

C321 Rome

Seeds of destruction 2d. c.

Class distinctions sharpen. Concn. of assets, esp. land.
Growing value of tax exemption as taxes Δ . Resentment of provincials vs. *cis* Italian.
~~Parasitic~~ High price land. End of land reforms. Close of frontier after Trajan. (but not
Obstructionist instns grow; ^{incentive-} rewards to producers & sowers decline. bes no under-
land)
Parasites and Obstructors increase power.

Divorce of ownership & opn.

Huge holdings, owners in Rome or other cities, not on land.

Efforts at "reform" worsen problems.

Buy land hi prices. Mutine of *l.v.* becomes major goal of policy.
Lend to rich.
Stifle & harass middlemen, by regulations.

Landholders relieved of obligations but not of land.

No mil. service. c. 100, end of voluntary contributions (cf. charity & hunting etc. today)
No tax collection — new civil service takes that over.

Modern analogies in Asia & U.S.

E.g. Rome conquers Persia, replaces king but recognizes lords — thus facilitates
Revenues erode as needs Δ . further conquest — was welcomed by many lords
cf. U.S. today, "fn. aid," relieve fnns of taxes.

Needs Δ has no more booty

Bes large bureaucracy replaces earlier infernal methods and
"free" service from large landholders.

Bes Parkinson's Law?

Bes. subsidize local govt., formerly forced by local rich citizens.

Bes. permanent mercenary standing army

Bes. Imperially forced reclamation schemes, roads, baths, monuments, etc.

Bes growing doles

Bes. excises reach pt. of clin. rts, reshaped trade, (portoria)

Per capita tax on estates, hence depopulate. (shows influence of those who use land less intensively)
Output/acre declined, 2d.

"Influentia peddlers" - commend self to strong man, achieve tax exemption.

Taxes levied on municipia, rather than directly. Influential cd.

withdraw lands from municipia, & ~~also~~ spread privilege to

others. Ius Italicum; patrocinium

Cities were places to collect taxes. This destroyed cities, people fled to

Bes. tolerate delinquency?

tax-shelters in countryside.

Emperor had grain mpy, trade. Originally to protect vital food supply.
But surely when needing M badly, wd. use this to make profit, thus discouraging specializn & exch.

Cities' revs from owned land. Doubtless they sold this to tax-exempt, when most revs went to Emperor.

(How maintain tax exemption, one asks? Cf. oil loophole today, cap. gains, govt. bonds - minority rules)

System full of graft. Conductores got imperial estates for below ex. rent.

Why? Cf. today, FCA gives away valuable public property for pol. support.

Decline of middle class ruined mass mkt, except army. - then army ~~has~~ stopped paying money, just took.

Acids 3

2d, revert from Merc. to barter, large estates (cf. large corps today.
cd. do same)

Created unpius - sold some

Δ malaria from wastelands - e.g. Campagna around Rome.

Landholding ceases to be conditional on ^{stewardship or} service; becomes an absolute right, property as an end in itself

Turned from laissez-faire to dirigisme, & welfare state.

Army requisition - continual risk for merchants etc.

Worsening of capital mkt as inflation accelerates & becomes accepted & expected.

Thus explicit int. hi, but hi risk; but implicit low, so bought land.

How do exemptions & privileges grow? State creates to: sell for rev; reward supporters; reward vets; subsidize church etc; give to rascals.

Decentralize - hollow shell; edict escape portoria, ec. fell apart.
Vulnerable to xptn - State exploited, then army sieged.

Bread grain, the small farm product, was imported, & distributed free by State. Class legn vs. small farms.
free, as tribute.

Most land achieved tax-exemption. This may have been part of Emperor's valorization policy - to keep strong mkt to sell their lands, for emergency revenue. Had no public debt.

Anomaly of "crushing tax loads" - & hi l.v.

— Wild living? No, Rome died in period of Stoic reaction, puritanical; & humanitarian. Due not to morals but economics.

— Alimenta sum up spirit killing Rome.

— Landholding & mil. service: ~~from~~ origly held given land, served when needed; latterly, served, gambled, got land as spoil of victory, free of obligation.

— Tiberius who began cheap loans to landholders, valorize — to compensate for bust of 33 A.D.

— Army wd. ^{abroad} dragoon, ^{abroad} xptn equipment: ~~to~~ pack animals & ships -- hence xptn broke down.

2d cent., Rome returns to individual cultivation of small plot. But now
fmr is a colonus, a sort of large prt. holder, & not a usufructuary of
SPQR. So prt. property in land had become an end in itself. Far from
moving toward socialism, had moved away from it, as re. land.
But toward it in re dirigisme, doles, etc.

Cities were full of unemployed on doles; but land was going out of use!

Big fms have traditionally replaced labor w. animals; new devmt in
machine age is replac'g them w. machines.

Failure of Hadrian's reforms:

Emphasize he failed to distinguish land & improvements. He thought by bidding up price he was creating capital.

Rome.

- Session 1 - What happened
 .. 2 - Why?
-

1. Medit cradle of civn.

a. Max. xptn

b. Climate ~~optimal~~ easy enough so not overwhelming,
 yet presents challenge ~~easy for response~~ - dry summer
 - & oppy for response within capabilities of pre-industrial man:
 irrn.

Irrn requires both sedentary life: & group action.

c. So a & b meant max. constructive assocn, thru trade, & group
 agric. (other world areas of Medit. climate, lacked xptn)

2. Italy seat of power

Egypt all one river. Central control, but too much, & no
 diversity, stagnated.

Greece all split up

Spain mostly hi plateau, dry. ^{also low into, usable, by terracing. Rich volcanic soil}

Italy broadest plains, ^{several} small rivers with low divides. No
 natural unit or stopping place. Hence diversity, with possibility
 of unity, but not stagnation

Central to Medit. world.

3. Early Roman agric. lost in mists of history. Never static. Later tendency look back to golden age, probably was brief

We know; as emerge into view:

Sedentary. Grain. (barley, spelt)

2 field system. ~~Domest~~

Irrd - learned from Etruscans, fairly advanced civil eng-g.
Dams; drain lakes, or control outlets; drain marshes - Cloaca maxima.

Prt. tenures. (Wtr rts, combo. of agr. & ripn systems, vague.) Roman small city-state, common land, individ. got lots for inding. use, pss it grew (over)

Equal division, tradition, laws of Flaminius, Licinius, (376)
281, plebs attain = rank with patricians. Never static. (over)

Mil. service for landholding - a perennial thn later history

- hence patriarchy, as women couldn't hold land.

- infantry, hence small individ. farms served needs. Growth of cavalry wd change this.

Very strong ^{public} community spirit, forged in successful struggle

to throw off Etruscans (Tarquin kings); confirmed in humiliation by Gauls, c. 400BC.

Probably lived in villages, community life - rather than market. Only limited exchange, little marketing problem.

~~Crops: barley, spelt (a kind of wheat)~~

Conquered Italy, made Roman citizens of conquered, kept going.

But also took slaves. Some got more than others. Took new

4. ~~Public wars, depopulate countryside~~ Lands, - in Italy & Sicily at first - ager publicus

~~Hannibal~~

distrib. by use - but slaveholders cd. take more. (like our

~~state~~ ante-bellum westward problems)

Success brought plunder - lands & slaves - plunder brought division, ultimately civil wars, dictators, army rule, end. Romans never solved this problem: how to live with success. Same problem as big corps

they made this pvt. prop'ty, called selves patricians (city fathers).

See same evolution among Mormons; Puritans;

Original Roman farm landholders, as cities grew, no doubt urbanized. So patricians were holders of city land - "city fathers."

Roman tradition, conquests always became public property. So as expanded, brought in new peoples & lands, made people Roman citizens, gave them = stake in new lands, spread = tenure over wide area.

Later uprisings prob'ly reflect not so much Rome worse than others, but departing from earlier tradition.

(Cf. Spain, gave conquests to individs., lost empire)

Patricians had to court favor of plebs bcs Rome had no watch mpy, no cozy nook, like a Greek city-state. Out on a wide plain, eat or be eaten. No watch harbor, no snug commercial advantage.

Their ~~situation~~ ^{attitudes} exemplified by 2d Punic War. Plunged. ~~But~~ Defended Rome by attacking Carthage. Earlier, with Etruscans, was no fringe area quibbling - eat or be et.

Sum up bases of Rome's success; growth.

1. Compromising spirit of Patricians - albeit grudgingly, perhaps due to position
 - a. Admit new members - like English later.
 - b. Admit new Roman citizens
 - c. Accede to equalitarian land laws gracefully (for the times)
 - d. Tolerant
 - e. Adds up to ~~the~~ great power of assimilation
 - f. Extraordinary public spirit, civic virtue.

2. Public revenues & soldiers

Mil. service price of landholding

Even patricians paid tithe on their cuts.

3. ~~Comp.~~ Rome had no nat. commercial mpy position to fall back on, or sidetrack patricians from survival of State as aim, or give security

4. Central position - between cultured east & frontier west.

5. Not commercial; nor feudal; ^{nor nomadic.} Small individ farms, cooperating probly on wtr supply. Learned civil & ag. eng-g from Etruscans.

willing to learn from others

Rome was a city-state, like other city-states. But the city was relatively weak, & country strong; & rural orgn was unusually equalitarian for the times.

6. Central adm. of soldiering. Cf. feudal, where individual has to pre-sent himself, equipped, ready - leaving serfs behind to support. Roman soldier was a farmer himself. Probly women & children & old kept farms going while soldiers away, rather than slaves. Greek soldier, contrast, was special class, slaves stayed home.

4. Punic wars depopulate Italian countryside. $264-146 = 118$ yrs.

(a) Hannibal, 220-201.

(b) Prolonged mil. service, system not geared to it, lost farms.
Big slaveholders kept labor supply, expanded. (probly had served in last war; in this, stayed home)

(c) Conquered lands, esp. Sicily, supplied cheap grain. (Like Eur., 1870)

(d) Increased wealth, demand probly turned from grains to olives, ~~citrus~~ (?), fruits, vegetables, meats. Thus probly created new opps, new farms, etc., but mostly we hear about troubles of old farms & crops. Original seat of Roman culture, probly got too much atten. from traditionalists, but still indicative.

(e) Growing need for ships, cavalry — larger scale, hence made Romans accept larger scale farms, with dependents, despite yearnings to return to Golden Age.

(f) Senate & power at expense of popular but unwieldy Assembly

class division

5. Stiffening patrician resistance, & civil war - ~~is~~ class warfare.

~~Patrician preference on ager publicus.~~ plus augmentations.

- (a) Who were patricians? Original landholding families (Originally all ^{plus augmentations.} ~~tenures were from state~~ (cf. Puritans, Mormons) common, but new comers dealt out)
 (b) Rome now secured her position. Took place, wealth poured in. Provincial occupation worth much, tax farming, associated usury, rapies. Patricians no longer worried re plebs.
 (c) Murder Gracchi, ^[though] ~~but~~ much of program goes thru anyway]
 Marks end of healthy democracy.

(d) Marius, new kind of popular leader. Assembly having failed, mil. leaders arose. Sullan reaction, another blood bath.
 Pattern set, popular mil. leader balancing Senate. Worked tolerably well for 300 yrs.

~~Rome had now secured her position. And besides Carthage, had conquered Greece, wealth pouring in.~~

6. Continuing land conc-n. Causes (different in part from later ones)
~~Increasing tendency of large holdings - universal, don't attribute to farm machinery today.~~
~~Patrician preference on ager publicus.~~

~~Prestige of farm landowning. Contempt for trade, industry~~

~~Income from urban sources, & governmental:~~

~~Tax-farming, offices, army supply~~

~~Urban rents
Commerce~~

~~Mortgage foreclosures - deflation probly aggravated at times, ^{gold} to Orient~~

~~Hard to compete vs slaves~~

~~Italy tax exempt. And Marius raised volunteer soldiers, paid them, ended thus old military servitude. Tax exemption leads to conc-n; today, too.~~

6. Continuing land conc., ~~concentr.~~ 1st century B.C.
A universal problem. Inevitable, in wake of equal land divisions.
Palestine, Egypt, Babylon, Greece; England; Argentina; U.S.

Causes:

a. Italy tax exempt. Marius raised volunteers from unemployed Romans, relieved land of old military servitudes - or v.v. Somewhere, abandoned principle that landholding required service? One holder, one service - see slavery. Tax exemption ~~leads to~~ cap'd into l.v., leads to concn.

Analogy in Calif. I.D.s. today, paid off bonds

Thus prosperity carries seeds of own destruction.

b. Snowballing tendency of large hold'gs, (incl reasons: surplus to invest. (Mortgage foreclosures. Antiquity of mortgage.)

~~Patrician income from privileged~~

c. Fluctuating prices; gold poured in from conquests, then out to India. So debtors went thru periods of deflation. Financially strong can weather such risks better.

d. Patrician income from non-farm sources

Urban rents & ds, as Rome boomed. (cf. Today, cap. gains exemption)

Tax farming; offices; graft; army contracts; annona?

Leisure needed for governance; thus leisure gave power, & more income. Today: what do with leisure? Make govt work.

Commerce

e. Patrician preference on ager publicus. (Cf. today, atomic

development to a few; TV plums; etc. And v.v. grants, 19th)
Not based on superior mil. service, but hereditary position

f. Prestige of landholding. Military tradition, farm background, contempt for commerce; & slavery made farm work contemptible. Prestige a funny thing, conquest & mil. produces a major element. Roman doctors low prestige, but. traders.

g. Slavery. Eos of scale in slave culture? One holder, providing one military service, was in effect giving much less service per acre if he had many acres farmed by slaves & a mgr.

6. Continuing land concn., (cont.)

h. Influence of conquered areas

Many had unequal structure to begin, Romans ~~was~~ left system as was, skimmed cream. = division had been very limited area, Latium. Eastern lands, esp., were in big estates. (Like U.S. in Calif., Cuba) Esp. away

i. Changes in demand. from cities, "natural economy" - Persian system, ultimately to conquer Rome, & Em. Sicily, Africa, took over Carthaginian system.

~~More~~ More meat, fruit, vegs, doubtless.

- ✓ Old 40-acre grain farm became obsolete. Foreign competition lowered grain prices
- ✓ Overall effects never adequately studied. Various possibilities
- ✓ Heiland says grazing replaced grain.

j. Increased alienability

k. Senators' need for political - military power.

Senators & patricians used ~~not~~ not only slaves, but let some lands to freemen, "clients", whom they called out vs Caesar, - & probly paid no other rents. (Not until later becomes important)

l. As powerful usurped commons, small lost vital complements.
(conjecture)

m. Where there were taxes, discrim. vs small (cf. today). Lessen tax by becoming client of powerful.

n. Usury.

In extreme sense. Taking advantage of ignorant & non-ethy minded. Fine print. G. Spanish loss of estates in Calif.

7. Civil war & empire

Thus society divided into classes, based on force, from murder of Gracchi.

Marius. Portentous. c. 80. a popular military leader.

Pompey; Caesar.

8. Caesar's reforms: 49-44 ~~years~~, in between battles.

Cancelled debts (like Solon, Moses, ~~Shakespeare~~ shotgun auctions)
Not entirely for poor. He was debtor himself, & many nobles like him, then ~~lost~~ ^{land} living, they joined
settled soldiers - as had also Sulla, the "conservative", like Bismarck, ^{revolt.}
& Gracchi. T.R.

Walled village, garrisons to hold country.

also settled unemployed

Employ $\frac{1}{3}$ free labor

Roads, reclamation

"Packed" Senate

Halved dole (free grain)

9. Augustus. 31 BC - 14 AD

Pax Romana. Succession worked out - hard to say on what plan. Emperor
balanced Senate.

Commerce respectabilized

New towns. New xptn. Cemented empire. Aqueducts - as vital as
roads in Medit land.

Commercializ-n, specializn

Week 3, p. 8, ~~suppl.~~

10. Pax Romana. to 180. Principate

Achievements:

Peace!

Provided govt for ^{great commercial civn that lacked only that. (Like Prussia later)} Medit city-states. Freed seas for commerce. Free trade, all ^(2 Am. frms today?) ^(2 Eng. gentry?) benefits of that. Reformed worst abuses of Publicans, systematized Provincial admin.

Roads. League of city-states - unlike Persia with Satrapies, central adm. Balance of ^{power}

Aqueducts. Extended cultivation - e.g. No. Africa, Knight, QfE, 11-28.

Olive groves, grains, wines (tho Rome may be discouraged + hat, as French later)

Restored in 20th by restoring Roman works & methods - needs for trade & pol. security.

Slavery declined

Continued to assimilate barbarians. Settled them on lands inside empire. They took up Roman ways eagerly: ~~the city, settled~~

sedentary agric., focussed around town of city-state.

Specializ., elaborate divn. of labor, & region.

~~BACK TO P. 8~~

Seeds of destruction, 2d c. 5 non-depraved Emperors, then Crash! Rostovsky, Ch. 8

a. Class distinctions sharpen.

Higher l.v. - cf. U.S.

No more Caesarian reforms. Nerva tried, land too costly, State too

pressed. Trajan made costlier by subsidies. (cf. today). What settlements there were were soldiers, largely barbarians, frontiers. Center decayed. Hadrian bumbling. Rostovsky, ch 8, note modern parallels - & imminence of disaster. Afraid to strike at heart of problem.

Latifundia expanded. Absentee owners in Rome. Greek mags. ^{Note, occurred w/o machines. Better markets maybe involved}

Doles to proles, a privilege of Romans - splitting the booty Italy a separate class, tax exempt. Privilege grew in value, as taxes & values grew. Provincials resented, Severus & Caracalla fixed 'em, Caracalla made them Romans - cf. Andy Jackson

Army separate - professionals. Emperors cease to rep. proles, but army Senators forbidden to serve. Outcasts.

Proles lose munic. vote, 2d. Landholders of 5 capita in curia

Result - no solidarity. No public morality. No wonder. Moral indignation of historians misdirected. ~~Not~~ Not the venal officialholders of 4th c. to blame, but creators of privileged classes.

b. Revenues erode.

Soldiers no longer supply & pay selves from land. No more small farms. Privilege of hold'g land w/o mil. service, let estates expand again.

War no longer brings booty

~~For~~

Doles to proles.

Tax exemptions 1. Tax estates per capita, so depopulate (later leads to serfdom) For mil. service. Barbarian laeti - & Senators bought 'em. Cf. U.S. land serip.

Patrocinium, outside ~~towns~~ Municipia

Ancient tithing privilege, expanded + hrs.

Colonate formed. Self-sufficient estates, take exchange out of what where taxes levied. Cf. corps today. Remove lands & heads from municipia

Productivity of latifundia declines. Center decays. Indirect taxes - excise, sales. Pliny.

~~Facilitation of estates per capita, avoidable.~~

Cumulative rush, as burdens Ad, ^{to avoid taxes.} Antoninus Pius had to economize sharply. M. Aurelius philosophized while Rome burned. Tax strike, municipia strike for freedom. Julian buys Emperhood, 193.

11. Breakdown - Commodus to Diocletian, 182 - 284

Lucky streak of many "good" ^{i.e. not depraved -} emperors, after Nero. Then Commodus the contemptible, 180-82, breakdown. ^{why so sudden? Cumulative decline revs. plausible hypoth. probly Marc' Aurelius.} Barrack Emperors. Century of civil war. Confiscations, continual. - no regular revenues.

Revenues decline, "printing press" infln, begining Sept. Sev. in 193-211. "Take ^{enrich} care of the soldiers; ^{scorn} ~~never mind~~ the rest." Pay them in land, or debased coin. ~~Only~~ No security. Old patricians sacked, but no one safe. ~~with~~

Pop. flees cities for relative safety of patrocinium in territoria under colonate.

Wars, looting, burning, ravaging - land remained. Ad pref. for land as investment, vs. cap. fmtn, which had been big problem anyway.

12. Diocletian stems the tide. 284-305

Kept self alive

Levied direct gpt taxes, incl. Italy. Capita & jurgum. ~~No~~ No irregular depredations. Leading citizens bonded for all provinces' taxes.

Stabilized image

Administered all provinces directly - Senate had kept some back

Price control - but abandoned.

Unduly deprecated. A great man. Founded a new Empire, in effect - which then began anew the process of decay. But in East endured ~~to~~ to 1453 - far longer than J. Caesar's work.

13. ~~Constantine~~ ^{translucence} abandons the west. ~~323-37~~

4th cent. on, dissolution in west.

Cities reduced, turned attn to agric. Emperors taxed cities, so people fled.
Tried them to tax farms
Taxed per head, probly. Bound serf to soil - probly also to stop evictions by

landowners.

~~Cities still~~
Adm. thru landowners, who collect taxes (cf. with holding)
Privileged senatorial tax exempt groups still. Curia flee cities to get among them.
Caste system for all: collegia, curia, soldiers, grain supply, all: mania

for pigeonholing.

Ran from all. But had to live. Wound up serfs, (rascally lords)

as central power declined, serfdom remained, under landlord.

1. Why study Rome?

A. Why study history in genl?

Help understand our times, contend w. them, forecast outcomes
Basic issues today have bn issues thruout history: ^{Large fms vs small;} Fed vs local govt;
taxation; socialism vs free enterprise; mercantilism vs free trade; boom & bust.

can't figure out logically what will happen bcs people not rational. But
can observe mass behavior in past
B. Rome in particular?

Greatest achievement - more than today, unified Medit. & huge area.
Analogy, passed thru evolution parallel to ours. ^{Δ of farm size e.g.}
Emancipation of plebs, e.g., ^{like absorption of immigrants here; disposing of public}
Met universal problems - ^{solved} conquered more than most, like us - &
succumbed spectacularly. Showed culture can be rich & be apparently
prosperous.

Shows problems due to human nature & basic land tenure
relations & problems of power & ~~the~~ control of the state, problems
that haven't changed w. technology. See our problems in a different
environment, thus get idea of what is permanent, what transitory

Closer analogy to U.S. than w. n Europe desmt

Tests several interpers of hist. & shows them limited to
other eras; while some interpers come thru fly's colors

Origin of Xianity - & much else of our culture. Just as Latin language
is main progenitor of modern English, so their law, philosophy,
ideas re property, govt, adm, armies all come down to us today.
Mixed, like our language, w. Teutonic, Celtic, Arabian elements.

Rome, 2

1. Brief overview of hi points of Roman history
2. Sources of strength.
3. The process of decay

Emphasis on 3 critical periods

A. Gracchi

B. Hadrian's palliatus

C. State slavery & disintegration.

1. Brief overview history.

- 510 B.C. Eject Tarquins (victory of patricians)
494 Plebs secede
445 Canuleian law lets plebs marry patricians
390 Gauls sack Rome
286 Rome unifies Italy
201 End 2d Punic War (Hannibal); annex Carthaginian Spain
146 Destroy Carthage (& Corinth). Greece & Macedonia become provinces.
133 Tribunate of T. Gracchus
122 " " G. "
111-90 Marius
82-79 Sulla
44 Caesar killed
27-14 AD Augustus
98-117 Trajan
~~180-82 Commodus~~
193-211 S. Severus
235-85 30 Tyrants
285-305 Diocletian
307-24 Constantine

~~2 Sources of strength~~

Description of agriculture.

Sedentary — not, like so many empire builders, nomads or shepherds. Did keep cattle & sheep, but not horsemen, not migrants.

1 rrrn, some, mixed w. dry-fmg. Grain (barley, spelt (a wheat), millet)
Hay; & transhumance
Vines, olives, figs. Great civil engs. learned from Etruscans: irr & drainage.

Thus a mixed ag, unlike Egypt.

Individualism & coopn, mixed. Genius of Roman govt.
Local govt or cooperation did irr. ^{& drainage} at first, tho we know little about it; probly districts.

Mktg — evolution from subsistence to mkt & back again. at first, probly sent some primary products east, for mfrs.

Tenure — fmkly fms, ^{tradition of = division} evolved to latifundia, ^{slavery} Teny — but back again to feudabim, serfdom

(see ~~Herland, Agricuata, for more~~)

2 - field system --- fallowing, probly to conserve wtr. Used plough, & plowed much. to pulverize soil & hold wtr. Like our dryfarming. ^{Paran, p. 121, says}
^{Romans distinct from g-n Medis by much more thorough cultivation}

Transhumance ... sheep to hills in summer, thus lost manure half-year

Cattle — used for money

Grain ground by hand, or animal rotary.

