

# Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean



A World History Curriculum Project for Educators



presented by Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies, George Mason University

## MODULE 2: The Mediterranean and Beyond in Antiquity



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## MODULE 2: The Mediterranean and Beyond in Antiquity

Susan L. Douglass

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## Foreword from the Directors: A Statement of Purpose

Why the Mediterranean? What does a body of water have to teach us about a common human heritage? The teaching resources that collectively comprise “Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean” share a common focus on the idea of World History as a distinctive paradigm for learning about the past and understanding the present. By studying the people, events, and processes that have defined the evolution of human history in a particular region, or, in this case, a space that connects multiple world regions, we learn much more than just isolated facts about culture and society in specific locales. We rather come to understand how broader global forces, trends, and currents of change manifest themselves in particular historical and geographical experiences.

While the Mediterranean features heavily in many conventional tellings of “Western civilization,” it tends to be figured as a zone in which precursor civilizations are born, die, and subsequently become reanimated by the cultural inheritors of a uniquely European legacy. Monotheistic religions appear, fall into conflict, and those fault lines seemingly persist. What tends to be left out of this standard narrative for any number of reasons, not least of which is the fact that the historical reality is much messier and more complex than textbooks like, is the idea that the Mediterranean has always been in contact with—shaping and being in turn shaped by—world historical forces. Easy categories and supposedly distinctive civilizational and religious identities—e.g. traditional, modern, Islamic, Christian, Middle Eastern, European—turn out to resist the roles we commonly assign them in the making of the present.

The team that produced “Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean” has achieved the rather remarkable feat of recognizing and taking on board this complexity while rendering it in a form that is accessible and legible to a broad learning audience. The complexities of world history are not simply narrated on top of standard paradigms. Rather, students are invited to discover the diverse and multifaceted social realities that comprise Mediterranean histories through research and critical thinking exercises framed around questions already familiar to them in their own daily lives. Among the authors and scholar consultants that produced this material are to be found historians, yes, but also social scientists and pedagogical experts. This multidisciplinary team worked together to identify key themes and approaches that were integrated across the full set of modules—ensuring a high level of continuity and cohesiveness across the various periods of history covered here.

We strongly encourage you to read the project’s introductory essay, by Edmund Burke III, who explains extremely eloquently just what is at stake in grounding our teaching in the world history approach. At a time when the worldwide interconnectedness that define what we call globalization seems to be at historically unprecedented levels, it is vitally important for our students to understand that world historical forces have actually been with us for a long time. In light of the ongoing process of European integration, regional migration dynamics, and the dramatic Arab Revolutions of 2011, no world space is better than the Mediterranean for understanding how our shared past shapes all manner of shared futures.

## About the Funders and Our Shared Past

Our Shared Past is a collaborative grants program to encourage new approaches to world history curriculum and curricular content design in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and North America. Our Shared Past is premised on the notion that many of the categories used to frame and teach world history—civilizations, nations, religions, and regions—occlude as much as they reveal. Although there have been successful attempts at incorporating recent historical scholarship in world history writing, the core of world history instruction continues to be shaped by civilizational, national, and regional narratives that emphasize discrete civilizations and traditions frequently set at odds with one another at the expense of historical and material connections.

Our Shared Past seeks to promote the development of international scholarly communities committed to analyzing history curriculum and reframing the teaching of world history through the identification of new scholarship and the development of new curricular content that illustrate shared cultural, economic, military, religious, social, and scientific networks and practices as well as shared global norms and values that inform world history and society. The project encourages both the synthesis of existing scholarship on these topics and the exploration of concrete ways that this reframing can be successfully introduced into teaching curriculum in European, Middle Eastern, North African, or North American contexts.

**The British Council** is the United Kingdom’s international organisation for educational opportunities and cultural relations. The British Council works in over 100 countries, creating international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries and building trust between them worldwide. It was founded in 1934 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1940 as a public corporation, charity, to promote cultural relationships and understanding of different cultures, to encourage cultural, scientific, technological and other educational cooperation between the UK and other countries, and otherwise promote the advancement of education.

**The Social Science Research Council (SSRC)** is an independent, international, nonprofit organization founded in 1923. It fosters innovative research, nurtures new generations of social scientists, deepens how inquiry is practiced within and across disciplines, and mobilizes necessary knowledge on important public issues. The SSRC pursues its mission by working with practitioners, policymakers, and academic researchers in the social sciences, related professions, and the humanities and natural sciences. With partners around the world, SSRC builds interdisciplinary and international networks, links research to practice and policy, strengthens individual and institutional capacities for learning, and enhances public access to information.

## Consulting Scholars

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## Curriculum Developers

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**Jonathan Even-Zohar** Jonathan Even-Zohar has a degree in History from Leiden University in World Historical Perspectives in History Textbooks and Curricula, with an honorary Crayenborgh-degree in Islam and Europe. He is Director at EUROCLIO – European Association of History Educators, an organisation with a mission to promote History

Education so that it contributes to peace, stability and democracy. He has managed History Education Innovation Projects in Bulgaria, Cyprus and the former Yugoslavia including many visits to these countries. He also organises international conferences, seminars, workshops, exchanges, and study visits. Within these projects, many aspects of publishing, curriculum development, political influence and general attitudes towards History Education are developed. Currently he is manager of the EUROCLIO Programmes: History that Connects, How to teach sensitive and controversial history in the countries of former Yugoslavia and the EUROCLIO International Training Programme.

**Craig Perrier** Craig Perrier is the High School Social Studies Specialist for Fairfax County Public Schools. Previously, he worked as PK-12 Social Studies Coordinator for the Department of Defense Dependent Schools and was a secondary social studies teacher for 12 years at schools in Brazil and Massachusetts. Perrier is an online adjunct professor in history for Northeastern University, Southern New Hampshire University, and Northern Virginia Community College. He has been an instructional designer and curriculum writer for various organizations including IREX, the Institute of International Education, and the State Department's Office of the Historian. He maintains a blog "The Global, History Educator" discussing content, technology, instruction, and professional development.

**Barbara Petzen** is director of Middle East Connections, a not-for-profit initiative specializing in professional development and curriculum on the Middle East and Islam, global education, and study tours to the Middle East. She is also executive director of OneBlue, a nonprofit organization dedicated to conflict resolution and education, and president of the Middle East Outreach Council, a national consortium of educators furthering understanding about the Middle East. She was education director at the Middle East Policy Council, where she created a comprehensive resource for educators seeking balanced and innovative materials for teaching about the Middle East at TeachMideast.org. She served as outreach coordinator at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, starting just before September 11, 2001. She taught courses on Middle Eastern history, Islam and women's studies at Dalhousie University and St. Mary's University in Nova Scotia, Canada, and served as tutor and teaching assistant at Harvard University, where she may at some point complete her doctoral dissertation in Middle Eastern history on European governesses in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. She earned her B.A. in International Politics and Middle Eastern Studies at Columbia College and a second Honours B.A. as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University in Oriental Studies. Her academic interests include Ottoman and Middle Eastern history, the history and present concerns of women in the Middle East and Muslim communities, the role of Islam in Middle Eastern and other societies, relations and perceptions between Muslim societies and the West, and the necessity for globalizing K-12 education in the United States.

**Joan Brodsky Schur** is a curriculum developer, author, workshop presenter and teacher, with over thirty years of experience in the classroom. She has presented workshops for teachers for the National Council for the Social Studies, Asia Society, the National Archives, Yale University (Programs in International Educational Resources), Georgetown University, the Scarsdale Teachers Institute, and the Bank Street College of Education division of Continuing Professional Studies, for which she leads Cultural Explorations in Morocco: Implications for Educators in Multicultural Settings. Her lesson plans appear on the Websites of PBS, the National Archives, *The Islam Project*, and *The Indian Ocean in World History*. She has served as a member of the Advisory Group for PBS *TeacherSource*, the advisory committee for WNET's *Access Islam* Website, and as a board member of the Middle



East Outreach Council. Her books include *In a New Land: An Anthology of Immigrant Literature* (McGraw-Hill, 1994), *Immigrants in America: The Arab Americans* (Lucent, 2004), *Coming to America: The Arabs* (Greenhaven, 2005), *Eyewitness to the Past: Strategies for Teaching American History in Grades 5-12* (Stenhouse, 2007), *Advocating for Abolition* (Interact Publishers, 2011) and *20th Century World Activators* (Interact Publishers, 2013). She currently serves as Social Studies Consultant to the City and Country School in New York City. She received her B.A. and M.A.T. degrees from New York University.

**Tom Verde** Tom Verde is an award-winning journalist and book author who specializes in Islam, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean studies, early Christian history, comparative religion, food history, and travel. Formerly on the faculty of Ethics, Philosophy and Religion at King's Academy in Jordan, he has lived and traveled widely in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe and written extensively on religion, culture, the environment for major national and international publications, such as *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *Biblical Archeology*, and is a regular contributor to *Saudi Aramco World* magazine. Verde has also been a frequent contributor to broadcast networks, including NPR, Public Radio International and the BBC.

## Why the Mediterranean in a World Historical perspective?

by Edmund Burke, III

The *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean* curriculum includes six modules aimed at providing students with an historical understanding of the Mediterranean as a zone of interaction and global change. Grounded in state of the art historical understandings, it provides full lesson plans, including maps, illustrations and suggested student activities. Keyed to world historical developments, it encourages students to see beyond the civilizational binaries that have hitherto clouded our understanding of the region. By linking the histories of the Mediterranean region into a single if complex historical narrative, *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean* encourages students to perceive the deeper structural roots of global change from the classical era to the present.

Where is the Mediterranean? Its northern rim extends from Spain to the Balkans and Turkey while its eastern and southern limits include the Middle East and Arab North Africa. Depending upon the interests of the historian, however, a bigger or smaller Mediterranean configuration may be proposed. Because the modern Mediterranean is not included in most history curricula, students lack the ability to understand its history. This is a huge problem in this post 9/11 world, since in the absence of a global perspective, events appear to come out of nowhere. As a consequence, this crucially important world region remains misunderstood, and civilizational explanations have tended to supplant more grounded world historical understandings.

The world historical approach is only one of the note-worthy features of *Our Shared Past in the Mediterranean*. The curriculum provides a series of historically grounded lessons that enable students to understand the sequences of change by which the Mediterranean region was transformed as a whole. By following the lessons in the six modules, students acquire an understanding of the region's path to modernity and why it differed from that of northwestern Europe. In the process, they learn to distinguish the main types of change (ecological, economic, political and cultural) that affected Mediterranean societies since 1492. The curriculum also allows students to comprehend how these changes affected both Mediterranean elites and ordinary people in similar ways regardless of cultural background. The emphasis on patterned responses to global changes constitutes a major distinguishing feature of this curriculum.

A brief summary of the modules reveals the distinctive features of this approach:

**Module One** provides an innovative approach to the deep past of the region, keyed to the eco-historical forces that have shaped its successive transformations since the dawn of civilization. It emphasizes the role of the environment and the hand of man in the shaping and reshaping of the region over the human past.

**Module Two** examines the classical Mediterranean from an unusual vantage point: the empire of Carthage. It also examines technology and inventions, economic exchange, cultural innovation, power and authority, and spiritual life across the Mediterranean region in the formative period 5000-1000 BCE.

**Module Three** covers the period 300 – 1500 CE. Among other topics, it emphasizes the transformation of Mediterranean cities, migrations within and beyond the region, and Mediterranean trade in the medieval period. The increasingly global yet intensely local character of Mediterranean trade is emphasized. From the silk roads to the spice trade to the trans-Saharan gold trade to the Arabian coffee trade, the Mediterranean has been deeply enmeshed in trade that spans Afroeurasia. This module also provides lessons that survey religious tolerance and intolerance in an increasingly diverse Mediterranean society. The result is more complex understandings of how cultural difference worked locally and across the region.

What I call “the Liberal Project” is an unstable, always contingent and conflictive phenomenon which nonetheless when viewed from the perspective of world history can be seen to assume particular patterns. It is the particular phase of the global development project.

**Module Four** surveys the rise of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires in the post-1500 CE period, and links this development to long term waves of global change in the early modern period. The same module contains important lessons on the political and cultural transformations of the region, and how they affected different groups, together with lessons on slavery within the region.

The long nineteenth century (1750-1919) constitutes the subject of **Module Five**. As old empires crumbled across the region, new economic, political and cultural forms struggled to be born. Economically, the Mediterranean path to industrialization was rendered more difficult by the absence of significant deposits of coal within the region. The construction of the Suez Canal on the other hand renewed the place of the region in the global system of trade and commerce. Politically, the example of France, and French military, political and economic models were widely influential within the region from Italy and Spain to the Ottoman empire and North Africa. The nineteenth century Ottoman reform process known as the Tanzimat thus paralleled the introduction of French reforms in Spain and Italy. The module explores the impact of these changes in the Ottoman province of Tunisia. The onset of colonialism in the Mediterranean and human migration are studied as regional examples of global processes of change.

**Module Six** explores the period from 1914 to the present, with emphasis on the post-1945 period in the Mediterranean. It shows how the changes that have affected the region are manifestations of larger global patterns of change. For instance, the cases provided in this module link the end of colonialism, the rise of petroleum as a leading global energy source, and the dissemination of large-scale engineering projects such as the construction of the Aswan High Dam and other major water projects to global patterns of change. Overall students come away from Module Six with an increased understanding both of the specificity of local change, and the ways it echos broader global patterns.

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## Teachers' Introduction to Module 2

### Geographic scope: “Where is the Mediterranean” in this period?

This question refers to the question of what areas around and adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea during this period impacted the life of its inhabitants?

The Mediterranean region is an arena that is usually the primary focus of world history after the syllabus briefly touches on “pre-history.” The river valleys of the Fertile Crescent are often mistakenly viewed as the cradle of agriculture and domestication of animals, when in fact, both began in adjoining regions. River valleys could only be settled on a large scale when the diffusion of crops and mastery of simple irrigation technology had been achieved elsewhere in the highlands on the margins of the river valleys. Only then could the much larger-scale problems of major river systems be mastered.

The changes that took place in the formation of cities, large states, and empires—what is often called “civilization”—are seen by world historians as expressions of complexification and intensification. Human organization got more intense (more people, more technologically able to exploit the environment and fellow humans, more accumulating learning and exchanging), and more complicated (social specialization and stratification, monumental and sophisticated ways of doing things, human systems of law, communication/learning, and beliefs).

Crucial technologies that enabled these changes and solved their resulting problems had developed by the first millennium BCE—and many of them even by around 3000 BCE. Irrigation and water-raising technologies, mining and metallurgy with alloys of different metals, transportation breakthroughs such as riding and saddling horses and camels and hitching them to wheeled carts and chariots, and advanced weapons were just a few major developments that emerged within, outside of, and in connection with the Mediterranean region.

On the less material side, systems and tools that facilitated the recording and sharing of ideas developed after 3000 BCE, including writing systems and materials, culminating in the development of alphabetic writing systems and libraries for storing knowledge. In China, the invention of paper around this time would impact the Mediterranean region a few centuries later. Scientific, administrative, and religious learning made great strides.

Lessons in this module highlight numerous important developments that diffused into or from regions adjacent to the Mediterranean: horse riding and the wheel, food crops and spices, and three important language groups and writing systems, for example. Other lessons trace the expansion of trade networks and the cultural exchange they made possible in the arts of living, war and statecraft. A lesson on Carthage and a bridge lesson on empires explore the phenomenon of empire-building and how it affected power relations and ordinary people as boundaries shifted through warfare and diplomacy.

The central theme of all the lessons, however, is the scope of the Mediterranean during this period. The broad questions they pose are, “What lands and people are in contact within and beyond the shores of the Mediterranean?” and “What impact did these contacts have in creating new possibilities and challenges?”

## Periodization: “When is the Mediterranean” in this period?

Following the *World History For Us All* periodization scheme (See *World History: the Big Eras*), this module bridges between Era 3 (10,000 to 1000 BCE) and Era 4 (1200 BCE to 300 CE), and extends somewhat beyond it. Important elements arrived in the region from around the fourth millennium, and from the second to the first millennium BCE. Complex societies built upon and intensified the foundational elements that were developed toward the end of Era 3. During Era 4, urbanization increased, giant empires arose, literacy and science expanded, and the great world religions or belief systems arose. All of these developments involved people of many different languages, ethnicities and cultures, and the Mediterranean region was involved in all of them.

The decision about where to end this era is subject to debate. World history periodization for the “classical period” often ends at 300 CE or 500 CE. The scholars who advised us on this project emphasized that neither of these dates adequately reflects important continuities in the Mediterranean region, particularly because the rise of Islam did not initially represent a rupture. The famous thesis by Henri Pirenne, according to which Mediterranean unity forged under the Roman Empire “broke up”<sup>1</sup> and various invaders such as Vandals, Vikings, Muslims disrupted urbanization and trade, does not deserve to set the tone for life in the Mediterranean. Whether in the eastern regions where trade continued, or in the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily in which new connections with the east and the south were forged, or on the north African coast, important continuities with the past in trade and ways of life can be detected. A smoother transition with the so-called medieval or post-classical period might push the end-date to 700 CE or beyond, when the initial period of the spread of Islam, Arabic language, and the consolidation of Muslim states took hold. With that in mind, however, it should be remembered that the unitary Islamic state began to fragment almost as soon as it was created, especially from a Mediterranean perspective. The history of this period and region during the centuries after 700 CE were not a contest between two monoliths—Islamdom and Christendom.

Events in the Mediterranean after 500 CE involve the Sassanid and Byzantine contest, the spread and coexistence of multiple varieties of Christianity, the continuing existence of Jewish communities, and the presence of Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Mazdeans and very diverse local religious traditions. With regard to trade, the period includes the continuation of the incense and spice routes, the introduction of courtly silk manufacturing centers in the Mediterranean region, and the movement of artisans and styles in architecture, glass and mosaic techniques.

If an end date for the period must be chosen, then 700 CE would perhaps be more logical, as mentioned above, for the conquests of Iberia and southern Europe, and further afield, the conquests in South Asia. The growing Frankish influence in Western Europe, the division of Christianity between Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking parts is another factor around 700 CE.

Most importantly for students, we need to appreciate that historians no longer search for definitive ruptures like Pirenne’s Mediterranean break-up, as much as they look for

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<sup>1</sup> John Pryor, “The Mediterranean Breaks Up: 500-1000,” in David Abulafia, ed., *The Mediterranean in History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), pp. 155-181.

elements of both continuity and change, even when major new developments appear on the horizon. Just as the Mediterranean did not cease to exist as a zone of interaction upon the voyages of Columbus and Vasco Da Gama, it did not split on a jagged axis into Occidental and Oriental halves with the rise of Islam in 632 CE.

- For a list of skills standards from these documents that the Modules draw upon, see Module 1, pages 14-17, following the General Bibliography.

## **Summary of Module 2: The Mediterranean and Beyond in Antiquity**

Lessons in this module highlight numerous important developments that diffused into or from regions adjacent to the Mediterranean: horse riding and the wheel, food crops and spices, and three important language groups and writing systems, for example. Other lessons trace the expansion of trade networks and the cultural exchange they made possible in the arts of living, war and statecraft. A lesson on Carthage and a bridge lesson on empires explore the phenomenon of empire building and how it affected power relations and ordinary people as boundaries shifted through warfare and diplomacy. The central theme of all the lessons is the scope of the Mediterranean during this period. The broad questions they pose are, “What lands and people are in contact within and beyond the shores of the Mediterranean?” and “What impact did these contacts have in creating new possibilities and challenges?”

## **Historical Sources in Module 2: “How Do We Know What We Know?”**

Each module features historical sources that are characteristic for that era and the types of questions historians and geographers ask about that time. They are also dependent on the technologies that existed in a given era. The kinds of available sources have of course changed historical interpretations. For example, before the recent studies of DNA in human populations by the Genographic Project, ideas about migration and settlement in the world were limited, often relying upon ideas about race differences. More recently, ideas about the early modern era have changed with the opening of Ottoman archives on diplomacy, economics, and court records. For the medieval period, paintings tell about material culture, and in the nineteenth century we have photographs, while the twentieth century brought moving pictures, audio recordings, and electronic data. Students should think about how the kinds of historical sources determine the perspective of “history from above”—such as royal tombs and chronicles—or “history from below”—such as artifacts and dwellings of ordinary people. The following list highlights some of the types of historical sources featured in each of the six modules.

### **Module 2 Featured Source Types**

- Paleobotanical evidence of use and domestication of plants
- Archaeological and paleo-biological evidence of domestication of sheep, cattle, dogs, horses
- Archaeology (marine & land-based) (e.g. graves, shipwrecks, ancient cities and harbors)
- Architecture and monuments
- Inscriptions & papyri
- Religious scriptures

As teachers use these modules, they can draw attention to the changing types and amount of historical sources to which we have access for constructing our views of the past. This source material is growing with new discoveries, and is also being enhanced by new techniques of analysis, and of course new interpretations. World historians are also drawing upon historical narratives from the vast secondary literature in history and other fields to synthesize work done in disparate disciplines. Creative teachers can integrate “how we know what we know” into their lesson construction and assessment tasks.



The consulting scholars and curriculum developers hope that teachers and their students will enjoy and benefit from this module on the Mediterranean in World History.



## Module 2 Lessons

### Topic 1: Geography, Technology and Food Culture (Humans & the Environment, Humans and Other Humans)

#### Lesson 2.1: The Mediterranean Diet

##### Lesson Overview

The lesson describes the so-called Mediterranean Diet, its history and significance in the modern era, and traces the history and geography of the foods and culture of which it is made, beginning with the defining role played by olive, date, grape, legume and grain cultivation as well as sources of protein such as seafood and domesticated animals (goats, sheep, cattle). Other foods that were indigenous or introduced into the Mediterranean region such as fruits and vegetables can be introduced through further research into regional recipes. This lesson will also expand on the theme of overlapping and diverse regions of the Mediterranean and how they contributed over time to its ways of life and culture, trade within and beyond the region, and its world-historical influence.

##### Lesson Objectives

- Students will be able to identify and describe major components of the Mediterranean diet in terms of plant and animal products, such as olives, grapes, dates, legumes, seafood, fruits such as citrus and pomegranate, and locate their areas of origin and cultivation on a map of the region.
- They will relate the history of olive, date, and grape cultivation and the neolithic beginnings of agriculture and animal husbandry.
- They will explain the modern history and nutritional significance of the Mediterranean diet (UNESCO heritage program, health benefits).
- They will describe the regions where typically Mediterranean foods grow, and how their cultivation affects modes of life in the region (agriculture and irrigation, fishing, transhumance, etc.)

##### Grade Level

Grades 5-12 (lower end of the grade range may require adaptation)

##### Time

1-2 class periods if done as collective learning activity

##### Materials Needed

- Student handout 2.1.1 The Mediterranean Diet (may also bring up slideshare at <http://www.slideshare.net/shawee23/mediterranean-countries-and-their-food>)
- Student handouts 2.1.2 (olive tree); 2.1.3 (date palm); 2.1.4 (grapevine); 2.1.5 (domesticated grains & legumes); 2.1.6 (fruits & nuts); 2.1.7 (seafood); 2.1.8 (animals); Student handout 2.1.9 is for notetaking on each food.
- Internet search engine or reference books for additional research.
- Physical map of Afro-Eurasia or North Africa, Southwest Asia and Europe, and refer to maps on the limits of the olive, date, grapevine from handouts.
- Optional: Atlas maps of vegetation, climate, elevation, rainfall, etc.

### Procedure/Activities

1. Introduce the lesson by asking students what they know about the components of a good diet, the ideal proportion of food groups, and its effects on the health of individuals. Conversely, ask students about a poor diet and its effects on our health. Show selected slides from Student Handout 2.1.1 (Original source: slides 1, 4, and 18-26 from <http://www.slideshare.net/shawee23/mediterranean-countries-and-their-food/>). Discuss why this diet became a modern concern after it was identified by Dr. Ancel Keys in 1945, and why UNESCO named it an Intangible Cultural Heritage of several Mediterranean countries in 2010, and why it came to public attention in the late 20th century (widespread understanding of public health concerns such as obesity, heart disease, hypertension, diabetes). Have students evaluate their own diets as a pre-research activity, and perhaps assign students to keep a food diary of their own intake for the week against which to compare what they learn about the Mediterranean diet.
2. Assign each pair or group of students to learn about and research a different element of the Mediterranean diet from Student Handouts 2.1.2-2.1.8 and using Student Handout 2.1.9 as a research guide and reporting/presentation framework. At the end of the research period, groups will present what they learned to the group in a creative and entertaining format. Assessment and discussion focuses on how these foods make up a desirable diet (nutritional contribution of each, special characteristics) and why it has become popular as a modern way to improve health. How does the Mediterranean diet compare with students' individual food diaries?
3. For the historical, cultural and geography component of the lesson, compare the maps on where these foods grow (e.g. limits of the olive tree, date palm), what products were derived for human benefit, and what ways of life their production entailed (dry or irrigated farming, pastoral nomadism, transhumance, associated crafts and technologies (e.g. olive & wine press, grain milling, preservation such as drying and salting, hydraulic technologies, horticultural skills like grafting of trees). Which of these components of the Mediterranean diet stimulated trade, and why (e.g. wine, olive oil for food & light, grain as staple, dates as food for caravan travel), which were suitable for short-and long-distance trade?
4. A key element of the lesson is to appreciate the importance of adjoining regions and a wider "Mediterranean." For example, they should be able to compare the items that are native to the region and those that were brought into it, as well as those (for example, the package of domesticated grains and animals that arrived from Southwest Asia) and were then disseminated around the Mediterranean and into neighboring regions—and ultimately, around the world (through trade, such as spices, rice, cotton, coffee, then through the Columbian Exchange, and finally through globalization as a contemporary process—of which the Mediterranean Diet is an example).
5. As they learn about trade in the Mediterranean, students can refer to what they know about these foods and trace their significance in trade and the economy of the region over time, and what role they play as global food items today.
6. Optional activity: Provide samples (realia) of olives, dates, barley, various pulses, wheat, fruits, and samples of wool fiber. Alternatively, students may bring in recipes using the items they studied to be collected into a class handout. Teachers can lead a tasting of the plain items or – if there is time and willingness – plan a classroom Mediterranean potluck banquet.

7. **Extension:** there is a very interesting article on Russian research into the genetics of domesticated animals at <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2011/03/taming-wild-animals/ratliff-text>. See also Table of Domestication of plants and animals with original sources at <http://archaeology.about.com/od/dterms/a/domestication.htm>.

## Topic 2: Economic and Artistic Exchanges and Technologies: Networks of Trade mapped on the Mediterranean and Beyond

### Lesson 2.2: Mediterranean Trade in the Bronze Age: Shipwrecks, Texts, and Buried Cities

#### Lesson Overview

Students use primary sources in the form of texts and objects from excavations of Bronze Age sources from the second to the first millennium BCE—the Uluburun shipwreck, the port city of Ugarit, and a passages from the Hebrew Bible and other ancient texts—to examine trade in the Mediterranean region. They analyze and classify the goods from these sources in terms of types of goods, origin, destination and probable uses and consumers, producers and types of laborers involved in the trade circuits. In doing so, students gain a sense of the “footprint” of trade in the Mediterranean region. Extension lesson materials provide material for study of two Arabian caravan cities (Petra and Qaryat al-Faw), and the port of Berenike, along routes that connected with Mediterranean trade routes.

#### Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify objects and classify them according to their significance as luxury goods, strategic goods, commodities
- They will trace the geographic origins of the goods found in the sources and locate them on a map.
- They will infer the uses of these goods in the places to which they were shipped.
- Identify goods that came from beyond the Mediterranean region (i.e. Red Sea, Indian Ocean, Central Asia, Arabian Peninsula, Europe, etc.) by type of goods and location of origin.
- They will identify the types of people who produced and transported the goods found on the ships and the city (miners, farmers, pastoral nomads, merchants, artisans, seafarers)
- They will describe the geographic “footprint” covered by Mediterranean trade during the Bronze Age, based on the shipwreck, the city, the biblical text and Amarna letters, answering the question “Where is the Mediterranean during this time?”

#### Grade Level

5-12 with adaptations

#### Time

1-3 class periods (depending on whether teacher decides to do extension investigations of the Uluburun and Ugarit sites in full, and ancillary materials on connections with the East)

#### Materials Needed

- Student Handout 2.2.1: Gallery and inventory of objects from the Uluburun Shipwreck, or gallery from

[http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern\\_europe\\_mediterranean\\_aegean/uluburun\\_turkey/photo\\_galleries/](http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern_europe_mediterranean_aegean/uluburun_turkey/photo_galleries/)

- Student Handout 2.2.2 of Old Testament/Hebrew Bible, Ezekiel, Ch. 27 on the city of Tyre
- Student Handout 2.2.3 of two Amarna Letters from Egypt
- Student Handout 2.2.4: Gallery of objects excavated from the city of Ugarit and the Ras Shamra complex in Syria
- Student Handout 2.2.5: Map of trade in the Mediterranean from Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, Jean M Evans, and N.Y.) Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2008, and outline map of Afro-Eurasia with labels
- Student Handout 2.2.6 on Mediterranean Trade Links with the East
- Student Handout 2.2.7 on Port Cities in the Desert

### Procedure/Activities

1. Handouts 2.2.1-2.2.4 on the shipwreck, the city, and the two texts about trade and royal gifts give students a chance to see what kinds of goods were traded by sea, where they originated, and what resources were needed to produce them. Students should work in small groups and first classify the goods according to which are luxuries, strategic goods, and which commodities, or ordinary objects of use or foodstuffs (See notes on categories below instructions for examples). They should make lists of the objects, listing the document or site where they were found, and labeling them with L, S, or C for these categories. This will require some discussion and even argument among group members.
2. Many of the objects' origins are labeled, and the map has images locating them and objects similar to them. Use the outline map of the eastern hemisphere to locate places farther afield (e.g., Baltic amber). When this activity is complete, have the students draw a dotted line in red around the areas from which Mediterranean trade drew for its products during this period. How does this change their thinking about the geographic range of the Mediterranean. How does that compare with trade today?
3. The next activity involves comparing objects from the four different sources. Which ones are similar in technology, style, or use? Be sure to look at the Uluburun shipwreck's full inventory online ("Photo Galleries - Institute of Nautical Archaeology." [http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern\\_europe\\_mediterranean\\_aegean/uluburun\\_turkey/photo\\_galleries/](http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern_europe_mediterranean_aegean/uluburun_turkey/photo_galleries/)), and the map on handout 2.2.5. Note the dates of the documents and the sites. What does the similarity of goods tell us about continuity across time and place?
4. Next, have each student choose 6 objects and create an index card in which to make a small sketch (or paste the images), make notes identifying the object, and list the occupations of people who were involved in producing, transporting, and selling the object (e.g. farmers, artisans, pastoral nomads, slaves, ship crews, soldiers protecting roads, customs officials, palace and court attendants, royal households, etc.) Have students discuss this in their groups, then present their findings. How can the groups of people be further classified? (ex: by social class, rural/urban, pastoral/agricultural, language, ethnicity, region).
5. Use Student Handout 2.2.6 to explore Mediterranean trading links with the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean during this era. The documents include information

on the Red Sea port of Berenike, a Roman coin hoard from the Coromandel coast of India, quotes from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. All documents from The Indian Ocean in World History at <http://www.indianoceanhistory.org>.

6. The map of trade routes for objects common to the shipwreck, the city, and the texts includes ports, maritime routes and overland routes. [Student Handout 2.2.7](#) explores two cities on the caravan routes in the Arabian Peninsula that connected central Asia, southwest Asia, and the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean. The handout contains information on Nabataean Petra and Qaryat al-Faw, in southern and northern Arabia. Students will explore the concept of a "port city" in the desert and the camel transport that made them possible. Read the handout with a view to comparing seaports with caravan stops, and caravan with ship transport. The lesson segment adds to their understanding of artistic and cultural influence to and from the Mediterranean region. This part of the lesson also helps to expand the "footprint" of the Mediterranean as seen through trade links.
7. **Extension activities:** Compare the artifacts and history of other important areas connected to Mediterranean trade networks. Explore excavation reports on later ports and wrecks, such as the Ptolemaic port of Berenike on the Red Sea (founded 275 BCE) at "The Berenike Project." <http://www.archbase.com/berenike/english1.html>, <http://www.archbase.com/berenike/english1.html>; and <http://www.udel.edu/udaily/2011/jun/sidebotham-egypt-060711.html>. A fictionalized article based on the Kyrenia, Cyprus shipwreck dated to 387 BCE in *Saudi Aramco World Magazine* at "Saudi Aramco World : I, The Sea Tramp." <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200901/i.the.sea.tramp.htm>, and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE Phoenician wreck at Cartagena, Spain at [http://inadiscover.com/projects/all/southern\\_europe\\_mediterranean\\_aegean/bajo\\_de\\_la\\_campana\\_wrecks\\_spain/introduction/](http://inadiscover.com/projects/all/southern_europe_mediterranean_aegean/bajo_de_la_campana_wrecks_spain/introduction/)
8. Additional resources for student research; include an illustrated article with maps on Phoenician seafaring at "Phoenician Economics, Purple Dye, Trade and Mining - World Topics | Facts and Details." <http://factsanddetails.com/world.php?itemid=1982&catid=56&subcatid=371-60>.

### Classifying Objects of Trade

The following categorizations may be helpful to the teacher in guiding and assessing student discussions of the cargo of the ship from Uluburun, artifacts from the Ugarit excavations and the desert cities, and the texts. Beginning the discussion with definitions of basic commodities, strategic goods, and luxuries is interesting as a way to connect with consumer culture and global trade today. Students might be divided into three groups, assigning the categories; the resulting overlap will make for interesting discussion.

#### Basic

- Olive oil, wine, wheat, dried fruits (some of these are both basic & luxury)
- Textiles are the most important commodity (wool, linen and linen weaving looms introduced), dyestuffs
- Clay for pottery-making locally sourced but internally traded? – pottery was the Saran Wrap and Tupperware of the Mediterranean
- Amphorae as shipping containers

### **Strategic**

- Metals (tin, silver in Spain) copper (for bronze)
- Who needed metal, where found=Rome, Greeks, Etruscans, Carthaginians (Phoenicians); wood/timber; also naval stores--pitch
- Bronze, chariots, horses, battleships, fire-producing weapons
- Asphalt & bitumen

### **Luxury**

- Linen, silk
- Spices, incense, dyestuffs (purple), medicines, gems (latter brings in the Indian Ocean world) Incense & spice trade from India and Arabia Felix to the Mediterranean—bringing Mediterranean culture into the Arabian Peninsula, and vice versa.
- Fine ceramics
- Gold & ivory objects & jewelry
- Glass & faience

## **Topic 3: Technology and Cultural Innovation**

### **Lesson 2.3: Essential Innovations into and from the Mediterranean Region, 5000 – 1000 BCE**

#### **Lesson Overview:**

This lesson traces the origins and diffusion of three major developments and innovations, in transportation, metallurgy, and language, and describes how historians have explored the evidence of their development and movement beyond their origins. These innovations are horse and camel riding and the wheel; mining and metalworking on copper, gold, bronze and iron; and the origins of major language groups in the Mediterranean (Indo-European, Semitic, Afro-Asiatic (North African)). An important part of the lesson is understanding how research into these innovations has revealed interconnections among them. Each of these developments illustrates the way in which the wider world affected and was affected by the Mediterranean region.

### Lesson Objectives

- Students will trace the origins of horse domestication and describe archaeologists' understanding of the location and transition to horse riding, and its spread from the Eurasian Steppe to the Mediterranean.
- They will locate and trace the chronology of the invention of the wheel and its spread, its relationship to domestication of animals (oxen, donkeys, and horses), and the rise of chariot warfare in the Mediterranean region.
- They will locate and trace the spread of camel transport and military use in the arid zones surrounding the Mediterranean.
- They will locate and trace the origins of metalworking in copper, bronze, and iron and describe its impact on human culture.
- They will identify three major language groups spoken around the Mediterranean and trace their origins (Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, Semitic), and describe their relationship to the emergence of writing systems.
- They will locate regions where these language families are spoken today.

### Grade Level

5-12 world history, world cultures, European history, selective material for lower grades, with teacher adaptation

### Time

2-3 class periods (approx. 1 for each segment)

### Materials Needed

- Student Handout 2.3.1 – Horses, Wheels and Riding
- Student Handout 2.3.2 -- Metals
- Student Handout 2.3.3 – Three language families
- Student Handout 2.3.4a, 2.3.4b – Charts of word similarities in Indo-European and Semitic languages
- Student Handout 2.3.5a – Alphabets and languages (chart of Phoenician-Greek-Latin letters & corresponding sounds; chart of Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic ditto).
- Student Handout 2.3.5b – Inscription Artifacts

### Procedure/Activities

1. HORSE AND WHEEL: Review with students some domesticated animals from ancient times. Ask if horses are different from sheep, goats and cattle, dogs and cats. Have students think about what horses mean in our culture today.
2. Provide students with Handout 2.3.1. It traces in image and text some evidence of horses, wheels, and chariot warfare. The examples reflect scholars' efforts to understand when horses were domesticated, when they were ridden and how the spread of the wheel and the spread of Indo-European languages are related to migration from the Eurasian Steppe. Students can work in pairs or groups to answer the question that follows most of the numbered (1-11) evidence examples. They should also locate these places mentioned on a map.

3. Discuss the questions and other ideas as a class. As a culminating activity, print out a copy of Student Handout 2.3.1 and cut out each text and image. Using removable tape, attach each image to the location on the map that it represents. The result will be a classroom display to share, which will show how distant events in Eurasia influenced events and culture in the Mediterranean region in profound ways.
4. **METALLURGY & THE MEDITERRANEAN:** Introduce or review the concept of the Stone Ages, the first use of metals such as copper and gold, and Bronze Age (3000-2500 BCE), and the Iron Age (1200-1000 BCE), and open the Tiki-Toki timeline of Mediterranean Technology from Module 1). Have students locate Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age on the timeline, and note the length of time each lasted, and how long after the Neolithic Revolution they began, and how long ago they are from the present.
5. Assign Student Handout 2.3.2, a reading on the development of metallurgy (copper, bronze, and iron) and its impact on society (economic, social, political), and the environment. The handout provides a brief overview of the technology with images. Metal artisans and supporting workers (including slaves), such as smiths and miners, merchants, sailors, and soldiers who consumed armor and weapons, were part of an organized industry in the Mediterranean. Tin is fairly rare, so in the search for sources of the metal, trade networks widened, helping to disseminate other ideas. Taking notes by generating a word web or relationship diagram will help to “forge” the connections from this narrative.
6. At the end of this part of the lesson, students should be able to narrate how a single technology can spur interrelated changes in many aspects of society. Another way to enrich this lesson by imagining further connections is to search for bronze objects from the period in museums (for example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (<http://metmuseum.org/toah>)). Ask questions about the kind of objects that were made in bronze, and why (temple objects, statues, masks, vessels, ceremonial weapons, ornaments, grave goods), and how they illustrate the connections between different realms of social change.
7. **LANGUAGES AND MIGRATION:** Ask students to write the following on an index card or paper: (1) how many languages they speak, and where they speak them (at home, on social media sites, when traveling, with multi-lingual family members). (2) Ask them to write one or two similar words in these languages. (3) Ask for 1-2 examples of a root word that appears in the vocabulary of a language they know, e.g. the Latin root *vox*, *vocis* for “voice” in “vocabulary.”
8. Set-up for Student Handout 2.3.3: As a class, discuss what students know about how languages today are related to ancient languages. How do languages spread today? (mass communication, travel, language lessons) How did languages spread before writing systems? (with people moving or traveling, through the naming of new things found or introduced through trade, etc.). Use Student Handout 2.3.3 to introduce the concept of language families spoken in the Mediterranean region and their geographic origins and spread. Note the issues posed in the introductory paragraph on the connection between migration and languages, and the factors that make people decide to and be able to migrate. On the map, have students trace the pathways of these languages with their finger, noticing multiple directions of migrations over time, and in relation to the Mediterranean and surrounding lands. See Christopher Ehret video (20 minutes) on Afro-Eurasian Language families and early human migration at



<http://www.uctv.tv/shows/CARTA-Behaviorally-Modern-Humans-The-Origin-of-Us-Christopher-Ehret-Relationships-of-Ancient-African-Languages-25397>

9. Student Handout 2.3.4a and 2.3.4b introduce the difference between alphabetic/phonetic vs. pictographic language, and its impact on literacy. (examples of Cuneiform, Hieroglyphics (just 2), then examples of Phoenician/Punic, Tifinagh, Linear B, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew from inscriptions of the period. Compare letters across several languages for similarities using Student Handout 2.3.5.
10. ASSESSMENT/SUMMATIVE: Conduct culminating activities that relate the three areas discussed in this lesson. Make a word web based on three circles placed in a triangle with additional circles radiating from them. Groups of three students, each representing one area, suggest a connection, and each of the other two name a connection in turn.
11. Summarizing what has been learned: Transportation by wheel and horse, metallurgy, language groups and writing systems were changes that developed within the Mediterranean region and reached adjacent areas (near and far), or developed outside the region and arrived in the Mediterranean region. All three of these clusters of innovation had major impacts. Students review what they have learned and identify specific ways in which these changes were connected, (and marshal evidence for their ideas).

