

Unlike the Xia and the Shang, multitudes of contemporary written records survived from the Zhou. Early Zhou records include the *Shu Jing* (*Shu Ching*), or *Book of History* (or *Book of Documents*), which include proclamations, edicts, and pronouncements on the early phase of the dynasty, and the *Shi Jing* (*Shih Ching*), or *Book of Poetry*, with many poems that dealt with the early Zhou era. These are supplemented by thousands of bronze vessels found in archaeological digs cast with inscriptions up to 500 words long that described important events, such as battles and the creation of fiefs. The number of surviving written works

multiplied with the progress of time. The information they provide are supplemented by other material evidence from thousands of excavated Zhou sites.

## KINGS WEN AND WU

Predynastic Zhou people were frontiersmen living in the Plain of Zhou where the Wei River joined the Yellow River in modern Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province. They acted as a bastion against the “barbarians” beyond the frontiers, and their leader was given the title Lord of the West by Shang kings. King Wen (the Cultivated) was the first great Zhou leader, noted for his benevolence and for building up his state that could challenge the Shang. Wen's son, King Wu (the Martial), followed him in 1133 B.C.E. Wu formed a coalition with eight other states disgruntled with the Shang. In 1122 B.C.E. Wu's forces decisively defeated the Shang king Shou at the Battle of Muye (Mu-yeh), who then committed suicide. Wu died shortly after destroying the Shang and left the task of consolidating the new dynasty to his brother, the DUKE OF ZHOU (CHOU), who acted as regent for Wu's young son for seven years.

## THE DUKE OF ZHOU

The Duke of Zhou fought to defeat remnant Shang forces and enlarged the realm to the eastern seaboard, creating a state that is larger than modern-day France. He governed the realm from two capitals, the original Zhou capital at Hao, near modern Xi'an (Sian), and a new one called LUOYANG (LOYANG), further down the Yellow River valley to govern the former Shang lands and beyond. He granted land to relatives and allies and gave them grand titles. The lords built walled towns and governed the surrounding land but were accountable to the king and could pass their titles and land to their sons with royal permission. Each lord swore allegiance to the king in rituals conducted in the ancestral temples of the Zhou royal house. Most people were farmers with status similar to that of European medieval serfs who changed hands with the land. Ideally eight families farmed individual plots around a manor and jointly farmed the ninth plot for the lord. The farming system was called the well-field system. These political and economic arrangements resembled those of European feudalism during the Middle Ages; hence the Zhou system is also called feudal. In retrospect, King Wen the dynastic founder, King Wu the conqueror, and the Duke of Zhou the consolidator are honored as sage rulers, who established a golden age.

## WESTERN ZHOU

For three centuries Zhou kings generally maintained internal peace and expanded the frontiers until 771 B.C.E.

when non-Chinese tribal people overran the capital, Hao, and killed King Yu. Reputedly he had numerous times falsely summoned the feudal lords to march their troops to the capital because the sight of massed troops pleased his favorite lady. Then when a true emergency occurred, the disgruntled lords had refused to come. The survivors of the Zhou court abandoned Hao in favor of the second capital, Luoyang.

### EASTERN ZHOU

The Eastern Zhou (770–256 B.C.E.) saw progressive decline of the power of the kings, whose domain was reduced to land around Luoyang. The king was consulted perfunctorily, then only on genealogical matters. Powerful regional states emerged, warring among themselves, gradually swallowing up the lesser ones. The Zhou monarchs remained on the throne until 256 B.C.E. because they were too insignificant to count. The 500 years of the Eastern Zhou is divided into the Spring and Autumn era after a book of the same name by CONFUCIUS that chronicled the history of his state, Lu (ruled by descendants of the Duke of Zhou), from 722 to 481 B.C.E. In 681 B.C.E., in response to threats from Zhu (Ch'u), a new state in the south, the remaining states joined to form an alliance, and because the Zhou king was powerless to keep the peace, they elected one lord hegemon, or *ba* (*pa*) in Chinese.

For the next 200 years the reigning dukes of several of the states were successively elected hegemon, convening conferences between the states at intervals and formulating policies or waging wars, or keeping a precarious peace. This was a stopgap solution to maintain some order in the Chinese world without the power and leadership of Zhou kings, who were consulted pro forma and ratified decisions that were already made. The chief feature of the Spring and Autumn era was interstate diplomatic sparring and generally small-scale wars fought by chariot-driving knights. Many of the rival leaders were related by blood, and the defeated lord was shamed rather than killed. A large battle fought between Jin (Chin) and Qi (Ch'i) in 589 B.C.E. involved 800 chariots and 12,000 men, but most battles were smaller. By the end of the era 110 states had been reduced to 22.

### WARRING STATES

The Warring States era (463–222 B.C.E.) that followed was also named after a book, *The Annals of the Warring States*. The wars became very destructive and were fought by large disciplined infantry armies, fewer chariots (which were not useful in varied terrain), and more

cavalry. Iron weapons replaced bronze ones, and the powerful crossbow came into general use. Whereas the Chinese world up to 335 B.C.E. had only one king, thereafter the rulers of major states also began to call themselves kings; in 256 B.C.E. one state, Qin (Ch'in) deposed the last Zhou king and annexed his domain. The continued fighting between the seven major states that had emerged was based on the accepted premise that all China be unified under one ruler. The final victor was Qin in northwestern China. Fighting the non-Chinese nomads toughened its people, its frontier position saved it from earlier phases of destructive wars between the other states, and its conquest of the Sichuan (Szechwan) plains gave it huge new resources. Finally its state ideology, called **LEGALISM**, enabled Qin to build a strong economy, large army, and efficient bureaucracy that allowed it to launch a final successful drive for unification, achieved in 221 B.C.E.

### TECHNOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ADVANCEMENTS

Many social and economic changes occurred during the Eastern Zhou period. Early farming by serfs was gradually replaced by freehold farming. Qin led the way by ending feudalism on the premise that free tax-paying farmers would work and fight harder. By the fifth century B.C.E. iron tools had replaced stone and wooden ones in land clearing and farming, increasing acreage using iron-tipped, animal-drawn plows that replaced wooden digging sticks. Borrowing techniques used in bronze making, Chinese metalsmiths were making cast-iron tools and weapons 1,000 years earlier than their counterparts in Europe. States competing for supremacy encouraged advanced farming techniques that included irrigation, fertilization, and crop rotation. Hunting and grazing decreased in importance as more land was used for crops. Manufacturing and commerce flourished; sizable multifunctional towns proliferated, and growing artisan and merchant classes emerged. During the Warring States period the capital city of Qi boasted a population of 70,000 households. Cowrie shells, bolts of silk, and dogs were used as media of exchange in an earlier primarily barter economy, and cast-metal coins became common by the mid-fifth century.

The Zhou conquest appeared to have ushered in a period of social mobility—the establishment of a new Zhou order resulted in stability when positions and jobs became hereditary. By the Warring States era society had outgrown the old order; merchants did not fit into the feudal hierarchy. More important, the competitive political scene encouraged rulers to hire and promote

men based on merit and not birth. Capable men began to sell their talents wherever they could find employment. The frequent wars also made for social mobility. Men and women from the losing side lost at least their status; in many instances lords and ladies from defeated states became slaves and servants to their conquerors. The lowest among the aristocrats, the *shi* (*shih*), originally professional fighting men, became educated and served as bureaucrats of the rulers. Some among them became teachers and philosophers. They became the teachers of the HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY, and their ideas, writings, and debates produced the classical philosophies of the Chinese civilization.

See also WEN AND WU.

**Further reading:** Hsu, Cho-yun. *Ancient China in Transition, An Analysis of Social Mobility, 722–222 B.C.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965; ———, and Kathryn M. Lindruff. *Western Zhou Civilization.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988; Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China, From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Zhuangzi

See LAOZI (LAO TZU) AND ZHUANGZI (CHUANG TZU).

## Zoroastrianism

Western European scholars have traditionally referred to ancient Iranian religion after the acknowledged founding figure of the political formulation of that religion, Zarathushtra. The term *Zoroastrianism* was derived from his name. Today the faith is better known by the name of its devotees, the Parsis. In the ancient Persian Empire there was no general designation for their religion. Moreover, even when centralized authority was pursued and Zoroastrianism was adopted throughout the realm, the religion remained locally distinct throughout the ancient empires, each region having its own variation on the general scheme.

The Avesta, the holy text, was first committed to writing in the sixth century C.E. Both religious tradition and linguistic evidence points to an ancient oral transmission. The oldest texts are the Gathas, assigned a date of roughly 1000 B.C.E. on linguistic grounds; whether they can seriously be ascribed to Zarathush-

tra is unknown. Little is known about Zarathushtra. Some scholars doubt the existence of a historical figure at all. Dates proposed for his life extend from the sixth millennium B.C.E. to 569 B.C.E. Scholars place his life in the range of c. 1200–600 B.C.E. He lived in eastern Iran, was from a priestly family, and was well trained in ritual observance. He reduced the Iranian pantheon to the single deity Ahura Mazda and defined religious life in terms of proper behavior in the pursuit of truth. Observance of purity and avoidance of pollution were central concerns. Fire became the symbol of truth, light, and order; as such it was protected from pollution.

The history of ancient Zoroastrianism can be divided into four stages. First, in the formative period, a conflation of religious traditions took place with two predominating. One was the Indo-Iranian mythology reflected in the Rig-Veda of India that shows a division of the divine realm into deities and demons, though good and evil are reversed in Iran. Creation stories, purity rites, and sacrifices are shared by these traditions. The second major influence on early Zoroastrianism was the religious tradition of Babylonia and ASSYRIA, especially the centrality of the king and the relationship between the ruler and the major deity.

In the second, or Achaemenid period, equated with the Persian Empire c. 559–336 B.C.E., the ruling elite accepted Ahura Mazda as their patron deity and as their contact with the divine realm. They were responsible for spreading the faith from eastern Iran throughout the empire. The establishment of fire towers to house flames symbolizing the pure thought and deeds of the faithful were instigated. The humane administration of CYRUS II may have stemmed from the ethics of Zoroastrianism.

Third, during the era of HELLENIZATION, which extended from ALEXANDER THE GREAT's conquest of the Persian Empire well into the restored Parthian Empire, c. 336 B.C.E.–224 C.E., Greek rulers and classical thought impinged on Iranian religion. By tradition it is during this period that the Avesta was standardized as an oral ritual text. Most of what is known of early Zoroastrianism is derived from contemporary Greek and Roman writers of this time, and they held Zarathushtra in godlike esteem.

Finally, the SASSANID EMPIRE, c. 224–632 C.E., codified, centralized, and nationalized Zoroastrianism as the state religion. Priests became major political players, and the Avesta was first committed to writing. This period ended with the Islamic invasions. Zoroastrianism made such an impression on Muhammad and his followers that they were guaranteed protection along with the Jews and Christians.

Central tenets of ancient Zoroastrianism included the cosmic battle between *asha* (truth) and *druj* (lie) represented by the deities Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, respectively (Angra Mainyu is the same as Ahriman, or Satan, in the biblical tradition). Time was divided into eternal time, in which dwells Ahura Mazda, and temporal time, which is an aspect of creation. Space also consists of the invisible, which contains the ordering principles, and the visible, which is the material world. The Amesha Spentas (Beneficent Immortals) and a host of lesser divine beings aid Ahura Mazda in the fight with Angra Mainyu's demons. This essentially dualistic vision of the cosmos would eventually end with the victory of *asha* and the establishment of a perfect future world into which the righteous would be resurrected in their youthful bodies. A notion of a savior figure (*saoshyant*) as redeemer of the world arose with this idea.

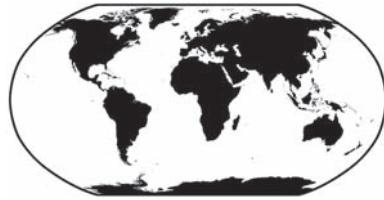
The body and soul of every individual would meet after death on a bridge spanning earth and heaven. For those whose lives were on the side of truth, the bridge was a wide thoroughfare to heavenly rewards; for those whose lives were a lie, the bridge was too narrow to sustain them and they fell into a pit. Little is recorded of the delights of heaven, but the punishments of the pit were extensively described. In the Sassanid

period corpses were laid out on structures designed to keep bodies from pollution until birds consumed the earthly body. Three major priesthoods existed. Zaotar performed sacrifices. Mathran composed hymns, until the Avesta was standardized. Magi became the primary priests of the Parthian period and were recorded by classical writers as adept at interpreting signs and dreams as well as being prophets. Other groups of priests are also attested, though women were not allowed into any priesthood. The faithful were expected to sacrifice to Ahura Mazda through pure thoughts, words, and deeds. Prayers were to be said five times a day, though the central ritual of reciting the Avesta from memory was the duty of two priests selected to represent all Zoroastrians.

See also BABYLON, EARLY PERIOD; INDO-EUROPEANS; PERSIAN MYTH; SANSKRIT; VEDAS; VEDIC AGE.

**Further reading:** Boyce, Mary. *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979; Malandra, William W., trans. and ed. *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion: Readings from the Avesta and the Achaemenid Inscriptions*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1983.

LOWELL HANDY



## RESOURCE GUIDE

### Books

- Adkins, Lesley, and A. Roy. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Greece*. New York: Facts On File, 1997.
- Aldred, Cyril. *Egyptian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Amey, Peter. *Pax Romana*. St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press, 1980.
- Ardrey, Robert. *The Hunting Hypothesis*. New York: Atheneum, 1976.
- Avrin, Leila. *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1991.
- Bailey, Cyril, ed. *The Mind of Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.
- Bainton, Roland H. *Christendom: A Short History of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Bahn, Paul G. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Prehistoric Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Julius Caesar and Rome*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1967.
- Barnes, J., ed. *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Barrera, Julio Trebolle. *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Barrow, Reginald. *Slavery in the Roman Empire*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968.
- Beard, Mary, and John Henderson. *Classical Art from Greece to Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Bellwood, Peter. *First Farmers: The Origins of Agricultural Studies*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 2004.
- Brickhouse, Thomas C., and Nicholas D. Smith. *Plato's Socrates*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Briley, Antony. *Aurelius: A Biography*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Brown, M. K., and J. F. Garber, eds. *Warfare and Conflict in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003.
- Burn, A. R. *The Government of the Roman Empire: from Augustus to the Antonines*. London: Historical Association, 1952.
- Burt, B. C. *A Brief History of Greek Philosophy*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1889.
- Buswell, Robert, Jr., ed. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA/Thomson/Gale, 2004.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Hildinger, Erik. *Swords Against the Senate: The Rise of the Roman Army and the Fall of the Republic*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2003.
- Hobson, Christine. *The World of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Holland, Tom. *Rubicon: The Last Years of the Roman Republic*. New York: Anchor, 2003.
- Hornung, Erik. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey. *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997.
- Hoxie, Frederick E., ed. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.
- Hsu, Cho-yun. *Ancient China in Transition, an Analysis of Social Mobility, 722–222 B.C.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965.
- Ingpen, Robert, and Philip Wilkinson. *Encyclopedia of Mysterious Places*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Isler, Martin. *Sticks, Stones, and Shadows: Building the Egyptian Pyramids*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.
- James, T. G. H. *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Kagan, Donald. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: Penguin, 2004.
- Keel, O. *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*. New York: Seabury Press, 1978.
- Kemp, B. J. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Kincaid, Charles Augustus. *Successors of Alexander the Great*. Chicago: Argonaut, 1969.
- Kitto, H. D. F. *The Greeks*. New York: Penguin, 1950.
- Latacz, Joachim. *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Leakey, Richard, and Roger Lewin. *Origins: What New Discoveries Reveal about the Emergence of Our Species and Its Possible Future*. London: Penguin, 1991.
- Majumdar, R. C., ed. *The Age of Imperial Unity (600 BC–320 AD)*. Bombay, India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1989.
- Matthiae, Paolo. *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981.
- Mellor, Ronald. *The Roman Historians*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Moorhead, John. *Roman Empire Divided, 400–700*. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Musset, Lucien. *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, 400–600 A.D.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1993.
- Nahm, Andrew. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Korea*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2004.
- Nissen, Hans J., Peter Damerow, and Robert K. Englund. *Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Oates, Joan. *Babylon*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.
- Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1959.
- Oppenheim, A. L. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Packenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa*. New York: Random House, 1991.
- Rawson, Jessica. *Ancient China, Art and Archaeology*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Reader, John. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage, 1991.
- Rollin, Sue, and Jane Streetly. *Jordan*. New York: W W Norton, 1998.
- Romer, John. *Ancient Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.
- Safrai, S., ed. *The Literature of the Sages*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.
- Sasson, Jack, ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995.
- Scarre, Christopher. *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial Rome*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Shaw, Brent D. *Spartacus and the Slave Wars*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001.
- Shaw, I. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Shelton, Jo Ann. *As the Romans Did*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Sinclair, R. K. *Democracy and Participation in Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. New York: Dell Publishing, 1983.
- Suvira, Jaiswal. *Caste, Origin, Function and Dimensions of Change*. Delhi, India: Manohar, 1998.
- Tarn, W. W. *Hellenistic Civilization*. New York: New American Library, 1961.
- Twitchett, Denis, and John K. Fairbank. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

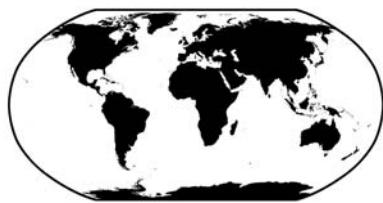
- Urbainczyk, Theresa. *Spartacus*. London: Bristol Classical, 2004.
- Von Rad, Gerhard. *Old Testament Theology*. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1965.
- Waley, Arthur. *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956.
- , trans. *The Analects of Confucius*. New York: Random House, 1958.

#### Journals

- The American Journal of Philology*
- Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
- Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
- Journal of Asian Studies*
- Journal of Jewish Studies*
- Journal of Roman Studies*
- Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
- The Journal of the History of Art*
- Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*
- Journal of World History*

#### Online Resources

- Ancient History Forum: <http://listserv.louisville.edu/it/listserv//archives/ancien-l.html>
- Ancient World Mapping Center: <http://www.unc.edu/awmc>
- Collapse: Why Do Civilizations Fall? <http://www.learner.org/exhibits/collapse>
- HistoryWorld: <http://www.historyworld.net>
- Livius (Articles on Ancient History): <http://www.livius.org>
- NOVA: Secrets of Lost Empires: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/lostempires>
- Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors: <http://www.roman-emperors.org>
- Silkroad Foundation: <http://www.silk-road.com>
- Tinos: <http://www.tinos.com.gr>
- World History Archives: <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives>
- World History Compass: <http://www.worldhistorycompass.com>
- The WWW Virtual Library (History): <http://www.vlib.org/History>



## INDEX

Note: page references in **boldface** refer to major topics. Map titles are also in **boldface**.

### A

- Aaron, 370  
Abba Isaiah, 113  
Abbasid Empire, 472, 501  
Abd Allah ibn Saad, 314  
Abgar, 30, 124  
Abhema, 142  
Abnaki Confederacy, 297  
Abraham, xxxvii, 22, 23, 215, 225, 239, 287, 333–334, 355, 367, 368, 474  
Abraham of Kashkar, 472  
Abreha, 142, 143. *See also* Ezana  
Absalom, 110  
absolute morality, 435  
accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), 149  
Achaemenid Empire, 103, 153, 437, 507  
Acheulean industry, 328  
Achilles, 9, 189, 203, 204, 291, 471  
acid-base-wet oxidation (ABOX-SC), 149  
Acosta, José de, 280  
Actium, Battle of, 62, 192, 232, 373, 390, 397, 470  
Acts of the Apostles, 20, 229, 320

Acts of Thomas, 448

- Ada, 10  
Adad-nirari I, 34  
Adad-nirari II, 34  
Adad-nirari III, 23  
Adamnan, 54  
Adams, John, 84  
Adams, Simon, 384  
Addai, 124, 448, 472  
Additions to Daniel, 372  
Adhar Midukht, 416  
Aditi, 478  
Adonis, 172, 291  
Adoptionism, 193  
Adovasio, James M., 148  
**Adrianople, Battle of**, 1–2, 402, 404, 405, 460  
Adur-Narseh, 413  
Aeacides, 375  
Aedesius, 100, 142  
Aelius Aristides, 420  
Aelius Donatus, 218  
Aemilius Paullus, 248  
Aeneas, 63, 69, 173, 396, 397, 399, 405  
**Aeneid**, 2–3, 54, 63, 173, 391, 396, 398, 471

Aengus the Culdee, 54

- Aeschines, 113  
**Aeschylus**, 3, 140, 170, 392, 423, 442  
**Aesop**, 3–4, 441  
Aetius, Flavius, 67, 205, 242, 405  
Afghanistan, xxxvi, 44, 45, 103, 153, 177, 235, 240, 263, 429, 478–479, 492, 493, 502, 504  
Africa, xxxiv, xxxvi, 4  
**African city-states**, xxxvi, 4  
**African religious traditions**, 5  
Africanus, Sextus Julius, 208  
Agade, 128  
Agamemnon, 75, 141, 179, 189, 203, 204, 290  
Agam Sutras, 477  
Agiluft, 175  
Agni, 478  
agnosticism, 435  
agriculture, xxix–xxx, 152, 212, 266, 295, 426, 506  
Agrippa, 62, 182, 341, 470  
Agrippa I. *See* Herod Agrippa I  
Agrippa II. *See* Herod Agrippa II  
**Ahab**, 5–6, 23, 35, 197, 216  
Ahasuerus, 135, 489

- Ahaz, 197  
 Ahaziah, 6, 24  
 Ahhotpe, 208  
 Ahiqar, 487  
 Ahmose, 208, 307, 308  
 Ahriaman, 347, 348  
 Ahura Mazda, 347, 507, 508  
 Aistulf, 323  
 Aither, 172  
 Ajax, 189, 203  
**Akhenaten**, 5, 6–7, 146, 308, 350, 352, 382, 383, 458  
 Akhetaton, 6–7  
 Akiba, 353  
**Akkad**, 7–8, 41, 101, 147, 207, 411, 418, 446, 475, 487  
 Akkadian, 8  
 Alalakh, 207  
 Alamans, 242  
 Alans, 242  
 Alara Kalama, 158  
 Alaric, 2, 243, 384, 405, 482  
 Alaric II, 482  
 Albertus Magnus, 28  
 Alboin, 323  
 Alcaeus, 254  
 alchemy, 107  
**Alcibiades**, 8–9, 291, 303, 343, 448  
 Alcman, 254  
**Aleppo**, 9, 41, 105, 248, 260, 430  
 Alesia, Battle of, 387, 469, 481, 482  
 Aleuts, 297  
 Alexander (Cappadocian church leader), 67  
 Alexander II, 354  
 Alexander IV, 116  
 Alexander Mosaic, 191  
 Alexander of Alexandria, 309–310  
**Alexander the Great**, xxxvi, xxxviii, 9–11, 12, 27, 58, 73, 75, 86, 87, 102, 115, 126, 131, 153, 190, 191, 192, 204, 248, 256, 263, 333, 345, 372, 408, 410, 421, 437, 444, 490, 507  
**Alexandria**, 11–12, 13, 26, 65, 80, 81, 90, 141, 143, 165, 194, 200, 222, 248, 254, 265, 286, 306, 310, 320, 321, 355, 373  
**Alexandrian literature**, 12–13  
 Algonquian language group, 294, 296  
 Algonquin peoples, 295  
 Allegory of the Cave, 360  
 Allia, Battle of, 73  
 alphabet,  
     Armenian, 30  
     Coptic, 199, 321  
     Etruscan, 139  
     Greek, xxxiv, 139, 289  
     Mycenaean, 290  
     Phoenician, xxxiv, 23, 58, 356,  
         Altamira Cave, 72  
         Altar of Victory, 14  
         Amalasuntha, 323  
         Amarna heresy, 352. *See also*  
             Akhenaten  
         Amar-Sin, 33  
**Ambrose**, 13–14, 37, 38, 189, 321, 355, 405, 461, 474  
 Amenemhat I, 278  
 Amenemhat III, 278, 352  
 Amenemhat IV, 279, 352  
 Amenemhet. *See* Amenemhat  
 Amenemope, 487  
 Amenhotep II, 308  
 Amenhotep III, 6, 7, 308, 352, 383  
 Amenhotep IV. *See* Akhenaten  
 Amenophis III, 458  
**Americas**, migration patterns in, 279–281  
 Amesha Spentas, 508  
 Ammonius Saccas of Alexandria, 302  
 Ammun, 113  
 Amon, 227  
*amoraim*, 451  
 Amorites, 7, 41, 147, 383  
 Amos, 368  
 Amulius, 405  
 Amun, 6, 126, 308, 458  
 Amun-Ra, 5, 308  
 Amyntas III, 354  
 Amyntas IV, 354  
 Anacreon, 254  
*Analects of Confucius*, 92, 93–94  
 Ananda, 57, 462  
 Anastase, 415  
 Anastasius, 264  
 Anat, 473  
 Anatolius, 303  
 Anaxagoras, 343, 366, 434  
 Anaximander, 365  
 Anaximenes, 365  
 anchorite, 286  
**Ancient Egypt**, 2795–1640 B.C.E., M5  
**Ancient Mesopotamia**, 3000–2000 B.C.E., M4  
**Ancient Palestine**, 925–722 B.C.E., M9  
**Andes: Neolithic**, xxxi, xxxii, xxxviii, 14–17  
 Andreev, Mikhail, 213  
 Andrew, 20, 21, 160, 175  
 Andronicus, Lucius Livius, 202, 397  
 Anfray, Francis, 137  
 Angkor Thom, 257  
 Angkor Wat, 257  
 Angles, 242, 244  
 Angola, 4  
 Angra Mainyu, 507, 508  
 An Lushan Rebellion, 75  
*Annals of Spring and Autumn*, 91, 92, 93, 429  
 Annia Galeria Faustina, 17, 39  
 Anshan, 128  
 Ansud, 260  
 Anthemios of Tralles, 182  
 Anthimus of Tyana, 67  
 Anthony, St., xxxiv, 99, 113, 286, 320  
 Antias, Valerius, 394  
 Antigonus Gonatas, 117  
 Antigonus Monophthalmus, 10, 87, 116, 117, 375  
 Antimachus, 392  
 Antinous, 341  
 Antioch, 125, 165, 190, 193, 306, 310, 320, 416, 421, 429, 449  
 Antiochene school, 82–83  
 Antiochus I, 45, 117, 263  
 Antiochus III, 45, 421  
 Antiochus IV, 256, 421  
 Antiochus VII, 421  
 Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, 422  
 Antipater, 115, 372, 375, 394  
 Antiphon, 173  
 Antonian monasticism, 99  
**Antonine emperors**, 17  
 Antonine Wall, 389  
 Antoninus Pius, 17, 39, 182, 228  
 Antony, Mark, xxxiii, 61–62, 65, 66, 84, 232, 338, 352, 373, 387, 391, 397, 400, 469–470  
 Anuradha, 74  
 Anushirvan. *See* Khosrow I  
 Anvari, 254  
**Anyang**, 17–18, 424–425  
 Apache, 296  
 Apachman, 208  
 Apamea, Peace of, 421  
 Apedernek, 312  
 Apepi, 208  
 Aper, 118  
 Aphraates, 449  
 Aphrodite, 24, 63, 172, 189, 191  
 Apocalypse of Abraham, 19  
 Apocalypse of John, 19  
 Apocalypse of Paul, 19  
 apocalyptic eschatology, 18–19, 225  
**apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian**, 18–19, 225, 261, 487