Water mills known, but rare — perhaps labor too cheap.

Square fields — as vs strips of n-n Eur. Square fields to allow cross ploughing & pulverizing for wtr conservation.

Enclosed fields? Some yes, some no, a mixture. 400 B.C., owned land was just one-two acres, but were also common rights etc. — much like Medieval Europe.

Nucleated settlements. Isolated farms the exception. Free village community cultivating the land & herding cattle in common. Took more care in grain
Draft animal — oxen. Horses faster, but ate more, & no effective collar was devised until c. 5th-8th, from n.e. Asia. N-n France pioneered Italy clung to old ways.

Description of Agric., 2

Used ~~only~~ light soils, easy to work. But Romans, ff. Etruscans, & well drained.
were pioneers, reclaimers. Drained marshes & attacked heavy soils.

Sowed wheat or barley in fall.

Used wheel-less plow, shallow. For deep working of soil, hand-hoe.

Worked down to 2-3 feet. -- for vines & truck.

Mechanization? No, & reason was labor too cheap. In frontier Gaul they used a comb-type harvester, but abandoned it when labor moved in. Thus refuting technological determinism.

Fertilizing? Used animal & green manure, had many cattle -- so if fertility declined was not due to ignorance
They probly imported feed, like Eur. today, & thus xfrd fertility from provinces -- yet it was ~~Rome~~ Italy that was exhausted.

2. Sources of strength

a. Geographic situation - challenge & response

Reclamation possibilities - irr. & drainage. Evolved cooptive instns.

Political possibilities - no natural boundaries, eat or be eaten, no stopping place. Had to unseat Etruscans, buy off Gauls. No cozy watch map to fall back on.

b. Equalitarian instns. ^{E.g. of 2d Punic War.}

Forced on ruling patricians by insecurity. Plebs have bargaining power. Tolerant. Assimilation - could learn from Etruscans & Greeks.

Desire to Δ popn. Welcome all people. Trading center.

all Italians became Romans - not slaves. (Refuted T. Frank's theory of pure Roman race.)

c. Strong govt "revenues" - in mil. service, for landholding.

d. For city - States of the times, unusual decentralization of farm ownership. Other cities, city as such owned surrounding farmland.

e. Relatively primitive hence loosely orgd society - flexible - on fringes of highly orgd Hellenistic world, which cd. not cooperate, unite

f. Free Trade policy & open door policy made Rome a commercial center.

3. Success & decay. 3 critical periods.

A. Gracchi. (133 & 122 B.C.)

Beat Carthage, absorb Greece, 146. End of insecurity. Allies seek membership in Empire, conquest unrec. Easy times.

Patricians no longer feel constrained to share w. plebs. Take most loot - slaves, money, public lands, ^{army contracts,} tax-farming. Also fortunes from Δ g inc. of urban land. ^{patrician preference for 1/10 produce. cf. plums today TV, atomic, Taylor.}

Meantime, mil. service had borne unevenly; & Hannibal ravaged small farms. (220 - 201)

Land of Italy, income goes down bcs for compn, esp. grains. But price goes up, as ^{as loot pours in} ~~achieves~~ tax exemption, & rich Romans achieve money & slaves. Grain had been medium family farm's standby. Now was cheap. But was greater demand for animal products, led to transhumance - & patricians controlled mountains, & grazing land qmly. Also water holes, probly, tho historians mute. Scarcity of alternative investments - no industry

Note this conen occurred w/o techn. change, no machines. Present Δ fm size has precedents, other causes.

Patricians need for prestige; & base outside city, for refuge, with retainers - clients - e.g. whom they called out vs. Caesar. Beginning of feudal system.

Rome, 8

Gracchi tried to stop this, divide lands & taxes more equally.
Murdered. used popular assembly. End of Democracy. Marius,
then Caesar, who packed Senate, cancelled debts, settled veto, ^{not in Italy} cut dole,
built roads & aqueducts.

B. 2d critical period - Hadrian.

Emperor worked things out, not end of republic. Republic never
had been very republican anyway. Was an interlude from previous
period when kings allied w. plebs vs Senate. Again, Augustus,
balance worked out (they murdered Caesar who went too far)
(Senate never suppressed, despite periodic confiscation - until S. Severus. Hadrian gave back Italy ^{to Senate?})
Italy completely abandoned to unec. ownership. Paid no taxes,
producers fled - figure that out. Ec. activity decentralized

Pax Romana, great prosperity elsewhere, as never before here
since. ^{e.g. No. Africa} Slavery declined. Continued to assimilate

But tax exemption spread. Erosion of tax base. Tried
infln; excises.

at height of grandeur, collapse was imminent - why?

Rome, 9

1. No more land reforms! ^{of the old kind.} Nerva tried; land too dear, state too pressed. Trajan's subsidies sd land prices. Maintenance of l.v. became major policy objective
2. Rise of portoria excises, choked trade - & trade & industry readjusted, self-sufficiency grew.
3. Tradition arose of forgiving delinquent taxes

Seeds of destruction, summary. [First what happened. Then in summary, sum up why]

- A. ~~Things~~ Untenable explanations ^{after Claudius & Nero. Vespasian, Domitian.}
Wild living - Stoic reaction, puritanical, ^{Emperors who killed Rome were austere men}
Climate? - No one agrees v. Hunt-n. & Africa above all is where Rome was expanding in 2d
Fertility - One of safest ways to store up assets.
Overtaxation - Italy was tax exempt, & worst of all. Cf. Venezuela. Tax as incentive.

- B. Erosion of tax base (rather than soil); weakness of public force ^{Empire didn't borrow}
No borrowing - threat of infln?
Landholders relieved of obligations, keep land. End of mil service, not just for proles but Senators. End of voluntary contributions to city force, c. 100 (cf. charity & hunting ~~etc~~ today). End free admin service etc. as proful bureaucracy replaces. Some conquered lands, (esp. Hellenistic?), keep local lords but relieve of duties (thus get welcome from local lords allies to hold country. cf. Zamindars - & U.S. bn aid)

Imperial domains leased to favorites etc. who take large bites. Follows earlier tradition of Lex Thoria, 111 BC., suspending rents on domain. Estates taxed per head, hence depopulated.

Excises reshape trade pattern, dim returns (aided by army requisitions) also revs from grain trade mppr probly fell, as overworked it.

Loop-hole of patrician preference spreads, by patrocinium, commendation. Remove lands from municipia, tax units. Cities were places to collect taxes, people fled to tax shelters in country. Cities sold their munic. lands, too, probly, to tax-exempt. Inflation used to force state, so people shun money etc. Army direct requisitions grow as other forces weaken. So people avoid storing up wealth thus.

- C. Δ of ^{~~inflation~~} necessary expenses

No more free services from landholders.
No more booty. System geared to it. New system of "conquest" by allying w. local landholders, leaving them income, doing admin. & mil. work.
Large proful. bureaucracy; & proful standing army - a necessity when society split.
Subsidize local govt. (paradox? cf. today) ^{people won't give service freely.}
Imperially forced reclamation, roads, ^{baths, monuments} the roads & aqueducts remain, testify to engin skill. ^{Rome is dead.}

Seeds 2, 2

~~Data keep opening.~~

D. Decline of ^{incentives to produce & trans. trans of} ~~productive power (assess. as decline of base)~~.

Hi l.v. & cap. funtn

Heavy taxes on movement & exchange of goods - including some taking form of mops, e.g. Emperor's monopoly of grain trade.

"Dirigisme", harassment of merchants.

Inflation threat ended cap. mkt., only invest in equities, hastened concn land.

~~E. Hardening of class lines~~

E. Decline of productive power, resulting

End of specializn & exch, revert to barter. Mkt. had become bottleneck where collect taxes, killed mkt. Xptn killed by requisitions.

✓ Decentralizn had made system esp. ~~is~~ dependent on xptn, vulnerable there, when xptn became costly, system folded suddenly.

~~Wastelands~~ Wastelands split up others; breed malaria; shelter bandits etc.

✓ Hi consumption, low cap. funtn. --- emperor built roads to open new lands, but no one developed lands!

Giant landholdings, small operating units, divorce of owner & operator universal.

7. Hardening of class lines (meant end of solidarity, public morality, pride in mil. service, etc.)
{ as taxes 1, value of exemption 2s.
{ Italy, & emigrés who took Ius Italicum abroad, had it.

Frontier closes after Trajan. (But less bcs expansion of frontiers stops than bcs incentives & opps to reclaim land are killed)

Landholders relieved of burdens but not income. assets cluster around nuclei.
Landholders, passive class; army, separate class, from poor, & no one can stand against it

Valorization of land policy; end of land reforms, redistribution - (& before they had ended, had lost = n ring -- were means of getting vets out in stix, to defend frontiers while insiders pilfered Rome)

Extreme concn of land, absentee-owned.

- G. Ineffectual & actually harmful "reform" efforts.

prices Valorization of land. Cheap loans to big landholders. Buy land hi prices

Control traders in food, (favorite scapegoats ever) for no very coherent reason. E.g. forbid export of oil from Athens. General itch of large bureaucracy to regulate people.

Good Explanations fall of Rome, 2d.

~~Pretim. Untenable explanations~~

Best summaries:

Landholding, & idea of absolute property as end in itself replaces stewardship & st. of use; & object of statecraft comes to be max. l.v.

State becomes instrument or means whereby parasites feed on producers.

Subsidizing landholders by cheap loans & usg int. for debt runs up special privileges for a few, bread & circuses for many, penalties for producers.

State went bankrupt, army recruited from propertyless poor had to forage for itself in a world of strangers

Modern parallels:

Tax exemptions

Inflation to meet expenses

Lucki, E. (U. of Utah)

"Role of Large Landholders in
the Loss of Roman Gaul."

20 Amer Jnl En & Soc (1): 89-100,

Oct. '60.

Good, assignable, rereadable.

V. Simkhevitch, "Rome's Fall
Reconsidered", Pol. Sci. Q.,
v. 31 (1916)

Rome

Excellent Source:

Charlesworth, M.P. Trade Routes & Commerce of the Roman Empire

1924-26.

380.9376

C 38E

1926

Soil fertility:

In time of troubles this might be one of more secure ways of storing up capital. Hard to confiscate, vandals unlikely to destroy.

Michell, H. The End of Ancient Greece ~~NY~~ NY: Barnes & Noble, 1957
Early hyper-conservative, gratuitously. But most informative, is much more in it.

Had no regular tax system. Relied on tribute. System thus collapsed
after defeats, e.g. of Pelian League at Megaspotami

Short wars, citizen army serving w/o pay, quickly recovered. But assuming world
leadership was another matter.

Tax-farming is related to prop. in land. Bes ancients sold the right to
collect taxes. Not so diff. from selling the rt to collect rent.

p. 371 Munic. "socialism" - cities owned many surrounding lands, mines, forests.
But gov't did not administer, just collected rents. Got lands probly by
conquest.

Note then this real difference between their system & ours. But note
also that with decline of gpt ours are coming to resemble them - e.g.

Pt. of NY authority.

p. 374 Poll taxes on foreigners, called Metis.

Tariff on slave imports

Tax on prostitutes

p. 377-78 As in Roman cities, ~~publicans~~ was rich were under social
pressure to support games etc.

p. 382 Periodic capital levies, probly on personal prop'ty as well as r.e.

Michell, 2

p 41 Greek landholders were knights, horsemen — 7th & 6th BC, e.g.
"Mail-clad knight invincible until gunpowder." But how about Roman
infantry? And English bowmen?

"Whole country in hands of a few rich." This suggests cities did not own
their entire hinterlands, by far.

Note difference of this era from feudal, tho, when cities had to struggle for
independence from rural lords!

p 42 As Athenian commerce grew, commercial fortunes there challenged
hegemony of rural knights.

Solon, 594, cancelled debt-slavery & many mortgages.

Peisistratus, 564, confiscated land of enemy nobles & divided
them among farmers. Thus abolished nobles of rural areas & created
small owners, who paid "land" taxes — a % of produce, however,
 $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$.

p. 54. Greeks practised dry-farming, 2-field system, frequent plowing &
pulverizing soil — tho they lacked harrow. (Casts doubt on Parain's
allegation that Roman farms were noteworthy for fine cultivation)

p 55 Winter wheat: sowed in autumn; reaped in heat of summer. Also
some spring wheat, where conditions favored it — e.g. iron. for late summer water.

Some legumes also autumn-planted, but peas & lentils in spring,
couldn't stand winter cold.

Michell, 3

p. 56 Wheat exhausts land more than any other crop.

(Attica, poor soil, was in olives, figs, vines & imported wheat.)

p. 63 Cavalry were a negligible factor in Greek armies bes. of mts.
Armies w. cavalry cd. only use it when maneuvered enemies onto plains.
Horses a luxury of rich, used for racing.

p. 64 Thessaly was a plain, & there there was a strong oligarchy of knights.
But Persian horses were better.

p. 70 Sheep & swine, old as civilization. Pastures for sheep of lucerne (alfalfa)
Trefoil & clover - i.e. legumes. - & vetch.

Swine do not wander, hence assoc. w. sedentary life only. (hence prejudice
of Jewish nomads vs. them?)

leg. p. 85 Cites Jones, W.H.S. Malaria: a neglected factor in the Hist. of Greece & Rome
Manchester: 1911.
That ~~also~~ poor soil culture brought malaria to Greece in 400 BC & Rome
in 200.

p. 85 Peloponnesian War, 5th, destroyed improvements on Attic farms, farms
never went back, consolidation, grains took over.
[So Golden Age of Greek culture was during period of small farms. from
Peisistratus to Peloponnesian]

Bolkestein, Hendrik. Ec. Life in Greece's Golden Age Leiden: E.J. Brill,
1958

Originally pub. 1923 in Dutch

Generally rather dull & discursive.

p. 139-40. Athens city forbade export of grain — dominated Attica mercantilistically.

Is doubt about fall. But is clear: cannot help fams by Ag l.v.

Likewise many cities get subsidies.

(Δ of malaria as intensive culture gives way to swamps?)

Ch. 8 Efforts to revive Italy

Domitian: prohibit vines in provinces

Nerva: redistribute land (but bought it instead of taking it)

Trajan: Prohibit emigration from Italy.

Settle vets near Rome

Force Senators buy land in Italy.

Cheap credit.

[Genl. criticism: all efforts obviously now reflect sanctity of land prop'ty, however acquired; & desire to maintain its value]

Cheap credit given exist'g owners. Presumably, ostensibly, to promote improvement, reclamation; actually worsened problem.

p 317 Hadrian: 1st act, cancelled ^{in part} debts to Treasury, unpaid taxes, for provincial cities.

Means of collecting Taxes:

From cities (curia)

From concessionaires on public domain (conductores)

By direct agents of state.

} Equestrian class imposed this.

Hadrian gave up on Italy, & went forth to found new towns in the provinces.

p 320 Tried to turn tenants into owners. At least R so interprets it, in Egypt. What Hadrian did was lower rents on public lands & make them more like priv. holdings. Sounds to me like mere privilege & exemption.

Riostortzeff, 2

p. 321. Arrears of Taxes mentioned here, c. Hadrian's time, as elsewhere. (I recall several Emperors cancelled arrears on ~~way to~~ accession.) Delinquency is a half-way house on road to exemption. Use modern analogies.

p. 321-22. Lex Manciana sounds good, lets squatten on imperial salties if they develop idle land. But this betrays very poor mgmt of salties in genl. Can even squat on land leased to contractors, if these have not used for 10 yrs. Suggests little or no rent paid.

Hadrian's measures led to spread of colonies all over Africa, thinks R.

p. 323 Hadrian differed from predecessors in expanding his reforms outside Italy. (Maybe that is what brought down Empire? Previously only Italy was ruined by lv. mntnce.)

Protected poor vs. rich - or said he was. E.g. forbade unlimited export of oil from Athens. (dirigisme). Forbade more than one middleman to buy fish - one turnover, i.e., one layer of middlemen.

R thinks H. grasped essentials of problems pretty well.

p. 325 But Pius' reign shows H's reforms unsuccessful.

a. Pius retrenched - sold imperial land. Gave back adm. of Italy to Senate, at its wish.

p. 326 M. Aurelius tried to avoid new taxes, but had to levy emergency taxes on cities - so some of them sold land (to whom? Must have been men of assets about. And cities had no prop. taxes?)

Rostovtzeff 3

p 326 M. Aur. forgave arrears — & so, nat ch, was continually faced w. requests to forgive more. R. takes this as proof of bad strain!!

p 327 Spain refuses to send recruits, & M. Aur. yields!

Every province, deserters fled (so army pay probly not so attractive; & patriotism obviously gone, probly indicating resentment at upper classes, who set tone in such things)

M. Aur. a humanitarian. (cf. growth of same in U.S. now)

328 Continual expansion of land reclamation, 1st & 2d, ~~exp~~
~~was promised~~ in all provinces. Tingad e.g., founded by Trajan.

329. Campagna around Rome was abandoned & became malarious.

— In genl, R. not very bright. Reveals himself here & there — e.g. says was no waste land in Italy bcs land commanded a high price!
(p. 330)

p. 333 After Hadrian no new lands taken, expansion slows, caste system hardens.

(I think what happens is when state creates eff. admin. it leaves former administrators, landholders, with their income & w/o their duties.)

p 333 R emphasizes these landholders lived in cities

333-4. Armies cd. requisition produce where & when needed. (As regular finances dwindled, this became burden. Nat ch it wd be a capital levy usually — army needed wheat was already there.)

Rostovtzeff 4

Tax-collector in Egypt, 2d, was personally responsible (cf. power cos. today).

But troops living off the land was a continual threat & calamity.

1st, companies of tax farmers gave way. Cities were glad to assume responsibility for own taxes, be rid of pests. Elders probly profited, & reduced own assessments. But in return got stuck w. personal liability for whole.

c. 100, became hard to find men to be city officials, bcs were supposed to pay.

After forgiv'g taxes, M. Aurelius sent officials to ~~take~~ supervise fincl affairs of cities.

End

"Paul-Louis", Ancient Rome at Work, NY: AA Knopf, 1927

Ch. 17 Hi i.r., due to continual inflation.

Was a brief pd. of lo i.r. when Augustus brought Egyptian treasure to Rome.

p 320 N-n Gy was land of marshes. (hence reclamation, all the way.) S-n Gy, forests.

p. 321 Gms lived on grain & cattle. (Doubtless these are basic crops of primitive man generally). No fruits

p 295. Empire was divided for fiscal adm. into ~~portoria~~ districts separated by customs lines, or portoria. Rates were "incessantly Ad", finally became prohibitory (no doubt had vesteds behind them). Pliny Elder says they double cost of goods from Asia to Rome. (but this ^{may} include some external tariff as well, depending on what is meant by "Asia".)

Generally the rates do not sound awfully hi until Valens, Valentinian, & Gratian. But of course they were "en cascade". And, p. 198, they sound higher. Cicero said they were 5% in ~~the~~ Sicily, which lets them be much higher later of course.

In 60 BC portoria were abolished for a time - Caesar revived them. (So in 60 BC they cd. not have bn a major revenue producer).

added to portoria were city toll-houses; "vexatious demands of governors."

p 199 Portoria & octroi not levied on some privileged Roman traders.

Paul-Louis, 2

(How do exemptions & privileges grow? State creates them to: a, sell for revenue; b, reward supporters in politics; c, reward veterans; d, subsidize churches & charities; e, give to sheer rascals.

They grow & grow, destroy tax base.

One cd. doubtless trace this in growth of Roman law.)

p. 175 Licinian Law concerned not just ploughed fields; but some domain was grazed. Law said max. holding on ager publicus was 500 jugera --- & even that was subject to rent; nor send more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep to graze on public pastures. And they paid per head for those they did graze. And they had to have some % of free workmen.

III B.C., Lex Thoria suppressed scriptura or fee paid for pasture use per head; & all rents.

p. 177 Vets getting land wd quickly sell.

p. 178 Patricians supported idea of colonizing vets far out in sticks, where tie them to land & no trouble. (this figures with portoria, too: since industry was so decentralized, much trade must have crossed many lines. This killed provincial industry - shd have added to advantages of Rome, but its privileges killed it.

Paul-Louis, 3

p 171 etc. Like Frank &c., he associates grain w. small fms, & vines w. latifundia.

Possibly in that age grain did require small fms. But I cannot believe that vines went w. large ones. Cattle, yes.

also mentions birds as large ag. product - Romans ate all kinds.

State imported grain as tax & distribd free, thus ruin'g mkt of Italian grain fms. Doubtless this reflected class control of Roman govt.

p. 232. "Diocletian revived the survey register of Augustus in order to increase the land tax."

Frank, T. ~~ed.~~ Rome & Italy of the Empire. Vol. I of Frank, T. (ed)
An Ec. Survey of Ancient Rome Balt: J Hopkins Press, 1940.

p. 46 Vespasian sold land to raise rev. - simul. raising other taxes.
(so land must have bn. untaxed, else what wd there be to sell?) (In effect,
state was selling a tax exemption. Perhaps nec. bec cd. not borrow)

p. 48 When Rome conquered lands of Asia, there were feudal lords &
serfs. Serfs paid tithe to king, & $\frac{1}{3}$ to lord. Rome replaced the
king, & recognized the lords as prt. owners. This is conjectural, by Frank.

Makes sense, by analogy with what happened elsewhere later.
This may be origin of prt. prop'ty. This may explain why native rulers
welcomed Rome.

Many of these estates passed to Romans by sale, foreclosure, etc.

There were lands "outside org'd communities".

(So two classes parasites grew: very poor on dole; very rich collecting
rent & avoiding taxes. So public burdens fell on the productive)

p 49 Had bn custom elsewhere for king to own vast personal domain.
Roman "Principes" took this over. (thus relieving others of taxes?)

But old public domain was sold, or "given away in colonies". (?)
(Then Nero etc. restored estates by confiscations, which wd certainly have ill
effects as well as good)

p 49 Rome divided empire into several tariff districts. ~~During~~
Some of these were called "port dues". Some, e.g. Palmyra, were for city revenue.

Frank, 2

p49 During Republic, farmed out; but Emperor org'd bureaucracy to collect them directly for emperor.

Taxed exports as well as imports

Gives 3 German authorities on port dues, p.49

p.54 Vespasian refused to use labor sav'g devices on his bldgs, to feed the poor.

p56 Domitian tried, but retracted, effort to recover public land from squatters.

Like Nero, confiscated, but perhaps more to weaken enemies than get revenue.

p56 Tiberius had brought on food crisis among landowners of Italy by policy of low spend'g; compensated by lend'g much in State mortgages.

p59-60 Wild living killed Rome? No, for after Claudius & Nero, when ostentation by rich reached height, was puritan reaction under Stoics etc. Confiscations made the wealthy cautious. Vespasian was frugal, & set a social standard.

✓ p65 Nerva tried to return confiscations of Domitian. Bought land at low prices for vet's colonies. Lend on land, use interest for dole (alimenta) sums up spirit killing Rome. 590.

p70 Trajan lavished money on Italy (yet failed to revive it)

Hadrian spent M on provincial cities too.

Hadrian reformed tax collection service, which had been corrupt, & source of many fortunes (but this didn't save Rome)

Frank 3

(Thus Hadrian 4d tax collection, & travelled around relieving local govts of supporting themselves)

Antoninus Pius was also generous w. provincial cities. p 75
Like predecessors, built roads all over empire. (The roads lasted;
~~Rome~~ the Empire collapsed.)

p. 76 Vespasian it was who reformed adm. of taxes, plugging gross leaks.
His successors kept this good system.

p. 77 M. Aurelius was too generous. Emptied Treasury. Empire swept by
plague, troops brought back from Persian wars. (fostered by waste land?)