## Topic 4: Power and Authority

### Lesson 2.4: The Life and Times of Carthage

#### Lesson Overview:

This lesson gives students insights into the importance of Carthage and its connections with peoples and powers in the Mediterranean from its founding as a Phoenician colony to its defeat by the Romans, its reconstruction, and final disappearance as a city. Carthage illustrates shared Mediterranean history as port, as a place with connections across the sea, and as a player in imperial power struggles in the Mediterranean during its existence.

#### Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify the Phoenicians, describe their origins and the nature of their activities in the Mediterranean region, especially related to seafaring.
- They will describe key phases in the development of the city of Carthage based on primary source narratives and study of artifacts and archaeological remains, from its founding to its demise.
- They will locate Carthage on historical maps and describe and locate its efforts to colonize and conquer territory around the Mediterranean.
- They will construct a narrative of what life was like in Carthage during different phases of the city's existence.
- They will analyze the relationship of Carthage with various groups and powers and describe their significance.
- They will make critical assessments of the written and material sources on Carthage, analyzing point of view of historical narratives, assessing what artifacts and archaeological remains can and cannot reveal.

### Grade Level

Secondary grades 6-12 (some lesson materials are more appropriate for older students), in world history, world cultures, European history, western civilizations courses

### Time

1-5 class periods, depending upon allocation of reading (groups or individual, in class or flipped classroom)

### Materials Needed

- Student Handout 2.4.1, Timeline of Carthage from founding to the Byzantines and the Muslims
- (Optional) Video, ca. 38:19 minutes “Carthage: The Rise and Fall” <http://www.ancientworldreview.com/collapse/> at *The Ancient World Review*
- Student Handouts 2.4.2a and 2.4.2b on the founding of Carthage, from history and literature
- Student Handout 2.4.3a Carthage’s North African Neighbors
- Student Handout 2.4.3b on Life in Punic Carthage, Mediterranean Metropolis
- Student Handout 2.4.4 on Roman Carthage.
- Student Handout 2.4.5 on the nature of warfare, from Procopius on the Vandal wars

### Procedure/Activities

1. Introduce the lesson on Carthage by locating it on a map and looking at the timeline in Student Handout 2.4.1. As an introduction, show several clips from the video, (ca. 38:19 minutes for the whole, divided into various topics) “Carthage: The Rise and Fall” at <http://www.ancientworldreview.com/collapse/> (*The Ancient World Review*). The introduction is from 0:00-1:28, a segment on building the city from 1:28-5:59, on the harbor & trade from 6:00-10:45. The rest of the video is on the contest with Rome, Hannibal, etc., which these lessons do not cover in detail. The video features 3 scholars of the period and excellent images. It could be viewed in class or assigned.
2. The next segment of the lesson covers primary sources on the founding story of Carthage, by a historian and a poet. Teachers who wish to use this material will have students compare the two (including a possible “Reader’s Theater” of the segments from the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Questions accompany both readings, including questions about why and how dramatic founding stories emerged.
3. The contest of empires is the usual focus of classroom study of Carthage and Rome, and usually omits the African context. Student Handout 2.4.3b provides a locator map and brief overview of Carthage’s relations with Africa, and of three groups (Garamantes, Numidians, and Mauretians). Read these as a group or individually. The second part of the handout has two excerpts from classical sources on Africa (Pliny and Strabo) written at around the same time, both used by later Europeans. Students first read Pliny and discuss the state of knowledge about African peoples, then read and contrast the second, which shows much more detailed knowledge, but also respect, and illustrates the importance of the African coast and interior. Assign students to use Strabo’s reading to list significant ways in which Africa was important to Carthage and Rome. Pre-reading: terms are explained in brackets, but note the map in which “Libya” refers to all of known Africa. Also important are various spellings for the same group.

4. The next part of the lesson explores maps, images and artifacts of life in Punic and Roman Carthage, using Student Handouts 2.4.3a and 2.4.4. Students may be assigned in groups to read and study the images as a first exercise, and then to read the primary source accounts about Carthage from Herodotus and Aristotle, and from Polybius on what happened to the people in conquered cities. Have students work in pairs, write 10 descriptive notes from the readings, and report on their impressions of life in Punic and Roman Carthage based on the readings.
5. This lesson can stand alone as a supplement to classroom study of the Barbarian Migrations. It uses Student Handout 2.4.5, a set of short readings from the Procopius' history of the Vandal Wars. It is not intended to be read in full (except possibly by Roman war buffs or gamers). Short segments can be assigned to students in pairs, with one question each. Its purpose is to explore the nature of warfare in late Rome during the period of the Barbarian Migrations. Its subject is Justinian's re-conquest of North Africa from the Vandals. The readings illuminate Roman relations with the tribes, their use in the army, challenges of naval warfare, and the effect of conquest on the population of the cities and surrounding peoples.
6. Historian Julia Clancy-Smith, in providing guidance for this project, stated that "Rome would not have been Rome without Carthage." Have students create a presentation, stage a debate about whether Rome or Carthage was more important, or write an essay on what Carthage meant to the Mediterranean region. The objective is to have students marshal evidence from their use of the handouts and other learning. The introductory video is a useful tool.

## **Lesson 2.5: A Bridge Lesson on Empires of the Indo-Mediterranean in Context**

### **Lesson Overview**

This brief lesson provides context for the empires that students study in detail in typical courses, by giving points of reference and framing questions about imperial expansion into and out of the region (Assyrians, Greeks, Phoenicians, Persians, Romans, Barbarian groups, then Muslims). Using course materials, maps, and timelines, the lesson encourages students to examine issues surrounding the emergence, conflict and reach of empires and their relationship to the development of civilization. World history lessons on empires from World History For Us All are highlighted, including the concept of the Indo-Mediterranean as an interacting zone.

### **Lesson Objectives**

- Students will be able to locate major Bronze and Iron Age empires that impacted the Mediterranean on maps and timelines
- They will identify the factors that made empire-building possible, as well as the motivations of rulers in setting out on expansionist ventures
- Comparing and contrasting the successes and failures of empires, students will analyze factors that influenced continuity and change at the level of empires
- They will differentiate between empire and civilization as historical concepts, and describe the relationship between imperial power and cultural development
- They will identify regions and societies in the Mediterranean region (broadly considered) that were drawn into the contests for empire, and describe their responses to the threat of invasion or absorption over time

- As they work through the world history survey, they will consider the earliest Mediterranean empires and those in other world regions, and be able to draw comparisons, using the questions discussed about this era

### Grade Level

9-12 world history survey, or 7-8 with adaptations (simplify and select questions)

### Time

Varies, depending on manner of use intermittently throughout the course

### Materials Needed

- Projection device to show multiple maps of empires, or classroom historical atlas, Panorama PPT from World History For Us All at [http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/eras/era4.php - pan](http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/eras/era4.php-pan) (see Slide 37-38) or Maps of War animation (90 seconds) at <http://www.mapsofwar.com/ind/imperial-history.html>
- Module 1 Timeline of states and empires (see Tiki-Toki timeline files)
- Textbook or other course materials, lectures
- World History For Us All Landscape Units for Era 4: 4.1, “From the Mediterranean to India: Patterns of Power and Trade, 1200 - 600 BCE”; 4.4, “From the Mediterranean to India: An age of Greek and Persian Power, 600 - 200 BCE”; 4.5, “Giant Empires of Afro-Eurasia, 300 BCE - 200 CE”
- Student handout 2.5.1 with questions for studying empires.

### Procedure/Activities

1. This lesson can be used to preview a unit on the ancient and classical period in the Mediterranean, or it can be used to close out such a unit. The purpose is to encourage students to question the civilizational narratives of Mediterranean powers as “belonging” to the Mediterranean vs. being outside intruders. By comparing what they learn in their textbook and other course materials in a framework of shared Mediterranean histories, they will explore changing, overlapping imperial maps and ask fundamental questions, exploring what it took to become a Mediterranean imperial player and sustain empire (or not). This lesson also draws upon learnings from the other lessons and readings in this module, such as texts and images about moving armies, the composition of armies, transportation technologies, food, etc.
2. Use maps of empires during the period from textbook, atlas, or other source), Maps of War animation (90 seconds) at <http://www.mapsofwar.com/ind/imperial-history.html>) to show how Mediterranean territory was contested among empires over time, and from what geographic positions the empires expanded. Have students use the States & Cites Timeline from Module 1 to make a list of empires from 900 BCE to 700 CE.
3. Use Student Handout 2.5.1 as a guide for questioning empires. Divide students either by assigning specific empires or selected questions and have them work through in discussion.
4. Use the WHFUA Panorama lesson & PowerPoint slides, as well as Landscape Units listed above for Era 4, on the Mediterranean and the rise of large states in world history.
5. The lesson methodology can be applied throughout the course. In this era, students learn about the major contests among Greeks, Persians, Romans, Carthaginians, Goths,

Visigoths, Vandals, Huns, etc. A major objective of this exercise is to have students explore the idea of the Mediterranean as “a closed sea connected to many places” (see Module 1, Lesson 3, the annotated map activity, which can be continued for this time period). Accordingly, they use what they have learned to find examples of empires’ connections to the wider Afro-Eurasian land/sea relationships during a time of expansion.

6. Teachers can repeat this questioning exercise for the next era, incorporating and modifying the questions. Students can assess and formulate questions about empires of the next era (Module 3) and beyond. Which of the questions about Mediterranean empires apply to the next period? What questions need to be discarded, and what new questions should be added? This inquiry process can continue throughout the course, including the European imperial powers of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Topic 6: Spiritual Life

### Lesson 2.6: Religious Imagery and Ideas in the Mediterranean

#### Over Time

##### Lesson Overview

This lesson invites students to appreciate the variety of religious experience in the Mediterranean region through objects that express religious imagery, and through texts that express religious concepts. The lesson is designed to suggest connections and comparisons rather than to provide an overview of any one tradition, which teachers would do in connection with closer study of various civilizations in the region. The Mediterranean was a region of exchange, and dissemination of religious ideas and practices traces the emergence and spread of narratives, belief systems and migrations during the long period covered by this module.

##### Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify common and divergent motifs and images used in artwork and texts to express divinity and the sacred, from polytheistic to monotheistic traditions, and be able to compare themes in religious imagery.
- They will identify some major texts and trends in religious literature, scripture and thought during the period from 1500 BCE to 700 CE and important people and groups associated with them
- They will analyze texts to trace aspects of the development of ideas about the human condition, the soul, and concepts of divinity and the relationship of humankind to the divine over time and among traditions.
- They will analyze and compare religious and philosophical texts for the ideas that they convey.

##### Grade Level

World history, world cultures grades 5-12 (selection of texts, images and tasks at the discretion of teachers for suitability)

##### Time

1 class period for imagery activity + 1-2 for texts activity (depending on the number of group rounds with the 10 texts)

### Materials Needed

- Student Handout 2.6.1 (religious imagery)
- Student Handout 2.6.2 (religious texts)
- Classroom atlas or wall map suitable for attaching images temporarily
- Butcher paper or poster board
- Glue sticks, temporary adhesive or tacks (if using bulletin board)
- Scissors
- Paper for note-taking (texts activity)

### Procedure/Activities: Religious Imagery

1. Distribute Handout 2.6.1, scissors, adhesive and butcher paper for each of several small groups (2-4). If this lesson is done toward the end of a unit on the era, have students recall the religious images they have already learned about. If it is done early, have them recall some imagery from prior learning. How have deities been portrayed, and what visual symbols have been used in different cultures? With this introduction, students will cut apart the images with their identifying tags and look at them. Note: in this activity, each group will do the same work and compare differing results at the end. Each group's task is to categorize the images of sacred objects, deities, and spaces. I have already created categories in the handout, but hid them in white text (view by clicking "Select All" and scroll through the file); they are Mother and Child Images, Female Figures, Enthroned God as King and Warrior, Sun and Moon as Deities, Altars and Sacrifice, Acts of Worship, Winged Representations. Students will create other categories that may mix the ones created in the handout (since they are cutting apart the images this will be easier).
2. Enrichment: (a) Have students locate the objects pictured on a map by their place of origin. This will provide a basis for making comparisons and proposing connections. (b) Increase the number of images in the activity by adding houses of worship, art objects and scenes portraying public and private worship, and categorize them. Other handouts, such as those on Ugarit and the Uluburun shipwreck, also contain images of cult objects. See also images of places of worship in Student Handout 2.6.2 on religious texts.
3. When charts are complete, share the results from each group and discuss the findings. Ask why they chose the categories, and how they decided what belonged in each? What connections around spiritual imagery in the Mediterranean region seem to have occurred over time? Why did certain concepts and deities become part of the shared heritage of several cultures, even to the point that art historians cannot be sure which deity some objects portray? How did societies concepts of the sacred come to be shared, even after the spread of monotheistic Abrahamic religion? Did this cause controversy? Did any group categorize objects according to public and private worship?
4. This may serve as a review activity for teaching about religions during this formative period.

### Procedure/Activities: Religious Texts

1. Refer to Student Handout 2.6.2 to identify selected texts for these activities, and to decide which texts to assign to groups of students. The handout includes 10 texts from religious sources ranging over a period from about 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, from ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, to Jewish, Christian and Islamic scripture and thought. Divide students into groups of 2-4. Each group will read and discuss the

questions for 2-3 texts only. It is up to the teacher to decide how to distribute them, depending on the topics and level of detail in religious history studied in relation to this period and to the Mediterranean region as a whole. Copy only as many handouts as needed for the groups assigned to the readings.

2. There are many ways to group the texts. For example, Texts 1 & 2 are hymns to the Egyptian and Greek sun gods; Texts 3 & 10 are versions of the Abrahamic story of the sacrifice from Jewish and Islamic scriptures (with reference to Christian scripture online); Texts 5 & 6 compare Plato with the Hellenistic Philo on the soul, but they could both be compared with 1 & 2, the hymns, for the concept of the sacred. The texts from Pliny and Paul explore the fledgling Christian community and its challenges. There are many other creative ways to challenge students to see connections and contrasts.
3. Post the titles of Texts 1-10 and the names of the students in each group and their assigned texts on the board. This will be needed for the second round (and third if there is time).
4. Each text has two questions associated with it. Depending on which texts are combined in the groups, some of the questions may refer to texts that other groups are assigned—save these for discussion time. Have students develop 2 additional questions for each text and try to answer them in writing. When the groups have completed their reading and discussion internally, have each present a 2 minute overview of their text (who, when, what tradition, and a sense of what it's about). Each group then chooses another group with which to meet and discuss their texts in terms of what they have in common (or don't). The idea of these two rounds is to get a sense of what spiritual concerns people had, and what they felt moved to act upon in terms of ritual, ways of life, etc. Secondly, to analyze how these religious figures saw the relationship between humans and the divine, or God, and what that meant for the human condition.
5. After these two rounds, 1 person from the paired groups will present to the whole group for 2-3 minutes on the ideas they discussed with the group they chose. As a summative activity, pull 3 or 4 ideas from the discussions and explore them with relation to several of the 10 texts, comparing and contrasting.
6. An assessment could involve a writing assignment in which the students choose one or more texts to read more closely and to compare, using the questions as prompts for a paragraph or longer piece, either the prepared questions on the handout or ones generated by the students themselves in the first round.
7. Extension: Students may research one or more of the religious figures associated with the text and read beyond the excerpts to gain a fuller sense of their thought and its impact.

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## Module 2 Student Handouts by Lesson #

## The Mediterranean Diet Slideshow



A title slide for a section about the Mediterranean Sea. It features a map of the Mediterranean region with several circular inset images showing typical crops: olives, an orange, grapes, and a cactus. The text "THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA" is prominently displayed in a grey banner across the top. To the right of the banner are several colorful bell peppers. Below the banner, a bulleted list describes the climate and crops of the region.

### THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

- The climate is a typical Mediterranean climate **with hot, dry summers and mild, rainy winters**. Crops of the region include ***olives, grapes, oranges, tangerines, and cork***.



## BORDERING COUNTRIES



## MEDITERRANEAN NUTRITION and DIET



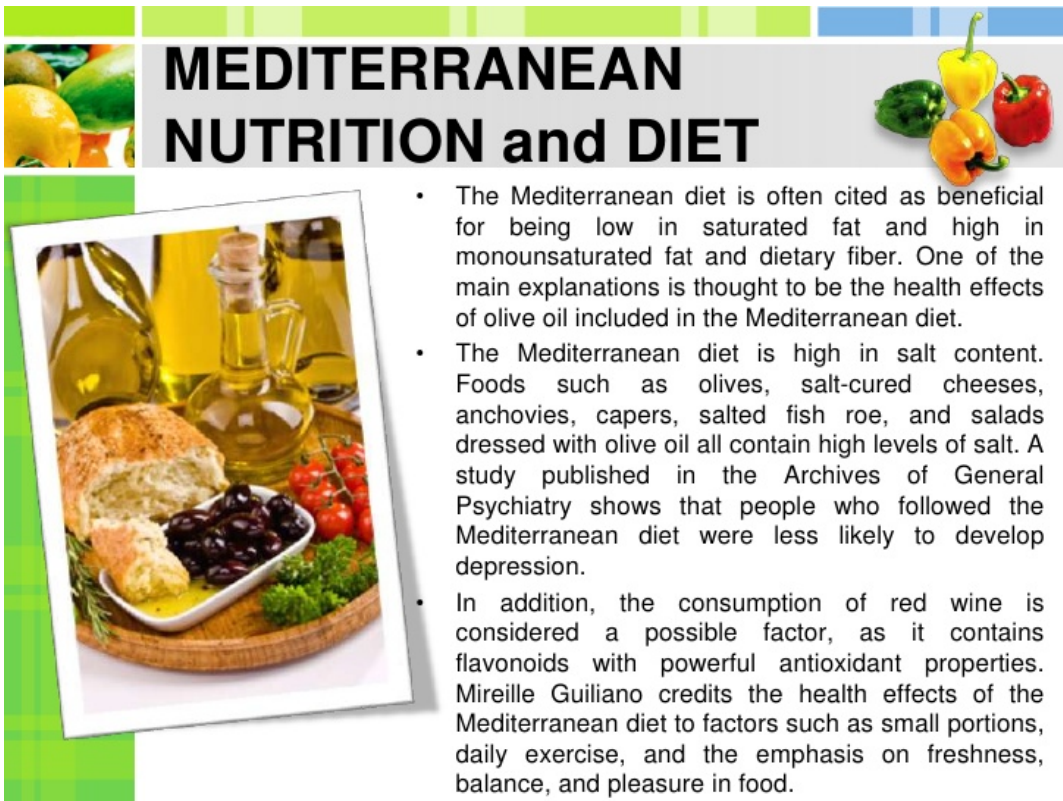
- The Mediterranean diet is a modern nutritional recommendation inspired by the traditional dietary patterns of southern Italy, Crete and much of the rest of Greece in the 1960s.
- On November 17, 2010, UNESCO recognized this diet pattern as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Italy, Greece, Spain and Morocco, thus reinforcing it not only as a fundamental part of their history and background, but also as a great contribution to the world.
- Despite its name, this diet is not typical of all Mediterranean cuisine. In Northern Italy, for instance, lard and butter are commonly used in cooking, and olive oil is reserved for dressing salads and cooked vegetables. In North Africa, wine is traditionally avoided by Muslims. In both North Africa and the Levant, along with olive oil, sheep's tail fat and rendered butter (samna) are traditional staple fats.






## MEDITERRANEAN NUTRITION and DIET


- **HISTORY of the MEDITERRANEAN DIET**
  - Although it was first publicized in 1945 by the American doctor Ancel Keys stationed in Salerno, Italy, the Mediterranean diet failed to gain widespread recognition until the 1990s. Objective data showing that Mediterranean diet is healthy first originated from the Seven Countries Study.
  - Mediterranean diet is based on what from the point of view of mainstream nutrition is considered a paradox: that although the people living in Mediterranean countries tend to consume relatively high amounts of fat, they have far lower rates of cardiovascular disease than in countries like the United States, where similar levels of fat consumption are found. A parallel phenomenon is known as the French Paradox.
  - A diet rich in salads was promoted in England during the early Renaissance period by Giacomo Castelvetro in A Brief Account of the Fruits, Herbs and Vegetables of Italy. He attempted, without success, to convince the English to eat more fruits and vegetables.




## MEDITERRANEAN NUTRITION and DIET




- The Mediterranean diet is often cited as beneficial for being low in saturated fat and high in monounsaturated fat and dietary fiber. One of the main explanations is thought to be the health effects of olive oil included in the Mediterranean diet.
- The Mediterranean diet is high in salt content. Foods such as olives, salt-cured cheeses, anchovies, capers, salted fish roe, and salads dressed with olive oil all contain high levels of salt. A study published in the Archives of General Psychiatry shows that people who followed the Mediterranean diet were less likely to develop depression.
- In addition, the consumption of red wine is considered a possible factor, as it contains flavonoids with powerful antioxidant properties. Mireille Guiliano credits the health effects of the Mediterranean diet to factors such as small portions, daily exercise, and the emphasis on freshness, balance, and pleasure in food.



## MEDITERRANEAN NUTRITION and DIET



- The Mediterranean Diet is the best way to live many years with a high quality of life. It is also the best way to keep your body in shape, your skin clean and beautiful and your internal organs working properly. It the best diet to lead you to a proportional weight and don't endanger your health with urgent and unbalanced malnutrition. These fad diets may allow you to lose a few pounds, for a time, a weight that you will regain later after having lost part of your health. You may not know immediately, but the aftermath will come later.
- In 1965 Dr. Ancel Keys, after completing the "Seven Countries Study" divulged the fact that in Crete, where 40% people food intake was olive oil, the heart diseases were considerably low. The research was made with more than 12.000 persons from Finland, Greece, Italy, Japan, Holland, USA and Yugoslavia.




## MEDITERRANEAN NUTRITION and DIET



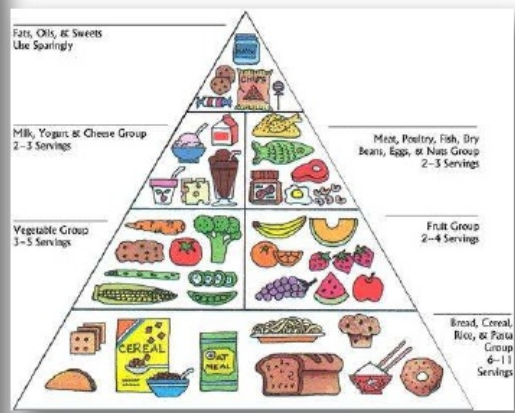
**The Original Mediterranean Diet characteristics are:**

- 1) High consumption of virgin olive oil.
- 2) High intake of vegetables and fruits and legumes.
- 3) Use of non refined carbohydrates (portions to be adjusted to physical activity).
- 4) Consumption of fish, specially oily (or "bluish" one) three or four times a week
- 5) Consumption of milk and derivatives, cheese and yogurt (the original cheese was fresh goat cheese). Keep an eye on the saturated fats of the dairy products. Do not consume too much!
- 6) Three or four eggs per week.
- 7) Moderate consumption of meat and saturated fats (natural, not artificially hydrogenated!).
- 8) One or two small glasses of wine a day, preferably red and at the main meals. White wine and beer are alternatives.
- 9) Nuts as snacks.
- 10) In "special occasions" Mediterranean traditional desserts.

# MEDITERRANEAN FOOD PYRAMID vs. USDA FOOD PYRAMID



MEDITERRANEAN FOOD PYRAMID VS USDA FOOD PYRAMID



## Mediterranean Countries and Their Food



**REPORTERS:**  
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*M. Rejuso*  
*R. Jayoma*  
*J. L. Villanueva*

**Source:** Excerpts from Ochigue, E., M. R. Rocod, M. Rejuso, R. Jayoma, and J. L. Villanueva. "Mediterranean Countries and Their Food."  
<http://www.slideshare.net/shawee23/mediterranean-countries-and-their-food>.

## Olive Tree

The botanical name of the olive is *Olea europaea*, named after the oil that the fruit contains. Olives grow on a small tree or shrub that is native to the coastal areas of the eastern Mediterranean, northern Iraq and Iran. It now grows all around the Mediterranean and on other continents. Many Mediterranean languages have a name related to its oil, such as ancient Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. It may be native to northern Africa. Olives have been cultivated for as long as 8000 years in the Mediterranean region.



One cup of olives, or 135 grams, supplies 155 calories, and 130 of those calories are a healthy type of fat. The fruit provides antioxidant vitamins A and E, and minerals like iron, calcium, and copper, as well as dietary fiber. The fruit is a powerful health booster. Olive oil is a widely used, very nutritious ingredient in food preparation.



The olive tree does best in poor, limestone soils, in coastal areas and on hilly slopes. Olive trees can survive drought and hot weather, and if injured, the tree will grow new shoots. Olive trees grow slowly and live for centuries, producing olives if pruned and well cared for. Olives are harvested in autumn and winter. The olives are crushed and pressed to give oil. Edible varieties are soaked in brine (salt solution) to get rid of their bitter taste.

The olive tree shown, from Croatia, is believed to be 1,500 years old. For its abundance of fruit and the olive oil that

can be pressed from it, the olive tree is considered sacred by many religions. The ancient Greeks gave olive wreaths to winning athletes, and anointed (rubbed) their bodies with oil. The oil is used in lamps for light, as a cosmetic, as a medicine, and edible oil or for cooking. The wood is very hard and is prized for woodworking.

The Mediterranean region produces 95% of the world's olives and olive oil. Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, and Syria are the top producers of olives. The red lines on the map show the

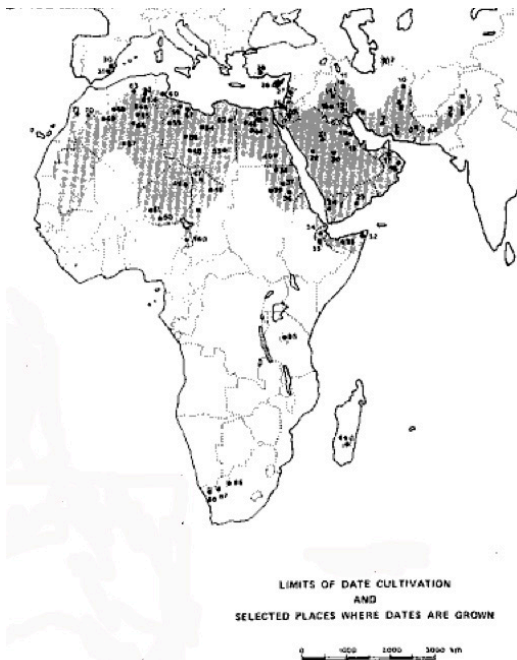


The image shows an old-fashioned olive press in Mallorca, Spain. Olives are harvested by shaking the tree onto cloths on the ground. Then they are crushed and pressed for oil, or cured in salt for eating.

**Source:** Images & text from "Olive - Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia." <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olive>.

## Date Palm

The date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) is a desert tree of the palm family that is native to North African and Arabian deserts. Date cultivation began at least 6000 years ago in Egypt and spread to Mesopotamia. Today, dates are grown in California, India and Pakistan. The map shows the limits of date cultivation in the Mediterranean region. A date palm may grow as tall as 75-100 feet (over 23 meters). The tree has a straight trunk and a crown of feathery leaves growing from the trunk. Male and female trees are needed to pollinate the flowers to produce dates, but male trees do not produce, and one can pollinate many female trees.



Domesticated date orchards have far fewer male trees, and the female trees are pollinated by hand. After flowering, large clusters of dates develop with thousands of fruits in each cluster. The many varieties of dates can be eaten fresh or dried for long storage.

A cup of dates supplies 414 calories, a gram of monounsaturated fat, 12 grams of fiber, 110 grams of carbohydrate, 93 grams of sugar, 3.6 grams of protein, and 946 milligrams of potassium, as well as vitamins B-6 and B-12, Vitamin C, and minerals such as iron, calcium, and magnesium.

Date farming has been a crucial human activity for desert-dwelling people. It supplies people and their animals with a nutritious staple food, a source of wood, fiber for ropes, mats, baskets

and roofing. People learned to propagate the trees from offshoots rather than seeds, to thin the grove to reduce competition among trees, to limit the number of male trees, and to pollinate the flowers artificially. Irrigation is necessary in most places, but the tree has a root system that maximizes water supplies, and can survive on water too salty for most plants.

Dates make life on marginal lands possible. Dates are a reliable, nutritious food for caravan travel, allowing long-distance trade to flourish, especially with the domestication of camels.

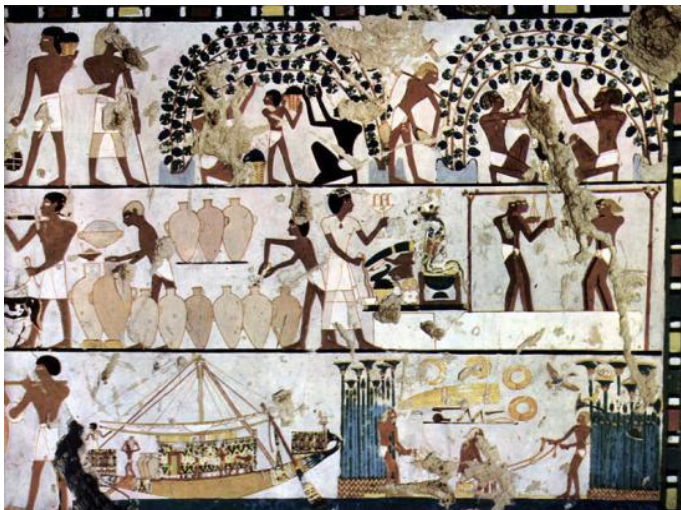
**Source:** Food & Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAO Corporate Document Repository, Agriculture and Consumer Protection. "Date Palm Products. Introduction." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/t0681E/t0681e02.htm>.





## Grapevine

The most common grape in the Mediterranean region is *Vitis vinifera*, one of many types of grape that are native to the northern hemisphere, including Asia and North America. Only *Vitis vinifera* is native to Europe. *Vitis vinifera* is the type grown for wine-making, table grapes, and raisins (dried grapes). The grape vine grows quickly and can climb onto trees or grape arbors as high as 16 to 20 meters. From its stem, tendrils extend to anchor the vine as it climbs. It has large leaves in the shape of a hand, 9 to 28 centimeters wide. The leaves are used to make stuffed grape leaves, a Mediterranean delicacy. Grape vines flower and produce bunches of round fruits (berries). A grape vine can take several years to produce, and live from 50-70 years, but there are vines known to be over 120 years old.

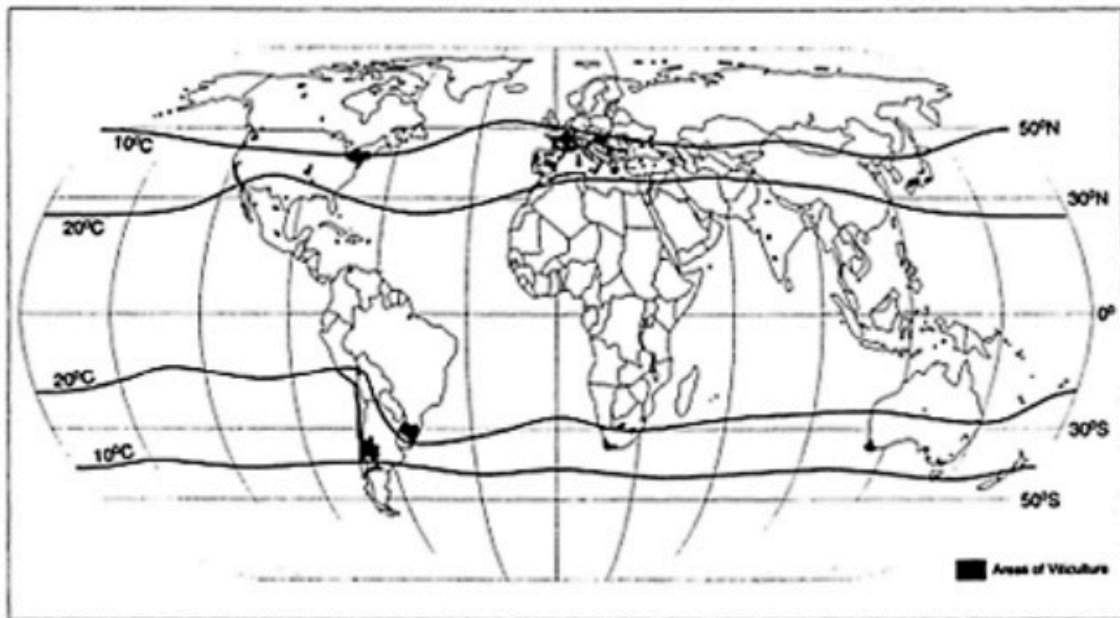


Wild grapes grow today from the Atlantic seacoast to the Himalayan mountains. Grapes are among the oldest domesticated fruits, with evidence of seeds from 4500 BCE on Cyprus, in the city of Jericho, and other sites around 3200 BCE. Evidence of wine production in Egypt from hieroglyphics and tomb paintings dates to approximately 2400 BCE. Wine and olive oil were products traded most often by sea on Mediterranean trade routes.

Grapes contain 15% to 25% sugars (including glucose, fructose and a small amount of sucrose). Grapes contain vitamin C, tartaric acid, and malic acid. The pigments responsible for coloring grapes have antioxidant properties that may prevent some diseases.

*Vitis vinifera* was cultivated in the Middle East by 4000 BCE, and probably earlier. Egyptian records dating from 2500 BCE refer to grapes for making wine, and numerous biblical references to wine prove the early origin and significance of that industry in the Middle East. The Greeks actively produced and traded wine and planted grapes in their colonies. The northern and southern limits of wine cultivation are shown on the map below. Notice that much of the southern shore of the Mediterranean lies outside that zone.

To create wine from grapes, the grapes are crushed and then the juice must ferment. Fermentation is a chemical process that produces alcohol and preserves the wine. Aging the fermented juice using various types of containers, amounts of time, and varieties of grapes produces many different types of wine. In earlier times, before people understood the source of water-borne illnesses, fermented beverages were known to be safe to drink. The alcohol in wine and other fermented drinks also produces the effect of intoxication on the nervous system. Use of wine in festivals and ceremonies celebrated these qualities, but its dangers were also well known.



*Figure 6* The global distribution of viticulture

**Source:** P. T. H. Unwin. *Wine and the Vine: an Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*. London; New York: Routledge, 1991, p. 29.

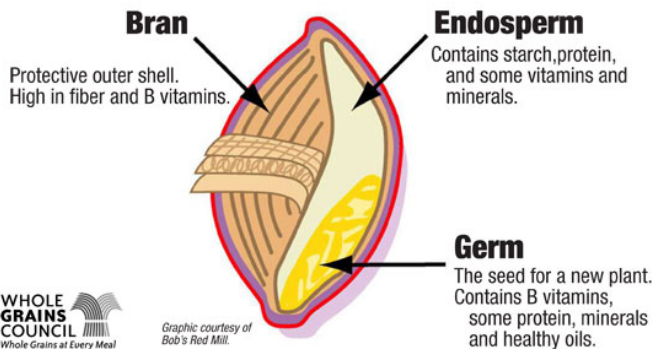
## Domesticated Grains and Legumes

Wheat is a major global crop traded more than any other, and the leading source of vegetable protein in the human diet. Wheat has more protein than any other cereal grain. Wheat is used to make flour for breads, cereal, pasta, couscous, and animal feed. It can be fermented to make beer and spirits. Wheat straw provides thatch for roofing houses.



Whole grain wheat can be milled to make whole wheat flour, or it can be refined to make white flour, leaving just the endosperm (see diagram). The by-products of this are bran and wheat germ. The whole grain contains vitamins, minerals, and protein, as well as dietary fiber, but white flour is mostly starch (carbohydrates). The bran is the outer skin of the seed. It contains fiber, B vitamins and antioxidants important to human nutrition. The germ is the portion of the plant that sprouts. It contains B vitamins, protein, minerals, and healthy types of fat.

The endosperm is the germ's food source and is the largest portion of the grain. It

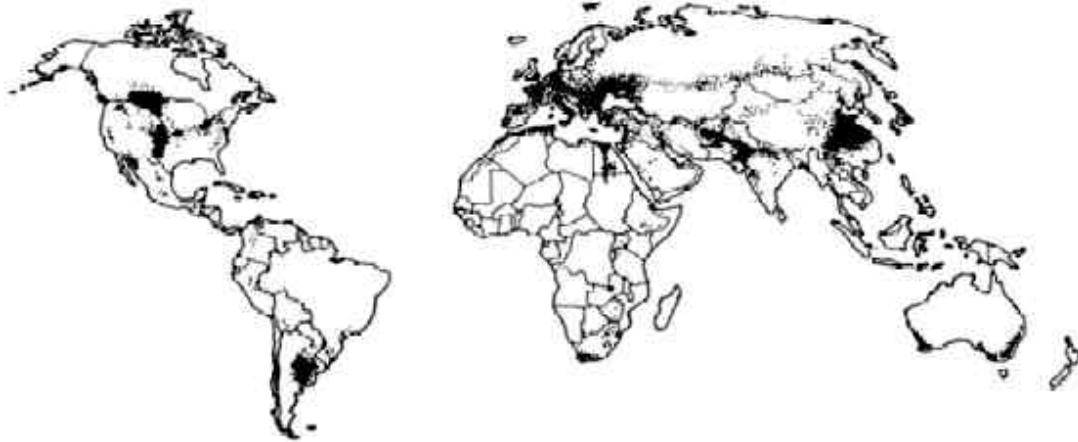


contains carbohydrate, protein, vitamins, and minerals. Refining wheat to make white flour removes 40% of the grain, leaving only the starchy part, which the body converts to sugars. When the bran and germ are removed, one quarter of the protein content is lost, along with key nutrients.

Grains like wheat, barley, rye, rice, and legumes (beans) are staples of the human diet. They were gathered in the wild by early people, and were among the most important domesticated crops during the Neolithic period after about 10,000 BCE.

Archaeologists and paleobotanists have discovered eight Neolithic “founder crops” that were the first domesticated plants, meaning plants that were changed from their wild state by human selection and cultivation. The eight “founder” crops are: two types of wheat (Emmer and Einkorn), barley, lentils, peas, chickpeas, bitter vetch, and the fiber crop flax. Flax is grown for linen fiber to make cloth and linseed oil for many uses.

According to evidence from sites such as Tell Abu Hureyra in modern Syria, early farming communities in the Fertile Crescent region of southwest Asia began systematic agriculture by planting seeds they had gathered regularly in the region, and beginning life in settled communities. Along with domestication of a group of animals—goats, sheep, and cattle--farming and animal husbandry spread from the Middle East to North Africa, India, Persia, and later to Europe. These founder crops made it possible for people to establish villages, towns and cities, founding societies that developed into civilizations. These crops could be planted on a large scale, and they could be stored for future use and trade.



Major areas of wheat production around the world. Source: Goode's World Atlas, 1975; updated by CIMMYT, 1984.

## Legumes or Pulses

Many kinds of legumes have been part of the Mediterranean diet for millennia. Chickpeas, lentils, fava beans, and peas are just a few. Most legumes are seeds that the plant produces in pods, as shown in the image of chickpeas below. Legumes are a good companion to grains in the human diet and in farming. They contain a lot of healthy vegetable protein, and they fertilize the soil by fixing nitrogen through their roots.



Dry beans and peas are rich in fiber and protein, but low in fat. They are also an excellent source of good starch that digests slowly in the body, keeping hunger away. They contain B vitamins and antioxidant substances that protect the body from disease. Legumes, grains, fruits and fats combine to make a complete diet that is inexpensive and promotes health.



Legumes can be dried and stored for long periods of time. They can be ground as flour for breads and soaked and cooked to make a nutritious paste such as hummus, combined with oil and herbs. They can be cooked in soups and stews, and serve as animal feed, especially for horses. Legumes have been found in archaeological sites in the Mediterranean region dating to the beginnings of agriculture, and they are mentioned as important and desirable sources of nutrition in the scriptures of several world religions, including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

**Source:** "American Institute for Cancer Research (AICR): Dry Beans and Peas (Legumes)."  
<http://www.aicr.org/foods-that-fight-cancer/legumes.html>; "CSS 330 World Food Crops -- OSU Extended Campus - Oregon State University." <http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/css/330/four/>.

