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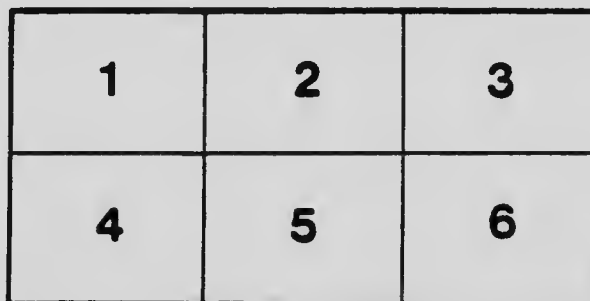
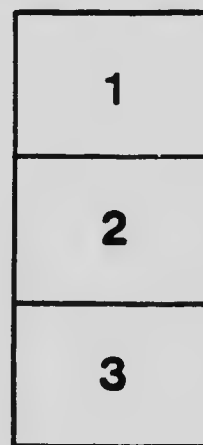
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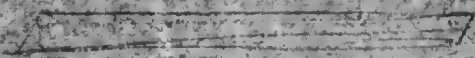
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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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These notes were originally compiled for use in connection with the late Professor Pelham's "Outline's of Roman History." The additional matter, (consisting of notes on the Empire from the first to the fourth century of the Christian Era, on the Eastern Empire, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy.) will, it is hoped, be found useful for the same purpose.

H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.

Trinity College,  
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## Notes on Roman History

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Roman History may be divided into epochs as follows:—

I. THE OLD MONARCHY, from the foundation of Rome to the Expulsion of Tarquin II, B.C. 754-509.

II. THE REPUBLIC, B.C. 509-49.

i. From the consulate of Brutus and Valerius to the fall of the Decemvirate, B.C. 509-449.

ii. From the Decemvirate to the recovery of Rome from the Gauls, B.C. 449-389.

iii. From the recovery of Rome to the dissolution of the Latin League, B.C. 389-338.

iv. Conquest of Central and Southern Italy, B.C. 338-270.

v. The great wars with Carthage and Macedon and Rome and Antiochus—Extension of Roman power over the Italy—Rome becomes the sovereign of the "orbis terrarum" round the Mediterranean; B.C. 264-

vi. The Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla—Democratic revolution and counter-revolution; B.C. 168-78.

vii. Collapse of the Republic, B.C. 78-49.

III. THE REPUBLICAN DOMINION:

Civil Wars, ending in the absorption of the state under control of a PRINCEPS, B.C. 49-

IV. THE IMPERIAL DOMINION:

i. The Principate—The beginning of a sort of constitutional Monarchy, which becomes despotism; B.C. 27-A.D. 197.

ii. Military Emperors—Barbarian invasions reaching the inner regions of the Empire; A.D. 197-284.

- iii Reconstruction of the Empire by Diocletian and Constantine; institution of an imperial court on the Persian model; foundation of a new capital (Constantinople); alliance of Church and Empire; A.D.-284-336.
- iv Decline and Fall of Paganism—increased pressure of barbarian invasions—the *Völkerwanderung*; break-up of Empire in the West; the Bishops of Rome assume unique position in regard not only to the Western Churches but the Eastern Empire; Church also; A.D. 333-476.
- v Rome and Italy under Teutonic rulers; reconquest by Belisarius and Narses; A.D. 476-553.
- vi Rome theoretically included in the Empire, but as provincial city; Lombard and Frank invasions of Italy; A.D. 553-800.
- vii The Empire nominally restored to Rome by the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome A.D. 800.
- viii The Medieval Empire, A.D. 800-1453.

#### I. THE OLD MONARCHY (Pelham, "Outlines" pp. 19-22)

The Roman "rex" bears a strong resemblance to the ancient Hebrew king. Compare the statements in Pelham's "Outlines," pp. 22, 23, with the following passages from Samuel:

(a) I. Sam. viii. 6, "Give us a king to judge us."

(b) I. Sam. viii. 19, 20, "We will have a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles."