I judge from here & there, Romans had no concept of taxes as citizen's
contribution to state. Citizen owed mil service; money came as loot or regular
tribute from conquered. Veterans when colonized took with them ius
stabilium, tax-exemption

Originally, land hold'g conditional on continual liability for mil.
service. After Marius, not so, & landhold'g achieved ec. value. Then
was given as reward, after service. Tax free. Ius stabilium spread,
until empire had no revenue.

As for imperial domains, there was a fixed income. If needed
emergency funds, sold them, probly. Thus that source of revenue fell.

Excises natch declined as trade readjusted.

Franks, 4

p 295 Believes main revs of Emperors were rents & tributes, not excises.
I wonder. — e.g., how did cities collect those tributes?

Thoughts from Haskell

Senate rep'd old landowners.

Not only landless, but also nouveaux riches, who grew on bus. oppies opened up in conquests, threatened old order. Senators barred by law from foreign trade.

Gaius Gracchus' program ~~is~~ more complex.

For mob, had 2-price system for wheat

Wd. allot land not just to small farms, but small businessmen in new

"trading centers."

grain storage contracts for big businessmen; fm-wht roads, (helped relieve unemployment)
grain-storage under public program, to keep low price & steady price (^{pub.} public storage inadequate)

Idea was to hit & break Senatorial machine.

after Gaius death Senate machine returned but didn't dare stop dolé.
Sulla did for a while only. Clodius made it free. J. Caesar cut beneficiaries in half & shipped the others overseas to settle lands.

p. 118 Senate wanted an end to expansion. Business wanted more, oppies for trade.

Rome became banking center, clearing house for world.

Senate dragged feet, business got assembly to act: e.g. sent Marius to Africa to prosecute a lagging war; sent Pompey to clean out pirates, who didn't bother Senators but did bother Romans whose food was intercepted, & merchants who brought it (Probably Haskell is wrong to lump these as "big" business.) Merchants then got Pompey to push war vs. Mithridates

Haskell thought. 2

New wealth was quite concentrated. Spent on luxuries & lands.
(contrary to Marx, who attributes imperialism to falling rate of profit, over-saving, etc. Point out that inequality does not nec. → hi saving.)

Panic of 86 B.C. 7% adulteration of coin, then civil war, panic was slump of 86. Popular party got debts lowered.

63 B.C., again. Preceded by gambling spirit & wild land speculation.
Catiline ran for consul on "clean-slate" policy - debt repudiation.
Precipitated panic. Loans called, gold fled from Italy.

Panic brought his defeat. Govt embargoed gold exports.
Big banker, Q. Cicerilius ~~was~~ conspired w. gov't to forgive debts.

Catiline defeated led armed revolt & was killed, 62 B.C.
Pompey returned from Asia w. gold, revived.

— Marius began recruiting profnal army, as farms petered out.
Thereupon army controlled state, until Augustus reorg'd army.

49 B.C., Caesar crosses Rubicon, against orders of Senate, which feared him as another Gracchus. But he proved a moderate compromiser. Not confiscation, but liberal bankruptcy laws - scaled down debts 25% or so.
(p. 149).

Caesar limited cash holdings - a Keynesian - & bolstered land mkt by requiring investors put 2/3 funds in Italian land.

Haskell, 3

Caesar purposed ~~expand~~ extending Roman citizenship to provinces.
Wd. have reps to Senate come from all Empire.

— Octavian the great organizer of empire. Plebs & aristos both liked him.

He provided good honest govt to provinces, but did not offend Senate by bringing in fr. Senators.

— Like J D Hicks, Haskell says Coolidge & successors used easy-money policy (p. 183-84), leading to extravagant expansion of bank credit enabling boom of '20s.

If this is true, '20s were like '45-'55, & Truman was like Coolidge!! And Hayek & Gaffney are right.

Augustus did same, culminating in bust of AD 33 - under successor.

"When he (Augustus) brought the royal treasures of Egypt to Rome, money became so abundant that the rate of interest fell & the value of r.e. rose greatly." — Suetonius.

Dio says i.r. fell from 12% to 4%.

This wd. be after Actium, 31 BC or so

Augustan peace brought rapid A.L. "due to easy credits, increased circulation, & the sense of security in property-holding -"
Aug. minted lots of money.

Haskell, 4

p. 190 Tiberius economized, trying to compensate for overspending by Augustus. Thus precipitated depression of 33 AD.

33 AD distressed debtors began to sue creditors for usury (i.e. to seek repudiation) Loans called, l.v. collapse.

Tiberius revived Caesarian law, ordered $\frac{2}{3}$ assets invested in Italian land. But on falling mkt, reins. was postponed for lower prices.

So govt began loans at $i=0$. Restored l.v.?

p. 191 ~~89~~ 91 AD. Domitian restricted planting vineyards in provinces to help Italians. 91, overproduction of vines - probably result of partial umbrella - so then ordered $\frac{1}{2}$ vineyards destroyed in provinces, & no more in Italy. But enforcement was spotty.

c. 100 AD, Nerva & Trajan, loaned to farms at 5%, half commercial rate. Money came from Dacian booty. Interest was to go to subsidize children, town commissioners, to 1 p.p.m. But gradually was lost by devaluation of denarius.

N.D. Fustel de Coulanges. THE ANCIENT CITY. Garden City: Doublday
Anchor Books, 1956 (originally 1864)

p283. Rome originally found itself among Sabines, Latins, and Etruscans. Continually fighting to survive. Hence wanted to increase population. Therefore "The kings, therefore, had welcomed and invited all foreigners, without regard to their origin." So much for the theory of a pure Roman race.

And when they won victories, they brought some of the conquered to Rome, as plebs. Or, if they were patrician or priestly families, the Romans "hasted to associate them with themselves."

284 Also "Many foreigners flocked to Rome, as a place whose situation rendered it convenient for commerce. The discontented among the Sabines, the Etruscans, and the Latins, found a refuge there."

p284 Kings alli d with plebs vs.patricians. When kings were excluded, it was victory for patricians over plebs, and they withdrew some of their gains: e.g. lands, share of conquered lands, given by King Servius (who was murdered.)

But after the kings went the plebs threatened to leave. Patricians needed them, gave them concessions to stay. In particular gave them "tribunes," a new office, leaders of plebs, and inviolate. Thus bicameral system grew up, continual compromises, which were essence of Rome's system.

Also, there were many rich plebeians, which class served to moderate between hostile orders. A multi-dimensional division of society. Patricians set themselves apart on basis of birth, and attendant religious sanctions and presumed superiority. But wealth, of course, set up another sort of ranking, thus blurring the lines and permitting compromises.

Finally the distinction of plebs and patricians was entirely erased, after four centuries of struggle. He probably overstates this, and if it is true it is just the religious distinction and not the class difference based on wealth etc.

Haskell emphasizes Romans couldn't stand prosperity. Failed to solve problem of how to live with success. Points this up as problem for our times.

Sam. Dill. Roman Society from Nero to Marc. Aur. p 218 says Roman cities had no direct taxes, 1st cent. Rather: Owned lands or mines elsewhere; or in city, collected rents; received bequests; water tolls; harbor dues; fees for honor of holding office. Held communal slaves for lower fns. Streets & public bldgs built partly.
(Probably Rome did same: taxed provinces, regarding them as possessions, but exempted Italy.)
General loose admin., probably contempt for bookkeepers.

Wealth regarded as public trust, take care of others by largesse. Much more than now. Ours is the unprecedented age of bookkeeping.

Public displays one way to use wealth. Cf. TV advertizing today. No effort to uplift spectators.

Haskell p. 185 - Augustus wanted a land tax, but abandoned plan due to influential opposition. Got some excises then, & inheritance tax.

Rome - than 1st, 2d cents we
~~here~~ hear a, Ad taxes by Rome "on
cities" & other lands.

b, Ad subsidies from Rome to cities & farms

Makes sense? Sure, same as today, only
today we don't have curia of cities w.
joint responsibility for taxes, hence
don't think of taxes as coming "from"
cities.

It means cities' local self-sustaining
revenues were declining.

Chap. 7. "The Ec. Life of the Empire." F. Oertel (Bonn) 1939. CAH. XI

Rome achieved more than today, or ever since: unified Medit. ec. Incl. Eng, France, Balkans, Rhine, Danube, ^{Persian Gulf.} Wd be a major power center today.

Trade beyond borders to all tribes; & afar to India, China.

✓ Peculiar relationship of farm landholding to politics seen from earliest times, in Rome.

— Growth of special privilege killed Rome. Greatest such was priv. of hold'g vast lands w/o pay'g tax or mil. service or anything. Augustus like constructive leaders elsewhere wanted to tax land. Like Turgot. Sen Gat Sen. Tolstoi. Thwarted.

— Value of history — see perspectives on policies, which may seem unrealizable today, yet will be advanced, & may come near winning. See results of failing to face need for land tax squarely.

See palliatives tried, so like ones tried today. see them fail.

— 50-100 AD, great ousiai of Egypt were split up.

— Augustus had taken possession of Egypt. All land there belonged to rulers, Ptolemies, who collected rents from tenants.

✓ Aug. took land as public property of Roman people, (who thus lived on these rents. Thus they taxed provinces, not Italy — & provinces became more productive!)

Certel notes, 2

Egypt, domain land leased to his bidder; lease could be ended any time higher bid received. (p. 293, vol. X chapter)

New lands, new cities, meant continual new oppies for commercial agric. Emphyteusis used to open new far lands in provinces.

Emperors encourage this, for revenue & recruits.

New settlers & provincial bourgeoisie are expatriate Italians & Romanized natives.

Decentralization, striking. Provinces that supplied raw materials become processing centers. (Thus when barbarians penetrated to Italy found hollow center, the citadel was dead.)

Barbarians, like later Dushy of Moscow, grew as satraps of the Empire at first, only 'destroyed' it when it died.

Rome itself, when it conquered world had been on western outskirts of that world, among Greek & Phoenician colonies. Vigor of youth. Also had a relative vacuum to expand into. Likewise previous unity of E-Medit. had come from its fringes, Macedon. Another universal propensity. Thus Prussia unified Gy, etc. Moscow unified Russia (rather than Kiev). Thus Eng. led Eur., & now U.S. does. Thus Manchus unified China. (& earlier Mongols); Savoy unified Italy; Castile unified Spain.

and U.S. frontier region gave us our real unity.

It might be truer to say Rome was nucleus around which Medit. world united — rather than Rome conquered all.

Egypt had a papyrus mpy, & valorized, 1st etc.

✓ p 238. Italy, 1st & 2d, viticulture steadily gave way to corn-growing. Supplied by latifundia w. coloni — i.e. can't attribute this either to slaves, or to large scale production.

Decentralization was partly to supply local mkt in compn w. imports; but the decentralized indies came to supply whole empire. E.g. Kala glass dominates — but obviously not central to empire.

Gaul in good throne, & took over mkt from dying Italian indy (& agric. doubtless). Levantine industry & agric. also did well.

Everyplace but Italy.

Thus factors of decay were clearly institutional, not, e.g., in farm technique such as ignorance of SCS bulletins. And overtaxation was not the problem.

~~And~~ a culture can be edly sick even tho apparently prosperous. The "Ecs. of abundance" is not new

Italy ceased to export anything but tax bills.

Corn came in from Egypt, ~~Ukraine~~ ~~Asia~~ n. shore of Black Sea, & other remote but fertile areas.

Hides & furs no doubt from equally remote less fertile areas. Wool from Anatolia, etc. Processed in seacoast or river towns.

Olives & vines the major intensive crops, spread all over. Vegetables grown. (Truffles mentioned). Oil & wine were staples, easily shipped.

Linens, silk - Asia Minor, Syria.

Papyrus - Egypt.

Nero's confiscations created large supply of imperial lands, & income. (Maybe that is why they handed down so uncomplimentary a picture of Nero?)

p. 251 But as Empire & its ec. expand; as nuclei of great wealth become equally distrib. geographically; still is no fundamental industrial advance. Technology remains static - at least are no major breakthroughs. No factories, with common power source.

No machines.

✓ Surplus funds they invest in land (or on spectacles, politics, etc.)
Contempt for the intellect, the innovator - a bunch of sports fans.

Qertel notes, 5

Probably need for a secure pled-a-term helps account for buying country estates (& urban lands), in era when conspicuous forms of wealth subject to seizure.

Lack of credit facilities noted, save sporadic efforts to help men own farms. Money lending socially discouraged. Hence hi land prices & hi i.r.

Narrow mkt's bcs unequal distribn of assets & pp. (Hence great imp'tnce of army as consumer)

Cheap labour, slave & otherwise, so no need to economize on labour. (cd this be why Hadrian etc. retrenched, stopped expanding - to keep labour cheap? As long as was brought slaves, employers like; but when open up new lands to compete for labour, don't.)

Thus frontier process elsewhere aided industrial advance, e.g. in U.S.

— If Roman cities were free, it follows they were not restrained from taxing trade, exercising mpy power. If they had few direct taxes it follows they ~~tried to use indirect ones~~ excises etc. Thus it is entirely plausible that Roman trade was strangled by excises etc. Is no record of Emperors ff. Tudor-like policies of overcoming localism.

Alerted notes 6

p. 256 During Republic, State occasionally borrowed. Empire cdn't borrow.
(no credit? Fear of infln? Repudiation?) Lived on large revenues from
State-owned lands, many seized by Nero & Domitian - mines, too.

But ~~the~~ wars were pay as you go. And brought no booty.

after Trajan. revenues fall off, & therefore Empire shrinks & weakens.

Nero & Trajan, & worse afterwards, debased denarius for revenue.

Making people state slaves followed. (& note that simul many
lands achieved tax-exemption).

Trajan - Hadrian began "liturgies" - forced supply for army.
And making city-fathers responsible for payments.

Wealth is easier to locate in towns. Seems watch. when
Emperors squeezed towns, those who cd. remove wealth to
country homes.

930 Cambridge Ancient History

C14

also ref.

Aertel p. 238. Italy paid no taxes — but people emigrated to provinces!

Roman Emperors

Line of
Caesars

Augustus - 27 B.C. - 14 A.D.

Tiberius - 14 - 37 A.D.

Caligula - 37 - 41

Claudius - 41 - 54

Nero - --- 54 - 68

Line of
Flavians

Vespasian - 69 - 79

Titus - --- 79 - 81

Domitian - 81 - 96

5 Good
Emperors

Nerva - --- 96 - 98

Trajan - --- 98 - 117

Hadrian - --- 117 - 138

Antoninus Pius - 138 - 161

Marcus Aurelius - 161 - 180

Commodus - 180 - 192

Barack
Emperors.

Blanks are
periods of
war during
which many
men ruled
a short
time.

Septimius Severus - 193 - 211

Caracalla - 211 - 217

Aurelian - 270 - 275

Diocletian - 284 - 305

Constantine - 324 - 337

Julian - 361 - 363

Theodosius - 379 - 395

Justinian - 527 - 565

→ The empire has been
lost, but an occasional "emperor"
pops up in history now and then.

Important dates in American History

- 1000 - Leif Ericsson
- 1492 - Columbus
- 1620 - Pilgrims
- 1763 - French & Indian War
- 1765 - Stamp Act
- 1776 - Declaration of Independence - Revolutionary War.
- 1783 - Treaty of Paris
- 1787 - Northwest ordinance
- 1789 - Constitution made
- 1803 - Louisiana Purchase
- 1812 - War of 1812
- 1819 - Florida
- 1820 - Missouri Compromise
- 1846-8 - Mexican War
- 1846 - Oregon dispute
- 1849 - Gold Rush
- 1850 - Fugitive State Law California
- 1852 - Underground Railway at Height
- 1854 - Kansas - Nebraska Bill
- 1857 - Dred Scott Decision
- 1861 - Civil War
- 1867 - Acquisition of Alaska

Macé, DesLois Agraires chez les Romains, Paris, Joubert, 1846
Significant details of Roman agrarian history, land laws, etc.
HD,137, M3

Myers, Philip.

chap. 22 Summary of Causes of the Fall of the Empire.

1. Slavery.

Reduced pop.

Degraded labor

Destroyed morals of both

2. Land monopoly

But not clear, if was so in Gracchan times, why Rome lasted 700 yrs longer. Was reversal? Maybe cheap fn grain a blessing actually.

3. "Fiscal oppression"

4. Popn decline

Flight from marriage. Christianity aggravated, celibates etc.

Plagues.

evidence of declining popn is lands going out of use - but might have other causes.

Beginning 3rd cent. Sept. Severus, who ff. M. Aurelius, soldiers in saddle. Thus revenge of displaced yeomen. They took power from patrician Senate, gave things to selves, taxed civilians, & robbed them under slight pretext. Classes grew: honestiores & (or potentiores) & humiliores. Potentiores built prt. domains, defied fiscal demands, protected protégés.

Cities declined, people fled to country.

247 A.D., admin. order, coloni on imperial estates, falling behind in payments, bound to soil. Beginning of serfdom.

Dates, Rome.

509 ~~476~~ Unseat Etruscan rulers, found Republic

c. 400 Rome sacked by Gauls

376 Licinian laws

325-265 ^{Rome} ~~1~~ Conquers Italy

264-146 Punic wars

220-201 Hannibal ravages Italy

133-122 Gracchi murdered, marks end of patrician compromises, beginning of civil wars.

88 ~~Asinius~~ Drusus' movement for extension of citizenship to all Italian allies.

[Signature]
c. 509 B.C. Romans overthrow last Etruscan King, emerge as independent.
496 Lake Regillus, Romans defeat Latins
287 By now, plebs attained equal rank with patricians

264-41 1st Punic War

220-201 2d Hannibal ravages Italy

148-46 Rome makes Macedonia & Greece Roman provinces, after several long wars.
146 B.C. Rome finally destroys Carthage in 3d Punic War.

133-22 B.C. Gracchi

58-51 Caesar conquers Gaul

49 Caesar defeats Pompey & rules Rome.

31 Octavius defeats Antony & Cleopatra at Actium

Lot, 7. End of the Ancient World. 1926, xlted (93)

Wealth of Medit. poured into Rome, there dissipated in his living.

Businessmen went in for: a, Tax farming; b, Buy land; c, Usury - meaning I guess lending ~~the~~ for consumption. Also mentions lending to cities.

[Seems overdrawn. Capital went into roads & aqueducts, & perhaps small farms, ships. City of Rome didn't develop ind-y, but why should it?

There were other indl cities in Empire.] by persecutions etc.

Under Vespasian, ¹⁰⁻¹⁹ old Patricians were about done for, he founded new nobility of provincial families. But no fortune lasted long now. (I guess idea was to run them in before it was confiscated)

2d cent., scarcity of specie felt.

[Probably it was after M. Aurelius died, 180, decline accelerated.

Commodus, the phony Hercules, a jerk.

Lacking money, govt paid soldiers in land; levied taxes in grain. ^{land still given for mil. service, but now service came 1st, probly same unequal} Romans wdn't serve in army, barbarians accepted.

Severus, 193-211]

Severus & after debased coins. 235-84, continuous inner wars, confiscations, barbarian invasions. Money concealed. Return to "natural ec.", i.e. self-sufficient estates. Ety, here is where middle ages begin, 3d cent.

[But is not a 'return'. New system lacks virtue of old: equalitarianism & growth potential]

p 84 State refused to trim sails to reduced ec. base. Decurion fled curia peasant from land; & artisan from collegium. [Diocletian finished job of binding to duties?]

Lot interprets ~~the~~ ec. decline as mystically "econ", beyond pol. power to reverse. (Yet in East pol. power did reverse it)

pp. 17-18. After anarchic 3d c., Diocletian restored empire. He appraised land. A caput^{5 jugera} was 3 acres of vineyard, 13 of "good agr. land", 26 acres of medium land, or 40 of poor.

Or 225 full-bearing olive-trees, or 450 poor ones.

A sort of g.p.t.

Hitherto, provinces had paid by ancient agreements, unequal. And Italy was exempt !! (N.B. — no wonder Italian ag. declined, & Rome got grain from Egypt, Africa, & Sicily!)

Diocletian taxed Italy too.

p 19. Stabilized coinage. Trying to stop specs, which had ensued on long inflations, ~~and~~ controlled prices. Edict failed & he withdrew it. (Probably too much has been made of this)

He let each area know what was expected. He limited expenditures to income.

Put all Provinces under Emperor — Senate had always kept some. Grouped provinces into dioceses

Diocletian reigned from Nicomedia in East, from 284. Rome dead.
 Dio. resigned, & his western co-ruler with him, thinking he had solved
 problem of succession. But more wars followed.

chap 6 - The Caste System

Functionaries militarized since Sept. Severus. (193-211)

Miners bound early
 State employees too. - army sutlers etc., & workers in State factories - armors,
 weavers.

Shipping to Rome, a State fn. - made heredit. too, no escape.

Other towns than Rome produced nothing & demanded ~~tribute~~ games -
 & perhaps provincial capitals had taxes etc. coming in to free.

Army - compulsory enlistment. Every landholder had to supply some
 men from his estate - & they sent those they wanted rid of. Senators,
 officials, etc., forbidden to serve in army. Only decess.

Soldiers' children, after Constantine, had to remain soldiers

Only barbarians in army made it workable thenceforward.

Barbarians who were given farm lands, heredit., on condition children
 serve in army. Laeti

On frontiers soldiers got tax-free lands, which slaves or coloni
 cleared & farmed, - probly from Constantine. Forbidden to marry
 Romans or coloni - "mania for pigeonholing".

Colonus, or serfdom, first definite records from Constantine. (323-37)
 p108 Under Empire, small country proprietor disappeared. (But beginning when? J. Caesar helped him)

Large landholders cd. farm land directly with mgs & slaves; or "farm it out". No. of slaves declined, as conquests ceased, after ~~the~~ 0 A.D. Also lands exhausted. Slave breeding too costly. Roman slavery, i.e., never developed enough to be ~~self-suff.~~ ~~Reqs~~ self-sustaining. Required rich lands, much capital - & both gone. (Thus Rome ~~had~~ lacked cap. for instns - too many other forms of prop. Of course as slavery declined this had opposite effect. And lacked gov't bonds. Probly very hi risk, low productivity of ec. investments, was large problem. And hi prestige lv. of course.)

p109-10. From start, sounds as tho villas were orgd in medieval manor fashion. Lords tied coloni & slaves to small tracts, (paralleled among diff. land classes) & for low rents, but oblign to work demesne. Gave some woodland etc too.

pl09 Most of the arable went to the serfs. Pastures and forests remained in demesne. The individual tenure called a "mansus" in Gaul, consisting of scattered pieces, plus user rights in demesne forests and pastures, proportionate to farmer's cattle.

(What fn did landholder play in this? Emperors had shown their power to confiscate Senate lands, etc., they could have removed this middleman. Must have served for local administration, in lieu of admin. hierarchy.

✓ Colonate evolved slowly, pl10, and we can ot trace its evolution. Legislation of Constantine etc. suddely reveal it, full blown. But Cicer~~o~~s contemp. Atticus had already begun the process.

Retrogression of cities also had increased need to get farm revenues, hence sudden increased attn to farm orgn.

Serfdom reveals declingng value of land, with reduced population and order, and increased value of persons. Also suggests considerable undeveloped land, to which persons might escape.

pl11 There were still free villages, too, and some small fellows still had land of own. They were attached to rolls of said villages (vicus, metromia), taxes collected directly by fiscal agents. (Proibly these villages, lacking influence at court, paid disproportionately, hence declined.)

pl12 Suggestion that one motive was to prevent land mining.

pl13 Peasants not too badly off. They had security, conditions tolerable. Lacked mobility, but didn't want it anyway.

pl15 Romans had long founded colonies, rural settlements. First it was to Romanize conquered lands; then to releive Rome and Latium of superfluous plebeian population, time of Gracchi; then, 1st c., to demobilize soldiers: Sulla, Caesar, and Augustus all founded such colonies.

(Am. Encycl. on Agrarian Laws says early Patricians had traditional right to claim parts of ager publicus upon payment of 1/10 produce to State. Thus it would seem they had pick of new lands, no doubt depending on political sway of time. Soldiers no doubt got fully sick of privileges of these old settlers, city fathers, hence continual reactions)

Colonized farmer-soldiers lived in villages, with protective rampart. Plots drawn by lot. Natives bound to colony by "ill-defined bonds of subjection." Village govt., or city, if it became commercial center, modelled on Rome, with Senate, etc. -- no doubt old settler privileges, too, and seeds of conflict in every town.