## Fruits and Nuts in the Mediterranean

Many fruits and nuts grow in the Mediterranean region, such as lemons, limes, oranges, apricots, and pine nuts. Aromatic herbs such as oregano, thyme, rosemary and basil are native to the Mediterranean. Garlic and onions are other ancient crops that contribute to Mediterranean diets. In this handout, four famous and ancient nuts and fruits are described, all cultivated for thousands of years—all considered very healthy, and some considered sacred in Mediterranean cultures.

### Walnuts

Walnuts and almonds are very nutritious tree nuts that were gathered by early humans and later cultivated in Asia, Europe and Africa, and were carried to other lands.

Walnuts (*Juglans regia*) grow on trees native to an area in Eurasia from southeastern Europe across Central Asia to China. As a deciduous tree, the walnut requires cooler conditions than tropical trees. The largest forests are found in the Jalal-Abad province of Kyrgyzstan at altitudes of 1000-2000 meters. The first historical account of walnut cultivation dates back to Babylon (now Iraq) circa 2000 B.C. However, archaeological excavation of Neolithic sites in southwest France has uncovered roasted walnut shells, indicating walnuts were being eaten in Europe at least 8000 years ago.



The selective breeding of walnuts may have begun with the Ancient Greeks, continued by the Romans, and spread to suitable climates in coastal North Africa. Walnuts are grown as far north as Scotland. Today, China, the United States, Iran, and Turkey are the leading producers. Walnut trees grow slowly and live for hundreds of years. In addition to nuts, the oil of the walnut tree, the hulls of its fruit, and its fine hardwood have many uses.

Walnuts are among the most nutritious of all nuts. Shelled walnuts provide protein, unsaturated (healthy) fat, carbohydrates, and dietary fiber. Walnuts contain vitamins and minerals such as thiamin, vitamin B6, folate, manganese, copper, magnesium, phosphorus, potassium, zinc, iron, and calcium (Source: US Department of Agriculture).

### Almonds

The almond is a species of tree that includes both bitter and sweet varieties. It is native to the Middle East and South Asia, but probably originated in Central Asia. Almond trees mature in 3-4 years, and can produce for 40-50 years, but some live much longer. They thrive in



dry, hot conditions.

Almonds are the edible seeds of the tree. Almonds are eaten raw or toasted, with the hull on or removed to leave the white embryo of the seed. They can be ground into a flour or paste that is used to make cakes and marzipan, a special sweet. Almond oil is also used in cosmetics and medicines.

Almonds are a rich source of energy, though they are not high in protein. They provide dietary fiber, unsaturated (healthy) fats, vitamins, minerals and healthy disease-preventing substances. Almonds contain lots of vitamin E, B-vitamins, folates, and minerals such as manganese, potassium, calcium, iron, magnesium, zinc, and selenium.

The history of the almond is mysterious, because wild almonds are not only bitter but highly poisonous, and chewing or crushing releases the fatal toxin cyanide. Scientists think that a genetic mutation occurs that produces a few non-toxic trees, and humans may have observed birds or other animals to detect these edible varieties for domestication by planting their seeds. Where it was first domesticated is also a mystery—perhaps in Armenia or Azerbaijan, from which it spread to the Mediterranean region. Almonds have been found in Bronze Age sites dating to 3000-2000 BCE, and they were found in Tutankhamun's tomb in Egypt ca. 1325 BCE. Almonds are mentioned in Greek and Roman mythology and they are used in Jewish festivals and mentioned in the Bible.

## Figs

The fig (*ficus carica*) is a cluster of single-seeded fruits that grows on a deciduous tree or shrub. The common fig tree grows wild in dry, sunny areas, with deep or light soil. It can also grow in poor soil or cracks in rock. Its long roots reach toward groundwater in dry areas. Fig blossoms need pollination by a type of wasp that enters the cluster through a small opening. Some varieties are self-pollinating. The Mediterranean climate is especially suitable for the fig tree, and some grow large enough to be shade trees.

Figs are very nutritious, high in sugars and dietary fiber, with some protein. They work to aid digestion. Dried or fresh, figs contain vitamins K, C, and the B vitamins. They are high in minerals such as copper, manganese, magnesium, potassium, and calcium, with other important nutrients, antioxidants. Figs are used to make syrups and jam, and they keep well when dried, for storage and trade.

The fig might be the first plant that humans cultivated as long ago as 9000 BCE, and have been found in Neolithic sites in Jordan, nearly a thousand years before people learned to cultivate grain crops. The Bible mentions that Adam and Eve covered themselves with fig leaves as clothing. The fig and the grape vine are symbols of peace and prosperity. In India, the fig is related to the Buddha as the tree under which he received enlightenment. Figs are part of Greek, Roman and Phoenician culture and literature.



## Pomegranates

*Punica granatum*, or pomegranate, is originally a Central Asian fruit that has been cultivated in India and the whole Mediterranean since ancient times. It is a shrub with a large fruit that has a red rind and clusters of red or pink, juicy seed sacks inside, surrounded by yellow pulp. The pomegranate thrives in mild Mediterranean climates and dry conditions with cool winters and hot summers. It likes neither humidity nor cold temperatures. The tree or shrub can reach a height of 20-30 feet, but is usually smaller. It sometimes lives over a century but younger plants produce better than old ones.

Pomegranate juice and seeds have a sweet and acidic flavor, and provide carbohydrates and dietary fiber. They are rich in vitamin C and K. They contain many antioxidants that prevent or even cure disease. Pomegranate may help patients with high blood pressure and cancer, and may also help cure viral and antibacterial infections. In addition to its nutritional and medicinal properties, pomegranate rind can be dried to use in tanning leather, because it contains a lot of tannin.

The pomegranate has been found in Jericho and at early Bronze Age sites dated to 3000 BCE. The Latin name *punica* refers to the role of the Phoenicians in spreading it through trade and colonization. The fruit is mentioned in many ancient texts, notably in Babylonian texts, in mythology, in the Bible, in Homer's Greek poetry, and in the Quran. It was included as grave goods in pharaonic tombs.



*Punica granatum* L.  
Image processed by Thomas Schoepke  
[www.plant-pictures.de](http://www.plant-pictures.de)

**Source:** "Mediterranean Plants-Thomas Schoepke Plant Image Gallery." <http://pharm1.pharmazie.uni-greifswald.de/gallery/framgall.htm>; "A Modern Herbal | Almonds." <http://botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/a/almon026.html>; "A Modern Herbal | Fig, Common." <http://botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/f/figcom12.html>; "A Modern Herbal | Walnut." <http://botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/w/walnut06.html>.

## Seafood from the Mediterranean

This photograph shows a mosaic of sea creatures in the Roman bath at Sbeitla in Tunisia, made in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Mediterranean has the world's second highest



percentage of native species of sea life.

More than 900 fish species are found in the Mediterranean, of which 100

are fished for sale, such as swordfish and blue-fin tuna. Algae and invertebrates like corals, mollusks and crustaceans live on the rocky bottom of the sea, where fish feed and reproduce. Other species include sea grasses, sponges, green turtles, loggerhead turtles, and the Mediterranean monk seal, and 18 species of marine mammals such as dolphins and whales.

Seafood is an important part of the Mediterranean diet. It is very high in protein, but much lower in fat than meat. Fat in seafood is rich in Omega 3 fats, which are very beneficial to heart health. Dried fish are often very high in salt.

Fishing on the Mediterranean Sea is an ancient profession, and prehistoric people have left piles (middens) of mollusk shells behind as evidence of their diets. People fished from the shore and from simple watercraft at first. As shipbuilding advanced, fishing in deep water became possible. With hooks, it is possible to catch one fish at a time. Baskets or fish traps on rivers made it possible to catch multiple fish. With nets knotted from rope or string of linen or palm fiber, people could catch many fish at one time. Regular fishing journeys brought fish to shore for sale.

Preservation of fish by drying with salt or conserving in oil allowed fish to be stored and traded. Fermented fish sauces were made from fish waste, and used to flavor other dishes.

Today, the biggest problems for the Mediterranean ecosystem are overfishing, pollution from waste water and shipping, and invasive species entering the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal, and in the ballast water of international ships. Increased oil and gas drilling and global warming are additional threats to the Mediterranean.



**Source:** "WWF - Marine Environment: The Mediterranean Sea and Its Coasts."

<http://mediterranean.panda.org/about/marine/>; Sbeitla mosaic, [www.wikipedia.commons/](http://www.wikipedia.commons/); "Agropolis-Museum-Roman Mosaic."

<http://www.museum.agropolis.fr/english/pages/expos/aliments/poissons/images/mosaique.htm>

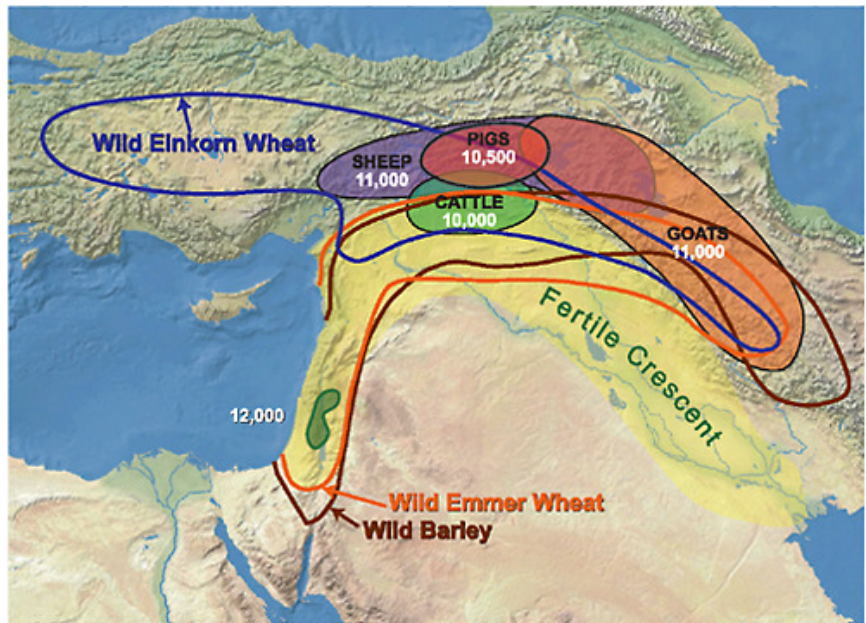


## Domesticated Animals

The image from an Egyptian tomb painting shows a variety of animals being led on ropes. Some of them, such as dogs, goats, and cattle, have been successfully domesticated, or bred to be dependent on human beings. Others, like the lion, gazelle, and monkey, have not been successful candidates. We don't know exactly how domestication happened, but in time, both the genetic make-up and behavior of the animals changed. Humans have only domesticated a few species. The animals and the areas and times when they were domesticated are shown on the map below: sheep, goats, pigs, and cattle. Others not shown but very important are dogs (probably the first), and horses (much later, around 3000 BCE). The region of the Fertile Crescent shown on the map includes the Mesopotamian river valley and the east coast of the Mediterranean. It does not include Egypt, where animals were also domesticated.



Around 11,000 years ago, according to evidence from animal bones found in human settlements, people began to raise young animals and to keep adults and young in pens. The development was associated with the beginning of agriculture. Perhaps when people settled down to farm, they over-hunted the area near their homes, and began to keep animals they captured. Over time, they bred the most tame animals of each type with each other and they became more tame and used to humans. The kinds of animals people kept were (1) grass-eaters, (2) small enough to manage and not aggressive, (3) had young that matured quickly, and (4) herd animals that follow each other in groups behind a leader, among other qualities.



The result of this human effort was a huge change for human (and animal) ways of life. People had a steady supply of meat, milk and other products. They were less dependent upon hunting. There were disadvantages, too. Animal diseases jumped to humans who lived with them, such as measles, smallpox, and influenza. Over time, many people died but survivors gained immunity (resistance to disease). Ways of life also changed. People

learned to harness animals such as oxen, horses, and donkeys to ride and pull plows and carts. People became specialized animal herders, following seasonal vegetation or moving the animals when they depleted an area of grass. In lands too dry or too high in the mountains for farming, people moved herds of sheep and goats from valleys in winter to highlands in summer.

This way of life is called transhumance. Others became pastoral nomads dependent entirely on their animals for meat and milk, trading with settled farmers for grain, sometimes warring with them, and other times supplying animals for transport, such as camels.



Domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, and cattle gave milk.

Fresh milk sours quickly, and people learned to extend storage of dairy products by letting them turn sour in a controlled manner. Through the action of bacteria, yoghurt and cheese became delicious, healthy foods. Yoghurt and cheese contain additional benefits from the bacteria, provide a rich source of protein and calcium and are good for digestion.

The meat of grass-fed animals is very nutritious. Animals are efficient biological systems that convert plant material into protein in muscle. Red meat contains large amounts of protein for cell development, and provides minerals such as iron, creatine, zinc, and phosphorus, B-vitamins, and vitamin D. Red meat is the richest source of lipoic acid, a powerful antioxidant. It also contains a high percentage of fat, depending on what part of the animal is eaten. The fats in meat and dairy can cause people to gain body fat. Fat can also accumulate in the arteries of the heart and cause heart attacks. Vegetable protein and minerals, dietary fiber, and healthy fats from vegetable and fish oils make up a balanced diet less dangerous to health than fat from animals.

The Mediterranean diet—and most human diets until recent times—is richer in plant foods than meat. Red meat is used sparingly. Only with the rise of commercial agriculture and imported meat, refrigeration and high standards of living have people in developed countries begun eating much more meat than plant foods—and exercising their bodies too little. The Mediterranean diet has become an important model for returning to healthier ways of living. With increases in heart disease, high blood pressure, obesity, diabetes and cancer, diet is a public health issue of great concern.

**Image & Text Sources:** O'Brien, Stephen J. *In the Light of Evolution III: Two Centuries of Darwin*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2009. [http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record\\_id=12692&page=94](http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=12692&page=94); Lewis, Lowell N. "Agriculture & Horticulture in Ancient Egypt." <http://www.egyptianagriculture.com/horticulture.html>; "Animal Domestication - Table of Dates and Places of Animal Domestication." <http://archaeology.about.com/od/dterms/a/domestication.htm>; Photo of Transhumance by Marin Castellan "In Search of the Asphodel." <http://gerryco23.wordpress.com/2012/05/19/in-search-of-the-asphodel/>.

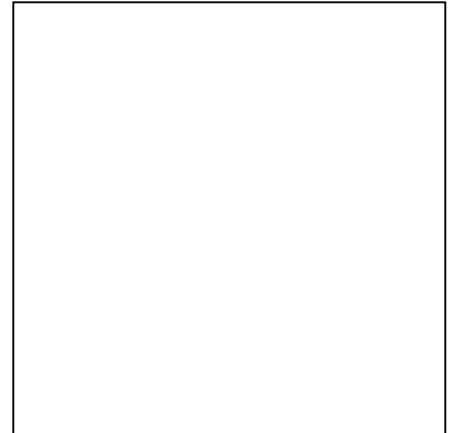
## Mediterranean Foods Research Guide and Notes

Name of food item \_\_\_\_\_ (draw a picture right in box)

In what form or forms is this item eaten?

Describe the characteristics of this food item.

What other products come from this plant or animal?



What components of a good diet does this food provide (e.g. protein, carbs, vitamins & essential substances for health)? How does it contribute to a healthy diet?

Is there potential harm from consuming this item? Explain.

On what kind of terrain does it grow (plants) or feed on (animals)?

How does producing this food item affect the way of life and culture of the people who produce it? (e.g. farmers, pastoral nomads, fishing, etc.) What skills do people need to cultivate and process it?

How is this food item processed for use?

How is it preserved for storage or trade? How long does it keep in storage?

Optional: Find a recipe for using this food item and identify it with the food culture of one or more countries or cultures.

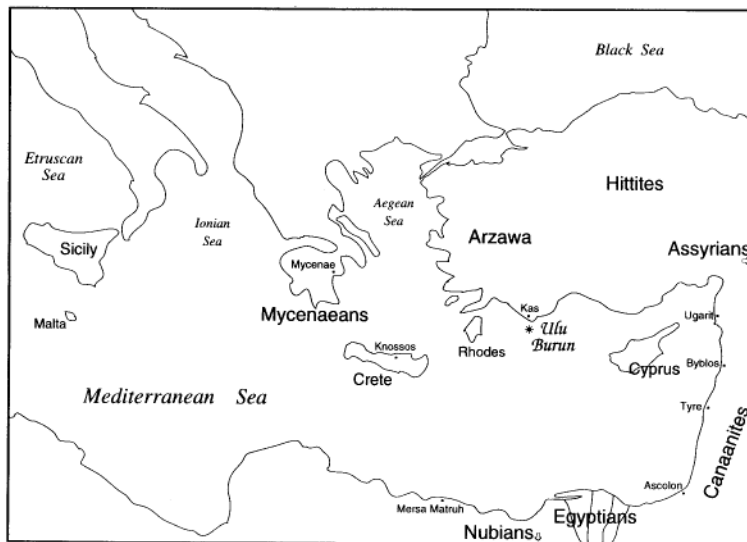
## The Uluburun Shipwreck

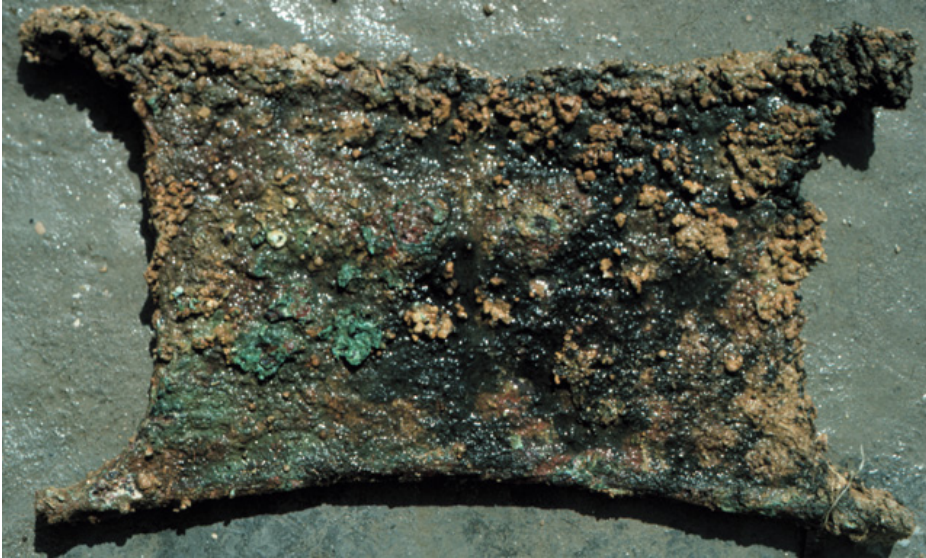
In 1982, at Uluburun, a rocky outcrop on the southern coast of Turkey, a sponge diver found what turned out to be one of the earliest shipwrecks known to date. From 1984-1994, marine archaeologists excavated, studied, and preserved the merchant ship and its contents. Today, the work continues, and the ship and artifacts are displayed at the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology in Turkey. The Uluburun shipwreck is dated to about 1306 BCE, during the Bronze Age. It contained one of the largest and richest cargoes in the history of Mediterranean archaeology.



In this handout, a selection of artifacts from the Uluburun shipwreck are shown. At the end of the handout is a list of the complete inventory on the ship. Students can see the full image gallery with captions at the website listed.

**Image source:** The Institute of Nautical Archaeology's (INA) graciously displays an online gallery of artifacts at shipwreck excavation at "Photo Galleries - Institute of Nautical Archaeology." [http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern\\_europe\\_mediterranean\\_aegean/uluburun\\_turkey/photo\\_galleries/](http://nauticalarch.org/projects/all/southern_europe_mediterranean_aegean/uluburun_turkey/photo_galleries/); For the full report on the Uluburun Shipwreck, see Cemal Pulak, "The Uluburun Shipwreck and the Late Bronze Age," in Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, Jean M Evans, and N.Y.) Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2008.





Copper ingot from Cyprus mine, in the shape of an oxhide. There were 354 of these arranged in rows in the hold of the ship.



Tin ingot in oxhide shape, mined in Asia Minor or farther east in Central Asia.



Figurine of a woman in bronze with gold overlays.



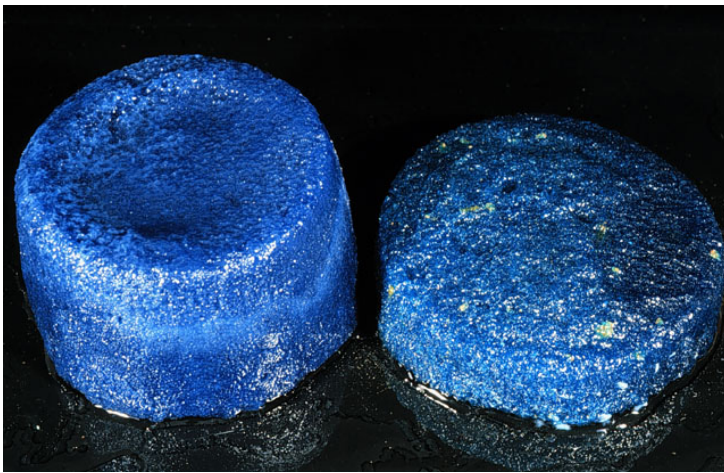
Hippopotamus teeth (13 total on the ship).



Ebony wood logs.



Amber beads from the Baltic Sea.



Blue glass ingots (raw material for making glass objects) from Egypt or Canaan.



Bronze spearheads from the Balkans.



Gold scarab with the name of Queen Nefertiti of Egypt, wife of Akhenaton.

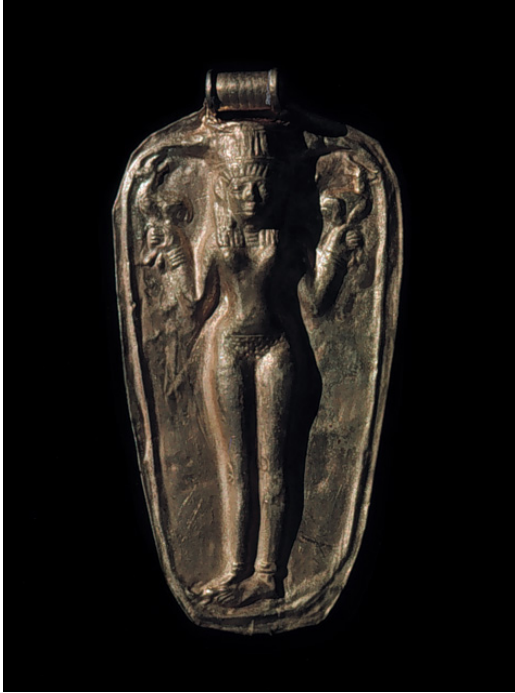


Carved ivory cosmetic box with hinged wing cover.



Assortment of beads in agate stone and faience (a technique the Mycenaeans adopted from Egypt).





Gold pendant with fertility figure (Astarte, Isis) holding gazelles.



Bronze weights in the shape of lions.



Hematite cylinder seal from Mesopotamia, carved during the Old Babylonian period and re-carved during Assyrian period, with winged griffin and warrior.



Wooden writing tablet with two leaves and ivory hinges. The recessed space in the middle was for pouring wax on which to scratch the writing.



Mycenaean ceramic jar, may have been for scented oil.



Ceramic oil lamps from Cyprus (some Syrian lamps on board were blackened from use by the crew).



White ceramic "milk bowl" shown from the bottom, made in Syria or Cyprus, found with other ceramic objects packed into a large "krater" vessel for shipping.

## **INVENTORY OF CARGO ON THE ULUBURUN SHIPWRECK**

### **Copper and tin ingots**

- Raw copper cargo totaled 10 tons, consisting of a total of 354 ingots of the *oxhide* type with either four or two handles. (Ingots were stowed in rows across the ship's hold, with matting and brushwood between the hull and the ingots to prevent rubbing.)
- 2-handled ingots were probably designed to be attached to saddles or harnesses for transport by pack animals.
- 121 copper bun and oval ingots.
- Tin ingots in oxhide and bun shapes totaled 1 ton, which would make 11 tons of bronze in a 1:10 ratio for the alloy, or mixture of tin and copper.

### **Canaanite jars**

- At least 149 Canaanite jars (widely found in Greece, Cyprus, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, but made in the northern part of today's Israel/Palestine).
- Jars' contents include one filled with glass beads, many with the remains of olives, and the largest number with a type of resin called Terebinth or Pistacia, used to preserve and scent wine and other uses such as turpentine.
- Recent clay fabric analyses of Canaanite jar sherds from the 18th-Dynasty site of Tell el-Amarna have produced a specific clay fabric designation, and it is seemingly the same as that from the Uluburun shipwreck, of a type that is exclusively associated in Amarna with transporting Pistacia resin.

### **Glass ingots**

- Ca. 175 colored glass ingots (cobalt blue turquoise and lavender, the earliest intact glass ingots known).
- Chemical composition of cobalt blue glass ingots matches those of contemporary Egyptian core-formed vessels and Mycenaean pendant beads, which suggests a common source.

### **Other cargo objects**

- Ebony wood
- Elephant tusks
- Hippopotamus teeth
- Tortoise shells
- Murex shell parts (might be used for making incense)

- Ostrich egg shells
- Pottery from Cyprus
- Oil lamps from Cyprus
- Bronze and copper vessels
- Faience drinking cups shaped as rams' heads and one shaped as a woman's head)
- Two duck-shaped ivory cosmetics boxes
- Ivory cosmetics or medicine spoon
- Trumpet
- Over two dozen sea-shell rings
- Amber beads from the Baltic Sea region
- Beads of agate, carnelian, quartz, gold, faience, and glass

### **Jewelry, gold, and silver**

- 37 pieces of jewelry in gold and silver (from Canaan), including scrap for melting down and re-use. The gold pieces include pectorals, medallions, pendants, beads, a small ring ingot, and scrap fragments.
- A drinking cup, or chalice
- Objects made of gold, electrum, silver, and steatite (soapstone) from Egypt
- Gold scarab inscribed with the name of Nefertiti
- Bronze female figurine (head, neck, hands, and feet covered in sheet gold)

### **Weapons and tools**

- Arrowheads
- Spearheads
- Maces
- Daggers
- Axe made with a hole for the handle or shaft
- A scale for a suit of armor (Near Eastern type)
- Four swords (Canaanite, Mycenaean, and Italian(?) types)
- Tools: sickles, awls, drill bits, a saw, a pair of tongs, chisels, axes, a ploughshare, whetstones, and adzes

### **Merchants' balance weights**

- 19 weights in the shape of animals
- 120 weights in geometric shapes

### **Food items (traces and fragments found in the wreck that were analyzed by the archaeologists)**

- Almonds
- Pine nuts
- Figs
- Olives
- Grapes
- Safflower
- Black cumin
- Sumac
- Coriander
- Whole pomegranates
- Grains of charred wheat and barley

## Ezekiel Chapter 27<sup>1</sup>

**1** Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying:

**2** 'And thou, son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyre,

**3** and say unto Tyre, that dwelleth at the entry of the sea, that is the merchant of the peoples unto many isles: Thus saith the Lord GOD: thou, O Tyre, hast said: I am of perfect beauty.

**4** Thy borders are in the heart of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.

**5** Of cypress-trees from Senir have they fashioned all thy planks; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee.

**6** Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; thy deck have they made of ivory inlaid in larch, from the isles of the Kittites.

**7** Of fine linen with richly woven work from Egypt was thy sail, that it might be to thee for an ensign; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was thine awning.

**8** The inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were thy rowers; thy wise men, O Tyre, were in thee, they were thy pilots.

**9** The elders of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers; all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to exchange thy merchandise.

**10** Persia and Lud and Put were in thine army, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee, they set forth thy comeliness.

**11** The men of Arvad and Helech were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadim were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have perfected thy beauty.

**12** Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares.

**13** Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy traffickers; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise.

**14** They of the house of Togarmah traded for thy wares with horses and horsemen and mules.

**15** The men of Dedan were thy traffickers; many isles were the mart of thy hand; they brought thee as tribute horns of ivory and ebony.

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<sup>1</sup> **Source:** "Ezekiel 27 / Hebrew - English Bible / Mechon-Mamre." <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt1227.htm>; Katz, Hayah. "The Ship from Uluburun and the Ship from Tyre: An International Trade Network in the Ancient Near East." *Zeitschrift Des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (1953-)* 124, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 128–142. doi:10.2307/27931843.

**16** Aram was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy wealth; they traded for thy wares with carbuncles, purple, and richly woven work, and fine linen, and coral, and rubies.

**17** Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy traffickers; they traded for thy merchandise wheat of Minnith, and balsam, and honey, and oil, and balm.

**18** Damascus was thy merchant for the multitude of thy wealth, by reason of the multitude of all riches, with the wine of Helbon, and white wool.

**19** Vedan and Javan traded with yarn for thy wares; massive iron, cassia, and calamus, were among thy merchandise.

**20** Dedan was thy trafficker in precious cloths for riding.

**21** Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they were the merchants of thy hand; in lambs, and rams, and goats, in these were they thy merchants.

**22** The traffickers of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy traffickers; they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold.

**23** Haran and Canneh and Eden, the traffickers of Sheba, Asshur was as thine apprentice in traffic.

**24** These were thy traffickers in gorgeous fabrics, in wrappings of blue and richly woven work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and cedar-lined, among thy merchandise.

**25** The ships of Tarshish brought thee tribute for thy merchandise; so wast thou replenished, and made very heavy in the heart of the seas.

**26** Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the heart of the seas.

**27** Thy riches, and thy wares, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the exchangers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that are in thee, with all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the heart of the seas in the day of thy ruin.

**28** At the sound of the cry of thy pilots the waves shall shake.

**29** And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land,

**30** And shall cause their voice to be heard over thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall roll themselves in the ashes;

**31** And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee in bitterness of soul with bitter lamentation.

**32** And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee: who was there like Tyre, fortified in the midst of the sea?



**33** When thy wares came forth out of the seas, thou didst fill many peoples; with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise didst thou enrich the kings of the earth.

**34** Now that thou art broken by the seas in the depths of the waters, and thy merchandise and all thy company are fallen in the midst of thee,

**35** All the inhabitants of the isles are appalled at thee, and their kings are horribly afraid, they are troubled in their countenance;

**36** The merchants among the peoples hiss at thee; thou art become a terror, and never shalt be any more.'

### **QUESTIONS**

1. Locate the city of Tyre on a map and describe the geographic setting of the city and its advantages as a port.
2. What is the passage by the Prophet Ezekiel saying about the city of Tyre? Is it a positive or a negative message, or both?
3. Make a list of all of the resources or products mentioned in this passage that are related to ship-building.
4. Make a list of the products that are traded through Tyre, and add any information about their origins.
5. What types of social groups and occupations are involved in the production, shipping, and trade of the goods going through the city of Tyre?

## The Amarna Letters (Late Bronze Age, 14th century BCE)

In 1887, about 350 clay tablets were found at el Amarna, Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten's capital city. They are written in cuneiform, in the Akkadian language. Most of the letters are from the reigns of Amenhotep III (1402-1364 BCE) and Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV, 1350-1334 BCE). The letters were written by the Egyptian administration to its representatives in Canaan and Amurru and they tell a lot about Egypt's foreign relations with Babylonia, Mitanni, Assyria, and the other countries.



### Letters by Ashur-Uballit

*To the king of the land of Egypt speak!*

*So (says) Ashur-uballit, the king of the land of Ashur: To your house, to your country, to your war chariotry and to your army well-being!*

*I have sent you my envoy to visit you and to see your country. That my forefathers until now have not sent, I have sent you today: one fine chariot, two horses, (and) a jewel from precious stone, a date-shaped bead from genuine lapis lazuli as a good-wish present, (I) have directed unto you. My envoy, whom I have sent you (only) to visit (you), do not hold him back! May he visit and leave! Your opinion and the situation of your country may he observe, then may he leave!*

### Letter from Amenhotep III to Milkilu of Gezer

*To Milkilu, prince of Gezer*

*Thus speaks the king. I am sending you this tablet to tell you: Behold, I have sent you Hanya, the commissioner of the archers, with merchandise in order to have beautiful concubines, i.e. weavers; silver, gold, garments turquoises, all sorts of precious stones, chairs of ebony, as well as all good things, worth 160 deben. In total: forty concubines - the price of every concubine is forty of silver. Therefore, send very beautiful concubines without blemish. And the king, your lord, says to you: This is good. For you life has been decreed. Know that the king is well, just as the sun god. His troops, his chariots, his horses are very well. Behold, the god Amen has placed the Upper Land, the Lower Land, the rising sun and the setting sun under the two feet of the king.*

Source: Dollinger, André. "Amarna Letters." *An Introduction to the History and Culture of Pharaonic Egypt*. <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/amarnaletters.htm>.

## Ugarit and Tell Ras Shamra

Ugarit was a trading port on the eastern Mediterranean where Syria is today. About a kilometer from the sea is a tell, or hill, which is the site of an ancient Canaanite city with palaces, ordinary houses, workshops and storehouses. Ugarit dates to the late Bronze Age, from about 1370 to 1200 BCE. Settlement at the site involves many layers in the tell, dating to about 7500 BCE when the first farming settlements began there. Ugarit was attacked at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a time of invasion by the mysterious “Sea Peoples” all around the Mediterranean shores.



The objects shown on this handout are just a few of the thousands of royal objects and everyday objects people in the city used, along with the houses, palaces, temples and streets that were excavated. As a trading city, it is interesting to compare the objects from Ugarit with those mentioned in the Amarna Letters, the Hebrew Bible, and the Uluburun Shipwreck.

The city of Ugarit has been investigated by archaeologists during the past 60 years, and new discoveries are still being made. A source for reading more about Ugarit is: Marguerite Yon, “A Trading City: Ugarit and the West,” *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 63L4 (2000) doi:10.2307/3210777.



25

(25) Carved rhinoceros tooth cosmetic box in the shape of a duck. It was used for luxury beauty items, and had a lid that turned on a pin to open. It might have been part of a wealthy queen’s or bride’s trousseau, or wedding possessions.



27

(27) “Clepsydra” or shower jug in plain pottery. The bottom has a strainer with 22 holes, and the top has a small opening that could be closed with a person’s thumb. That would keep the water from flowing out when filled. It was used to pour water for bathing. Similar everyday jugs have been found at the site.



22

(22) Head of a young man (god?) carved from an ivory elephant tusk. The holes at the temple would have held divine horns. The statue had inlays for the eyes and is decorated with silver ringlets as hair or jewelry.



14



15



16

(14) Bronze and gold leaf statue of the god El as an old man with cloak and sandals, making a gesture of blessing; (15) Bronze and gold leaf statue of the god Baal in the pose of a warrior ready to strike with a weapon or thunderbolt (missing); (16) Bronze statue of a seated goddess with elaborate dress and inlays for eyes. It might have been covered with gold. An object, now missing, was placed in the outstretched hand.



45



48

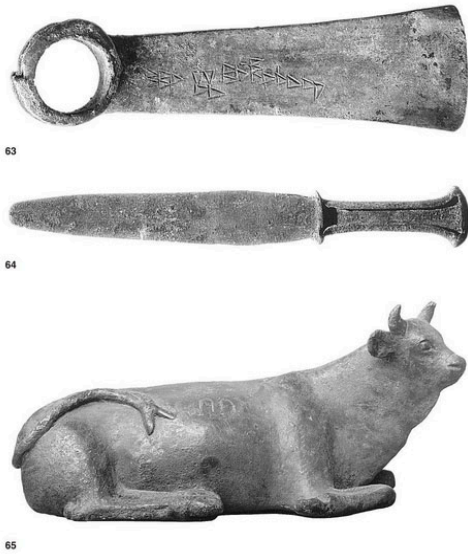


46



47

(45) Cosmetic ladle, molded with a handle in the shape of a duck, Egyptian; (46) Model of bearded chariot-riders with wheel and fragment of a horse's head; (47) Ceramic goblet on a base with the molded face of a woman, of which similar examples have been found from Cyprus to Mesopotamia; (48) Egyptian ceramic bowl in faience painted with brown designs of Nile fish and lotus flowers, a popular export from New Kingdom Egypt.

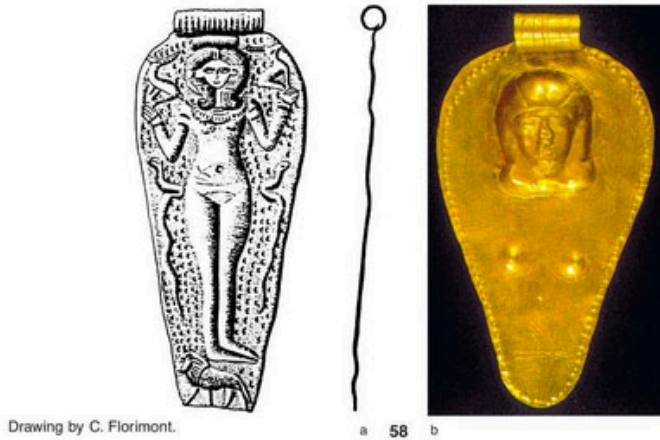


(63) Ceremonial bronze adze (axe) with a round socket for the handle, inscribed “adze of the high priest,” among a hoard of 77 bronze objects, some inscribed; (64) Bronze cast dagger with 2-edged blade; (65) Cast bronze weight shaped like a resting bull, twice marked with the Egyptian sign for “10” equal to the weight of 50 shekels in the Ugarit measurement.



“Deposit of 80 jars,” Minet el-Beida, excavations 1931  
(cf. C. Schaeffer, *Syria* 16, 1923, pl. 3.3; *Ugaritica* I, 1939, p. 31, pl. 9).

A deposit of 80 commercial storage jars found at the harbor, Minat al-Beida.



(58) Stamped sheet gold pendant of the fertility goddess Astarte, showing a female figure with headdress, holding two small goats in her upheld hands. Under her feet is a walking lion, and serpents hang on either side of her; The second pendant is sheet gold chased with a more symbolic figure of Astarte; (59) Gold ring with a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription naming a person Patilu-wa or Patili; (60) Ceremonial axe in three metals—iron, copper, and gold, with a handle showing two lions' heads and a wild boar made of gold wire hammered into grooves in the bronze in flower motifs. This is a very early example of an iron weapon.

All images from "The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra - Marguerite Yon."

[http://books.google.com/books?id=2YWQZ6x56dAC&pg=PA123&lpg=PA123&dq=ugarit+artifacts&source=bl&ots=fQFrRhT53M&sig=B-CknwlvKa0hTnxjkHinESCOft4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=C7ATUu700uHhygHF\\_YGgDg&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=ugarit%20artifacts&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=2YWQZ6x56dAC&pg=PA123&lpg=PA123&dq=ugarit+artifacts&source=bl&ots=fQFrRhT53M&sig=B-CknwlvKa0hTnxjkHinESCOft4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=C7ATUu700uHhygHF_YGgDg&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=ugarit%20artifacts&f=false)



This map shows the probable route of the Uluburun ship, and traces the objects found on the Uluburun Shipwreck to the places where their materials came from or where they were made. It also shows where similar goods have been found at sites such as Ugarit (Ras Shamra), and shows the trade routes by which those goods traveled from long-distances.

Identify the goods from Handout 2.2.1 and 2.2.4 and trace their origins. Use the outline map on the next page to trace those routes farther across the eastern hemisphere. For example, where did amber come from, which was made into beads?



**Source:** Map by Anadaroop Roy, in Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, Jean M Evans, and N.Y.) Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2008. Outline map of the eastern hemisphere from d-maps.com.



## Mediterranean Trade Links with the East

### The Red Sea Port of Berenike

This piece of glass, broken off from a larger bowl, contains an imprint of a Roman priestess carrying a spear. The bowl was discovered at Berenike, an Egyptian port city located on the Red Sea that was a major center of international trade from the third century BCE until its decline in the sixth century CE. It was founded in 275 BCE by the Egyptian king Ptolemy II (and named after his mother) to use as a harbor for importing African elephants from Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia. The city traded extensively with India, exchanging goods like cloth, pottery, beads, wood, and bamboo.



During the Roman Empire, spices, myrrh, frankincense, pearls, and textiles were all shipped through Berenike to Alexandria and Rome. The goods found in archaeological digs at Berenike show that ancient trade networks were already very widespread. For example, some of the cloth discovered there came from the same place in India as cloth found in locations along the "Silk Road" in Central Asia.

### Roman Coins Found in India



Roman coins like this one from Emperor Augustus from the first century BCE have been found in many locations on the coast of India and inland. They have also been found in other locations all around the Indian Ocean shores as far as Southeast Asia. They date mainly to the first four centuries CE.

Coins can tell a lot about ancient times. First, the Roman coins can be dated because they were marked with the face and name of a Roman ruler whose dates of rule are known from other sources.