(c) I. Sam. xiv. 35, "And Saul built an altar unto the Lord; the same was the first altar that he built unto the Lord."

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* also exhibit the Greek king of the heroic age as judges, leaders in war, and priests.

But there were also points of difference. The Roman kings were elective magistrates. Saul was accepted by the people as the man of God's choice, not of theirs (I Sam. x. 24), and Divine choice was likewise David's title to the

kingdom (I. Sam. xvi.). Both in the united and in the divided kingdom the Hebrew kings were hereditary rulers, and heredity generally determined the succession in the ancient Greek kingdoms. The legends of the Tarquins indicate that the latest kings of Rome belonged to the same family, and that the kingdom was by way of becoming hereditary—but along with this process went the alienation of the Romans from kingly rule.

The regal period in the history of Rome falls into two sub-divisions—(a) the age of native Roman kings; (b) the age of the Etruscan dynasty (the Tarquins). See Pelham's "Outlines," Bk. I., ch. 3. It is a fairly safe conjecture that the monarchy was more oppressive in the second period than in the first, and that the Tarquins reproduced pretty closely the presentation of a king in I. Samuel viii. 11-18. Yet Rome grew great under Tarquinian discipline (Pelham, pp. 31-32),—very much as England became great under the Norman kings.

*The "Servian" Reforms.*—The arrangement of classes and centuries was originally made for *military* purposes only. (Pelham, pp. 32-35.) The assembly of *curiæ* (Pelham, pp. 20, 21) was the only assembly of the Roman people for any political purpose in the age of the kings. The so-called "Servian" Reforms no doubt gave Rome a more effective army, and thus would account, to no small extent, for the great rise of Roman power in the days of the Tarquins.

II. THE REPUBLIC.—"Libertatem et consulum L. Brutus instituit." *Tacitus*.

I. *The Revolution.*—The Etruscan kings of Rome were confronted by an aristocratic opposition, and they sought to strengthen themselves against this opposition by giving places in the Senate and army to persons from classes and communities outside the old leading families of Rome, and even outside Rome itself. In the end it was the "new model army," their own creation, which overthrew their rule. In some way or other—chiefly, we may

be sure, by fiscal oppression—the last king of Rome succeeded in completely alienating the classes befriended by his predecessors. The first consuls are said to have been elected in the *Comitia Centuriata*, or assembly of the Roman people by “centuries.” This may be understood as meaning that the Roman army, which at the moment was perhaps the full levy of the people, having forced the king to flee for his life, elected two commanders-in-chief to carry on the administration of public affairs, civil as well as military. These two officers were originally called “*prætor*,” a title rendered *στρατηγοὶ* by Greek writers on Roman affairs. The word “*prætor*,” connected with *præeo*, means “one who goes before” (viz. “to fight our battles,” “leader.” It is a military title, in origin at least, which later became “*consul*,” which at a later epoch replaced it as the title of the chiefs of the Executive, simply means “colleague” (compare “*consulo*,” “*consulto*,” “*consilium*,”) and is as much a civilian as a military term. Greek writers rendered “*consul*” by *ὑπάτος*, “supreme,” the word having reference to the exalted official position of the consul.

The Revolution of B.C. 509 did not abolish the *regium imperium* or royal power. What it effected was, to substitute two annual presidents of the commonwealth for a life president. The royal power was not divided between the consuls—each held it in full, though for convenience sake a division of functions would be usually resorted to. This investiture of both consuls alike with supreme executive authority enabled each to act as a check upon the other.

Thus “liberty” was obtained, not by abolishing, but by restricting, the old *regium imperium*. The restricting circumstances were (1) that the *imperium* was conferred upon two persons, and (2) that these two persons held office only for a set term. Further restrictions were (3) the assumption by the Senate of control over the treasury, and (4) the right of appeal granted by the *Lex Valeria de Provocazione* (Peilham, p. 48.)