(What then was Rome? A social organism with unequalled capacity to reproduce itself.)

For long time Rome was like a federation of cities or States, which merely acknowledged hegemony of most distinguished among them. (Hence decentralization, with ties to one head, which would permit diversity with unity. Catholic Church in an important sense simply continued this tradition, and in this way Rome united Europe for a long time after the fall)

Thus the Romans spread the City-State about. Gauls previously knew no permanent concentrated settlements, came together at the oppidum for defense or counsel, generally lived scattered.

Gaulish aristocracy quickly developed taste for urban life and Roman civilization. Rome's power of assimilation so great, Gaulish institutions disappeared, more or less voluntarily.

(We note this among Germans, later. They come over the line, adopt Roman ways. Until 3d & 4th cents., when Romans flee to barbarians.)

2d c., plebs lost votes in city-States. But those who sought office, the curia, were expected by public opinion to lavish games etc. freely, a sort of means of taxation of the rich I would say. 3d, demands from Rome became onerous, people stopped seeking public office, they could be punished for mal-administration. Diocletian apptd curators to supervise local oligarchies, latter kept only shadow of authority.

pl21 Cities had no regular source of revenue. Lived on largesse from magistrates.

Diocletian made public service obligatory by leading citizens; their lands were the bond for tax collection. Became a hereditary caste, no escape.

✓ After disorders of 3d c., cities became walled and no longer pleasurable. Nobles escaped to countryside, built villas equipped for pleasure.

These noblemen wielded great power, escaped taxation, defied tax-collectors in many instances. Smaller farmers, and villages, attached themselves to villas, they became independent units.

Thus Rome simply disintegrated. Never had a central administration, was held together by ties of loyalty and self-interest. After 250 or so there really was no Rome, just the memory and myth, and in East of course a new Empire bearing the name.

C H A P T E R 7 The Large Estate vs The State & the Weak

Roman administration had been by city-states, and the Senatorial estates were outside the cities. They were supposed to pay taxes, and did some, but also strong and influential enough so they often didn't have to. Local functionaries were charged with collections, and certain personages were too strong to pay. (cf. California oil cos.)

Evidently most all large landholders were outside the cities' jurisdiction, but many were under provincial governors'. Some, however, were outside them also. They ruled countryside: tried cases, kept armed men, prisons, etc. Collected their own debts by force if necessary. Emperors tried to stop this, but failed.

Patronage relationship existed in Republic, outside law, but without much economic meaning. Later empire it became important. Emperors at length perceived it was undermining their authority. Sometimes patron would take a whole village under his protection, defraud the fisc of taxes. Protection called "patrocinium."

Lot, 7

(This institution seems to be what primitive minds turn to when living outside the law. Our organized criminals today, sell "protection."

362, Constantine prohibited every kind of patrocini^{um}, and later emperors repeated, but in vain. Patrons already held the land. "Imperial legislation broke against the subtleties of the law of private ownership."

Emperor's interest in serfs not disinterested -- he wanted to tax them. Maybe they got a better deal with the patron, all told.

Summing up, what happened: units of landownership became very large, and their possessors very influential in high government circles, and to a degree outside of laws. Central government weakened. So landholders became their own little governments.

This must have been greatly accelerated during continuous civil wars of 3d century.

Sept. 29, (cont.)

Language dif. from race & nationality
NATIONALITY neither racial nor linguistic
but a social (1) & psychological (2) phenomenon.
(I want to be a Russian or Ukrainian)

Positive part - desire to be like neighbors

Negative " - " " " unlike outsiders

"Nation" & "State" different.

Austro-Hungarian empire 1 state, 2 nations
For 125 years Poles existed as nation, not
as state.

National state product of modern European hist.
Roman emp. multi-national state
Greeks divided, parti-national state.

Seat L-N3
Holyoke 32
13, 102, syl.

Karp, ~~Sept.~~, Oct. 1

284 on, (Diocletian), late Roman Emp.
476, end of Western emp. (Romulus last)
6th Cent., Justinian, (Byzantine), retok west. temp.

Deal with 4th & 5th today & next.

Aug. to Marc. Aurelius - early.

Crisis of 3rd Cent.

23 emp. in 75 yrs. before Dio.

20 were assassinated. (army)

Late emp.

Revolt of lower rural against upper urban
At this pt., Goths took east, Allemagnes west.
Didn't lose territory, but needed reform
Diocletian & Constantine gave it.

The later Roman Emp.
chronological limits - 284 - 476
Crisis of 3rd cent.
Nature of crisis
Political instability
Social upheaval
outside pressure

Reconstruction under Diocletian

1. Shift from west to east
 - a. Practical considerations (ec. & strategic)
 - b. Orientalization (relig. & pol.)
("felt more at home in the east")
2. Diocletian's system (lasted 100 yrs)
 - a. 2 realms, West & East, co-emperors
 - b. 4 prefectures, prefects
West { Gauls (Brit, Gaul, Sp., Afr.)
Italy (Afr., It., Dalmatia, Balkans)
East { Illyricum (Dacia, Greece, Macedonia)
East (Thrace, Egypt, Asia)

Not intended to be permanent division, purely administrative.

Edicts of 1 emp. affected both sections.
2 parts separated. (WHY?)

3. Change in nature of admin.
from principate to autocracy.
(They dispensed with pretense of democracy)
Royalty of "divine origin"
 - a. previously empire was "impersonal". 'Twas empire rather than emperor, but Const. & Dioc. were deified.
 - b. Growth of bureaucracy. (Principate started it) but under principate bur. existed side by side with municipal self-gov., freedom of private initiative. Under later emp. bureaucracy ruled everything.

Karp. Oct. 1 (cont.)

c. Compulsory social system
(destroyed prosperity of emp.)

The agrarian crisis (impoverishment of the free tenants)

Tendency of large landowners to change from slaves to freetenants (colonii)

Decline in cult. of land, abandonment of land.

1. Center to east
2. Autocracy for prince.
3. Bureaucracy
4. Compulsory social organisation.

✓ Indirect taxes during earlier pd.
Italy exempt from direct taxes

Dioc. made uniform system of land taxes. 1 arable unit taxable.
✗ (they didn't tax it unless used - really a tax on production)

When tenants left land, revenues went down, so colonii were made serfs. Landlords became more powerful, had to pay land tax. Got to germs of Feudalism.

Custom became for freemen to place themselves under landlord voluntarily.

City artisans organized in 'collegia' & made compulsory & hereditary.

Curiales turned from freemen to tax-collectors, had to collect land-tax. If they missed it, had to pay it themselves. Curiales tried to skip, so gov. made them hereditary.

The later Roman Empire (II)

~~Correctness, clearness, effectiveness~~

The problem of the decay of the Roman Empire

No single cause

1. External, 2 Internal

1. Destroyed by barbarians (not accepted. It decayed all by itself, then & ∴ barbarians came)
(barbarians, didn't come in overwhelming no.s, nor with intention to destroy.)

Empire killed itself.

2. a) Moral, spiritual b) material

a) ~~when~~ In the crisis, no good dictator was available. (Not true, 'cause there were good men from Diocletian on)

a) Growth of selfishness, etc. (but doesn't explain WTH X.) (don't explain, simply describe)

b) Exhaustion of the soil (not true, however)

b) Decrease of population (" " ")

b) Decline of productive capacity (description, not explanation)

b) Spengler "Decline of the West", every civilisation being an organism, it must decline, like organism. Analogy questionable. Not explanation, but statement of fact.

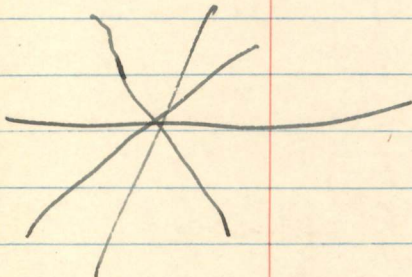
Read "Social & Ec. Hist. of Rom Emp." Rostortzoff chap. on decline

Not munistic, but purilistic (foey)

No sudden catastrophe, but gradual

No complete disappearance

Having failed to explain the fall, we will now look forward, to see pd. of transition ~~to~~ to



Middle ages.

Ec. & religious.

Examples of continuity (yesterday we emphasized differences
text early & late emp.s, today show similarities)

1. Diocetian & Constantine had to build with what they had.

Indirect taxes could work only so long as commerce & industry were thriving.

Change was from urban to rural life

Agriculture came to the front.

Big landownership grew & grew.

Leased out land to free tenants (became serfs)

rather than, as previously, being "capitalistic", trading to cities. (decline of commerce??)

Villas turned into feudal manors.

2. So in other fields, like religion.

Stoics anticipated Christians, esp. Marcus Aurelius

New world outlook

3. 1. Survival of imperial tradition (Byzantine)
and in West in church, in Charlemagne, in HRE
Constantinople a constant reminder.

2. Survival of forms in church etc.

- 3 " " classical culture, use of Latin as international language

Change of spoken Latin to Romance languages

4. Law - Justinian (last attempt at unity)
Corpus juris civilis published, influenced

Flavians

Vespasian

Titus

Domitian

Antonines

Antoninus Pius

Marcus Aurelius

Sarmatia - N. of Black Sea
Poland

Dalmatia - SW Yugoslavia

Vespasian

Titus

Domitian

Nerva

Trajan

Hadrian

Antoninus Pius

Marcus Aurelius

Commodus

Reading notes - Rostovtzeff, Hist. of Rom. Emp.

ians & Antonines.
Chap. 8 - The Economic & social policy of the Flav-

No wars for 100 years after Augustus. (times?)

(Sarmatians) (Maeotians) Domitian & Trajan decided

to advance so they wouldn't have to defend so much. Great strain on empire. (Dalmatia) Wars no longer paid for themselves.

Depopulation of Italy. Nerva tried to

buy land, give to poor, but too expensive. Trajan subsidized landowners, tried to get people to "invest in Italian land" (what the hell!) manu mission-free

ing slave - common. "Alimenta" - schools for poor run by

interest on loans to landowners. Italy grew worse - provinces grew worse. Trajan tried to help cities by sending bureaucrats to "help" them.

Hadrian after Trajan, not so aggressive. Fought Sarmatians. Roman soldiers good under Hadrian. H. domestic improvements. "Knights" ^{Equestrians} became tax-collectors. H. devoted life to provinces, tried to save emp. by fostering town life. ^(Adriople) Thrace etc., Mesopotamia etc., were rural, frontiers were insecure. Hadrian tried to parcel land in Egypt, but not very hard. When older he refused them an easement of paying. Apparently the tenants payed & payed & payed, & the freeholders payed taxes till

Hipparchus astronomer
 fiscus
 aerarium
 limes

they became tenants. There were lots of imperial lands. Lex Manciana gave ius colendi, squatters rights to settlers on unused parts of estates. He tried to create free landholders paying rent to ~~the~~ him! Spread olive-growing over Africa. Extent of effort minuscule! Passed laws "affecting obligation", interfered in restraint of trade "to protect poor".

Antoninus Pius (Hadrian, needless to say, unsuccessful) economized.

Marcus Aurelius - drove Parthians, revolted, Germans (Marcomanni), died. Soldiers still good. He, too, abolished debts.

Commodus lost provinces to themselves, abandoned German war, terrorized senate.

so? How about German influx to vacant land

Pop. moved from center to provinces; depop. center. Soil exhaustion in center too, but not so much. Things really weren't so bad. Somebody confused soil exhaustion with desertion by tenants.

He says state ~~say~~ authority had something to do with it, depressed masses.

~~But~~ In Hellenistic, Greeks & Hellenized orientals

ruled. When Romans conquered, theoretically they ruled all, but actually Greek rulers didn't change.

The bastard confuses bourgeoisie with landowners, the system of "liturgies" came. "Tax-farmers" replaced by liturgy victims, 'twas cheaper. Romans inherited, not invented, system. When army or emperor travelled people payed. Terrific tyranny. Sea travel victims were reimbursed, land not. (Russia had same system) Tax-farmers disappeared with empire, replaced by liturgies. Big guys influenced tax rates on their own property.

Taxes ruined cities, then bureaucrats took over, the private citizens were responsible for tax-collection,

End Chap. ~~VIII~~ (Thank God!)

Postoutzeff, Hist. of the Ancient world, ch. 25

→ Greece declined 'cause of division into rich & poor. Many Greek states independent after Alexander. Greeks in anarchy when Romans came. Roman middle class "defeated" aristocracy, got constitution. No energy in post-empire culture. Text-book replaced research. No upper class children. Statism of 3rd century wrecked upper classes.

A foot he says it was change in men's minds.

H. M. Sinclair - an estimate of the self-sufficient economy in out in England in 1400. Means "local" in a "relatively small area". Manors such. Virtues of self-sufficiency - Stuart Chase found full employment, beauty, unlimited leisure in medieval life. Serfs content because they had few wants. Economic security. (not wanting famine) (he says Malthus is China) Jack-of-all-trades has fun. X Bad Points - inefficient. People sluggish & boorish -- no trade. Diseases. No sanitation. Neither life nor property safe. X Chinese villages now worse off than Marco Polo's, due to "uncontrolled birthrate" (like hell) Fertility of soil declined. When England started trading, changes in village life came.

Gibbon Decline & Fall, Chap. 71

I. Injuries of Nature, 2. Barbarian & Christian attacks, 3. Use & abuse of the materials, 4. Domestic quarrels.

I. Injuries of nature - when downfall came people were too lazy to protect themselves from floods, etc.

II Barbarians & Christians didn't tear down many Roman buildings. (He's discussing the physical demolition of urbs Roma)

III ~~But~~ some stuff was stolen

IV

BURY

✓ Pop. from 54 million in 1st cent. to 70 in 4th, but only 1 out of 70 could fight. Balkan & Asia Minorian highlands only producers of fighting men. 1. Sons of soldiers 2 Serbs 3 Barbarians & 4 Poor adventurers were fighters. 400, army German.

Constantine's army about 600,000. $\frac{1}{3}$ mobile, $\frac{2}{3}$ border stationary. Persians took most fighting. $\frac{1}{5}$ Germans fought. "Laeti", Germans given frontier land.

Hermanric the Ostrogoth, 350, big empire. Wulfilas converted Visi Goths to Arianism, led them into Moesia. Invented Gothic alphabet & ~~led them~~ translated bible into it. (runes) 364 Valens licked 'em. After Wulfilas left Christianity stayed.

Huns, driven by politics (Zhu-Zhu) as well as drive. Nomads like migratory birds, have 2 homes. Swept in, enslaved Slavs & Germans. Sometimes worked with Romans.

ROSTOVTZEFF

300, people wanted peace. Bourgeoisie gradually disappeared, farmers became army. "Down with the upper classes" said army, "up with me." Civil war. Bourgeoisie hated, awful conditions before Diocletian. Dio. didn't have free hand. He had to keep State going no matter what. He made himself God, succeeding where others had failed. Growth of religion. Constantine combined church & state. Dio. reorganized army - limitēs & comitatenses - mercenaries. Compulsory mil. service became tax. Not too costly military aristocracy, which originated in quality. More & more officials, corrupt, inefficient, slave driving. Taxation became oppressive. Diocletian failed to control prices for long time. State took irregular taxes in kind. To keep oppressed on land he made them serfs. City hated country. State socialism stagnated everybody. Gradual impoverishment. Trade ceased. Empire was great shake-up, overturning of privilege power. Great fortunes

Reading notes - Dawson, Ch. I, "The Roman Empire"

Europe not naturally ^{physical} unity.

Medit, Danube, Baltic, & Atlantic. the 4 cultural channels

Cultural unity of Europe, however, first in Greece. Rome shot it west.

Augustus won at Actium. "victory for tradition of freedom"

Cologne, Treves, Aquileia, Merida colonies of veterans

Nerva & Trajan loaned to landowners at low rate of interest, proceeds for education

Country estates preserved identity thruat invasions - gaddy gaddy.

1st 2 centuries of empire towns flourished. (Pax Romana), then came taxes, etc.

Army became dominant, 16 or 20 years service meant a grant of land, after Vespasian, provincial army. after Hadrian more so.

"Centurions" from the ranks became real rulers. Septimius Severus said

"Enrich soldiers, scorn rest". 235-285, military rule, civil war.

Inflation, 250, so gov. took levies in kind.

? - Old senatorial aristocracy replaced by new military one.

Diocletian in 285 brought order. Separated state & army.

(Egypt the most complete state socialism known)

Administration of vast imperial estates, development of official hierarchy, tribute in kind, forced services, hereditary compulsory guilds, binding cultivator to his holding, craftsman & trader to calling.

Diocese under vicar, Praetorian Prefect big shot

Diocletian at Nicomedia, Galerius at Sirmium, Constantius at Treves, Maximian at Milan.

Moss - The Birth of the Middle Ages

Part. I - Romans & Barbarians.

No tariffs. East industrial, west raw materials. Syrians traders.
1 & 2 cent. s, industry moved west. Trade outside empire too. With India 1st thru Arabs, then by sea. India plenty civilised, tho there were "princes" with harems.

In 212, Caracalla, provincials made equals of Romans, henothestic
Pop. of Rome $\frac{1}{4}$ present pop. Most people in east.
Syria, Persia resented taxes, turned 5th columnist. Asia Minor's mountainous interior stayed Byzantine. Why?
Parthian rulers of Persia replaced by Sasanids (227)
Marcus Aurelius (161-80) end of Roman prosperity.
Persians took Valerian (260); Short-lived Palmyra empire.
No more security, walled cities.
Diocletian restored currency, failed to control prices.
Neoplatonism as a mystery paganism's final form in combating Christianity.
A battle of rival mysteries, mostly. Philosophy of time one of
longing for past, lack of initiative, reliance on leaders, so Christianity with
its popes got places.
Zeno, Byzantine emp. who sent Theodoric against Odoacer
378, Adrianople, barbarians went all the way.
Big landowners maintained followers sometimes (like Charlemagne)
Theodosian Code failed to remedy abuses

Heitland, W.E., Agricola, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921

2 Thinks slave labor in classic world at height 200BC - 200AD, & much overstressed, free labor never out, & was important element of civilization always. 7-8

* Before say 200 BC, Roman slaves part of family, Italians, not despised, or what we think of as a slave. Later captured slaves were often despised & commercialized & badly treated (tho not always as I recall) Agric. was honorable trade, small holdings, was chief occupation of free citizens, who were called for military duty. Little wage-earning on free contract basis.

2, 149-50

— (The development of channels within which individuals can maneuver on a free contract basis is the ideal of ec. science)

2 Punic wars drove Italian peasants, who had been backbone of Roman power, from small holdings. Then, instead of settling them back there, tended to copy Carthage, whose agric. had been large scale commercialized.

Wars took farmers from their land, preventing them from working it themselves & supplied slaves. So lands taken over by slave contractors. Thus war ruined the old system.

New system wasteful. Landlords had to stay in Rome to watch politics; stewards, imported from eastern countries of older civilization, ran farms, were interested in minizing crops in big years so lord wouldn't expect too much ever. 153

✓ Lords ~~may have~~ bought cheap on a glutted mkt; & in various other ways acquired land. (Stopped growing corn, turned to grazing.) 154 Later days of Republic, many lords ruined by extravagant living & overborrowing, they helped revolt to get rid of debts. 155

— Evidence that slave-extensive cultivation less profitable than intensive

Heitland, 2

of vines & olives, but still great lords did it extensive, & I presume refused to give up their lands, because of non-pecuniary considerations.

156-60

(Goodness, why do I make such a fuss about proving that it is possible for the form of land use yielding highest returns to be less complementary than other uses? For I have already shown that residential use is least complementary of all, tho it occupies most urban land. Incidentally, with capital & labor we are less concerned with this than with land, for cap & labor in some uses may be less compl than in others but they are still compl, & there will always be more. But land is limited, & ~~may be~~ there won't be more)

156/60

2 Became more & more untilled land in Empire. Repeated efforts to get it colonized. Population of Italy declined by famine & pestilence. Barbarians brought in to colonize it, repeatedly.³³⁷ Usually after they were defeated.

4 After Diocletian(& probly before) currency depreciated for revenue, this reduced taxes for a time, as they were fixed in money.³⁸⁷

Generally, a voluminous store of information about land tenure in Roman Empire & Republic, & in Greece somewhat. & about generally related conditions. Probly the most significant elements of the history of Rome.

Good to read some day.

(In decline, emphasize decline of public spirit. And try to instill that ideal in students: public spirit. Do not apologize for it, or be ashamed, that you aren't teaching them how to make a buck. Object is to instill in them, if they haven't got it already, public spirit.)

p. 28 Under Augustus, trade became more respectable.

(What Romans did was provide govt for great commercial civilization. And with govt, civil eng-g. They themselves not commercial. Like East Prussians later. And Am. firms today?)

(Rome wrought together a society of mixed city-states & rural principalities. Latter were never so strongly controlled, directly. Control was over cities, which controlled their city-states, but much land remained outside system. In decline, effort was to get more & more land outside system, thus it broke down.

a region is tied together thru its cities — they are major points for outside contact. Was no other unity — so fell apart.

Church may have contrib to fall by furnishing means of tax exemption.

Persian type feudalism adopted by Romans, thus applied to Gaul & Britain etc., previously more migratory, loose. Now serfdom.

In beginning, landhold'g was burdened with service to state; end, landhold'g became means of avoiding service to state.

Dill, Samuel ROMAN SOCIETY IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.
1906

Bk 3, Ch 2, Decay of middle Class

Tradesman of lower status than lowest landed proprietors. (This may explain why urban curia got saddled with obligations, rural lords got off free.) Senators forbidden to engage in trade. Curiales, altho some may have traded, were essentially landholders.

Merchants retired from cities to remote places, to escape special tax on their calling.

3d cent. disorders ruined traders. (Proably only the land remained)

4th & 5th, Sentaorial class grew in number. Everyone who could tried to become Senator. Altho they had no vote as Senate, they had great exemptions, chief of which was exemption from ~~city taxes~~ municipal burdens. Title of Senator was a social badge, implying large landownership.

Cities included much farm territory around -- city-states.

2d c., popular assemblies lost right to elect municipal officials. Curia became composed of landholders with more than 25 jugera. Same time, became more concerned with meeting imperial demands. Free civic life had been glory of Roman administration, now gone.

Multiplication of functionaries and centralization of government. (?)

(Several cycles of something serving useful fn, becoming obsolete, being overthrown: Etruscans; Roman common ownership, small farmers, infantrymen; Senate; Principate; Praetorian Guard; Provincial armies; Central administration.

✓ p254 In contrast to municipal curiales, Senator class remained very wealthy, and "the greater families had also a practical monopoly of the highest prefectures and offices of state." "They were often the descendants of men who had held such offices from time immemorial. They became almost as a matter of course governors, Pretorian prefects, and consuls. Their sons were trained to follow them in the same 'career of honours', and had often completed their terms of public life . . ." very young.

Ambitious bourgeois struggled to get into this class. *Cf. de Toqueville on France.*

Curials hemmed in closely. Couldn't travel much. Couldn't sell land, as Emperor regarded this as security for taxes.

4th & 5th, tax-bearing acreage rapidly contracting. Curiales had to collect, and make good with their own what they couldn't get. More and more land went out of cultivation.

Overtaxed curiales tried infinite paths of escape. One was to borrow from privileged patron, or sell him land, etc. Thus middle class ruined.

~~Max~~ Max Weber ^{p. 53} says Roman patricians at unspecified era gained title to public lands by settlement, that was law, & those with slaves & M^c could settle more land than others. This recalls false entrymen etc in our west.

1st BC, clients & colonies of senators called out to fight vs Caesar - they were liable for such services, "worthy of free men," & not regular rents.

Weber p 60. Rome, "Imperial pd.", empire extended inland, transforming union of maritime towns into territorial empire. Prince avoids admin. orgn by delegating to landholders, "possessores". Inland knew only manorial ec., w/o money (?). Barons responsible for taxes & recruits. Territoria develop alongside "municipia". Diocletian included all in adm. unit, not allowed to leave.