Second, they can tell a lot about trade relations. The large number of coins found

in India reveal that very valuable goods were exchanged, and that Roman merchants clearly did not have enough goods to exchange for what they desired from India. In order to get the goods, Romans had to send precious metals: gold, silver, and copper.

Among the goods that were purchased with these coins were precious gems such as emeralds, rubies and others, and also silk and cotton fabrics. Pepper and other spices were also exchanged for coins. Roman officials complained about the amount of money leaving Rome to purchase these foreign goods but it did not stem the tide of the trade.

One thing the coins don't tell is who brought them there--were they actually Romans



or did they arrive in India on a relay trade through several merchants' hands? Today, each country has its own coins, and travelers change money at the border. Roman coins were so well accepted in Indian ports that Indian mints even used their own silver to mint imitation Roman coins, like this silver one of Augustus from the first century CE. On the other hand, Indian rulers sometimes stamped their own symbols of sovereignty (rulership) on Roman coins, making them their own, but preserving the precious metal. Many such 'overstrike' coins have also been found, on which the original design can sometimes

be seen under the new one stamped on top of it. This was easier than melting down the coins to make new ones.

### Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*



*"Next in affinity to cardamomum would have been cinnamomum, and this we should have now proceeded to speak of, were it not more convenient first to make mention of the treasures of Arabia, and the reasons for which that country has received the names of "Happy" and "Blest." The chief productions of Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which last it bears in common with the country of the Troglodytoe. There is no country in the world that produces frankincense except Arabia, and, indeed, not the whole of that."*

This text is from the famous encyclopedia *Natural History*, written by Roman author and naturalist Pliny the Elder around 77 CE. It provides evidence of trade between

the Roman Empire and the Arabian Peninsula, the native land of frankincense and myrrh-producing trees. While Pliny mentions spices like cardamom and cinnamon, he thinks it more important to first discuss frankincense and myrrh, both highly prized trade goods at the time. Arabia's precious trees earned it the nickname Arabia Felix, or Happy Arabia, and allowed it to dominate the Incense Road, a trade route that stretched through the peninsula to Rome and Asia. Pliny also mentions the land of Troglodytoe, or present-day Ethiopia, which like Arabia grew and exported incense. *Natural History* is one of the most detailed Roman works ever produced, and continued to be a major guide for scientists until the Middle Ages.

## The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea



*"Sailing through the mouth of the Gulf, after a six-days' course there is another market-town of Persia called Ommana. To both of these market-towns large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza, loaded with copper and sandalwood and timbers of teakwood and logs of blackwood and ebony. To Ommana frankincense is also brought from Cana, and from Ommana to Arabia boats sewed together after the fashion of the place; these are known as madarata.*

*From each of these market-towns, there are exported to Barygaza and also to Arabia, many pearls, but inferior to those of India; purple, clothing after the fashion of the place, wine, a great quantity of dates, gold ..."*

This quote is taken from Chapter 36 of *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a trader's handbook written around 70 CE. *Periplus*, or "sailing around," was written in Greek by an Egyptian merchant from the city of Alexandria. The document gives a detailed account of trade between Roman Egypt and India, listing all the ports on the Red Sea, the African coast, and the Arabian Peninsula. Chapter 36 mentions the port cities of Ommana, located in the present-day United Arab Emirates, Cana, now known as Bir Ali in Yemen, and Barygaza in India.

*Periplus* also describes the people who lived in these various seaports, styles of boats used by sailors, and the items imported and exported. Trade goods like copper, wood, pearls, cloth and gold were regularly exchanged, as was frankincense, a highly prized good native to the Arabian Peninsula. The clear and thorough writings in *Periplus* paint an accurate picture of Indian Ocean trading systems in the first century CE.

**Source:** Classical Era Map entries on "Berenike," "Roman Coins Found in India," "Natural History," and "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" from *The Indian Ocean in World History*. <http://www.indianoceanhistory.org>, © Sultan Qaboos Cultural Center, 2009-2013 (See image credits on IOWH website).

## Port Cities in the Desert: Nabataean Petra and Qaryat al-Faw

**Introduction:** View two short videos (ca. 5 minutes each) from the museum exhibit *Roads of Arabia* online at <http://www.smb.museum/roadsofarabia/index.php?id=19&L=1> for an overview. The Nabataean caravan city of Mada'in Saleh (south of Petra) is featured along with the southern Arabian caravan city of Qaryat al-Faw. A timeline highlights the exhibit's objects through the eras covered by the exhibit relevant to this lesson, from 5000 BCE to 300 CE.



Locate Qaryat al-Faw, Mada'in Saleh, and Petra on the map. Trace the routes with pencil or highlighter that connect to places on the Mediterranean shore, and then trace the routes to destinations in Africa, southern Arabia and Asia, including routes to Mesopotamia, Persia, Central Asia, India and east Asia.

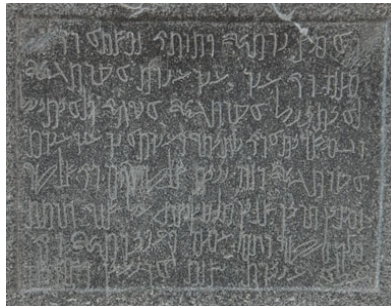
### Nabataean Petra

The Nabataeans were a nomadic tribe from Arabia who established a trading kingdom during the middle of the second century BCE, with its capital at Petra. Between 100 BCE and 100 CE, the Nabataean Kingdom extended from southern Syria to the Sinai Desert, and from a valley south of the Dead Sea to Hegra on the east coast of the Red Sea. The source of their wealth was the spice and incense trade. In 106 CE, the Nabataean kingdom was incorporated into the Roman Empire as the province of Arabia. The Nabataeans built Petra at the crossroads of east-west trade routes from Asia, and north-south routes from Yemen to the Mediterranean. Large caravans passing along these routes carried textiles, spices, precious metals, ivory and incense such as frankincense and myrrh. Petra was a halting and trading place, and since they controlled the routes, the Nabataeans collected fees for

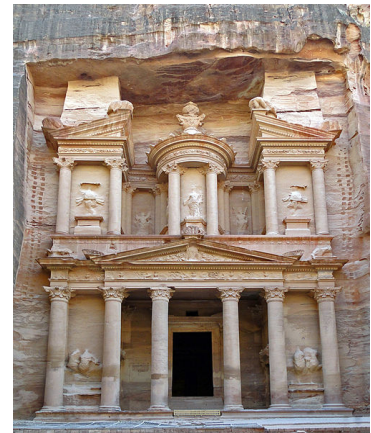


services and customs taxes and they used their significant wealth to build a remarkable city in Petra.

The city of Petra is known for its tombs cut directly into the sandstone cliffs of a canyon-like valley. The city is located in the narrow valley whose cliffs defended it from attack. Though it is dry today, in ancient times it received seasonal rains that the Nabataeans



managed with wells, cisterns and channels. The city included a treasury (shown above), a temple, tombs, palaces, a theater, and later a church and nearby monastery. The architecture shows influence from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. The Nabataeans were literate and spoke a dialect of Arabic, a Semitic language.



They adopted Aramaic as the language for trade in the region, and

wrote in its phonetic script. Over time, their writing evolved toward the Arabic script known in the Islamic period. The earliest Arabic inscription, dated 328 CE, was written in the Nabataean alphabet.

### Qaryat al-Faw

Qaryat al-Fāw is a caravan city located location at a mountain on the edge of the Empty Quarter in southern Arabia, southwest of Riyadh, the capital city of today's Saudi Arabia.

Qaryat al-Fāw was the capital of the kingdom of the tribe, at its height from the 1st century BCE to the 4th century CE. The Kindah originally migrated from Yemen after the fall of the Kingdom of Saba' (Sheba). Qaryat al-Faw was inhabited for about eight centuries, with its important location on a trade route. Despite its isolated location, the inhabitants hosted merchants and caravan attendants carrying goods along the eastern part of the trade route from the south of the Arabian Peninsula to the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia. As a result of these steady contacts, it absorbed diverse cultural influences and became an important economic, religious, and social capital city.



Without the arrival of the camel to Arabia after 1200 BCE, it would have been impossible to cross these arid lands. Expensive incense and other luxury goods from Africa and the southern Arabian Peninsula halted at the city to rest and re-supply. The wealth from servicing the caravans, and exposure to art objects, allowed the city to become a center of artistic production that can be seen in the artifacts found after the site was excavated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Gold objects such as the heavy earrings and the date-shaped

flask from the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, statues, and paintings such as the one shown of a man and his attendants show a range of influences from Egyptian, Syrian, Babylonians and Hellenistic styles.



**Source:** All images from Roads of Arabia online at <http://www.smb.museum/roadsofarabia/index.php?id=19&L=1>

## Module 2 Student Handouts by Lesson #

Part B - 2.3 to 2.6

## Putting the Cart Before the Horse – How, Where, and When Did People Learn to Ride?

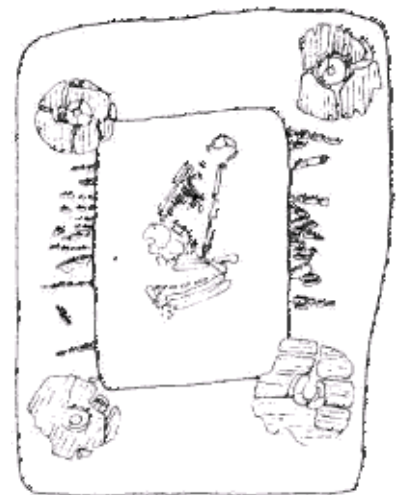
From the invention of the wheel and the domestication of the ox and the horse, to riding horses and developing faster wheels and vehicles, these images show the cultural and geographic connections that changed transport and warfare from over 5000 years ago to a century ago when the first “horseless carriage”—the automobile—was invented in the late 1800s. These technologies—riding, building vehicles with wheels, and later the chariot—transformed life and warfare in many parts of the world. They enabled long-distance trade from the Mediterranean region to the Eurasian Steppe and China. Chariots also transformed warfare and helped to build empires by allowing huge armies to conquer and hold territory. After reading, find the locations of the evidence for the use of wheels, and domesticating and riding horses #1-#11 on a map.

**Evidence 1: The Standard of Ur**, a box covered with blue and red stones and carved shell, was found in a royal tomb in the city of Ur, Mesopotamia (today’s Iraq). It is dated to 2600-2400 BCE. This side of the box, which shows an army at war, is **the oldest known image of a wheeled cart**. The wheel was probably invented around 3000 BCE. The wheels are made from thick planks of wood cut in a circular shape and held together with wooden joints. An axle goes through the center and holds the wheel on with a peg. Such wheels were very heavy. The animals pulling the wagon or chariot are not horses but onagers, a kind of donkey. The horses are attached to the cart with ropes through rings on a yoke attached to the animals’ backs and necks. Archaeologists think that people used onagers, donkeys, and horses for pulling carts and wagons before they learned to ride on their backs. (Image: Trustees of the British Museum)



**Question:** How fast do you think such a cart could go?

**Evidence 2: Steppe Pit Grave with Wagon** from the grasslands north of the Caspian and Black Sea in Asia (see map). The culture group called Yamnaya in Russian is named after the pit burials found at these sites. The graves date to about 3600-2200 BCE. The grave shown in the drawing is one of about 250 wagon burials from the region, with a skeleton in the center and four thick wheels at the corners. Such wagons were pulled by oxen, and they gave people the ability to carry their belongings during migration, to pull heavy loads of grain, meat from hunting, and stones for building. The spread of these graves shows movement of the technology and the people, who took with them words for “wheel” in the Indo-European languages they spoke.



Either knowledge of the wheel reached Central Asia from the



Mediterranean region, or the opposite. Trade in lapis lazuli—the blue stone on the Standard of Ur—was mined in Afghanistan and traded for many centuries, so there was contact with the Steppe already. The wheel might also have reached Anatolia in Asia Minor (today’s Turkey) and spread with migrating farmers to Greece. The wheel was known in Europe by about this time as well. There is a connection with language, too. In trying to trace the origin of Indo-European language and the migrations of those who spoke it, important words like “ox” and “wheel” help trace contact between people and the migration of groups that used this invention. That is how language and transportation are related.

**Question:** Why would people bury a loved one with a wagon?



(Images: Map of the Steppe region and grave diagram from [http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn\\_Archeology/Mallory/JMalloryEneolithBronzeAgeEn.htm](http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn_Archeology/Mallory/JMalloryEneolithBronzeAgeEn.htm))

**Evidence 3: First Horseback Riders** “Who were the original horsemen, and what inspired them to straddle a 1,000-pound beast that could kick out their brains with one blow?” asks Smithsonian archaeologist Melinda Zeder. “The taming of horses turned out to be a momentous turning point in human history. Horses caused the first globalization. They allowed cultures to grow from isolated pockets to interconnected spheres of influence.”

The question of who first rode a horse doesn’t have an easy answer. First, domestication of horses must have happened on the Eurasian Steppe, the only place on earth where horses survived after the last



Ice Age. At first, people hunted horses for meat. Then they herded them—which is why the whole skeletons would be in their settlements, along with corrals. Archaeologist Sandra Olsen has been researching in Kazakhstan, northeast of the area where the pit graves were found. She looks at whole horse skeletons found in ancient settlements from around 4000 BCE, and artifacts made of bone. The engraved horse foot bone in the image is such a piece. Horse jawbones used to stretch leather thong are other possible signs of domestication.

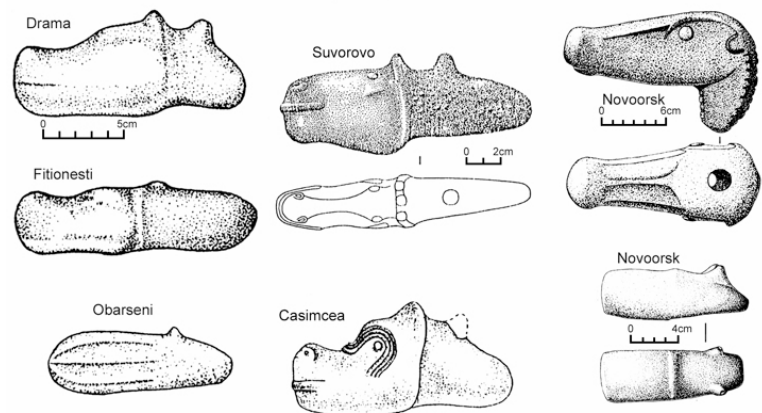
Evidence of riding horses may be found in changes on the back teeth of horses who wore a rope, leather, or metal bit in their mouths. Researchers agree that horses were domesticated and ridden before 3000 BCE, because the “technology” spread to Asia Minor, to western Europe, to Greece, and to the Middle East.

(Source: “First to Ride,” <http://discovermagazine.com/2002/mar/featride-.Ui1jFmQ4WvQ>; “Bone, Antler, and Tooth Artifacts : Carnegie Museum of Natural History.” <http://www.carnegiemnh.org/science/default.aspx?id=16600>)

**Question:** What new opportunities did riding horses give pastoral people (herders of sheep, cattle, and horses)? What opportunities did they offer to settled people (farmers, town and city dwellers)?

#### Evidence 4: Grave Goods with Stone Mace-heads

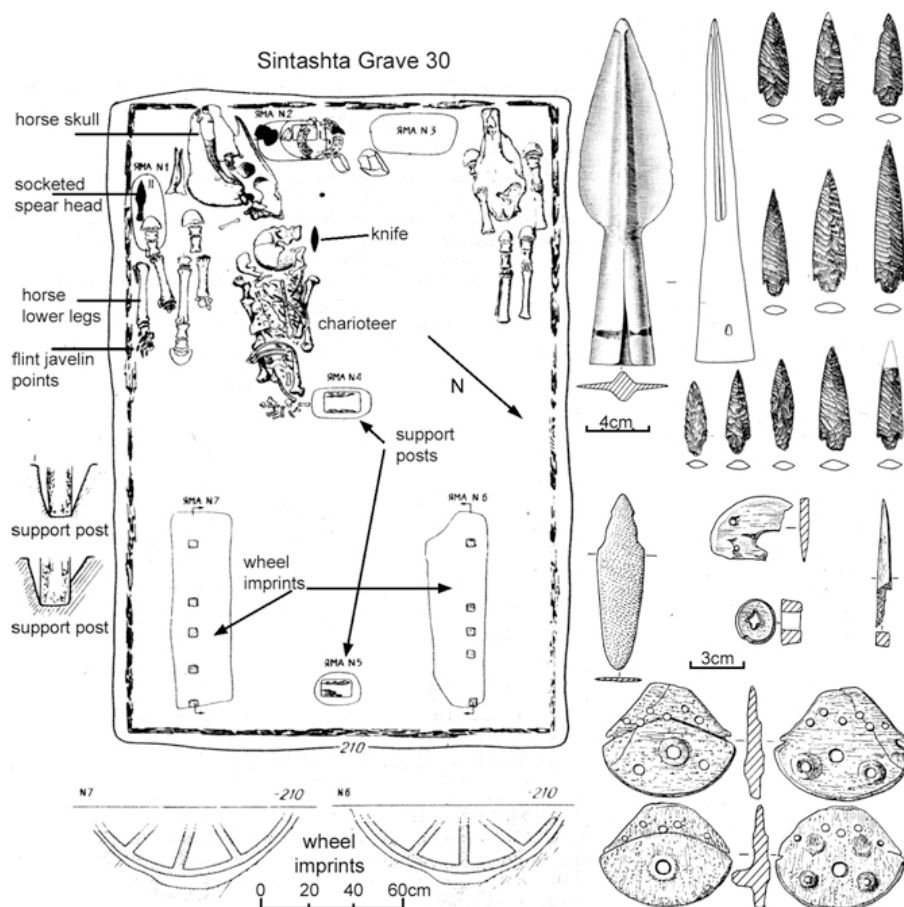
The images above show side views and top views of carved stone mace-heads found in graves, in the shape of horses' heads. They date to settlements from 4200-4000 BCE. A mace is a weapon like a hammer. A hole drilled into the stone allowed a wooden handle to be inserted. The example on the right is from the steppe north of the Caspian/Black Sea area. The example in the middle is from further west on the Danube River, and the one on the left is from the Balkans in southeastern Europe. These horse-head maces may provide evidence of the migration of steppe people who rode horses. They are examples of “prestige goods” that show the status and values of the owner—symbols of power. To archaeologists trying to make sense of the movement of horse riders and Indo-European language speakers, these artifacts offer clues that people in this region were interacting with people from the steppe. Horse-head maces signaled a new status for horses in these regions, just before the hundreds of established settlements in that area were abandoned. Mounted raiders could have contributed to the collapse of these farming settlements.



**Image:** “Harnessing Horsepower,” Anthony and Brown, *Turkic World*.  
[http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn\\_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm](http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm)

**Question:** What does the form and artistic quality of the mace-heads say about status and attitudes about horses?

**Evidence 6: A Chariot Warrior Burial, ca. 2100-1800 BCE.** This grave is from Sintashta, near the Ural Mountains in today's Russia. Notice that the wheels now have spokes, so they are much lighter than the Sumerian donkey carts (Evidence 1). The warrior charioteer buried in the grave shows connections between the Near East through Central Asia along what later became the Silk Roads, with their walled oasis settlements. These oases already were involved in conflicts over control of trade routes with Mesopotamian kings around 2100-1800 BCE. This was when horses first became common in the Near East. The earliest Near Eastern chariots appeared by about 1900-1800 BCE. For the next thousand years, chariots were a super-weapon.



### Why did chariot warriors become super-heroes celebrated in life and death?

“The chariot, the first wheeled vehicle designed entirely for speed, first appeared in the graves of the Sintashta culture, in the southern Ural steppes, about 2100 BCE. It was meant to intimidate. A chariot was incredibly difficult to build, a marvel of carpentry and bent-wood joinery. It required a specialized team of fast, strong horses. To drive it through a turn, you had to rein each horse independently while keeping a backless, bouncing car level

by leaning your weight into each bounce. It was even more difficult to throw a javelin [spear] accurately at a target while driving a speeding chariot, but the evidence from the Sintasha chariot graves suggests that this is precisely what they did. Only men with a lot of time and resources, as well as balance and courage, could learn to fight from a chariot. . .”

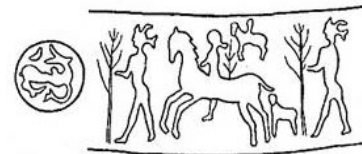
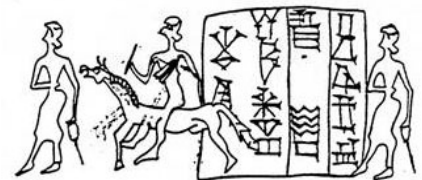
“When a squadron of javelin-hurling chariot warriors wheeled onto the field of battle, supported by [soldiers]. . . on foot and horseback with axes, spears, and daggers, it was a new . . . style of fighting that had never been seen before, something that even urban [city] kings soon learned to admire.”

**(Quote:** David W. Anthony. *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*. Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 462; **Image:** “Harnessing Horsepower,” Anthony and Brown, *Turkic World*.  
[http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn\\_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm](http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm))

### Questions:

1. What kind of daredevils today are the equals of chariot warriors long ago?
2. How do the grave goods in the Sintasha burial, the oldest known chariot grave, show how the warrior’s community viewed him? What does it say about the occupation of the man?

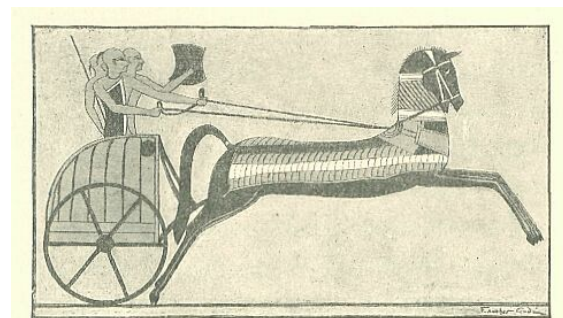
**Evidence 5: Seal with Horse Rider from Mesopotamia and Iran, 2050-2040 BCE.** “Two of the oldest images of humans riding horses, dated about 2100-1700 BC, were discovered in the ruins of a Sumerian city (top). It was the personal seal of the official in charge of animals for a Sumerian king. The other was found in the cemetery of a fortified Central Asian oasis in the border area between today’s Iran and Afghanistan (bottom). The seals might reflect the first wave of horses to enter the ancient Near East, happening at the time the seals were carved.



**(Image:** Text and image adapted from “Harnessing Horsepower,” Anthony and Brown, *Turkic World*.

[http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn\\_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm](http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm))

**Evidence 6: Hittite Chariot** The Hyksos invaded the Egyptian Delta in 1782-1570 BCE. It is not certain who they were, but possibly they were Hittites. The term “Hyksos” is derived from the hieroglyphic *hk hswt*, referring to “foreign rulers” of Asiatic lands. The image shows a Hittite chariot that may have given Egypt’s rulers their first sight of chariots. Whoever they were, the invaders introduced



A HITTITE CHARIOT WITH ITS THREE OCCUPANTS.<sup>1</sup>

chariot warfare through their rule, and it became part of Egyptian military and royal skills after that.

(Image: "History of Egypt, by Maspero, Volume 5, Part B." <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28876/28876-h/files/17325/17325-h/v5b.htm> - image-0013)

**Question:** What attitude would a defeated army adopt toward the new military technology that defeated them?

**Evidence 7: King Tut's Chariot** was a simple, light vehicle designed for hunting (image right). It was found in the tomb of young Pharaoh Tutankhamen (ruled ca. 1332 BC – 1323 BCE). The chariot was modeled on the Hyksos' type. The painting is from a box also found in his tomb. It shows him as a warrior riding and shooting arrows in battle.

(Images: "King Tut's Chariots: Ferraris of Ancient Egypt: Discovery News." <http://news.discovery.com/history/ancient-egypt/king-tut-chariot-egypt.htm>)



### Questions:

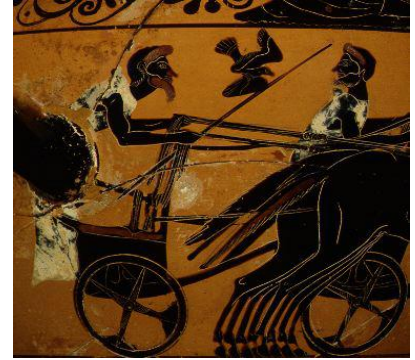
1. Do you think King Tut was actually an accomplished charioteer?
2. What does the image on the box in King Tut's grave say about the impact of chariot warfare on those who did not possess the technology, and how it was perceived by those who did possess it?

### Evidence 8: Greek and Phoenician Chariots

Both the Greeks and the Phoenicians were seafaring people who established colonies around the shores of the Mediterranean. The coin is from Phoenicia, Sidon (today's Lebanon), during the reign of a king named Baalshallim II, who ruled ca. 386-372 BCE. On one side of the coin is a chariot, and on the other a Phoenician war galley. So this image shows the chariot technology, and



the means to spread it by sea. Earlier Phoenician coins show warfare with Persian armies, so they would have known about chariots much earlier than this coin. The painting on this Greek ceramic urn from the 6th century BCE shows an early chariot with only four spokes. While chariot racing was a sport in Greece, it was one used for training warriors.



Images: "Phoenicia, Sidon, Ancient Coins Index - WildWinds.com." <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/phoenicia/sidon/t.html>; Tampa 86.34, Tampa Museum of Art, Maria Daniels <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Olympics/equestrian.html>

**Question:** Do you think horses were trade goods moved by ships?

**Evidence 9: Garamantian Chariot in the North African Sahara** The Garamantes were people living from the area of Libya today to areas westward across the Sahara Desert. The domesticated, one-humped camel was brought there by 200 BCE, and began to appear in rock art. The Garamantes, who also farmed, knew about domesticated horses by 1500 BCE or earlier, and the chariot perhaps soon after its arrival in Egypt. Some of the rock art paintings also contain inscriptions in a script somewhat like Phoenician. The Garamantes were known for trade and for raising horses that they supplied to Carthage and later Rome.

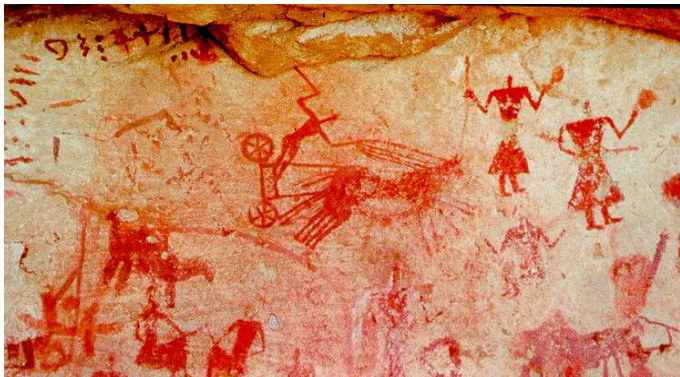


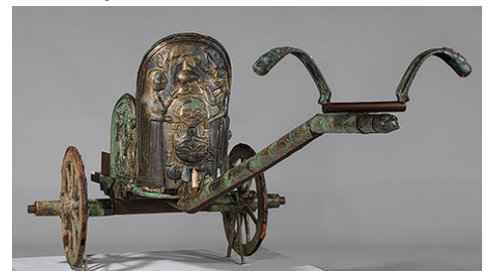
Image: "Rock Art of the Fezzan." [http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes\\_rock\\_art.html](http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes_rock_art.html)

**Question:** Why would coastal trading cities be dependent upon people who lived inland from the coast?

**Evidence 10: Etruscan Bronze Tomb Chariot and Roman Chariot Races** This decorated, bronze chariot from the 6th century BCE was found in a tomb, and was probably never used much. It dates to a time when chariot warfare was not as important anymore, but had become part of myths and legends from the past. In the first



century CE in Rome, when this plaque was molded of clay, chariot racing had become a sport practiced in front of city people for entertainment.



(Images: "Chariot [Etruscan; From Monteleone, Italy] (03.23.1) | Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History | The Metropolitan Museum of Art." <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/03.23.1> and

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/online\\_tours/rome/chariot-racing\\_in\\_ancient\\_rome/chariot-racing\\_in\\_ancient\\_rome.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/online_tours/rome/chariot-racing_in_ancient_rome/chariot-racing_in_ancient_rome.aspx))

**Question:** How and why did horse riding and chariots spread to Mediterranean lands all around its shores?

### Evidence 11: Numidian [North African] Cavalry from Trajan's Column

This image is from Trajan's Column in Rome, Italy. It celebrates the Roman victory in the Dacian Wars in Macedonia, north of Greece, in 101-106 CE. The scenes on the column show the Roman army and its technology. Numidian cavalry from North Africa were part of that army. David Anthony explains the next innovation after chariot warfare became just a sport. ". . .around 1200 BCE the short recurved . . .bow was developed. . .

Around 1000-800 BC, the recurved bow was united with a method for mass-producing . . . arrowheads . . . The short but powerful bow and the standard-weight arrowhead together might have been the innovations that made mounted archery truly deadly. . . the identity of the fighter [had to change] from a heroic single warrior to a nameless soldier. . . cavalry . . . attacked and retreated as a body in which individual riders became anonymous. . . under the leadership of a general. . .making cavalry an effective new weapon.

That shift occurred somewhere in the [Eurasian steppes] between about 1000-800 BCE. After it, cavalry swept chariotry from the battlefield and a new era in warfare began."



(Text: "Harnessing Horsepower," Anthony and Brown, *Turkic World*. [http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn\\_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm](http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/btn_Archeology/HarnessingHorsepower-AnthonyAndBrownEn.htm)); Image: Wikimedia Commons, Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Erster Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Ersten Dakischen Krieges", Tafel 54, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1896.)

**Question:** How did a cavalry soldier behave differently from a chariot warrior? How would it happen that North African cavalry soldiers fought in Macedonia for the Romans? What does it tell us about the Roman Empire and its military organization?

## The Magic of Metals: Copper and Bronze

The earliest copper objects known are from around 7000 BCE in Asia Minor (today's Turkey), but copper may even have been discovered by 9000 BCE. These objects were made from nuggets of native copper, which is found in streams, the same way gold nuggets first revealed the wonderful, shiny metal to early people. Both copper and gold nuggets can be shaped by hammering with stone tools, since they are among the softest metals. If copper is heated and hammered, it becomes harder and can be formed into a sharp edge. This technique was used for making tools. As the new technology spread, copper tools were traded down the Tigris River to Mesopotamia, where they appear between 7000 and 5000 BCE. In Europe, copper ornaments such as bracelets, axe heads and rings became common grave goods, like the axe in the image from around 3700 BCE, which shows wear on the soft metal.



As demand for copper grew, ores were discovered, which are rocks with copper and other minerals. Crushing the rock and smelting it with fire extracted copper that was not pure, but had interesting qualities. This impure copper created the first alloys, or mixtures of metal. Some were harder. Some were brittle and useless. Some alloys melted more easily, allowing metalsmiths to pour the liquid metal into clay or stone molds, a process called casting. Copper from ores was much more plentiful in nature than copper nuggets. By trial and error, sources of high-quality ore were discovered and mined in many places. Early alloys included arsenic and copper, but metalsmiths must have become ill from the fumes of poisonous arsenic.



By accident or experiment with these impure copper ores, an alloy of about 85-90% copper and 5-15% tin was discovered—bronze. It is much harder than copper or tin alone, even though it melts at a lower temperature. Bronze tools and weapons were superior to stone or copper ones, and could be cast more easily. This was the beginning of the Bronze Age, in about 3000 BCE in Western Asia. Bronze technology spread around the Mediterranean and into Europe and Central Asia. The Chinese discovered bronze independently, and became highly skilled in its use.

Metalsmiths working with bronze in the Mediterranean region invented rivets as a way to attach blades to handles, as in this example from the Cyclades Islands. They also used tin to solder, or fuse, metal pieces together with fire.

### Bronze Brings Big Changes

Several economic, social, political and environmental changes took place in the Mediterranean region as a result of manufacturing and using bronze on a wide scale:

- **Social changes:** Metalsmiths became masters of their craft. The figure of the smith was often seen as mysterious and god-like, but also dangerous. Mining as a specialized job also became more widespread, and probably included children and slaves. Warriors equipped with bronze weapons and armor grew in status because of the expense of their equipment and skill required in using it. Class divisions became more marked as wealthy merchants, powerful officials and military classes gained wealth, land and status.



- **Economic changes:** Medium- and long-distance trade on the Mediterranean and beyond grew with the demand for copper and tin. Tin was rare, with a few sources in Asia Minor, the Iberian Peninsula, and even the faraway British Isles. Being a metal artisan became a steady, specialized profession, and merchants who traded in copper and tin, as well as gold and silver, became wealthy. Port cities and regional centers for metal production became prosperous places with fine homes and public buildings such as temples. Empires grew rich from conquest of territory through the use of bronze weapons, while they had the advantage over the conquered. Trade in metal and the wealth it produced stimulated trade in fine goods such as glass, ceramics, jewelry, textiles and imported spices and foods. New mining areas in Europe opened trade routes and stimulated migration of people and their languages.
- **Political changes:** Bronze Age empires grew from small beginnings as city-states, conquering huge territories, capturing prisoners and slaves, collecting taxes and tribute (gifts) from lesser rulers. Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, and Romans were prominent Bronze Age states in the Mediterranean region. Pastoral nomads of the Eurasian Steppe combined bronze weapons with skill as horse-mounted chariot warriors and cavalry troops.
- **Environmental changes:** Production of bronze required enormous amounts of energy—human labor, animals for transport, and wood for fuel. Smelting copper and tin from ores and even melting ingots (pieces of purified copper and tin) to make objects required whole forests of wood. Building the ships that carried out the trade, as well as warships to conquer and control territory won by empires, led to depletion of many forested areas in the Mediterranean region. Examples were in the Taurus Mountains of Asia Minor (southern Turkey today), on the island of Cyprus, whose name means “copper,” and at Timna in the Sinai Peninsula. Other environmental impacts were production of huge slag heaps from the waste rock left after copper and tin were extracted. Ancient heaps of 600,000 tons and more have been found.



### Bronze Age Leads to Iron Age

With the increased skill in metalworking and rising demand, metalsmiths learned to work iron sometime around 1500 BCE, probably in metalworking centers in Asia Minor. Pure iron was sometimes found in meteorites, and was not just valuable but magical. Iron ore requires very high temperatures and advanced forges to separate it from the ore. Heating, hammering and re-heating could produce wrought iron, which was not as strong as bronze. It was both brittle and weak, and it rusts. In time, smiths learned that heating iron with fuel and hammering it, quenching it in water and repeating, could produce very hard steel for sharp swords, because it mixed with carbon. The Iron Age had begun, and still continues today.

**Images:** [Copper axehead](#), Danube River Cucuteni culture, ca. 3700-3500 BCE, **Photo:** Marius Amarie, Moldova National Museum Complex at “The Lost World of Old Europe - WNYC.” <http://www.wnyc.org/story/98047-lostworld>; [Relief sculpture of Vulcan](#), Roman god of fire and forge, from the city of Herculaneum; in Greek mythology, he was Hephaistos. Melbourne Museum, Melbourne, Australia; [Bronze dagger with rivets](#), ca. 2600-2200 BCE made in the Cyclades, Harvard Art Museums/Sackler Museum, Boston. **Text:** Richard Cowen, “Chapter 4: The Bronze Age,” from *Exploiting the Earth* (Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming) <http://mygeologypage.ucdavis.edu/cowen/~GEL115/115CH4.html>.

## Language Families in the Mediterranean

Three main language groups were spoken in the Mediterranean region. Traders, soldiers, farmers, sailors, and pastoral nomads, migrated in and around the region. These people and their languages originated sometimes near, and sometimes far from its shores. These languages became the languages of empires and city-states, and came to be written down using writing systems. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Coptic and Berber languages belonged to these three language families.

These languages emerged, however, from two main families of languages. Afro-Asiatic languages originated in Africa, and the Semitic languages spoken in Southwest Asia grew out of them. Indo-European languages originated in an area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea (part of that region is called the Caucasus, giving us the word “Caucasian.”

As people traded, migrated, conquered and communicated using newly developed writing systems, these languages borrowed words and ideas. When we think of the Mediterranean as a sea that connected the histories of many people, we should think of the ways they spoke to one another. As they were introduced to new inventions, resources, and ideas, these people heard the names of new things and took them into their languages with or without changes. Just as words like “telephone,” “computer,” “jet,” and “jeans” have entered many languages today, this process took place long ago as horses, metals, ships, and chariots arrived on Mediterranean shores from near or far.

**Unraveling the spread of language families raises a big question: Why do people move from the places where they were born to other lands? The answers may include:**

- changes in the environment, such as climate (drier, wetter, colder, warmer)
- loss of resources (cutting down forests)
- population growth (need for new farmlands or grazing lands)
- new opportunities because of new technologies (farming and herding, better transportation)
- invasion and conquest can push groups of people to leave, wipe them out, or absorb them into other groups.

Tracing the clues to the spread of language has led to a trail of clues that connects language, environment, and technology. For example, when people on the Eurasian Steppe (grasslands) learned about wheeled carts, they could transport heavy goods more easily. When they learned to hitch oxen to the carts, they could go farther. When they learned to ride horses, they could control larger herds of animals. Riding camels opened trade routes across wide deserts of Africa and Asia. With these movements people carried their languages to new homes, where they continued to change over time.

## Afro-Asiatic languages

This group of languages has a very ancient and mysterious past, and were spoken by people who migrated out of Africa to the rest of the world. The arrows show the movement of people into the Nile Valley and into sub-Saharan Africa. Remember that the Sahara Desert became more arid around 6000 BCE, and with it, people who had hunted, gathered and raised cattle moved to more fertile areas and became farmers. Scholars of language (linguists) believe that Afro-Eurasian languages represent a branch of the earliest languages spoken by modern humans, which changed as they moved farther and farther from Africa.

Notice also that arrows show migration across the Red Sea, into and out of the Nile Valley, and into Asia across the Sinai Desert. They also show movement across sub-Saharan Africa. Ancient Egyptian was the first of the Afro-Eurasian languages to be written around 3500 BCE, in hieroglyphics. Berber languages emerged as people moved into northwest Africa along the coast. They were also influenced by later migrations in different directions by people bringing horses, chariots, and camels.



## Semitic Languages

The Semitic languages (see next map, below) are also Afro-Asiatic languages, which emerged through migration across the Fertile Crescent. Semitic languages (for example, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Amharic in Ethiopia) were a subgroup of Afroasiatic languages that originated in the upper (southern) Nile Valley. As the map shows, Egyptian and Berber, spoken in North Africa, grew out of languages spoken in the Sahara and in the lower Nile Valley.

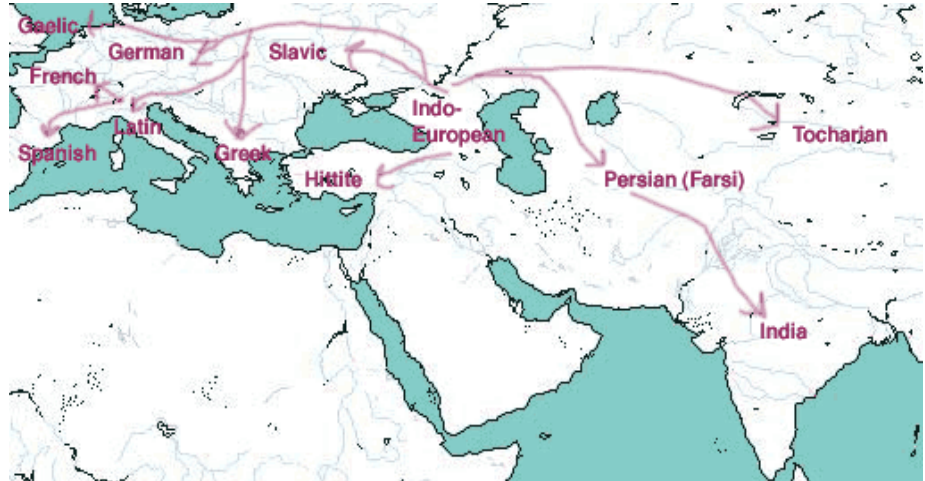
Semitic languages are known for their connection to the early Fertile Crescent, and the rise of cities and civilization in Mesopotamia and the eastern

Mediterranean coast. Phoenician, or Punic, was a Semitic language carried to Phoenician colonies around the Mediterranean. The Semitic languages are also known today as languages of scripture (Torah, Bible, and Qur'an) for the three major monotheistic, or Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. These languages are Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. A branch of Semitic languages from the southern Arabian Peninsula and east Africa includes Ethiopian Amharic. The second map shows where these languages are spoken today.