- Apocrypha, the, 216, 261, 277, 299, 371–372, 380
- Apollinare Nuovo, Church of St., 460
- Apollinarism, 129
- Apollinaris, Sidonius, 405
- Apollo, 49, 76, 108, 110, 111, 172, 189, 200, 332, 396, 400, 421
- Apollonius (sculptor), 179
- Apollonius Molo, 64
- Apollonius of Perga, 13
- Apollonius of Rhodes, 2, 13
- Apollonius the Stoic, 39
- Apologists, 82
- Apostles, Twelve, 19–21, 81, 221
- Apostolic Fathers, 82, 193
- Appian, 69, 375, 443
- Appius Claudius, 375
- Apuleius, 249
- Aqhat, 473
- Aqqi, 8
- aqueducts, xxxvii, 139, 400, 460, 468
- Aquila, 51
- Aquinas, Thomas, 28, 52, 337
- Arabia, pre-Islamic, 21–22
- Arahath Mahinda Thero, 74
- Aramaean, 6, 22–24, 42, 43, 105, 216, 230, 239, 472, 487
- Arar, Battle of, 156
- Arausio, Battle of, 387
- Arcadius, 402, 461
- Archaic Greece, 24–25
- Archaic Tradition, 280, 281
- Archelaus, 140, 434
- Archilochus, 24
- Archimedes, xxxi, 13, 39
- Archiochus, 254
- archons, 37
- Ardashir I. *See* Artaxerxes (Ardashir I)
- Ardashir II, 413
- Ardashir III, 416
- Areopagus, 37
- Ares, 143, 172, 332
- Aretas IV, 293
- Argaeus, 354
- Argentoratum, Battle of, 243
- Argos, 9, 290, 326, 376, 459
- Arianism, 14, 26, 36, 48, 52, 82, 99, 129, 130, 141, 230, 234, 309–310, 461, 474, 483
- Ariovistus, 156
- Aristarchus, xxxi
- Aristeides, 322
- aristocracy, 167
- Aristophanes, 26–27, 140, 171, 307, 434
- Aristotelianism, 28, 52, 302
- Aristotle, 9, 27–29, 52, 167, 174, 178, 193, 200–201, 203, 248, 254, 302, 358, 361, 364, 376, 433, 434, 435, 443, 487
- Arius, 26, 99, 309–310
- Ariwara no Narihara, 254
- Ark of the Covenant, 29, 110, 137, 143, 357, 431, 466
- Armenia, xxxv, 21, 29–30, 58, 160, 237, 412, 413, 449
- Arridaeus, 115
- Arses, 32
- Arsinoe II, 373
- Artabanus V, 412
- Artatama, 285
- Artaxerxes (Ardashir I), 412, 414
- Artaxerxes I, 30–31, 345, 490
- Artaxerxes II, 31, 195
- Artaxerxes III, 31–32
- Artemis, 29, 172, 332
- Artemisia of Caria, 86
- Artemisium, Battle, 247
- Arthasastra, 236, 263
- Arverni tribe, 481, 482
- Aryan age, 479–481
- Aryan invasion, xxxv, 32, 408, 478
- Asadi Tusi, 254
- Ascanius, 405
- asceticism, 113, 158–159, 217, 227, 286, 430–431, 479
- Asclepion, 357
- Asclepius, 200, 201, 316
- Asculum, Battle of, 375–376
- asha*, 507, 508
- Asherah, 6, 473, 488
- Ashoka, xxxii, 33, 57, 74, 153, 262, 264, 333, 358, 408, 410, 462
- Ashurbanipal, 35, 43, 128, 228, 270, 346, 458
- Ashur-dan II, 34
- Ashur-nadin-shumi, 43
- Ashurnasirpal II, 35
- Ashur-resha-ishi I, 34
- Ashur-uballit I, 34
- Asian Empires, 600 b.c.e., M10
- Áspero, site of, 14–15
- Assyria, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, 6, 22, 23, 33–35, 42–43, 58, 147, 161, 197, 216, 228, 229, 239, 269, 299, 311, 312, 346, 458, 489, 507
- Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, 950–539 b.c.e., M11
- Assyrian Church, 305
- astronomy, 13, 276, 304
- Astyages, 103
- Aten, 6, 7, 126
- Atenism, 352
- Athalaric, 323
- Athaliah, 6
- Athanasius, 26, 36, 99, 138, 143, 193, 231, 286, 320
- Athar, 473
- Athena, 29, 85, 172, 189, 204, 330–331, 332
- Temple of Athena Nike, 85
- Athenagoras, 99
- Athenian predemocracy, 36–37
- Athens, xxxvii, 10, 36–37, 167, 195, 325, 330, 331–332, 342, 344, 347, 434, 440, 447, 448, 459, 489
- athletics and gymnasium, 178–180
- Athos, Mount, 166
- Atomists, 367
- Atsbeha, 142, 143
- Attalus (general), 354
- Attalus I, 248
- Attar, 254
- Atticist school, 420
- Attila the Hun, xxxvi, 205–206, 242, 247, 323, 405
- Augustine of Hippo, xxxvi, 14, 37–38, 79, 174, 193, 247, 249, 262, 337
- Augustulus, Romulus. *See* Romulus
- Augustulus
- Aulus Plautius, 233, 388
- Aurelia Cotta, 63
- Aurelian, 403
- Aurelius, Marcus, xxxix, 17, 38–39, 68, 182, 201, 291, 340, 341, 389, 402, 423, 444, 445
- Aurelius Victor, 259
- Australopithecus*, 327, 328
- afarensis*, 135
  - boisei*, 326
  - robustus*, 327
- Avaricum, Battle of, 481
- Avars, 59, 98, 205, 242, 243, 323
- Averroës, 304
- Avesta, 507, 508
- Avicenna, 304
- Avidius Cassius, 39
- Axial Age and cyclical theories, 39–40, 217
- Axona, Battle of, 156
- Axum, xxxv, xxxvi, 4, 5, 40, 137, 142, 240, 273, 313
- Azariah, Eleazar ben, 503
- Aztecs, xxxvii, 275, 456

- B**
- Baal, 6, 23, 473
  - Baba Rabbah, 229
  - Babel, Tower of, xxxvii, 299
  - Babylon, xxxvii, 11, 29, 58, 104, 108, 128, 201, 411, 487
    - early period, 41–42, 147, 259, 260
    - later periods, 42–44, 148
  - Babylonian Chronicle, 43, 228, 311
  - Babylonian Empire**, c. 1750–c. 1595 B.C.E., M6
  - Babylonian Talmud, 284, 451, 452
  - Bacchus, 129, 169, 396
  - Bacchylides, 76, 254
  - Bacon, Roger, 28
  - Bactria, 44–45, 103, 116, 153, 207, 240, 421, 504
  - Bagoas, 32
  - Bahram Chubin, 348, 415
  - Bahram I, 79, 412–413
  - Bahram II, 413
  - Bahram III, 413
  - Bahram IV, 413, 414
  - Bahram V, 414
  - Bahram VI. *See* Bahram Chubin
  - Baker, George F., 204
  - Balash, 414
  - ball games, 179, 276
  - Bamiyan Valley, 45–46
  - Ban Biao (Pan Piao), 46–47, 184, 430
  - Ban Chao (Pan Chao), 46, 184
  - Ban Gu (Pan Ku), 46, 184, 430
  - Bantu peoples, 408
  - Barus, 227
  - Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao), 46, 184, 430
  - baptism, 225, 262, 483
  - Barak, 230
  - Barbara, 262
  - Barbarian Invasions and Settlements**, M30
  - barbarians, late, xxxiv, 242–244
  - Barca, Hamilcar, 187
  - Bardesanes, 448
  - Bardiya, 66, 67
  - Bardylas, 354
  - Baring-Gould, Sabine, 157
  - Bar Kokhba, Simon, 182, 216, 223, 228
  - Bar Kokhba Revolt, 223, 228, 388, 503
  - Bar Koziba, 223
  - Barnabas, 82
  - Bartholomew, 20, 21, 30
  - Baruch**, 19, 47, 372, 487, 488
  - basileus*, 36
  - Basilides, 78
  - Basil the Great**, 48, 67, 100, 249, 262, 287, 321, 357
  - Bathsheba, 110, 439
  - Bavarians, 242
  - Bavli, 451, 452
  - beans, xxx
  - Bedouin tribes, 21, 53, 379
  - Beginning of Agriculture**, The, 9000–500 B.C.E., M2
  - Belisarius, 234
  - Belshazzar, 44, 103–104
  - Benedict**, xxxiv, 48–49, 100, 176, 287, 321
    - Benedict XIV, 247
    - Ben-Hadad I, 239
    - Bent Pyramid, 316, 351, 374
    - Berber tribes, 249, 250
    - Beringia, 148, 149
    - Bering Strait, 148
    - Bernard of Clairvaux, 357
    - Bessus, 45
    - Bhadrabahu, 217, 218
  - Bhagavad Gita**, 49–50, 199, 358, 409, 432–433
  - Bharata, 480
  - Bhatta, Nannaya, 410
  - Bible translations**, 50–52, 135
    - Hebrew Bible in, 50–51
    - King James Version, 51
    - New Testament of, 50–52, 220, 225, 226, 238, 276, 288, 290, 334, 337, 353, 369, 371, 424
    - Old Testament of, 12, 219, 238, 288, 337, 369
    - scholarship of, 23–24
    - on true wisdom, 487, 488
  - Bibracte, Battle of, 156
  - Bidatsu, 436, 445
  - Big Freeze event, 301
  - Bindusara, 33, 262, 263
  - bipedalism, 327
  - Birds, The* (Aristophanes), 26–27
  - Bishoi, 113
  - bison, xxix
  - Bleda, 206, 242
  - Blue Nile River, 4
  - Bnon, 208
  - Bodhidharma, 56
  - bodhisattvas, 463
  - Boethius**, 52, 445, 460
  - Bonaparte, Napoleon, 127, 406
  - Boniface, 49
  - Book of Changes*, 75, 91, 93, 107
  - Book of Han*, 46, 184, 430
  - Book of History or Documents*, 91, 93, 429
  - Book of Mencius*, 92
  - Book of Odes or Poetry*, 91, 93
  - Book of Rites*, 91–92, 93
  - Book of the Dead**, 53, 127
  - Bosch-Gimpera, P., 212
  - Boudicca**, 53–54, 73, 209, 388
  - bow and arrow, xxxviii, xxxix
  - Bracciolini, Poggio, 349
  - Brahma, 199
  - Brahman, 70, 480
    - Brahmanas*, 479, 480
  - Brandon, Mount, 54
  - Brasidas, 343
  - Brendan the Navigator**, 54–55
  - Brennus, 73
  - Breuil, H., 135
  - Brindamour, Biruté Galidakis, 326
  - Britannicus, 233, 305
  - Brock, Sebastian, 448
  - bronze, 4
  - Bronze Age, xxxi, 29, 72, 76, 102, 152, 155, 207, 213, 215, 259, 289, 384, 437, 471
  - Bruce, Thomas, 332
  - Brutus, 61, 66, 338, 387, 469, 470
  - Bryan, Alan, 148
  - Bryaxis, 86
  - Bryusov, Alexander, 211
  - Buddha**. *See* Gautama Buddha
  - Buddha, Maitreya, 463
  - Buddhaghosa, 453
  - Buddhism, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvi in China, 55–57, 106, 107, 132, 254
    - founding of, 158–159, 241
    - Huayan (Hua-Yen), 55–56
    - Mahayana, 57, 236, 358, 427, 453, 461–462, 463
    - Pure Land, 56
    - spread of, 33, 45–46, 74, 177, 263, 496
  - Theravada, 57, 236, 461–463, 468
  - Tiantai (T'ien T'ai), 55
  - Vajrayana, 408, 453–454, 468
    - Zan (Ch'an) or Zen, 56
  - Buddhist councils**, 33, 56–57, 236, 263, 333
  - buffalo, xxx
  - Bukhara, 436, 437, 438
  - Bukhar Khudah Tughshada, 438
  - Bulla, 444
  - Bultmann, Rudolf, 221
  - Buran, 416
  - Burgundians, 242, 243, 460, 474, 483
  - Burrus, 233, 422
  - Bushmen, 409
  - Busta Gallorum, Battle of, 323

- Butzer, Karl W., 273  
**Byblos**, 11, 58, 278, 309, 316, 355  
 Byzantine Empire, 22, 97, 177, 182, 193, 385  
 Byzantine Empire under Justinian, 527–567, M31  
 Byzantine-Persian wars, 58–59  
 Byzantine-Sassanid wars, 98  
**Byzantium.** *See* Constantinople
- C**
- Cabira, Battle of, 387  
 Cactus Hill site, 148  
 Caepio, 70  
**Caesar, Augustus (Octavian)**, 2, 3, 12, 61–63, 155, 231, 249, 304, 338, 384, 386, 388, 390, 456, 470  
**Caesar, Julius**, xxxiii, 53, 61–62, 63–66, 71, 73, 84, 156–157, 231, 248, 338, 352, 373, 387, 390, 391, 398, 399, 400, 401, 469, 481–482  
 Caesarion, 470  
 Caesaropapacy, 165, 239  
 Caesoninus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, 64  
 Caius Petronius Arbiter, 349  
 calculus, 13  
 Caleb, 138  
 calendrics, xxx, 265, 276  
**Caligula**, 150, 196, 209, 231, 232–233, 305, 339, 355, 388, 422  
 Callias, Peace of, 31, 347  
 Callicrates, 84, 85, 331  
 Callimachus, 248, 258  
 Callistus, 81, 193  
 Calpurnia, 64  
 Calpurnius Piso, 349  
 Cambyses I, 66  
**Cambyses II**, 66–67, 103, 108, 194, 273, 346  
 camels, xxx, 312  
 Canaanites, 58, 230, 284, 358, 473  
 Canon Law, 91  
 Cao Cao, 254, 464  
 Cao Pi, 254, 464  
 Cao Zhi, 254  
 Cappadocian Fathers, 48  
**Cappadocians**, 26, 67–68, 100, 249, 287, 304, 320  
 Caracalla, 12, 248–249, 401  
*Edict of*, 68–69  
 Caranus, 9, 354  
 Carausius, 118  
 Carchemish, Battle of, 216  
 Carinus, 118  
 Carnac, Monuments of, 301  
 Carolingian dynasty, 243  
*carpe diem*, 411  
 Carter, Howard, 352  
**Carthage**, 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 69, 81, 187, 249, 386, 400, 416  
 Carus, 118, 397, 413  
 Cassandane, 66  
 Cassander, 116, 117, 375  
 Cassian, John, 100, 247, 287  
 Cassiodorus, 460  
 Cassius, 61, 66, 338, 469  
 Cassius Chaerea, 339  
 Cassius Dio, 69  
 Cassivelaunus, 65  
**caste**, 70, 119, 417, 480  
 Castor, 188, 399  
 Catalaunian Fields, Battle of, 242, 405  
 Catechetical School of Alexandria, 98–99  
 catharsis, 169  
 Catholic Church, 14, 264, 482, 483  
 Catiline, 83  
**Cato, Marcus Porcius**, 70–71, 394, 397  
 cattle, 152, 391, 426  
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius, 390–391, 392, 396, 397  
**cave paintings**, 71–72, 121–122, 177, 386, 408  
 Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 121  
 Cecilia, 262  
 Celestine, 247  
 Celsus, 80, 249  
 Celts, xxx, xxxviii, 32, 53–55, 72–73, 120, 155, 336, 481, 482  
 Cenobitism, 99  
 Cephas, 21  
 ceremonial pipes, 295  
 Ceres, 395, 396  
**Ceylon**, xxxvi, 73–74, 145, 462  
 Chadwick, John, 250  
 Chaeronea, Battle of, 10, 112, 354, 387  
**Chalcedon, Council of**, 30, 103, 129–130, 160, 165, 244, 247, 306, 310, 320, 449  
 Chaldea, 103  
 Chaldeans, 43  
 Champollion, Jean-François, 406  
 Chanakaya, 236–237  
**Chandragupta**, 74, 177  
**Chandragupta II**, 74, 117, 153, 177, 421  
 Chandragupta Maurya, 33, 217, 236, 262–263, 270, 271, 333  
**Chang'an (Ch'ang-an)**, xxxvi, xxxvii, 55, 75, 121, 132, 176, 183, 251, 252, 385, 428, 437, 466  
 Chaos, 172  
*charakitai*, 13  
 chariots, xxxv, xxxviii, 284, 319, 383, 425, 506  
 Charlemagne, 49, 165, 243  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 204, 398  
 Chauvet, Jean-Marie, 71  
 Chauvet Cave, 71–72  
 Chavaillon, Jean, 136  
 Chavaillon, N., 136  
 Chavín culture, 16  
 Chavín de Huantar, 16  
 Cheboksarov, N., 151  
 Chen (Ch'en), 186  
 Cheng (Ch'eng), 120, 486  
 Chernykh, Evgeniy, 213  
 Cherokee, 296  
 Chetaka, 217  
 chicken pox, 281  
 Chief of the West, 486  
 Chien-chen, 154  
 Childe, V. G., 152, 211  
 China, xxix–xxx, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxix, Buddhism in, 55–57, 132–133, 145 Confucianism in, 92–93, 132, 133 dynasties of, 132, 183, 250–251, 490–491, 505–507  
**Era of Division**, 132–133, 466  
**Great Wall of**, 132, 163–165, 184, 186, 251, 257, 272, 378, 466, 492  
**Hundred Schools of Philosophy**, 93, 106, 204–205, 241, 288–289, 507  
 scribes and writing culture in, 418  
**Three Kingdoms**, 464  
 Warring States era in, 447, 486, 492, 505  
**China during the Han Dynasty**, 202  
*B.C.E.–250 C.E. M23*  
 Chindaswinth, 483  
 Chiyi (Chih-I), 55  
 Chlorus, Constantius, 189  
 Choctaw, 296  
**choregic poetry**, 75–76  
 chorus, 170  
**Choson**, 76–77, 238, 251, 486  
**Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)**, 62, 77–80, 81, 90, 125, 130, 221, 238, 248, 290, 372  
**Christianity, early**, xxxv, 80–82, 157 Hellenization of, 192–193 persecutions of the church in, 344–345 during Roman Empire, 403–404  
 Chromatius, 219

- Chrysippus, 444, 445  
**Chrysostom, John**, 48, 82–83, 100, 174  
**Cicero**, 37, 52, 64, 83–84, 131, 194, 248, 390, 391, 394, 445, 470  
**Cicero, Quintus**, 157  
**Cimon**, 344, 490  
**Cineas**, 375  
**Cinna, Lucius Cornelius**, 64, 261  
**Circus Maximus**, 305, 399  
**Cisalpine Gaul**, 154–155, 156, 188, 386, 394, 444, 469  
**Civilizations in Europe and Asia, 3500–1500 b.c.e.**, M3  
**Clactonian industry**, 328  
**clans**, 495  
**classical art and architecture, Greek**, 84–87  
**Classical Period, Greek**, xxxiii, 87–88  
**Claudius**, 53, 73, 150, 196, 231, 232–233, 305, 388, 392  
**Claudius Galen**, 201  
**Claudius Ptolemy**, 13  
**Clearachus**, 254  
**Cleisthenes**, 37, 88–90, 322  
**Cleisthenes of Sicyon**, 89  
**Clement of Alexandria**, 81, 82, 90, 99, 244, 248, 320, 321, 355  
**Cleomenes**, 89  
**Cleonymus**, 376  
**Cleopatra VII**, 2, 9, 12, 62, 65, 273, 338, 352, 372, 373, 470  
**Cleopatra Thea**, 421–422  
**Clodius**, 71, 83  
**Clovis**, 482  
**Clovis culture**, 148, 149, 280  
**Clytemnestra**, 189, 204  
**Code of Justinian**, 91, 249  
**coenobite**, 286  
**Collins, J. J.**, 19  
**Collins, Mike**, 148  
**Columbanus**, 287  
**Columbus, Christopher**, 54  
**comedy**, 26, 170. *See also* Middle Comedy; New Comedy; Old Comedy  
**Commodus**, 17, 39, 340, 341, 389, 402, 423  
**Community of Scrolls**, 380  
**Community Rule**, 379, 380  
**Confucian Classics**, 77, 91–92, 93, 184, 253, 429  
**Confucianism**, xxxii  
  influences and spread of, 133, 184, 205, 446, 494, 496  
  as a state ideology (China), 92–93  
**Confucius (Kong Fuzi, or K'ung-fu-tzu)**, 39, 92, 93–95, 186, 205, 288, 429, 493, 506  
**Congo**, 4  
**Conics (Apollonius)**, 13  
**Constans**, 36  
**Constans II**, 264  
**Constantine II**, 36, 402  
**Constantine the Great**, xxxv, 12, 26, 36, 81, 95–97, 99, 131, 141, 165, 180, 182, 189, 210, 229, 231, 239, 249, 273, 282, 357, 389, 403, 413, 457  
**Constantinople**, 12, 20, 82–83, 96, 97–98, 138, 165, 168, 175, 182, 192, 206, 249, 304, 306, 310, 320, 401, 402, 461  
  Council of, 26, 67, 99, 128, 219, 234, 244, 282, 310, 460, 461  
**Constantius**, 118  
**Constantius II**, 36, 97, 231, 259  
**Constantius Chlorus**, 95, 189  
**Consus**, 395  
**contrapposto**, 85–86  
**Copernicus**, 266  
**copper**, xxxi  
**Coppens, Y.**, 135  
**Coptic Christian Church**, 98–100, 320–321  
**Cordillera Occidental**, 14  
**Corinth**, xxxvii, 167, 318, 337, 342, 354  
  League of, 354  
**corn**, 295  
**Corn Mother**, 295, 296  
**Coyote**, North American tales of, 4  
**Craft, Jan**, 471  
**Crannon**, Battle of, 115  
**Crassus, Marcus Licinius**, 61, 64, 65, 71, 84, 444, 469  
**Craterus**, 115  
**Cratippus**, 195  
**Cree**, 297  
**Crete**, 102  
**Crisis of the Third Century**, 250–271, M26  
**Critias**, 442  
**Crixus**, 444  
**Crocus Field**, Battle of, 354  
**Croesus**, 441  
**Cronus**, 172, 318  
**Crusades**, 58, 105, 160, 166, 239, 294, 332  
**cuneiform**, xxxiv, 23, 100–101, 104, 123, 201, 214, 248, 260, 270, 299, 418, 446, 473, 475  
**Cupid**, 396  
**Cyaxares**, 270  
**Cybele**, 400  
**Cyclades**, 102, 129  
**Cyclops**, 172, 203  
**Cynosura**, 172  
**Cyril of Alexandria**, 30, 102–103, 160, 166, 189, 247, 306  
**Cyrus II**, xxxv, 30, 44, 66, 103–104, 108, 128, 148, 153, 270, 288, 345, 346, 507  
**Cyrus the Younger**, 31, 195  
**Czech Republic**, 243
- D**  
**Da'amat**, 136–137  
**Dacian Wars**, 388  
**Damascene, John**, 67  
**Damascius**, 304  
**Damascus**, 105, 202, 239, 337, 416, 501  
**Damascus Document**, 380  
**Damasus**, 219  
**Daniel**, 19, 103, 238, 276, 300, 346, 473, 487, 488  
**Danilenko, Valentin**, 211  
**Danilenko, Vladimir**, 212  
**Dan (Tan)**, 486  
**Dante**, 204  
*Daodejing (Tao-te Ching)*, 106–107, 241–242  
**Daoism (Taoism)**, 55, 93, 106–107, 133, 184, 205, 241, 289, 437, 499  
**Dardanelles**, 10  
**Darius I**, 30, 31, 66, 75, 84, 108–109, 153, 194, 258, 263, 270, 345, 346, 437, 489  
**Darius II**, 31  
**Darius III**, 11, 32, 45, 191  
**Dark Ages, Greek**, xxxvi, 24, 167, 190  
**David**, 22, 23, 29, 96, 109–110, 215, 216, 227, 239, 276, 277, 368, 370, 417, 418, 439  
*Daxue (Ta-hsueh)*, 92  
**Dead Sea Scrolls**, 19, 50, 133, 222, 225, 238, 261, 277, 288, 290, 372, 379  
**Deborah**, 230, 368  
**Decebalus**, 388, 467–468  
**Decius**, 321, 344, 345  
**Deioces**, 270, 346  
**Deiphobus**, 189  
**Delian League**, 84, 86, 342, 347  
**deliberative speech**, 174  
**Delium**, Battle of, 9  
**Delphic oracle**, 110–112, 326, 356–357, 372, 439, 459  
**Demarest, Arthur**, 266

- Demeter, 129, 172, 291, 332  
 Demetrios Phaleron, 248  
 Demetrius, 116–117, 153, 321, 362, 375  
 Demetrius I, 45  
 Demetrius II Nicator, 421  
 Democritus, 367  
**Demosthenes**, 10, 112–113, 115, 173, 174, 354, 448  
 Deschamps, Eliette Brunel, 71  
**Desert Fathers and Mothers**, xxxiv, 113, 357  
 Desiderius, 243, 323  
 determinatives, 198  
 Deucalion, 192  
 Deuterocanonical, 256, 371, 372  
**Deuteronomy**, 114, 228, 466, 467  
 Devoto, G., 212  
 Dhana Nanda, 236  
 dharma, 199, 461, 462  
 Dharmakara, 56  
**Dharma Sutras**, 114–115, 199  
 Dhu Nuwas, 501  
**Diadochi**, 115–117, 248, 256, 372, 421  
 Diakonov, Igor, 212  
 Diana, 396  
 Diaspora Judaism, xxxv, 80, 291, 418, 424, 452  
 Dicaearchus, 151  
 Didache, The, 82  
 Dido, 2, 6, 69, 397  
 Didymus, 20, 99  
 Dillehay, T. D., 148  
 Dinak, 414  
 Dinocrates, 11  
 Dio Cassius, 420  
 Diocles, 117–119  
**Diocletian**, 58, 117–119, 209, 281, 320, 344, 345, 389, 400, 401, 403, 413, 456, 457  
 Dio Crassus, 222  
 Diodore of Tarsus, 82  
 Diodorus, 73, 443  
 Diodotus, 45  
 Diomedes, 203  
 Dionysius, xxxi, 138, 141  
 Dionysius the Areopagite, 304  
 Dionysius the Pseudo-Dionysius, 304  
 Dionysus, as Greek deity, 3, 27, 87, 99, 129, 169, 170, 171, 174, 191, 291, 306, 332, 443  
 Dioscorus of Alexandria, 129  
 Dioscuri, 189, 399, 400  
 Diphilus, 307  
 disciples, 19–21, 221  
 Di (Ti), 288  
 Divided Line, 359–360  
 Djamasp, 414  
 Djedefe, 374  
 Djoser, 316  
 Docetism, 262  
 Doctrine of Recollection, 359  
*Doctrine of the Mean*, 92  
 dogs, xxix, 301, 425, 426  
 Domitian, 17, 20, 150, 151, 340, 345, 388, 393, 398, 400  
 Domitius Aurelian, 330  
 Donatism, 38  
 Dong Chungshu (Tung Chung-shu), 184  
 Dong Hu, 492  
 Dong Zho (Tung Cho), 499  
 donkeys, xxx, xxxviii  
 Dorians, xxxv, 167, 290  
 Douris of Samos, 86  
 Dou Rong (Tou Jung), 255  
 Draco, 440, 441  
 dragon bones, 18  
**Dravidians**, xxxii, xxxv, 119–120, 480–481  
 Drimakos, 443  
**Druids**, 53, 73, 120, 156  
*druj*, 507  
 Drusus, Marcus Livius, 70, 163  
 Drusus, Nero, 232  
 Dubukhu-Adda, 123  
 Dudu, 7  
 Duham, Bernard, 424  
**Duke of Zhou (Chou)**, 92, 93, 94, 120–121, 253, 486, 505  
 Dunand, Maurice, 58  
**Dunhuang (Tun-huang)**, 121–122, 428  
 Dvin, Council of, 160  
 Dyaus Pitar, 478
- E**
- Eastern Zhou, 505, 506  
 Ebionites, 229  
**Ebla**, 101, 123–124, 248, 411  
**Ecbatana**, 103, 104, 116, 269, 270, 345–346  
 Eckhart, Meiser, 90  
 eclecticism, 337  
 Eden hypothesis, 329  
**Edessa**, 124–125, 130, 249, 306, 334, 448, 472  
**Egeria**, 125–126, 189, 357, 431  
**Egypt**, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii–xxxviii, 4, 5, 11, 100, 126–127, 146, 208, 240, 278–279, 298–300, 350–352, 418, 457–458
- Coptic Christian Church in, 98–100, 320–321  
 culture and religion of, 126–127  
 Middle Kingdom of, 126, 278–279, 312, 457  
 New Kingdom of, 126, 307–309, 312, 350, 382, 457, 458  
 Old Kingdom of, 126, 312, 316–317, 350, 374, 383  
**Egyptian Asiatic Empire under Tuthmosis III**, 1450 B.C.E., M7  
 Egyptian Book of the Dead, 53, 127  
 Ehrenberg, Victor, 344  
 Eightfold Noble Path, 461, 462  
 Ekklisia, 9  
 El, 473  
**Elam**, 41, 42, 128, 411  
**Elamites**, 7, 23, 35, 42, 43, 128, 269–270, 476  
 Eleatic school of pre-Socratic philosophy, 365, 366–367, 441–442  
*Elements* (Euclid), 12, 13  
 elephants, xxxviii  
 Eleusinian Mysteries, 9, 128–129, 291  
**Eleusis**, 128–129  
 Eli, 229  
 Eliade, Mircea, 386  
 Elihu, 223, 224  
 Elijah, 6, 21, 23, 39, 225, 226, 368  
 Elis, 9  
 Elisha, 23, 368  
 Elkesaites, 448  
 Elyssa, 2  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 50  
 Emishi, 436  
 Empedocles, 366  
**Empire of Alexander the Great**, 334–323 B.C.E., M17  
 Encratites, 448  
 Enheduanna, 475  
 Enlightenment, 195, 461–463  
 Enlil, 8  
 Enlil-nadin-ahi, 42, 128  
 Ennius, 2, 394, 397  
 Enoch, 19, 371  
 “Enuma Elish,” 42, 43  
 Epaminondas, 354  
 Ephebic Oath, 325–326  
**Ephesus**, 10, 226  
 Council of, 103, 129–130, 234  
 Ephialtes, 344  
**Ephrem**, 125, 130, 320, 449, 472  
 epic poetry, 24  
 Epictetus, 444, 445