Weber p 96. Antique Medit. "feudal landholding" was ~~dis~~placed only w/in the region immediately under the power of the great cities like Rome & Athens". Land was commercialized, fitted w. network of roads. Towns imposed this on nobles, helped break their power. Feudalism persisted in interior, finally worked outward again.

Choose book for Vets

Davis, Wm S. 1910

The Influence of Wealth in Imperial

Rome 330.937 D299i

Stimulating, factual, ^{vigorous} & opinionated

~~✓~~ Breasted, James H. Ancient Times 930 B74

The Conquest of Civilization 930 B74c

chap 25, "World Dominion and Regeneracy"

chap 26, "A Century of Revolution." - first pages on land tenure 330.937 785e, vol. 5

~~Frank, Tenney~~ ~~An Econ. Survey of Ancient Rome~~ Chap. 6, "Agric. in Italy during the

~~First Century"~~
~~Epilogue "The Economic Decay of the Roman World."~~
~~Ec. Hist. of Rome~~

~~Cam, M.~~ ~~Ec. Survey of Ancient Rome~~ 330.937 785e, vol. 5
~~Outline of Roman History~~ A History of Rome n.m.l

913.38 C259g Geog. Background
Homo, Leon Primitive Italy & the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism

La Civilization Romaine

R-6 ✓ ~~Louis, Paul~~ Ancient Rome at Work 331.0937
Chaps. on Agriculture, Slavery, etc. L 929 ± EW

✓ Cambridge Ancient History 930 C14 volume 12
Chap. 7 "The Economic Life of the Empire." - by F. Oertel
Chap. 8 "Britain" by R. H. Collingwood
Cities, Villas, Villages.

~~Dawson, Chris~~ The Making of Europe 901 D323m

Cambridge Econ Hist 330.94 C144

Thompson, J. W. The Ec. & Social Hist. of the Middle Ages
940.1 T31

Bury, J. B. Hist. of the Later Roman Empire

Albertini, Eugene, L' Empire Romain

Barrow, R. H. Slavery in the Roman Empire n1m1

Reading Assignments

1. Decline of Ancient Mediterranean Culture

Rostovtzeff, Mikhail. The Social & Ec. History of the Roman Empire.
937.06 R13

Chap. 8 The Ec. & Social Policy of the Flavians & Antonines.

Piganiol, André. "Latifundia". E.S.S. ix 186-88

Haskell, Henry J. The New Deal in Old Rome.
Chaps 6, ~~7, 10~~ ^{7, 10} 937 H 273 n 1917

Dill, Samuel. Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.
913.37 D58 v
Book III, Chap. 2, "The Decay of the Middle Class & the
Aggrandizement of the Aristocracy." pp 245-81

→ Haskell.

Chap. 6 The Farm Problem Emerges (Tiberius Gracchus)

Chap. 7 Big Business in Politics (Caius Gracchus)

Chap. 10 Boom & Depression (Augustus)

~~Chap. 12 The Totalitarian State (Diocletian, but skimpy)~~

~~Chap. 13 Warning Signals~~

~~Westermann, W.L. "The Ec. Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture."
AHB, 1915: 123-43~~

~~Vol. XX: No. 4, (July, 1915)~~

Stevenson, Courtenay E. "Ag. & Rural Life in the Later Roman Emp." ~~Chap. II~~ Chap. II, pp. 89-117
of Clapham, J.H., & Power E (eds) The Cambridge Ec. Hist. of Europe Vol. I.

Collateral Rdy

Frank, Tenney. An Ec. Survey of Ancient Rome. 330.937
785c Vol. 5

Vol. 5, Chap. 6, "Agric. in Italy during the First Cent."

Epilogue. "The Ec. Decay of the Roman World."

Louis, Paul. Ancient Rome at Work 331.0937
L 929 + Ew

Heitland, W.E. Agricola ~~630.0938 H36 Agr.~~

Linkovitch, Vladimir G. "Rome's Fall Reconsidered"

Lot, Ferdinand. The End of the Ancient World. 937.08
L 91 f E1

Pt. I Chap. 4, 6, 7

Pt. III Ch. 12

Arragon, Reg. F. The Transition from the Ancient to the Medieval
World. 937.09
ar 69E

Pt II "Ec. & Social Change"

Mommsen, Theodore. The Hist. of Rome. 937
M 731

Vol. I, Bk First, Ch. 13

Vol II Bk Third, Ch. 12

Vol III, Bk Fourth Ch 2, 3, 11.

Boren, Henry C. "The Urban Side of the Gracchan Ec. Crisis."
AHR LXIII (4): 890-902 (July 1958)

Fall of Rome.

Was loose league of city-States. They stuck to Rome because she was useful to them. Later empire, too many parasites, Italy tax-exempt and expensive, Rome and Italy cost more than they were worth. So provincial soldiers rose up and cast off Italy, under Severus.

Thus the patrician class lost its function and was by-passed by the vigorous elements of that day, in the army. So here is another in the list of history's by-passes.

This probably happened more than once. Vespasian created a new provincial army, and corresponding patricians.

Poor notes. Read it again.

Westermann, W.L. "The economic basis of the decline of ancient culture."
AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1915:723 ff.

Drain of precious metals not proven, and dubious. Roman trade with east was two-way. (I imagine tho this really occurred, and aggravated debtor problems, hastened concentration of land, wherein lay its major significance.)

Population decline also dubious. Probably increased until c. 150 A.D.

Major factor he sees is evolution of agric. Sparta and Rome had system where landholding was price of military service, or v.v. Athens and other Greek states had commercialized land surrounding cities, which Westermann approves -- and he allows that his motive is to uphold free enterprise.

Persians, Egyptians, Babylonians, had evolved into stagnating colnate. Land apportioned among lords, who occupied country seats, dominated serfs. Mobility proscribed.

Rome one of few places to get away from this system. Land concentration had developed, however, thru Patrician right of leasing ager publicus for tithe. There was continual conflict between this principal, and equal distribution.

Hannibal had put large part of Italian farmers to the sword, depopulated. They were replaced by slaves.

Alexander, upon conquering Persian-dominated lands, in part took over their system, and in part the Greek. Latter meant establishing new grading cities, with free citizens, and alienable lands roundabout, producing for market. Greeks had manufactories in which produced vases, e.g.

Roman Emperors were the grain merchants of their day. A State mnpy in effect.

Large estates administered by managers.

Sicily and Africa, took over Carthaginian system.

Westermann, W.L. "The Ec. Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture."

AHR XX(4): 723-43 (July, 1915)

Decline had many dimensions: intellectual, artistic, e.g.

Fn. commerce was one. Declined after ~~Antioch~~ c. 100 A.D.

Dismisses Xionity as cause, — were too few before 300 A.D.

Not slavery — it declined before Rome did.

Not spending on public recreation facilities like monuments & baths (recreation exists take note, p. 732. But I say emphasis on consumption maybe at fault, failure to create capital.)

W. says Rome fell bcs took over tax instns of oriental conquests.

When Alex. Gr. conquered Persia, land outside cities held
a, King's domains b, large estates, nobles & priests, conquering
people from Iran; with castles. Native peasants were made serfs.
System went back to Assyria & Babylonia.

Egypt was all Pharaoh's, peasants his serfs. Pharaoh also
undertook trade & industry — weaving, e.g.

p. 734 Eduard Meyer, "Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums,"
in Kleine Schriften, has "correct" interp'n that Wm. follows.

p. 735 Greek land tenure, free alienation, except in Sparta
& Thessaly, where landholding citizen army was basis, inalienable
land.

p. 736 Greek city-states foundered on fiscal policy — lack of revenue.

Westermann, 2

Greek city states tried to face selves by forming meries; by confiscations; also by selling domains of state (if seems contradictory, note French revolutionists did same) 4th cent., time of troubles. Cites Riezler, Kurt. Ueber Finanzen und

leg. Monopole im alten Griechenland (might write history of erosion of tax bases)

Lands of Sicily regarded as belonging to Roman people, paid tithes.

Rome, 1st, 2 kinds of land evolved: public domains, leased to conductores; & latifundia, private. The conductores evidently paid less than the ex. rent, for lived as absentees & charged rent from coloni, who actually worked land.

State sought to protect coloni, 2d c., both on own domains & priv., but in so doing froze them in place. p 741.

Ag. technique declined under this regimen: absentees + state regulation.

p. 742 Output/acre declined on large fms, hence tax base. To evade higher taxes, small owners joined powerful, or sold, to get tax exemption.

(In U.S. prop'ty tax was killed by exemptions; now inc. tax next. Then what?)

Decline of farm pop'n ruined mass market for cities.

2d cent., reversion from money ex. to barter. Self-sufficiency of large estates.

(But did Rome levy excises etc? State meries? He doesn't say)

Westerman, 3

Except he notes Roman Emperors had grain mopy; & was a
general spread of city-state & imperial mopies. Here I think is
key to riddle.

Gnirly hard reading, don't assign.

Caruopino, Jérôme. "La Tenure Romain," pp 123-30 of La Tenure,
recueils de la Société Jean Bodin. 1938 333
5013t

Looks good. Worth studying next time around.

Also maybe other good chaps.

BRAINWASHED TO THE BRINK

Are the people and their representatives
told the truth about the activities of
our world-wide intelligence agencies?

HOW is it that an adult and intelligent nation like the United States can push itself and the world to the brink of war over the small island of Quemoy on the south coast of China? The episode was evidently irrational, or the State Department would not have retreated so fast under pressure of world opinion, including that of our principal allies. But how were we chivvied into such an indefensible position in the first place?

The immediate answer lies, of course, in the relentless activity of the Nationalist China lobby, lavishly financed out of U.S. economic aid funds. Operating behind a facade of Formosa-firsters such as Sen. William F. Knowland, Sen. William E. Jenner, the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy and Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson, the China lobby brainwashed the American people.

But the Nationalist Chinese did not do the job alone. Behind the China lobby has stood the supposedly super-secret and lushly financed Central Intelligence Agency, presided over by Allen Welsh Dulles, younger brother of the Secretary of State. Cooperating closely with the Old Guard in the State Department, the CIA has provided the China lobby with the raw material for misleading the American people and browbeating the American press.

The manipulations of the CIA have been almost sacrosanct and they have been used to inflame public sentiment to a point where a rational approach to China policy was, until recently at least, politically impossible. Meanwhile, as we shall see, acts of *agents provocateurs* within Communist China have provoked resentment ag-

gravating the difficulty of dealing with Mao Tse-tung. The result has been to replace diplomacy with adventurism.

The best example of this is the matter of American citizens imprisoned in China. The State Department has insisted that all Americans held prisoner in China are illegally held. They have all been represented as private citizens whose arrest is a violation of international convention and an affront to the dignity of the United States. This, of course, is not true. Some may have been held without cause, but certainly most have been espionage operatives whom China has as much right to imprison as the United States has to jail the Soviet master spy, Rudolph Ivanovich Abel.

Deceiving the American People

All well informed persons in Washington know this. The facts can be gathered from a careful reading and comparison of scattered items in, say, *The New York Times*. After being released several prisoners publicly confessed that they were spies, and some still held have confessed to Americans in China. The Chinese of course know this. The United States Government knows it. Many American newspapermen know it. The only ones deceived are the American people. They believe what Secretary of State Dulles tells them, and their resentment has led them to accept whatever war-fraught Far Eastern policy Secretary Dulles and Assistant Secretary Robertson have seen fit to proclaim.

Two of the four Americans now held prisoner in China are Richard Fecteau and John T. Downey, captured when their plane was shot down over Manchuria in November, 1952. There are strong indications these men were members of the CIA for the following reasons:

1. The State Department had said that Downey and Fecteau's plane accidentally wandered over Manchuria

Charles Edmundson was with the United States Foreign Service for eight years—five of them in Asia—until he resigned in 1957 because of disagreement with Secretary Dulles' policies in the Middle East and the Far East.

while on a routine flight from Seoul to Tokyo. This was to impute a fantastic navigational error to a U. S. Air Force crew. The off-course flight was in an almost opposite direction to their destination, Tokyo.

2. Last summer a group of young Americans went on to China from a visit to Moscow, despite State Department opposition. Some of them interviewed Fecteau and reported in the American press his statement that he and Downey were CIA agents. This story was published in the Washington *Post*, among other newspapers, on Sept. 9, 1957.

3. The confession was hardly necessary in view of what already had been printed in the American press, including the announcement that their Air Force plane had wandered off course.

4. The more knowledgeable Washington correspondents did not believe that the U. S. Air Force crew had made such an incredible navigational error.

On Dec. 3, 1956, John M. Hightowner of the Associated Press tried to pin down the facts at a press conference with President Eisenhower. At that time China held 13 Americans of whom, according to the President, 11 were captured in uniform.

Mr. Hightower: "Mr. President, is there anything you can say, sir, about the status of the other two men, in addition to the eleven who were in uniform?"

The President: "Well, it is cloudy, I think, and I couldn't discuss it in detail."

The State Department's exclusion of American correspondents from China, largely on the ground of the imprisonment of Americans there, was a hot issue in Washington at the time. The President's virtual concession that at least two of the prisoners were not illegally held was considered a moral victory for the press committee working to lift the ban on U.S. correspondents to China. There was no question that the President was talking about Fecteau and Downey, for the CIA has admitted that these are the two who were not in uniform.

The Fecteau and Downey episode was only one of a long series of operations which Allen Dulles supported in the illusion that cloak-and-dagger tricks could restore Chiang Kai-shek to the mainland. In the Dulles brothers' facile view, Chiang had lost China only because of the indecision of mush-minded liberals in the State Department under President Truman. Bold, purposeful action would set things right.

To this end the CIA and the Air Force jointly set up something called the Air Resupply and Communications Wing. Its "mission in a global war," The New York *Times* explained, "would be to fly into enemy territory and drop supplies to United States or Allied agents operating there." A number of ARCW operatives were captured in China, some on the ground and others when their planes were shot down or accidentally crashed.

"Things They Shouldn't Know"

Early in 1953 the plane of Col. John Knox Arnold, commanding officer of the 581st Air Resupply and Communications Wing, was shot down on the mainland. After two and a half years the Communist Chinese re-

leased Colonel Arnold and 13 Americans who had survived the crash with him. At a press conference arranged in Tokyo, Colonel Arnold said that under pressure he had told the Chinese "things they shouldn't know." About this time, Congress forced abolishment of the Air Resupply and Communications Wing.

The Campaign in Burma

Almost from the end of the Chinese civil war, the CIA used Formosa as a base to support a large force of Nationalist Chinese left on the Burma-China border. This operation, known as "Western Enterprises," had a pretentious base on the outskirts of Taipei, so "secret" that every alert American and Chinese in the city knew about it. Military supplies were flown from Formosa to the Nationalist Chinese in Burma. So were military experts and advisers.

The Nationalist Chinese, despite American arms and supplies, preferred to stay just over the line in Burma rather than fight the Communist Chinese. After a year or two, the Communist Chinese executed a feint, drew the Nationalists deep within Chinese territory and routed them with drastic losses. Thereafter the Nationalists did most of their raiding against Burmese villages.

Prime Minister U Nu was sympathetic with Communist Chinese complaints that he was harboring hostile forces, but his own army was unable to cope with the Nationalists. He complained repeatedly to U.S. Ambassador David M. Key. Key protested in good faith that the Nationalists were *not* receiving American aid. After more representations from U Nu, who was in deadly fear of reprisals by the Chinese Communists, Ambassador Key was not so sure. Published photographs of white men killed in action with the Chinese Nationalists helped change his opinion. He has been quoted as saying, "I had heard persistent reports that the Americans were taking part (in the Nationalist Chinese action) when I was sent to Burma. I found that hard to credit, but learned differently later."

With a blunt note, U Nu cut off Point Four aid in Burma and stepped up his complaints to the UN, where he had the support of all the Bandung countries. With the fine irony that history sometimes shows, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith was switched in 1953 from Director of the CIA to Under Secretary of State. The man who had been responsible for organizing "Western Enterprises" had the urgent duty of persuading Chiang Kai-shek and the CIA to call a halt. In 1954 a four-power conference—the United States, Burma, Thailand and Nationalist China—was held in Bangkok. Soon afterwards, as the United Nations reported, 6986 Nationalist soldiers and their dependents were evacuated to Formosa.

American diplomatic prestige in Asia had been dealt a heavy blow. Scars were left which helped shape mainland China's role in the Korean War. In the entire State Department and Foreign Service it would be hard to find one mature officer who would approve of the way in which international relations in this instance were taken out of the hands of diplomats and placed in the hands of cloak-and-dagger novices.

The CIA made one of its worst errors in the fall of 1950. It then advised President Truman that United



THE HISTORY OF ROME

Review by Dumas Malone

The name and work of Theodor Mommsen are not as well known as they ought to be in the United States, or among the English-speaking peoples for that matter. Yet, as the editors tell us in their brilliant introduction to the present volume, Mark Twain counted it an honor merely to catch a glimpse of him at a dinner in Berlin sixty-odd years ago, when the greatest classical historian of his country received an unparalleled ovation. Part of our relative indifference to this fabulous figure may be attributed to our indifference to classical antiquity, part of it to the unavailability of his most famous and most popular work in readable translation. His *History of Rome* is one of the few imperishable books of history, because of the intrinsic interest of the events and persons he describes, his rare combination of detailed knowledge with power to generalize, and the brilliance of his literary style. The *History of Rome*, that is, of the Republic, appeared in German in three volumes and some 2,000 pages more than a century ago. Proceeding from the faithful but unidiomatic English translation of Dickson, the present editors (one of whom gave us the *Portable Gibbon* a few years ago) have taken the most interesting part of the History and rendered it in a single volume. It covers roughly the hundred years that culminated in the overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of what Mommsen calls the New Monarchy of Julius Caesar. Some chapters dealing with the history of culture have been omitted, and certain military campaigns, including those of Caesar in Gaul, have been summarized. The result is a book of surpassing interest. To read it is an exhilarating experience. Intrinsically this is a superb story, and it has more pertinence for our age than it had for the Victorian era. It is out of such economic maladjustment and political inadequacy as appeared in the late Republic that dictatorships arise as the only feasible alternative.

No summary can do justice to such a rich and stirring book. It begins with an account of Roman society and government in the second century B.C., after Carthage had been destroyed and Rome had no major foe to fear. Mommsen never lost sight of the economic and social background in this era—when slavery was at its height, when a chasm yawned between the few rich and the many poor, when the small farmer could not compete with the plantation magnate, when impoverished countrymen swelled the rabble in Rome, when the small favored group there exploited the provinces. The political story is that of an oligarchy, seated in the Sen-

ate, governing under institutions which were inadequate for such a state, but managing to maintain itself, often against severe attack, until finally it met its match in Caesar. To Mommsen the struggle, going at times to the extreme of civil war, was ever between the senatorial oligarchs or "optimates," who would brook no change, and the "populares," whom he views as democrats. The editors point out in their admirable introduction that the alignment was not that clear—at least on the "democratic" side. There is no doubt of the persistent intransigence of the oligarchs, but there was less continuity of democratic purpose from Gaius Gracchus to Julius Caesar than Mommsen saw. The leaders of revolt themselves emerged from the aristocracy, and they used demagogic devices in varying degree and often with baneful results. Gaius Gracchus began the custom of distributing grain to the populace and Caesar courted the multitude, but representative institutions were not developed and the clamor of the city mob was not the voice of wisdom. This was the sort of direct democracy that the Fathers of the American Republic greatly and properly feared.

The first of the major revolters against the rule of the oligarchs was the aristocrat Gaius Gracchus, a greater man than his elder brother Tiberius. His failure and suicide revealed the hopelessness of political procedure under existing institutions and foreshadowed the resort to force. After the Gracchi came Marius and Sulla, both of whom gained fame in foreign wars and intervened in affairs of state, one in the name of change and the other in defense of the old order. Mommsen's sympathies are generally with the "popular" side, though his opinion of the supposedly democratic Marius is low, while he admires the character and ability of Sulla, who restored oligarchic rule by military force after ten years of civil war. He is convinced, however, that the conscience of mankind will never be reconciled to the cold brutality of the Sullan Restoration, and he sees no possible judgment on the oligarchy of this period save one of "inexorable and remorseless condemnation." Readers of these pages may find comfort in the reflection that never under our system has there been comparable selfishness and corruption. There were some men of noble spirit in the Roman Senate, but there was no such spirit of noblesse oblige as in the ruling gentry of Virginia in the days of Washington and Jefferson.

The next illustrious military leader to emerge was Pompey, who had served under Sulla and was thus identified with the

UNREASON AS A DOCTRINE

By Pieter Geyl

I will frankly confess that I read reviews of my books with a good deal of interest. In the course of a lengthening life, in which hardly a year has passed without some publication or other, I have had innumerable reviews in half a dozen countries. There were some that annoyed and some that infuriated me; others pleased or even delighted me; a good many, laudatory as they might be, moved me to no more than a shrug.

But I have seldom experienced the mixed feelings of astonishment and indignation giving way to sheer amusement that were roused in me on reading a review of my *Debates with Historians* in the solemn pages of the leading historical journal of Germany, the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

The writer, Othmar F. Anderle, is a fervent admirer of Toynbee, and his article is concerned mostly with those essays in my volume in which *A Study of History* is criticized. But indeed so full of Toynbee is the writer's mind that even when I write about Ranke, Macaulay, Carlyle, and Michelet, about the American Civil War and Talleyrand, he imagines that I am indirectly tilting at the prophet.

Now, none of this very greatly disturbed me, but what I thought extraordinary is that Toynbee's apologist admits the correctness of practically the whole of my criticism. When I point out the errors in the factual foundations of Toynbee's superstructure of theory and generalization he thinks I am in the right. Even when I assert that the whole method is faulty and that Toynbee's repeated insistence on proceeding empirically and arriving at conclusions by a concatenation of proved facts is no more than make-believe, he agrees. In fact, he considers my opposition to be the most careful and well founded of all that international scholarship has had to say against Toynbee.

But now Herr Anderle brushes all the defects aside as irrelevant, and, because I seem to consider them important and indeed conclusive, rates me down for an antiquated representative of out-of-date "classical" scholarship. I reveal myself as being a mere stickler for the correct statement of facts, a despiser of theory and generalization, a man blind to the greatness of this startling new panoramic vision. Toynbee, according to Anderle, is

helping to bring about a revolution in historical scholarship, and only if we will do homage to the principle: *Credo quia inep-tum, quia absurdum*, I believe because it is preposterous, because it is absurd, shall we be allowed to enter the brave new world this revolution is opening up for the elect.

The argument reveals a state of mind with which it is impossible to argue. Was I right in saying that the ultimate feeling which the article aroused in me was one of sheer amusement? At any rate, when the next issue of the *Historische Zeitschrift* brought an article in which Herr Anderle gave his views on Toynbee's work at greater length, and when the issue after that presented us with a third article in which he set forth his own theory of history (in both I came in for renewed denunciation), I began to think, not only that the joke was growing to be rather wearisome, but that, after all, the matter should perhaps be taken seriously.

My protracted dispute with Toynbee has from the first exceeded the limits of strict historical scholarship. I have championed against him not only, as Anderle will have it, the canons of the profession, but—that, at least, is how I have felt about it myself—the vital traditions of Western civilization.

Nothing is more absurd than to suggest that I, or historians in general, believe in nothing but facts, that we despise theories or generalizations as such. History must reveal to us a meaning in life, or we are not worth our salt. History, as I have expressed it on another occasion, is a key to life, as is art or literature. But history has its own methods and obligations, and although it will not get far without imagination or intuition, it must always accept the control of reason.

There is in the whole of the Western (Continued on Page Seven)



oligarchy at first, as he was at last. While he was in the East, making conquests which belie Mommsen's judgment of his abilities, there was intrigue and conspiracy in Rome. Catiline stalks across the stage and Cicero denounces him—with scant praise from Mommsen, who regards the orator as a notorious political trimmer and a vapid rhetorician. Caesar can be sighted in the wings. This is Caesar the manipulator and probable conspirator who had not yet gained fame at arms. Mommsen repeatedly calls him "democratic" and believes that he was always a man of patriotic vision, using the best means at hand. At any rate, he belonged to the anti-oligarchic group. Then and later the Younger Cato personified the moral force of the old order. Mommsen, while recognizing his integrity, dubs him the "Don Quixote of the aristocracy" and regards him as an impossible doctrinaire.