(Maps: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semitic\\_languages\\_-\\_Origins](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semitic_languages_-_Origins); [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afro-asiatic\\_languages\\_-\\_Etymology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afro-asiatic_languages_-_Etymology))

## Indo-European Languages

Indo-European languages are spoken all over the world today. They include English, French, Spanish, Persian, Hindi, and many others. The discovery of connections among Asian and European languages began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in India, and has been the subject of archaeological and linguistic studies ever since. Since no living people speak the original language from which this



family sprung, linguists have tried to work backwards to determine where, when and by what kind of people this original language they call Proto-Indo-European (PIE) was spoken. Currently, scholars think that PIE was spoken between 4000 BCE and 2500 BCE in an area of grassland between and north of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. During the next few thousand years, people carried these languages to new homelands, and as they separated, new languages gradually emerged, such as Hittite (in Asia Minor), Italic (related to Latin, in Italy), Hellenic (related to Greek), Iranian (related to Persian), and eventually Sanskrit. In Western Europe, languages related to German, Celtic, Slavic and others developed.

(Map: <http://www.historyforkids.org/learn/maps/indoeuropean.htm>)

### Questions:

1. Looking at the map above, why do you think Indo-European languages branched out into so many languages, and why did they spread so far across Eurasia?
2. Why do you think some of the Semitic languages died out, while Hebrew and Arabic are still used?
3. Where was the influence of Berber and related languages strongest?

## Alphabet Bouillabaisse\*\*: Inscriptions from Mediterranean Writing Systems

There were many writing systems circulating the wider region of the Mediterranean Sea over time, just as many languages and dialects came to share those writing systems. The images on these pages show the wide range of places and types of inscriptions people created in the three language families of the Mediterranean region. Cut out the images and descriptions of each artifact and place them on a map of the region, or pin them around the edges of a map and use yarn to point to their locations.

\*\**Bouillabaisse* is a French soup made of many kinds of Mediterranean seafood.



Clay tablet in cuneiform script, Ugarit, 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, in Syria, (MS 1955/6 at Schoyen Collection at <http://www.schoyencollection.com/firstalpha2.html>)



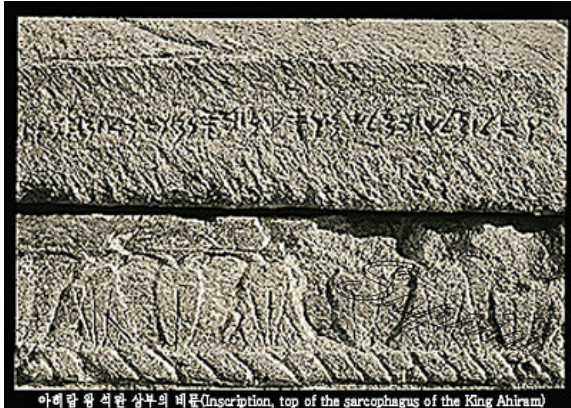
Hieroglyphics on a scarab (carved on the other side like the back of a beetle), made during the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390-1352 BCE), Egypt. It celebrates the construction of a lake.

(Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art NY Rogers Fund, 1935. 35.2.1. "Inscribing Meaning: Hieroglyphs / National Museum of African Art."  
<http://africa.si.edu/exhibits/inscribing/hieroglyphs.html>)

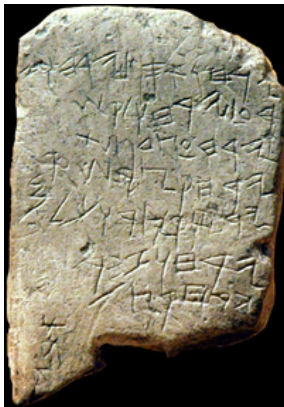


Minoan clay tablet from the palace of Knossos, Crete, ca. 1450-1375 BCE  
Knossos on the island of Crete. It records quantities of oil offered to various deities, and was preserved by the fire that destroyed the palace.

(Source: "Clay Tablet Inscribed with Linear B Script.jpg - Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia." [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Clay\\_Tablet\\_inscribed\\_with\\_Linear\\_B\\_script.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Clay_Tablet_inscribed_with_Linear_B_script.jpg) based on Ventris, M. and; Chadwick, J. "Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 73, (1953), pp. 84-103.)



The Ahirom Sarcophagus, ca. 1000 BCE, is the oldest known evidence of the Phoenician alphabet. National Museum of Beirut.



Inscription on limestone tablet in an early version of Hebrew script, ca. 900 – 800 BCE. It is called the “Gezer Calendar”. The inscription lists duties of the farmer’s year: *“Two months of harvest, Two months of planting, Two months are late planting, One month of hoeing, One month of barley-harvest, One month of harvest and festival, Two months of grape harvesting, One month of summer fruit”*

(Source: “The Gezer Calendar : From Cave Paintings to the Internet.” <http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=1578>, in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul)



Early version of the Greek alphabet on the bottom of a ceramic dish, 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, (National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Wikimedia GNU [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:NAMA\\_Alphabet\\_grec.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:NAMA_Alphabet_grec.jpg))



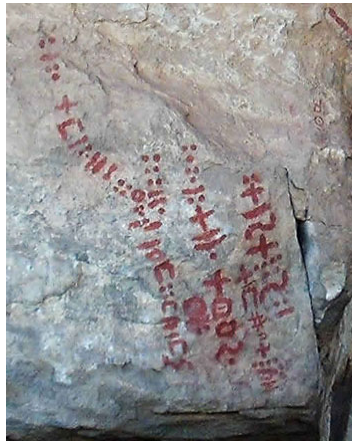
Dead Sea Scroll fragment in copper from the cave of Qumran, Jordan, dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE to 68 CE. The Dead Sea Scrolls date to the time of Jesus, and are the oldest Hebrew manuscripts. (The Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem at "The Dead Sea Scrolls (300 BCE – 68 CE): From Cave Paintings to the Internet." <http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=175>)



Phoenician and Etruscan inscription on gold leaf, from the dedication of a sanctuary to the Phoenician goddess Ashtaret (Astarte), dated to 500 BCE. The sanctuary was located in ancient Pyrgi, on the west coast at Santa Severa, Italy. The tablets helped decipher Etruscan writing since the dedication was in two languages. (National Etruscan Museum, Villa Giulia, Rome, at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyrgi\\_Tablets](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyrgi_Tablets))

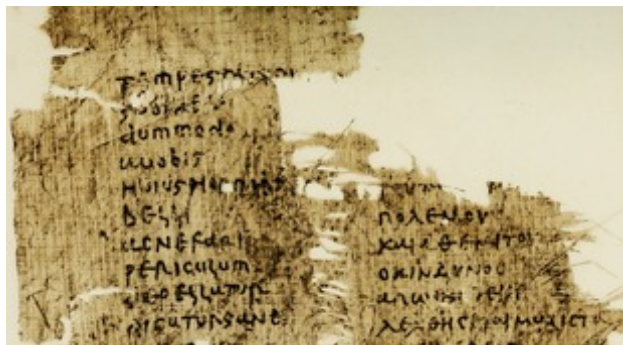


A Nabataean stone inscription with a form of early Arabic script, from a funerary monument excavated near Madaba, Jordan, dated to 37 or 38 CE, for a grandfather and grandson ("Nabataean Funeral Inscription." [http://www.livius.org/ap-ark/ark/ark-arabia/arabia\\_nabataeans\\_inscr.html](http://www.livius.org/ap-ark/ark/ark-arabia/arabia_nabataeans_inscr.html), in the Louvre, Paris. )



Tifinagh script of the Berbers or Garamantes, related to Punic, from rock art of the Fezzan, in modern Libya. It is difficult to date these inscriptions, but those with writing are later, dating from the period after 200 BCE and as late as 500 CE, but probably earlier.

(Source: "Libyan Art Galleries: Prehistoric Rock Art." <http://www.temehu.com/libyan-art-galleries.htm> and "Rock Art of the Fezzan." [http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes\\_rock\\_art.html](http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes_rock_art.html).)



Fragment of a papyrus scroll of a speech by Roman politician and philosopher Cicero (106-43 BCE) written in Latin in one column and Greek in the other. Papyrus was made from a water plant that grew in Egypt, and is very perishable, but was frequently used for record-keeping in North Africa.

(Source: "File:P.Ryl. I 61.tif

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:P.Ryl. I 61.tif> from A.S. Hunt. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library: Volume I* (Manchester University, 1911)



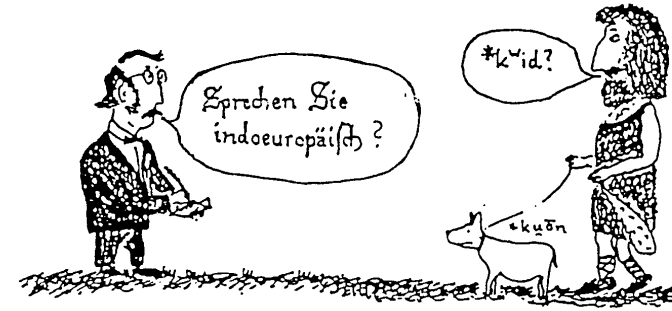
Latin inscription showing early use of serifs (short, perpendicular lines at the ends of letter shapes), arranged in straight lines. The inscription is from Trajan's Column in Roma in stone from 113 BCE. Many books use fonts (type styles) with serifs, like the one you are reading. This font has no serifs.

(Source: "The Trajan Inscription." <http://codex99.com/typography/21.html>)



## Old and Modern Words in Indo-European Languages

Educated Europeans had long known that Romance languages like French, Italian, and Spanish had their beginnings in Latin. Other words are related to Greek. German and English have similarities. When Europeans came to India and began learning Persian and Sanskrit, however, they were very surprised to find similarities to European languages. The idea that people long ago had spoken a common language and migrated toward Europe and India was born. But how to reconstruct a language that no longer exists? Archeologists can dig up graves and ancient settlements, but we can't hear the speech of people who left no writing. Scholars of language, called linguists, have reconstructed that long-lost language they call Proto-Indo-European by tracing patterns of change in vowels and consonants among ancient and modern related languages. These changes allow linguists to trace likely routes of migration from a common place of origin over time, and offer proof of a common history among distant peoples.



*Grimm meets a Primitive Indo-European.*

**Directions:** The words in the chart represent six Indo-European languages, some spoken long ago, and some today. Don't mind the phonetic symbols—just focus on the similarities.

1. Use the map in Student Handout 2.3.3 to locate the geographic regions where the languages in the chart below are or were spoken. The second row of the chart shows when these Indo-European languages were spoken. Hebrew and Arabic are spoken today.
2. Put the words in the chart below into categories. How do these categories relate to important things people talk about?
3. Choose a row and try to sound out the words that are compared among languages. Look for patterns in the way vowels or consonants change from one language to another. If you know Spanish, French, or another language, think of similar words in those languages, such as “one” = uno = une.
4. Find 5-10 words that you recognize from languages other than English. Are there some words with related roots in our language? For example, we say “father,” but a person who loves the fatherland is called a “patriot;” We say “new” but “novelty” means something new.
5. Do the Hebrew and Arabic words have any similarities with Indo-European languages? Are there any familiar words that may have emerged from the heritage of Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)? How about personal names and place names? Give examples of names from the holy books of these religions.

**(Image:** Cartoon about Grimm, who collected folk tales and fairytales in 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany, asking a primitive European, “Do you speak Indo-European?” from [http://www.ling.cam.ac.uk/li7/phon\\_reconstruct.htm](http://www.ling.cam.ac.uk/li7/phon_reconstruct.htm); Selections from Wikipedia article on Proto-Indo-European Language (PIE) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proto-Indo-European\\_language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proto-Indo-European_language), which has a much longer list with more languages included. Spellings have been simplified.

Proto-Indo-European Word Roots	English	Latin	Ancient Greek	Sanskrit	Iranian	Slavic
Languages used to find similar words, and dates when they were spoken	Modern English, ca. 2000 CE; Old English (OE) ca. 1000 CE	ca. 100 BCE	ca. 400 BCE	Vedic Sanskrit, ca. 1700-1100 BCE	Avestan (AV), ca. 1700-1200 BCE and ca. 900-400 BCE ; Old Persian, (OPERS) ca. 525 BCE	Old Church Slavonic (OCS), ca. 1000 CE
*meHtér- "mother"	mother (< OE <i>mōdor</i> )	māter "mother"	mētēr "mother"	mātár- "mother"	AV mātar- "mother"	mati (matere) "mother"
*pHtér- "father"	father (< OE <i>fæder</i> )	pater "father"	patēr "father"	pitár- "father"	AV pitar- OPERS pita "father"	
*bhréHter- "brother"	brother (< OE <i>brōþor</i> )	frāter "brother"	phrātēr "member of a brotherhood"	bhrātar- "brother"	AV brātar-, OPERS brātar "brother, relative"	bratrŭ "brother"
*swéSOR "sister"	sister (< OE <i>sweostor</i> ,	soror "sister"	éor "relative"	svásar- "sister"	AV xaŋhar- "sister"	sestra "sister"
*dhugH-tér- "daughter"	daughter (< OE <i>dohtor</i> )		thugátēr "daughter"	duhitár- "daughter"	AV dugədar-, NPers duxtar, duxt "daughter"	dŭšter- "daughter"
*suHnú- "son"	son (< OE <i>sunu</i> )		huiús "son"	sŭnú- "son"	AV hunuš "son"	synŭ "son"

*wiH-ro- "man"	werewolf (<OE <i>wer</i> "man")	vir "man"		vīrā- "man, hero"	vīra- "man, hero"	
*ói-nos, ói-wos "one"	one (<OE <i>ān</i> )	ūnus (archaic oinos)	oīnos "one (on a die)", oī(w)os "alone"	(ēka- < *oi-ko-	AV aēva-, OPERS aiva- "one, only, alone"	inū "one, another"
*dwóH , neut. *dwóy(H <sub>1</sub> ) "two"	two (< OE <i>twā</i> )	duo "two"	dúō "two"	dvā(u) "two"	AV dva, baē "two"	dūva "two"
*tréyes "three"	three (< OE <i>prē</i> )	trēs "three"	treīs "three"	tráyah (fem. tistráh) "three"	AV thrayō, thrayas "three"	trīje "three"
*déktm "ten"	ten (< OE <i>tien</i> )	decem "ten"	déka "ten"	dása "ten"	AV dasa "ten"	desętī "ten"
*ékws "horse"	OE eoh "horse"	equus "horse"	híppos "horse"	ásvah "horse"	AV aspa-	
*muHs- "mouse"	mouse (< OE <i>mūs</i> )	mūs "mouse"	mūs "mouse"	múš- "mouse"	OPERS muš "mouse"	myši "mouse"
*sal- "salt"	salt (< OE <i>sealt</i> )	sāl (salis) "salt"	hāls (halós) "salt"	sal-ilá- "salty"		solī "salt"
*HneH <sub>3</sub> mn or *Hnomn "name"	name (< OE <i>nama</i> )	nōmen "name"	ónoma "name"	nāma "name"	AV nāma "name"	ime "name"
*meHns- "moon, month"	moon (< OE <i>mōna</i> ), month	mēnsis "month"	mén, ménē "moon"	māsa "moon, month"	AV mān (mānhō) "moon"; NPers māh "moon, month"	měsęcī "moon, month"
*medhyo- "mid, middle"	mid, middle (< OE <i>mid, middel</i> )	medius "middle"	més(s)os "middle"	mádhya- "middle"	AV maiḍya- "middle"	meždu "between"
*néwo- "new"	new (< OE <i>nīwe</i> )	novus "new"	né(w)os "new"	nāva- "new"	AV nava- "new"	novū "new"
*k <sup>w</sup> ek <sup>w</sup> lo- "wheel"	wheel (< OE <i>hwēol, hweogol</i> )		kúklos "circle", (pl.) "wheels"	cakrá- "wheel"	AV cakra- "wheel"	kolo "wheel"

**Word Similarities in Semitic Languages: Hebrew and Arabic**

English word	Hebrew word	Arabic word
mother	em	umm
father	av	ab
brother	ahh	akh
sister	ahhot	ukht
son	ben	ibn
daughter	bat	bint
blood	dam	dam
finger	esba	isba
tongue	lashon	lisaan
eye	'ayin	'ayn
English word	Hebrew word	Arabic word
hand	yad	yad
I	aniy	anaa
you	atah	enta
he	huu'	huwwa
we	anahnu	nahnu

they	hem	hum
water	mayim	maa'
river	nahar	nahr
dog	kelev	kalb
cattle	baqar	baqar
house	bayit	bayt
village	kfar	kafr
temple	heykhal	haykal
wall	gader	jadr
clay or mud	tiin	tiin
to see	ra'ah	ra'aa
to hear	sama	sami'a
to write	katav	kataba
to read	qara'	qara'a

Source: <https://sites.google.com/site/arabichebrewlexicon/introduction/common-semitic-roots>

Phoenician Letter	Name	Meaning	Sound	Hebrew	Arabic	Greek	Latin
	alf	ox	'a	א	ا	Αα	Aa
	bet	house	b	ב	ب	Ββ	Bb
	gaml	camel	g	ג	ج	Γγ	Cc, Gg
	delt	door	d	ד	د	Δδ	Dd
	he	window	h	ה	ه	Εε	Ee
	wau	hook	w	ו	و	(Ff), Yu	Ff, Uu, Vv, Yy Ww
	zen	weapon	z	ז	ذ, ز	Ζζ	Zz
	het	wall	h	ח	ح, خ	Ηη	Hh
	tet	wheel	ṭ	ט	ط	Θθ	—
	yod	hand	y	י	ي	Ιι	Ii, Jj
	kaf	palm of hand	k	כ	ك	Κκ	Kk
	lamda	goad	l	ל	ل	Λλ	Ll
	mem	water	m	מ	م	Μμ	Mm
	nun	serpent, whale	n	נ	ن	Νν	Nn
	semka	fish	s	ס	س	Ξξ, possibly X χ	possibly Xx
	eyn	eye	'ayn	ע	ع, غ	Οο, Ωω	Oo
	pey	mouth	p	פ	ف	Ππ	Pp
	sade	hunt	ṣs	צ	ظ, ض, ص	(Μμ)	—
	qof	needle head	q	ק	ق	Φφ, possibly φ, ψ	Qq
	rosh	head	r	ר	ر	Ρρ	Rr
	shin	tooth	šh	ש	ش	Σσς	Ss
	tau	mark	t	ת	ث, ت	Ττ	Tt

Source: Modified from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoenician\\_alphabet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoenician_alphabet)

### Questions to Think About

1. Look at the symbols in column 1. They represent the names given to things in the Phoenician language. What kinds of things are these 22 objects/words? What do you think they have in common?
2. Look at column 1 and column 2 in the chart above. How do you think people made the connection between picture writing, in which a symbol represents a thing, and phonetic writing, in which a symbol represents a sound? In the space below, name three things that only exist since modern times, and invent simple symbols for them:

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3. Greek and Latin belong to the Indo-European language family. Hebrew and Arabic belong to the Semitic language family. How do you think both came to be written with a set of phonetic symbols with similar sounds?
4. Look at the map in Student Handout 2.4.3 on the spread of languages into the Mediterranean region. What role do you think trade and seafaring played in the spread of writing systems.

## Timeline of Carthaginian History

ca. 814 BCE	The traditional date of the founding of Carthage (according to the legend by Queen Dido, but in reality, by the Phoenicians)
ca. 550 BCE	Larache is founded as a Carthaginian colony on the Atlantic coast of Africa
409 BCE	A Carthaginian army lands near Marsala to begin the long involvement of Carthage in Sicily
264 BCE	A clash in Sicily, between Rome and Carthage, leads to the First Punic War
260 BCE	A Carthaginian ship, captured by the Romans, is used as the model for the first Roman fleet, which is constructed in two months
260 BCE	The new Roman fleet wins a decisive victory over the Carthaginians at Mylae
241 BCE	A Roman naval victory at Trapani, off the northwest tip of Sicily, completes the blockade of the Carthaginians and ends the First Punic War
ca. 240 BCE	The Iberian Peninsula [Spain], with its mines of gold, silver and copper, is a region disputed between Carthage and Rome
228 BCE	Hamilcar Barca dies fighting in Spain, after establishing a strong Carthaginian presence in the peninsula
ca. 225 BCE	A treaty defines the Ebro river as the Spanish/Iberian boundary between Carthage and Rome
221 BCE	Hannibal succeeds to the command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain, on the death of his brother-in-law Hasdrubal
201 BCE	Carthaginian Spain is handed over to Rome to become two new provinces at the end of the Second Punic War
149 BCE	Rome picks a quarrel with Carthage to begin the Third Punic War
146 BCE	Carthage is destroyed by the Romans at the end of the Third Punic War
46 BCE	A century after Carthage's destruction by the Romans, a town is founded by Julius Caesar on the ruined site of Carthage, and flourishes as Colonia Julia Carthago
258 CE	Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, is one of many Christians martyred for refusing to sacrifice to the Roman gods
ca. 400 CE	St. Augustine writes about his life as a young man studying and teaching in Carthage
439 CE	Vandal leader Gaiseric captures Carthage and makes it his base for Vandal raids across the Mediterranean
533 CE	The Byzantine general Belisarius recovers Carthage from the Vandals
698 CE	Carthage is captured from the Byzantines by the Arabs and is finally destroyed, though Tunis will later rise nearby



## Justinus on Founding of the City of Carthage

*The Phoenicians left no early written account of the founding legends of their city, but the legend of Queen Dido came to be known far and wide. The first account is from a historian, and the second is an excerpt from the famous Aeneid of Virgil (70 BCE-19 CE), a Latin epic poem based on the Greek Iliad of Homer (ca. 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE). (See Handout 2.4.2b)*

**From Marcus Junianus Justinus<sup>1</sup>, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. translated, with notes, by the Rev. John Selby Watson. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Convent Garden (1853), Book 18. <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/trans18.html>.**

[Headings not part of original text, and brackets added for comprehension]

### The Early Phoenicians

“ . . . Since I come to speak of the Carthaginians, a short account shall be given of their origin. . . The nation of the Tyrians [the cities of Sidon and Tyre] was founded by the Phoenicians, who, suffering from an earthquake, and abandoning their country, settled at first near the Syrian lake, and afterwards on the coast near the sea, where they built a city, which, from the abundance of fish, they named Sidon, for so the Phoenicians call a fish in their language. Many years after, their city being stormed by the king of the Ascalonians, sailing away to the place where Tyre stands they built that city the year before the fall of Troy. . .

### The Phoenicians at Tyre and the Legend of Queen Elissa (Dido)

The Tyrians. . . quickly grew powerful by frugality and industry. . . when they abounded in wealth and population, they sent a portion of their youth into Africa, and founded Utica. Meanwhile their king died at Tyre, appointing his son Pygmalion and his daughter Elissa [Dido], a maiden of extraordinary beauty, his heirs. But the people gave the throne to Pygmalion, who was [just] a boy. Elissa married Acerbas, her uncle, who was priest of Hercules, a dignity next to that of the king. Acerbas had great but concealed riches, having laid up his gold, for fear of the king, not in his house, but in the earth; a fact of which though people had no certain knowledge of it [, they spread rumors]. Pygmalion, excited by the account [of buried treasure]. . . murdered his uncle, who was also his brother-in-law. . . Elissa long [hated] her brother for his crime, but at last, . . . she secretly contrived a mode of flight [escape], admitting into her confidence some of the leading men of the city, in whom she saw . . . a similar hatred of the king, and an equal desire to escape. She then addressed her brother in such a way as to deceive him; pretending that “she had a desire to remove to his house, in order that the home of her husband might no longer revive in her, when she [wanted] to forget him, the oppressive [memory] of her sorrows. . .” To these words of his sister, Pygmalion was no unwilling listener, thinking that with her [gone] the gold of Acerbas would come to him. But Elissa put the attendants, who were sent by the king to assist in her removal, on board some



Dido on Punic coin, ca. 410-310 BCE

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Junianus Justinus was a Latin historian who lived during the 3rd century CE about whom little is known. He wrote about the history of Macedonia and the Hellenistic kingdoms, quoting passages from earlier historians whose works are mostly lost. His work was preserved during the medieval period in Europe and copied many times.

[ships] in the early part of the evening, and sailing out into the deep made them throw some loads of sand, put up in sacks, as if it was money, into the sea. Then, with tears and mournful [cries], she invoked Acerbas, [praying] that “he would favourably receive his wealth which he had left behind him, and accept that as an offering to his [ghost]. . .” Next she addressed the attendants, and said that “death had long been desired by her, but as for them, cruel torments and a direful end awaited them, for having disappointed the tyrant’s [greed for] those treasures, in the hopes of obtaining which he had . . . [killed his brother].” Having thus struck terror into them all, she took them with her as companions of her flight. Some. . . senators, too, . . . came to join her, and having offered a sacrifice to Hercules, whose priest Acerbas had been, proceeded to seek a settlement [colony] in exile.

### Escape across the Mediterranean to Carthage

Their first landing place was the island of Cyprus, where the priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, offered himself to Elissa, at the instigation of the gods, as her companion and the sharer of her fortunes, stipulating for the perpetual honour of the priesthood for himself and his descendants. The stipulation was received as a manifest omen of good fortune. It was a custom among the Cyprians to send their daughters, on stated days before their marriage, to the sea-shore, to prostitute themselves [to incoming ships], and thus [acquire] money for their marriage portions [dowries], and to pay. . . offerings to Venus for the preservation of their chastity in time to come. Of these [women] Elissa ordered about eighty to be seized and taken on board, that her men might have wives, and her city a population. . . . Pygmalion, having heard of his sister’s flight, and preparing to pursue her. . . , was [persuaded] by the prayers of his mother and [fear] of the gods to remain quiet. . . warning him that “he would not escape [punishment], if he interrupted the founding of a city that was to become the most prosperous in the world.” By this means some respite was given to the fugitives.



*Dido Purchases Land for the Foundation of Carthage. Engraving by Matthius Merian the Elder, in Historische Chronica, Frankfurt a.M., 1630. Dido's people cut the hide of an ox into thin strips and try to enclose a maximal domain.*

### Founding Carthage and the Oxhide Trick

Elissa, arriving in a gulf of Africa, [appealed to] the inhabitants of the coast, who rejoiced at the arrival of foreigners, and the opportunity of [trading] with them. . . [She] bargained [with the inhabitants] for a piece of ground, [asking for only] as much as could be covered with an ox-hide, where she might refresh her companions, wearied with their long voyage, until she could conveniently resume her [journey]. . . she directed the hide to be cut into the thinnest possible strips, and thus acquired a greater portion of ground than she had [seemed to] demand. . . whence the place [within the perimeter of the oxhide strips] [was later called] . . . Byrsa [the word for “hide”]. The people of the neighbourhood subsequently gathering about her, bringing, in hopes of gain, many articles to the strangers for sale, and gradually [settling] there. . . a city arose. . . . Ambassadors from the people of [Phoenician] Utica, too, brought them presents . . . and [encouraged] them “to build a city . . .” An inclination to [keep] the strangers [there] was felt also by the Africans; and, accordingly, with the consent of all, Carthage was founded, an annual tribute [gift] being fixed for the ground which it was to occupy. At the [start] of digging the foundations an ox’s head

was found, which was an omen that the city would be wealthy, indeed, but laborious and always enslaved [like an ox]. [The digging] was therefore removed to another place, where the head of a horse was found, which, indicating that the people would be warlike and powerful, portended an auspicious [lucky] site. In a short time, as the surrounding people came together. . . the inhabitants became numerous, and the city itself [grew].

When the power of the Carthaginians . . . had risen to some height, Hiarbas, king of the Mauritani, [demanding to speak with] ten of the chief men of Carthage, demanded Elissa in marriage, [threatening] war in case of a refusal. The deputies, fearing to report this message to the queen, [deceived] her. . . , saying that “the king asked for some person to teach him and his Africans a more civilized way of life, but who could be found that would leave his relations and go to barbarians and people that were living like wild beasts?” Being then reproached by the queen, “in case they refused a hard life for the benefit of their country, to which, should circumstances require, their life itself was due,” they disclosed the king’s message, saying that “she herself, if she wished her city to be secure, must do what she required of others.” Being caught by this [trick], she at last said (after calling for a long time with many tears . . . the name of her husband Acerbas from Tyre), that “she would go [wherever] the fate of her city called her.” Taking three months [to carry out] her resolution, and having raised a funeral pyre [outside] the city, she sacrificed many victims, as if she would appease the [ghost] of her husband, and make her offerings to him before her marriage. . . Then, taking a sword, she ascended the pyre, and, looking towards the people, said, that “she would go to her husband as they had desired her,” and put an end to her life with the sword. As long as Carthage remained unconquered, she was worshipped as a goddess. This city was founded seventy-two years before Rome. . .”

### Questions to Think About

1. What led to the founding of Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon? What led to further colonies?
2. What is unusual about the legend of the family drama connected to the founding of Carthage?
3. Why do you think such a legend or myth developed in association with colonization, when the Phoenicians founded many other colonies in connection with their trade? Do you think it might contain a kernel of truth?
4. Was the founding of Carthage based on conquest? What clues in the text indicate that the Phoenicians were accepted as newcomers by the North African inhabitants?
5. What dilemmas did the mythical Dido face as a woman heading the expedition to found the city that would not have been faced by a male founder? What was the outcome of the choice she made to solve it?
6. Extra: Look up information on the Dido’s mathematical problem. The Portuguese are said to have made the same request of land that could be covered by an oxhide from the Malay ruler when they founded Malacca in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Indian Ocean.



## Reader's Theater: from Virgil, *The Aeneid* – “The Death of Dido” (Written 19 B.C.E, translated by John Dryden 1697).



The Internet Classics Archive | The Aeneid by Virgil. Bk IV on Dido & Carthage.”

<http://classics.mit.edu/Virgil/aeneid.4.iv.html>.

Image: Meister des Vergilius Vaticanus, The Aeneid of Virgil, Book I, “The Death of Dido” (ca. 400 CE), Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica.

**Background:** Virgil added to the legend of Dido. As a Roman, he connected the founding of the great city of Carthage with the founding of Rome by Aeneas, Greek hero of the Trojan War. In this version, Aeneas is rescued by Queen Elissa/Dido from a shipwreck and falls in love with her. The African King Hyarba, who wants Dido for himself as a price for letting Carthage exist within his kingdom, is made jealous by rumors about Aeneas and Dido, and calls upon Jupiter/Jove to separate the lovers.

*Jupiter orders Mercury (Hermes) to tell Aeneas to leave Dido and sail across the sea to find his fate as the founder of Rome.*

*As the excerpt begins, Jupiter/Jove calls on Hermes, the messenger god, to fly to Aeneas and order him to set sail from Carthage, leaving Queen Dido to a disastrous fate.*

"Go, mount the western winds, and cleave the sky;  
Then, with a swift descent, to Carthage fly:  
There find the Trojan chief, who wastes his days  
In slothful not and inglorious ease,  
Nor minds the future city,<sup>1</sup> given by fate.  
To him this message from my mouth relate:  
'Not so fair Venus hoped, when twice she won  
Thy life with prayers, nor promised such a son.  
Hers was a hero, destined to command  
A martial race, and rule the Latin land,

Who should his ancient line from Teucer draw,  
And on the conquered world impose the law.'  
If glory cannot move a mind so mean,  
Nor future praise from fading pleasure wean,  
Yet why should he defraud his son of fame,  
And grudge the Romans their immortal name!  
...  
Bid him [Aeneas] with speed the Tyrian court forsake;  
With this command the slumbering warrior wake."  
Hermes obeys; with golden pinions binds  
His flying feet, and mounts the western winds:

<sup>1</sup> Rome

And, whether over the seas or earth he flies,  
With rapid force they bear him down the skies.

...

Arriving there, he found the Trojan prince  
New ramparts raising for the town's defense.  
A purple scarf, with gold embroidered over,  
(Queen Dido's gift,) about his waist he wore;  
A sword, with glittering gems diversified,  
For ornament, not use, hung idly by his side.  
Then thus, with winged words, the god began,  
Resuming his own shape: "Degenerate man,  
Thou woman's property, what makes thou  
here,  
These foreign walls and Tyrian towers to rear,  
Forgetful of thy own? All-powerful Jove,  
Who sways the world below and heaven  
above,  
Has sent me down with this severe command:  
What means thy lingering in the Libyan land?  
If glory cannot move a mind so mean,  
Nor future praise from flitting pleasure wean,  
Regard the fortunes of thy rising heir:  
The promis'd crown let young Ascanius<sup>2</sup> wear,  
To whom the Ausonian scepter, and the state  
Of Rome's imperial name is owed by fate."  
So spoke the god; and, speaking, took his flight,  
Involved in clouds, and vanish'd out of sight.  
The pious prince was seized with sudden fear;  
Mute was his tongue, and upright stood his  
hair.

Revolving in his mind the stern command,

---

<sup>2</sup> Ascanius is Aeneas' son, destined to rule Rome.

He longs to fly, and loathes the charming land.

What should he say? or how should he begin?

What course, alas! remains to steer between

The offended lover and the powerful queen<sup>3</sup>?

This way and that he turns his anxious mind,

And all expedients tries, and none can find.

Fixed on the deed, but doubtful of the means,

After long thought, to this advice he leans:

Three chiefs he calls, commands them to  
repair

The fleet, and ship their men with silent care;

Some plausible pretense he bids them find,

To color what in secret he designed.

Himself, meantime, the softest hours would  
choose,

Before the love-sick lady heard the news;

And move her tender mind, by slow degrees,

To suffer what the sovereign power decrees:

Jove will inspire him, when, and what to say.

They hear with pleasure, and with haste obey.

But soon the queen perceives the thin  
disguise:

(What arts can blind a jealous woman's eyes!)

She was the first to find the secret fraud,

Before the fatal news<sup>4</sup> was blazed abroad.

...

By these my prayers, if prayers may yet have  
place,<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Aeneas risks angering Dido and the African king who wanted to marry her before Aeneas became her lover.

<sup>4</sup> The news that Aeneas is leaving Queen Dido.

<sup>5</sup> Dido begs Aeneas not to leave her.

Pity the fortunes of a falling race.  
 For you I have provoked a tyrant's hate,  
 Incensed the Libyan and the Tyrian state;  
 For you alone I suffer in my fame,  
 Bereft of honor, and exposed to shame.  
 Whom have I now to trust, ungrateful guest?  
 (That only name remains of all the rest!)  
 What have I left? or whither can I fly?  
 Must I attend Pygmalion's cruelty,  
 Or till Hyarba shall in triumph lead  
 A queen that proudly scorned his proffered  
 bed?  
 Had you deferred, at least, your hasty flight,  
 And left behind some pledge of our delight,  
 Some babe to bless the mother's mournful  
 sight,  
 Some young Aeneas, to supply your place,  
 Whose features might express his father's face;  
 I should not then complain to live bereft  
 Of all my husband, or be wholly left."  
 Here paused the queen. Unmov'd he holds his  
 eyes,  
 By Jove's command; nor suffered love to rise,  
 Tho' heaving in his heart; and thus at length  
 replies:  
 "Fair queen, you never can enough repeat  
 Your boundless favors, or I own my debt;  
 Nor can my mind forget Eliza's name,  
 While vital breath inspires this mortal frame.  
 This only let me speak in my defense:  
 I never hoped a secret flight from hence,  
 Much less pretended to the lawful claim

Of sacred nuptials, or a husband's name.  
 For, if indulgent Heaven would leave me free,  
 And not submit my life to fate's decree,  
 . . .  
 But now the Delphian oracle commands,  
 And fate invites me to the Latin lands.  
 That is the promised place to which I steer,  
 And all my vows are terminated there. . . .  
 Ev'n now the herald of the gods [Hermes]  
 appear'd:  
 Waking I saw him, and his message heard.  
 From Jove he came commission'd, heavenly  
 bright  
 With radiant beams, and manifest to sight  
 (The sender and the sent I both attest)  
 These walls he entered, and those words  
 expressed.  
 Fair queen, oppose not what the gods  
 command;  
 Forc'd by my fate, I leave your happy land."  
 Thus while he spoke, already she began,  
 With sparkling eyes, to view the guilty man;  
 . . .  
 Faithless is earth, and faithless are the skies!  
 Justice is fled, and Truth is now no more!  
 I sav'd the shipwrecked exile on my shore;  
 With needful food his hungry Trojans fed;  
 I took the traitor to my throne and bed:  
 Fool that I was--'t is little to repeat  
 The rest-- I stored and rigged his ruined fleet.  
 I rave, I rave! A god's command he pleads,

And makes Heaven accessory to his deeds.  
 Now Lycian lots, and now the Delian god,  
 Now Hermes is employed from Jove's abode,  
 To warn him hence; as if the peaceful state  
 Of heavenly powers were touched with human  
 fate!

But go! thy flight no longer I detain--  
 Go seek thy promis'd kingdom thro' the main<sup>6</sup>!

...

Her fearful maids their fainting mistress led,  
 And softly laid her on her ivory bed.

But good Aeneas, tho' he much desired  
 To give that pity which her grief required;  
 Tho' much he mourned, and labored with his  
 love,

Resolved at length, obeys the will of Jove;  
 Reviews his forces: they with early care  
 Unmoor their vessels, and for sea prepare.

The fleet is soon afloat, in all its pride,  
 And well-calked galleys in the harbor ride.  
 Then oaks for oars they felled; or, as they  
 stood,

Of its green arms despoiled the growing wood,  
 Studious of flight. The beach is covered o'er  
 With Trojan bands, that blacken all the shore:  
 On ev'ry side are seen, descending down,  
 Thick swarms of soldiers, loaden from the  
 town.

...

What pangs the tender breast of Dido tore,  
 When, from the tower, she saw the covered

shore,

And heard the shouts of sailors from afar,  
 Mixed with the murmurs of the watery war!

...

"Look, Anna<sup>7</sup>! look! the Trojans crowd to sea;  
 They spread their canvas, and their anchors  
 weigh.

The shouting crew their ships with garlands  
 bind,

Invoke the sea gods, and invite the wind.

...

The wretched queen, pursued by cruel fate,  
 Begins at length the light of heaven to hate,  
 And loathes to live. Then dire portents she  
 sees,

To hasten on the death her soul decrees:

Strange to relate! for when, before the shrine,  
 She pours in sacrifice the purple wine,

...

Now, sinking underneath a load of grief,  
 From death alone she seeks her last relief;

...

These thoughts she brooded in her anxious  
 breast.

On board, the Trojan found more easy rest.  
 Resolved to sail, in sleep he passed the night;  
 And ordered all things for his early flight.

...

"Haste to your banks; your crooked anchors  
 weigh,

And spread your flying sails, and stand to sea.

<sup>6</sup> "Thro' the main" means "across the sea"

<sup>7</sup> Dido's sister Anna



A god commands: he stood before my sight,  
 And urged us once again to speedy flight.  
 O sacred power, what power soever thou art,  
 To thy blest orders I resign my heart.  
 Lead thou the way; protect thy Trojan bands,  
 And prosper the design thy will commands."  
 He said: and, drawing forth his flaming sword,  
 His thundering arm divides the many-twisted  
 cord.  
 An emulating zeal inspires his train:  
 They run; they snatch; they rush into the main.  
 With headlong haste they leave the desert  
 shores,  
 And brush the liquid seas with laboring oars.  
 Aurora now had left her saffron bed,  
 And beams of early light the heavens  
 overspread,  
 When, from a tower, the queen, with wakeful  
 eyes,  
 Saw day point upward from the rosy skies.  
 She looked to seaward; but the sea was void,  
 And scarce in ken the sailing ships descried.  
 Stung with despite, and furious with despair,  
 She struck her trembling breast, and tore her  
 hair.

...

Perpetual hate and mortal wars proclaim,  
 Against the prince, the people, and the name.<sup>8</sup>  
 These grateful offerings on my grave bestow;  
 Nor league, nor love, the hostile nations know!  
 Now, and from hence, in every future age,

---

<sup>8</sup> Dido foretells war between Carthage and Rome.

When rage excites your arms, and strength  
 supplies the rage  
 Rise some avenger of our Libyan blood,  
 With fire and sword pursue the perjured  
 brood;  
 Our arms, our seas, our shores, opposed to  
 theirs;  
 And the same hate descend on all our heirs!"  
 This said, within her anxious mind she weighs  
 The means of cutting short her odious days.  
 ...  
 Then swiftly to the fatal place she passed,  
 And mounts the funeral pile with furious  
 haste;  
 Unsheathes the sword the Trojan left behind  
 (Not for so dire an enterprise designed).  
 But when she viewed the garments loosely  
 spread,  
 Which once he wore, and saw the conscious  
 bed,  
 She paused, and with a sigh the robes  
 embraced;  
 Then on the couch her trembling body cast,  
 Repressed the ready tears, and spoke her last:  
 "Dear pledges of my love, while Heav'n so  
 pleased,  
 Receive a soul, of mortal anguish eased:  
 ...  
 My fatal course is finished; and I go,  
 A glorious name, among the ghosts below.  
 A lofty city by my hands is raised,  
 Pygmalion punished, and my lord appeased.