- Epicureanism, 131, 390, 394, 397  
 Epicurus, 131, 362, 435  
 epideictic speech, 174  
 Epimetheus, 192  
 Epipaleolithic, 300, 330  
 epiphanic, moment of martyrdom, 262  
 Epiphanius of Salamis, 287  
 equestrians, 335–336, 423  
**Era of Division (China)**, 132–133, 466  
 Erasistratus, xxxii  
 Erasmus, 51, 220  
 Eratosthenes, 13  
 Erectheum, 85  
 Erechtheus, 85  
 Eriba-Marduk, 43  
 Erictionios, 331  
 Eriugena, Johannes Scotus, 304  
 Ermanric, 323  
 Ermeric, 243  
 Eros, 191, 331  
 Erwig, 483  
 Esarhaddon, 35, 43, 147, 148  
 Esdras, 372  
 Essenes, 133–134, 227, 353, 407  
 Esther, book of, 135, 346, 372, 379, 489  
**Ethiopia, ancient**, 4, 135–138, 142, 273, 317  
**Etruscans**, xxxix, 138–140, 155, 168, 180, 362, 393, 399, 401  
 Euclid, xxxi, 12, 13, 358  
 Eucratides, 45  
 Eumenes, 116  
 Eumenes II, 191, 248  
 Eunapius, 259  
 Eunomius, 67  
 Euphrates River, xxxiv, xxxvii, 11, 22, 34, 41, 110, 146, 147, 259, 412, 446, 448  
 Eupompos, 86  
 Euric, 482, 483  
**Euripides**, 140–141, 179, 189, 204, 392, 423, 442  
 Erymedon, 448, 490  
**Eusebius**, 26, 36, 67, 90, 96, 99, 141–142, 189, 219, 238, 249, 282, 310, 321, 431, 474  
 Eusebius Hieronymous, 218  
 Eustathius of Sebaste, 67, 287  
 Euthydemus I, 45  
 Eutropius, 259  
 Eutyches of Constantinople, 129, 247  
 Evans, Arthur, 102, 250, 282  
 Execestides, 440  
 Exodus, book of, 238, 466, 467  
**Ezana**, 138, 142–143, 313  
 Ezekiel, 368  
 Ezra, book of, 19, 30, 104, 114, 353, 489  
**F**  
**Farthest Extent of the Roman Empire, under Emperor Hadrian**, 117–138, M25  
 fathers of the church, orthodoxy and writings of, 14, 48, 51, 78, 79, 82, 230, 238, 262, 284, 372, 407, 440, 452, 467  
 Fattovich, Rodolfo, 137  
**Fa Xian (Fa-hsien)**, 74, 145, 177, 333, 358  
 Fazang, 55–56  
 Feishui, Battle of, 132  
 Felicity, 262, 345, 423  
 Fenelon, 90  
 Ferdowsi, 254  
 Ferghana, 493, 504  
**Fertile Crescent**, xxix, 6, 29, 42–43, 146–148, 284, 299, 311, 334, 418  
 fertility cults, 285  
 Fiorelli, Giuseppe, 362  
 Firmilian, 67  
**First Americans**, 148–150  
 First Diadoch War, 115–116  
 First Punic War, 69, 386, 397  
 First Temple, 370  
 Firuz I, 414  
 Firuz II, 416  
 Five Classics, 91–92, 93  
 Five Cosmic Ages of Humanity, 197  
 Five Good Emperors, Age of the, 340–341  
 Flaccus, Fulvius, 163  
 Flaccus, Quintus Horatius, 398  
**Flavian emperors**, 150–151, 339–340  
 Flavian of Constantinople, 129, 247  
 Florence, Council of, 166  
 Florus, 443  
 food gatherers and producers, prehistoric, 151–152  
 food production, xxix–xxx  
 Forms, 358–359  
 Fortuna, 396  
 Fossey, Dian, 326  
 Four Books, 92, 93  
 Four Great Signs, 158  
 Four Hundred, Council of, 89  
 Four Noble Truths, 159, 461, 462  
 Fourth Diadoch War, 116–117  
 France, prehistoric cave paintings in, 71–72  
 Franks, 242, 243, 402, 460, 474, 482, 483  
 Freedman, David Noel, 114  
 Freud, Sigmund, 352  
 Friedel, D., 266  
 Fronto, Marcus Cornelius, 39  
 Frumentius, 100, 138, 142, 143  
 Fu, Lady, 425  
 Fu Hao, 18  
 Fulvius Flaccus, 163  
 Fusu (Fu-su), 272  
 Future Buddha, 463  
 Fuxi (Fu-hsi), 497, 498–499  
**G**  
 Gabon, 4  
 Gad, 368  
 Gaia, 110, 172  
 Gaiane, 30  
 Gaiseric, 247  
 Galba, 233, 339, 392  
 Galdikas, Biruté. *See* Brindamour, Biruté Galdikas  
**Galen**, xxxii, 201  
 Galerius, 281, 282  
 Galileo, xxxi  
 Gallenius, 117–118  
**Gallic Wars**, 64–65, 120, 153, 156, 387  
 Gallio, Junius Annaeus, 422  
 Gamaliel II, 504  
 Gamkrelidze, T., 212  
**Gandhara**, 153–154, 236, 240  
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 50, 218  
**Ganjin**, 154  
 Gaozu. *See* Liu, Bang  
 Gathas, 507  
**Gaul**, 64–65, 154–157, 340, 393, 399, 402, 423, 469, 470  
 Gauls, 386, 421, 481, 482  
 Gault Site, 148  
 Gaumata, 67, 108  
**Gautama Buddha**, 39, 55, 56–57, 158–159, 235, 241, 333, 358, 408, 409, 410, 453, 461, 462, 463  
 Genesis, book of, 23, 202, 311, 321, 334, 466, 467, 488  
 Ghengis (Chinggis) Khan, 437  
 Gening, Biktor, 211  
*geonim*, 451  
**Georgia, ancient**, 160, 237  
 Georgian Orthodox Church, 160  
 Germanicus Caesar, 232  
 Gervasius, 14  
 Geta, Publius Septimius Antoninus, 68  
 Ghassanids, 22  
 Gibbon, Edward, 340

- Gideon (Jerubbaal), 230  
**Gilgamesh**, 43, 147, 160–161, 204, 248  
 Gimbutas, Maria, 211  
 Gindin, Lev, 213  
**Giza**, pyramids of, xxxvii, 316, 351, 373–374  
 gladiators, 443–444  
 Glauclias, 375  
**Gnosticism**. *See Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)*  
 gold, xxxi  
 Golden Mean, 359–360  
 Golden Road, 437  
 Goliath, 109  
 Good, form of, 303  
 Goodall, Jane, 326  
 Gordian III, 243, 412  
 Gordius, 11  
 Gorgasali, 30  
 Gorgias, 173, 303, 441  
 Goscinny, René, 157  
 Gospel of John, 192–193, 229, 238, 321  
 Gospel of Judas, 82  
 Gospel of Luke, 229  
 Gospel of Matthew, 440  
 Gospel of the Ebionites, 229, 372  
 Gospel of the Hebrews, 372  
 Gospel of the Nazoreans, 372  
 Gospel of Thomas, 20, 220, 372, 448  
 Gotami, Mahapajapati, 158  
 Gothic Bible, 474  
 Goths, xxxvi, 1–2, 36, 49, 242, 243, 259, 402, 404, 405, 456, 460, 474  
**Gracchi**, 162–163  
 Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius, 162, 163  
 Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, 162, 400  
 Graces, the, 197  
 Gratian, 14, 91, 210  
 Great Circle of Life, 295, 296  
*Great Learning*, 92  
 Great Peace, 499  
 Great Renunciation, 158  
 Great Sphinx, 317, 351–352  
**Great Wall of China**, 132, 163–165, 184, 186, 251, 257, 272, 378, 466, 492  
 Great Zimbabwe, 4  
 Greco-Persian Wars, 346–347  
 Greco-Roman philosophy, 302  
 Greece, Archaic, 24–25  
 Greece during the Peloponnesian War, M15  
 Greek and Phoenician Routes, c. 500 B.C.E., M13  
 Greek Church, 20, 48, 51, 103, 125, 165–166, 226, 247, 306, 320, 430, 449  
 Greek city-states, 31, 110, 166–168, 169, 192, 195, 319, 325, 326, 354, 361, 444, 459. *See also polis*  
 Greek colonization, 110, 168–169  
 Greek drama, 3, 26, 169–171  
 Greek medicine, 200–201  
 Greek mythology and pantheon, 161, 171–173, 256  
 Greek oratory and rhetoric, 173–174  
 Gregorian chant, 176  
 Gregorian Sacrament, 176  
**Gregory I**, 175–176  
 Gregory Nazianzus, 48, 67–68, 99, 219, 264, 411, 461  
 Gregory of Nyssa, 48, 67, 219  
 Gregory of Tours, 287  
 Gregory Thaumaturgos, 320  
 Gregory the Great, 48–49, 246  
 Groningen hypothesis, 134  
 Gruhn, Ruth, 148  
 Guagamela, Battle of, 45  
 Guandi, 464  
**Guangwu (Kuang-wu)**, 176, 253, 269, 385, 471  
 Guangyin (Kuan-yin), 56  
 Guan Yu, 464  
 Gubaru, 104  
 Guidon, Niède, 148–149  
 Gungsun Yang (Kung-sun Yang), 245  
**Gupta Empire**, xxxiii, xxxvi, 74, 153, 177, 207, 236, 333  
 Gurjara clan, 207  
 Gutians, 7, 8, 446  
 Guyon, Madame, 90  
 Gylippos, 448  
 gymnasium and athletics, 178–180, 192, 319
- H**
- Habakkuk, 368, 379  
 Hadad-idr of Aram, 23  
 Hades, 129, 172  
**Hadrian**, 17, 38, 39, 181–182, 222, 223, 340–341, 388, 390, 394, 402, 420  
 Hadrian's Wall, 181, 182, 341, 388, 423  
 Haggadah, 452  
 Haggai, 368  
**Hagia Sophia**, 98, 182–183, 234, 430, 440  
 Haile-Selassie, Yohannes, 135, 326  
*hajj*, 357–358  
 Halakhah, 452, 488  
 Haman, 135  
 Hamilcar Barca, 69, 187  
**Hammurabi**, 34, 41–42, 128, 147, 183, 476  
 Hananiah, 369  
**Han dynasty**, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxvi, 46, 55, 75, 77, 92, 95, 106, 107, 121, 176, 183–185, 240, 250, 252, 253, 255, 257, 385, 428, 429–430, 464, 466, 485, 486, 492, 494, 499, 501, 504  
 Han Fei, 245, 377, 494  
**Hannibal**, xxxviii, 69, 155, 162, 185–187, 386, 387, 397, 402  
 Hanshu (Han-shu) 46, 184, 430  
 Hanukkah, 256  
**Han Wudi (Han Wu-ti)**, 75, 92, 183–184, 187–188, 493, 504  
 Hao, 426  
 Harappa, xxxvii, 285, 358  
 Har Karkom, 431  
 Hasmonaeans, 256  
 Hatsepsut, 136, 308, 457, 458  
 Hattushili I, 201  
 Hattushili II, 383  
 Hattushili III, 202  
 Hazaël, 22, 23, 24, 239  
 Hebe, 172  
 Hebrew Bible, 12, 19, 50–51, 276  
 Hebron, 109, 110  
 Hector, 203, 471  
**Helena**, 95, 188–189, 357, 401  
 Helen of Troy, 173, 189–190, 471  
 Helios, 172  
 Hellen, 192  
 Hellenic art, 190–191  
 Hellenistic art, 190–192  
 Hellenistic World, c. 300 B.C.E., M18  
 Hellenization, xxxvi, 128, 192–193  
 Hellespont, 10  
*helots*, 443  
 Helvetians, 156  
 Hemiuunu, 374  
 Hephaestus, 172  
 Hephthalites, 414, 415  
 Heqin (Ho-chin) Treaty, 164, 257, 258, 492, 493, 504  
 Hera, 172, 319  
 Heraclas, 320  
 Heracles, 115, 230, 471  
 Heraclitus, 39, 193, 365, 366  
 Heraclius, 59, 264, 416  
 Heraean Games, 319  
**Herculaneum**, 362–363  
 Hercules, 396, 399  
 heresies, 142, 193–194

- Hermes, 9, 87, 172–173, 332, 448  
 Hermokrates, 448  
**Herod Agrippa I**, 20, 196, 344  
**Herod Agrippa II**, 196  
**Herod Antipas**, 157, 196, 226  
**Herod Archelaus**, 157, 196  
 Herodian, 420  
**Herodotus**, 4, 5, 66, 108, 131, 139, 153, 192, 194–195, 246, 258, 270, 342, 345, 346, 393, 459, 489  
**Herods**, 195–196  
**Herod the Great**, 157, 195–196  
**Hesiod**, 172, 196–197, 231, 248, 365, 487  
 Hesse, Hermann, 50  
**Hestia**, 172  
 heterodoxies. *See* Judaism, early  
**Hezekiah**, 197–198, 216, 227, 440  
 hieroglyphics, xxxiii, 53, 127, 198, 201, 240, 282, 312, 316, 350, 406, 418  
**Hiero I**, 76  
**Hilarion**, 113, 287  
**Hillaire**, Christian, 71  
**Hillel**, 228, 353, 452, 503  
**Hinduism**, xxxiv, 50, 74, 177, 236, 431–433  
**Hindu philosophy**, 199, 431–433  
**Hipparchos**, 322  
**Hipparchus**, 76, 89, 341  
**Hippias**, 37, 89, 341  
**Hippocrates**, xxxii, 200  
**Hippokleides**, 331  
**Hippolytus**, 78  
 historiography, 40, 491  
**Hittites**, xxxi, xxxv, xxxviii, 32, 42, 101, 201–202, 284, 285, 383, 419, 467  
**Homer**, 2, 24, 179, 189, 197, 203–204, 282, 290, 349–350, 365, 471, 487  
**Homeric epics**, 2, 75, 89, 161, 173, 194, 197, 202–203, 231, 248  
**Homo antecessor**, 328  
**Homo erectus**, 326, 327, 328  
**Homo ergaster**, 328  
**Homo floresiensis**, 300, 328, 329  
**Homo habilis**, 152, 326, 327–328  
**Homo heidelbergensis**, 328  
**Homo neanderthalensis**, 300, 328; 329  
**Homo rudolfensis**, 328  
**Homo sapiens**, xxix, 152, 300, 302, 328, 329  
*homousios*, 26, 141  
**Honorius**, 384, 402, 461, 482  
**Hopi**, 296  
 hoplites, 258, 362  
**Horace**, 339, 390, 396, 397, 398  
**Hor-Aha**, 350  
**Horatius**, 399  
**Horeb**, Mount, 431  
**Horemheb**, 309, 382  
**Horites**, 208  
**Hormozid IV**, 237  
**Horn of Africa**, xxxv, xxxix  
 horses  
     ancient domestication of, xxx, xxxv, 32, 147, 156, 165, 205, 208, 211, 245, 284, 312, 425, 426, 496  
     in battlefields, xxxviii  
     in North America, 297, 300  
     prehistoric evidence of, 152  
**Horus**, 5, 126, 239, 316, 350, 351  
**Hosea**, 368  
**Hostilius, Tullus**, 399  
**Hottentots**, 408  
**Hours, F.**, 136  
**Houshidar**, 348  
**Houshidarmah**, 348  
**Howell, C.**, 135  
**Hrdlicka, Aleš**, 148  
**Huangdi**. *See* Yellow Emperor  
**Huayan Buddhism**, 55–56  
**Huidi (Hui-ti)**, 252  
**Huineng (Hui-neng)**, 56  
**Huizi (Hui Tzu)**, 242  
 humoral theory, 200  
**Hundred Schools of Philosophy** (or Thought), 92, 93, 106, 204–205, 241, 288–289, 507  
**Huns**, xxxvi, xxxviii, 1, 58, 76, 154, 177, 205–207, 236, 242, 404, 405, 243  
 hunting, xxix, 152  
**Huo Qubing (Huo Ch'u-ping)**, 185  
**Hurmuz I**, 412  
**Hurmuz II**, 413  
**Hurmuz III**, 414  
**Hurmuz IV**, 415  
**Hurmuz V**, 416  
**Hurrians**, 7, 101, 207–208, 284  
**Huxley, Aldous**, 50  
**Hwarang**, 465  
**Hygieia**, 200  
**Hyksos**, xxxii, 208, 307, 308, 312  
**Hypatia**, 102  
**Hyperbolos**, 322  
**Hyperion**, 172  
**Hyrcanus, John**, 229  
**Hystaspes**, 108
- I**  
**Iamblichus**, 231, 303–304, 442  
**Ibbi-Sin**, 128  
**Ibbi-Zikir**, 123  
**Ibn Sina**, 28, 304  
**Ibrium**, 123  
**Ibycus**, 254  
 ice age, xxxiv, 280, 296  
**Iceni**, 53–54  
 iconoclasm, 166  
**Ictinus**, 84, 331  
**Ideas**, 358–359  
 ideograms, 198  
 ideographs, 425  
**Ignatius of Antioch**, 82, 244, 262  
**Igrish-Halam**, 123  
*Iliad* (Homer), xxxix, 2, 24, 167, 173, 189, 202, 203, 290, 365, 457, 471  
**Imhotep**, 316  
**imperial cult, Roman**, 209–210  
 imperial Shinto, 427  
**India**, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxix, 11, 45–46, 177, 217–218  
**Indo-Europeans**, xxxii, xxxv, 29, 32, 207, 210–213, 478, 479  
**Indra**, 478, 480  
**Indus civilization**, 32, 70, 119, 213–214, 285, 479–481  
**Innocent I**, 83  
**Inuits**, 297  
**Ionians**, xxxv  
**Ionian school**, 364, 365–366  
**Ionic column**, 24  
**Ipuwer**, 317  
**Iran**, xxxv, 7, 270, 347–349, 413, 429, 478, 507  
**Iraq**, 413, 429  
**Ireland**, 336, 388  
**Irenaeus**, 78, 82  
**Irkab-Damu**, 123  
**iron**, xxxv, xxxviii, 4  
**Iron Age**, xxxviii, 58, 72, 73, 120, 215, 384, 398  
**Iroquois**, 281  
**Iroquois Confederacy**, 294, 295, 296  
**Iruka**, 436, 446  
**Isaac**, 215, 287, 355  
**Isagoras**, 37, 89  
**Isaiah**, 19, 39, 238, 277, 368, 379, 423–424  
     **Servant Songs of**, 423–424  
**Isfahan**, 412  
**Ishamel**, 334  
**Ishar-Damu**, 123  
**Ishbi-Erra**, 128, 476

- Ishmael, 215, 287  
 Ishme-Dagan, 34  
 Ishtar, xxxvii, 207, 311  
 Isidore of Miletos, 182  
 Isis, 5  
 Islam, xxxv, 5, 28, 51, 100, 105, 154, 230, 239, 249, 306, 314, 357–358, 416, 437, 507  
 Isocrates, 441  
**Israel and Judah**, 109, 114, 197, 215–216, 229, 299, 420  
 Issus, Battle of, 11, 191  
 Ita, 54  
 Italian Renaissance, 191, 390  
 Italian school of pre-Socratic philosophers, 366  
 Ivanov, Vyacheslav, 212  
 Izanagi, 428  
 Izanami, 428
- J**  
 Jaali, 314  
 Jacob, 23, 215, 287, 334, 335, 355, 357, 371, 472  
 Jacob of Edessa, 449  
 Jacob of Nisibis, 125  
 Jacob of Sarug, 125, 449  
 jade, 425, 426  
**Jainism**, 177, 217–218, 263, 477, 481  
 James, 227  
 James, son of Alphaeus, 20  
 James, son of Zebedee, 20, 196  
 Janus, 395, 396  
 Japan, 55, 56, 154, 226, 426–428, 495–497  
 Japanese imperial law (*ritsuryo*), 427  
 Jaspers, Karl, 39  
 Jatakas, 159  
 Jawanshir, 416  
 Jedidiah, 439  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 84  
 Jehoram, 24  
 Jehovah, 431  
 Jehu, 23, 24  
 Jenné-jeno, 5  
 Jeremiah, 39, 47, 227, 299, 368, 369  
 Jeroboam, 215  
 Jeroboam III, 24  
**Jerome**, 47, 51, 99, 100, 218–220, 227, 249, 262, 287, 320, 321, 355, 357, 431  
 Jerusalem, xxxvii, 160, 165, 182, 216, 256, 310, 311, 334, 357, 368, 379, 416, 431  
 Jerusalem Talmud, 284  
**Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth**, xxxi, 19, 30, 38, 48, 63, 67, 78, 80, 124, 130, 165, 189, 193, 196, 219, 220–222, 225, 227, 229, 238, 244, 261, 277, 282, 283, 288, 306, 320, 337, 357, 363, 369, 372, 392, 401, 424, 440, 467, 474  
 Jewish Commonwealth, 227  
 Jewish Law, 419  
**Jewish revolts**, 12, 150, 222–223, 283, 388, 421  
 Jewish scriptures, xxxxv, xxxxvii, 23, 50–51, 80, 135, 216, 224, 230, 287, 290, 299, 311, 333, 334, 337, 355, 357, 369, 431, 439, 503  
 Jewish Temple, 388  
**Jezebel**, 5–6, 216  
 Jie, 425, 490, 491  
 Jimnu, 495  
 Jin (Chin) dynasty, 132, 464, 466, 506  
 Jing (Ching), 185  
**Job**, 175, 488  
 and theodicy, 223–224  
 Joel, 368  
 Johannine Christology, 192, 193  
 Johanson, Donald, 326  
 John (Apostle), 20, 79  
 John Hyrcanus, 229  
 John of Antioch, 129  
 John of Ephesus, 449  
 Johnson, Michael, 148  
**John the Baptist**, 157, 196, 221, 225, 225–226, 227  
 John the Faster, 165  
**Jomon culture**, 226, 427, 498  
 Jonah, book of, 311, 368, 488  
 Jonathan, 256  
 Jones, William, 210  
 Joram, 6  
 Jordan, xxxvii  
 Joseph, 63, 157, 215, 287, 335, 355  
 Joseph, Akiba ben, 223, 228  
**Josephus Flavius**, 6, 23, 29, 30, 133, 134, 196, 208, 220, 222, 225, 226–227, 277, 288, 353, 364, 407, 467  
 Joshua, 230, 356  
**Josiah**, 29, 114, 197, 216, 227–228, 440  
 Jovian, 259  
 Joyce, James, 204  
 Jubilees, 19  
**Judah ha-Nasi**, 228–229, 283, 284, 452  
 Judaism  
 early (heterodoxies), xxxv, 216, 229–230  
 Essenes sect of, 133–134  
 rabbinic, 19, 223, 256, 276, 277, 290, 355, 380, 407, 440, 488, 503–504  
 scribes and writing culture in, 418–419  
 Judas Iscariot, 20, 21, 256  
**Judges**, 215, 230, 256, 368, 417  
 judicial speech, 174  
 Judith, book of, 300, 372  
 Jugurtha, 387  
 Jugurthine War, 387  
 Juhayna, 314  
 Julia, 64, 71  
 Julian of Eclanum, 247  
**Julian the Apostate**, 36, 48, 58, 96, 130, 230–231, 259, 262, 282, 291, 304  
 Julio-Claudian emperors, 231–233, 339  
 Julius I, 36  
 Julius Nepos, 315  
 Jung, Carl, 50  
 Juno, 155, 396  
 Jupiter, 395, 396, 399, 478  
 Justin, 82, 233–234  
 Justina, 14  
**Justinian I**, 91, 98, 165, 182, 205, 233–234, 237, 243, 244, 249, 321, 322, 323, 384, 415, 431, 439, 440, 483  
 Justin Martyr, 81, 226, 262  
 Jutes, 242, 244  
 Juturna, 400  
 Juvenal, 247, 390, 393, 396, 397, 398
- K**  
 Ka, 350  
 Ka'ba, 22  
 Kadesh, Battle of, 202, 383  
 Kalama, Alara, 158  
**Kama Sutra**, 235  
*kami*, 426–428, 446, 498  
 Kamose, 208, 307–308  
**Kanishka**, 154, 235–236, 240  
 Kapila, 433  
 Kapport, I., 210  
 karma, 199, 218, 481  
 Karnak, 457, 458  
 Kartvelians, 160

- Kashtiliash IV, 34, 42  
 Cassites, 34, 42, 128  
 Kathavatthu, 57  
 Katsuragi clan, 436  
**Kautilya**, xxxviii, 236–237, 263, 264  
**Kavadh I**, 237, 414–415  
**Kavad II**, 59, 416  
 Kawus, 415  
 Kazantzakis, Nikos, 204  
 Ke (K'o), 271  
 Kennewick Man, 149, 150  
*Kenyanthropus platyopsa*, 326  
 Kepler, 266  
 Kertanagara, 453–454  
**Khafra**, 317, 351–352, 373, 374  
 Khamudi, 208  
 Khatun, 438  
 Khazars, 59, 416  
 Khirbet Qumran, 379  
**Khoi tribe**, 408–409  
 Khonsu, 458  
**Khosrow I (Anushirvan)**, 207, 237, 415  
**Khosrow II**, 59, 416  
**Khosrow III (Parwiz)**, 416  
**Khosrow IV**, 416  
 Khotan, 504  
 Khufu, 316, 317, 351, 373, 374  
**Kija**, 77, 237–238  
 Kimmei, 436, 445  
 Kimon, 322  
 Kindattu, 128  
**Kingdom of God**, 221, 238–239, 488  
 Kings, book of, 23, 24, 227  
**King's Highway and Way of the Sea**, 239  
 kinships, 495  
 Kir, 23  
 Kirdir, 413  
 Kirman, 412  
 Kirta epic, 473  
 Kiumarth, 347, 348  
 Klamath, 297  
 Knights of Malta, 102  
 Kofun period, 495, 498  
 Kogugwon, 77  
 Koguryo kingdom, 464–465, 496  
 Koi, 465  
 Koken, 154  
 Komyo, 154  
**Kong Fuzi (K'ung-fu-tzu)**. *See* Confucius  
**Koran**. *See* Qur'an  
**Korea**, xxxvi, 76, 77, 237, 251–252, 486, 496. *See also* Choson  
**Three Kingdoms of**, 464–465  
**Korfmann**, Manfred, 471  
**Kossina**, G., 212  
**Kothar wa-Hasis**, 473  
 Kotosh, 15  
 Krishna, 49–50, 257  
**Kumaragupta I**, 177  
 Kura, 124  
**Kurigalzu I**, 42, 476  
**Kush**, 5, 206, 208, 235, 236, 240, 240, 272, 311  
**Kushan Empire**, 45, 177, 235, 240, 312, 389, 412, 437, 438, 501  
**Kutir-Nahhunte**, 128  
**Kwanggaet'o**, 464  
**Kyron II**, 160
- L**
- Labbaeus, 20  
 Labienus, 470, 481  
 Lactantius, 262, 282  
 Laenas, Publius Popillis, 163  
 Lakhmid, 22  
 Lamakhos, 448  
 Lamentations, 370  
 Lamian War, 115  
 languages, xxxiv, xxxv, 8, 21, 201, 210, 280, 329–330  
 Laomedon, 471  
**Laozi (Lao Tzu)**, 39, 55, 106, 107, 241–242  
*Laozi (Lao Tzu)*, 106–107, 241–242  
 Lares, 139, 395  
 Lascaux Cave, 72, 386  
 Lasus, 254  
 lateralization, 328  
 Lateran Council, 264  
**Latin Church**, xxxiv, 21, 48, 51, 52, 83, 103, 166, 244, 246, 247, 306, 320, 336, 449, 472, 474  
 Lattimore, Richmond, 202, 203  
 Law Code of Gortyn, 283  
 Law of Twelve Tables, 401  
 Lawrence, T. E., 203  
 League of Defense, 346  
 Leakey, Louis, 136, 326  
 Leakey, Louise, 326  
 Leakey, Mary, 326  
 Leakey, Meave, 326  
 Leakey, Richard, 136, 326–327  
 Leclant, Jean, 137  
 Leda, 189  
**Legalism**, xxxii, 95, 184, 205, 245, 377, 378, 379, 494, 506  
**legionaries**, 245–246  
 LeJeune, Father, 297  
 Lentulus, 444  
 Leochares, 86  
**Leo I (emperor)**, 166  
**Leo III**, 385  
**Leo XIII**, 103, 322  
**Leonidas**, 246–247, 347, 489  
**Leo the Great (Pope Leo I)**, 129, 206, 247  
 Leovigild, 483  
 Lepidus, 61, 62, 64, 65, 84, 338, 387, 391, 470  
 LeQuire, Allen, 333  
 Leucippus, 367  
 Levant, 146, 147, 299, 300, 356, 419  
 Levin, M., 151  
 Leviticus, book of, 466  
 Libanius, 82, 231, 404  
**libraries, ancient**, xxxiv, 13, 247–249, 473  
**Libya**, 249–250, 316  
 Licinian-Sextian Laws, 401  
 Licinius, 282  
 Li Guangli (Li-Kuang-li), 185, 186  
*Li Jing (Li Ching)*, 91–92, 93  
 Lin, 499  
**Linear A and B**, 250, 283, 289–290  
 lingua franca, 13, 23, 42, 101, 293  
 Li Si (Li Ssu), 245, 272, 377, 378, 491, 494  
 literature, Alexandrian, 12–13  
**Liu Bang (Liu Pang)**, 164, 183, 184, 250–251, 252, 257, 258, 471, 491, 492, 504  
 Liu Bei, 464  
 Liu Ji (Liu Chi), 250  
 Liu Yuan, 132  
 Livy, 139, 155, 339, 375, 391, 393, 394, 443  
 llamas, xxx  
 logic, study of, 28  
 logograms, 123, 198  
 logographs, 265, 425  
 logos (reason), 40, 193, 355, 444–445  
 Logos (divine wisdom), 36, 90, 129, 160, 193, 303, 355  
**Lo-lang**, 251–252, 464  
**Lombards**, 49, 175, 234, 242, 243, 323–324, 384, 474  
 Long Count, 265, 269  
 Longmen caves, 254, 466  
 Longshan culture, 490  
 Lot, 239  
 Louis the Pious, 49  
**Lu**, 183, 185, 251, 252, 257–258, 506  
 Lu Buwei (Lu Pu-wei), 377  
 Lucan, 349, 390, 392, 398