This “liberty,” however, was by no means equal

distributed. While the community, as a whole, acquired two important rights, (1) that of annually designating its presidents, (2) that of deciding in the last instance concerning the life or death of a citizen (by the *Lex Valeria de Provocatione*), great inequalities—not to say iniquities—still remained. The patricians, who may be called the descendants of the original shareholders in the “*Respublica Romana*,” had enjoyed the assistance of the plebeians in shaking off the yoke of regal despotism. Without that assistance, indeed, they could have accomplished nothing. But their recognition of the services rendered by the plebeians was inadequate and unsatisfactory. The plebeians knew no other “*patria*,” but Rome; they bore arms in the service of the State, and were subject to taxation and other burdens of citizenship. According to Mommsen’s interpretation of the history of the Revolution, they were now admitted into the “*curiæ*,” but at the same time the political prerogatives of the “*comitia curiata*” (the assembly of “*curiæ*,”) were transferred to an assembly which was the military system of “*classes*” and “*centuriæ*” adopted for political purposes, and in this assembly, the “*comitia centuriata*,” the patricians were predominant, inasmuch as the system gave them the advantage in voting power. The “*century*” was the voting-unit, and 98 out of the total of 193 or 194 centuries were assigned to the “*Equites*,” (18) and the “*Prima Classis*” (80), *i.e.*, to the wealthy. The division into patricians and plebeians was not exactly coincident with that into rich and poor, for there were wealthy plebeians. But it appears that wealthy plebeians (even before they were allowed to be eligible for the consulate) were admitted into the Senate, and this—together with the fact of their being wealthy—tended to make them acquiesce, as a rule, in the patrician government. Plebeians then acquired the right of voting in the citizen-assembly, but the conditions under which this right was exercised detracted from its value. They could be officers in the army (military tribunes and centurions,) and they could

become members of the Senate. But they were allowed to stand for the consulate, and the patricians conversely maintained the impossibility—or at any rate, illegality—of intermarriage between members of the order and plebeians. Intermarriage, they said, would “pollute the auspices,” and the auspices were a matter of no small importance to the State (for the auspices, see Pelham, 21, 22, 46). All important public acts had to be “auspicato,” i.e., with the approval of the gods ascertained, and the gods had respect unto the persons of those enquired of them.

2. *The Conflict of Patricians and Plebeians.* Pelham “Outlines,” pp. 48-60. The leading events in the history of this conflict are :

(1) The institution of the Tribune of the Plebs (p. 49.)

(2) The passing of the Lex Publilia, B.C. 471 (p. 49.)

(3) The Decemviral Commission and the publication of the “Twelve Tables,” B.C. 451-449 (p. 52).

(4) The recognition of the plebeian organization as an integral part of the constitution (Valerio-Horatian laws, B.C. 449) and consequent growth in power of the “concilium plebis” (pp. 53, 54; compare 51).

(5) Intermarriage (*connubium*) between patricians and plebeians recognized as legal (Lex Canuleia, originated in a plebiscite, i.e., decree of the plebeians assembled in their “concilium” by the tribunes, p. 55).

(6) Quaestors no longer nominated by consuls, elected in the *comitia tributa* in and after B.C. 447. From B.C. 447 onwards there were 2 *tribal* assemblies, viz : (1) *concilium plebis*—consisting of plebeians. (2) *comitia tributa*, consisting of patricians as well as plebeians. Down to about 300 B.C., the latter was an electoral and judicial rather than a legislative, body.

(7) Military tribunes with consular power (plebeians eligible as well as patricians) substituted for consuls five times in the course of 78 years, B.C. 444-367.

(8) Creation of the censorship, B.C. 435. This was a further restriction of the consul's power (p. 56).

(9) First plebeian quaestor, B.C. 421

(10) The war with Veii, B.C. 406-396

(11) The Gallic invasion, B.C. 390 } causes retarding  
the solution of the  
political problem.

(12) The Licinio-Sextian Rogations, B.C. 377, which became law, B.C. 367 (p. 57).