What could my fortune have afforded more,  
 Had the false Trojan never touched my shore!"  
 Then kissed the couch; and, "Must I die," she  
 said,  
 "And unrevenged? 'T is doubly to be dead!  
 Yet even this death with pleasure I receive:  
 On any terms, 't is better than to live.  
 These flames, from far, may the false Trojan  
 view;  
 These boding omens his base flight pursue!"  
 She said, and struck; deep entered in her side  
 The piercing steel, with reeking purple dyed:  
 Clogged in the wound the cruel weapon  
 stands;  
 The spouting blood came streaming on her  
 hands.  
 Her sad attendants saw the deadly stroke,  
 And with loud cries the sounding palace shook.

...

Thrice Dido tried to raise her drooping head,  
 And, fainting thrice, fell groveling on the bed;  
 Thrice oped her heavy eyes, and sought the  
 light,  
 But, having found it, sickened at the sight,  
 And closed her lids at last in endless night.  
 Then Juno,<sup>9</sup> grieving that she should sustain  
 A death so ling'ring, and so full of pain,  
 Sent Iris down, to free her from the strife  
 Of laboring nature, and dissolve her life.  
 For since she died, not doomed by Heaven's

---

<sup>9</sup> The goddess Juno, wife of Jupiter

decree,  
 Or her own crime, but human casualty,  
 And rage of love, that plunged her in despair,  
 The Sisters<sup>10</sup> had not cut the topmost hair,  
 Which Proserpine and they can only know;  
 Nor made her sacred to the shades below.  
 Downward the various goddess took her flight,  
 And drew a thousand colors from the light;  
 Then stood above the dying lover's head,  
 And said: "I thus devote thee to the dead.  
 This offering to the infernal gods I bear."  
 Thus while she spoke, she cut the fatal hair:  
 The struggling soul was loosed, and life  
 dissolved in air.

---

<sup>10</sup> The three sisters are the Fates who cut the thread of life according to Greek and Roman mythology.

### Questions to Think About

1. The language is flowery in this 17<sup>th</sup> century English translation, but the story is dramatic. Summarize the story line in just a few sentences, in which you relate the triangle between the gods, Aeneas, and Dido.
2. Read the story as a Reader's Theater, with different readers taking the parts relating stories of the gods, Aeneas, Dido, and others. Use highlighter pen to mark the sections with different colors before the dramatic reading. Practice the parts.
3. Contrasting the story related by Justinius, what elements has the Roman poet added?
4. The story of Dido/Elissa and Aeneas became a motif in Roman literature and illustration and also attracted later European artists and writers. Why do you think this romantic tale spoke to the Romans about a city in Africa that the Romans destroyed and later rebuilt?
5. How is this legend a bit like celebrity stories today in the media?



Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833), *Aeneas tells Dido the misfortunes of the Trojan city*, Louvre Museum, Oil painting, Accession number, Inv. 5184, **Source:** The Yorck Project: 10,000 Meisterwerke der Malerei, Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH (permission), part of a collection of reproductions compiled by The Yorck Project. The compilation copyright is held by Zenodot Verlagsgesellschaft mbH and licensed under the GNU Free Documentation License.

## Life in Punic Carthage



Carthage was located on a hilly cape on Mediterranean Sea [near today's Tunis, Tunisia]. The original site, Bursa hill, is at the top of the image. The city's location in the central Mediterranean corridor between the coast of Africa and Sicily was a place where all ships passed in order to travel from the eastern to the western Mediterranean. It was founded in 814 BC by the seafaring Phoenicians, from their base in Tyre (across the sea in present-day Lebanon), and became a highly prosperous Phoenician port city. Carthage was called Kart Hadasth (or Kiryat Ha Dasht), or "New City" in the Phoenician language. The Phoenicians ruled the seas from their innovative, strategic port at Carthage for almost 800 years. The double harbor had a single opening 70 feet wide that could be closed with chains. On each side of a rectangular commercial harbor were wharves for unloading and loading goods. An inner, round harbor for warships was a military shipyard, with berths for 220 ships to be restored and outfitted.

When the Punic Wars began, Carthage's population was 100,000 to 200,000, three times Rome's population of 50,000 to 75,000 at the time. Carthage's magnificent double harbor was state of the art for the time. The city had three-layered, thick walls of stone and earth surrounding it. Beyond the walls were fields with dikes to keep sea water back from the reclaimed farmland. To house the growing population, Carthaginian builders quarried limestone from a nearby source, and built apartment buildings as high as six stories in height, in addition to temples, baths, and palaces.

The ruins in the photo are from Bursa hill, the original site of the city laid out with the strips of oxhide mentioned in the legend. They show a neighborhood of homes from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century of the Punic city. The neighborhood had houses with multiple rooms, cisterns to collect water, storefront shops and private



courtyards, and private sit-down baths (see photo). Some streets were paved with mosaics. The example of this pavement shown with a symbol of the goddess Tanit is



from the nearby settlement of Kerkouane, which survived the Roman destruction of Carthage. Carthage was laid out in straight streets about 6 meters wide, paved with clay. Some streets on the side of the hill had stairways. There were palaces for the wealthy, manufacturing areas, and estates of landowners in the fertile area inland from the coast. Semi-arid and arid plains lay beyond these rich agrarian hinterlands. Because of Carthage's destruction, there are



not many remains of the original Punic city. Most ruins are Roman (see next handout).

(Sources: "Archaeological Site of Carthage (Tunisia) | African World Heritage Sites." Accessed August 28, 2013. <http://www.africanworldheritagesites.org/cultural-places/frontiers-of-the-roman-empire/carthage.html> and "Carthage" at [www.tunisia.com](http://www.tunisia.com))

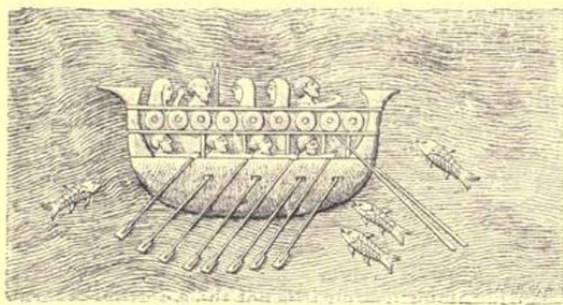


FIG. 8.—Phoenician merchant galley. From Layard.

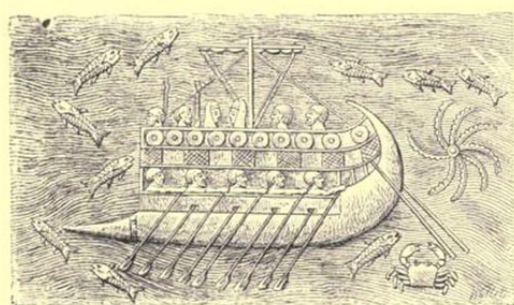


FIG. 9.—Phoenician war galley. From Layard.

(Image: "History of Egypt, by Maspero, Volume 8, Part A." Illustration by Faucher-Gudin from Austen Layard, Sennecherib's Tomb <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28876/28876-h/files/17328/17328-h/v8a.htm>)

## Ship-building at Carthage

Nineteenth century archaeologist Austen Layard drew these ships based on mosaics and tomb images. Merchant ships were built to carry maximum cargo. Numerous Phoenician shipwrecks have been found with their cargo, most famously the Uluburun wreck (see handouts). Military ships were key to building and controlling Carthage's overseas colonies and territories. The most important ships in the Carthaginian navy were *quinquereme* (pronounced KWIN-kwah-REEM), which had one deck, and was powered by 50 or 60 oars, each oar rowed by five (*quinque*) men ( $5 \times 50 = 250$  oarsmen!). The *quinquereme* was originally a Greek design that Carthage's shipbuilders modified. The *quinquereme* was heavy and slow, but powerful in battle, and was especially dangerous when using its heavy, bronze battering ram against enemy ships. Smaller, lighter ships were used for maneuvering in battle. Carthage's navy was essential to its empire, and they learned to make ships on a sort of assembly line in their military harbor.



By 264 BCE, Carthage controlled the coast of North Africa, the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and much of Sicily, the Balearic Islands, the eastern Iberian Peninsula (Spain), and the Strait of Gibraltar. Carthage and its colonies controlled all of the resources and trade of these regions. Carthage was a Mediterranean superpower whose wealth and lands were the envy of Rome. It was only by imitating Carthage's technology of shipbuilding that Rome could build a navy at all.



### Worship of Carthage's Gods, Tanit and Baal Hammon

**Tanit** was the chief goddess of Carthage. She was a major goddess associated with the heavens and earth, and a fertility goddess, who had a temple and oracle at Carthage. Tanit was related to Astarte, a goddess worshipped widely in the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia, who appears in many forms of artwork. Tanit is known as the goddess of Carthage from around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and became more important than the worship of Baal Hammon, the chief god of Carthage. She may have been considered his consort, but was worshipped as the "face of Baal"—an accessible figure whose symbol was featured on thresholds, gravestones, and jewelry, but was also the goddess of war. In the statue shown and in many others, Tanit holds a drum. Near Carthage, a coffin in the shape of Astarte/Tanit held the remains of a woman. There is a tophet, or graveyard for infants and children that was rumored to be evidence of child sacrifices dedicated to the worship of Tanit and Baal Hammon. For more information on the Tophet of Carthage and child sacrifice, visit *Children and Youth in History* at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/primary-sources/404>. (Images: Wikimedia Commons)

**Baal-Hammon** was the chief god of Carthage from about the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Baal, a Semitic word for "Lord" was the god of sky, fertility, and vegetation, seen as an almighty ruler of all. Baal was a Canaanite deity worshipped widely in the Mediterranean in various names and forms. He appears in statues as powerful, old man with a beard and curled ram's horns at the side of his head. Ba'al Hammon's consort, or partner was Tanit/Astarte. Baal Hammon had a sanctuary near Carthage at the site of a mountain with two peaks (in Arabic, Jebel Bu Kornein, "two-horned hill").



This Carthaginian coin is one of a hoard of over 3500 coins found off the coast of Pantelleria Island. The coins were minted between 264 and 241 BCE when the First Punic War took place. The images on the coins are all the

same. On one side is the Carthaginian fertility goddess Tanit wearing a wreath of wheat, and on the other side a horse's head with the symbols of a star, Phoenician letters and a caduceus (snakes twining around a staff, symbol of Hermes/Mercury, messenger of the gods).

(Source: "The History Blog-3500 Punic Coins Found Off Sicilian Island Coast." <http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/12343>)



This signet ring in Tunis shows Phoenician soldiers in military formation.

(Source: Bardo Museum, Tunis, Tunisia)



These two Phoenician glass objects were found in the Vani grave site in the Black Sea region of Colchis, showing how far such luxury goods were traded. They were made during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The pitcher on the left might have been used for wine, and the object on the right was a small bottle used for black eyeliner. Wealthy Carthaginians would have owned such fancy glass pieces as well.

(Source: Georgian National Museum, nos. 11-974:50, 11-974:51)

### Did the Phoenicians Circumnavigate Africa?

According to Greek historian Herodotus (dates), the Phoenicians at the time of Egyptian Pharaoh Necho (dates) and later the Carthaginians, made voyages around Africa. Whether either of these voyages completed the journey around Africa or not, it shows the Phoenicians' mastery of the seas. The feat may not have been accomplished again until Vasco da Gama in 1498, though there is some evidence that Arab ships may have ventured down the east coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope or beyond. In this excerpt, Herodotus narrates information about the journey from Egyptian sources.

"...As for Libya [Africa], we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea, except where it is attached to Asia. This discovery was first made by Nechos, the Egyptian king, who on desisting from the canal which he had begun between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, sent to sea a number of ships manned by Phoenicians, with orders to make for the Pillars of Hercules [Strait of Gibraltar], and return to Egypt through them, and by the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians took their departure from Egypt by way of the Erythraean [Red] Sea, and so sailed into the southern [Indian] ocean. When autumn came, they went ashore, wherever they might happen to be, and having sown a tract

of land with corn, waited until the grain was fit to cut. Having reaped it, they again set sail; and thus it came to pass that two whole years went by, and it was not till the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and made good their voyage home. On their return, they declared - I for my part do not believe them, but perhaps others may - that in sailing round Libya they had the sun upon their right hand. In this way was the extent of Libya [Africa] first discovered.”

“. . .Next to these Phoenicians the Carthaginians, according to their own accounts, made the voyage. For Sataspes, son of Teaspes the Achaemenian, did not circumnavigate Libya [Africa], though he was sent to do so; but, fearing the length and desolateness of the journey, he turned back and left unaccomplished the task . . .[he] went down to Egypt, and there got a ship and crew, with which he set sail for the Pillars of Hercules. Having passed the Straits, he doubled the Libyan headland, known as Cape Soloeis[Tangier, Morocco], and proceeded southward. Following this course for many months over a vast stretch of sea, and finding that more water than he had crossed still lay ever before him, he put about, and came back to Egypt. . . “

**Source:** Herodotus (George Rawlinson, ed. and tr.). *The History of Herodotus*, vol. 3. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885, Book 4, Chapters 42-43. [http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_ncp/PhoenAfr.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/PhoenAfr.html)

### **Aristotle’s Opinion About Carthaginian Government, c. 340 BCE**

“The Carthaginians are also considered to have an excellent form of government, which differs from that of any other state in several respects, though it is in some very like the Spartan. Indeed, all three states—the Spartan, the Cretan, and the Carthaginian—nearly resemble one another, and are very different from any others. Many of the Carthaginian institutions are excellent. The superiority of their constitution is proved by the fact that the common people remain loyal to the constitution. The Carthaginians have never had any rebellion worth speaking of, and have never been under the rule of a tyrant. Among the points in which the Carthaginian constitution resembles the Spartan are the following: The common tables of the clubs answer to the Spartan phiditia, and their magistracy of the Hundred-Four to the Ephors; but, whereas the Ephors are any chance persons, the magistrates of the Carthaginians are elected according to merit—this is an improvement. They have also their kings and their Gerousia, or council of elders, who correspond to the kings and elders of Sparta. Their kings, unlike the Spartan, are not always of the same family, nor that an ordinary one, but if there is some distinguished family they are selected out of it and not appointed by seniority—this is far better. Such officers have great power, and therefore, if they are persons of little worth, do a great deal of harm, and they have already done harm at Sparta.”

“Most of the defects or deviations from the perfect state, for which the Carthaginian constitution would be censured, apply equally to all the forms of government which we have mentioned. But of the deflections from aristocracy and constitutional government, some incline more to democracy and some to oligarchy. The kings and elders, if unanimous, may determine whether they will or will not bring a matter before the people, but when they are not unanimous, the people decide on such matters as well. And whatever the kings and elders bring before the people is not only heard but also determined by them, and any one who likes may oppose it; now this is not permitted in Sparta and Crete. That the magistrates of five who have under them many important matters should be co-opted, that they should choose the supreme council of One Hundred, and should hold office longer than other magistrates (for they are virtually rulers both before and after they hold office)—these are oligarchical features; their being without salary and not elected by lot, and any similar points, such as the practice of having all suits tried by the magistrates, and not some by one class of judges or jurors and some by another, as at Sparta, are characteristic of aristocracy.”



“The Carthaginian constitution deviates from aristocracy and inclines to oligarchy, chiefly on a point where popular opinion is on their side. For men in general think that magistrates should be chosen not only for their merit, but for their wealth: a man, they say, who is poor cannot rule well--- he has not the leisure. If, then, election of magistrates for their wealth be characteristic of oligarchy, and election for merit of aristocracy, there will be a third form under which the constitution of Carthage is comprehended; for the Carthaginians choose their magistrates, and particularly the highest of them—their kings and generals—with an eye both to merit and to wealth. But we must acknowledge that, in thus deviating from aristocracy, the legislator has committed an error. Nothing is more absolutely necessary than to provide that the highest class, not only when in office, but when out of office, should have leisure and not disgrace themselves in any way; and to this his attention should be first directed. Even if you must have regard to wealth, in order to secure leisure, yet it is surely a bad thing that the greatest offices, such as those of kings and generals, should be bought. The law which allows this abuse makes wealth of more account than virtue, and the whole state becomes avaricious.”

“For, whenever the chiefs of the state deem anything honorable, the other citizens are sure to follow their example; and, where virtue has not the first place, their aristocracy cannot be firmly established. Those who have been at the expense of purchasing their places will be in the habit of repaying themselves; and it is absurd to suppose that a poor and honest man will be wanting to make gains, and that a lower stamp of man who has incurred a great expense will not. Wherefore they should rule who are able to rule best. And even if the legislator does not care to protect the good from poverty, he should at any rate secure leisure for them when in office. It would seem also to be a bad principle that the same person should hold many offices, which is a favorite practice among the Carthaginians, for one business is better done by one man.”

“The government of the Carthaginians is oligarchical, but they successfully escape the evils of oligarchy by enriching one portion of the people after another by sending them to their colonies. This is their panacea [cure, or solution] and the means by which they give stability to the state. Accident favors them, but the legislator should be able to provide against revolution without trusting to accidents. As things are, if any misfortune occurred, and the bulk of the subjects revolted, there would be no way of restoring peace by legal methods.”

**Source:** *The Politics of Aristotle*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Colonial Press, 1900), pp. 49-51. “Internet History Sourcebooks-Aristotle on Carthage.” <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/aristotle-carthage.asp>.



This map shows the extent of Carthaginian territory before the second Punic War with Rome. Not only was Carthage a major power in the Mediterranean, but Rome had to imitate its navy in building its own, since Rome was not a naval power before its confrontation with Carthage.

**Source:** “Historical Atlas by William R. Shepherd - Perry-Castañeda Map Collection - UT Library Online.” [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history\\_shepherd\\_1911.html](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_shepherd_1911.html).

## Carthage and Its African Neighbors

Carthage was an international Mediterranean city, but first it was an African city. It was founded on a cape that stretched into the sea toward Sicily, but it was more than a strategic location on the sea. Carthage's fertile coast extends deeper inland than other parts of North Africa. When Carthage was founded, the Sahara was less dry than today, and the fertile coast was wider. It was well populated by humans, domesticated and wild animals.

From the tale of Dido asking the inhabitants for a piece of land "the size of an oxhide" where she would found Carthage, to the city's destruction by the Romans and its reconstruction, Carthage was connected to the African people around it. Phoenician and later Carthaginian colonies were developed through exploration, they deepened relationships of trade, cultural exchange and conflict with Africans, possibly as far south as east and west Africa. Through these relationships, knowledge of Africa filtered into the Mediterranean world, though often colored by wild distortions and fantastic tales. Other groups were well known, and participated in close cultural, military and economic relations with Carthage and Rome, as well as other groups, such as the Vandals, who migrated into the region. These readings introduce several of the native African societies with whom Carthage had important relationships. These groups are the Mauretians, the Numidians, and the Garamantes. The map shows where the lands of these groups were located. Notice the change from 500 BCE to 200 BCE.



**Map source:** Thomas A. Lessman. Source URL: [http://www.ThomasLessman.com/History/images/East-Hem\\_200bc.jpg](http://www.ThomasLessman.com/History/images/East-Hem_200bc.jpg)  
Image is free for public and/or educational use with citation of author.

### Africans Supplied Trade Goods, Strategic Goods, and Mercenaries to Carthage and Rome

Phoenician colonies were in strategic locations favorable to sailing, or because there were people with whom they could trade. From the people on the African coasts and the interior, they obtained salt and precious stones, as well as grain, olives, dates, tropical wood such as ebony. As the excerpt from Strabo shows, these lands were also the source of wild animals which were traded live and for their products such as skins and ivory. Of course, Africa was the source of war elephants. This passage from the history of the Punic Wars by Polybius describes the variety of troops from Africa and Iberia who fought with Hannibal: "Hannibal had put his men also into position. His elephants, which numbered more than eighty, he placed in the van of the whole army. Next his mercenaries, amounting to twelve thousand, and consisting of Ligurians, Celts, Balianians, and Mauretani; behind them the native Libyans and Carthaginians; and on

*the rear of the whole the men whom he had brought from Italy, at a distance of somewhat more than a stade. His wings he strengthened with cavalry, stationing the Numidian allies on the left wing; and the Carthaginian horsemen on the right. He ordered each officer to address his own men, bidding them rest their hopes of victory on him and the army he had brought with him; while he bade their officers remind the Carthaginians in plain terms what would happen to their wives and children if the battle should be lost. While these orders were carried out by the officers, Hannibal himself went along the lines of his Italian army and urged them to remember the seventeen years during which they had been brothers-in-arms, and the number of battles they had fought..."*

[Source: Polybius, Friedrich Otto Hultsch, and Evelyn S. (Evelyn Shirley) Shuckburgh. *The Histories of Polybius*. London and New York, Macmillan and co., 1889 Vol 2, p. 146. <http://archive.org/details/historiespolybi00hultgoog>]

**The Garamantes** were people who inhabited the Sahara over a period of over a thousand years, spanning the time when the Sahara was more fertile, and adapting as it dried out. They maintained underground irrigation canals called *foggara* (like Persian *qanat*) and tapped fossil water in the Sahara. They were cattle herders, camel and horse-riders and adopted the chariot as shown in this rock painting from a site called Tina Nivin in Libya. Some rock art shows a script related to Punic. Greek historian Herodotus (5th century BCE) describes the fertile land and people of the Garamantes:



*"There is a hill of salt, a spring, and a great number of fruit-bearing date-palms, and the men who dwell here are called the Garamantes, a very great nation, who carry [humid] earth to lay over the salt and then sow crops. ... Among them also are produced the cattle which feed backwards, because they have their horns bent down forwards, and ... cannot go forwards as they feed, because the horns would run into the ground. Except for this, and the firmness of their hide, they do not differ from other cattle. With their four-horse chariots, these Garamantes hunt the Cave-dwelling Ethiopians, who are the swiftest of foot of all men."* Archaeologists have discovered a walled city of perhaps 10,000 people from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE named Garma, with temples, houses, baths, warehouses and market, houses, and baths, and evidence of irrigated crops—wheat, dates, olives, grapes, and barley. The city was also a military center where the army camped. It was not only used to control the oases along the roads to Lake Chad, but also to fight against the desert tribes in the east and northwest.

(Source: Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.183, "Garamantes.")

<http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes.html>

**The Numidians** were the closest to Carthage, living in the area of Tunisia and Algeria today. The image shows Numidian cavalry on campaign with the Romans, on Trajan's Column in Rome. Strabo the geographer describes their relations with the Romans and Carthaginians, with whom they were sometimes allies and sometimes enemies: *"Now after Tretum one comes to the land of the Masylians, and to the land of the Carthaginians, which is similar thereto. Cirta, the royal residence of Masanisses and his successors, is in the interior; it is very strongly fortified and has been beautifully built up in every way. . . so great that it could send forth ten thousand cavalry and twice as many infantry. . . Masanisses [a Numidian king] was held in very high respect among the Romans because of his valour and friendship; and indeed it was he who transformed the Numidians into citizens and farmers, and taught them to be soldiers instead of brigands. . . they kept leading a wandering and migratory life, no less so than peoples who are driven by poverty and by wretched soil or climate to resort to this kind of life; so that the Masaesylians have obtained this as their special designation, for they are*



called 'nomads.' Such people of necessity must lead a frugal life, being more often root-eaters than meat-eaters, and using milk and cheese for food."

(Source: LacusCurtius, *Strabo's Geography*, Book XVII Chapter 3, pp. 155-189.  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/17C\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/17C*.html))

**The Mauretians**, or Moors, as they were later called by Europeans, lived west of the Numidians from today's Morocco to the Atlantic coast of northwestern Africa. Mauretania was as a tribal kingdom existing from the 3rd century BCE or earlier. Berber, or Amazigh, tribes controlled the interior from Mediterranean coast of Mauretania, and 4th century BC, but the interior was controlled by Berber tribes, who were already established in the region centuries earlier. The Phoenicians made contact with the Mauretians for trade in agricultural and other goods and established colonies on the coast. Mauretania was sometimes a client of Carthage until its fall, and later of the Roman Empire after 33 BC.



(Source: Roman ruins at Chellah, Morocco, Wikimedia Commons)

### Pliny the Elder on African Geography

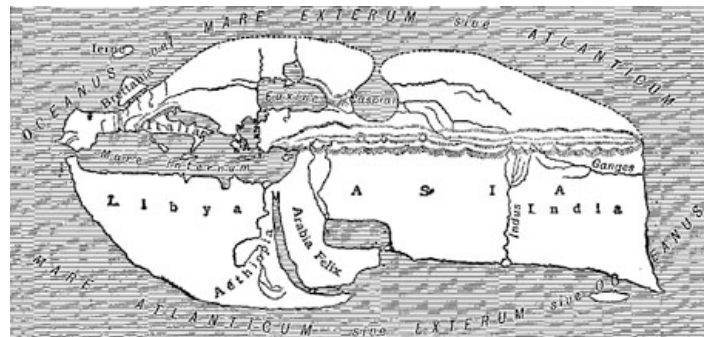
*Pliny (23 –79 CE) was a Roman encyclopedia author, naval commander and naturalist who wrote the Natural History, a source for European knowledge (and fables) of the world for centuries, such as the medieval illustration at right. Contrast this reading with Strabo's Geography of Africa.*

"If we pass through the interior of Africa in a southerly direction. . . after having traversed the intervening deserts, we shall find, first of all the Liby-Egyptians, and then the country where the Leuc-æthiopiæ dwell. Beyond these are the Nigritæ, nations of Æthiopia, so called from the river Nigris [Niger]. . . and, on the very margin of the ocean, the Perorsi. . . on the boundaries of Mauritania. After passing all these peoples, there are vast deserts towards the east until we come to the Garamantes, the Augylæ, and the Troglodytæ. . . The river Nigris has the same characteristics as the Nile. . . The Atlantes, if we believe what is said, have lost all characteristics of humanity. . . nor are they visited with dreams like the rest of mortals. The Troglodytæ . . . [dig holes] . . . in the earth, which serve them for dwellings; the flesh of serpents is their food; they . . . only utter a kind of squeaking noise. . . [as]. . . communication. . . The Garamantes have no institution of marriage among them. . . The Augylæ worship no deities but the gods of the infernal regions. The Gamphasantes, who go naked, and are unacquainted with war, have no [relations] with strangers. The Blemmyæ are said to have no heads, their mouths and eyes being seated in their breasts. The Satyri beyond their figure, have nothing in common with the manners of the human race. . . The Himantopodes are a race of people with feet resembling thongs, upon which they move. . . with a serpentine, crawling kind of gait. . . Beyond the above, I have met with nothing relative to Africa worthy of mention."

**Source:** Pliny the Elder. John Bostock, trans., *The Natural History*. B.A. London. Taylor and Francis, 1855.  
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook=5%3Achapter=8>

### Strabo on Africans in the Interior and the Coasts

*Strabo (64/63 BCE – ca. 24 CE), was a Greek geographer, philosopher and historian who is best known for his Geography, which was also a major European source of knowledge about the world during the medieval period and beyond. Contrast the impression Strabo gives the reader about Africans with*



*that of Pliny. The map shows the world according to Strabo, with all of North Africa called "Libya."*

"... Next let me describe Libya. . . for the greater part of the interior and of its ocean-coast is desert, and it is dotted with settlements that are small, scattered, and mostly nomadic; and in addition to its deserts, its being a nursery of wild beasts drives out people even from land that could be inhabited; and it overlaps a considerable part of the torrid zone. However, the whole of the coast opposite to us, I mean that between the Nile and the Pillars [of Hercules, i.e. Gibraltar], and particularly the part which was subject to the Carthaginians, is settled and prosperous; but here too some parts here and there [have no] water. . .

. . . This . . . is my account of Libya [North Africa] as a whole. . .beginning with its western, or more famous, parts. . . Here dwell a people whom the Greeks call Maurusians, and the Romans and the natives Mauri [origin of the name Moors]— a large and prosperous Libyan tribe, who live on the side of the strait opposite Iberia. Here also is the strait which is at the Pillars of Heracles . . . On proceeding outside the strait at the Pillars, with Libya on the left, one comes to a mountain which the Greeks call Atlas and the barbarians Dyris . . . The mountain. . . is inhabited, both itself and other mountains that run parallel with Maurusia [Mauretania], at first by the Maurusians but deep in the interior by the largest of the Libyan tribes, who are called Gaetulians. . .it is agreed by all that Maurusia is a fertile country, except a small desert part, and is supplied with both lakes and rivers. It is surpassing in the size and in the number of its trees, and is also productive of everything; at any rate, this is the country which supplies the Romans with the tables that are made of one single piece of wood. . . The rivers are said to contain crocodiles, as also other kinds of animals similar to those in the Nile. . . . They also say of this country that it produces a vine so thick that it can hardly be encircled by the arms of two men, and that . . . every herb grows high, and every vegetable. . . And for serpents and elephants and gazelles and bubali and similar animals, as also for lions and leopards, the country is a nurse in every way. It also produces ferrets . . . and also a very great number of apes. . . Above Maurusia, on the outside sea, lies the country of the western Aethiopians, as they are called, a country for the most part poorly settled . . .

Although the most of the country inhabited by the Maurusians is so fertile, yet even to this time most of the people persist in living a nomadic life. But nevertheless they beautify their appearance by braiding their hair, growing beards, wearing golden ornaments, and also by cleaning their teeth and paring their nails. . . Their horsemen [fight] mostly with a javelin, using bridles made of rush, and riding bareback; but they also carry daggers. The foot-soldiers hold before them as shields the skins of elephants, and clothe themselves with the skins of lions, leopards, and bears, and sleep in them. I might almost say that these people, and the Masaesylians, who live next after them, and the Libyans in general, dress alike and are similar in all other respects, using horses that are small but swift, and so ready to obey that they are governed with a small rod. The horses wear collars made of wood or of hair, to which the rein is fastened, though some follow even without being led, like dogs. These people have small shields made of raw-hide, small spears with broad heads, wear ungirded tunics with wide borders, and, as I have said, use skins as mantles and shields. The Pharusians and Nigretes . . . also use bows, like the Aethiopians; and they also use scythe-bearing chariots. . . Some of them are said to live like Troglodytes, digging homes in the earth. And it is said that here too the summer rains are prevalent, but that in winter there is a drought, and that some of the barbarians in this part of the world use also the skins of snakes and fish both as wraps and as bed-covers. . .

Somewhere. . . there are also copper mines and a spring of asphalt; and. . .on the mountain-side are said to be found the [precious] stones. . . and, in the plains, oyster-shells and mussel-shells in great quantities. . . . And some of the people have land that produces two crops of grain, reaping two harvests, one in spring and the other in summer. . . and the Romans have dealt with them in different ways at different times, treating some as friends and others as enemies. . . . The country towards Maurusia not only produced more revenue but was also more powerful, whereas that towards Carthage and the Masylians was both more flourishing and better built up. . .

**Source:** LacusCurtius, *Strabo's Geography*, Book XVII Chapter 3, pp. 155-189.  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/17C\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/17C*.html).

## Carthage Rebuilt by the Romans, 146 CE

The map shows Roman expansion after the Third Punic War, in which the Romans defeated and destroyed Carthage, and annexed it to the Roman Empire. The defeat of Carthage made Rome a major power and served as the foundation of later expansion. The upper left corner of the map shows the layout of Carthage, which was only rebuilt a century after its destruction, between 44 and 49 BCE. A century later, Carthage was a city of half a million people, second only to Alexandria, Egypt, the largest Roman city in North Africa.



Source: "Historical Atlas by William R. Shepherd - Perry-Castañeda Map Collection - UT Library Online." [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history\\_shepherd\\_1911.html](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_shepherd_1911.html).

### Life in Roman Carthage

The painting of reconstructed Roman Carthage shows the aqueduct running into the city through farmland, shown in the photo at left. The city, built on the ruins with the Byrsa hill in the center, an amphitheater, and one of the largest baths in the world—the Antonine Baths. Many monumental buildings, formal arches like the one shown below, and capitals



marked a city in the Roman style. The double harbor for warships and merchant vessels restored the harbor built by the Punic Carthaginians, with its rectangular commercial harbor, and the round, inner harbor was a military shipyard, with berths for 220 ships to be restored and outfitted.



Following the Roman victory, Carthage's former territories were economically and militarily exploited. The remaining citizens and landowners had to pay Rome in compensation for the costs of war, if they had not been enslaved. Roman governors wrung taxes from the people of North Africa. Powerful senators and favored elites acquired large estates called latifundia in North Africa, with rich agricultural land for growing grain, fruits, and oil, and

raising horses. Former landowners sometimes worked the fields and paid for the privilege. They sent the profits back to Rome.

### Mosaics Illustrate Social Life in Roman Carthage



Realistic mosaics on walls and floors were made of small glass or ceramic squares pressed into mortar or plaster. One mosaic shows a seaside village in the background, with fishermen in a boat hauling in their nets, while a huge fish seems to be devouring the upper body of a man, while another swims alongside the nets

Another mosaic shows slaves preparing and serving food for a banquet. They are dressed in simple loincloths or tunics. In late Roman Carthage, most households possessed at least one or two slaves. A person might become a slave by losing in war, or through debt. If the previous owners of land lost it through war, they might be allowed to work the land but give up its produce or be taxed, both leading to debt slavery.





This mosaic of a race shows four chariots, each with four horses, taking place in a hippodrome. Spectators are seated in the rows above the racetrack. A mosaic on an estate in the Carthaginian countryside is called "House of the Horses" illustrating the role that North Africa's agricultural land and heritage of horse breeding played in supplying Rome with excellent, well-bred and trained horses.

**Source:** All mosaics from the Bardo Museum, Tunis. Photos from Wikimedia Commons.

### Life on Latifundia, or Landed Estates



The late 4<sup>th</sup> century mosaic of Dominus Julius at Carthage is centered on a grand, fortified estate outside the city, showing the high status and privilege enjoyed by landowning elites. The estate had thick walls, watchtowers at the corners, and domes for private baths. Along the wall is an open arcade (walkway) with pillars where the residents of the estate could catch the sea breezes in hot weather. A border in wave pattern might reflect the breaking



waves on the shore not far away. The panels show the work on the estate during the seasons. Peasants and slaves bring the products of the estate to the lord and lady, who are dressed in fashionable clothes and jewelry. At the top left, ducks, olives, and young lamb are presented to the woman seated with a fan in the shade of some trees. A container stands under her bench. In the lower part, a lady receives flowers and fish as she leans on a pillar in a garden. Servants or peasants bring the lord of the estate grapes, fruits, birds, and a rabbit. He is shown in hunting dress on horseback, joined by attendants and dogs in the middle panel. It would be hard to find a more complete picture of the good life.

On the economic side, Carthage and its hinterland became a granary for Rome, and North Africa was a leading exporter of olive oil as food and for lighting. Other products, such as salt, wine and luxury products made the province a major source of wealth and important goods.

### **Polybius: Scipio and the slaves, women, children, and handicraft workers**

*The excerpt relates to the Roman conquest of Cartagena in the Iberian Peninsula, but it reveals a lot about what happened to the citizens of conquered cities, including skilled workers, artisans, soldiers, slaves, women and children. Polybius was a Greek historian who lived from about 200 to 118 BCE. His major work was the The Histories, which covered the rise of the Roman Republic of 264–146 BCE and the expansion of its empire, including Greece. Polybius also wrote about the separation of powers in government, ideas which attracted European and American Enlightenment thinkers.*

As soon as they found themselves in possession of the wall, the Romans began making their way along it, hurling off such of the enemy as they met. . .But when they arrived at the gate they descended and began cutting through the bolts. . .[and] began forcing their way in. Thus the walls were finally in possession of the enemy. . .When Scipio thought that a sufficient number of troops had entered the town, he gave leave to the larger number of them to attack those in it, according to the Roman custom, with directions to kill everything they met, and to spare nothing. . . Accordingly, one may often see in towns captured by the Romans, not only human beings who have been put to the sword, but even dogs cloven down the middle, and the limbs of other animals hewn off. On this occasion the amount of such slaughter was exceedingly great, because of the numbers. . .in the city. . .Thus did the Romans become masters of Carthage in Iberia.

Next morning the baggage of those who had served in the Carthaginian ranks, as well as the property of the city-folk and the craftsmen, having been collected together in the market-place, the Tribunes divided it according to the Roman custom among their several legions. . .

. . .Thus on the present occasion, while the Tribunes were busied in the distribution of the spoil, the Roman commander caused the prisoners, who numbered little short of ten thousand, to be assembled; and having first ordered them to be divided into two groups, one containing the citizens and their wives and children, the other the craftsmen. He exhorted the first of these to be loyal to the Romans, and to remember the favor which they were now receiving, and allowed them all to depart to their own houses. With tears of joy at this unexpected preservation, they bowed in reverence to Scipio and dispersed. He then told the craftsmen that they were for the present the public slaves of Rome, but that, if they showed themselves loyal and zealous in their several crafts, he promised them their freedom, as soon as the war with the [African] Carthaginians had been brought to...[success]. He then bade them go get their names enrolled in the office of the Quaestor, and appointed a Roman overseer for every thirty of them, their whole number being about two thousand. From the remaining captives he selected the strongest, those who were in the prime of

youth and physical vigor, and assigned them to serve on board ship... Having thus increased the number of his naval allies by one half, he manned the ships taken from the enemy as well as his own, so that the men on board each vessel were now. . .double what it was before. . .These men he also promised their freedom, if they showed themselves loyal and zealous. . .By this treatment of the captives he inspired the citizens with warm feelings of fidelity, and the handicraftsmen with great readiness to serve, from the hope held out to them of recovering their freedom.

. . .He next took Mago and the Carthaginians with separately, consisting of one member of the Council of ancients and fifteen of the Senate [the governing elites of the city]. These he put under the charge of Gaius Laelius with orders that he should take due care of them. He next summoned the hostages, who numbered more than three hundred. Such of them as were children he called to him one by one, and stroking their heads told them not to be afraid, for in a few days they would see their parents. The others he exhorted to be of good cheer, and to write word to their relations in their several cities, first, that they were safe and well, and secondly, that the Romans were minded to restore them all unharmed to their homes, if only their relations adopted the Roman alliance. . . .Among the captive women was the wife of Mandonius, brother of Andobalus king of the Ilergetes. This woman fell at his [General Scipio's] feet and besought him with tears to protect their honor. . . .Touched by her distress, Scipio asked her in what respect she and the other women were left unprovided. She was a lady of advanced years and of a certain majestic dignity of appearance: and upon meeting his question by perfect silence. . .and when the woman again clasped his knees and repeated the same request, Scipio. . .bade the women fear nothing, for that he would appoint different men to see to their interests, and secure that they were not left wanting in anything. Then, after a brief hesitation the woman said, "You mistake my meaning, General, if you think we are asking you for food." Scipio then at length began to understand what she wished to convey, and seeing under his eyes the youthful beauty of the daughters of Andobalus, and of many of the other nobles, he could not refrain from tears, while the aged lady indicated in a few words the danger in which they were. . . taking her by the hand, he. . . [said] that he would watch over them as he would over his own sisters and daughters, and put men in charge of them on whom he could rely."

His next business was to pay over to the Quaestors such public money of the Carthaginians as had been captured. . .Having made these arrangements, and handed over the rest of the captives to the Tribunes, he despatched Gaius Laelius on board a quinquereme to Rome, with the Carthaginian prisoners and the noblest of the others, to announce at home what had taken place."

**Source:** Polybius, (Friedrich Otto Hultsch, and Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, trans.). *The Histories of Polybius*. London and New York, Macmillan and co., 1889, pp. 14-19. <http://archive.org/details/historiespolybi00hultgoog>.

### Questions to Think About

1. How did armies usually treat the inhabitants of a besieged city?
2. Which groups of captives had the most to fear? Which could hope that their lives would be spared?
3. What benefit could soldiers gain from warfare?
4. What did the women of the city do to try to protect themselves?

## Byzantine Campaign Against Vandal Carthage, 533 CE

The following excerpts from Byzantine historian Procopius' history of the Vandal wars are important primary sources on the campaign and its military challenges, but also on leaders from both sides, ordinary soldiers, and the people and lands of North Africa. Read the short bio of Procopius, and the Background to the Vandal Wars as a class. Then, divide the readings under the headings among members of the class in groups or singly, and answer the questions after each one. In addition, each group or individual should write two sentences (or questions) about what you learned from the short passage. Don't forget to consider Procopius' point of view as a Roman official of Belisarius, and as a member of the conquering army.