The story of intrigue and struggle after Pompey's return is told in detail, but it is never wearisome. Mommsen may be little Pompey unduly, but obviously the most famous military conqueror of the

era was never bold enough to seize the reins of power that lay within his grasp. There is a chapter on the joint rule of Pompey and Caesar, who now began to gain military fame in Spain, increasing it in Gaul. There is another chapter on the rupture between the two men, when Pompey identified himself unmistakably with the oligarchy and sought to destroy his rival. There are two chapters on the civil war, from which Caesar emerged triumphant despite the odds against him, and two final ones contrasting the Old Republic with the New Monarchy. In these the work comes to a magnificent climax.

Dumas Malone is an editor of the History Book Club, which chose our new edition of *THE HISTORY OF ROME* for its September selection. This new GREENWICH EDITION, lavishly bound and illustrated, is edited by Dero Saunders, whose *PORTABLE GIBBON* was widely acclaimed when it appeared in 1952, and John L. Collins, of the Classics Department of the University of California.

NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF KILLING

By Dwight Macdonald

One of the things which make it possible for a modern civilian to participate in war without more psychological resistance than he has is the fact that the murderous aspect of war is depersonalized. Most of the killing is done at such long range that the killers have no sense of the physical effects of their attack. It is true that they themselves are often on the receiving end of such attacks, and might be expected to realize what happens to the enemy by analogy with their own experiences, but the ordinary man, perhaps mercifully, is not especially imaginative that way. And anyway, it is one thing to know that one may be responsible for the death and mutilation of invisible people ten miles away or five miles down, and another to cut a man's throat with one's own hands.

Thinking along these lines, one finds three levels of warfare.

Level No. 1: aerial and artillery bombardment, whether of troops or cities; robot bombs, where the principle of indiscriminate blind destruction becomes dramatically clear, although actually robot bombing is no more indiscriminate than the saturation bombing with which the British night raiders obliterate German cities; mines and booby traps, where time as well as space draws a curtain between killer and victim; naval warfare, in which the opposing fleets often cannot see each other. On both the giving and the receiving end, all these types of warfare seem to be as impersonal as a thunderstorm. This kind of killing by remote control makes up the great bulk of modern warfare.

Level No. 2 is combat in which soldiers fight against individual and visible antagonists, but separated by distance, which they bridge by firearms. Aerial dogfights, sniping, rifle combat come under this head. As in No. 1, the killing is done mechanically at long distance, without physical contact. The psychological effects probably resemble those of hunting, which is what it is, with the roles of hunter and hunted being constantly reversed.

On Level No. 3, one kills or cripples another human being by one's own personal efforts, in close physical contact, aided only by a knife, string, club or other simple tool. Here the essence of war cannot be concealed, and comes out nakedly in a way shocking to the normal Western individual. To perform successfully this kind of killing requires a brutalization far beyond that called for by No. 1 and No. 2. Even within Level No. 3 itself, the rule holds: if one has no tool at all but just bare hands, the business of killing reaches its peak of horror so far as the killer is concerned. Thus the psychological and the statistical aspects of modern war move in opposite directions; the more powerful the weapons the greater the slaughter and the less the killer's consciousness of it. (This is possibly a factor of some importance in the survival of modern warfare as a social institution.)

THE BOMB

At 9:15 on the morning of August 6, 1945, an American plane dropped a single bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Exploding with the force of 20,000 tons of TNT, The Bomb destroyed in a twinkling

two-thirds of the city; including, presumably, most of the 343,000 human beings who lived there. No warning was given. This atrocious action places "us," the defenders of civilization, on a moral level with "them," the beasts of Maidanek. And "we," the American people, are just as much and as little responsible for this horror as "they," the German People.

So much is obvious. But more must be said. For the atomic bomb renders anticlimactical even the ending of the greatest war in history. (1) *The concepts, "war" and "progress," are now obsolete.* Both suggest human aspirations, emotions, aims, consciousness. "The greatest achievement of organized science in history," said President Truman after the Hiroshima catastrophe—which it probably was, and so much the worse for organized science. (2) *The futility of modern warfare should now be clear.* Must we not now conclude, with Simone Weil, that the technical aspect of war today is the evil, regardless of political factors? Can one imagine that The Bomb could ever be used "in a good cause"? Do not such means instantly, of themselves, corrupt any cause? (3) *The Bomb is the natural product of the kind of society we have created.* It is as easy, normal and unforced an expression of the American Way of Life as electric ice-boxes, banana splits, and hydromatic-drive automobiles. We do not dream of a world in which atomic fission will be "harnessed to constructive ends." The new energy will be at the service of the rulers; it will change their strength but not their aims. The underlying populations should regard this new source of energy with lively interest—the interest of victims. (4) *Those who wield such destructive power are outcasts from humanity.* They may be gods, they may be brutes, but they are not men. (5) *We must "get" the national State before it "gets" us.* Every individual who wants to save his humanity—and indeed his skin—had better begin thinking "dangerous thoughts" about sabotage, resistance, rebellion, and the fraternity of all men everywhere. The mental attitude known as "negativism" is a good start.

The bomb produced two widespread and, from the standpoint of The Authorities, undesirable emotional reactions in this country: a feeling of guilt at "our" having done this to "them," and anxiety lest in some future "they" do this to "us." Both feelings were heightened by the superhuman scale of The Bomb. The Authorities have therefore made valiant attempts to reduce the thing to a human context, where such concepts as Justice, Reason, Progress could be employed. Such moral defenses are offered as: the war was shortened and many lives, Japanese as well as American, saved; "we" had to invent and use The Bomb against "them" lest "they" invent and use it against "us"; the Japanese deserved it because they started the war, treated prisoners barbarously, etc., or because they refused to surrender. The flimsiness of these justifications is apparent; any atrocious action, absolutely any one, could be excused on such grounds. For there is really only one possible answer to the problem posed by Dostoevski's Grand Inquisitor: if all mankind could realize eternal and complete happiness by torturing to death a single child, would this act be morally justified?

Somewhat subtler is the strategy by which The Authorities—by which term I mean not only the political leaders but also the scientists, intellectuals, trade-unionists and businessmen who function on the top levels of our society—tried to ease the deep fears aroused in everyone by The Bomb. From President Truman down, they emphasized that The Bomb has been produced in the normal, orderly course of scientific experiment, that it is thus simply the latest step in man's long struggle to control the forces of nature, in a word, that it is Progress. But this is a knife that cuts both ways: the effect

on me, at least, was to intensify some growing doubts about the "Scientific Progress" which had whelped this monstrosity. Last April, I noted that in our movies "the white coat of the scientist is as blood-chilling a sight as Dracula's black cape. . . . If the scientist's laboratory has acquired in Popular Culture a ghastly atmosphere, is this not perhaps one of those deep intuitions of the masses? From Frankenstein's laboratory to Maidanek (or, now, to Hanford and Oak Ridge) is not a long journey. Was there a popular suspicion, perhaps only half conscious, that the 19th century trust in science was mistaken . . . ?"

These questions seem more and more relevant. I doubt if we shall get satisfactory answers from the scientists (who, indeed, seem professionally incapable even of asking, let alone answering, them). The greatest of them all, who in 1905 constructed the equation which provided the theoretical basis for Atomic Fission, could think of nothing better to tell us after the bombings than: "No one in the world should have any fear or apprehension about atomic energy, science merely imitated the reaction of the sun's rays. [Merely "is good!—DM] Atomic power is no more unnatural than when I sail my boat on Saranac Lake." Thus, Albert Einstein. As though it were not precisely the natural, the perfectly rational and scientifically demonstrable that is now chilling our blood! How human, intimate, friendly by comparison are ghosts, witches, spells, werewolves and poltergeists. Indeed, all of us except a few specialists know as much about witches as we do about atom-splitting; and all of us with no exceptions are even less able to defend ourselves against The Bomb than against witchcraft. No silver bullet, no crossed sticks will help us there. As though to demonstrate this, Einstein himself, when asked about the unknown radioactive poisons which were beginning to alarm even editorial writers, replied "emphatically": "I will not discuss that." Such emphasis is not reassuring.

The above excerpts are from Dwight Macdonald's *MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST*, which we are publishing this Fall as a Meridian Book. Macdonald is one of our most individual and unorthodox political critics, and has written extensively on left-wing politics, kitsch, the cinema, war and war mentality, and current events. The selections on The Bomb are from *Politics*, which Macdonald founded and edited, and in which he most strongly criticized American attitudes and actions during the Forties.

FALL BOOKS

There was a time, about eighteen months ago, when the possibility of continuing the list—paperback lists of high enough distinguished books meriting This may be so, but Meridian Books list (or for that matter by the future listed below are featured in this issue

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

First published some years ago, this translation has been prepared and the of the Roman Catholic Church upon the of St. Thomas have been brought up to **Humani Generis.**

POLITICS: WHO GETS WHAT, WHY (With a long postscript)

Considered the classic analysis of and counter-elites, this volume has been search in techniques of propaganda and **THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPINOZA**

This monumental work of history made available once more. It covers and a thorough discussion of the general **THE MAN OF THE RENAISSANCE**

This is primarily to be read for pleasure. A reprint, it contains magnificently written Machiavelli, Castiglione and Aretino. **ROMAN SOCIETY IN THE LAST CENTURY**

In the present volume, which traces **Roman Society from Nero to Marcus** days of Roman paganism, assesses the Augustine and concludes with the advent of **PETER: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr**

The author of *Christ and Time* explains for Peter's position among the disciples and the controversy concerning the Canon Peter as the Rock. **Living Age.**

THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH

Translated by Gabriel Vahanian, this distinguished European Protestant the Creed according to the Catechism of the **AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF**

by W. O. E. A consideration of all the books of the ing everything that modern scholarship has their history, authorship, language and style. **JEWISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

A sensitive and understanding portrait of tical, intellectual and cultural—in the European **STUDIES IN JUDAISM**

Drawn from the three volumes of Schechter essays cover persons, concepts and movements. **JPS.**

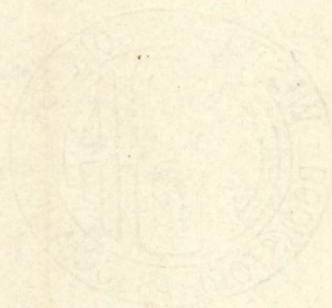
HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Two preeminent scholars have authoritative and profound history of the Bible to the early twentieth century.



#3: Groundwork for Action, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, & others.

p. 58 In Ceylon, ancient irrigation works were destroyed by invaders 100s of years ago, "like those of so many Asiatic countries." and never been replaced.



Cycle of
nations

A nation that becomes banker to rest of world is apt to monopolize its own industry. For divergent mrs are what help do it, as well as lack of new resources going into industry.

However, fact that capital can be exported also keeps it from buying up local assets. Those who export capital are the very ones who would

otherwise be buying up local assets from
small enterprisers. On balance, the
cap. export *per se* helps. But fact that
cap is exported is bad sign -- except, again,
that low *mr* in general makes people
invest in good will more. No, it is not low
mr *per se* that is bad, but situations associated
with it. Also divergent *mr*.

Westermann, 'The Ec. Basis of decline of Ancient Culture'. AHR July '15

Lot, End of Ancient World & Beginning of Middle Ages,
DG311
L62



Newbiggin, Geog. of Medit

Semple, E.C. Med Geog

Ag Hist Mag, 1928, article on Ancient Medit Agric



Mason Graftney

History

Notebook

Q /

1. List of Places mention in the section of the blue book on Greece.

Aegean Sea	Cnossus (Knossos)	Miletus
Greece	Tiryns	Italy
Asia Minor	Mycenae	Persian Empire
Crete	Troy	Mt. Athos
Gulf of Corinth	Black Sea	Marathon
Peloponnesus	Sparta	Hellespont
Egypt	Athens	Thermopylae
Western Asia	Laconia	Artemisium
Europe	Corinth	Salamis
Mediterranean Sea	Thebes	Plataea
Syracuse	Leuctra	Chersonesus
Aegospotami	<u>Evotia</u>	

2.

The geography of Greece, being very mountainous, caused the Greeks to divide politically. They formed small city-states. This disunity brought about the final downfall of the Greeks.

3.

City-state is the name given to the small, politically independent Greek groups. It consisted of a city and the surrounding land. The average one contained about ten square miles of land, but some of the more important ones owned a hundred square miles. The city was located on a hill in the middle of its territory. The center of the city the acropolis, was the religious center of the city-state.

4.

There were many things that held Greece together. They were, after all, kin. They believed in ~~different~~ ^{the same} gods to a certain extent, although each city had its special divinity. And the fact that each city-state owned so little land made trade necessary. Perhaps more important was the fact that their language was the same. This led to better understanding.

5.

These five steps of government were taken before democracy became established. ~~was~~

1. Petty tribal chieftans
2. A king, the strongest of these chieftans, advised by a council.
3. Aristocracy, when the king became a mere figurehead, while the nobles usurped the power.
4. Tyranny, when the masses can no longer stand the unceasing despotism of the aristocrats, and revolt to power. Their leaders the tyrants, give their name to this period.
5. Democracy, with the tyrants and aristocrats gone, and the rule of the people.

6. The classes in Sparta.

I. The Spartans, or soldiers. They were the rulers of Sparta. They elected the members of the council, which ruled everything. When but seven years old they were taken to the barracks and were soldiers the rest of their lives.

II Business men or Perioeci. They had it easy. The Spartans

went out and did all the fighting while the Perioeci stayed home and ran their various businesses.

III Helots or Slaves. They were a race of people called Messenians, who were conquered by the Spartans and made slaves. They were owned by the state and given out with the land.

gov. of Sparta?
under Lycurgus

The Life of Lycurgus

Lycurgus became king of Sparta after a little trouble with relations, and once on the throne he put into being his governmental ideas. Today we would call him a communist. All land was the property of the government, and it was divided into small parts. Later, when the Spartans conquered the Messenians and made them slaves, a certain number of slaves went with each tract of land. I will start with a baby and follow him until his death, to get across the Spartan system.

Shortly after he was born he was examined carefully. If he ~~had~~ showed signs of being a weakling he would be put out on the mountains to die. He was allowed to live at home until ^{he was} seven years old, when he went to the barracks. He was taught in all sorts of ways to be brave, strong, and apt with weapons. When he grew up he was a very well trained soldier. ~~He~~ Perhaps he would die on the battlefield. This was considered very great. The Spartan ideal was to "come back with your shield or on it". Naturally, with such soldiers, the Spartan army was almost unbeatable. However, there was no culture in such a system. Everything they did was controlled by the state.

Lycurgus was greatly disliked by the rich who had been in power before his communism. One of them put his eye out in the market place one day, but

nothing came of it.

Some say that Lycurgus is a mythical character who never existed, and that the Spartan system was gradually built up. Probably no one will ever know.

Outline of Athenian Government

After the reforms of Solon and Clisthines, Athenian government was in this form;

I. Legislative

Athica was divided into ~~a certain number of~~ ^{ten} sections, each of which sent ~~a representative~~ ^{fifty representatives} to the council. This council was one of the two legislative ~~body~~ bodies, which correspond to ~~our~~ Senate and House of Representatives today. The other body was the Assembly, to which all Athenian male citizens belonged. It met on the famous Pnyx Hill, and, obviously, it required quite an orator to hold this assembly. When one came along, he became famous. (Themistocles, Aristides, Pericles, Alcibiades) This assembly must have been more powerful than the council, because the leader of it could be very powerful if he was good.

II. Executive

The Board of Archons, which had ruled Athens, acted as sort of a cabinet. No Archon was as powerful as the leader of the assembly.

III. Judicial

When a person was to be tried, a jury was chosen of male citizens, numbering about five-hundred. If a smaller jury was wanted, it was possible to obtain one. If the person were fined, the jury got some share of it. This led to graft, because the juries convicted people so that they would get money. However, this didn't happen for a long time. I imagine that

HYELASS
WRITING

ostracism would come under judicial. Ostracism was a system invented by the Greeks to keep one person from usurping too much power. They were always deathly afraid of someones making himself a dictator, and this was another preventive. Here is how it worked. The Athenian citizen went to the market place once every year, ~~and~~ picked up a broken piece of clay, called ostrakon, ~~and~~ wrote on it the name of the person he wanted to be exiled for ten years, and put it in a pot. If the person with the largest number of votes against him had more than ten-thousand, he was exiled for ten years.

HYELASS
WRITING

all the power. Later the ~~th~~ treasury was moved to Athens.
i. Thermopylae was the mountain pass where Leonidas and his 300 Spartans tried to repulse the second Persian invasion, and probably would have succeeded had not a traitor shown the Persians another way across the mountains.

i. Mt. Olympus was the mountain where the Greeks thought that their gods lived, that is, their 12 major gods

III

1. Pre-historic times are the times ^{a record} before history of any kind was kept. History started with civilization.

4. The Areopagus was an aristocratic institution before Solon's and Cleisthenes' reforms. After them it was a rather democratic governing body. It was composed of ~~ex-members of~~ ex-Archons.

9 5. Hellenistic is the name given to that period ~~the~~ after Alexander's march. Alexander attempted to blend the east and west, and the art of the period shows it.

6. The Phillipics were violent article written by Demosthenes warning the Greeks of Phillip's intentions. Wiser Greeks saw that Phillip would organize Greece, which it sorely needed, and hushed Demosthenes.

7. Ostracism was the way in which the Athenians exiled unwanted characters. Each citizen ~~a~~ cast a vote and he who had ten thousand or more was exiled for ten years.

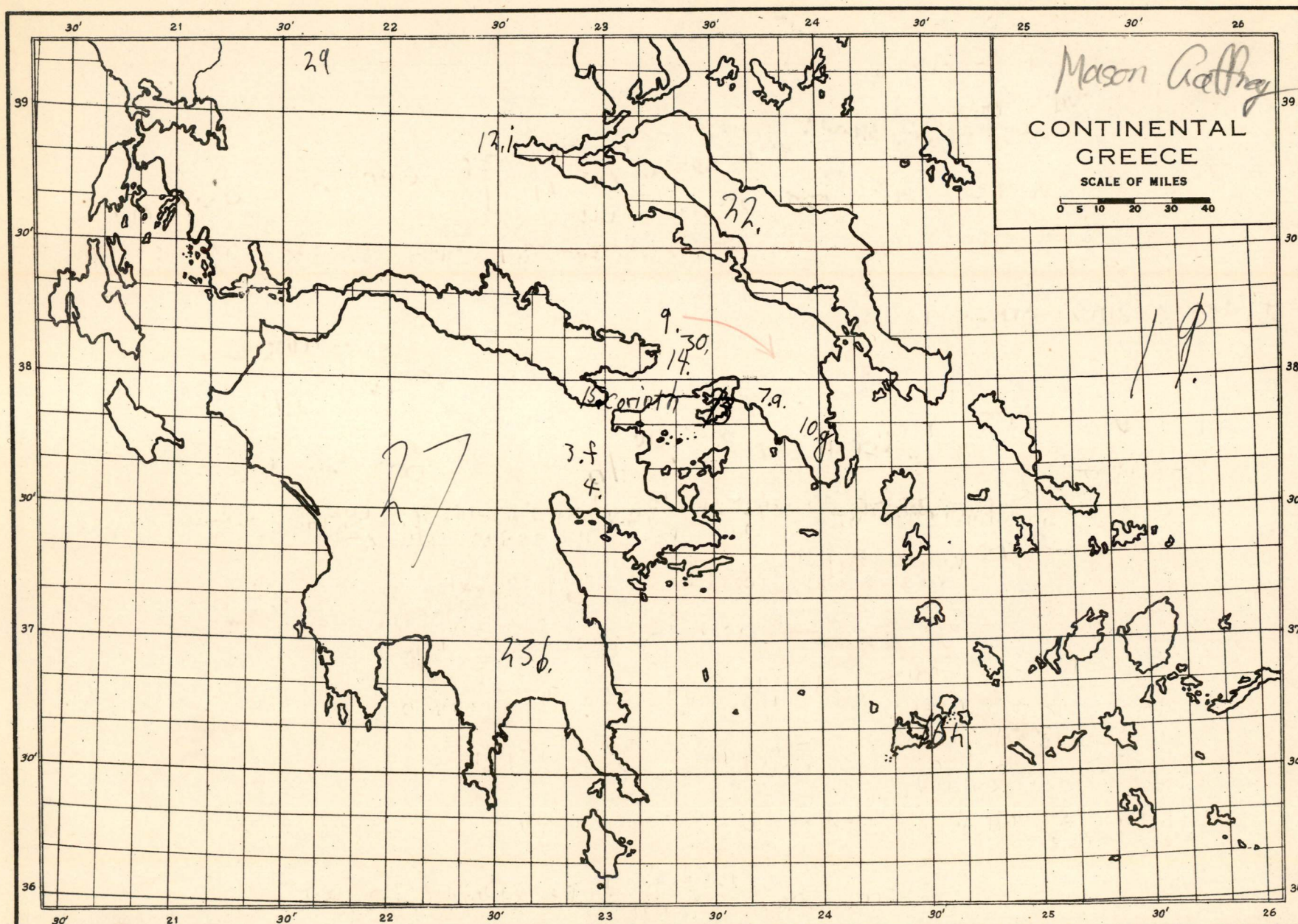
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- a. Athens was the major Ionian Greek city. As far as the arts go it was practically the only city up to the Hellenistic age. It set fine examples in government which were way ahead of its day.
- b. Sparta was an intensely militaristic Dorian city. I would say that it greatly hindered the advance of Greek civilization, because it had lots of power but didn't know how to use it.
- c. Byzantium was an important Greek colony. It controlled the entrance to the Black Sea, and therefore it was and still is a very handy spot to control.
- d. Carthage was a very powerful Phoenician colony in Africa. Its only encounter with the Greeks was when it helped the Persians during the Persian wars, but was defeated by Syracuse.
- e. Troy was the city built probably by Ionians and destroyed by the other Greeks in the Trojan wars. Homers tales of the victory and return, the Iliad and Odyssey, are very famous.
- f. Mycenae was the leading Greek city of the Minoan age, although it was probably subject to Cnossus.
- g. Marathon is the broad plain near Athens where the Athenians defeated the Persians. It completely stopped the first invasion of Greece.
- h. Delos was for many years the island on which the treasury of the Delian League was kept. However, it didn't even serve as a figurehead, for Athens admittedly had usurped

R

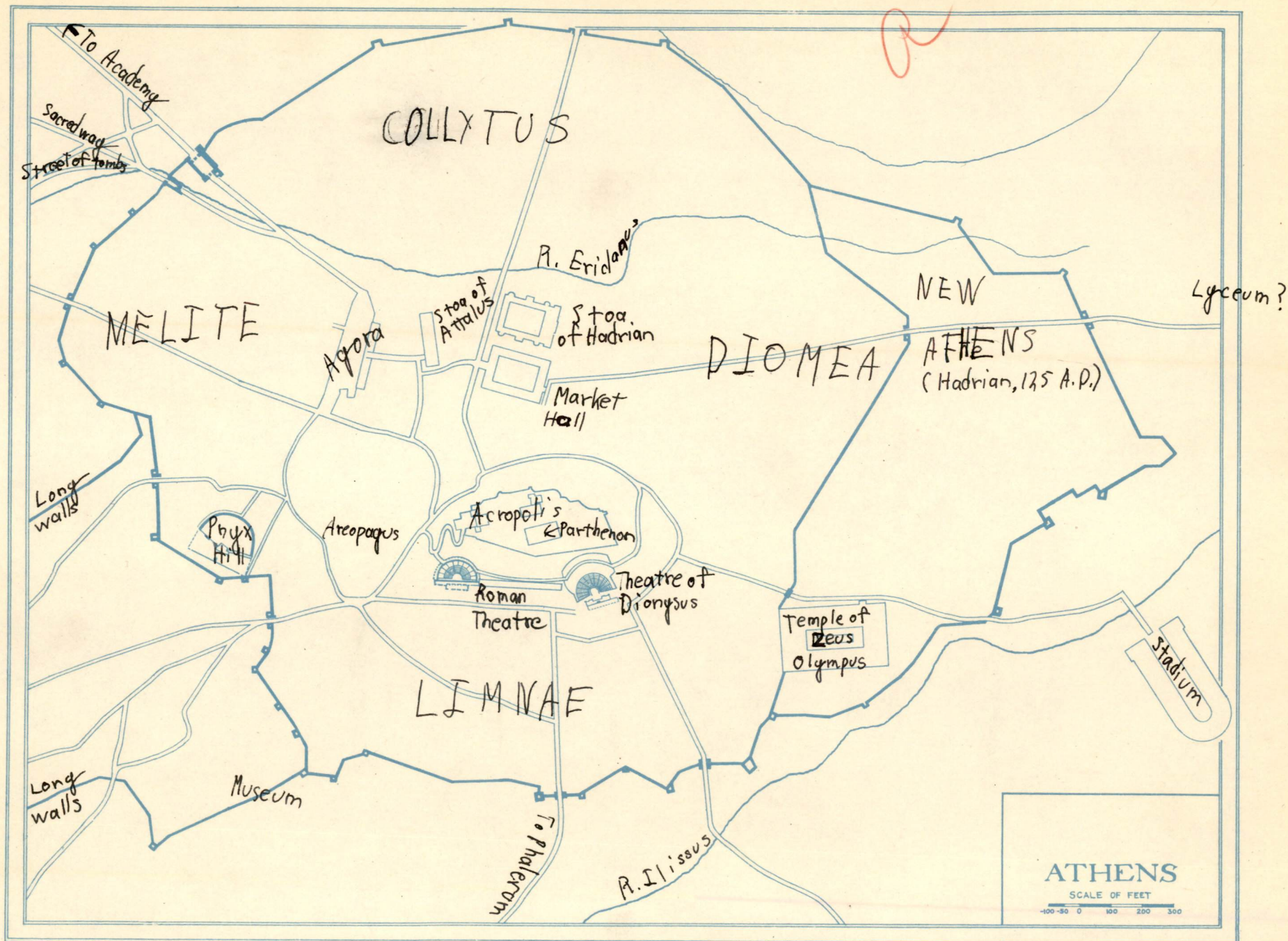
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Mason Gaffney





The Reforms of Solon and Clisthines

SOLON

Solon was of noble blood, but it was he who reformed Athens and started her on the road to Democracy. Before his time Athens was ruled by the aristocrats, with their board of archons, aristocrats elected each year by other aristocrats, and the council of the areopagus, the old archons. Solon had almost all freemen vote, but only aristocrats could be archons. He abolished all debt slavery, and cancelled all mortgages. This gave the down-trodden Athenian farmers a chance to recuperate. ~~When~~ He also changed the laws of Draco, which were so harsh that they were said to be written in blood. Then he left on a ten year trip, expecting to find things running smoothly on his return, but instead a lot of petty tyrants were struggling for power. The winner, Pisi'stratus, was a good Tyrant, and really made Solon's laws work.