(13) Creation of new magistracies (in addition to the censorship), intended for patricians only. This monopoly, however, is short-lived (pp. 57, 58). Still further reduction of the consuls' power by the creation of these offices of state.

(14) The Lex Publilia, providing that one of the censors should always be a plebeian, and requiring the "auctoritas patrum," (p. 22, 47) to be given beforehand to acts of *comitia centuriata* and *concilium plebis*.

(15) Plebeians become eligible to the colleges of Pontifices and Augurs (*Lex Ogulnia*—a plebiscite—p. 58).

(16) Hortensian and Maenian Laws—B.C. 287—the former dispensing with *auctoritas patrum* for legislation in the *concilium plebis* and giving all *plebiscita* the force of *leges*; the latter requiring *auctoritas patrum* beforehand for elections.

The grievances which the plebeians had against the patricians, and which caused the conflict were:

(1) Despotie use of authority by the consuls. The plebeian tribunate, and the codification of the laws were designed to check this.

(2) Exclusion of plebeians from the consulate by unjust use of the consuls' rights in respect to the nomination of successors. Consuls would not allow votes for plebeian candidates. This was met by the provision contained in the Licinio-Sextian laws that one of the consuls must be a plebeian.

(3) Patrician arrogance shown in refusal of *connubium* and exclusion of plebeians from state priesthoods—the plebeians being thus treated as though they were aliens.

Patrician exclusiveness in these matters was prohibited by the Lex Canuleia ( B.C. 445 and the Lex Ogulnia of 300. These laws originated in plebiscites, but the patricians had found it advisable to accept plebiscites and ratify them as *leges*.

3. *Agrarian agitations in the period between the expulsion of the Tarquins and the second Punic War*

The common land of the Roman people (*ager publicus Populi Romani*) had its origin in conquest. As a general rule, the Romans did not (as they might have done, according to the recognized custom of ancient warfare) seize the whole of the conquered territory, but restored part (two-thirds in most cases) to the original owners, keeping the rest for themselves. This land retained by the Roman State was called *ager publicus*. According to the tradition preserved by Livy and other Roman authors, such of the *ager publicus* as was arable was, in the time of the Republic, assigned *virgata* to the citizens as private property, while the pasture and waste lands were left open for any citizen to feed his sheep and cattle upon.

Additions were made to the *ager publicus*, in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries, at the expense of Rome's neighbours in Latium and Etruria (the Volsci, the Hernici, the Veientes, the Fidenates, etc.), but it was the patricians, much more than the Roman Commonwealth as a whole, that profited by this enlargement of the common land. The patrician oligarchy appears to have allowed any citizen who chose to occupy as much arable land as he could cultivate, and even more, and to put as many sheep and cattle on the pastures as he liked, on condition of paying a *vectigal*, which usually amounted to one-tenth of the cereal produce and one-fifth of the fruits, and an unknown number of cattle or sheep. In the case of sheep and cattle, the impost was called *scriptura*, because every shepherd had to register (*inscribere*) the number of animals in his charge. Now no one would choose to occupy *ager publicus* who had not the power, and none had the power



who lacked the necessary capital. In theory, then, while it seemed open to any one to occupy (possidere) public plough-land or pasture, it was in practice possible for the wealthy men only to do so.

Individual citizens, then, "squatted" upon more or less extensive areas of public land as "possessores." The State still retained ownership of the land, but the tenure of "possessio" carried most of the rights of private property. Land held in "possessio" could be bequeathed.

Thus the poorer citizens of Rome saw the territory, which they had helped to conquer, appropriated to the benefit of the wealthy. Among the men of wealth, it should be remembered, there were plebeians as well as patricians. Thus, while the plebeians, on the question of equal political status with the patricians, were united, they were, on agrarian questions, apt to be divided. The Licinio-Sextian Rogations were first promulgated ten years before they finally became law. This long delay was due to the fact that they included proposals relative to the *ager publicus* as well as to the right of plebeians to be candidates for, and be elected to, the consulate.