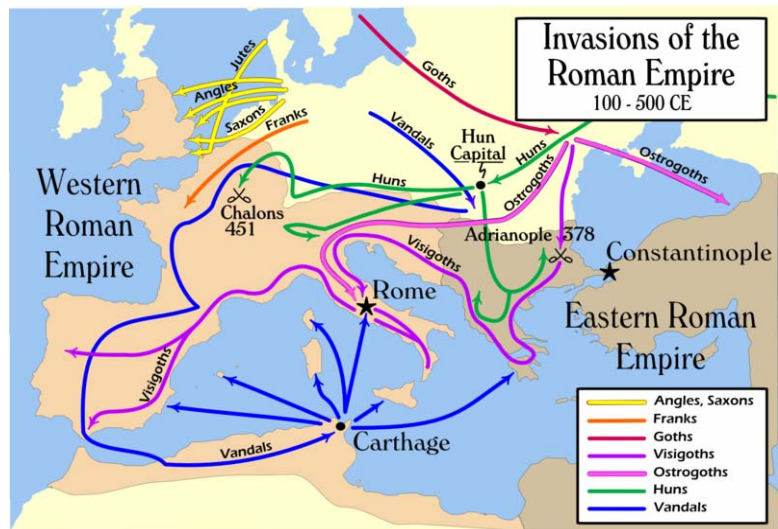
### Who Was Procopius?

Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 500-565 CE) was a Byzantine scholar from the Roman province of Palestine. In 527, the first year of Emperor Justinian I's reign, he was appointed legal adviser for Belisarius, Justinian's chief military commander. Procopius accompanied Belisarius on his military campaigns, first in the east against the Persians, in Constantinople against an uprising, and then in North Africa against the Vandals. He recorded the events of these campaigns in great detail, including stories of the leaders and the soldiers and seamen, the course of battles, the weather, the local people, and the lands and waters they crossed. Procopius was present at the capture of Carthage, and remained in Africa after the campaign. Procopius is considered the last major historian of the ancient world.

**Source:** Procopius (H. B. Dewing, trans.), *History Of The Wars, Books III and IV*, London: W. Heinemann, 1916. Images and map: Wikimedia Commons)

### Background to the Vandal Wars

While Honorius was holding the imperial power in the West, barbarians took possession of his land and I shall tell who they were and in what manner they did so. There were many Gothic nations in earlier times just as also at the present but the greatest and most important of all are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepaedes. . . All these. . . have white bodies and fair hair and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith and have one language called Gothic. . . under the leadership of Alaric they became hostile to both emperors and beginning with Thrace treated all Europe as an enemy's land. . . the Vandals having wrested Libya from the Romans. . . made it their own. And those of the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to slavery and held under guard. *Procopius, pp. 9-11, 29*



**Section question:** How does the author view the invaders as different and similar to the Romans? Do you think he speaks for his audience in this attitude?

(Image: Vandal coin from Carthage, showing King Gelimar, Wikimedia Commons)



### The Vandals Take Roman Territory in North Africa and Mediterranean Islands

...Gizeric [the Vandal leader] for no other reason than that he suspected that much money would come to him, set sail for Italy with a great fleet. And going up to Rome since no one stood in his way he took possession of the palace. . . [killing the emperor and capturing the women of his family] and placing an exceedingly great amount of gold and other imperial treasure in his ships sailed to Carthage. . . He plundered also the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and tore off half of the roof. Now this roof was of bronze of the finest quality and since gold was laid over it exceedingly thick it shone as a magnificent and wonderful. But of the ships with Gizeric one which was bearing the statues was lost they say but with all the others the Vandals reached port in the harbour of Carthage. . . Afterwards Gizeric devised the following scheme. He tore down the walls of all the cities in Libya except Carthage so that neither the Libyans themselves espousing the cause of the Romans might have a strong base from which to begin a rebellion, nor those sent by the emperor have any ground for hoping to capture a city, and by establishing a garrison in it, to make trouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it seemed that he had counselled well and had ensured prosperity for the Vandals in the safest possible manner, but in later times when these cities being without walls were captured by Belisarius [later Roman general under Justinian] all the more easily and with less exertion. Gizeric was then condemned to suffer much ridicule and that which for the time he considered wise counsel turned out for him to be folly. . . . And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves together with their estates and all their money to his sons Honoric and Genzon. . . . And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates which were both very numerous and excellent and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called Vandals estates up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to be at the same time free men and they had the privilege of going away wheresoever they wished. And Gizeric commanded that all the lands which he had given over to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowed to remain in the hands of the former owners, but assessed so large a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the government that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into exile or killed. For charges were brought against them of many sorts. . . Thus the Libyans were visited with every form of misfortune. (*Procopius, pp. 47-51*)

**Section question:** *What does the attack on Rome tell about the state of the Roman Empire during this time? What mistakes does Gizeric make that leave him vulnerable?*

### The Vandals' Military Arrangements and Conquests

The Vandals and the Alani [Gizeric] arranged in companies appointing over them no less than eighty captains whom he called chiliarchs, making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amounted to eighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times at least to amount to no more than fifty thousand men.

However after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbarians with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous people. But the names of the Alani and all the other barbarians except the Moors [indigenous north African tribes, called Moors by the Romans] were united in the name of Vandals. At that time after the death of Valentinian Gizeric gained the support of the Moors, and every year at the beginning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything, and when the land had become destitute of men and of money he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. And so he plundered Illyricum and the most of the Peloponnesus and of the rest of Greece and all the islands which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. . . (*Procopius, p. 53*)

*Section question: How did the Vandal armies succeed in expanding their territory at the expense of the Romans?*

### **Romans Attempt to Recover Territory from the Vandals**

And the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Vandals because of these things was gathering an army against them and they say that this army amounted to about one hundred thousand men. And he collected a fleet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, showing great generosity to both soldiers and sailors. . . But the Emperor Leon . . . bade [his general] go to the island of Sardinia which was then subject to the Vandals. And he drove out the Vandals and gained possession of it with no great difficulty. And Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis in Libya, and after conquering the Vandals of that district in battle, he easily captured the cities, and leaving his ships there led his army on foot toward Carthage. Such then was the sequence of events which formed the prelude of the war.

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage. . . and if he had . . . undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the first onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection. . . without their even thinking of resistance so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor when the report was brought to him that Sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. . . And Gizeric profiting by the negligence of Basiliscus [armed] all his subjects in the best way he could. . .

But the Vandals as soon as the wind had arisen for them . . . raised their sails and taking in tow the boats . . . they had made ready with no men in them they sailed against the enemy. And when they came near, they set fire to the boats which they were towing when their sails were bellied by the wind and let them go against the Roman fleet. And since there were a great number of ships there, these boats easily spread fire wherever they struck and were themselves readily destroyed, together with those with which they came in contact. And as the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet was filled with tumult as was natural and with a great din that rivalled the noise caused by the wind and the roaring of the flames, as the soldiers, together with the sailors, shouted orders to one another and pushed off with their poles the fire boats and their own ships as well, which were being destroyed by one another in complete disorder. And already the Vandals too were at hand, ramming and sinking the ships, and making booty of such of the soldiers as attempted to escape, and of their arms as well. But there were also some of the Romans who proved themselves brave men in this struggle. . . So this war came to an end and Heracleius departed for home. . . (*Procopius, pp. 57-59, 61-63*)

... happened in later times But at that time Gizeric was plundering the whole Roman domain just as much as before, if not more, circumventing his enemy by craft and driving them out of their possessions by force, ... and he continued to do so until the emperor Zeno came to an agreement with him and an endless peace was established between them, by which it was provided that the Vandals should never in all time perform any hostile act against the Romans nor suffer such a thing at their hands. And this peace was preserved by Zeno himself and also by his successor in the empire Anastasius And it remained in force until the time of the emperor Justinus. (*Procopius, p. 71*)

*Section question: What tactics of war did the Vandals use to keep the Romans from recovering lost territory?*

### **Justinian's Preparations for War**

... and it was in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass in the manner which will be told. . . Gizeric after living on a short time died at an advanced age. . . So Gizeric having ruled over the Vandals thirty nine years from the time when he captured Carthage died. . . and Honoric the eldest of his sons succeeded to the throne. . . During the time . . . the Vandals they had no war against anyone at all except the Moors. For through fear of Gizeric, the Moors had remained quiet before that time, but as soon as he was out of their way they both did much harm to the Vandals and suffered the same themselves. And Honoric shewed himself the most cruel and unjust of all men toward the Christians in Libya. For he forced them to change over to the Arian faith and as many as he found not readily. (*Procopius, p. 73*)

... Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, Gelimer the son of Geilaris, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric, . . . usurped the rule though it was not yet due him. . .

Gelimer. . . [sent to the emperor in response to a threat]. . . if you break the treaty and come against us we shall oppose you with all our power calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold. The Emperor Justinian upon receiving this letter having been angry with Gelimer even before then was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya, and since he was quick at forming a plan and prompt in carrying out his decisions, Belisarius the General of the East was summoned. . . And straightway the treaty with Persia was made . . . And when the Emperor Justinian considered that the situation was as favourable as possible both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took under consideration the situation in Libya. (*Procopius, pp. 85, 91*)

*Section question: Why did Justinian decide to go to war against the Vandals, and what strategic preparations did he make?*

### **Composition of the Roman Army and Navy**

... he also had in readiness the expedition against Carthage ten thousand foot soldiers and five thousand horsemen gathered from the regular troops and from the *foederati* [mercenaries from barbarian tribes, under warlord leaders]. Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the *foederati*, those namely who had come into the Roman political system not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the

Romans but on the basis of complete equality. For the Romans call treaties with their enemies *foedera*. . . Among all these commanders, Solomon was from a place in the East at the very extremity of the Roman domain where the city called Daras now stands and Aigan was by birth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns, and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them also four hundred Eruli whom Pharas led and about six hundred barbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetae, all mounted bowmen, these were led by Sirmion and Balas men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highest degree. *Procopius, p. 105*

. . . as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius who was in command of the troops of the East for the second time. And he was followed by many spearmen and many guards, as well men who were capable warriors and thoroughly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the emperor gave him written instructions bidding him do everything as seemed best to him, and stating that his acts would be final, as if the emperor himself had done them. The writing in fact gave him the power of a king. (*Procopius, pp. 105-107*)

**Section question:** *What were the risks for the Romans in using conquered groups (foederati) in the army? What were the benefits for the foederati?*

### **How to Move an Army Across the Sea**

And for the whole force, five hundred ships were required, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thousand medimni [about 1.5 bushels in volume] nor any one less than three thousand. And in all the vessels together there were thirty thousand sailors, Egyptians and Ionians for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed over all the ships, Calonymus of Alexandria. And they had also ships of war prepared as for sea fighting to the number of ninety two and they were single banked ships covered by decks in order that the men rowing them might if possible not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such boats are called dromones . . . for they are able to attain a great speed. In these sailed two thousand men of Byzantium . . . who were all rowers as well as fighting men for there was not a single superfluous man among them.

. . . After this, Belisarius bethought him how his whole fleet should always keep together as it sailed and should anchor in the same place. For he knew that in a large fleet and especially if rough winds should . . . assail them it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and scattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So after considering the matter he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper corner for about one third of their length, and he erected upright poles on the prow of each and hung lights from them so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable, then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet, not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them. And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they proceeded more leisurely to Malea, where the calm proved of the greatest advantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exceedingly large ships, as night came on, everything was thrown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme

peril. At that time both the pilots and the rest of the sailors shewed themselves skilful and efficient, for while shouting at the top of their voices and making a great noise, they kept pushing the ships apart with their poles and cleverly kept the distances between their different vessels. But if a wind had arisen, whether a following or a head wind, it seems to me that the sailors would hardly have preserved themselves and their ships. But as it was they escaped. . . (Procopius, pp. 117-119)

. . . And as soon as Belisarius had disembarked upon the island, he began to feel restless knowing not how to proceed and his mind was tormented by the thought that he did not know what sort of men the Vandals were against whom he was going and how strong they were in war, or in what manner the Romans would have to wage the war, or what place would be their base of operations. But most of all he was disturbed by the soldiers, who were in mortal dread of sea fighting and had no shame in saying beforehand that if they should be disembarked on the land they would try to show themselves brave men in the battle, but if hostile ships assailed them they would turn to flight for they said they were not able to contend against two enemies at once, both men and water. Being at a loss therefore because of all these things, he sent Procopius, his adviser, to Syracuse to find out whether the enemy had any ships in ambush keeping watch over the passage across the sea either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya and from what point as base it would be advantageous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Vandals. . . (Procopius, p. 125)

**Section question:** *What were the challenges of naval warfare in the Mediterranean at that time? How did the expedition meet those challenges?*

### **The Roman Army Lands in Africa**

. . . [Belisarius and the army] made the disembarkation as quickly as possible about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shore, the general bade both soldiers and sailors dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And they did as directed. And since a great throng was working and fear was stimulating their enthusiasm, and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dug on the same day, but the stockade was also completed, and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all around. Then indeed while they were digging the trench something happened which was altogether amazing. A great abundance of water sprang forth from the earth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzacium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water sufficed for all uses of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procopius said that he rejoiced at the abundance of water not so much because of its usefulness as because it seemed to him a symbol of an easy victory, and that Heaven was foretelling a victory to them. This at any rate actually came to pass. So for that night all the soldiers bivouacked in the camp, setting guards and doing everything else as was customary, except indeed that Belisarius commanded five bowmen to remain in each ship for the purpose of a guard, and that the ships of war should anchor in a circle about them, taking care that no one should come against them to do them harm.

. . . And Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the march to Carthage. He chose out three hundred of his guardsmen, who were able warriors, and handed them over to John [an officer whom] he commanded to go ahead of the army at



a distance . . . and if he should see anything of the enemy to report it with all speed . . . And the allied Massagetæ [African allies] he commanded to travel constantly on the left of the army keeping as many stades away or more and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he suspected that it would not be long before Gelimer . . . would make an attack upon them. And these precautions were sufficient, for on the right side there was no fear since they were travelling not far from the coast. And he commanded the sailors to follow along with them always and not to separate themselves [from the marching army]. . . (Procopius, pp. 141, 149)

**Section question:** *What were the logistical challenges of Belisarius' campaign in Africa?*

### **Romans Gather Local Support on the Way to Carthage**

. . . And when Belisarius reached Syllectus the soldiers behaved with moderation and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kindness, won the Libyans to his side so completely that thereafter he made the journey as if in his own land, for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw, nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we completed the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, or in a camp made as thoroughly secure as the circumstances permitted. Thus we passed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumetum, and reached the place called Grasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the ruler of the Vandals and a park the most beautiful of all we know. For it is excellently watered by springs and has a great wealth of woods. And all the trees are full of fruit, so that each one of the soldiers pitched his tent among fruit trees and though all of them ate their fill of the fruit, which was then ripe. . . (Procopius, pp. 151-153)

**Section question:** *How does the author portray Belisarius' efforts to avoid local resistance to the marching army, and to keep the army satisfied?*

### **Romans Rout the Vandal Army near Carthage**

. . . the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that [their leader] did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Vandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible while he, with a few men and not even the pick of the army, came into conflict with [the Romans]. And [they] killed twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, . . . And the rout after [the Vandal leader] fell became complete, and the Vandals, fleeing at top speed, swept back all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were advancing in no order, and not drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that, for they were coming in bands of twenty or thirty. And seeing the Vandals . . . fleeing and thinking their pursuers were a great multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And [the Romans] killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the gates of Carthage. And there was so great a slaughter of Vandals in the course of the seventy stades, that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy twenty thousand strong.

. . . Sending forward therefore the commanders of the *foederati* [Belisarius] himself followed with the rest of the force and his own spearmen and guards. And when the *foederati* and their leaders reached Decimum, they saw the corpses of the fallen twelve comrades. . . And

hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight, they were vexed being at a loss as to where they ought to go. But while they were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared from the south, and a little later a very large force of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible since the enemy were bearing down upon them. . . . And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leadership of Gelimer. . . . But when they came near each other a contest arose between the two armies as to which should capture the highest of all the hills there. For it seemed a suitable one to encamp upon and both sides preferred to engage with the enemy from there. And the Vandals coming first took possession of the hill by crowding off their assailants, and routed the enemy having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place seven stades distant from Decimum. . . . when they came together these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius. From then on I am unable to say what happened to Gelimer that having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy. . . . I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fear they inspired in the Romans . . . (*Procopius, p. 167*)

**Section question:** *What does this passage tell you about the nature of battle at the time of the Vandal Wars? How much did it depend on individual warriors and leaders vs. masses of troops?*

### **The Fall of Vandal Carthage to the Romans, Sept 15, 533 CE**

. . . And he [Gelimer] would have preserved the city with its treasures and captured our ships which had come rather near and he would have withdrawn from us all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his brother he turned to lamentations, and in caring for his burial he blunted the edge of his opportunity, an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again. Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives [from his own army] bade them stop and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length then . . . he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there and the battle ended at night. Now the Vandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading [inland] into Numidia. . . . on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius came up and we all proceeded together on the road toward Carthage, which we reached in the late evening and we passed the night in the open although no one hindered us from marching into the city at once. (*Procopius, p. 169*)

**Section question:** *How does Procopius describe the two opposing leaders, and what seem to be the biggest challenges each faces?*

### **How the Carthaginian Inhabitants Fared After the City Fell**

For the Carthaginians opened the gates and burned lights everywhere and the city was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who had been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to guard against any ambushade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from having freedom to turn to plundering as they might under the

concealment of night. On that day, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland and the Carthaginians, for they already sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king's palace a room filled with darkness which the Carthaginians call Ancon where all were cast with whom the tyrant was angry. In that place as it happened many of the eastern merchants had been confined up to that time. For Gelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having urged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed all of them, this having been decided upon by Gelimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum. . . The guard of this prison upon hearing what had taken place in Decimum and seeing the fleet inside the point, entered the room and enquired of the men who had not yet learned the good news, but were sitting in the darkness and expecting death what among their possessions they would be willing to give up and be saved. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures but required them all to swear that if they escaped they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them the whole story and tearing a plank from the side [of the building] toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them. . . *Procopius, p. 171-172*

. . . There [the fleet] arrived about dusk and all anchored except . . . some of the sailors went off secretly . . . and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians. On the following day Belisarius commanded those on the ships to disembark and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation he marched into Carthage, for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at length of how much good fortune had come to them . . . and he exhorted them earnestly to preserve good order with the greatest care in Carthage. . . After such words of exhortation he entered Carthage and since no enemy was seen by them he went up to the palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. There a crowd of merchants and other Carthaginians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus [the sailors' leader] by oaths to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn for the moment made the money his plunder . . . (*Procopius, pp. 175-177*)

. . . Belisarius dined in the Delphix [palace] and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for Gelimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domestics of Gelimer served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory . . . And it fell to the lot of Belisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to enter a subject city without confusion even if they numbered only five hundred, and especially if they made the entry unexpectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this general showed themselves so orderly that there was not a single act of insolence nor a threat and indeed nothing happened to hinder the business of the city but in a captured city one which had changed its government and shifted its allegiance it came about that no man's household was excluded from the privileges of the marketplace. On the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings just as usual, and the soldiers themselves getting their lunch by purchase from the market . . . Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the

sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuitwall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and easy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down and it was for this reason the Carthaginians said that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be impossible in a short time to restore such a circuitwall to a safe condition. . .

*(Procopius, p. 179-181)*

. . . And Belisarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engaged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admiration about the circuit wall, and setting stakes close together along it, he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians but also to Gelimer himself. . . when he came as a captive to Carthage. . . he marvelled when he saw the wall .and said that his own negligence had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This then was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage. *(Procopius, p. 195)*

*Section question: Why is Carthage spared the destruction that usually follows the fall of a city to Roman armies? What are Belisarius' priorities in organizing the city and its inhabitants? What threats or advantages did different groups of Carthage's population face?*

### **The Vandals Look for African Allies, Who Offer Allegiance to the Romans**

. . . Gelimer upon reaching the plain of Boulla which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller not far from the boundaries of Numidia began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors however joined his alliance and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and requested that the symbols of office be sent them from him, according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them even if he was hostile to the Romans until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already received them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Now these symbols are a staff of silver covered with gold, and a silver cap not covering the whole head but like a crown, and held in place on all sides by bands of silver, a kind of white cloak gathered by a golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a Thessalian cape and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them and presented each one of them with much money. However they did not come to fight along with him, nor on the other hand did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. Thus then matters stood with the Romans. . .

. . . Gelimer and Tzazon . . . led out the Vandals. . . when the Romans were not expecting them but were preparing their meal, they were at hand and arrayed themselves for battle along the bank of the stream. . . So the Romans came to the other bank of this river after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances and arrayed themselves . . . Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could avoid so doing, and . . . it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of

the army. Such then was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals either wing was held by the chiliarchs and each one led the division under him while in the centre was Tzazon the brother of Gelimer and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But Gelimer himself was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had been previously given to all the Vandals to use neither spear nor any other weapon in this engagement except their swords. (*Procopius, pp. 215-229*)

... And there perished in this battle of the Romans less than fifty but of the Vandals about eight hundred. But Belisarius when the infantry came up in the late afternoon moved as quickly as he could with the whole army and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his army was coming against him straightway without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence



what was taking place. . . And the Romans coming up [on the Vandals' camp] captured the camp money and all with not a man in it and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night killing all the men upon whom they happened and making slaves of the women and children. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been found at least in one place. For the Vandals had plundered the Roman domain for a long time and had transferred great amounts of money to Libya. And since their land was an especially good one flourishing abundantly with the most useful crops it came about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety five years during which the Vandals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth amounting to an extraordinary sum returned once more on that day into the hands of the Romans. (*Procopius, pp. 233-235*)

... and by one of the Pillars of Heracles to take possession of the fort there which they call Septem . . . and to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in called Ebusa and Majorica and Minorica. . . So the Vandalic war ended thus. (*Procopius, pp. 247, 271*)

(Image: Mosaic pavement with Vandal Horseman, from British Museum excavated at Bordj-Djedid, 1857; 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Wikimedia Commons.)

**Section question:** *What did each side of the conflict do to engage allies, and how did Belisarius pacify the lands surrounding Carthage?*

## Questions About Empires in Mediterranean History and Beyond



This slide shows large empires of Afroeurasia from 500 BCE to 500 CE, from *World History For Us All*, Era 4 Panorama slide show (slide 38) at [http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/eras/era4.php - pan](http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu/eras/era4.php-pan). To get a dynamic view of empires in the Mediterranean region, watch the 90-second animation *Maps of War: Imperial History of the Middle East* <http://www.mapsofwar.com/ind/imperial-history.html>.

As you study this period when the first empires in human history emerged and contested territory over a millennium, think about the following questions about how the history of empires is related to the history of the Mediterranean region. As you study empires in world history up to modern times, you can also think about the questions that arise from this period as historical conditions changed over time.

1. The biggest question is, why did people in organized societies create empires?
2. What did it take for an organized society to become a Mediterranean imperial player? (Think about the material resources that were needed, the changing technologies, and the necessary authority over people within the society.) What choices did cities and smaller kingdoms have to avoid being absorbed into empires, or to be absorbed under favorable conditions?
3. Which empires originated in regions that didn't touch the Mediterranean shores, and which originated on its coastlines? Why did empires outside the region want a stake in the Mediterranean, and why did empires from within the region want to control lands that included other regions?
4. How did empires' expansion and contraction affect people who lived in the Mediterranean region? How did empires affect the Mediterranean environmentally? What positive and negative effects can you identify? (This is a very subjective question!)

5. What role did religion play in empires' ability to attract people to support empire-building? What role did other kinds of ideas and philosophies about the right or duty of a particular group to control territory?
6. What role did trade and access to natural and human resources play in building and maintaining empires, or losing them?
7. How are empire and the development of civilizations related? Does cultural development grow out of the resources that empires generate? If so, why? Under what conditions might territorial expansion hinder cultural development?

## Representations of the Holy – Religious Imagery in the Mediterranean

Statues, painted and mosaic representations of religious concepts and figures are shown on the following pages with identifying descriptions, dates and places. Make a chart, following the directions: (1.) Cut them apart with scissors, including the tags. (2.) Work in pairs or groups to create categories for these images. (3.) Glue them onto a large paper with sections for each category. (4.) Locate them on a map.



Bronze Statuette of the Goddess Isis with Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, Egyptian, 724-332 BCE, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, at <http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=317327>



Early Coptic sculpture of Egyptian Goddess Isis, wife of Osiris, God of the Heavens, enthroned with son Horus 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

(Source: Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany Photo Ronald V. Wiedenhoef at <http://www.spk-digital.de/showDetail.html?id=%22/bam/museum/smb/sbm/00>)



Early Coptic wall fresco showing goddess Isis nursing Horus, from 4<sup>th</sup> century CE Karanis, Egypt, a large Greco-Roman city in the Fayoum oasis. (Source: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan <http://historum.com/ancient-history/47360-when-did-ancient-egyptian-religion-die-2.html>)





This fresco from the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome is the earliest known image of the Virgin Mary nursing the baby Jesus, dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marian\\_art\\_in\\_the\\_Catholic\\_Church](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marian_art_in_the_Catholic_Church))



Statue of Isis in marble, Roman, 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, copying a Greek model. The goddess' statues shows both Greek and Egyptian influences. The elongated form is Egyptian, the clothing is Greek, and Isis has typical knotted cloth around her neck, and she carries a sheaf of grain, identifying her with fertility. (Source: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung at <http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=50214>)



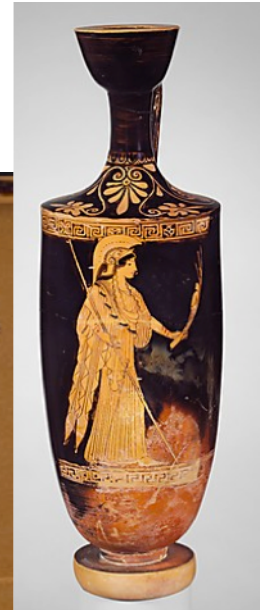
Statue of Isis in black and white marble, Roman (Naples), 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE Römisch, Mittlere Kaiserzeit. The style is Greek, but has characteristics of the Egyptian Isis, including the sun disc on her crown, and carries a jug for sacred Nile water. (Source: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung at <http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=50667>)

Left: The Birth of Athena from Zeus' Head. Detail of Athenian black-figure kylix, c. 550-540 BC.

(Source: British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=398917&partId=1&searchText=birth+of+athena&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=398917&partId=1&searchText=birth+of+athena&page=1))

Right: Athena holding a spear and a symbol of naval victory,

terracotta flask, Greek, ca. 480-470 BCE. (Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 25.189.1 at <http://metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/251932?rpp=20&pg=1&ao=on&ft=athena+holding&pos=1>)



Oil Jar in the Shape of Aphrodite at Her Birth, Greek, 380-370 BCE.

Aphrodite, like Astarte, is the goddess of love. (Source: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catharine Page Perkins Fund)



Gold plaques as necklace pendants

representing the Canaanite goddess Astarte, ca. 1550 BC-1100 BCE, from Cyprus (left) and probably Syria (right). Worn by women as a fertility symbol, they are detailed or stylized suggestions of the female body. (Source: © Trustees of the British Museum at

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online\\_research\\_catalogues/ancient\\_cyprus\\_british\\_museum/catalogue\\_image.aspx?objectId=435612&partId=1&asset\\_id=79937&retpage=26140&catparentPageId=25805](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/catalogue_image.aspx?objectId=435612&partId=1&asset_id=79937&retpage=26140&catparentPageId=25805) AND [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=383756&objectid=283069](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=383756&objectid=283069))



14



15

Statues with gods worshipped in Ugarit from Ras Shamra, Syria (14) Bronze and gold leaf statue of the god El as an old man with cloak and sandals, making a gesture of blessing; (15) Bronze and gold leaf statue of the god Baal in the pose of a warrior ready to strike with a weapon or thunderbolt (missing) Image from “The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra - Marguerite Yon.” [http://books.google.com/books?id=2YWQZ6x56dAC&pg=PA123&lpg=PA123&dq=ugarit+artifacts&source=bl&ots=fQFrRhT53M&sig=BCKnwlvKa0hTnxjkHinESCOft4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=C7ATUu700uHhygHF\\_YGgDg&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=ugarit%20artifacts&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=2YWQZ6x56dAC&pg=PA123&lpg=PA123&dq=ugarit+artifacts&source=bl&ots=fQFrRhT53M&sig=BCKnwlvKa0hTnxjkHinESCOft4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=C7ATUu700uHhygHF_YGgDg&ved=0CFUQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=ugarit%20artifacts&f=false).

Roman cast terracotta of ram-horned Jupiter Ammon, 1st century AD (Museo Barracco, Rome). Jupiter Ammon was a fusion of the Egyptian god Ammon, Etruscan sky god Tinia, Baal Hammon and Baal Shamen. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horned\\_deity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horned_deity)



Phoenician God Baal Hammon (Bardo Museum, Tunis), chief god of Carthage from about the 5th century. Baal, a Semitic word for “Lord,” was the god of sky, fertility, and vegetation, seen as an almighty ruler of all. Baal was a Canaanite deity worshipped widely in the Mediterranean in various names and forms. He appears in statues as a powerful, old man with a beard and curled ram’s horns at the side of his head.

(Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Museo\\_Barracco\\_-\\_Giove\\_Ammone\\_1010637.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Museo_Barracco_-_Giove_Ammone_1010637.JPG))



Zeus on a silver coin issued at the time of Alexander the Great, ca. 310-301 BCE. It portrays Zeus on his throne holding a scepter and an eagle. Zeus was the king of the gods according to Greek mythology, who ruled Mount Olympus as the god of the sky, weather, thunder, lightning, law, order, and fate. He was shown in images as a powerful man with a beard, carrying a lightning bolt, seated on a throne, with an eagle or a bull. The Roman god Jupiter, corresponded to Zeus. (Source: Museum of Fine Arts of Lyon [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tetradrachm\\_Zeus\\_Macedonia\\_MBA\\_Lyon.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tetradrachm_Zeus_Macedonia_MBA_Lyon.jpg))



The image from a tomb relief shows Akhenaten and his family making an offering to the Sun god Aten (ca. 1351-1334 BCE). The Egyptian sun god Aten grew in importance during the New Kingdom, when Akhenaten made Aten the only god. He and his family are shown worshipping Aten with sunbeams falling on their hands with the ankh, symbol of life. The tomb painting from ca. 1298-1235 BCE shows Imenhetep and Ra from the tomb of Nefertari. (Source: <http://www.historywiz.com/exhibits/aten.html> and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ra>)



Helios was the Titan god of the sun, shown with a fiery crown or halo on a terracotta vase from Athens dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Helios was believed to live in a golden palace in an eastern place beyond the world ocean, leaving before dawn to drive his chariot with winged horses across the sky, and descending in the west into a golden cup in which he was carried across the ocean to the east again. (Source: British Museum, London <http://www.theoi.com/Titan/Helios.html>)



Relief sculpture in marble of Helios, the sun god from the northern corner of the Temple of Athena at Ilion (Troy), 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. It shows the horses and chariot of the sun emerging from the sea. (Source: Pergamon-Museum, Berlin photographed by Gryffindor, 2007 at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ilion---metopa.jpg>)

Selene was the Titan goddess of the moon. She was depicted on this Greek terracotta vase from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, as a woman in a chariot drawn by a pair of winged horses. The circle of the moon was portrayed a crown on her head. (Source: Antikensammlung, Berlin <http://www.theoi.com/Titan/Selene.html>)





Mosaic floor of the Beit-Alpha synagogue, Byzantine period, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. At the center of the mosaic showing the twelve zodiac signs is Helios in a sun chariot, with winged angels at the corners. Helios was the Greek Titan god of the sun who presided over the measurement and divisions of the day, the year and the seasons, and Hellenizing influence made it a common motif in ancient synagogues. Such pagan symbols were common at that period for decorative purposes. (Source: [http://www.basarchive.org/bswb\\_graphics/BSBA/36/01/BSBA360106300L.jpg](http://www.basarchive.org/bswb_graphics/BSBA/36/01/BSBA360106300L.jpg) See also <http://www.biblewalks.com/Sites/BeitAlpha.html> for the architectural setting of the mosaic)



Apollo is portrayed with a radiant halo in a Roman floor mosaic in Tunisia from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, in ruins at El Djem, Tunisia (Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Apollo1.JPG>)



This early 4th century mosaic was found in the necropolis under the site of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. It is believed to portray Sol Invictus, an Apollo-like representation of Christ. (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Halo\\_\[religious\\_iconography\]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Halo_[religious_iconography]))

This mosaic is one of the oldest depictions of Christ, from a Roman villa in Dorset, England. Christ is portrayed as man wearing a tunic and cloak. Behind his head are the letters chi (X) and rho (P), the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ - Christos. Christ's head is a part of a larger mosaic that includes pagan elements, including scenes of Greek heroes, the horse Pegasus, and slaying the monster. (Sources: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/VfupdXVjTM6crACGDU-6uA> and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mosaic2\\_-\\_plw.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mosaic2_-_plw.jpg))





A Worshipper Kneeling Before the God Anubis. A bronze statuette of the anthropomorphic god Anubis facing a kneeling worshipper. He has the head of a jackal and the body of a human male.  
<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/5710/a-worshipper-kneeling-before-the-god-anubis/>



Family sacrificing a bull to the god Asclepius, god of healing, and his daughter Hygieia. The animal is a sacrifice seeking a cure for a sick person from the god. (Source: Victoria & Albert Museum, London at [http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/primaryhistory/ancient\\_greeks/gods\\_and\\_heroes/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/primaryhistory/ancient_greeks/gods_and_heroes/))

Phoenician figure in alabaster representing an ancient Mideastern deity, probably Astarte, 7th-5th-century BCE Iberian tomb at the necropolis of Tútugi (ancient Iberian settlement) in Galera (Province of Granada, Andalusia, Spain), as a part of a funerary equipment. A liquid offering was poured into the head and flowed into the offering bowl.  
(Source: National Archaeological Museum of Spain [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dama\\_de\\_Galera\\_\(M.A.N.\\_Madrid\)\\_01.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dama_de_Galera_(M.A.N._Madrid)_01.jpg))







Beit Alpha Synagogue, 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, with a mosaic floor leading to the raised platform for the Torah ark. The section of the mosaic shown in detail below was close to the holiest section of the synagogue, and shows the Torah ark in its center surrounded by ritual objects, the menorah, lions, a ram's horn, palm branch, citron fruit and incense. (Source:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beth\\_Alpha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beth_Alpha) and <http://www.biblewalks.com/Sites/BeitAlpha.html>)

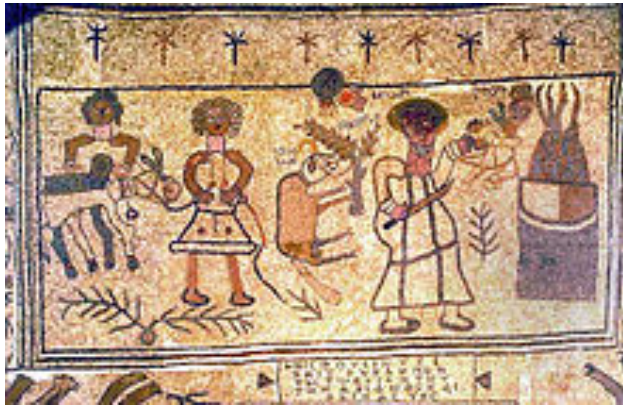
Emperor **Marcus Aurelius** (161-180 AD) and members of the Imperial family offer sacrifice in gratitude for success against Germanic tribes. In the background stands the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitulum (this is the only extant portrayal of this Roman temple). Bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. (Source: Capitoline Museum in Rome.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bas\\_relief\\_from\\_Arch\\_of\\_Marcus\\_Aurelius\\_showing\\_sacrifice.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bas_relief_from_Arch_of_Marcus_Aurelius_showing_sacrifice.jpg))



Marble altar represents the twelve gods of the Roman pantheon, Venus and Mars, Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, Juno, Neptune, Vulcan, Mercury, Vesta, Diana and Ceres. It dates to 1st century CE in Italy. (Source:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dii\\_Consentes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dii_Consentes))



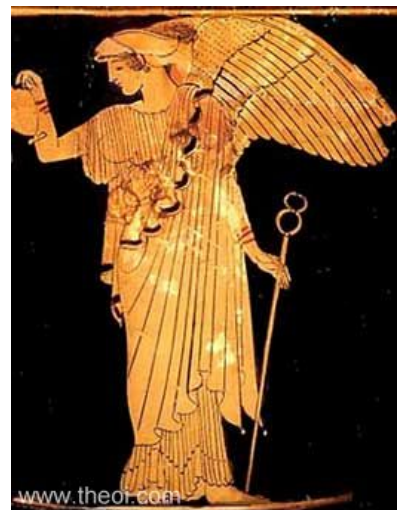
Beit Alpha Synagogue, Byzantine period, mosaic dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. The detail shows the scene of Abraham and Isaac at the place of the altar, with their names in Hebrew (Isaac, Abraham). In the center is a lamb that replaced Isaac as a sacrifice (Genesis 22: 13): "And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son." (Source:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beth\\_Alpha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beth_Alpha))

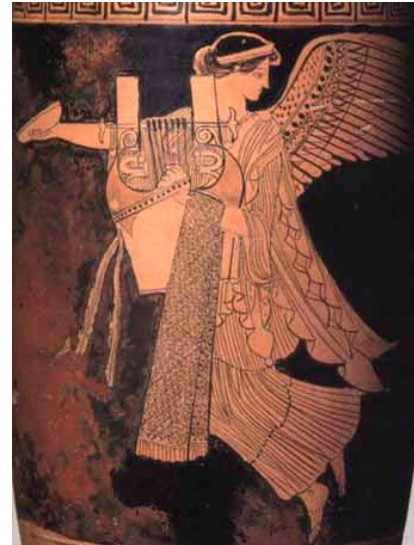


This unusual relief from southern Iraq may represent the goddess Ishtar or Inanna, Ereshgal, or a creature named Lilitu, and combines many symbols. The figure has a female body, holds serpents, and has bird-claw feet, standing on two lions, with owl figures next to her, and wings. It is dated to 1800- 1750 BCE. It is large, carved with high relief and was probably used in cult ceremonies. (Source: British Museum, London. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burney\\_Relief](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burney_Relief))

Iris, shown on this Greek painting on pottery, was the goddess of the rainbow, the messenger of the Olympian gods. She was the handmaiden and personal messenger of Hera, wife of Zeus, and was also a goddess of sea and sky. (Source: Iris, Athenian red-figure lekythos C5th B.C., Museum of Art Rhode Island School of Design <http://www.theoi.com/Pontios/Iris.html>)



The goddess Nike, winged goddess of music and victory, holding an instrument like a harp. (Source: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas, Austin, <http://www.theoi.com/Daimon/Nike.html>)



Gold bracelet with image of winged Mut, mother goddess and wife of Amun, from Meroe, upper Egypt, a kingdom that flourished from ca. 800 BCE — 350 CE. (Source: National Collection of Egyptian Art, Munich <http://egyptian-gods.99k.org/mut.html#ixzz2iwjmw8EX>)

The object in Istanbul known as the Prince's Sarcophagus is the earliest known Christian representation of angels with wings, Byzantine period, dated to the time of Theodosius I (379-395 CE). (Source: Istanbul Archeology Museum, [http://sugraphic.com/fotograf\\_goster.php?2485-princes-sarcophagus](http://sugraphic.com/fotograf_goster.php?2485-princes-sarcophagus))



## Text #1: Hymn to Ra

**Background:** The Book of the Dead is a funerary text dating to the early New Kingdom, ca. 1550 BCE to 50 BCE. The text was intended to assist a dead person's journey through the Duat, or underworld, and into the afterlife. Ra, the object of the hymn, is the sun god.

**Source:** Internet History Sourcebook <http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/ancient/ra-ani.asp>

“Nekht, the Captain of Soldiers, the Royal Scribe, Sings a Hymn of Praise to Ra, and says:

Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who art dowered [granted] [all sovereignty]. O Tem-Heru-Khuti (Tem-Harmakhis), when thou risest in the horizon of heaven a cry of joy goeth forth to thee from all people. O thou beautiful Being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk, within thy mother Hathor. Therefore in every place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising for ever. The regions of the South and the North come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at thy rising on the horizon of heaven, and thou illuminest the Two Lands with rays of turquoise-[coloured] light. O Ra, who art Heru-Khuti, the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and self-born, king of the earth, prince of the Tuat (the Other World), governor of Aukert, thou didst come from the Water-god, thou didst spring from the Sky-god Nu, who doth cherish thee and order thy members. O thou god of life, thou lord of love, all men live when thou shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The goddess Nut embraceth thee, and the goddess Mut enfoldeth thee at all seasons. Those who are in thy following sing unto thee with joy, and they bow down their foreheads to the earth when they meet thee, the lord of heaven, the lord of the earth, the King of Truth, the lord of eternity, the prince of everlastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou creator of eternity, thou maker of heaven wherein thou art firmly established.