CLISTHINES

Clisthines finished what Solon started. He allowed all free-men to vote and hold any office. He realized that the power of the nobles and the resentment of the masses was causing Athens lots of trouble, so he divided Attica into ten sections, each partly aristocratic and partly popular. Representatives were sent from these sections. It worked very well, as all friction was gone.

List of twelve gods and goddesses

1. Zeus, Jupiter, Jove

The supreme god. He was not true to his wife, and his flirtations enter into the Greek epics. The Olympic games were held in his honor, and quite a temple built at the place where they were held.

2. Hera, Juno

The jealous wife of Zeus. She was not worshiped as much as one might expect.

3. Apollo

The god of the sun. He was quite as popular as Zeus, and the famous oracle at Delphi was built in his honor.

4. Athena, Minerva

The goddess of wisdom. She was the special god of Athens, and their great buildings and many statues were dedicated to her.

5. Aphrodite, Venus

The goddess of beauty. Hers was the perfect female figure, and many famous statues were made of her.

6. Hermes, Mercury

The messenger of the gods, and the god of thieves.

7. Poseidon, Neptune

He plays a very small part in the Greek life. ?

8. Pan

The god of the woods in their recreational sense. All strange noises in the woods were attributed to him.

9. Eris, ~~Mars~~

The god of discord and war. According to legend he started the dispute that ended in the Trojan War.

10. Hades, Pluto

The god of the underworld. He kidnapped Ceres' daughter and kept her half a year, and things are fine when she is on earth, but gloomy when she is in Hell ~~at~~ with him.

11. ~~Demeter~~ Demeter, Ceres

The goddess of the fields in an agricultural sense. When her daughter was in Hell with Hades (see above) she mopes and does not work as she should. ~~Then~~ Thus the Greeks explained the seasons.

12. Vulcan - ~~Hephaestus~~

God of fire in its industrial sense. Whenever there was a great ~~battle~~ duel in Greek mythology the winner was supplied with armour made by him. ~~same?~~

Persian Wars Outline

I Causes.

A. Persia was stopped by natural boundaries in all directions except toward Greece.

B. Darius was ambitious to extend the empire as his predecessors had done.

C. Athens had (and probably would in the future) helped revolts in

D. Asia Minor.

II 1st invasion of Greece. (Marathon) 490 B.C.

A. Excuse - Greek help in Ionic revolt, and Hippias' claim to Athenian rule.

B. The Persians siezed Thrace and Macedonia. Then they sailed around the Aegean and subdued Naxos and other islands. Before landing in Attica they went to Eretria on Euboea and destroyed it. Finally they landed in Attica and started for Athens. ~~the fleet going around toward~~ The Athenians met them on the plain of Marathon and defeated them. The Persians tried to beat them back to Athens in their ships but failed.

C. Miltiades became stuck-up and dishonest after the victory which he led. He asked a large grant to build ships with, but did not tell where they were going. He tried to capture Paros with them for personal gain. While there he broke his thigh. The expedition was a failure, and he was tried for misappropriation of public funds. He was fined. Themistocles began to equip an Athenian fleet as the best defense against Persia.

III This is about the same as above

IV Second Invasion - 480 B.C.

Hippias sheltered by Persia and demanded by Athens.

A. This invasion occurred because Xerxes wished to avenge his father and the Persian honor, besides the reasons for the first invasion.

B. Events

1. Xerxes, after defeating northern Greece, battles and defeats the Athenians by land at Thermopylae and by sea at Artemisium. The Peloponnesians fail to give their promised aid, and Athens is evacuated.

2. The Greeks completely defeat the Persians at Salamis, but fail to follow up this victory.

3. Mardonius stays in Greece to bother them. He enters Athens, but is completely defeated and himself slain at Plataea. The Persian fleet is beaten at Mycale. The Ionians in the Persian army help to surround and utterly subdue them.

C. The Persians withdraw east of the Hellespont for good. Their power in the west is broken. Grecian ~~Democracy~~ Democracy and Western civilization are saved from Oriental Despotism.

V Results of entire period of wars.

A. The north-eastern Greeks formed the Delian League for protection, and Athens slowly changed it into an empire with her at the head. Other Greek cities became jealous, and the ensuing civil wars ruined Greece.

B. The Athenians walled their city which proved a fine defense against Sparta in later years.

C. Persia was defeated.

Outline of Peloponnesian Wars.

I Causes

The Spartans were jealous of the growing Athenian power after the Persian wars. So they organized the whole Peloponnesus into a league against Athens, found an excuse and made war.

II The Sicilian Expedition - Purpose and Results

At the beginning of the Second Peloponnesian War, the ~~Greeks~~ Athenians decided to strike a master stroke and take Syracuse, ally of Sparta. A great fleet was assembled, largely through the influence of ~~Pericles~~ Alcibiades, a clever rogue who had great influence with the Athenians. However, the campaign was poorly managed, and the great Athenian fleet was destroyed. This broke Athenian morale so completely that the Spartans and their allies didn't have much trouble in subduing Athens.

III Results of These Wars on Greece

These wars took the leadership from Athens and gave it to Sparta, a poor exchange for Greece. Sparta tried to rule Greece with militarism, and the small city states soon saw their mistake. Thebes, under the leadership of Epaminondas, a military genius, defeated Sparta at the battle of Leuctra. Later Epaminondas was killed in another battle with Sparta, and then there was no leadership at all, so Greece became subject to Macedonia, under Phillip II.

Definition of Philosophy

Literally philosophy means the love of wisdom, but it is more than that. It deals with the behavior of men. It also deals with facts not exactly known, but conciered. It is experimenting with mental things as science experiments with physical things.

Three Great Philosophers

1. Socrates

Socrates taught that to be happy a man must know himself well, and be honest with himself. His manner of teaching was most effective, for he asked the subject questions until he finally got to the point. He discovered that many people used words loosely, and couldn't really explain what they meant if asked to. However, many people were embarrassed by him, and he became so unpopular that he was sentenced to death.

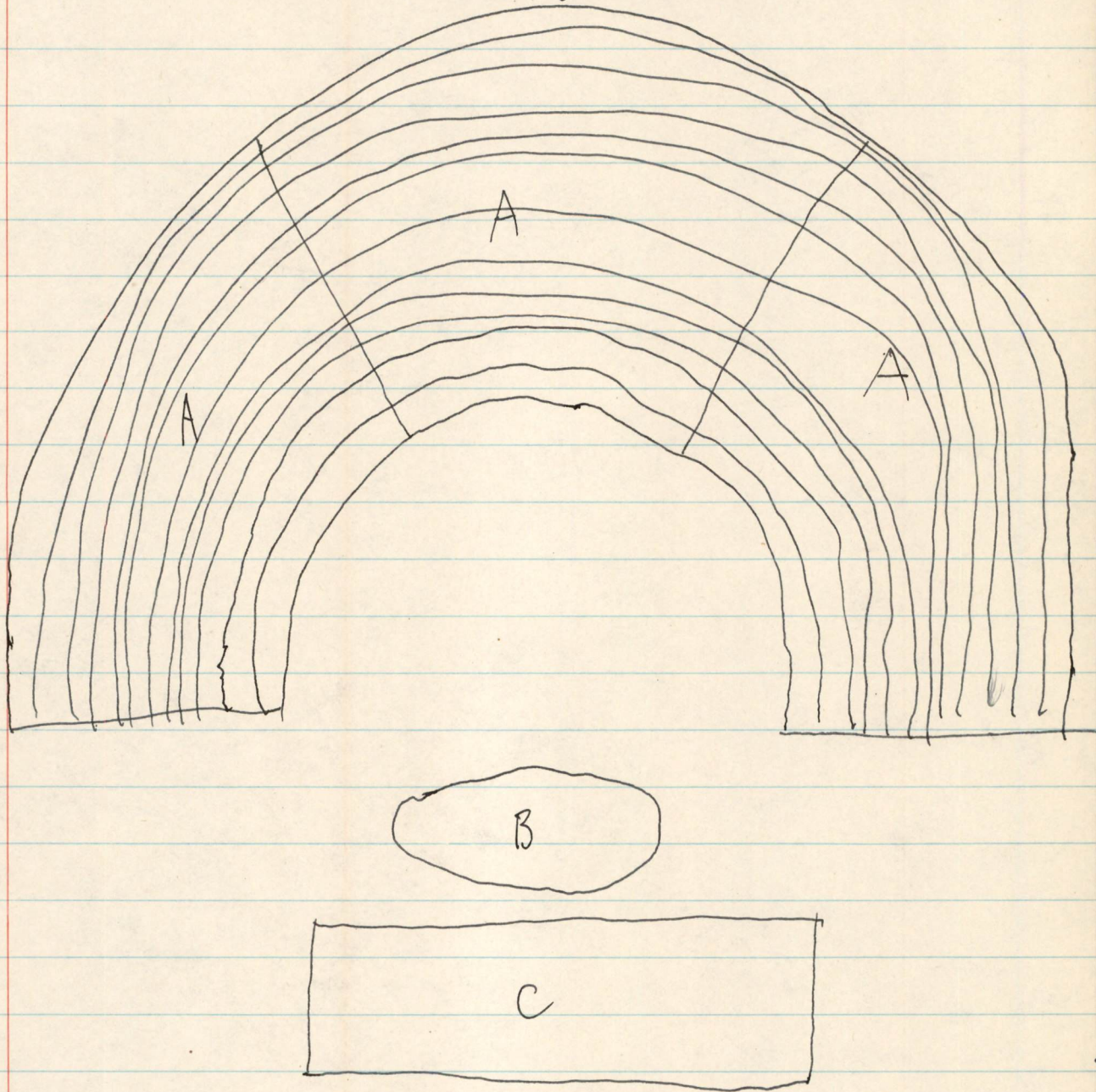
2. Plato

Plato was Socrates' great pupil. His books refer to Socrates so much that no one knows which ideas are his and which Socrates'. His most famous book, the Republic, deals with the ideal government, education and philosophy.

3. Aristotle

Aristotle was a great intellectual giant. He compiled all the standing information on many diverse subjects, and added his own. Until the time of Columbus he was considered the final word on all sorts of problems. He was the teacher of Alexander the Great, and probably influenced him to be a spreader of Greek art more than anyone else.

Ground Plan of Greek Theater

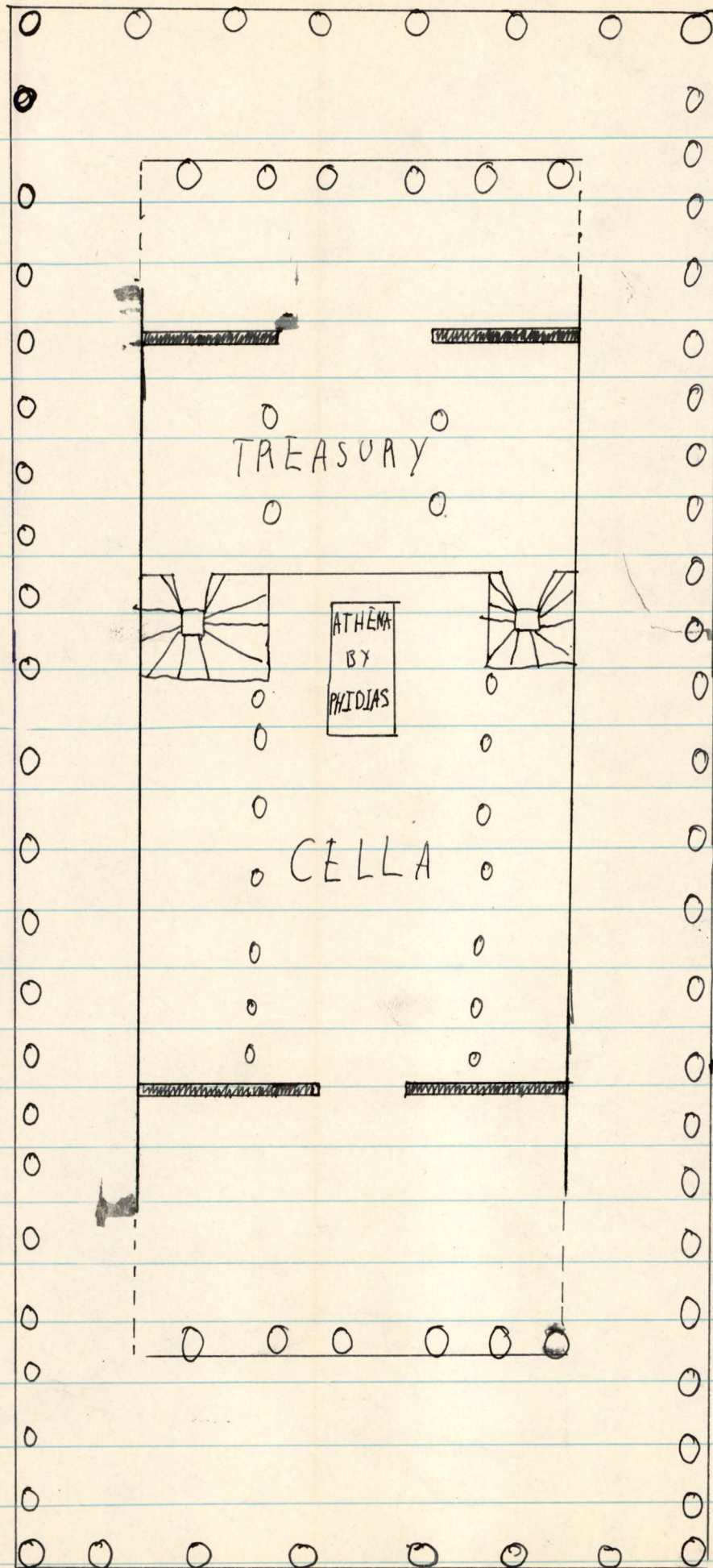


A. ^{spectators'} ~~spectators~~ seats

B. Orchestra - this was not an orchestra ~~room~~ at all, but the place where the chorus stood.

C. The stage.

Plan of Parthenon



5 Pieces of Sculpture and their Sculptors

1. The first good sculptors in Greece came right after the Archaic period. These were Calamis and Pythagoras. Calamis got away from the stiff Archaic style, and he liked to make informal pictures of young deities, so his figures are of Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite. Pythagoras came a little later, and was a rival of Myron and Polyclitus in making athletic pictures. He was not so famous as these rivals, and he antedates them a little. His most famous statue is probably Euthymus the Boxer.
2. ~~The~~ Discobolus by Myron - this statue is one of the best known statues that come from Greece. The form of the athlete is said to be all wrong, but the statue is pleasing. Myron is famous for this statue alone, because his others are inferior.
3. ~~A~~ Hera by Polycleitus - this statue ^{was} ~~is~~ a large one, made with gold and ivory. Now it is all gone, stolen of course. Polycleitus made many athletes, all good, but not as good as Hera, the goddess.
4. Athena by Phidias. ~~Athena~~ ^{this} was a tremendous statue of Athena in the Parthenon. It was made of ivory and gold, now stolen. Phidias was a close friend of Pericles, and Pericles' enemies sought to ~~hurt~~ Pericles through Phidias. So Phidias went to Delphi and there made a great statue of Zeus. Phidias is the most famous Greek sculptor of all. He built the Parthenon and most of the other buildings of the Acropolis.
5. Hermes with the Infant Dionysus by Praxiteles - a good example of Praxiteles' style. All of his sculptures are made so that ~~if~~ if a line were drawn down the middle it would be

~~an~~ an s. This naturally put all the weight on one foot and put the figure in a state of ~~absolute~~ relaxation.

6. A little after Praxiteles came Lysippos. He was the leading figure in the Rhodes school.

3 Historians and their Work

1. Herodotus

Herodotus was really the first historian. He is called the "Father of History". He wrote about the Persian Wars, but he went all the way back to Egypt to get background. He had traveled widely, so much of his information was first hand. However, he was a good story-teller, and what's more he believed in the gods thoroughly, and attributed many events to them. ~~However~~ But no one denies that his history is a very good one.

2. Thucydides

Thucydides wrote about the Peloponnesian Wars. He lived during these wars and fought in them, and he was remarkably precise and accurate in every detail. He was impartial, besides, which makes ^{him} a shining example which plenty of today's historians neglect. He didn't believe that the gods had anything to do with events, of the world, and he thought that history was an educational necessity.

3. Xenophon

Xenophon is not necessarily great. He was a pupil of Socrates and we get some knowledge of Socrates through him. He wrote of the adventures of ten-thousand Greek mercenaries who went to help Cyrus the Younger capture the Persian throne. When Cyrus was killed they had a hard time getting back home.

Outline of Alexander's March

Prologue-

Alexander succeeded the throne from his father Philip II, who had conquered all Greece. At his death Greece revolted, but Alexander marched there immediately and utterly destroyed Thebes. After this the Greeks subsided. Then he set out to conquer the world.

I The Battle of Granicus

a. This battle was the first great victory in Asia Minor. After it Asia Minor was practically conquered. The Macedonian phalanx was much better than the Persian form of fighting, and Alexander didn't have much trouble defeating them.

b. He then took all the major cities of Asia Minor.

II The Battle of Issus

a. The Persians were personally led by King Darius III. They were defeated and fled in disorder all the way to the Euphrates River.

b. This opened up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt, which Alexander then took. He had some trouble at Tyre, but after seven months it was taken by the use of great stone-throwers. After this the Persian fleet had no ports, so it simply disappeared.

III The Battle of Arbela

a. Arbela is in Mesopotamia. Here again the Macedonians were victorious, and Persia was utterly destroyed. King Darius III was killed.

b. Alexander marched all the way to the Hydaspes River, a

little way beyond the Indus. Here his troops stopped, and would go no farther. So Alexander sadly turned back. He sent a fleet down the Indus River to the Indian Ocean on a trip of exploration. ~~He was successful, and~~ under Nearchus. He collected specimens of all sorts of plants and ~~the~~ animals and sent them to Aristotle.

IV Ruling the Empire

a. Alexander encouraged the arts as much as possible. This policy gave him ~~the~~ support instead of the revolts from the conquered peoples. (except Sparta)

b. Alexander died after a wild party with some friends, leaving no heir.

Define Hellenistic

Alexander had successfully blended Greek and Oriental culture when he died. The period following his death is called Hellenistic. The art is cross-breed.

**SCANNED
AS
FOUND**

Syllabus for a two year correlated

I. Discussion of the relation of the History to our present.

See Pahlow, vol. I., Chapters I, II, III.
Breasted, Ancient Times.

II. Definition of civilization.

a. Discussion of reasons for the development of civilization - economic and social wants.

See a Community Civics.

b. Determine the factors by which degrees of civilization are measured such as political, economic and social organization. Define these terms.

III. Discuss the influence of geography on the location of the beginnings of civilization.

See the first chapter of most Ancient Histories.

a. Name, locate and describe the chief centers for such beginnings of the Nile Valley, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the Hoang Ho Valley. What have these places in common?

Study the pages on the History of Civilization. Be prepared to locate all places mentioned on a map.

IV. Prehistoric Ages of Man.

a. Define prehistoric times. How far back are the beginnings of civilization? How do we know?

b. Define paleolithic and neolithic ages. Describe life in each of the ages, touching on building, industry, tools, religion, etc.

c. How and where do we learn of this life?

d. What important skills and knowledge for the future of civilization were learned in these ages? List these.

e. Did the people of this time have any art? If so describe it. Purpose?

f. Did the people of this time have any music? If so, describe it.

g. What were the health conditions?

1st test. - B -

2nd " - A

3 " D

4 " A

5 " B

Problems

I. Make a chart of the three Stone Ages, using the following headings:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Name | 6. Animals |
| 2. Dates | 7. Clothing |
| 3. Climate | 8. Drawing or Art |
| 4. Dwelling places | 9. Religion |
| 5. Implements | |

Interesting books, stories of this time.

Stories from the Stone Age, E. C. Fellowes.

Story of Ab, Waterloo.

Before Adam, London.

In the Morning of Time, Roberts.

Non-fiction.

Readings in the Story of Human Progress, Marshall.

Know this Ref DD 88-H map or D

V. Egypt, the first nation to keep written records.

a. What is a nation?

b. What is the time span of the history of Ancient Egypt?

5000-3000 B.C.
End 2500 End 2000
Pyramid - Fustat
End 180 End of Freedom
Empire - Post Empire 3000

c. Name and define the 3 divisions of Ancient Egyptian History.

d. Describe the life of Egypt in each of these periods: building, art, music, religion, government, etc. Each student choose one of these to study quite in detail. All read at least one good account.

e. Read accompanying synopsis. Use problems suggested as seems advisable.

f. What points of contact did Egypt have with other parts of the world?

g. What was the cause of the decline of the Egyptian nation?

h. Reading suggestions:

Non-fiction:

Ancient Egypt and Assyria, Maspero.

Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, Banks.

Current History Magazine.

Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Carter.

Travel Series on Egypt, Burton-Holmes.

Fiction:

Ebers--The Egyptian Princess; Ancient Egypt, Cambyses, Sappho.

Uarda; Ancient Egypt, reign of Rameses II.