Plebeian agitation of the agrarian question had two main ends in view (1) the plantation of colonies,\* and (2) the assignation of "*ager viritanus*," i.e. distribution of equal allotments to all individual citizens applying for them. In either case, *ager publicus* would be converted into *ager privatus*. In either case, also, a special law was necessary. Livy mentions recurrence of agitation over the use of the *ager publicus* at various times in the period B. C. 486-367, from Spurius Cassius to Licinius and Sextius. After the capture of Veii, B.C.396, assignations of Veientine territory were made to plebeians at the rate of seven jugera (about 4 acres and 3300 square yards) to each allotment holder. This, however, did not suffice to quell the agrarian agitation led by the tribunes, who inveighed against

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\* For Roman colonies see Pelham, pp. 93, 94; for Latin colonies, p. 91.

patrician "possessores" or occupiers as wicked oppressors, and had much to say concerning the division of the common land and the establishment of colonies.

There is some uncertainty with regard to the agrarian proposals of the famous tribunes, Caius Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextius Lateranus. According to Livy, vi. 35, "C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges . . . pro commodis plebis; unam de aere alieno . . . alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret," i.e. no one should be allowed to make use of more than 500 jugera (a little over 333 acres) of the common land. But Appian mentions, in addition to this, a restriction upon the number of cattle or sheep which an individual might feed on the public pastures—the maxima being 100 oxen and 500 sheep—and Appian's evidence is corroborated by notices in Livy of fines imposed upon *pecuarii* (cattle-breeders) by the plebeian aediles. Both Livy and Appian appear to have thought that Licinius and Sextius contemplated assignments or allotments of land to poor citizens as well as limitation of the rights of "possessores," but neither they nor any other ancient authorities have left evidence to show that such assignments were actually made. An ironical commentary on all the proceedings connected with the Licinian law "de modo agrorum," is the story, recorded by Livy, that Licinius himself was heavily fined, within ten years of the passing of his law, for occupying a thousand jugera of common land. "C. Licinius Stolo a M. Popillio Laenate sua lege decem milibus aëris est damnatus, quod mille jugerum agri cum filio possideret, emancipandoque filium fraudem legi fecisset"—Livy, vii. 16 (another case, or rather a group of them, in x. 13, B.C. 298).\*

From the days of Licinius to those of Tiberius Gracchus, i.e. from B.C. 367 to 133, agrarian legislation does not

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\*With regard to *emancipando*, note that a Roman could not hold property while his father still lived, unless his father solemnly released him from the patria potestas.

cease, but the *ager publicus* is hardly ever a cause of trouble. The reasons for this comparative tranquillity are (1) the great wars in which Rome was incessantly engaged—the wars in which Rome advanced to the position of supreme power, first in Italy, then in the Mediterranean world\*—so that the poorer citizens, continuously employed in fighting, had but little time to think about farming†; (2) various measures taken by the government, in consequence of which a good deal of arable land taken from conquered states was assigned in small lots, either to the constituents of Roman and Latin colonies, or as “*ager viritanus*,” *i.e.* distributed *viritim* to such as applied for lots, the allottees not being formed into colonies, *i.e.* city-communities distinct from Rome. Between 367 and 232 B.C., nine Roman and twenty-one Latin colonies (for the distinction see Pelham, pp. 93, 94 and 90, 91) were founded in various parts of Italy. In B.C. 340, land taken from the revolted Latin allies was assigned in small lots, from three-quarters of a jugerum to three jugera in extent; in the period 290-275 B.C. allotments of seven jugera each were made of territory annexed in central and Southern Italy—Samnium, Bruttium, Apulia. Not all the arable portions of newly-conquered territories, however, were marked off for colonies or allotted “*viritim*.” Some portions were sold, while others were occupied by wealthy *possessores* who were supposed to pay *vectigal* and observe the restrictions imposed by the Licinian law. Pasture lands were either assigned in portions of varying extent as “*ager compascuus*,” common grazing-land, to colonies or groups of allotment-holders, or leased to graziers. Waste lands (and a good deal of waste land was created by warfare) were, in so far as they were cultivable, occupied by *possessores*. Thus the old practice of *possessio* was still maintained, and its attendant evils once more, in course of

\* For the history of these wars see Pelham, “*Outlines*,” pp. 69-141.