- Lucceius, Lucius, 469  
 Luce, John L., 471  
**Lucian**, 248, 252–253  
 Lucian of Antioch, 310  
 Lucilius, 397  
 Lucilla, 38  
 Lucius Quietus, 222  
 Lucius Verus, 17, 39, 182  
 Lucretius, 2, 131, 390, 396  
 Lucullus, 387  
 “Lucy,” 326  
 Luke, book of, 20, 277  
 Lukka, 419  
 Lullubi, 7  
*Lunyu (Lun-yu)*, 92, 93–94  
**Luoyang (Loyang)**, 47, 75, 121, 122, 132, 176, 183, 253–254, 377, 428, 466, 472, 499, 505, 506  
 Lutetia, Battle of, 157  
 Luther, Martin, 337  
 Luxor, 457, 458  
 Luzavorich, Gregory, 29–30  
 “Luzia,” 149  
*lycée*, 178  
 Lyceum, 27  
 Lycurgus, 167  
 Lydia, 103  
 Lygdamis, 194  
 Lyons, Council of, 166  
 Lyons martyrs, 345  
 lyric poetry, 24, 254, 411  
 Lysander, 343  
 Lysias, 173  
 Lysimachus, 9, 116–117, 375  
 Lysippos, 86–87, 191
- M**  
**Ma Yuan**, 255, 472  
**Maccabees**, 216, 256, 261, 293, 372, 421  
 Macedonia, 9–10, 354, 408  
**Macedonia under Philip II**, 359–336  
 B.C.E., M16  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 236  
 Machinist, Peter, 288  
 Madhva, 433  
 Maecenas, 391  
 Maeon, 202  
 Magadha, 263  
 Magi, 508  
 Magnesia, Battle of, 387  
 Magnus, Gnaeus Pompeius. *See* Pompey  
**Mahabharata**, 49, 153, 199, 256–257, 263, 358, 381, 408, 409, 480  
 Mahamaya, 158  
 Mahapajapati Gotami, 158  
 Mahasthamaprapta, 56  
**Mahayana Buddhism**, 57, 236, 358, 427, 453, 461–462, 463  
 Maia, 396  
 Maitreya Buddha, 463  
 maize, xxx  
**Major Religions in the Eastern Hemisphere**, c. 600 C.E., M32  
 Makeda, 137  
 Malachi, 368  
 Mallory, John, 211  
 Mamluk, 314  
 Mancinus, Gaius Hostilius, 162  
 Mandaeans, 78, 79, 226, 448  
 mandala, 454  
 Mandan, 297  
 Mandate of Heaven, 486  
 Manetho, 126, 208, 352  
 Mani, 37, 52, 79, 137, 413, 448  
 Manichaeanism, 37, 38, 52, 78, 79, 81, 130, 226, 429  
 Manishtushu, 7, 33, 311  
 Mantinea, Battle of, 9, 343  
**Maotun (Mao-t’un)**, 164, 251, 252, 257–258, 492, 501  
 Mao Zedong, 93  
 Mara, 159  
**Marathon, Battle of**, 3, 75, 76, 84, 109, 167, 258, 346, 459, 489  
**Marcellinus, Ammianus**, 258–259  
 Marcellus, 193  
 Marcian, 129  
 Marcion, 78–79, 320  
 Marcionism, 78–79, 130  
 Marcius, Ancus, 399  
 Marco, 232  
 Marcomanni, 17, 39  
 Marduk, 42, 44, 128, 299, 489  
 Marduk-nadin-ahhe, 42  
 Margueron, Jean, 259  
**Mari**, 8, 41, 124, 146, 207, 259–260, 472  
 maritime foundations of Andean civilizations (MFAC), 15  
**Marius**, 63–64, 260–261, 387, 469  
 Mariut, Lake, 11  
 Mark, 98, 100  
 Maro, Publius Vergilius, 397  
 Mars, 338, 395, 396, 406  
 Marshall, John, 213, 285  
 Martial, 390, 392, 396, 398  
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius, 398  
 Martin, 49  
 Martius Turbo, 222  
**martyrologies**, 261–262  
 Maruts, 478  
 Mary (mother of Jesus), 20, 63, 103, 129, 157, 219  
 Maryannu, 284  
 Mashayana, 348  
 Mashya, 348  
 Masoretic text, 50, 369  
 mastodons, xxix  
*Mathematical Syntaxis* (Ptolemy), 13  
 mathematics, xxxi, 13, 86, 127, 265, 276, 303–304, 358, 359, 366, 376  
 Mathran, 508  
 matter, defined, 27  
 Matthew, 20  
 Matthiae, Paolo, 123  
 Matthias, 78  
 Mattithias, 256  
 Matyushin, Gerald, 212  
 Mauretania, 4, 5  
 Maurice, 59, 384, 415  
**Mauryan Empire**, xxxvi, 33, 153, 177, 217, 236, 262–264, 270, 333  
**Mauryan Empire, The**, 325–260 B.C.E., M21  
 Mausolus, 86  
 Maximian, 118, 389, 457  
 Maximinus Thrax, 67  
 Maximus of Tyre, 420  
**Maximus the Confessor**, 264  
 Maya, xxxiv, xxxvi  
 Classic Period, 264–267  
 Preclassic Period, 267–269  
 Mayer, E., 212  
 Ma Yuan. *See under* Ma.  
 Mazdak, movement of, 414–415  
 McAvoy, Joseph, 148  
 McLaren, Charles, 471  
 Meadowcroft Rockshelter, 148  
 measles, 281  
 Mecca, xxxv, 22, 105, 239, 358, 501  
**Medes**, 269–270  
 Media, 103, 269  
 medicine, xxxi, 200–201  
 Medina, 105  
 Megabyzus, 31  
 Megacles, 89, 341  
 megafauna, 300  
**Megasthenes**, 74, 263, 270–271, 333  
 Mehmet II, 183  
 Meiji Restoration, 427  
 Mela, Annaeus, 422  
 Meleager, 115  
 Melitius of Antioch, 82  
 Melito of Sardis, 357  
 Melkites, 320, 449  
 Memmius, 390, 397

- Memnon of Ephesus, 129  
 Memnon of Rhodes, 10  
 Memphis, 316  
 Menander, 153, 307  
**Mencius** (*Mengzi*, or *Meng Tzu*), 92, 241, 271–272, 493, 494  
 Menelaus, 117, 189, 203  
 Menelik, 30  
 Menelik I, 137  
 Menes, 126, 350  
**Meng Tian** (*Meng T'ien*), 163, 251, 257, 272, 378, 491, 492  
**Mengzi** (*Meng Tzu*). *See* Mencius  
**Mengzi** (*Meng Tzu*), 92  
 Menkaure, 317, 373  
 Menoecus, 131  
 Mentuhotep II, 278, 457  
 Mentuhotep III, 278  
 Mercury, 396  
 Merenre Nemtyemsaf II, 352  
 Merneptah, 215, 309, 384, 419  
 Merodach-baladan II, 35, 43  
**Meroë**, 4, 5, 138, 240, 272–273, 312, 313  
 Merovingian dynasty, 243, 460  
 Merpert, Nikolay, 213  
 Mesannepada, 475  
 Mesha Stela, 216  
 Meskalamdug, 475  
**Mesoamerica**, xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxviii  
 Archaic Period, 273–274  
 Classic Period, 275–276  
 Preclassic Period, 274  
 Mesolithic age, 152, 211, 213, 226, 300–302, 327  
 Mesopotamia, xxix–xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxix, 6, 7, 33, 34, 41, 42, 100, 101, 102, 108, 146, 207, 222, 231, 237, 239, 259, 260, 284, 334, 412, 413, 418, 423, 446, 448  
 Mesrob Mashtot, 30  
 Messalina, Valeria, 422  
**Messianism**, 276–277, 288  
 Metellus Scipio, 65, 69, 71  
 Methodius, 166  
 Mexico, xxxvi  
 Micah, 368  
 Middle Ages, 218, 286, 294, 307  
 Middle Comedy, 26, 307  
**Middle Kingdom**, Egypt, 126, 278–279  
 migration patterns of the Americas, 279–281  
 Milan, Edict of, 95, 99, 281–282, 404  
 Milesian school, 364–365  
 Miletus, 25  
 Miltiades, 258, 346  
 Mimaki-iri-hiko, 428  
 Mimamsa school, 432  
 Mimnermus, 254  
 Minerva, 396  
 Mingdi (Ming Ti), 55  
 Mingsha, Mount, 121  
**Minoans**, xxxv, 102, 250, 282–283, 290  
 Minos, 250  
 Mirian, 160  
**Mishnah**, 228, 277, 283–284, 288, 451, 452, 467, 503  
 Mithraism, 80  
 Mithras, 236, 389, 396  
 Mithridates I, 421  
 Mithridates VI, 63, 64, 261, 387  
 mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), xxxiv, 148, 149, 302  
 Mitra, 478  
**Mittani**, 34, 42, 147, 202, 207, 208, 284–285  
 Miwa, Mount, 428  
 Mixtecs, 317  
 Mnesicles, 84, 85  
 Moabite Stone, 6  
 Moche culture, 16  
 modalism, 193  
 Modoc, 297  
**Mohenjo-Daro**, xxxvii, 119, 213, 214, 285, 358  
 Moism/Moists, 205, 271, 289  
 Moloch, 5  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 402  
 Monarchianism, 81, 193  
 Monastery of the Holy Cross, 160  
**monasticism**, 113, 125, 219, 286–287, 320  
 Mongolian Huns, 205  
 Mongols, 105  
 Mononabe, 496  
 Monophysites, 320, 449  
 monotheism, 277  
 Monothelitism, 264  
 Montanism, 81, 194  
 Montanus, 193–194  
 Montet, Pierre, 58  
 Montu, 278  
 Mordechai, 135  
 Mor Gabriel, 472  
 Morris, William, 203  
 Morse, Edward S., 226  
 Moseley, Michael E., 15  
**Moses**, 21, 23, 29, 51, 105, 110, 114, 125, 215, 222, 225, 228, 229, 230, 239, 283, 287–288, 290, 335, 337, 344, 355, 367, 368, 370, 424, 431, 452, 466  
 Mother Goddess, 102, 129  
 mound-building cultures, 281, 296, 297  
 Mousterian industry, 329  
 Mowinckel, S., 277  
**Mozi** (*Mo Tzu*), 288–289  
 Mucius Scaevola, 83  
 Muhammad, xxxv, 22, 314, 334, 384, 416, 439, 507  
 Muller, Max, 210  
 Munda, Battle of, 65  
 Mundo, 234  
 Munduk, 242  
*muraji*, 496  
 Murra, John, 16  
 Murshili I, 42, 124, 201  
 Murshili III, 383  
 Mushezib-Marduk, 43  
 Muskogee, 296  
 Mut, 458  
 Muwatalli, 383  
 Muye, Battle of, 505  
 Mycale, Battle of, 489  
**Mycenae**, xxxv, xxxvii, 75, 167, 190, 250, 289–290, 419  
 Myron, 86, 179  
**mystery cults**, 90, 128–129, 244, 290–291, 337
- N**  
 Na'aman, 207  
**Nabataeans**, 239, 293–294, 306  
 Nabonassar, 43  
 Nabonidus, 44, 103, 476  
 Nabopolassar, 44, 299  
 Naemul, 465  
 Naevius, Cornelius, 397  
 Naevius, Gnaeus, 393–394  
**Nag Hammadi codices**, 78, 79, 81, 372. *See also* Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)  
 Nahor, 23  
 Nahum, 368  
 Naka, 496  
 Nakatomi Kamatari, 496  
 Napoleon I. *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon  
 Naram-Sin, 7, 8, 41, 42, 124, 128, 207, 411  
 Narcissus, 392  
 Narmer, 146  
 Narsai, 449  
 Narseh, 413  
 Narses, 323  
 Naso Publius Ovidius. *See* Ovid

- Natchez, 296  
 Nathan, 368  
 Nathaniel, 20  
 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 150  
**Native Americans, chronologies and peoples, 294–296**  
 migration patterns of, 279–281  
 regional adaptations by, 296–298  
 Natufian culture, 300–301  
 Navajo, 295, 296  
 Nazarenes, 229  
 Nazca culture, 16  
 Nazianzus, Gregory, 48, 67–68, 219, 264, 461  
 Neanderthals, 386  
 Nearchus, 115  
 Nebty, 350  
**Nebuchadnezzar I**, 42, 128, 298, 299  
**Nebuchadnezzar II**, 44, 104, 114, 216, 298–300, 420, 476  
 Neco, 299  
 Neco II, 44, 228  
 Nefer-Nefru-Aten, 6  
 Nefertari, 309, 383, 458  
**Nefertiti**, 6–7, 146, 300, 308  
 Nehemiah, 30–31, 114  
 Nekhbet, 126, 350  
 Nekhtenebef, 31  
 Nemean Games, 318  
 Nemesis, 189  
 Neocles, 458  
 Neo-Confucianism, 56, 92, 93  
 Neo-Daoism, 106, 107  
**Neolithic age**, 152, 213, 226, 282, 300–302, 311, 312, 327, 426, 490  
**Neoplatonism**, 37, 48, 52, 82, 95, 230, 248, 302–304, 355  
 Neoptolemus, 354  
 Neoptolemus II, 375  
 Neptune, 396  
 Nergal-ushezib, 43  
 Neriah, 47  
**Nero**, 54, 150, 222, 231, 233, 304–305, 339, 345, 349, 388, 392, 395, 398, 400, 422, 444, 445  
 Nerullinus, Marcus Suillius, 422  
 Nerva, 151, 340, 388, 400, 467  
**Nestorian Church**, 305–306, 429  
 Nestorianism, 230  
**Nestorius**, 102–103, 125, 129, 247, 305–306  
**New Comedy**, 26, 306–307  
**New Ilium**, 471  
**New Kingdom, Egypt**, 126, 307–309  
 New Testament, 12, 51–52, 142, 202, 219, 220, 225–226, 238, 276, 288, 290, 334, 337, 353, 364, 369, 371, 424, 474  
 Nezami, 254  
 Nez Perce, 297  
**Nicaea, Council of**, 26, 36, 82, 96, 98, 99, 128, 141, 166, 234, 309–310, 321, 402, 460, 461, 474  
 Nicanor, 116  
 Nicaragua, xxxvi  
 Nicene Creed, 26, 141, 310  
 Nicolas of Damascus, 227  
 Nigantha Nataputta, 217  
 Nigeria, 4, 5  
 Nikias, 322, 447, 448  
     Peace of, 447  
 Nile River, xxix, xxxii, xxxvii, 7, 11, 13, 146, 273, 316, 350, 351, 419, 457  
 Nimrod, 311  
 Nine Divine Muses, 197  
**Nineveh**, 34, 43, 44, 147, 161, 207, 248, 270, 311, 416  
 Nino, 160  
 nirvana, 158, 159, 217, 461  
 Nisibis, 124–125, 130, 231, 249, 259, 306, 412, 448, 472  
 Nitiqret, 352  
 Noah, 23  
 Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius, 397  
 Noble Eightfold Path, 461, 462  
 Noetus, 193  
 Noman-b-Mundhar, 415  
 nomen, 350, 382  
 North Africa, city-states in, xxxvi, 4  
 North America, migration patterns in, 279–281  
 North Black Sea hypothesis, 211  
 Northern Hunting tradition, 295–296  
 Northern Wei, 465–466  
 Noth, Martin, 114  
**Nubia**, 126, 142, 208, 240, 272, 278, 307, 311–314, 316  
 Numbers, book of, 466, 467  
 Numerian, 118  
 Numidia, 4, 5  
 Numitor, 405  
 Nuraddin, 105  
 Nur-Daggal, 8, 412  
 Nyaya school, 432
- O**  
 Obadiah, 368  
 Ochus, 31–32  
 Octavia Minor, 62  
 Octavian. *See Caesar, Augustus*  
 Octavius, Marcus, 162  
 Odawa, 279  
 Odaynath, 330  
 Odes of Solomon, 448  
**Odovacar**, 315–316, 384, 389–390, 402, 460  
 Odysseus, 189, 203–204  
**Odyssey** (Homer), 2, 24, 173, 189, 190, 202, 203–204, 290, 349, 365  
 Oedipus, 392, 443  
 Oenomaus, 444  
 oikist, 168  
 Ojibwa, 279  
 Old Assyrian Period, 33–34  
 Old Comedy, 26, 170, 307  
**Old Kingdom, Egypt**, 126, 316–317  
 Old Testament, 12, 202, 219, 238, 288, 337, 369  
 Olduvai Gorge, 326  
 Oldowan industry, 328  
 oligarchy, 167  
**Olmechs**, 268, 273, 274, 275, 317–318  
 Olmstead, A. T., 31  
 Olympias, 9, 116  
**Olympic Games**, 75, 76, 178, 179, 318–320  
 Omar Khayyam, 254  
*omi*, 496  
 Omononushi, 428  
 Omri, 216  
 O'Neill, Eugene, 3  
 optically stimulated luminescence (OSL), 148  
*optimates*, 63, 65, 469  
 oracle bones, 17–18, 425–426, 486, 491  
 orchestra, 169  
 Orchomenus, Battle of, 387  
 Orestes, 315  
**Oriental Orthodox Churches**, 165, 320–321, 440, 449, 472  
**Origen**, 48, 51, 67, 81, 90, 99, 141, 248, 249, 304, 320, 321–322, 355, 407, 431  
 Ormazd, 347, 348, 349  
 Orontes Valley, 6  
 Orpheus, 291  
 Osiris, 53, 278, 316  
 Osroes, 388  
 ostracism, 322, 344  
**Ostrogoths**, 1, 52, 234, 242, 315, 323, 390, 460

- Otho, 233, 339, 392  
 Ottoman Empire, 166, 183  
 Ovid, 339, 390, 391, 395, 396, 397, 398  
*Oxyrhynchus*, 195, 372  
*Ozymandias*, 384
- P**  
 Pachomius, 99, 113, 286  
 Pact of Tarentum, 470  
 Padmasambhava, 453  
 Paekche kingdom, 464–465, 496  
*paideia*, 90, 325–326  
 Paiute, 297  
 Pakistan, xxxvii, 153, 177, 235, 285, 454, 492, 504  
 Palamas, Gregory, 67  
**paleoanthropology**, 326–327  
 Paleo-Arctic culture, 301  
 paleography, 379  
 Paleo-Indians, 148, 280  
**Paleolithic age**, 152, 213, 300–302, 327–330  
**Palestine at the Time of Christ**, M22  
 Palestinian Talmud, 451–452  
 Pali, 462  
 palladium, 29  
 Palladius, 99, 336  
**Palmyra**, 330  
 Pammenes, 354  
 Pamphilus, 141  
 Pan, 191  
 Panacea, 200  
 Panaetius, 445  
**Panathenaic Festival**, 330–331, 332  
 Pandora, 192, 197  
 Panium, Battle of, 421  
 Pantaenus, 90, 99  
 Pantauchus, 375  
 paper, invention of, xxxi, 418  
 papyrus/papyri, xxxi, 13, 51–52, 58, 75, 127, 195, 248, 321, 362, 418  
 Paraitacene, Battle of, 116  
 Paramessu. *See* Ramses I  
 Paris, 189, 203, 471  
 Parmenides, 39, 303, 366, 367, 442  
 Parmenio, 10  
 Parnassus, Mount, 110, 356  
 Parsis, 507  
**Parthenon**, xxxvii, 84–85, 331–333  
**Parthia and the Sassanian Empire**, 114–628, M28  
 Pasztor, E., 455  
**Pataliputra**, 33, 57, 74, 177, 236, 263, 270, 333  
**Patriarchs, biblical**, 23, 215, 287, 288, 333–335, 355, 417  
**patricians**, 71, 315, 335–336, 401  
**Patrick**, 336, 474  
 patripassianism, 193  
 Patroclus, 189  
**Paul of Tarsus**, 68, 80, 165, 196, 221, 229, 277, 337–338, 353, 422, 424, 431, 449, 467  
**Paulinus**, 219  
**Paul of Samosata**, 193  
 Pausanias, 290, 354  
**Pax Romana**, xxxvi, 17, 38, 61, 121, 184, 338–341, 389, 429  
 Pedra Furada site, 148–149  
**Peisistratus**, 37, 89, 341–342, 361, 435, 441  
 Peithon, 116  
 Pelagianism, 38  
 Pelagius, 38  
 Pelagius II (pope), 175  
 Peloponnesian League, 9, 86, 167, 342  
**Peloponnesian War**, 8, 9, 26, 31, 86, 97, 140, 167, 307, 342–343, 344, 361, 434, 447  
 Pendzhikent, 436, 437, 438  
 Penelope, 203  
 Pentateuch, 114, 466, 467  
 Pentheus, 141  
 Pepi II, 352  
 Pepin the Short, 323  
 Perdiccas, 115–116  
 Perdiccas III, 354  
 Pergamum, 190, 191, 248, 421  
**Pericles**, xxxvii, 9, 167, 170, 307, 331, 342, 343–344, 366, 434, 442  
 Perpetua, 262, 345, 423  
**persecutions of the church**, 344–345  
 Persephone, 129, 172  
**Persepolis**, 11, 345–346  
 Perses, 197  
 Perseus, 173, 248  
**Persian Empire, The**, M12  
 Persian invasions, 75, 346–347, 361  
 Persian myth, 347–349  
**Persians**, xxxv, xxxvi, 10–11, 58, 103, 269–270, 349  
 Persian Wars, 194, 346–347  
**Persian Wars**, 492–479 B.C.E., M14  
 Persius, 397  
 Pertinax, 423  
 Perusia, Battle of, 2  
 Pesharim, 380  
 Peshitta, 50, 51, 124, 449  
 Peter, 79, 130, 165, 175, 196, 219, 305, 400, 449  
 Peter the Iberian, 160  
 Petra, 293–294, 306  
**Petronius**, 349–350  
 phalanx, xxxviii, 354  
**pharaoh**, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, 6, 34, 42, 53, 58, 66, 126, 146, 200, 216, 228, 272, 278–279, 285, 286, 288, 299, 308, 312, 316, 335, 350–352, 382, 383, 439, 457  
**Pharisees**, 133, 221, 227, 229, 353, 407, 503  
 Pharnaces II, 65  
 Pharnaspes, 66  
 Pharsalia, Battle of, 469  
 Pheidippides, 258  
 Phidias, 84, 85, 332, 343  
 Philemon, 307  
 Philip, 20, 79  
 Philip II, 9, 10  
 Philip IV, 375  
**Philip of Macedon** (Philip III), 9, 27, 32, 86, 112, 115, 168, 188, 190, 354  
 Philippi, Battle of, 61  
 Philip the Arab, 412  
 Philistines, 417, 420  
**Philo**, 90, 133, 248, 277, 288, 320, 355, 364, 431, 467  
 Philoxenus of Mabbugh, 125, 449  
 Phoebus Apollo, 326  
 Phoenicia, xxxv, xxxix, 5–6, 23, 58, 147, 239  
**Phoenician colonies**, 249, 355–356  
 Phokas, 59  
 phonemes, 316  
 phonograms, 198  
 Photinus, 193  
 Phrygia, 9  
 pictograms, 101  
 pictographs, xxxiv, 425  
 Pictor, Q. Fabius, 394  
 Picts, 120, 181, 423  
**Pilate, Pontius**. *See* Pontius Pilate  
 pilgrimage, 125–126, 189, 229, 239, 263, 334, 356–358, 429, 431  
 Pima, 296  
 Pindar, 75–76, 179, 254  
 Piperno, M., 136  
 pirates, 102, 384  
 Piso, 305, 422, 469  
 Pit-Grave culture, 211, 212  
 Pius, Antoninus, 182, 389, 400, 420  
 plague, 281, 344

- Plataea, Battle of, 85, 347, 489  
 Plato, xxxviii, 8, 27, 28, 39, 79,  
   173, 174, 179, 195, 302, 304,  
   358–359, 392, 433, 434, 435,  
   441, 487  
**Platonism**, 302, 355, 358–361  
 Plautianus, Gaius Fulvius, 68  
 plebeians, xxxiii, 62, 71, 335–336  
 Pleistocene Extinction Event, 300  
 Pliny, 133, 137, 192, 345, 390, 392, 468  
 Plotinus, 248, 302–303  
 Pluralists, 366  
 Plutarch, 8, 9, 30, 71, 84, 113, 162,  
   248, 304, 344, 345, 375, 441,  
   443, 481, 482  
 Pluto, 396  
 plutocracy, 167  
 Poemen, 113  
 poetry  
   choregic, 75–76  
   lyric, 254, 411  
 Polemon of Athens, 420  
 polis, 25, 28, 111, 166–167, 168, 290,  
   361–362, 447, 448. *See also*  
   Greek city-states  
 Pollio, Asinius, 394  
 Pollux, 399  
 Polo, Marco, 429  
 polyandry, 206  
 Polybius, 45, 259, 393  
 Polycarp of Smyrna, 262, 345  
 Polyclitus, 86, 87  
 Polycrates of Samos, 66  
 Polydeuces, 188  
 polygamy, xxxii, 206, 492  
 Polyperchon, 116  
 Pomona, 395  
**Pompeii**, 191, 340, 362–363  
 Pompeius Strabo, 83  
 Pompey, 61, 64, 65, 71, 83, 84, 363,  
   373, 384, 387, 422, 444, 469  
 Pompilius, Numa, 399  
**Pontius Pilate**, 196, 221, 222, 225,  
   363–364, 388, 392  
 Pontos, 172  
*populares*, 63  
 Porphyry, 28, 52, 303  
 Porus, 11  
 Poseidon, 85, 173, 203, 204, 332  
 Posidonus, 445  
 Postumus, 232  
 Potawatomi, 279  
 pottery, xxxii, 25, 152, 191–192, 266,  
   274, 301–302, 356, 420, 498  
 Pound, Ezra, 411  
 Poverty Point culture, 280–281  
 Powell, Richard, 204  
 Powhatan Confederacy, 297  
 praenomen, 350, 382  
 Praetorian Guard, 62–63, 232, 233,  
   338, 340, 364, 423  
 Prakrīts, 480  
 Prasutagus, 53–54  
 Praxiteles, 86, 87, 191  
**pre-Socratic philosophy**, 364–367, 376  
 Priam, 189, 203, 471  
 primates, 327  
*princeps*, 2, 208, 401, 456, 457, 467  
 Priscus Attalus, 243  
 Probus, 118  
 Proclus Diadochus, 304  
 Procopius, 205, 234, 404  
 Prodicus, 442  
 Prometheus, 192, 197  
 Propertius, Sextus Aurelius, 397  
**prophets**, xxxiv, 216, 219, 367–369, 417  
 Propylaea, 84, 85  
 Proserpine, 396  
*proskēnion*, 171  
 Protagoras, 173, 441, 442  
 Protasius, 14  
 Protesilaus, 204  
 Protevangelium of James, 372  
 Proverbs, 488  
 Prudentius, Aurelius Clemons, 398  
 Psalms, 219, 238, 369–371, 379, 488  
 Psamtik III, 66  
 Psellos, 304  
**Pseudepigrapha**, 216, 222, 238, 261,  
   277, 299, 371–372, 380, 488  
 Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, 449  
 Ptahhotep, 316  
 Ptolemaic canon, 43  
**Ptolemies**, xxxvi, 5, 11, 51, 65, 75, 99,  
   248, 256, 372–373, 421  
 Ptolemy, 87, 115, 116, 117, 126  
 Ptolemy I Soter, 11, 372, 375  
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 75, 117,  
   137, 373  
 Ptolemy III, 137  
 Ptolemy Keraunos, 117, 421  
 Ptolemy V Epiphanes, 127, 387, 406  
 Ptolemy VII, 373  
 Ptolemy XII, 469  
 Ptolemy XIII, 65  
 Ptyerum, Battle of, 103  
 Pu-Abi, 475  
 Publicola, 444  
 Publius Suillius Rufus. *See* Rufus,  
   Publius Suillius  
 Pucará, 15, 16  
**Punic Wars**, 69, 187, 373, 386, 387,  
   393, 397, 400, 443  
**Punic Wars, The**, 264–200 B.C.E., M19  
 Puranas, 119, 218, 481  
 Pure Land Buddhism, 56  
 Purva Mimamsa School, 432  
 Puzur-Inshushinak, 128  
 Pydne, Battle of, 387  
 pygmy, 408  
 pyramids  
   Bent Pyramid, 316, 351, 374  
   of Giza, xxxvii, 146, 316, 351,  
    373–374  
   Mesoamerican, 269, 454  
   Red Pyramid, 351, 374  
   Step Pyramid of Djoser, 316  
 Pyrrha, 192  
**Pyrrhus**, 117, 375–376  
**Pythagoras**, xxxi, 86, 358, 366, 376  
 Pythagorean school, 366  
 Pythia, 111, 112  
 Pythian Games, 318  
 Pythius, 86  
 Python, 356–357
- Q**  
 Qaluyu culture, 15  
 Qarqar, 6  
 Qi (Chi), 490, 497, 506  
 Qiang (Chiang), 121, 269  
**Qin (Ch'in) dynasty**, xxxii, 92, 94,  
   183, 205, 245, 250, 252, 257,  
   272, 377–379, 429, 471, 491,  
   492  
 Qing (Ch'ing), 493  
 Qin Shihuangdi (Ch'in Shih-huang-ti),  
   377–378  
 Qizi (Chi Tzu). *See* Kija  
 Qoheleth, 488  
 Quadi, 17, 39  
 Quadrigarius, Q. Claudius, 394  
 Quartodecimans, 310  
*qubbah*, 29  
 Quetzalcoatl, 275, 454, 455, 456  
 Quietus, Lucius, 222  
 Quintilian, 3, 390, 392  
 Quintus, 83  
 Quirinus, 395, 396  
**Qumran**, 19, 50, 133, 134, 216, 222,  
   225, 238, 277, 288, 353, 369,  
   371, 379–380  
**Qunqiu (Ch'un-ch'iü)**, 91, 92, 93, 429  
 Qur'an (Koran), xxxv, 333, 334  
 Quraysh tribe, 22