Exercises:

- I. Make a map locating the following in addition to those on other page.
 1. First and second cataracts of the Nile.
 2. Red Sea.
 3. Sahara Desert.
 4. Karnak.
 5. Sinai Peninsula.
 6. Nile Delta.
- II. Description of the Great Pyramid. See model in the Museum.
- III. Description of the Temple of Karnak. See model.
- IV. Visit the Oriental Institute if possible. Bring back report.
- V. Visit the Egyptian mummies in the Field Museum. Report.
- VI. Map work -
 1. Show the part made fertile by the Nile overflow.
 2. Locate: Gizeh, Memphis, Heliopolis, Amarna, Thebes, Oasis of ^{Siva}~~Buwa~~, First Cataract, Second Cataract.
 3. Show the extent of the Egyptian Empire in the 15th century.
- VII. List the achievements of the Egyptians during the Stone Age.
- VIII. Make a chart for Pyramid Age, Feudal Age, and Empire Age. Use the headings below:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Type of Gov't.</u>	<u>Reasons for Changes</u>	<u>Achievements in Civilization</u>
----------------	---------------	--------------	-----------------------	----------------------------	-------------------------------------
- IX. State the important characteristics of each of the great achievements of the Egyptians.
- X. Outline - The important features of the geography of Egypt.
- XI. Outline - The kind of an environment the Egyptians of the Pyramid Age lived in.
- VI. Persons to be remembered.

1. Khufu.	6. Tut-Ankh-Amen.
2. Hysksos.	7. Rameses II.
3. Thutmose.	8. Osiris.
4. Hatshepsut.	9. Isis.
5. Ihknaton.	
- VII. Special reports from Maspero on Egyptian life as interest seems to dictate.

VIII. Terms to be remembered:

1. Hieroglyphics.
2. Rosetta Stone.
3. Book of the Dead.
- 4.
- 5.

IX. Reports on the Tomb of King Tut.

X. List of Egyptian contributions to the advancement of civilization for the notebook.

Know this - not written
p. 5- Syllabus.
Western Asia.

Mapeko is good.

I. Geography of Western Asia.

- Describe the Tigris- Euphrates Valley.
- Compare this valley with that of the Nile River.
- Why does civilization develop in river valleys so often?

II. The civilizations of Western Asia.

a. The Sumerians.

- Locate them and note what they contributed to the advance of civilization?

b. Early Babylonians.

- The Code of Hammurapi. What is law? What is its purpose? Semites
- Locate them, their chief cities and list their contributions.

c. The Aramaeans.

- Locate and list their contributions. S.

d. The Phoenicians.

- Name and locate their chief cities. S.
- What were their contributions?
- What is "Tyrian Purple?"
- Give an account of the founding of Carthage?

e. The Hebrews.

- Name and locate their country. Describe the nature of that area. S.
- Study their history in considerable detail. Make an outline of it.
- What is their contribution?

f. The Hittites.

- Locate and list their contributions. Indo Europeans

g. The Assyrians.

- Locate their empire. S.
- Compare their civilization with the Babylonians.
- List their contributions. S

h. Later Babylon or Chaldea.

- Locate and list contributions.

i. Lydia.

- Locate and list contributions. I-E

j. Persians.

- Locate the Persian Empire at its greatest extent. I-E
- What was the origin of the Persian people?
- List their contributions.

III. Summary of the achievements of Western Asia.

a. ~~Why did each of these nations fail and go to pieces?~~

- ~~Contribution~~ is its weakness?
- When is absolute monarchy bad? When is it good? What is its danger? What is its weakness?

- What is the purpose of government? How did the first governments arise?

Fri

IV. Problems and Studies.

- ~~Monday~~
1. Map Study. On Map D-88h put the following:
 - a. All the places mentioned in Introductions, Section III.
 - b. Any others which seem important.
 2. Study on the code of Hammurapi. See Pahlow, p. 108, or Davis Readings. Copy one of the laws of this code and draw inferences from it about the civilization of that time.
Do you find any similarities between these laws and present day laws?
 3. Look at the clay tablets of Assyrian times in room 344, or at the Oriental Institute, or at the Field Museum. Describe their method of writing.
 4. Give two examples of how geographic conditions help to determine what people do?
 - ~~opt.~~ 5. Make a soap carving of an Assyrian relief. Color your carving if possible
 6. What is the difference between astrology and astronomy?
 - ~~Bq. Fri.~~ 7. Find some names and ideas in present day advertisements that came out of the ancient world of Egypt or Asia Minor.

8. Names and terms to know.

~~Aryan or indo-European~~
~~Cyrus~~
~~Croesus~~ Lydia
~~Cambyses~~
~~Darius~~
~~Behistun Rock~~
~~Magi~~
~~Zoroaster~~
~~Ahura Mazda~~
~~Punjab~~
~~Hittites~~
~~Sargon I.~~
~~Nineveh~~

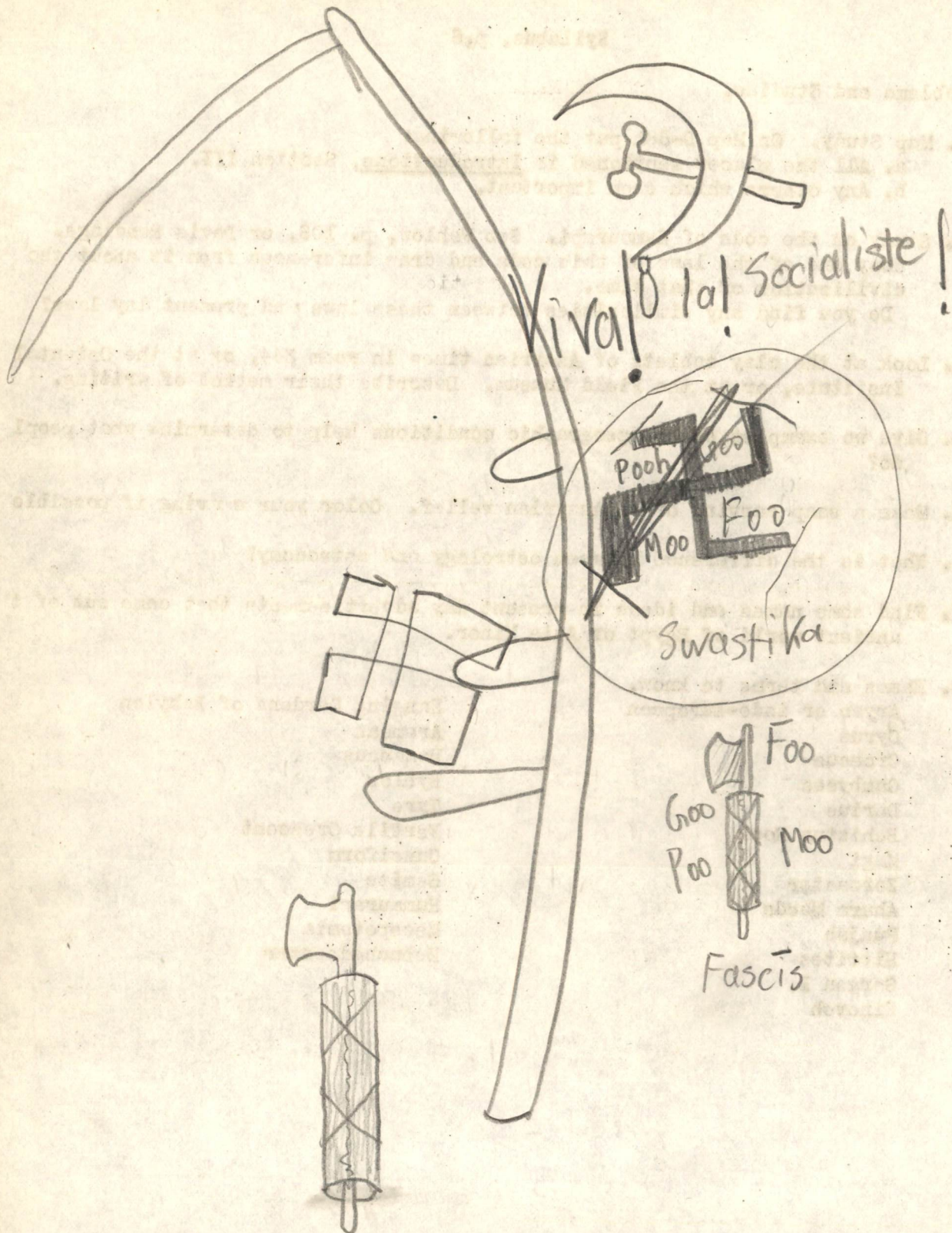
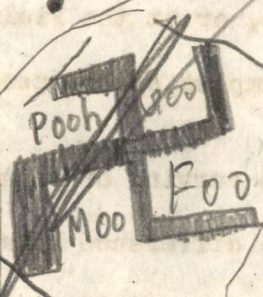
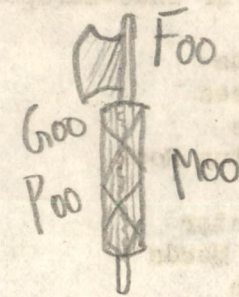
~~Hanging Gardens of Babylon~~
~~Aramean~~
~~Damascus~~
~~Byblos~~
~~Tyre~~
~~Fertile Crescent~~
~~Cuneiform~~
~~Semite~~
~~Hammurapi~~
~~Mesopotamia~~
~~Nebuchadnezzar~~

~~Bring D 88h Tuesday~~

~~Chap~~
~~Read Pahlow 32-33~~

~~Hages Ham pp 97-109~~

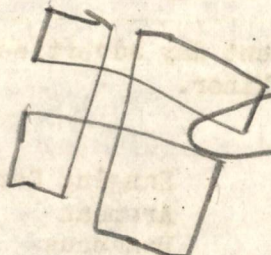
Bring something pertaining to ancient life
ex. Mazda Lamp



Viva! Socialiste!

Fascis

Foo
Goo
Poo
Moo



Eastern Asia

I. China.

- a. What is the origin of the Chinese civilization?
- b. Explain the importance of the ^{Foo}Chow dynasty.
- c. Sketch the life and work of ^{foo}Confucius. What were some of his teachings?
- d. Describe the Great Wall of China. Why was it built?
- e. Describe the civilization which grew up in China.
- f. Why was there so little contact between China and Western Asia?
- g. Compare the Chinese system of writing with that of the Egyptians: with the Babylonians: with the Phoenicians.

Today Readings:

Pahlow, vol. I. Chap. 32. Write answers to questions, p. 414.

Hayes and ^{Foo}Moon, pp. 97-103. *Do*

150

II. India.

- a. Location and origin of the civilization in India.
- b. From what source do we learn most of what we know about the early history of the Aryans in India? Why is it believed that the Aryans in India were one of the Indo-European family of peoples? Why is language an unreliable test of race?
- c. Explain the caste system.
- d. Who were the Dracidians? What was the Rig Veda?
- e. Describe the life and work of Buddha.

Readings:

Do Pahlow, vol. I, Chap. 33. Write answers to questions on p. 422.

Tues, Hayes and Moon, pp. 103-109. *Do*

Do

Aegean Civilization and the Sea-Kings of Crete

Reading:

Hayes and Moon-----pp. 73-77.
Pahlow, Chap. 12, and pp. 137-142.
Baikie-----Sea-kings of Crete.
Breasted-----pp. 285-299

Topic I. Review and summary according to Pahlow, chap. 12.

- " II. Study the questions on p. 157, section II in Pahlow.
- " III. Explain what is meant by Minoan civilization.
- " IV. What is the period of the height of Cretan civilization? What was happening in the other nations we have studied at that time?
- " V. Describe the life on Crete at its best. How extensive was their trade? Name their chief cities. In what articles did they trade?
- " VI. What caused their civilization to come to an end?
- " VII. Sketch the life and work of Dr. Schliemann.

Suggested reading: The Cretan Girl.

Additional reading: Breasted-----pp. 299-323.

THE GREEKS

- I. Explain why an important place in the history of civilization should be given to "classical" Greek civilization. Meaning and origin of "classical".
- II. What is the origin of the Greek people? When do they appear in Europe?
Wave migration.
- III. Describe the Greek world geographically. What did they inherit from others?
Be specific.
 - a. What was the probable effect of geography on the Greeks?
- IV. The Homeric period. Date it.
 - a. Learn what you can of Homer.
 - b. Sketch the story of the Iliad.
 - c. " " " " " Odyssey.
 - d. Describe the life of this period.

V. Age of colonization. Date it.

- a. What led to Greek colonization?
- b. Point out the areas of Greek colonization.
- c. Name and locate the chief colonies.
- d. What was the relation of the colony to the founding city?
- e. Thales and Sappho.

VI. The Greek city-states.

- a. Define a city-state.
- b. Sparta.
 1. Describe the government of Sparta. What are its peculiar features? Is it a democracy? Give reasons for your answer.
 2. Sketch the life and work of Lycurgus. What was the purpose of his educational system? Describe it. Did it accomplish its purpose?
- c. Athens.
 1. Describe the development of democracy in Athens.
 2. Explain the meaning of tyrant as the Greeks used it.
 3. Discuss in detail the reform ideas of Solon and Clisthenes.
 4. Describe carefully the final form of government in Athens. Compare with that of Sparta.
- d. The Greek religion.
 - ① Name 12 of the leading Gods and Goddesses describing each as fully as possible.
 - ② If possible get or draw a picture of each showing their chief characteristics and what was sacred to each.
 3. Review the religious ideas met so far.

Readings:

Pahlow, pp. 142-172.
Hayes and Moon, pp. 121-160.
Breasted, Chapters X, XI, XII.
Church, Story of the Iliad.
Church, Story of the Odyssey.
Gayley, Classic Myths.
Guerber, Mythology.
Bulfinch, Age of Fable.

A.M. 1. Miletus 5. Samos - A.M.
S. 2. Syracuse 6. Massilia - F.
E. 3. Nancratis 7. Tarentum - I.
A.M. 4. Rhodes 8. Byzantium - A.

1. Population
2. Political unrest
3. debt or uneasiness
4. trade
5. Adventure.

THE GREEKS, Continued

VII. The Persian Wars.

- a. List and explain the causes of these wars.
- b. The first invasion and the battle of Marathon.
- c. The interval between the first and second invasion.
 1. The debate over a large navy.
Get all the arguments you can on both sides of this question as it was debated in Athens. Find arguments on this question as it has been debated in the U.S. from time to time. Compare these arguments. What is your conclusion on this matter? Give your reasons.
 2. Sketch of the lives and personalities of Aristides and Themistocles.
- d. The Last invasion.
 1. Get the story of this invasion it is a good one.
 2. Note especially the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis.
- e. Results of the Persian Invasions.
 1. For Persia.
 2. For Greece.
 - a. The Delian League.

VIII. The Golden Age of Greece, or the Age of Pericles.

- a. Define democracy; as the Greeks thought of it; as we think of it.
 1. Why is it difficult to run a democracy? Give some examples of difficulties encountered by the Greeks.
- b. Sketch the life and personality of Pericles.
- c. Study of the life in Athens in the Golden Age. See Davis---Day in Old Athens. Government, home life, dress, social customs, education, the great games.

IX. The Peloponnesian Wars.

- a. Causes. Was there any other way to settle these difficulties?
- b. The Sicilian Expedition---Alcibiades.
- c. Results for the Greek world. Macedonian conquest.

X. Some of the additional things we have inherited from the Greeks.

- a. Philosophy. Define it.
Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.
- b. Drama. Comedy and tragedy.
 1. Description of the Greek theater.
- c. Architecture.
 1. Study of the Parthenon especially and the other buildings of the Acropolis.
- d. Sculpture.
 1. Phidias.
- e. Historians.

flex.

Suggested readings in addition to the texts in the class-rooms.

Kaufmann-----Young Folks Plutarch.
 Davis-----A Day in Old Athens.
 Tarbell-----History of Greek Art.
 Tucker-----A Day in Ancient Athens.
 Davis-----Readings.
 Gulick-----Home Life of the Ancient Greeks.

Syllabus, p. 11.

- XI. The Macedonian Conquest.
- a. The work of Philip II.
 - b. Reaction of the Greeks on the death of Philip. Action of Alexander.
 - c. Alexander the Great.
 1. Sketch of his life to the time of his accession.
 2. Outline sketch of his great march.
 3. His death and the break-up of his Empire.
 4. What were the results of his life and work?
 5. What are his claims to the title Great?
- XII. The Hellenistic period.
- a. Name and locate the chief cultural centers of this period.
 - b. Explain the meaning of Hellenistic.
 - c. Name the leading Greek leagues of this period. Importance?
 - d. Discuss the literature, art and science of this period.
- XIII. Summary and review of the Greek contributions to our civilization.

Readings:

Pahlow-----Chaps. 19 and 20.
Hayes and Moon -----Chap. 7
Breasted -----Chaps. 19, 20, 21.
Wheeler -----Alexander the Great.

If not in by Wed. put in
Pelop wars & Alex.

Make notebook

!!!

✓
✓
✓
✓
✓
✓

Sketch of Lycurgus

{ Outl. Athenian final gov.
Three depts of gov did Athens have
Ostracism Reforms Solon Cleisthenes

✓
why Draco's laws in blood

✓

Whitney. Soil & Civiliz-ⁿ,

p 194.

Cites Willcocks study that
Mesop. cd be restored today,
if culture right.

p. 216, ftnte, cites Tiberius Gracchus: "The wild animals that range over Italy have a hole, and each of them has its lair and nest, but the men who fight and die for Italy have no part or lot in anything but the air and the sunlight...They are called the lords of the World, and they have not a clod of earth to call their own." Jesus evidently copied this later, re foxes.& birds.

5200

~~5742~~

Theories of why Rome Fell

Simkhovitch, soil exhaustion

Tenney Frank, dilution of original superior racial stock

Frank and Rostovtzeff are economic historians. (So order them, esp. Rostovtzeff.

²⁰⁰
~~5192~~ Excellent book, "Muller, Herbert J., "The Uses of the Past", NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952

p. 213-14, Muller emphasizes breakdown of imperial finances.
"The desperate measures that Marcus Aurelius had to resort to in order to finance his defensive wars on the border suggest virtual insolvency." ²⁰⁰
~~5192~~

Roman conquerors managed to impoverish even Egypt, which had supported previous conquerors much better. ²⁰⁰
~~5192~~

p. 215: "To the end their (the Roman) senatorial class was forbidden even to invest in commerce or industry". "In the provinces the bourgeoisie aspiring to an aristocratic status ... invested their wealth in property rather than industry or business enterprise. Hence they tended to become a class of rentiers, ceasing to pay their way, spending their unearned wealth for large unproductive purposes." ²⁰⁰
~~5192~~

p. 215. As to the emperors, "When they had trouble maintaining the imperial treasury they could think of no better measure than debasing the imperial currency." Antoninus Pius worst inflationer ²⁰⁰
~~5192~~

Was no national debt -- extraordinary ~~taxes~~ needs met by extraordinary levies. Disrupted ec. life. (combination of debt limitations and taxes on production)

Diocletian & Constantine controlled wages & prices & bound people to their jobs.

Latifundia grew, with slaves. Depopulated rural areas, people became tenants or moved to towns. But with such extremes of rich & poor, no mass market to stimulate industry.

Horatius at the Bridge

in Macaulay, Th. B.,

'Lays of Ancient Rome'

c. stanza ~~27~~ 32

J E H, Late '53, on fall of

Byzantium

Leg. Macaulay on
Rome.

~~Stephen Smith, see Wed.~~
~~re Thanksgiving.~~

~~Call Sidomite~~
~~via Bill S, re Sat.~~

Mower Hall A-11
Cambridge 38, Mass.
Feb. 13, 1949

Dear Max,

Your postal finally reached me here, after being forwarded from home. I would have checked on the soil erosion sooner, except for exams, term papers, et. al.

As I remember, there is discussion of the influence of soil erosion in Italy as a factor in the fall of Rome in Michael Postovtzeff's Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire or his History of the Ancient World. I think it's in the 1st. I'm not sure whether that was exactly what you had in mind. I checked in my old History / syllabus and they both were listed. ~~Other~~

O ther works along the same line listed there are Ferdinand Lot, The End of the Ancient World.

Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe; R. F. Arragon, The Tran-

sition from the Ancient to the
medieval world; and ~~the~~
Camille Mitner, The Problem of
Decadence. I think what you are
after is in the Bostovtzeff, but if
not, you might look in the others.

I checked in the Widener catalog
to see if there were any books
specifically dealing with the
historical influence of spirit evocation,
but could find nothing listed under
the subject evocation.

Your work sounds interesting &
certainly you're in the right spot to
study Irrigation. Just finished 1
semester here, and beginning on a
2nd. Although there is a terrific
amount of work, it's interesting - am
beginning to feel, though, that I've
spent an awful lot of time here at
Harvard.

Best,

Bill

P. S. Had a Christmas card from
Barton who is studying sociology in
Norway.

Leg

1. S. Dill: Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire,
Book III, Chapters 1 and 2.
A brilliant analysis of the internal causes of the collapse of the
Roman empire. Provides some hints for generalization.

DESERT IN JORDAN IS MADE TO BLOOM

Repair of Ancient Cisterns
With U. S. Aid Repeoples
Dry Region in Summer

Special to The New York Times.

AMMAN, Jordan, Nov. 4—Black-rock Nabatean towns in East Jordan, waterless and deserted in summer since early Christian times, are coming back to life as water once more pours into their huge Roman-built canals and rock cisterns.

Repair of these cisterns, some as large as 150 feet square and 20 feet deep, is receiving top attention from the United States Operations Mission here, working with the Jordanian Ministry of Agriculture.

The elaborate Roman water-works, which once helped these towns become flourishing farmland oases in the arid desert, have fallen into disrepair since they were built between the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. Although a few towns were inhabited up to the twentieth century, an earthquake in 1927 completed damage to the remaining cisterns able to hold water.

Without any water supply, the townsmen could use the area around the towns only for a winter grazing ground during the rainy season. Every spring they were forced to migrate to a place where they could find water for themselves and their livestock during the rainless summer months. Most of them have crossed each year into Syria, finding grazing lands in the foothills of the Jebel Druze and near the slopes of the snow-capped Mount Hermon.

Work Started a Year Ago

A little more than a year ago, the United States Point Four program of economic assistance began renovating the cisterns. Already the project has brought several village groups back to their traditional haunts in the summer. With twenty-six cisterns rebuilt this fall and sixty more in progress, the winter rains will yield a reliable water supply for more townsmen next summer.

The project involves more than restoring water supply. Plans are under way to aid the people to rebuild their former homes or in many cases the homes of their ancestors. These houses now are mainly heaps of the area's black basalt rock. The program is one of resettling these semi-migrants once more in their towns on a year-around basis.

The source of water for the elaborate Roman cisterns is the surging torrent that washes down gullies in winter throughout the desert area—gullies that in summer dry up and leave no trace of their winter and spring-time yield of water.

Roman technicians were sent at the time of Christ from the

great provincial capitals at Jerash or Caesarea to supervise the building of these water systems, which eventually turned the area into an arable pastureland.

Character of Population

The indigenous population of these desert towns were the Nabateans, builders of the caravan crossroads center at Petra in South Jordan. Petra, now a deserted town, has become one of Jordan's top tourist attractions.

Under Roman technical supervision, a system of canals and aqueducts was built to channel the winter rainfall into the huge cisterns that are being rediscovered and rebuilt today.

Point Four recommended that the now-migratory villagers themselves should either contribute labor toward the work of cleaning out and repairing the cisterns or at least pay the cost of bringing in outside labor. All the more than eighty village groups that have sought cistern renovation agreed to this plan. Point Four contributes foremen, plans and equipment.

Although the cisterns vary widely in type and size, they were generally dug down to bed rock, with hewn-rock retaining-walls built around their sides.

The restoration process is simple: Generations of accumulated desert sand is removed from them and then repairs are made to the side walls and a plaster coating is applied to the sides and bottoms.

To Get City College Medal

The City College Alumni Association, at its seventy-fourth annual dinner on Thursday, will give a new award, the Centennial Medal, to Harry D. Spielberg, '19, for "outstanding service to the college." A member of the association's board, he was the first chairman of the City College Fund campaign, begun last year to raise money for student needs.