The Company of the Gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the people who have been long dead come forth with cries of joy to behold thy beauties every day. Thou goest forth each day over heaven and earth, and thou art made strong each day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest over the heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and the Lake of Testes (the Great Oasis) is content thereat. The Serpent-fiend hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the Knife hath severed his joints. Ra liveth by Maat (Law), the beautiful! The Sektet Boat advanceth and cometh into port. The South and the North, and the West and East, turn to praise thee. O thou First, Great God (PAUTA), who didst come into being of thine own accord, Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee songs of joy at thy rising in the boat, they stretch out their hands unto thee. The Souls of the East follow thee, and the Souls of the West praise thee. Thou art the Ruler of all the gods. Thou in thy shrine hast joy, for the Serpent-fiend Nak hath been judged by the fire, and thy heart shall rejoice for ever. Thy mother Nut is esteemed by thy father Nu.”

### Questions for text #1:

- What role does Ra play in the ordering of the universe in Egyptian religion, and how does he relate to the other gods and natural forces?
- How do human beings fit into the world of the gods?

**Text #2: “Hymn to Pythian Apollo”**

Background: Apollo is an important and complex Olympian deity in ancient Greek and Roman religion and mythology. Apollo was viewed as a god of the sun and of light, truth and prophecy, music, healing and more. Apollo is described as the son of Zeus and Leto, and his sister was Artemis. Apollonian imagery is associated with other Mediterranean traditions around sun deities as major figures, including Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Etruscan traditions, as well as later European traditions of myth and artistic expression. Apollo was worshipped in his many forms, of which “Pythius” was only one, referring to Pythius from Putho, the area around Delphi, place of the Delphic Oracle, whose patron he was. The hymns were composed between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and have been attributed to Homer, but they may only have followed Homeric meter as poetry.

Source: Translation by Hugh G. Evans-White, in the *Loeb Classical Library*, “The Homeric Hymns,” III, 179 ff ) (New York, 1914) pp. 337 in online resource Gods, Goddesses and Supernatural Beings - Greek Gods and Heroes, and the Iranian Supreme Being, Ahura-Mazda - Mircea Eliade, <http://www.mircea-eliade.com/from-primitives-to-zen/032.html>.

“O Lord, Lycia is yours and lovely Maeonia and Miletus, charming city by the sea, but over Delos you greatly reign your own self.

Leto's all-glorious son goes to rocky Pytho, playing upon his hollow lyre, clad in divine, perfumed garments; and at the touch of the golden key his lyre sings sweet. Thence, swift as thought, he speeds from earth to Olympus, to the house of Zeus, to join the gathering of the other gods: then straightway the undying gods think only of the lyre and song, and all the Muses together, voice sweetly answering voice, hymn the unending gifts the gods enjoy and the sufferings of men, all that they endure at the hands of the deathless gods, and how they live witless and helpless and cannot find healing for death or defense against old age. Meanwhile the rich-tressed races and cheerful Seasons dance with Harmonia and Hebe and Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, holding each other by the wrist. And among them sings one, not mean nor puny, but tall to look upon and enviable in mien, Artemis who delights in arrows, sister of Apollo. Among them Sport Ares and the keen-eyed Slayer of Argus, while Apollo plays his lyre stepping high and featly and a radiance shines around him, the gleaming of his feet and dose-woven vest. And they, even gold-tressed Leto, and wise Zeus, rejoice in their great hearts as they watch their dear son playing among the undying gods.

How then shall I sing of you—though in all ways you are a worthy theme for song? Shall I sing of you as wooer and in the fields of love... Or shall I sing how at the first you went about the earth seeking a place of oracle for men, O far-shooting Apollo? To Pieria first you went down from Olympus and passed by sandy Lectus and Enienae and through the land of the Perrhaebi. Soon you came to folcus and set foot on Cenaem in Euboea, famed for ships: you stood in the Lelantine plain, but it pleased not your heart to make a temple there and wooded groves. . . .

And further still you went, O far-shooting Apollo, and came to Orchestus, Poseidon's bright grove: there the new-broken colt distressed with drawing the trim chariot gets spirit again, and the skilled driver springs from his car and goes on his way. . . .

Then you went towards Telphusa: and there the pleasant place seemed fit for making a temple and wooded grove. You came very near and spoke to her: 'Telphusa, here I am minded to make a glorious temple, and oracle for men...who live in rich Peloponnesus and those of Europe all the wave-washed isles, coming to seek oracles. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, giving answer in my rich temple.

So said Phoebus Apollo, and laid out all the foundations throughout, wide and very long. But when Telphusa saw this, she was angry in heart and spoke, saying: 'Lord Phoebus, worker from afar, I will speak a word of counsel to your heart, since you are minded to make here a glorious temple to be an oracle for men who will always bring hither perfect hecatombs for you; yet I will speak out, and do you lay up my words in your heart. The trampling of swift horses and the sound of mules watering at my sacred springs will always irk you, and men like better to gaze at the well-made chariots and stamping, swift-footed horses than at your great temple and the many treasures that are within. But if you will be moved by me...build at Crisa below the glades of Parnassus...so the glorious tribes of men will bring gifts to you as...Healer...and you will receive with delight rich sacrifices from the people dwelling round about.' So said Telphusa, that she alone, and not the Far-Shooter, should have renown there; and she persuaded the Far-Shooter.

Further yet you went, far-shooting Apollo, until you came to the town of the presumptuous Phlegyae who dwell on this earth in a lovely glade near the Cephisian lake, caring not for Zeus. And thence you went . . . to Crisa beneath snowy Parnassus, a foothill turned towards the west: a cliff hangs over it from above, and a hollow, rugged glade runs under. There the lord Phoebus Apollo resolved to make his lovely temple, and thus he said: 'In this place I am minded to build a glorious temple to be an oracle for men, and here they will always bring perfect hecatombs, both they who dwell in rich Peloponnesus and the men of Europe and from all the wave-washed isles, coming to question me. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, answering them in my rich temple.

When he had said this, Phoebus Apollo laid out all the foundations throughout, wide and very long; and upon these...laid a footing of stone. And the countless tribes of men built the whole temple of wrought stones, to be sung of for ever. But near by was a sweet flowing spring, and there with his strong bow the lord, the son of Zeus, killed the bloated, great-she-dragon, a fierce monster wont to do great mischief to men upon earth, to men themselves and to their thin-shanked sheep; for she was a very bloody plague. She it was who once received from gold-throned Hera and brought up fell, cruel Typhaon to be a plague to men.  
..[image of the serpent monster Typhaon]

And this Typhaon used to work great mischief among the famous tribes of men. 'whosoever met the dragoness, the day of doom would sweep him away, until the lord Apollo, who deals death from afar, shot a strong arrow at her. Then she, rent with bitter pangs, lay drawing great gasps for breath and rolling about that place. An awful noise swelled up



unspeakable as she writhed continually this way and that amid the wood: and so she left her life, breathing it forth in blood. Then Phoebus Apollo boasted over her: 'Now rot here upon the soil that feeds man! You at least shall live no more to be a fell bane to men who eat the fruit of the all nourishing earth, and who will bring hither perfect hecatombs. Against cruel death neither Typhoeus shall avail you nor ill-famed Chimera, but here shall the Earth and shining Hyperion make you rot.'

Thus said Phoebus, exulting over her: and darkness covered her eyes. And the holy strength of Helios [the sun god] made her rot away there: wherefore the place is now called Pytho, and men call the lord Apollo by another name, Pythian; because on that spot the power of piercing Helios made the monster rot away.

Then Phoebus Apollo saw that the sweet flowing spring had beguiled him, and he started out in anger against Telpusa; and soon coming to her, he stood close by and spoke to her: 'Telpusa, you were not, after all, to keep to yourself this lovely place by deceiving my mind, and pour forth your clear flowing water: here my renown shall also be and not yours alone.' Thus spoke the lord, far working Apollo, and pushed over upon her a crag, with a shower of rocks, hiding her streams: and he made himself an altar in a wooded grove very near the clear-flowing stream. In that place all men pray to the great one by the name Telpusian, because he humbled the stream of holy Telpusa.

(Image source: Serpent-footed Typhoeus on terracotta, ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Antikensammlungen, Munich at <http://www.theoi.com/Gigante/Typhoeus.html>)

### Questions for Text #2:

- How is Apollo related to the healing of a human plague as well as a place of prophesy or oracles?
- What makes a place sacred in the hymn? How is the relationship between gods and the “tribes of men” portrayed in the hymn?

### Text #3: The Story of Abraham and Isaac from Genesis, Chapter 22

**Background:** The Book of Genesis is the first book of the Hebrew Bible (the Tanakh) and the Christian Old Testament. Scholars disagree on when the Torah, the five books of Moses including Genesis was written down, but assume that it was passed down orally for some time, and possibly recorded between 500 and 200 BCE.

**Source:** [http://www.chabad.org/library/bible\\_cdo/aid/8217/jewish/chapter-22.htm](http://www.chabad.org/library/bible_cdo/aid/8217/jewish/chapter-22.htm)

1. And it came to pass after these things, that God tested Abraham, and He said to him, "Abraham," and he said, "Here I am."
2. And He said, "Please take your son, your only one, whom you love, yea, Isaac, and go away to the land of Moriah and bring him up there for a burnt offering on one of the mountains, of which I will tell you."

3. And Abraham arose early in the morning, and he saddled his donkey, and he took his two young men with him and Isaac his son; and he split wood for a burnt offering, and he arose and went to the place of which God had told him.
4. On the third day, Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place from afar.
5. And Abraham said to his young men, "Stay here with the donkey, and I and the lad will go yonder, and we will prostrate ourselves and return to you."
6. And Abraham took the wood for the burnt offering, and he placed [it] upon his son Isaac, and he took into his hand the fire and the knife, and they both went together.
7. And Isaac spoke to Abraham his father, and he said, "My father!" And he said, "Here I am, my son." And he said, "Here are the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt offering?"
8. And Abraham said, "God will provide for Himself the lamb for the burnt offering, my son." And they both went together.
9. And they came to the place of which God had spoken to him, and Abraham built the altar there and arranged the wood, and he bound Isaac his son and placed him on the altar upon the wood.
10. And Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife, to slaughter his son.
11. And an angel of God called to him from heaven and said, "Abraham! Abraham!" And he said, "Here I am."
12. And he said, "Do not stretch forth your hand to the lad, nor do the slightest thing to him, for now I know that you are a God fearing man, and you did not withhold your son, your only one, from Me."
13. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and he saw, and lo! there was a ram, [and] after [that] it was caught in a tree by its horns. And Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering instead of his son.
14. And Abraham named that place, The Lord will see, as it is said to this day: On the mountain, the Lord will be seen.
15. And an angel of the Lord called to Abraham a second time from heaven.
16. And he said, "By Myself have I sworn, says the Lord, that because you have done this thing and you did not withhold your son, your only one,
17. That I will surely bless you, and I will greatly multiply your seed as the stars of the heavens and as the sand that is on the seashore, and your descendants will inherit the cities of their enemies.
18. And through your children shall be blessed all the nations of the world, because you hearkened to My voice." . . .

**Questions for Text #3:**



- Compare to Genesis, 22, *The Holy Bible: King James Version*, 2000, at <http://www.bartleby.com/108/01/22.html>. Compare also to Text #10, the Qur'anic story of Abraham and the sacrifice. How do the two stories differ in emphasis?
- How does the sacrifice story differ fundamentally from the mention of sacrifice in the Apollo hymn? What is the significance of a sacrifice that did not actually take place?

### **Text #4: The Book of the Prophet Isaiah**

Background: Isaiah was a later prophet in the Hebrew tradition, who lived in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Scholars disagree on whether the text reflects one collection of prophecies or multiple collections from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The oldest existing manuscript is from the Dead Sea Scrolls written in the century before Christ.

Source: <http://www.bartleby.com/108/23/1.html> - 1

- 1 The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzzi'ah,
- 2 Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken; I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.
- 3 The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.
- 4 Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward.
- 5 Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.
- 6 From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.
- 7 Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers.
- 8 And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.
- 9 Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.
- 10 Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.

11 To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats.

12 When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

13 Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

14 Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

15 And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

16 Wash ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil;

17 Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

19 If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land:

20 but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

#### Questions for Text #4

- What does the Prophet Isaiah tell his followers that the Lord requires?
- How does Isaiah's message about the Lord differ from the sacrifices offered in other religious traditions? What is the alternative to sacrifices that Isaiah calls for?

#### Text #5: Phaedrus of Plato

Background: Written 360 BCE by Plato, *Phaedrus* is portrayed as a dialogue between Socrates (469–399 BCE) and a friend named Phaedrus. Although Socrates was Plato's teacher and a real person, the Socrates of the dialogues expresses Plato's own ideas. The short segment featured in this excerpt is about the search for Truth, and the nature of the human soul and its journey toward perfection.

Source: Translation by Benjamin Jowett at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/phaedrus.html>  
(Image: 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE papyrus of Plato's Phaedrus, "Virtual Exhibition-Plato, Phaedrus."  
[http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/scribes\\_scholars/plato.html](http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/scribes_scholars/plato.html)).

**Socrates:** The soul through all her being is immortal, for that which is ever in motion is immortal; but that which moves another and is moved by another, in ceasing to move ceases also to live. Only the self-moving, never leaving self, never ceases to move, and is the fountain and beginning of motion to all that moves besides. Now, the beginning is unbegotten, for that which is begotten has a beginning; but the beginning is begotten of nothing, for if it were begotten of something, then the begotten would not come from a beginning. But if unbegotten, it must also be indestructible; for if beginning were destroyed, there could be no beginning out of anything, nor anything out of a beginning; and all things must have a beginning. And therefore the self-moving is the beginning of motion; and this can neither be destroyed nor begotten, else the whole heavens and all creation would collapse and stand still, and never again have motion or birth. But if the self-moving is proved to be immortal, he who affirms that self-motion is the very idea and essence of the soul will not be put to confusion. For the body which is moved from without is soulless; but that which is moved from within has a soul, for such is the nature of the soul. But if this be true, must not the soul be the self-moving, and therefore of necessity unbegotten and immortal? Enough of the soul's immortality.



Of the nature of the soul, though her true form be ever a theme of large and more than mortal discourse, let me speak briefly, and in a figure. And let the figure be composite—a pair of winged horses and a charioteer. Now the winged horses and the charioteers of the gods are all of them noble and of noble descent, but those of other races are mixed; the human charioteer drives his in a pair; and one of them is noble and of noble breed, and the other is ignoble and of ignoble breed; and the driving of them of necessity gives a great deal of trouble to him. I will endeavour to explain to you in what way the mortal differs from the immortal creature. The soul in her totality has the care of inanimate being everywhere, and traverses the whole heaven in divers forms appearing—when perfect and fully winged she soars upward, and orders the whole world; whereas the imperfect soul, losing her wings and drooping in her flight at last settles on the solid ground—there, finding a home, she receives an earthly frame which appears to be self-moved, but is really moved by her power; and this composition of soul and body is called a living and mortal creature. For immortal no such union can be reasonably believed to be; although fancy, not having seen nor surely known the nature of God, may imagine an immortal creature having both a body and also a soul which are united throughout all time. Let that, however, be as God wills, and be spoken of acceptably to him. And now let us ask the reason why the soul loses her wings!

The wing is the corporeal element which is most akin to the divine, and which by nature tends to soar aloft and carry that which gravitates downwards into the upper region, which is the habitation of the gods. The divine is beauty, wisdom, goodness, and the like; and by these the wing of the soul is nourished, and grows apace; but when fed upon evil and foulness and the opposite of good, wastes and falls away. Zeus, the mighty lord, holding the reins of a winged chariot, leads the way in heaven, ordering all and taking care of all; and there follows him the array of gods and demigods, marshalled in eleven bands; Hestia alone abides at home in the house of heaven; of the rest they who are reckoned among the princely twelve march in their appointed order. They see many blessed sights in the inner heaven, and there are many ways to and fro, along which the blessed gods are passing, every one doing his own work; he may follow who will and can, for jealousy has no place in the celestial choir. But when they go to banquet and festival, then they move up the steep to the top of the vault of heaven. The chariots of the gods in even poise, obeying the rein, glide rapidly; but the others labour, for the vicious steed goes heavily, weighing down the charioteer to the earth when his steed has not been thoroughly trained—and this is the hour of agony and extremest conflict for the soul. For the immortals, when they are at the end of their course, go forth and stand upon the outside of heaven, and the revolution of the spheres carries them round, and they behold the things beyond. But of the heaven which is above the heavens, what earthly poet ever did or ever will sing worthily? It is such as I will describe; for I must dare to speak the truth, when truth is my theme. There abides the very being with which true knowledge is concerned; the colourless, formless, intangible essence, visible only to mind, the pilot of the soul. . .

Such is the life of the gods; but of other souls, that which follows God best and is likest to him lifts the head of the charioteer into the outer world, and is carried round in the revolution, troubled indeed by the steeds, and with difficulty beholding true being; while another only rises and falls, and sees, and again fails to see by reason of the unruliness of the steeds. The rest of the souls are also longing after the upper world and they all follow, but not being strong enough they are carried round below the surface, plunging, treading on one another, each striving to be first; and there is confusion and perspiration and the extremity of effort; and many of them are lamed or have their wings broken through the ill-driving of the charioteers; and all of them after a fruitless toil, not having attained to the mysteries of true being, go away, and feed upon opinion. The reason why the souls exhibit this exceeding eagerness to behold the plain of truth is that pasturage is found there, which is suited to the highest part of the soul; and the wing on which the soul soars is nourished with this. And there is a law of Destiny, that the soul which attains any vision of truth in company with a god is preserved from harm until the next period, and if attaining always is always unharmed. But when she is unable to follow, and fails to behold the truth, and through some ill-hap sinks beneath the double load of forgetfulness and vice, and her wings fall from her and she drops to the ground, then the law ordains that this soul shall at her first birth pass, not into any other animal, but only into man; and the soul which has seen most of truth shall come to the birth as a philosopher, or artist, or some musical and loving nature; that which has seen truth in the second degree shall be some righteous king or warrior chief; the soul which is of the third class shall be a politician, or economist, or trader; the fourth shall be lover of gymnastic toils, or a physician; the fifth shall lead the life of a prophet or hierophant; to the sixth the character of poet or some other imitative artist

will be assigned; to the seventh the life of an artisan or husbandman; to the eighth that of a sophist or demagogue; to the ninth that of a tyrant—all these are states of probation, in which he who does righteously improves, and he who does unrighteously, improves, and he who does unrighteously, deteriorates his lot.

Ten thousand years must elapse before the soul of each one can return to the place from whence she came, for she cannot grow her wings in less; only the soul of a philosopher, guileless and true, or the soul of a lover, who is not devoid of philosophy, may acquire wings in the third of the recurring periods of a thousand years; he is distinguished from the ordinary good man who gains wings in three thousand years—and they who choose this life three times in succession have wings given them, and go away at the end of three thousand years. But the others receive judgment when they have completed their first life, and after the judgment they go, some of them to the houses of correction which are under the earth, and are punished; others to some place in heaven whither they are lightly borne by justice, and there they live in a manner worthy of the life which they led here when in the form of men. And at the end of the first thousand years the good souls and also the evil souls both come to draw lots and choose their second life, and they may take any which they please. The soul of a man may pass into the life of a beast, or from the beast return again into the man. But the soul which has never seen the truth will not pass into the human form. . .

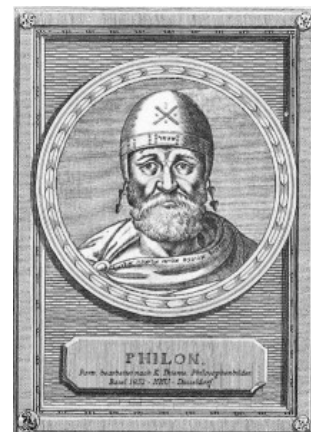
### Questions for Text #5

- Contrast Socrates' description of the gods with his concept of God and the soul. How does the thought of Plato move beyond myths such as the story of the serpent monster in the Apollo hymn?
- How does Plato combine legend, metaphor (horse and wings), and abstract ideas to explain his philosophy of the human condition? Do you think his ideas reflect a view of reincarnation of the soul?

### Text #6: Philo of Alexandria, “On the Migration of Abraham”

Background: Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE - 40 CE) was a Jewish writer who bridged Greek and Hebrew thought. During the first century BCE, Hebrew mystical ideas met with Greek philosophy under Hellenistic influence. Philo tried to explain and argue for Judaism in terms of Greek philosophy. His work is important as a synthesis of both traditions that set the tone for Hellenistic interpretation of Abrahamic religion—Judaism, Christianity, and later Islam.

Source: <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/philo.html> and <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/text/philo/book16.html>



I. (1) And the Lord said to Abraham, "Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house to a land which I will show thee; and I will make thee into a great nation. And I will bless thee, and I will magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee; and in thy name shall all the nations of the earth be Blessed." (2) God, wishing to purify the soul of man, first of all gives it an impulse towards complete salvation, namely, a change of abode, so as to quit the three regions of the body, the outward sense and speech according to utterance; for his country is the emblem of the body, and his kindred are the symbol of the outward sense, and his father's house of speech. Why so? (3) Because the body derives its composition from the earth, and is again dissolved into earth; and Moses is a witness of this when he says, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou Return." For he says, that man was compounded by God fashioning a lump of clay into the form of a man; and it follows of necessity that, a composite being, when dissolved, must be dissolved into its component parts. But the outward sense is nearly connected with and akin to the mind, the irrational part to the rational, since they are both parts of one soul; but speech is the abode of the father, because our father is the mind, which implants in each of its parts its own powers, and distributes its energies among them, undertaking the care and superintendence of them all; and the abode in which it dwells is speech, a dwelling separated from the rest of the house; for as the hearth is the abode of a man, so is speech of the mind: (4) at all events, it displays itself, and all the notions which it conceives, arranging them and setting them in order in speech, as if in a house. And you must not wonder that Moses has called speech in man the abode of the mind, for he also says, that the mind or the universe, that is to say, God, has for his abode his own word. (5) And the practiser of virtue, Jacob, seizing on this apprehension, confesses in express words that, "This is no other than the house of God," an expression equivalent to, The house of God is not this thing, or anything which can be made the subject of ocular demonstration...but is invisible... only to be comprehended by the soul as soul. (6) What, then, can it be except the Word, which is more ancient than all the things which were the objects of creation, and by means of which it is the Ruler of the universe, taking hold of it as a rudder, governs all things. And when he was fashioning the world, he used this as his instrument for the blameless argument of all the things which he was completing.

II. (7) That he means by Abraham's country the body, and by his kindred the outward senses, and by his father's house uttered speech, we have now shown. But the command, "Depart from them," is not like or equivalent to, Be separated from them according to your essence, since that would be the injunction of one who was pronouncing sentence of death. But it is the same as saying, Be alienated from them in your mind, allowing none of them to cling to you, standing above them all; (8) they are your subjects, use them not as your rulers; since you are a king, learn to govern and not to be governed; know yourself all your life, as Moses teaches us in many passages where he says, "Take heed to Thyself." For thus you will perceive what you ought to be obedient to, and what you ought to be the master of. (9) Depart therefore from the earthly parts which envelop you, O my friend, fleeing from that base and polluted prison house of the body, and from the keepers as it were of the prison, its pleasures and appetites, putting forth all your strength and all your power so as to suffer none of thy good things to come to harm, but improving all your good faculties together and unitedly. (10) Depart also from thy kindred, outward senses; for now indeed you have given yourself up to each of them to be made use of as it will, and you have

become a good, the property of others who have borrowed you, having lost your own power over yourself. But you know that, even though all men are silent on the subject, your eyes lead you, and so do your ears, and all the rest of the multitude of that kindred connection, towards those objects which are pleasing to themselves. (11) But if you choose to collect again those portions of yourself which you have lent away, and to invest yourself with the possession of yourself, without separating off or alienating any part of it, you will have a happy life, enjoying for ever and ever the fruit of good things which belong not to strangers but to yourself. (12) But now rise up also and quit speech according to utterance, which Moses here represents God as calling your father's house, that you may not be deceived by the specious beauty of words and names, and so be separated from that real beauty which exists in the things themselves which are intended by these names. For it is absurd for a shadow to be looked upon as of more importance than the bodies themselves, or for an imitation to carry off the palm from the model. Now the interpretation resembles a shadow and an imitation, but the nature of things signified under these expressions, thus interpreted, resemble the bodies and original models which the man who aims at being such and such rather than at appearing so must cling to, removing to a distance from the other things.

(Image and bio from "Philo of Alexandria [Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy]." <http://www.iep.utm.edu/philo/>)

### Questions for Text #6

- Compare Philo's interpretation of the story of Abraham's wandering to with the idea of the journey of the soul in Phaedra.
- Is the migration Philo describes a mystical journey or a worldly journey of a believer to separate from conformity to the society in which he or she lives on earth?

### Text #7: The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians

Background: Paul the Apostle, or Saul of Tarsus (ca. 5 – ca. 67 CE), was one of the early apostles of Christianity who founded churches in the Mediterranean region. He was born to a Jewish family as a Roman citizen, and preached to both Jews and Gentiles (non-Jews) after he converted to becoming a follower of Jesus of Nazareth. The Letter of Paul called *The Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* was written about 53–54 CE at Ephesus, in Asia Minor. As he preached and traveled, he wrote to the communities he founded to counsel them on the external and internal challenges they faced.



Source: *The Holy Bible: King James Version*, 2000, at <http://www.bartleby.com/108/46/12.html>. Published by The American Bible Society (Image: Ruins of the Theater at the city of Ephesus where St. Paul preached, Turkey at <http://www.ephesus.us/ephesus/theatre.htm>)

- 1 Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant.
- 2 Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led.

3 Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.

4 Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.

5 And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.

6 And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

7 But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

8 For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;

9 to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit;

10 to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues:

11 but all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.

12 For as the body is one, and hath many members and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.

13 For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.

14 For the body is not one member, but many.

15 If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?

16 And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?

17 If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?

18 But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him.

19 And if they were all one member, where were the body?

20 But now are they many members, yet but one body.

21 And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.

22 Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary:

23 and those members of the body, which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.



24 For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked:

25 that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another.

26 And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

27 Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.

28 And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.

29 Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles?

30 have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?

31 But covet earnestly the best gifts. And yet show I unto you a more excellent way.

### Questions for Text #7

- How does Paul express the concept of community among the early Christians of the city?
- How do his instructions to the Corinthians call for internal unity and strength against external forces. What does his metaphor of the body signify for the new Christian community? How does it cut against class, occupation, and former religious adherence?

### Text #8: Pliny the Younger to Emperor Trajan on Christians and Worship of Roman Gods <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/pliny.html>

Pliny the Younger (61 CE– ca. 112 CE) was governor of Pontus, or Bithynia, on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor from 111-112 CE. Exchanges of Pliny's letters with the emperor Trajan on administrative political matters have been preserved. These two letters are the most famous, in which Pliny encounters Christians practicing their religion for the first time.

#### Pliny, Letters 10.96-97, to the Emperor Trajan

It is my practice, my lord, to refer to you all matters concerning which I am in doubt. For who can better give guidance to my hesitation or inform my ignorance? I have never participated in trials of Christians. I therefore do not know what offenses it is the practice to punish or investigate, and to what extent. And I have been not a little hesitant as to whether there should be any distinction on account of age or no difference between the very young and the more mature; whether pardon is to be granted for repentance, or, if a man has once been a Christian, it does him no good to have ceased to be one; whether the name itself, even without offenses, or only the offenses associated with the name are to be punished.

Meanwhile, in the case of those who were denounced to me as Christians, I have observed the following procedure: I interrogated these as to whether they were Christians; those who confessed I interrogated a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment; those who persisted I ordered executed. For I had no doubt that, whatever the nature of their creed, stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy surely deserve to be punished. There were others possessed of the same folly; but because they were Roman citizens, I signed an order for them to be transferred to Rome.

Soon accusations spread, as usually happens, because of the proceedings going on, and several incidents occurred. An anonymous document was published containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, when they invoked the gods in words dictated by me, offered prayer with incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for this purpose together with statues of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ—none of which those who are really Christians, it is said, can be forced to do—these I thought should be discharged. Others named by the informer declared that they were Christians, but then denied it, asserting that they had been but had ceased to be, some three years before, others many years, some as much as twenty-five years. They all worshipped your image and the statues of the gods, and cursed Christ.

They asserted, however, that the sum and substance of their fault or error had been that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath, not to some crime, but not to commit fraud, theft, or adultery, not falsify their trust, nor to refuse to return a trust when called upon to do so. When this was over, it was their custom to depart and to assemble again to partake of food—but ordinary and innocent food. Even this, they affirmed, they had ceased to do after my edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I had forbidden political associations. Accordingly, I judged it all the more necessary to find out what the truth was by torturing two female slaves who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing else but depraved, excessive superstition.

I therefore postponed the investigation and hastened to consult you. For the matter seemed to me to warrant consulting you, especially because of the number involved. For many persons of every age, every rank, and also of both sexes are and will be endangered. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only to the cities but also to the villages and farms. But it seems possible to check and cure it. It is certainly quite clear that the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the established religious rites, long neglected, are being resumed, and that from everywhere sacrificial animals are coming, for which until now very few purchasers could be found. Hence it is easy to imagine what a multitude of people can be reformed if an opportunity for repentance is afforded.

### **Trajan Responds to Pliny**

You observed proper procedure, my dear Pliny, in sifting the cases of those who had been denounced to you as Christians. For it is not possible to lay down any general rule to serve as a kind of fixed standard. They are not to be sought out; if they are denounced and proved guilty, they are to be punished, with this reservation, that whoever denies that he is a Christian and really proves it—that is, by worshiping our gods—even though he was under

suspicion in the past, shall obtain pardon through repentance. But anonymously posted accusations ought to have no place in any prosecution. For this is both a dangerous kind of precedent and out of keeping with the spirit of our age.

### Questions for Text #8

- Why do the Romans object to Christians' practice of their religion, and what does the Roman state expect of its subjects in religious matters?
- How does Pliny seek to solve the problem of Christians' departure from tradition within the law?

### Text #9: St Augustine on the Creator from *Soliloquies*

Background: Augustine of Hippo (354 –430 CE), known as St. Augustine, was a Christian theologian born in Roman North Africa, today's Algeria. St. Augustine was a convert to Christianity whose writing influenced Christian thought. He was an early Church Father who served as Bishop of the city of Hippo Regia. His writings are considered very influential in the development of Western Christianity and philosophy. His most famous work is his autobiographical *Confessions*. The *Soliloquies* was a work written as a conversation with the self, or conscience.



Source: <http://www.online-literature.com/saint-augustine/augustines-soliloquies/1/>  
(Image: ruins of Hippo Regius at <http://www.lib.luc.edu/specialcollections/items/show/793>)

*R. I know then nothing better than that thou shouldst pray. Make known thy wish to God, Saviour of mind and body, that thou may through such salvation obtain what thou wishest. And when thou hast prayed, write the prayer, lest thou forget it, that thou be the fitter for thy task. And pray sincerely in few words and with full understanding.*

*A. I will do even as thou teachest me, saying thus:*

O Lord, Thou who art the Creator of all things, grant me first to know how to pray to Thee aright and acceptably, and that I may merit to be worthy that Thou *for thy mercy* wilt redeem and deliver me. On Thee I call, O Lord, who madest all that could not else have sprung into being, nor without Thee could even abide. I call to Thee, O Lord, who leavest none of thy creatures to become naught. To Him I call who hath made all creatures beautiful without any original substance. To Thee I call, who never wroughtest any evil, but rather every good work. To Him I call who teacheth to a few wise men that evil is naught.

O Lord, thou hast wrought all things perfect, and nothing imperfect; to Thee is no creature untoward; though any thing will, it can not be so, *for Thou hast shapen them all orderly, and*

*peaceable, and so harmonious that none of them can altogether destroy another, but the ugly ever adorneth the beautiful.* To Thee I call, whom everything loveth that can love, both those which know what they love, and those which know not what they love. Thou who hast shapen all creatures very good, without any evil—Thou who wilt not altogether *show thyself* openly to any but to them that are pure *in heart*, I call to Thee, O Lord, because Thou art the Father of truth and wisdom, of the true and highest life, and of the highest blessedness, and of the highest good, and of the highest brightness, and of the intelligible light; *Thou who art the Father of the Son who hath awakened us, and still arouseth us, from the sleep of our sins*, and warneth us to come to Thee.

To Thee I pray, O Lord, who art the highest truth, and through whom is true all that is true. I pray to Thee, O Lord, who art the true life, and through whom all things live that do live. Thou art the highest blessedness, and through Thee are blessed all that are blessed. Thou art the highest good ... [An omission in the MS.] ... is and beautiful. Thou art the intelligible light through which man knoweth. I pray to Thee, O Lord, who wieldest all the world; whom we can not know bodily, *neither by eyes, nor by smell, nor by ears, nor by taste, nor by touch*; although such laws as we have, and such virtues as we have, we take *all those that are good* from thy realm, *and from thy realm we draw an example of all the good we perform*. For every one falleth who fleeth from Thee, and every one riseth who turneth to Thee, and every one standeth who abideth in Thee; he dieth who wholly forsaketh Thee, he is quickened who turneth to Thee, and he liveth indeed who abideth in Thee. No one that is wise forsaketh Thee, no one seeketh Thee except he be wise, and no one altogether findeth Thee but the pure in heart. That is, he perisheth who forsaketh Thee. *He who loveth Thee seeketh Thee; he who followeth after Thee hath Thee. Thy truths which Thou hast given us awaken us from the sleep of our sins.* Our hope lifteth us to Thee. Our love, which Thou hast given us, bindeth us to Thee. Through Thee we overcome our foes, both *spiritual and carnal*. Thou who forgivest, *draw nigh to me and have mercy upon me*, because Thou hast bestowed upon us great gifts, to wit, that we shall never entirely perish and thus come to naught.

O Lord, who warnest us to watch, *Thou hast given us reason*, wherewith to find out and distinguish good and evil, and to flee the evil. Thou hast given us patience not to despair in any toil nor in any misfortune. Nor is this a wonder, *because Thou dost verily rule well, and makest us to serve Thee well*. Thou hast taught us to understand that *worldly wealth*, which we looked upon as our own, is alien to us, and transitory; and Thou hast also taught us to consider as our own what we looked upon as alien to us, *to wit, the kingdom of heaven, which we once despised*. *Thou who hast taught us to do no unlawful thing, and hast also taught us not to mourn* even though our riches should wane. *Thou who hast taught us to subject our body to our mind*.

Thou who didst overcome death when Thou thyself didst arise, *and also wilt make all men arise*. *Thou who makest us all worthy of Thee, and cleansest us from all our sins, and justifiest us, and hearest our prayers*. *Thou who madest us of thy household, and who teachest us all righteousness, and always teachest us the good, and always dost us good, and leavest us not to serve an unrighteous lord, as we did aforetime*. Thou callest us back to our way, and leadest us to the door, and openest to us, and givest us the bread of *eternal* life and the drink of

*life's well. Thou who threatenest men for their sins, and who teachest them to judge righteous judgments, and to do righteousness. Thou strengthenedst us, and yet dost strengthen us, in our belief, in order that unbelievers may not harm us. Thou hast given us, and yet givest us, understanding, that we may overcome the error of those [who teach that][Supplied by translator to complete the sense.] men's souls have, after this world, no reward for their deserts, either of good or of evil, whichever they do here. Thou who hast loosed us from the thralldom of other creatures, Thou always preparest eternal life for us, and always preparest us for eternal life.*

Come now to my aid, Thou who art the only eternal and true Deity—*Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost*—without any variableness or turning, without any need or impotence, and without death. Thou who always dwellest in the highest brightness and in the highest steadfastness, in the highest unanimity and the highest sufficiency; for to Thee there is no want of good, but Thou always dwellest thus full of every good unto eternity. *Thou art Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.*

Thee serve all the creatures that Thou didst create; to Thee is every good soul subject; at thy command the heavens turn and all stars hold their courses; at thy behest the sun bringeth the bright day, and the moon light by night; *after the image of these* Thou dost govern and wield all this world, so that all creatures change even as day and night. Thou rulest and fixest the year by the alternations of the four seasons—to wit, spring, and summer, autumn, and winter; each of which alternateth and varieth with the other, so that each of them is again exactly what and where it formerly was; and so all stars change and vary in the same manner—*likewise the sea and the rivers; in the same manner all creatures suffer change. Howbeit, some vary in another manner, so that the same come not again where they formerly were, nor become just what they were; but others come in their stead, as leaves on trees; and apples, grass, plants, and trees grow old and sere, and others come, wax green, and grow, and ripen; wherefore they again begin to wither. And likewise all beasts and fowls, in such manner that it is now too long to reckon them all. Yea, even men's bodies wax old, just as other creatures do; but just as they formerly lived more worthily than trees or other animals, so shall they arise more worthily on Doomsday, so that never afterward shall their bodies become naught nor wax old; and though the body had decayed, yet the soul was ever-living since first it was created.*

### Questions for Text #9:

- What is the role of the senses in knowing God, and what is the role of reason for Augustine?
- Do you think Augustine believed that humans have the freedom to choose good over evil? What role does true belief in God play in humans' position toward good and evil?

### Text #10: As-Saffat (The Rangers), Qur'an, Chapter 37

Background: According to Islamic teachings, these verses from the Qur'an, were given to the Prophet Muhammad (ca. 570-632 CE) as revelation through the Angel Gabriel over a period of 23 years. Muhammad was born in the city of Makkah in the Arabian Peninsula

(today's Saudi Arabia) and became a prophet at the age of about 40. He carried out the last 10 years of his life in the city of Madinah, where the Muslim community was established and from which it spread to the Mediterranean region and beyond. The Qur'an teaches that it was a continuing part of the revelation given by the One God (Allah in Arabic language) to humankind through Abraham, Moses, Jesus and other prophets.

Source: <http://www.islamicity.com/QuranSearch/>

72 And verily We sent among them warners.  
73 Then see the nature of the consequence for those warned,  
74 Save single-minded servants of Allah.  
75 And Noah verily prayed unto Us, and gracious was the Hearer of his prayer  
76 And We saved him and his household from the great distress,  
77 And made his seed the survivors,  
78 And left for him among the later folk (the salutation):  
79 Peace be unto Noah among the peoples!  
80 Lo! thus do We reward the good.  
81 Lo! he is one of Our believing servants.  
82 Then We did drown the others.  
83 And lo! of his persuasion verily was Abraham  
84 When he came unto his Lord with a whole heart;  
85 When he said unto his father and his folk: What is it that ye worship?  
86 Is it a falsehood--gods beside God [Allah]--that ye desire?  
87 What then is your opinion of the Lord of the Worlds?  
88 And he glanced a glance at the stars  
89 Then said: Lo! I feel sick!  
90 And they turned their backs and went away from him  
91 Then turned he to their gods [idols] and said: Will ye not eat?  
92 What aileth you that ye speak not?  
93 Then he attacked them, striking with his right hand.  
94 And (his people) came toward him, hastening.  
95 He said: Worship ye that which ye yourselves do carve  
96 When God [Allah] hath created you and what ye make?  
97 They said: Build for him a building and fling him in the red hot fire.  
98 And they designed a snare for him, but We made them the undermost.  
99 And he said: Lo! I am going unto my Lord Who will guide me.  
100 My Lord! Vouchsafe me of the righteous.  
101 So We gave him tidings of a gentle son.  
102 And when (his son) was old enough to walk with him, (Abraham) said: O my dear son, I have seen in a dream that I must sacrifice thee. So look, what thinkest thou? He said:

O my father! Do that which thou art commanded. God [Allah] willing, thou shalt find me of the steadfast.

- 103 Then, when they had both surrendered, and he had flung him down upon his face,  
104 We called unto him: O Abraham:  
105 Thou hast already fulfilled the vision. Lo! thus do We reward the good.  
106 Lo! that verily was a clear test.  
107 Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim [the sacrificial Ram].  
108 And We left for him among the later folk (the salutation):  
109 Peace be unto Abraham!  
110 Thus do We reward the good.  
111 Lo! he is one of Our believing slaves.  
112 And We gave him tidings of the birth of Isaac, a Prophet of the righteous.  
113 And We blessed him and Isaac. And of their seed are some who do good, and some who plainly wrong themselves.  
114 And We verily gave grace unto Moses and Aaron,  
115 And saved them and their people from the great distress,  
116 And helped them so that they became the victors.  
117 And We gave them the clear Scripture  
118 And showed them the right path.  
119 And We left for them, among the later folk (the salutation):  
120 Peace be unto Moses and Aaron!  
121 Lo! thus do We reward the good.

### Questions for Text #10

- Compare the story of Abraham from Genesis (Text #3 in this handout) with the Qur'anic version. What other prophets are named in the text whose stories are also in the Torah and the Old Testament of the Bible?
- To what does the term "We" refer throughout the text? If Philo of Alexandria sees in the Abraham story a journey of the soul, what do you think the purpose of the Qur'anic story seems to be, and what does the text say about its own purpose?