- R**
- Ra, 53, 126, 308
  - Rabban, 503–504
  - Rahula, 158
  - Rama, 381
  - Ramanuja, 433
  - Ramayana**, 49, 263, 358, 381–382, 409, 481
  - Ramot Gilead, 24
  - Ramses I, 382, 383
  - Ramses II**, 202, 309, 382, 383–384, 458
  - Ramses III, 419, 420, 458
  - Ramses VI, 458
  - Ramses XI, 309
  - Raphia, Battle of, 373
  - Rassamakin, Yuriy, 211
  - Râs Shamra, 473
  - Ravenna**, 206, 384–385, 389, 460
  - Reader, John, 272
  - “realized eschatology,” 238
  - Reccared, 483
  - Recceswinth, 483
  - Records of the Historian*, 46, 184, 429, 430
  - Red Cliff, Battle of, 464
  - Red Eyebrow Rebellion**, 176, 385, 485
  - Red Pyramid, 351, 374
  - Red River, 471, 472
  - Rehoboam, 216, 439
  - religious inclinations**, prehistory, 386
  - Remus, 396, 406
  - Renaissance, 50, 249
  - Renan, Ernest, 58
  - Renfrew, Colin, 212
  - Revelation, book of (Revelation to John), 18, 20, 192–193, 344
  - Rex, Quintus Marcius, 400
  - Rhipside, 30
  - Riace Bronzes, 85–86
  - rice, cultivation of, xxix–xxx, 427
  - Ridgeway, William, 169
  - Rieu, E. V., 202, 203
  - Rig-Veda, 32, 70, 119, 478, 480, 507
  - Rim-Sin, 41
  - Rimush, 7
  - Rinchendrub, Buton, 453
  - Rise of Constantine, The**, 306–324, M29
  - Rishabhadeva, 477
  - Roderic, 483
  - Rodrigo, 483
  - Roman Empire**, 165, 232–233, 386–390, 402–405
  - Roman Empire under the Tetrarchy**, The, c. 300, M27
  - Roman Expansion**, 240 B.C.E.–30 C.E., M20
  - Roman golden age**, 390–391
  - Roman historians**, 393–395
  - Roman pantheon and myth**, 182, 395–396
  - Roman poetry**, 396–398
  - Roman silver age**, 390, 392–393
  - Rome**
    - buildings, engineers, 398–401
    - decline and fall, xxxvi, 1, 401–405
    - founding, 405
    - government, xxxiii, 405–406
    - Great Fire of, 305, 400
    - sack of, 402, 482
  - Romulus, 396, 398, 399, 405, 406
  - Romulus Augustulus, 315, 323, 390, 401, 402, 460
  - Rosetta Stone**, 198, 350, 406
  - Roxane, 11, 115, 116
  - Royal Road, 437
  - Rua (Rugila), 242
  - Rubicon River, 65, 71, 155, 384, 395, 469
  - Rudaki, 254
  - Rufinus, 99, 100, 189, 219
  - Rufus, Publius Suillius, 422
  - Ruga, 206
- S**
- Sabellianism, 26, 52, 141, 193, 194
  - Sabellius, 193
  - Sabinus Julianus, 118
  - Sabis, Battle of, 156
  - Sack of Rome, 402, 482
  - Sadducees**, 133, 229, 353, 407–408, 503
  - Safonov, Viktor, 212
  - Sagi, Samguk, 465
  - Sahampati, 159
  - Sahure, 136
  - Saicho, 55
  - Sakyamuni Buddha, 55, 453
  - Sakyas**, 408
  - Saladin, 105
  - Salamis, Battle of, 75, 76, 167, 346, 347, 434, 442, 459, 489
  - Salitis, 208
  - Sallust, 259, 394, 443
  - Samara, 5, 6
  - Samaritans, 50, 234
  - Samarkand, 436, 437, 438
  - Samguk Sagi, 465
  - Samkhya school, 433
  - Samson, 230
  - Samsuiluna, 42
  - Samudragupta, 74, 177
  - Samuel, book of, 23, 109, 368, 370, 417
  - sangha*, 159
  - Sanhedrin, 222, 503
  - San Juan Tewa, 279
  - Sankara, 199
  - Sanskrit**, xxxii, xxxv, 32, 49, 55, 70, 119, 145, 177, 199, 210, 213, 218, 235, 236, 256, 358, 381, 409–410, 468, 478, 480–481
  - San tribe**, 408–409
  - Saoshyanth, 348
  - Sappho**, 24, 254, 410–411
  - Sarah, 113
  - Sardica, Council of, 36
  - Sargon II, 35, 43, 269
  - Sargon of Akkad**, 7, 8, 124, 147, 288, 411–412, 446, 475
  - sarissa*, 9, 10, 354
  - Sassanid Empire**, 22, 58, 96, 117, 130, 138, 154, 207, 231, 240, 305, 348, 412–416, 456, 507, 508
  - satire**, 170–171
  - Saturn, 395, 396, 399
  - Saturninus, 260
  - Satyrs, 191
  - Satyrus, 86
  - Saul**, 109, 215, 230, 256, 417
  - Saussure, F. de, 213
  - Savitri, 478
  - Saxons, 242, 244
  - Sayzana, 142, 143
  - Scaevinus, 349
  - Sceptics, 394
  - Schechter, Solomon, 380
  - Schleicher, August, 210
  - Schliemann, Heinrich, 471
  - Schmandt-Besserat, Denise, 100
  - Schoeps, H. J., 503
  - Scholastica, St., 49
  - sciences, xxxi
  - Scillitan martyrs, 345
  - Scipio, Metellus, 65, 69, 71
  - Scipio Aemilianus, 162
  - Scipio Africanus, 162, 187, 188
  - Scotus, Duns, 67
  - scribes**, 316, 417–419, 487
  - Sea Peoples**, xxxix, 58, 309, 419–420
  - Second Athenian Confederacy, 195
  - Second Diadoch War, 116
  - Second Ecumenical Council, 461
  - Second Mithridatic War, 387
  - Second Persian War, 458

- Second Punic War, 69, 187, 397, 400, 443  
 Second Settlement, 62  
**Second Sophistic**, 174, 420–421  
 Second Temple, 19, 80, 276, 370  
 Sejanus, 232, 364  
**Seleucid Empire**, 29, 44, 45, 137, 216, 256, 263, 293, 330, 333, 346, 387, 388, 421–422  
 Seleucus I Nicator, 45, 87, 115, 116, 117, 263, 270, 333  
 Seleucus IV Philopator, 421  
 Seljuk Empire, 472  
**Seneca**, 131, 233, 248, 305, 390, 392, 398, 422–423, 444, 445  
 Sennacherib, xxxvii, 35, 43, 148, 216, 311  
 Senusret I, 278  
 Senusret II, 278  
 Senusret III, 278  
 Septimania, 483  
**Septimus Severus**, 228, 249, 423  
 Septuagint, 12, 50, 51, 99, 219, 337, 355, 371  
 Seqenenre Taa, 208  
 Serapio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, 163  
 Seredniy Stig culture, 211, 212  
 Sertorius, 468  
**Servant Songs of Isaiah**, 423–424  
 Servile War, 70  
 Servius, Tullus, 399  
 Servius Sulpicius Galba, 233  
 Seth, 350  
 Seti I, 382, 383  
 Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 107  
 Severus, Alexander, 456  
 Severus, Sextus Julius, 223  
*sevoraim*, 451, 452  
 Sextus Empiricus, 442  
 Sextus Julius Africanus, 208  
 Sextus Pompeius (Sextus Pompey), 65, 470  
 Sextus Roscius, 83  
 Shabaka, 240, 312  
 Shahin, 416  
 Shahrbaraz, 416  
 Shakespeare, William, 204, 307  
 Shakkanakku, 260  
 Shalmaneser I, 34, 202, 285, 311  
 Shalmaneser III, 23, 35, 216  
 Shalmaneser V, 35, 43  
 Shamash-shuma-ukin, 35, 43  
 Shammai, 353, 452, 503  
 Shamshi-Adad I, 34, 41, 43, 260  
 Shang, Lord, 377  
 Shangdi (Shang-ti), 18, 425, 486  
**Shang dynasty**, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, 17–18, 91, 120–121, 238, 418, 424–426, 490, 499, 505  
 Shang Yang, 245, 377  
 Shankara, 432–433  
 Shapur I, 412, 413  
 Shapur II, 413  
 Shapur III, 30, 413  
 Shardana, 419  
 Shar-kali-sharri, 7, 8, 41  
 Sheba, 499  
 Shem, 23  
 Shengnong (Sheng-nung), 498–499  
 Shenoute of Atri, 286  
 Shepherd of Hermas, 82  
*Shiji (Shih-chi)*, 46, 184, 429, 430, 491  
*Shi Jing (Shih Ching)*, 91, 93  
 Shimashki dynasty, 476  
**Shintoism**, 426–428  
 Shiruya, 416  
 Shiva, 214, 235  
 Shomu, 154  
 Shoshone, 297  
 Shōtoku Taishi, 436, 445, 446, 496  
 Shou, 486, 505  
 shrine Shinto, 427  
 Shu-Durul, 7  
 Shu Han, 464  
*Shu Jing (Shu Ching)*, 91, 93, 429  
 Shulgi, 147, 476  
 Shun, 91, 94, 490, 493, 497, 499  
 Shuppiluliuma I, 202  
 Shutruk-Nahhunte, 128  
 Siculus, 73  
 Sidon, 11  
 sieges in warfare, xxxviii–xxxix  
**Silk Road**, xxxiii, xxxvi, 45, 46, 55, 74, 105, 132, 145, 153, 177, 184, 186, 206, 240, 330, 428–429, 436, 501  
 Silla kingdom, 464–465, 496  
 Silvanus, 259  
 silver, xxxi  
 Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an), 429  
 Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien), 46, 164, 184, 272, 429–430, 491  
 Sima Yuan, 464  
**Simeon the Stylite**, 286, 321, 430–431  
 Simon, 256  
 Simonides, 76, 254, 347  
 Simon Magus, 78  
 Simon Peter, 20, 21  
 Simon the Cananaean, 20–21  
**Sinai, Mount**, 29, 110, 114, 125, 288, 431, 466  
 Sin-leqe-unnini, 161  
 Sirach, 90, 372, 488  
 Siricius, 219  
 Sisebut, 483  
**Six Schools of classical Hindu philosophy**, 431–433  
 Sixtus III, 247  
 Skamandronymos, 410  
*skene*, 171  
 Skopas, 86, 191  
 Slavs, 59, 166, 205, 402  
 Slayer of Foes, 263  
 smallpox, 281  
 Smenkhare, 352  
 Smerdis, 66  
 Smith, Adam, 365  
 Sneferu, 316, 351, 374  
 Sobekhotep IV, 279  
 Sobekneferu, 279, 352  
 Social War, 83, 155, 387  
**Socrates**, 9, 19, 28, 39, 168, 171, 179, 195, 307, 349, 358, 433–435, 441, 442, 452, 487  
**Soga clan**, 436, 445, 496  
 Soga Iname, 436  
 Soga Umako, 436, 446  
**Sogdians**, 103, 389, 436–438, 493, 504  
**Solomon**, xxxvii, 23, 29, 109, 197, 215, 216, 229, 239, 320, 370, 371, 419, 439–440, 467, 487  
 Odes of, 448  
 Wisdom of, 488  
**Solon**, 37, 89, 90, 167, 341, 440–441  
 Soma, 478  
 Some Works of the Law, 380  
 Song (Sung) dynasty, 92  
 Song of Solomon and Qoheleth, 439  
 Sons and Daughters of the Covenant, 448  
**sophism**, 28, 173, 195, 441–442, 487.  
*See also* Second Sophistic  
**Sophocles**, 140, 170, 179, 392, 423, 442–443  
 Southern Agrarian tradition, 295–296  
**Spain**, 72, 482–483  
 Sparta, 8, 10, 31, 37, 84, 86, 167, 189, 195, 246, 258, 325, 342, 343, 344, 376, 387, 434, 443–444, 447, 448, 489  
**Spartacus**, xxxiii, 61, 70, 443–444, 469  
 Spencer, Philip, 411  
 Spinoza, Baruch de, 304  
 squash, xxx

- Sri Lanka. *See* Ceylon  
 Statius, 3, 390, 392, 398  
 Step Pyramid of Djoser, 316  
 Steseichorus, 254  
 Sthulabhadra, 217, 218  
 Stilicho, Flavius, 405  
 Stirling, Matthew W., 317  
**stoicism**, 38, 39, 52, 70, 193, 261, 355, 394, 422, 444–445  
 Stone Age, 300–302  
 Stonehenge, 120, 301  
 Strabo, 58, 155  
 Strauss, Richard, 3  
 Subandhu, 236  
 Sudan, 4, 5  
 Suddhodana, 158  
 Suetonius, 54, 61, 305, 390, 393, 394, 395, 470  
 Suevi, 242, 243, 474, 483  
 Sui dynasty, 55, 75, 465, 466  
**Suiko**, 436, 445–446, 496  
 Sukhra, 414  
**Sulla**, 63–64, 83, 140, 261, 387, 469, 471  
 Sulpicius Severus, 189  
**Sumer**, xxx, 8, 41, 101, 147, 161, 207, 270, 386, 411, 418, 446–447, 475, 487  
 Sumiyoshi, 428  
 Sumu-abum, 41  
 Sumu-Yaman, 260  
 Sun Bin, 447  
 Sun Goddess, 495  
 Sun Quan, 464  
 Sun Wu, 205  
**Sunzi (Sun Tzu)**, 236, 447  
 Suplicius Rufus, 261  
 Suppiluliumas, 285  
 “surge model,” 211  
 Surya, 381, 478  
**Susa**, 11, 128, 345–346, 489, 490  
 Sushun, 436, 445, 446  
 sutras, 409  
 syllogism, method of, 434–435  
 Symmachus, 14, 51  
 Syncletica, 113  
 syncretism, 126–127  
**synodos**, 13  
 Synoptic Gospels, 20  
**Syracuse**, 76, 139, 168, 447–448  
 Syriac culture and church, 20, 30, 50, 51, 130, 249, 286, 306, 448–449, 472  
 Syrianus, 304
- T**  
 Tablet Houses, 418  
 Tacitus, 73, 259, 390, 392, 422  
 T’aejo, 464  
 Taika Reforms, 496–497  
 Taima Taima Project, 148  
 Tajikistan, 436  
 Taliban, 45  
**Talmud**, 220, 228, 277, 283, 284, 288, 407, 451–453, 467, 504  
 Talpuš-atali, 207  
 Tambapanni, 74  
 Tamils, 74  
 Tamurlane, 437, 438  
 Tanakh, 50  
 Taneyev, Sergey, 3  
**Tang (T’ang) dynasty**, 56, 75, 107, 429, 465  
 Tang (T’ang) the Successful, 18, 425  
 Tan’gun, 76, 238  
*tannaim*, 451  
**Tantrism**, 453–454  
**Taoism. See** Daoism  
 Targums, 50, 51  
 Tarquin dynasty, 139, 155, 386, 399  
 Telamon, Battle of, 155  
 Tel Dan Stela, 22, 216  
 Telegin, Dmitry, 211  
 Tel-el-Amarna, 5  
 Telemachus, 203, 204  
 Temple Scroll, 380  
 Ten Commandments, 431  
 Ten Lost Tribes, 229  
**Teotihuacán**, xxxvi, xxxvii, 266, 274, 275, 454–456  
 Tertullian, 30, 81, 82, 193, 194, 262  
 Tetisheri, 208  
 tetralogy, 171  
**Tetrarchy**, 96, 118, 119, 456–457  
 Tewa, 296  
 Texcoco, Lake, 454  
 textiles, xxxi  
 Thaddaeus (Judas), 20, 21  
 Thales, 364–365  
 Thanksgiving Hymns Scroll, 380  
 Thapsus, Battle of, 71  
 Thaumatourgos, Gregory, 320  
**Thebes**, 10, 66, 136, 141, 146, 167, 195, 278, 290, 307, 341, 354, 457–458  
 Themistius, 404  
**Themistocles**, 76, 347, 458–459, 489  
 Theocritus, 391  
 Theodhad, 323  
 Theodora, 98, 234
- Theodore, 189  
**Theodoric**, 52, 315, 316, 323, 384, 460  
 Theodoric II, 482  
 Theodorus, 358  
 Theodosia, 384  
**Theodosius**, 14, 67, 414  
**Theodosius I**, 1, 30, 206, 243, 282, 291, 389, 402, 405, 460–461  
 Theodosius II, 58, 129  
 Theodotion, 51  
 Theodotus, 193  
 Theognis, 254  
 Theogonies, 172  
 theology, 52  
 Theophilus, 13, 83, 102  
 Theophrastus, 27  
**Theravada Buddhism**, 57, 236, 461–463, 468  
 Thermopylae, 246, 347, 489  
 Theron, 76  
 Theseus, 331  
 Thespian, 169  
 Theudas, 225  
 Third Council of Toledo, 483  
 Third Diadoch War, 116  
 Third Macedonian War, 387  
 Third Punic War, 187, 188, 387  
 Thirteen Saints, 160  
 Thirty Years’ Peace, 344  
 Thomas, Gospel of, 79, 220, 448  
 Thomas Christians, 449  
 Thomas the Apostle, 20, 124, 125, 472  
 Thoth, 418  
 Thrace, 10  
 Thrasymachus, 441  
**Three Kingdoms, China**, 464  
**Three Kingdoms, Korea**, 464–465  
 Three Sage Rulers, 490, 493, 497  
 Three Sisters, 295, 296  
**Thucydides**, 8, 167, 194–195, 259, 342, 344, 393, 447  
 Thutmose I, 308, 350–351  
 Thutmose II, 308  
 Thutmose III, 207, 308, 458  
 Thutmose IV, 285  
 Thutmose IV, 285, 308  
 Tian (T’ien), 486  
 Tiantai (T’ien T’ai) Buddhism, 55  
 Tiberinus, 406  
**Tiberius, Caesar Augustus**, 63, 196, 209, 231–232, 388, 399, 422  
 Tiberius Claudius Nero, 231–232  
 Tibesius, 237  
 Tibet, 453–454

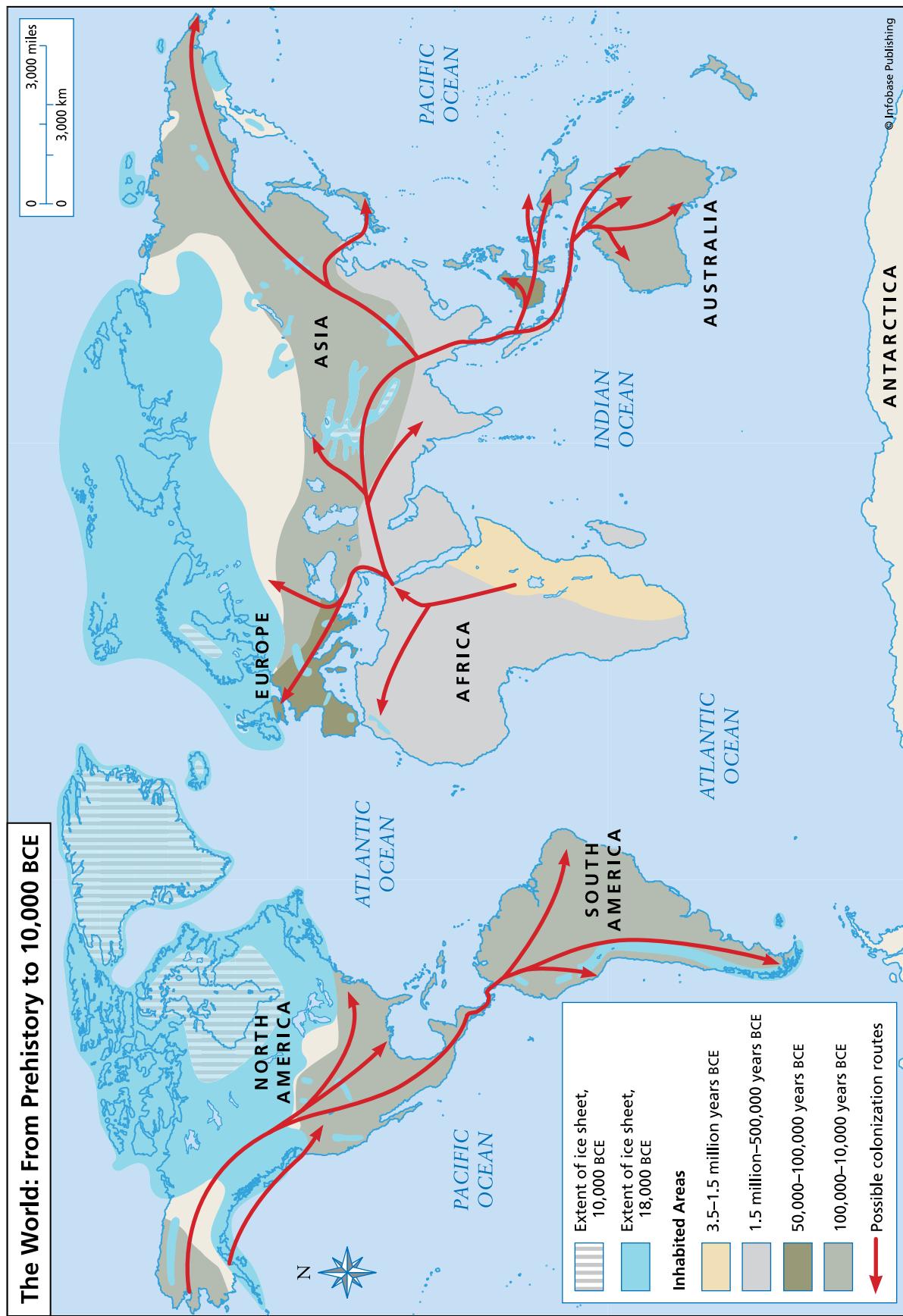
- Tibetan Book of the Dead, 53  
 Tigellinus, 349  
 Tiglath-pileser I, 22, 34, 42, 311  
 Tiglath-pileser III, 23, 24, 35, 43, 216, 269, 420  
 Tigranes, 422  
 Tigris River, xxxiv, xxxvii, 11, 34, 104, 146, 207, 284, 311, 413, 421, 446, 448  
 Timotheus, 86  
 Tiridates, 413  
 Tiridates III, 30  
 Titans, 172  
 Titicaca, Lake, 15–16  
 Titus, 150, 196, 388, 392, 393, 398, 400  
 Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus, 90  
 Titus Flavius Domitianus. *See* Domitian  
 Titus Petronius Niger, 349  
 Tiwanaku, 16  
 Tiy, 6, 7, 352  
 Tlaloc, 455  
 tobacco, 295  
**Toba (T'o-pa) dynasty**, 254, 465–466  
 Tobit, 372  
 Toledo, Council of, 483  
 Toleration, Edict of, 282  
 Topper site, 148  
**Torah**, 114, 221, 228, 229, 283, 288, 337, 369, 407, 431, 451, 452, 466–467  
 Tosefta, 283  
 Totila, 49, 323  
 Toumen, 257, 492  
 Tower of Babel, xxxvii, 299  
 Toya, 427  
**Trade Routes of the First Century C.E.**, M24  
**Trade Routes of the Mycenaeans and Minoans**, M8  
**Trajan**, 181, 220, 222, 239, 248, 262, 293, 340, 345, 384, 388, 393, 400, 420, 467–468, 501  
 Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius, 394  
 Transalpine Gaul, 155, 156, 157, 388  
 transmigration of the soul, 481  
 Transoxiana, 436, 437  
 Trebonius, 66  
 Trent, Council of, 220  
 Triballian kingdom, 10  
 Tribonian, 91  
*tribunicia potestas*, 39  
 trigonometry, 13  
 Trimalchio, 248  
 Trinitarian Christianity, 483  
**Tripitaka**, 57, 236, 468  
**Triumvirate (First and Second)**, 61–62, 71, 84, 338, 387, 391, 468–470  
 Trojan Horse, 189, 471  
 Trojan War, 3, 141, 173, 189, 190, 204, 290, 443, 471  
**Troy**, 2, 69, 75, 97, 173, 189, 203, 289, 305, 391, 396, 397, 471  
 Trubachev, Oleg, 213  
 Trubetskoy, Nikolay, 213  
 True Cross, 189  
 Trung Nhi, 471, 472  
**Trung sisters**, 269, 471–472  
 Trung Trac, 471, 472  
 Tucca, 398  
 Tudhaliya II, 201–202  
 Tukulti-Ninurta I, 34, 42, 43  
**Turabdin**, 320, 472  
 Turbo, Martius, 222  
 Turkana Boy, 326  
 Turomo, 472  
 Tutankhamun, 7, 308, 352, 458  
 Twosret, 309  
 Tyndareus, 189  
 tyranny, 167  
 Tyre, xxxvii, 11  
 Tyrrhenos, 139
- U**
- Ugarit, xxxiv, 207, 248, 419, 473–474  
 Ugo, 486  
**Ulfilas**, 474  
 Ulysses, 75, 203–204  
 Uma, 478  
 Umako, 436, 446  
 Umayyad Empire, 472, 501  
 Unas, 53  
 Underzo, Albert, 157  
 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, 362  
 Upali, 57  
 Upper Paleolithic, 329  
**Ur**, xxxvii, 128, 147, 161, 334, 346, 446, 474–476  
 Ur III dynasty, 207, 446  
 Uranus, 172, 396  
 urbanization, xxxvii  
 Ur-Nammu, 128, 147, 475, 476  
 Ursicinus, 259  
 Usas, 478  
 Ute, 297  
 Uzbekistan, 436
- V**
- Vaisheshika school, 432  
 Vajrayana Buddhism, 408, 453–454, 468  
 Vakhtang Gorgasali, 160  
 Valens, 1, 36, 48, 98, 259, 402, 404, 405  
 Valentinian I, 259  
 Valentinian II, 14  
 Valentinian III, 405  
 Valentinianism, 78  
 Valentinianus, 404  
 Valentinus, 78  
 Valerian (emperor of Rome), 117, 344  
 Valerian (bishop), 219  
 Valerius Flaccus, 261  
 Valerius of Antium, 394  
 Valley of the Kings, 458  
 Valley of the Queens, 458  
 Vallois, H., 135  
 Valmiki, 381, 409  
 Vandals, 242, 243, 246, 249, 315, 405, 456, 460, 474  
 Vardhamana, Nataputta, 217  
**Vardhamana Mahavira**, 217, 477  
 Varius, 398  
*varna*, 70  
 Varro, Marcus Terentius, 394, 395  
 Varuna, 478  
 Vatsayana, 235  
 Vedanta school, 432, 433  
**Vedas**, 32, 114, 199, 381, 409, 478–479  
**Vedic age**, xxxii, xxxv, 70, 409, 432, 479–481  
 Venus, 63, 396, 400  
 Venus de Milo, 191  
 Venus figurines, 329–330  
 Vercellae, Battle of, 387  
**Vercingetorix**, 65, 73, 157, 387, 469, 481–482  
 vertical archipelago, 16  
 Verus, 38, 39, 341  
 Vesalius, 201  
 Vespasian, 150, 227, 233, 248, 339, 388, 393, 400, 503  
 Vesta, 395, 396, 406  
 Vesuvius, Mount, 362–363, 444  
 Vibhajjavada, 57  
 Victoria, Lake, 4  
 Victory Stela, 42, 128  
 Vietnam, xxxvi, 471, 472  
 Vijaya, 73–74  
 Vimalamitra, 453  
 Virgil, 2–3, 63, 139, 339, 349, 390, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398, 399, 471  
 Vishnu, 49, 257, 433

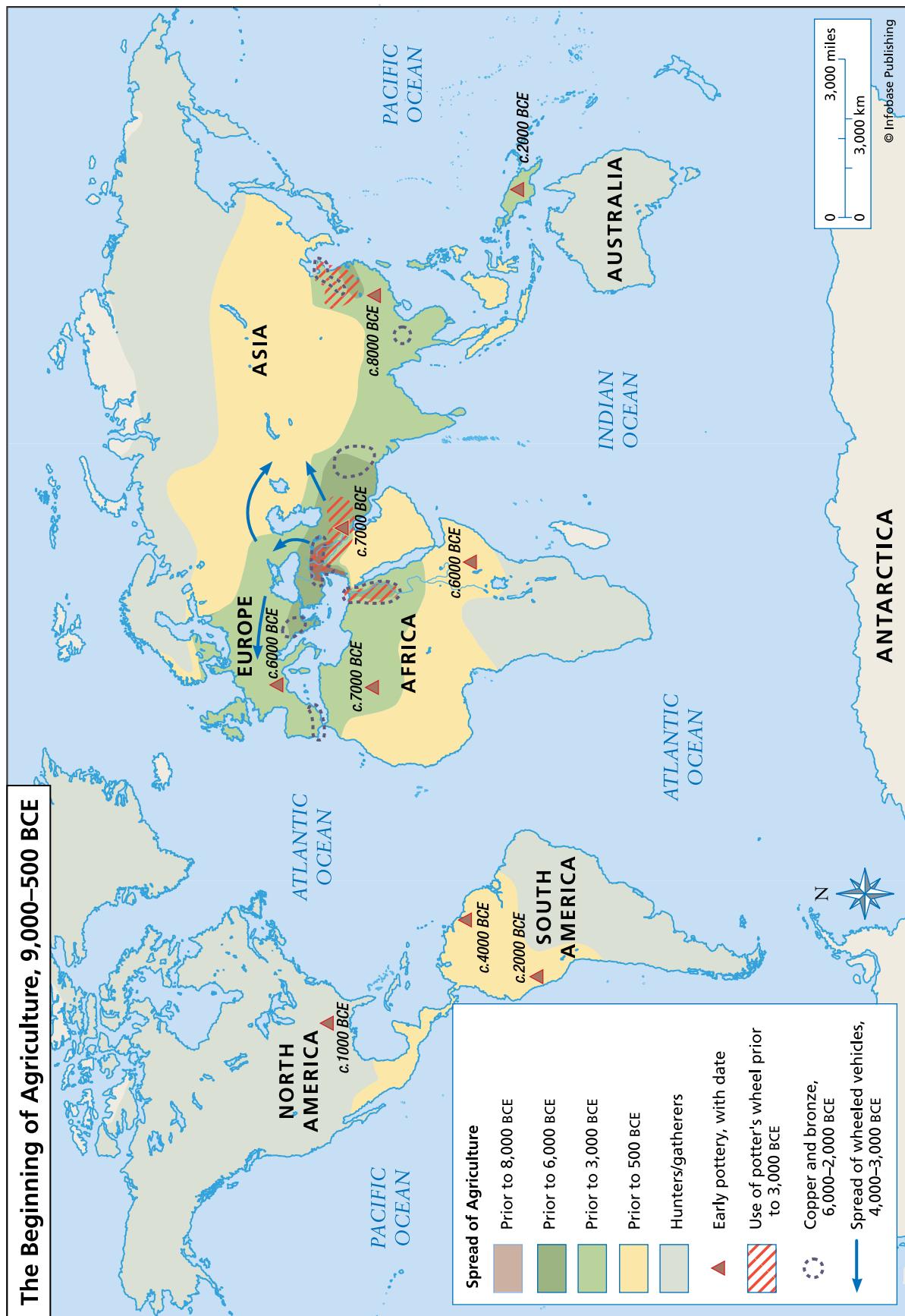
- Visigoths, 1, 157, 175, 323, 384, 405, 460, 474  
**kingdom of Spain**, 482–483
- Vitellius, 233, 339, 392, 393
- Vladimir of Kiev, 183
- Voegelin, Eric, 40
- Vramshapuh, 414
- Vulcan, 396
- Vulgate translation, 50, 51, 219
- W**
- Wadjet, 126, 350
- Wang Cheng-jun (Wang Cheng-chun), 485
- Wang Mang**, 75, 176, 185, 252, 269, 385, 485  
**warfare**, xxxviii–xxxix
- Warring States era, 447, 486, 492, 505
- Way of Five Bushels of Rice, 107
- Way of the Sea and King's Highway**, 239
- Wegaf Khutawyre, 279
- Wei, 186, 464
- Wei dynasty, 132, 464
- Wei Man (Wiman)**, 76–77, 251, 486
- Wei Qing (Wei Ch'ing), 185
- Wen, 94, 120, 486, 505
- Wendi, 75
- Wernert, P., 135
- Wesley, John, 90, 337
- Western Zhou, 505–506
- White Huns, 205, 207
- White Nile River, 4
- William the Conqueror, 244
- Wisdom (biblical book), 372
- wisdom literature**, 487–488
- Wisdom of Solomon, 488
- Witiges, 323
- Woodland culture, 281
- Woolley, C. Leonard, 474
- World: From Prehistory to 10,000 B.C.E.**, The, M1
- writing systems, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv, 23, 30, 58, 100–101, 139, 199, 289, 290, 321, 356
- Wu**, 77, 92, 94, 120–121, 183–184, 186, 251, 253, 255, 428, 430, 486, 502, 504, 505
- Wudi. *See* Han Wudi
- Wuding (Wu-ting), 18, 425, 426
- Wulfila, 474
- Wusun (Wu-sun), 504
- X**
- Xanthippus, 343
- Xenophanes, 254, 365
- Xenophon, 195, 311, 325, 434, 489
- Xerxes I, xxxix, 30, 75, 84, 108, 109, 135, 194, 258, 346, 489–490
- Xerxes II, 490
- Xia (Hsia) dynasty**, 425, 490–491, 497, 499, 505
- Xiandi (Hsien-ti), 499
- Xiang (Hsiang), Duke, 377
- Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu)**, 183, 250, 491–492
- Xianshou (Hsien-shou), 55
- Xin dynasty, 385, 485
- Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu)**, xxxiii, xxxvi, 121, 164, 176, 183, 185, 251, 252, 254, 255, 257, 258, 378, 428, 430, 485, 492–493, 501, 504
- Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang), 45, 333
- Xunzi (Hsun Tzu), 92, 94, 245, 493–494
- Y**
- Yahdun-Lim, 260
- Yahweh, 23, 223, 370, 431
- Yajnavalkya, 115
- Yamato clan and state**, 427–428, 436, 446, 495–497
- Yang Jian (Yang Chien), 132
- Yang Qian, 466
- Yao**, 91, 94, 490, 493, 497, 499
- Yarim-Lim, 260
- Yasmah-Adad, 34, 41, 260
- Yasodhara, 158
- Yathar, Yusuf Asaf, 501
- Yaubidi of Hamath, 35
- Yavneh, 503–504
- Yayoi culture**, 226, 427, 498
- Yazdadjird I, 414
- Yazdadjird II, 414
- Yazdadjird III, 416
- Yellow Emperor (Huangdi, or Huang Ti)**, 107, 241, 430, 497, 498–499
- Yellow River, xxix, xxxvi, xxxvii, 18, 186, 238, 253, 272, 301, 302, 385, 425, 485, 490, 492, 499, 505
- Yellow Turban Rebellion**, 464, 499
- Yemen, xxxv, 21, 237, 500–501
- Yerushalmi, 451–452
- Yi dynasty, 76, 499
- Yi Jing (I Ching)*, 75, 91, 93, 107
- Yin, 486
- Yin dynasty, 91, 238, 424, 425, 426
- yogas, 50
- Yoga school, 433
- Yômei, 436, 445
- Younger Dryas event, 301
- Yu**, 91, 94, 490, 491, 493, 497, 499, 505
- Yuandi (Yuan-ti), 485
- Yuezhi (Yueh-chih)**, 177, 206, 235, 258, 437, 492, 501–502, 504
- Yu Ku (Ugo), 77
- Yûryaku, 436
- Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, 138
- Z**
- Zagros Mountains, 42, 128, 146, 147, 207, 212, 269, 346, 386
- Zakkai, Yohanan ben**, 228, 288, 353, 452, 503–504
- Zama, Battle of, 4, 69, 162, 187, 249, 386
- Zan (Ch'an) Buddhism**, 56
- Zaotar, 508
- Zapotec, 317
- Zarathustra, 39, 507
- Zarmehr, 414
- Zealots, 503
- Zebedee, 20, 196
- Zechariah, xxxviii, 368
- Zela, Battle of, 65
- Zen**, 56. *See also* Zan (Ch'an) Buddhism
- Zeng (Cheng), 377
- Zeno, 315, 323, 384, 430, 442, 444, 445, 460
- Zenobia, 330
- Zephaniah, 368
- Zephyrinus, 193
- Zeus, 11, 12, 172, 182, 189, 203, 204, 231, 318, 319, 478
- Zhang (Chang), 499
- Zhang Ling (Chang Ling), 107
- Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien)**, 184, 185, 240, 437, 493, 502, 504–505
- Zhao (Chao), 186
- Zhao Gao (Chao Kao), 272, 378, 491
- Zhao Tuo (Chao T'o), 471
- Zhi (Chi), 252
- Zhongyong (Chung-yung)*, 92
- Zhou (chou), Duke of**. *See* Duke of Zhou
- Zhou (Chou) dynasty**, xxxii, xxxiii, 18, 76, 91–92, 93, 106, 120–121, 176, 204, 238, 241, 253, 271, 377, 418, 426, 486, 490, 493, 499, 505–507

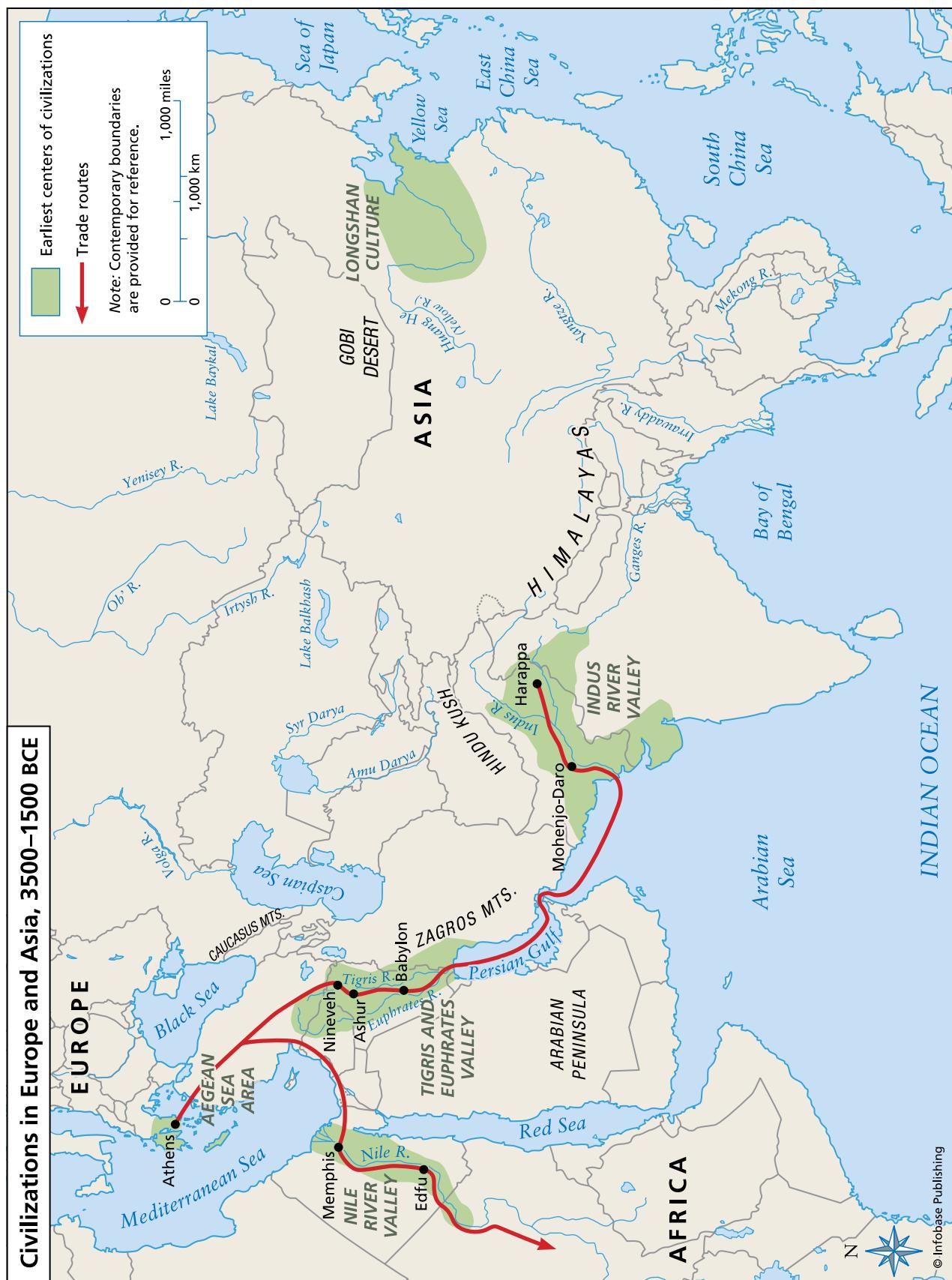
- Zhuangzi (*Chuang Tzu*), 106, 241–242  
*Zhuangzi* (*Chuang Tzu*), 106–107, 241–242  
Zhugo Liang (Chu-Kuo Liang), 464  
Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi), 92
- Zimbabwe, Great, 4  
Zimri-Lim, 41, 260  
*Zinjanthropus boisei*, 326  
Zion, Mount, 370  
Zoroaster, 44, 79, 348  
**Zoroastrianism**, xxxvi, 58, 79, 206, 237, 240, 261, 306, 412, 413, 414, 415, 437, 507–508  
Zorwan, 347  
Zoskales, 137  
Zulu peoples, 408  
Zuni, 296

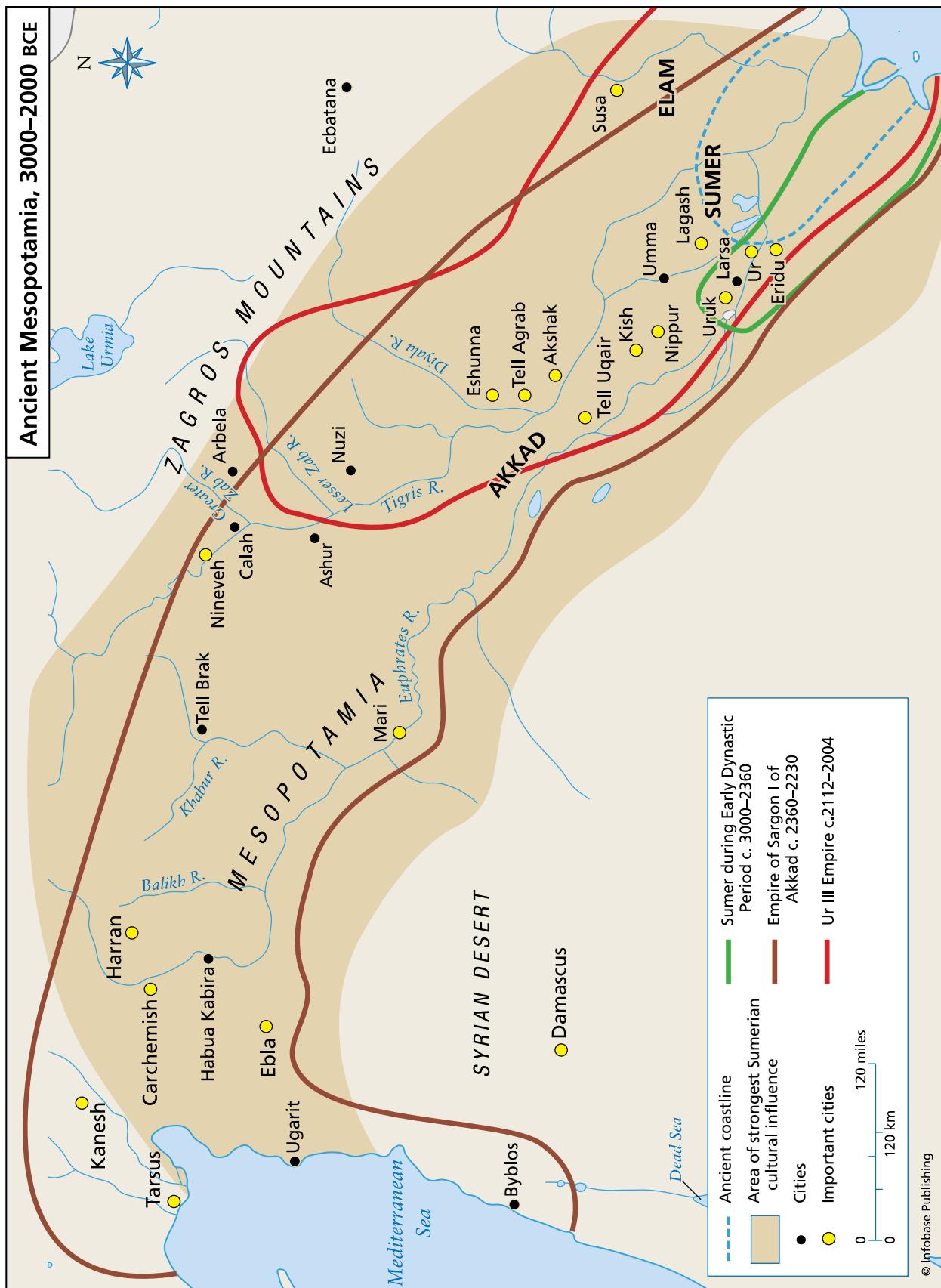
## PHOTO CREDITS

U.S. Library of Congress: 10, 12, 25, 40, 43, 64, 96, 104, 106, 111, 122, 134, 140, 149, 186, 200, 210, 215, 221, 287, 301, 308, 313, 319, 434, 438, 440, 458, 475; Photos.com: 72, 85, 127, 136, 147, 156, 164, 170, 191, 223, 265, 278, 351, 374, 383, 421, 455, 500; The Yorck Project: 482; iStockphoto.com: 182, 378; Stock.xchng ([www.sxc.hu](http://www.sxc.hu)): 298, 332, 399.

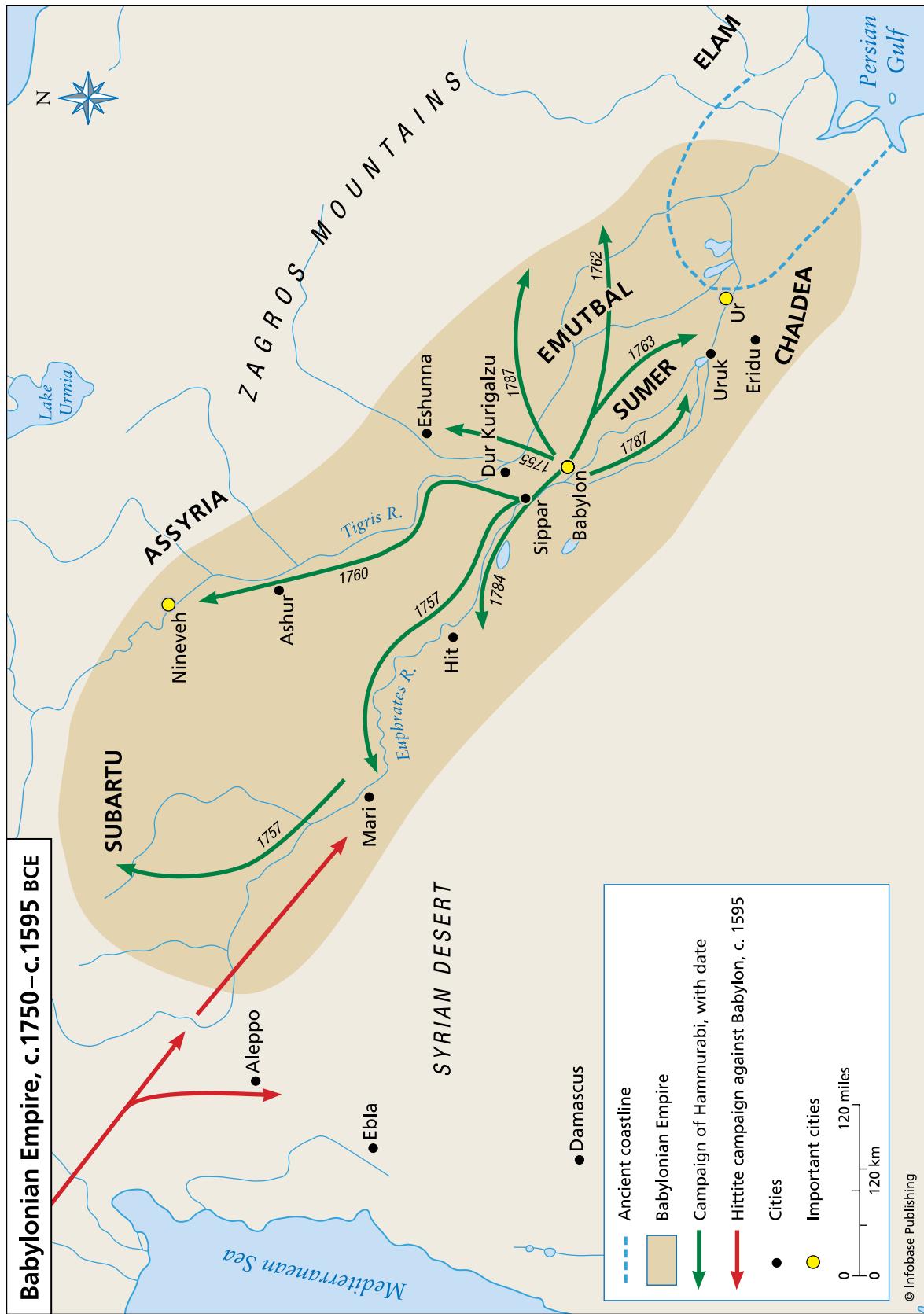




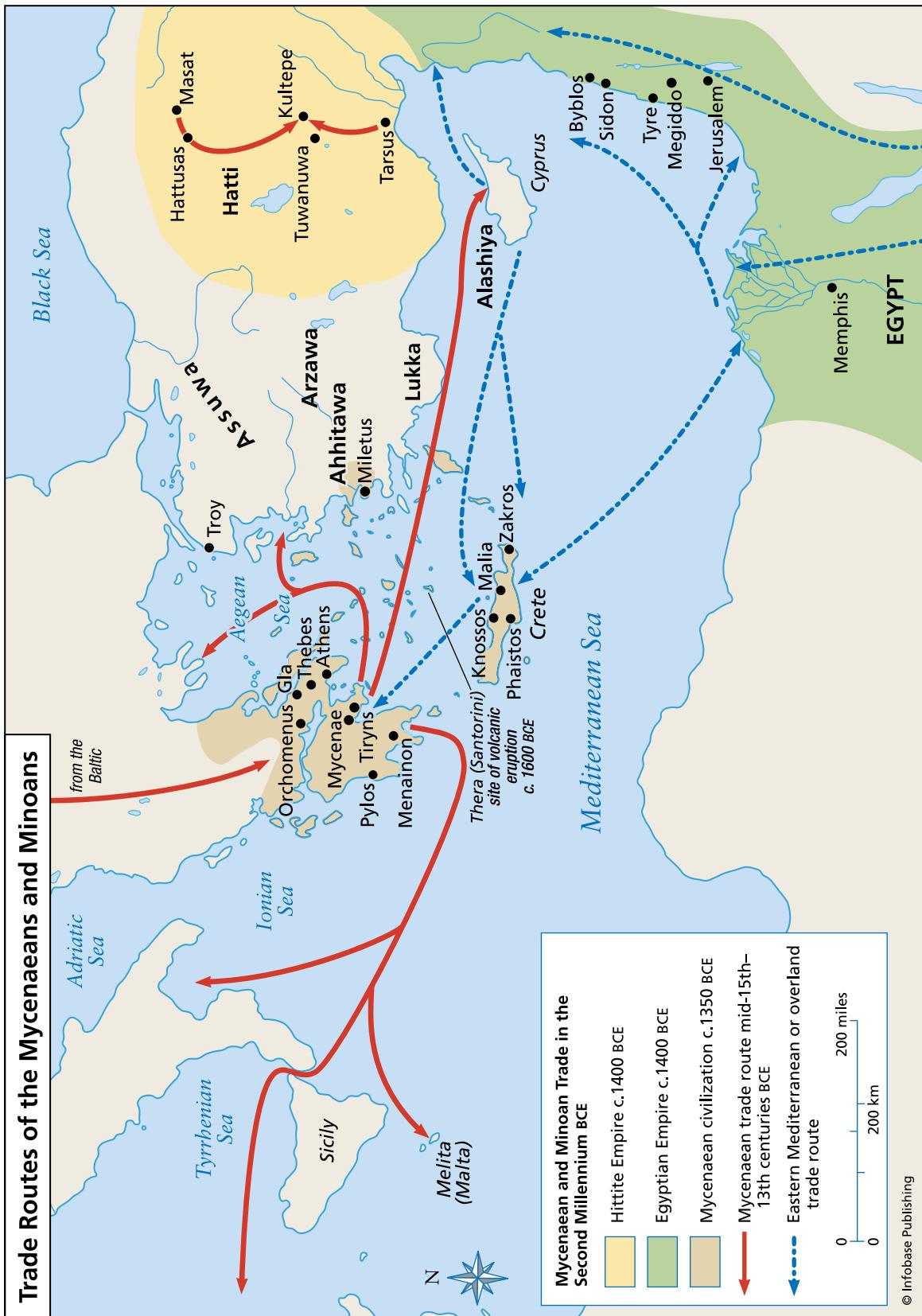






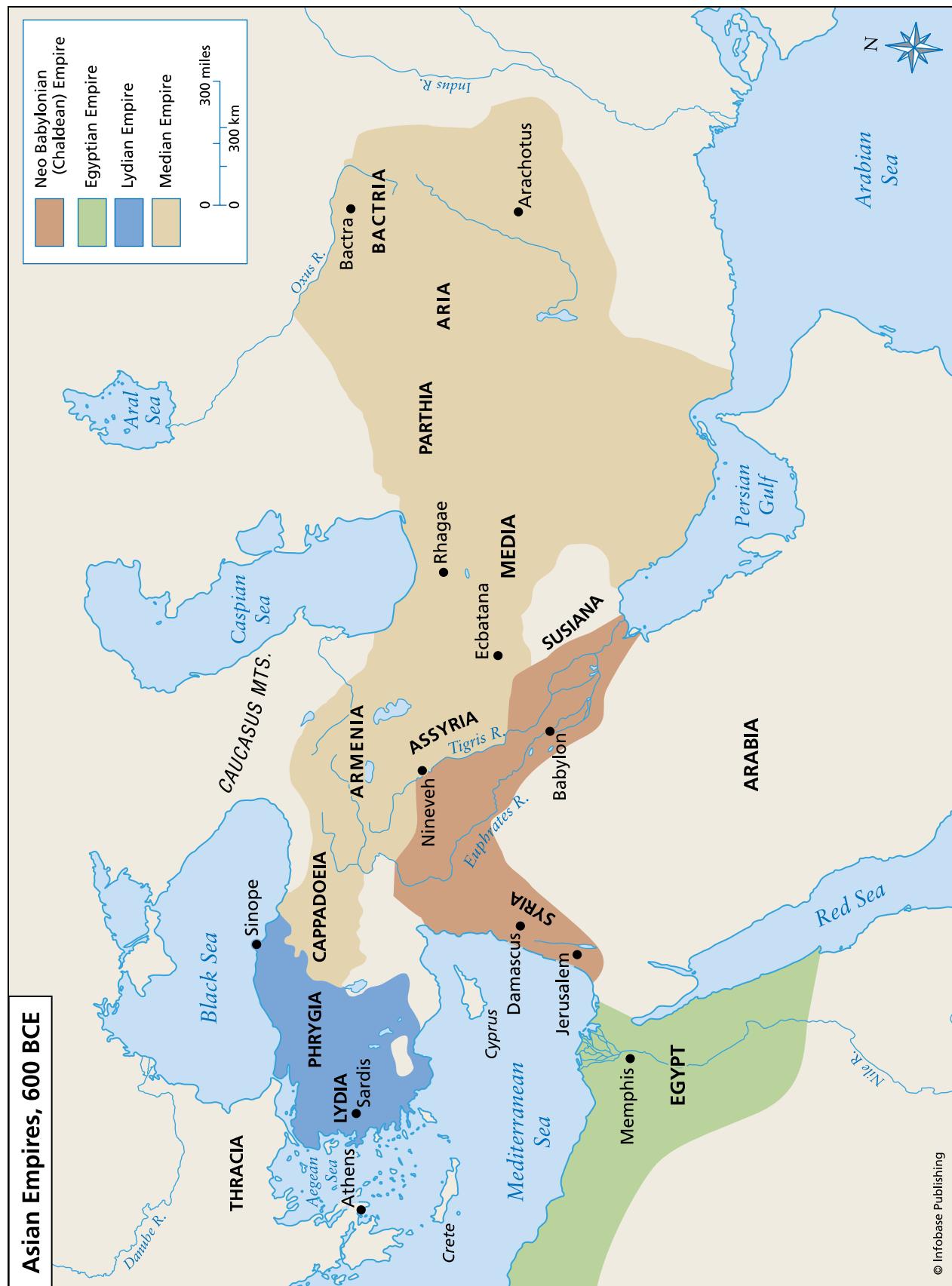


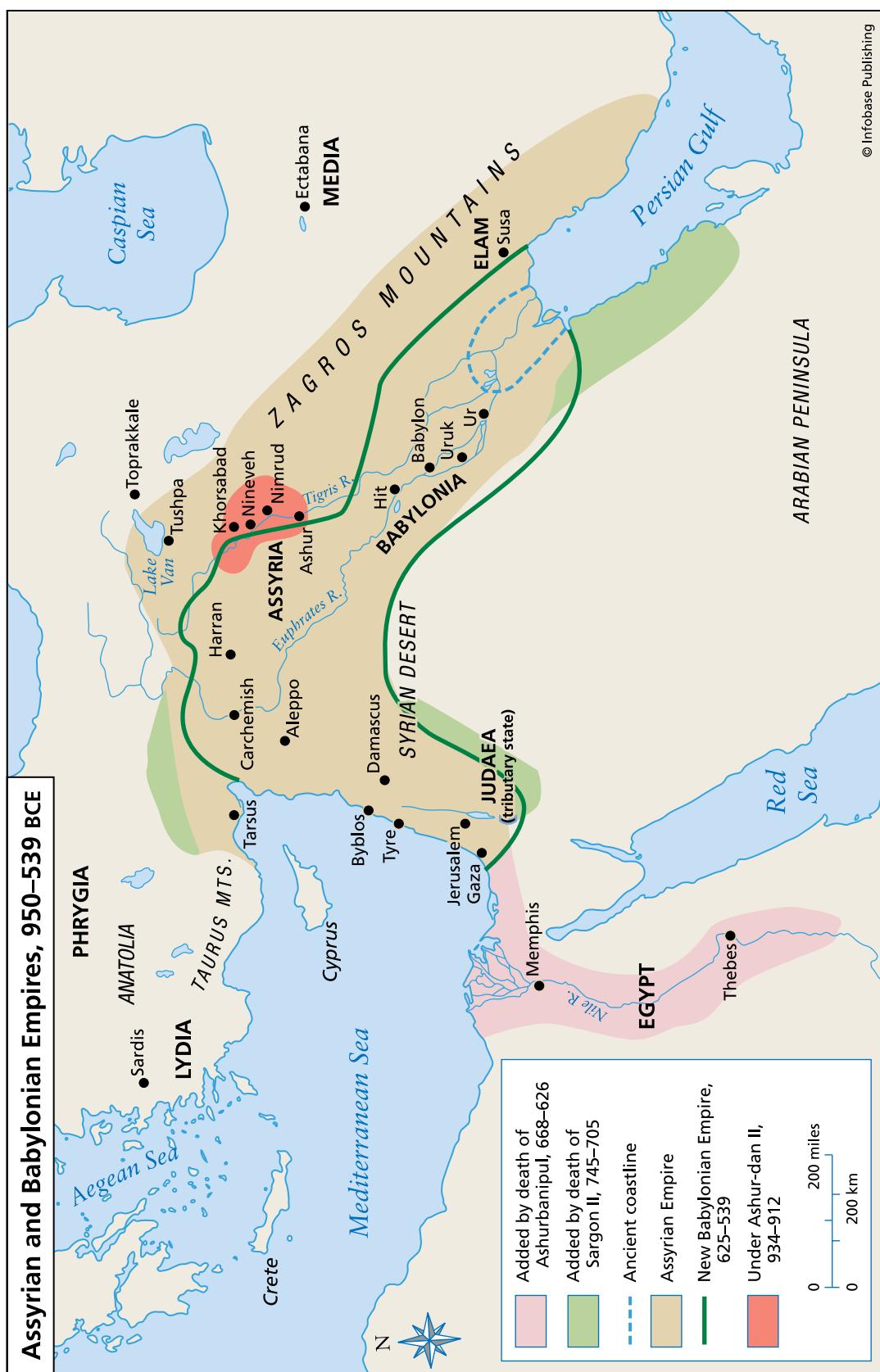


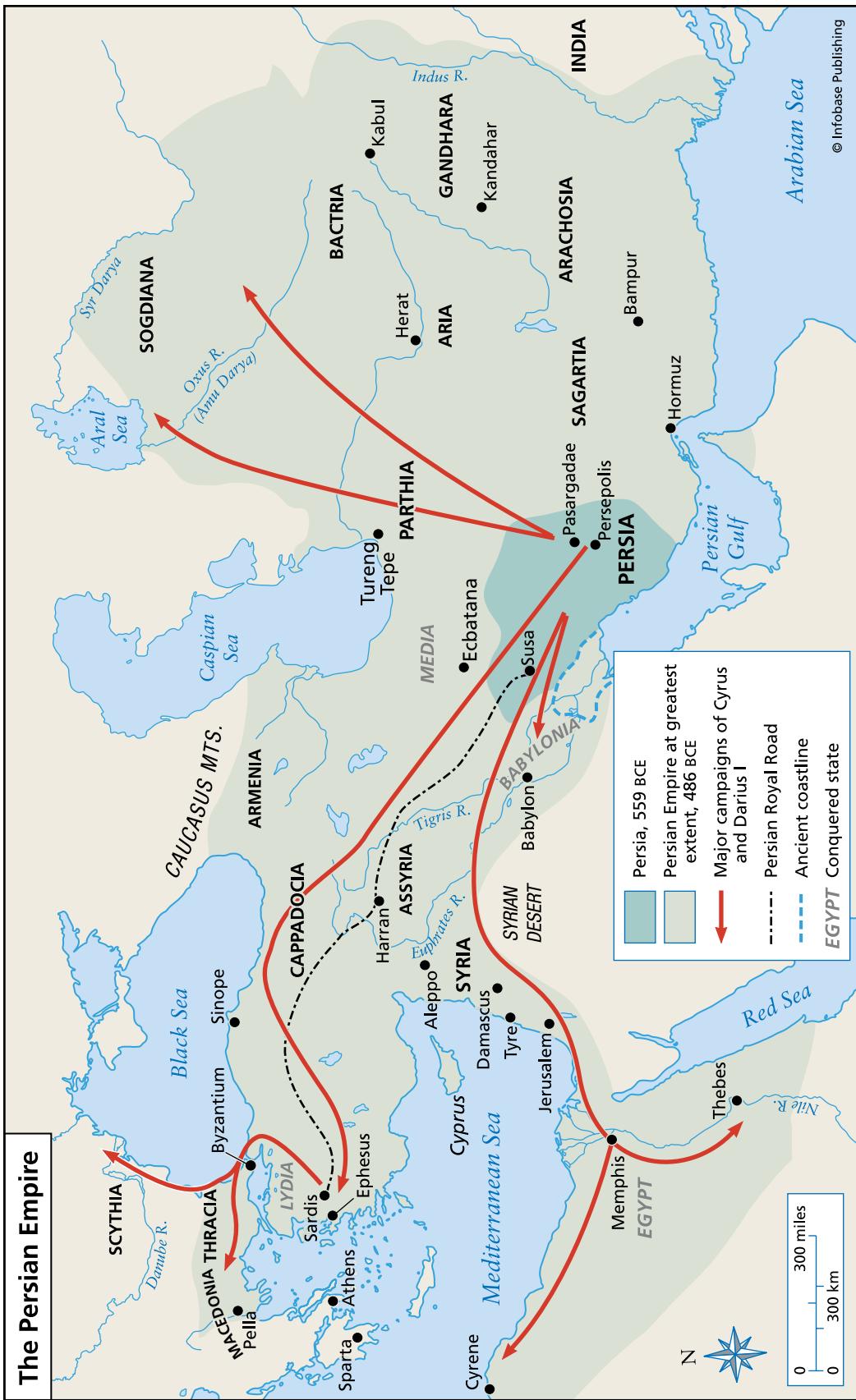




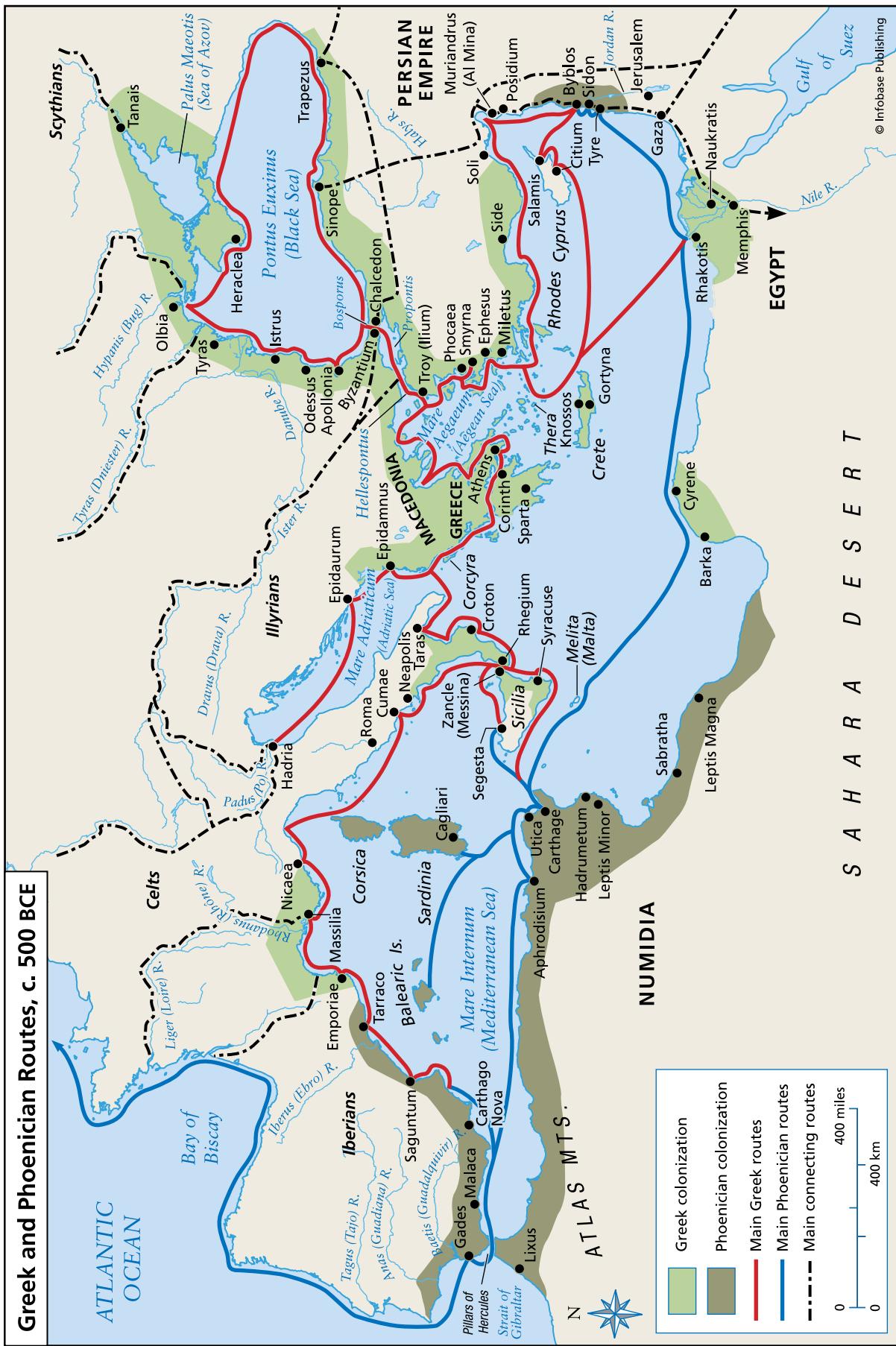
## M10 Asian Empires, 600 BCE

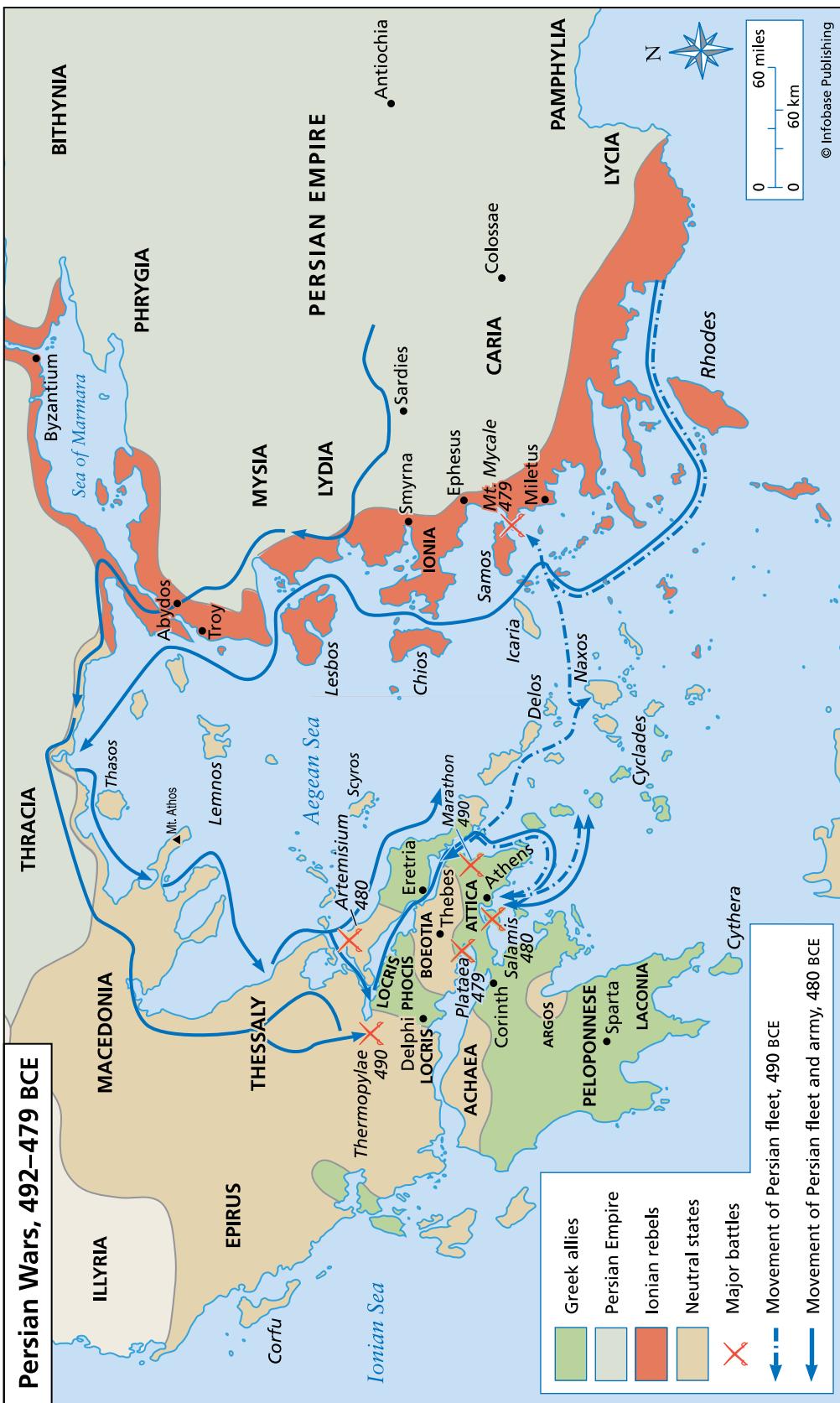






## **Greek and Phoenician Routes, c. 500 BCE**

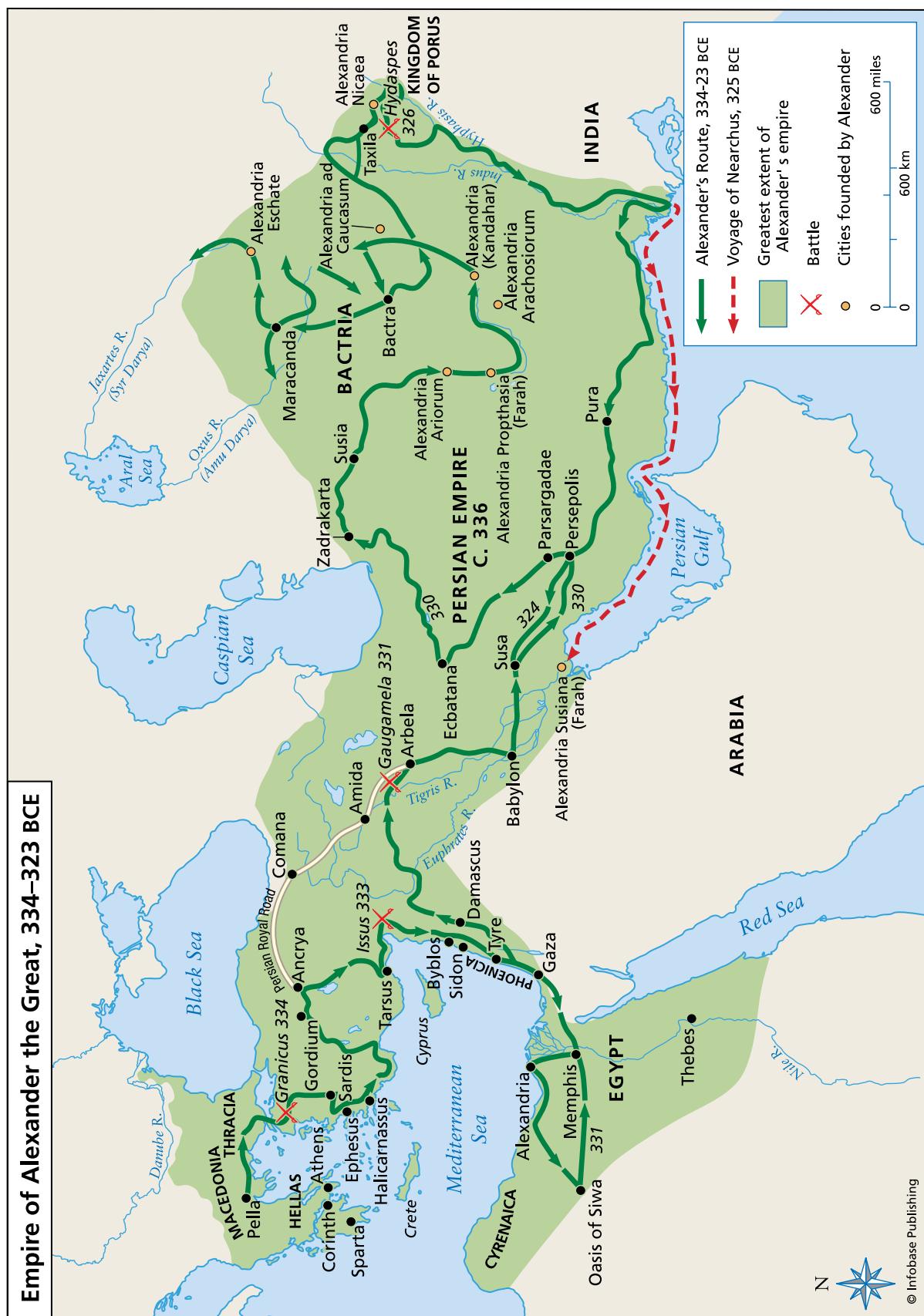




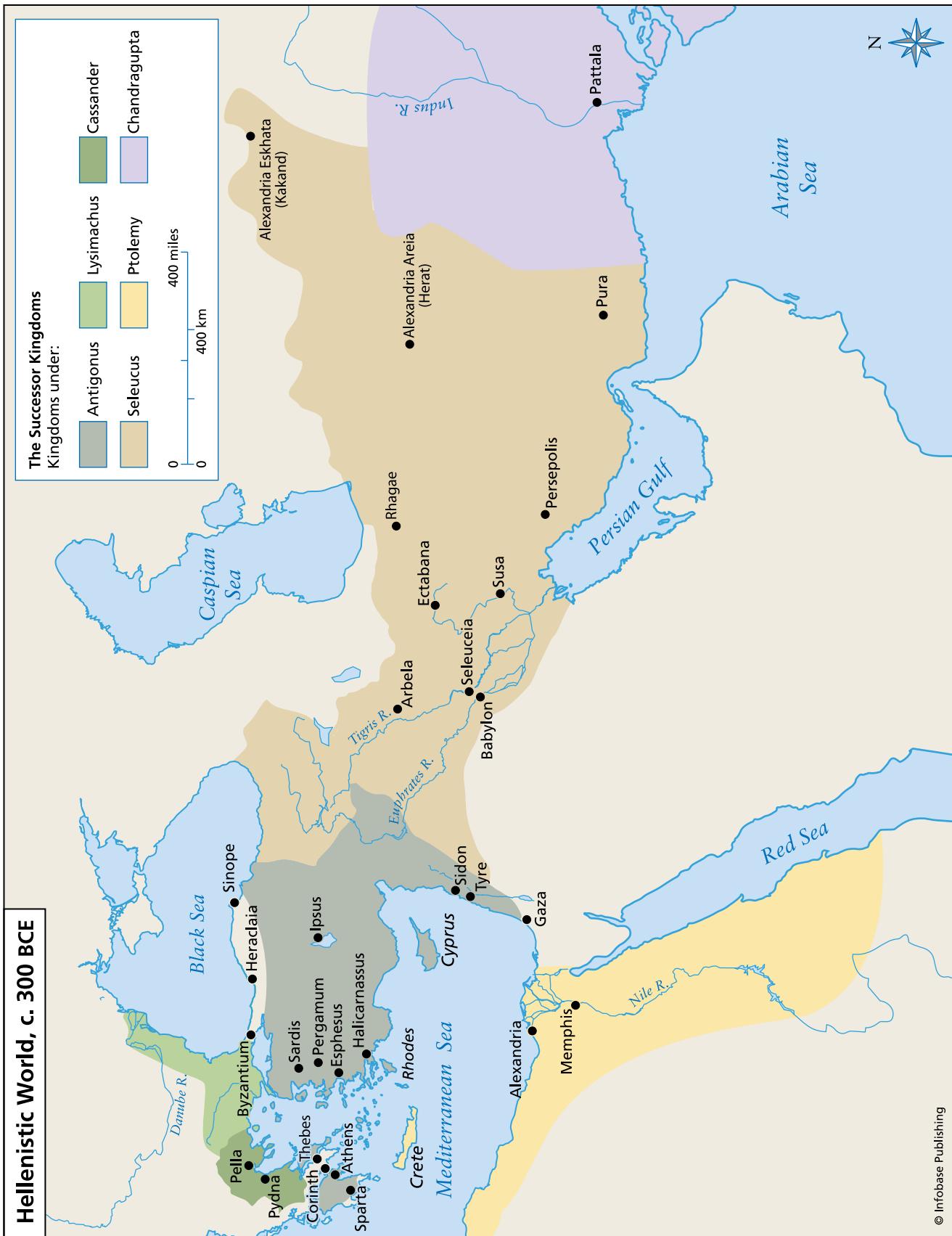


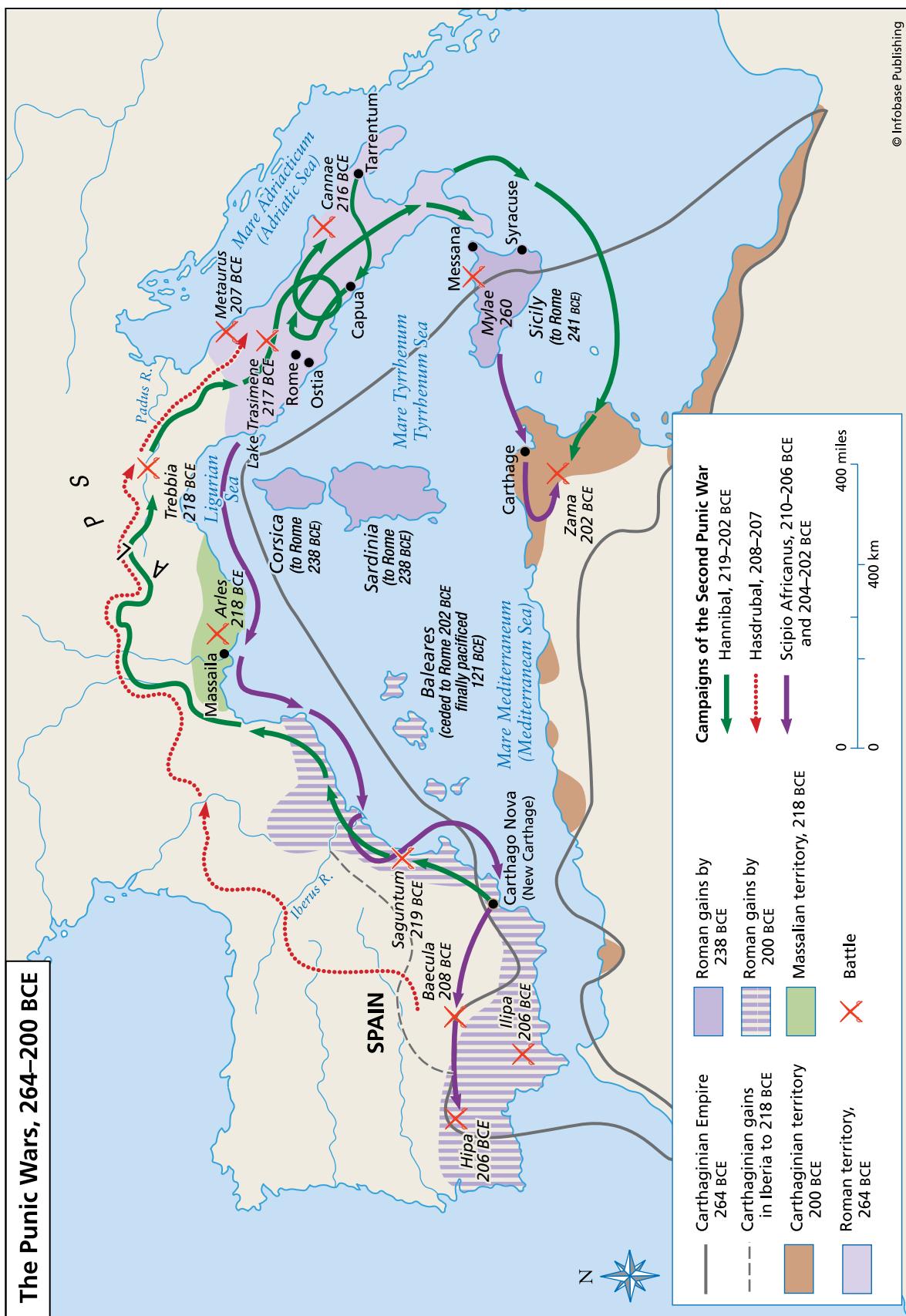
M16 Macedonia under Philip II, 359–336 BCE

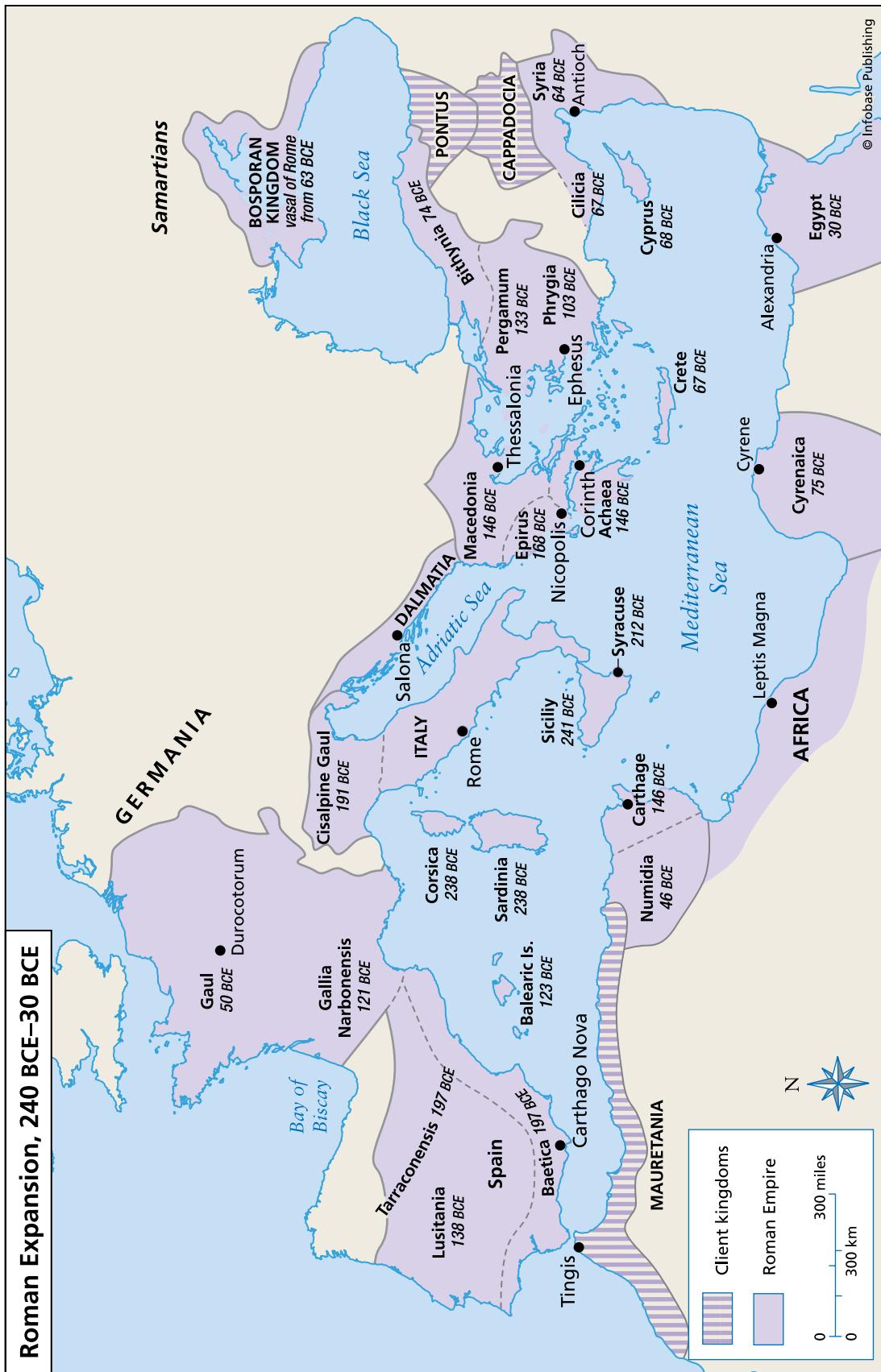




## M18 Hellenistic World, c. 300 BCE

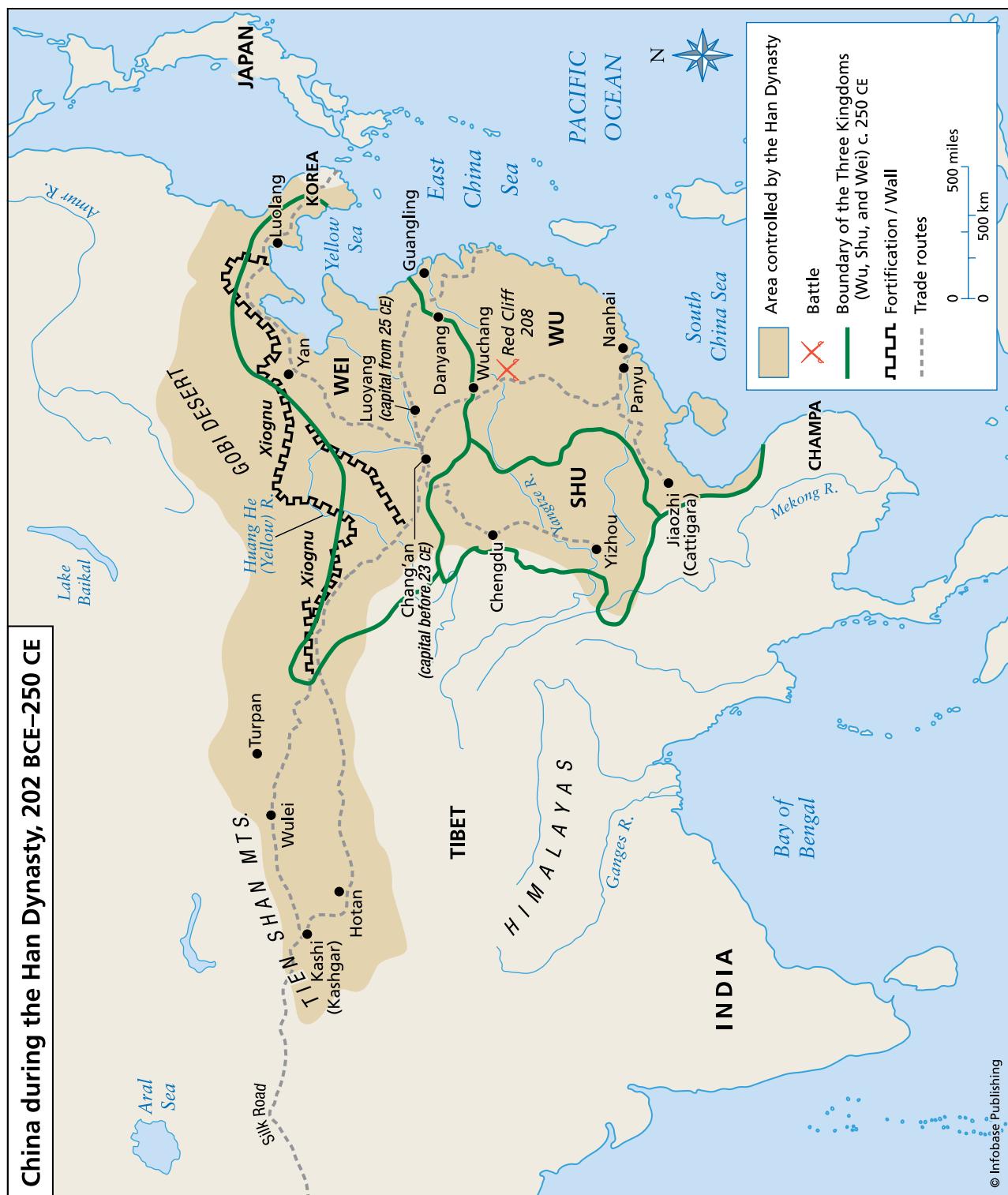


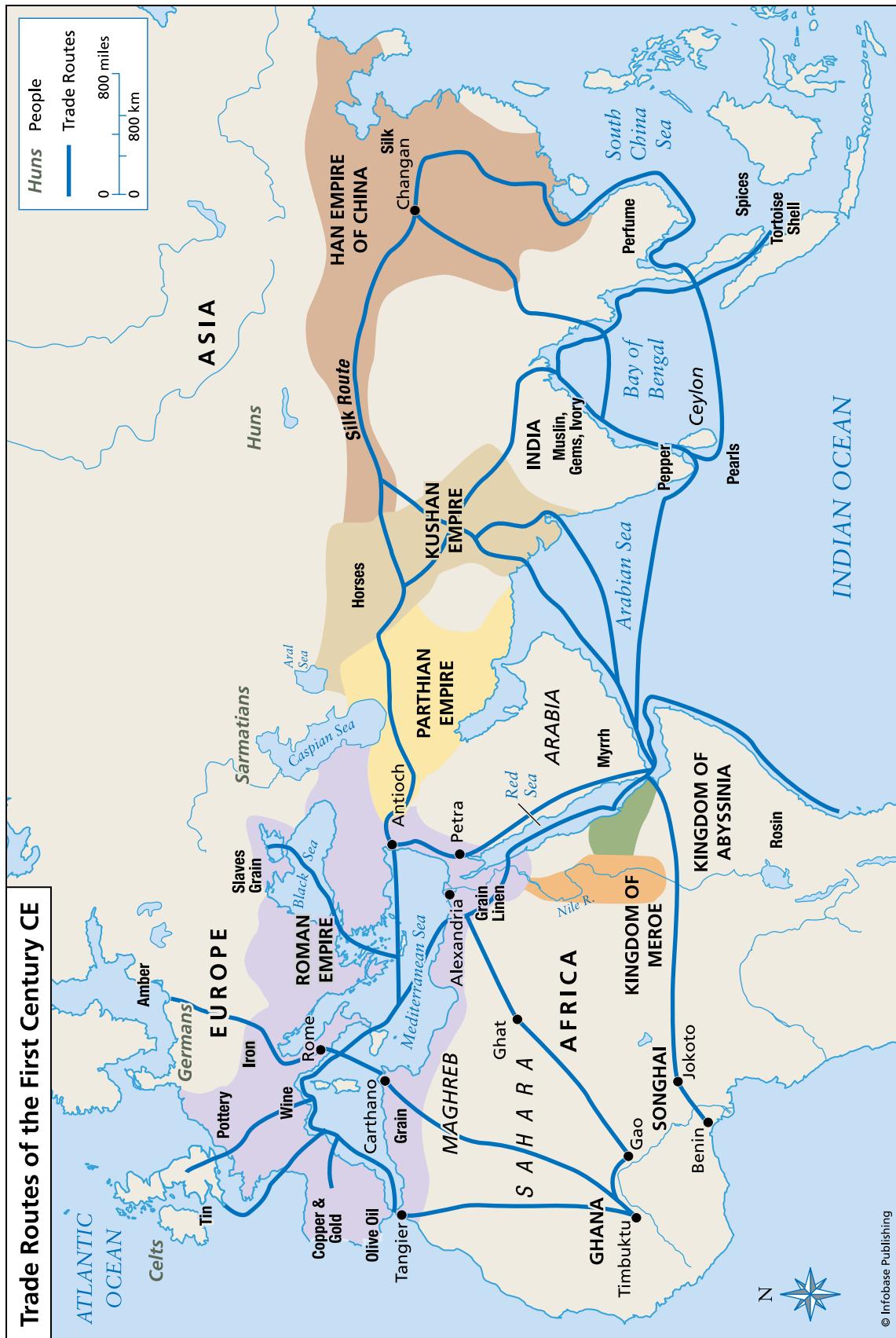


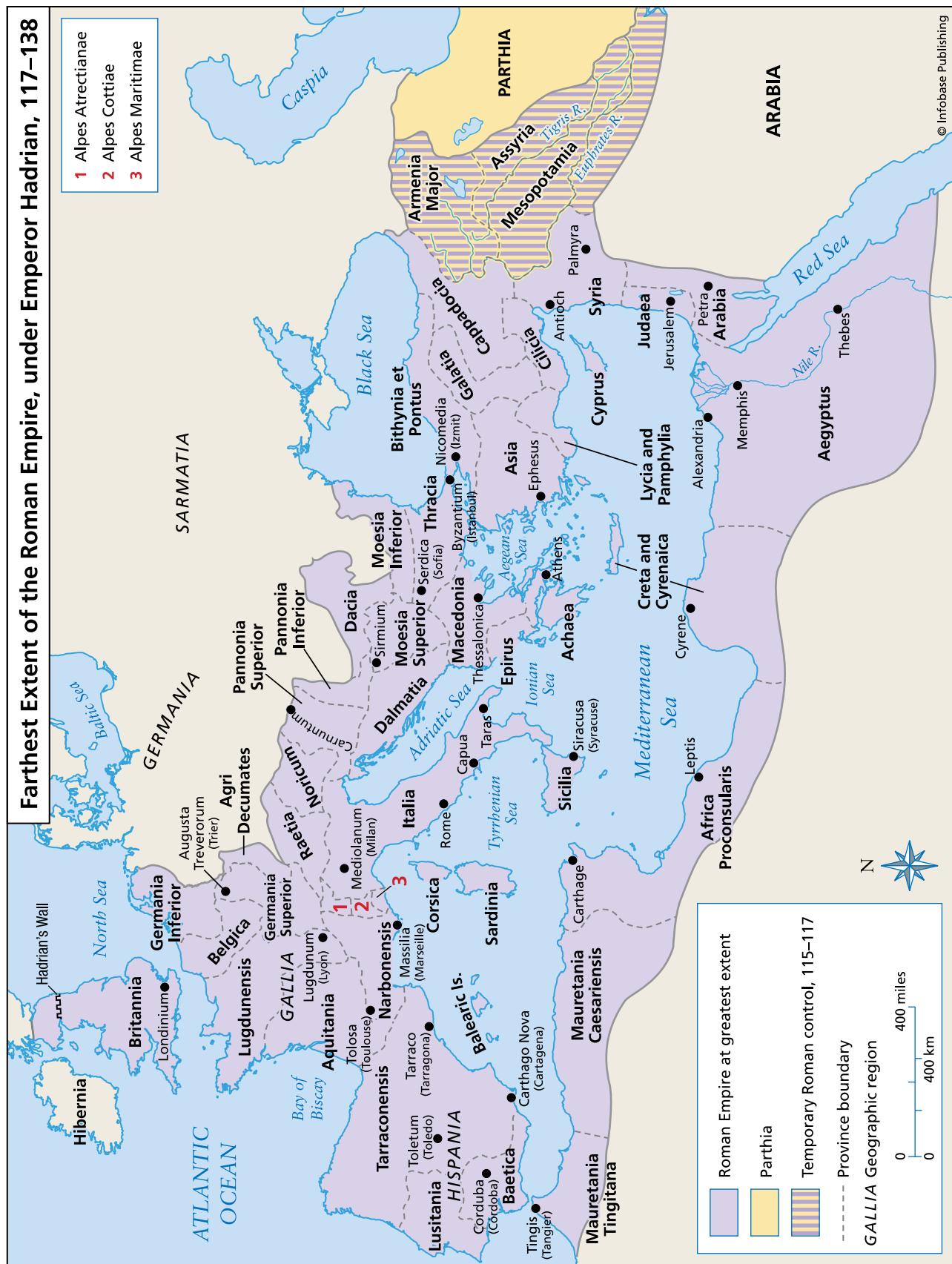


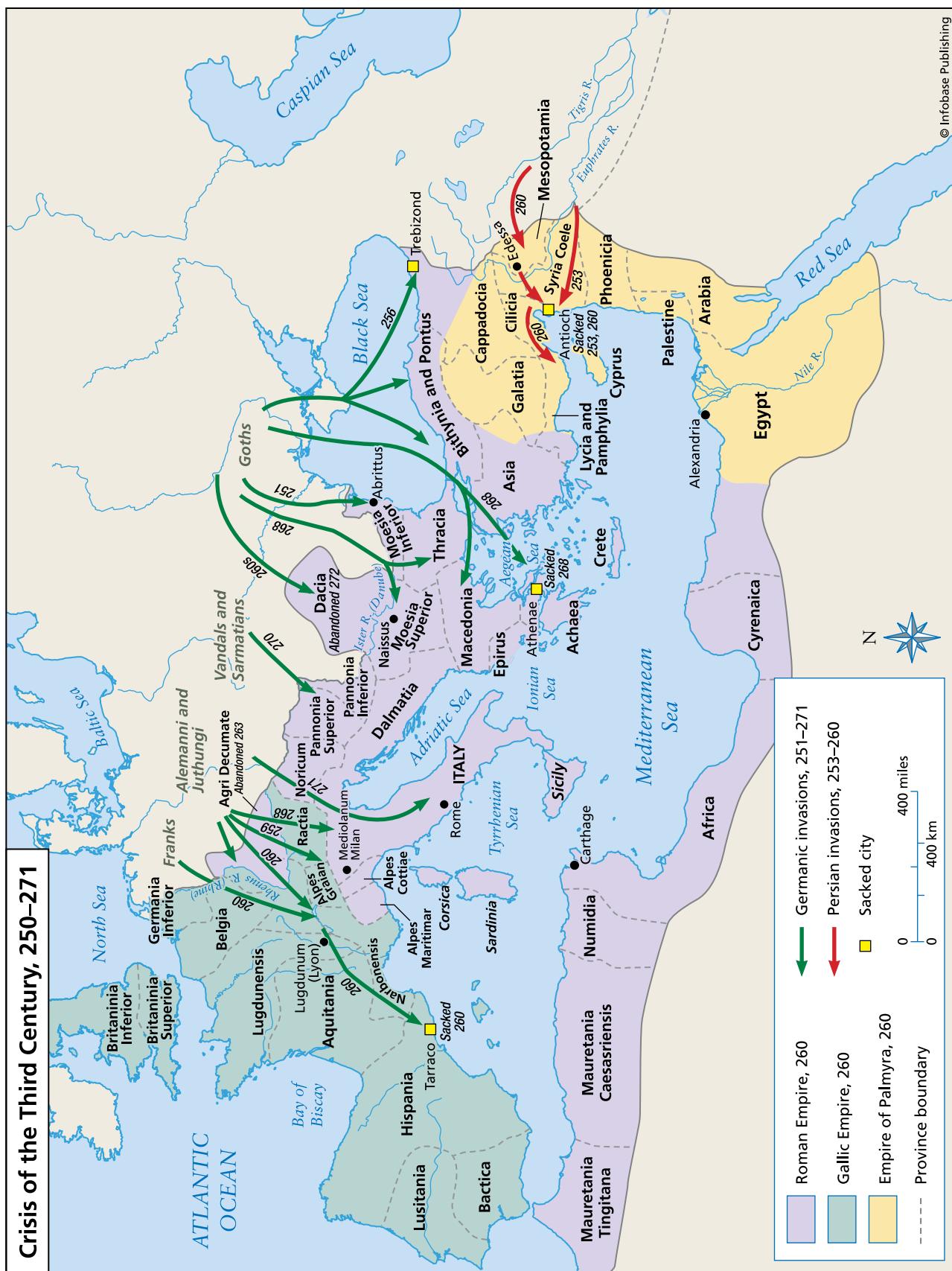


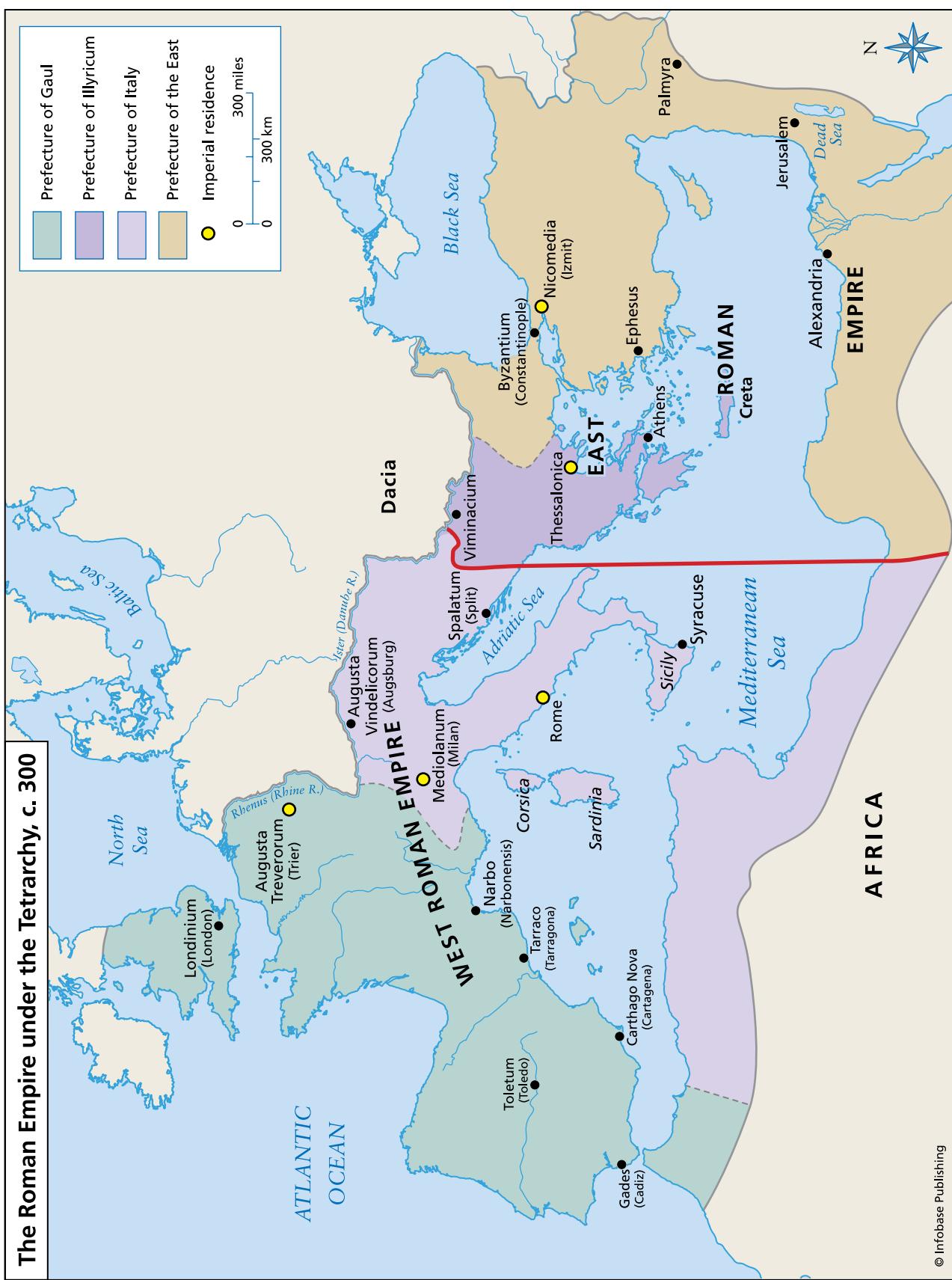


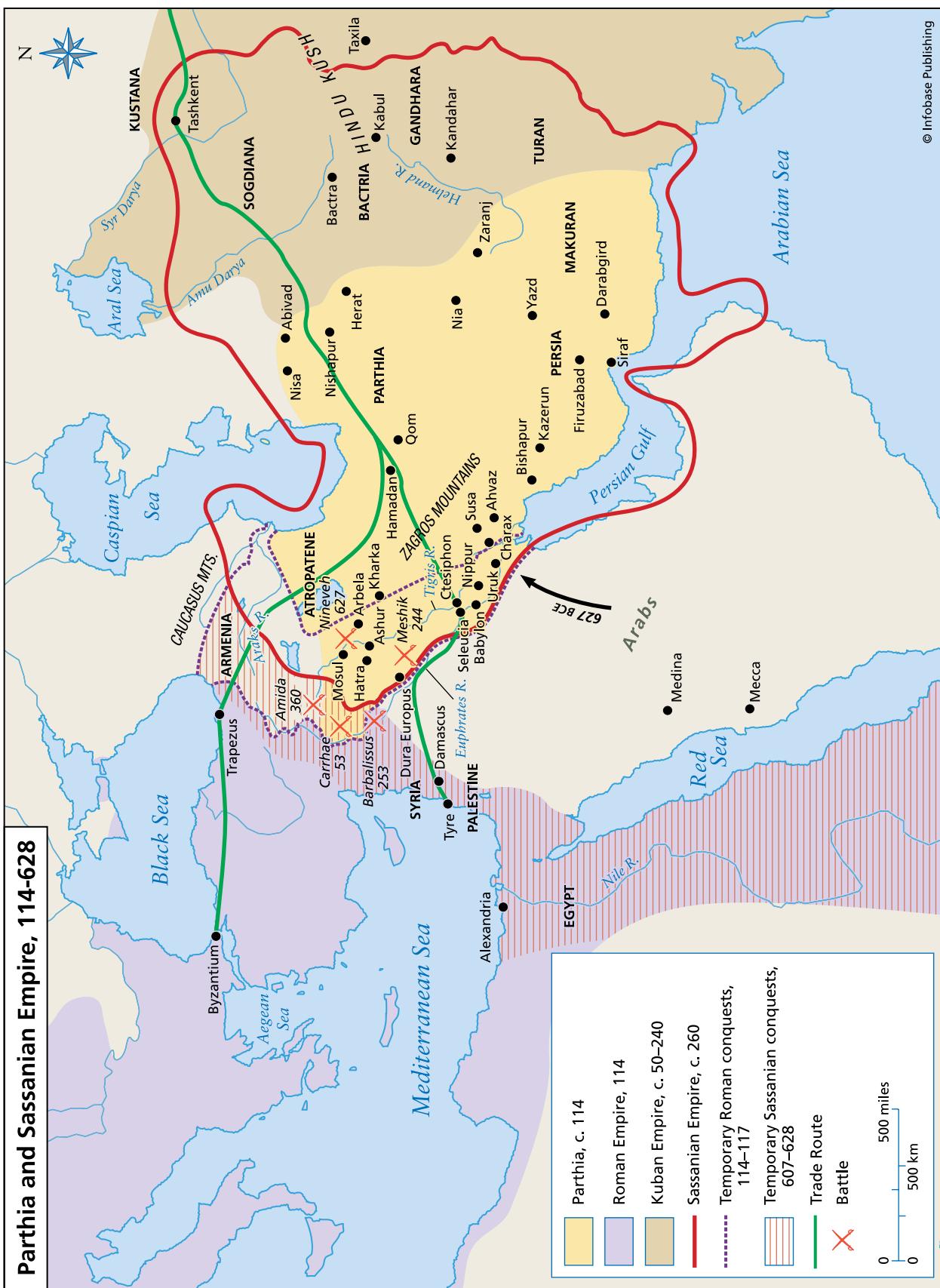


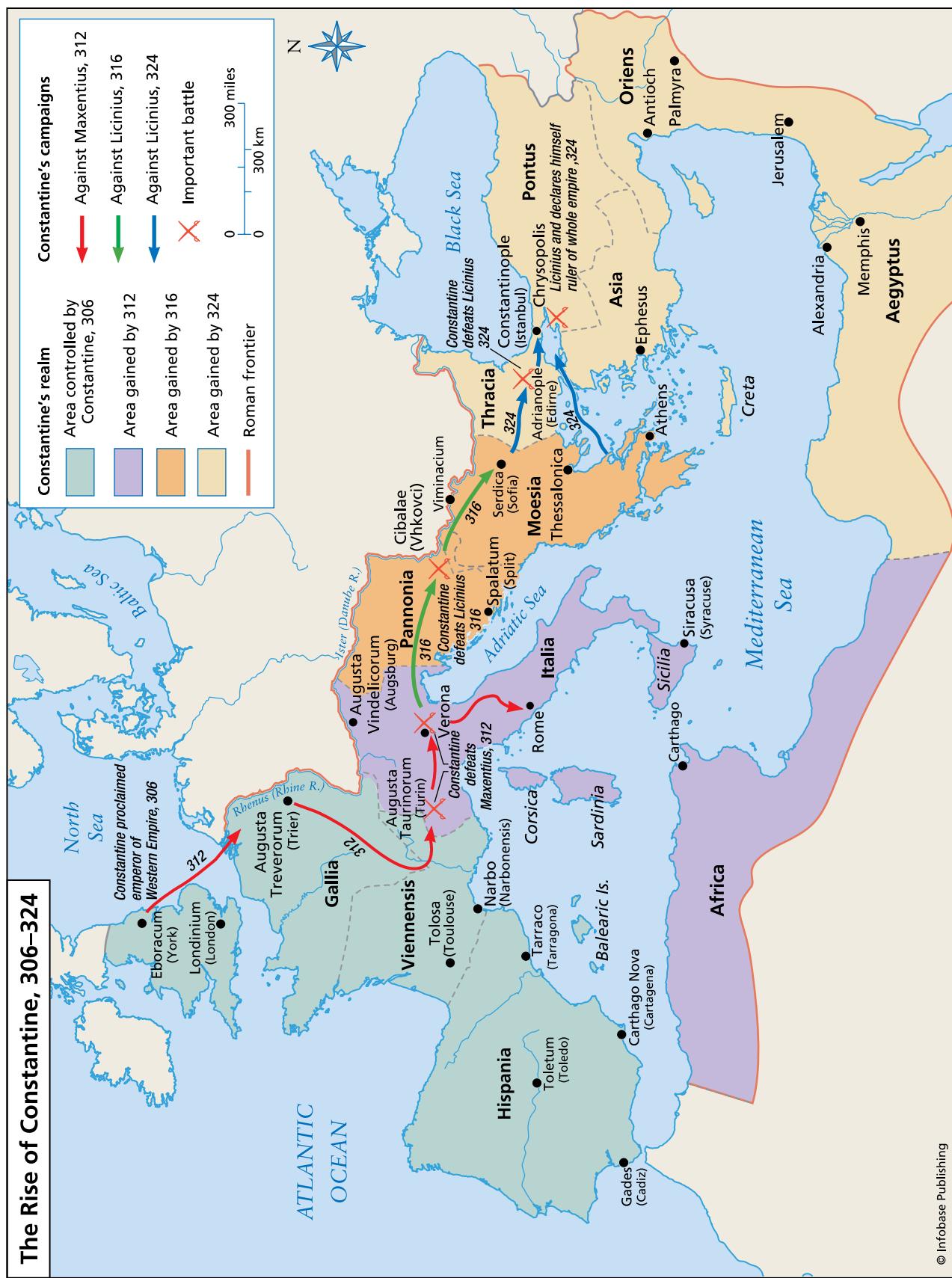




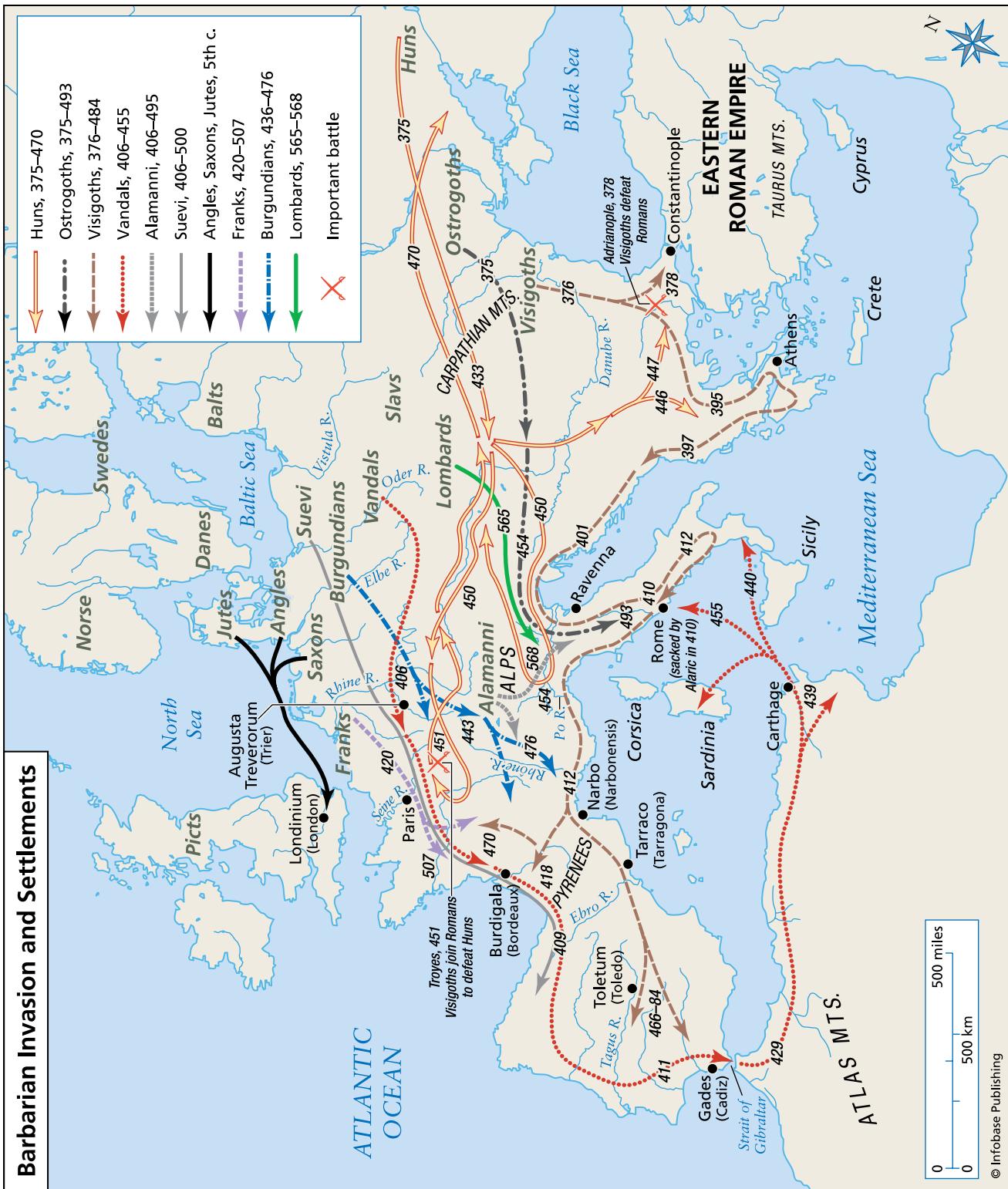


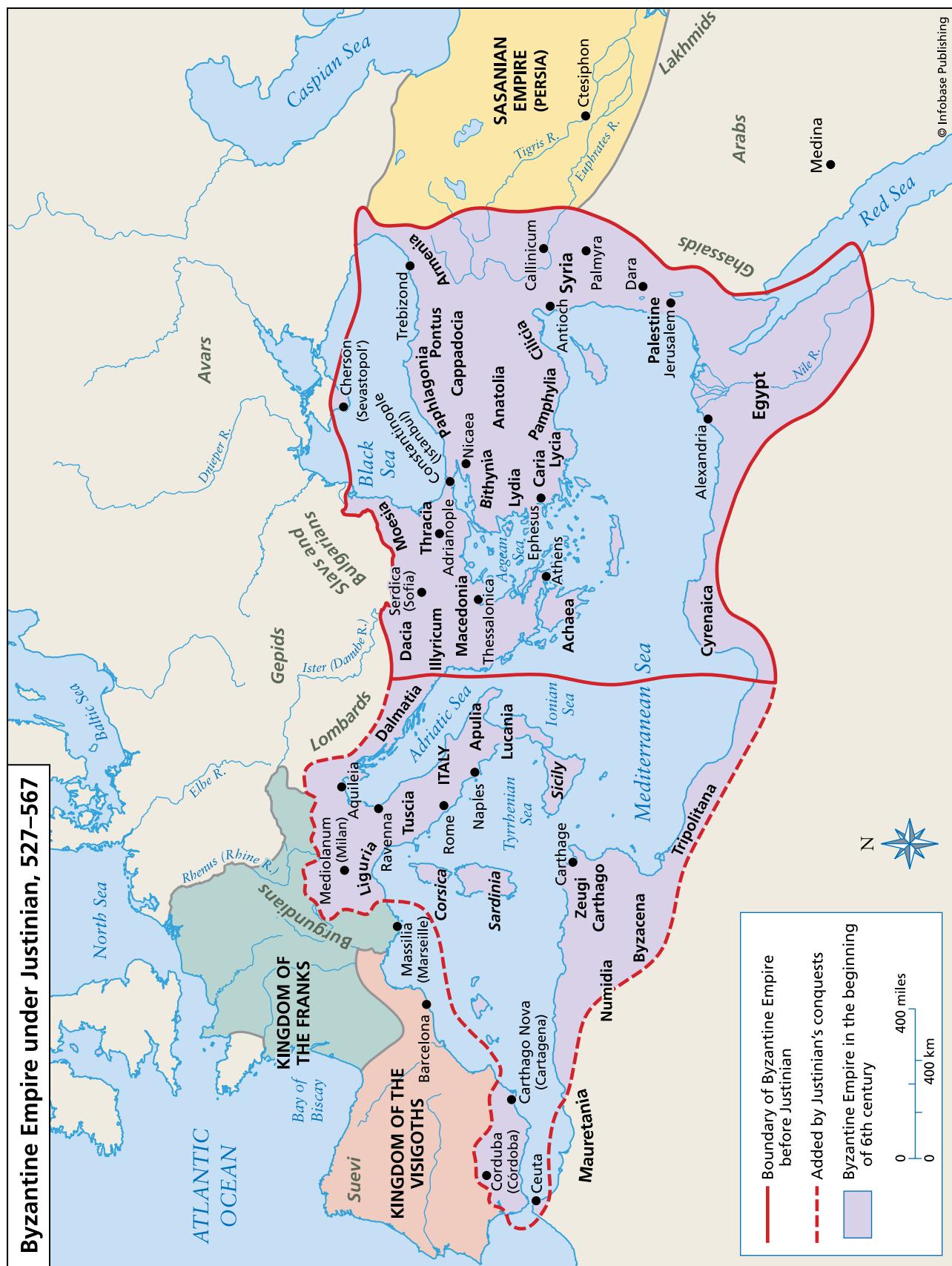






## Barbarian Invasion and Settlements





## M32 Major Religions in the Eastern Hemisphere, c. 600 CE