† Especially while Hannibal was in Italy, B.C. 217-203.

time, troubled the State. The persistence of *proventus* would indeed have mattered but little, had the *vectigalia* and *scripturae* been regularly collected from occupiers, and the limitations prescribed by the Licinian law observed, but they were not.

4. *The Agrarian Question ; from the second Punic War to Caesar's first consulship (B.C. 59).* Hannibal entered Italy in the year 218 and took his departure in the year 203. During the entire interval, Italy was the scene of constant warfare, the effects of which were more destructive to the land than to its population. The second Punic War was not indeed so long in duration (16 years) as the first (23 years), but no Carthaginian general had ranged up and down Italy in the first Punic War, burning, pillaging, and slaying. Hardly had the power of Carthage been overthrown, when Rome was called upon to deal with her "Eastern Question," viz. : how to secure a position against the hostility of the King of Macedonia. No solution that could be regarded as at all permanent arrived at until the Macedonian kingdom had been put to an end of existence, and this only came to pass in B.C. 168. The East was not the only quarter in which employment was provided for Roman armies. The Spanish provinces gave constant trouble—sometimes very considerable trouble—nearly all the time from the end of the second Punic War down to the surrender of Numantia in B.C. 133. In B.C. 149 the Roman Government made up its mind that Carthage must be "wiped out." Weakened and crippled as Carthage was, her obliteration was not achieved till B.C. 146, the year which also witnessed the destruction of Corinth.

The war with Macedonia (B.C. 200-196) was provoked (1) by Phillip V's alliance with Hannibal, and (2) by his assaults upon states in alliance with Rome. The troubles in Spain naturally followed upon Roman action in taking possession of the territories vacated by the Carthaginians had occupied in the peninsula. A

chus, rather than Rome, was the aggressor in B.C. 190. Persens (B.C. 179-168) sought to avenge his predecessor's humiliation, and provoked a conflict which ended in his utter overthrow on the field of Pydna (B.C. 168). Thus we may say that the various military operations in the period from the battle of Zama to that of Pydna were forced upon the Romans by necessity. But this constant occupation in warfare was attended by, and indeed brought about, great changes in the agricultural affairs of Italy. Roman armies were recruited mainly, if not entirely, from a class which in England would be known as "yeoman farmers." The circumstances of warfare now kept these men away from their farms for a long time,—so much so, that they found themselves forced to give up their holdings altogether, and the vacated farmsteads were readily bought up by wealthy nobles. Not unfrequently it happened that the nobles did not even wait to effect a purchase, but upon one pretext or another seized and appropriated the small holdings. Thus the free population of small farmers and peasant laborers was driven off the land, to herd in Rome, while their place was taken by slaves. A new method of production was brought into Italy, partly in imitation of agricultural systems which had built up colossal fortunes in other countries,—especially Africa. "The new ideal was that of the large plantation or latifundium supervised by skilled overseers, worked by gangs of slaves with carefully differentiated duties, guided by scientific rules which the hoary experience of Asia and Carthage had devised, but in unskilled Roman hands perhaps directed with a reckless energy that was as exhaustive of the capacities of the land as it was prodigal of the human energy that was so cheaply acquired and so wastefully employed. The East, Carthage, and Sicily had been the successive homes of this system, and the Punic ideal reached Rome just at the moment when the tendency of the peasantry to quit their holdings as unprofitable, or sell them to pay their debts, opened the way for the organization of husbandry on the grand Carth-

aginian model."\* The small holdings were unprofitable for the men who had been kept away from them for long periods. Besides, there was the over-prevailing competition of the wheat-areas. Sicily was a transmarine province, yet it was easier to get Sicilian corn to Rome by sea than to get corn from Cisalpine Gaul by land.

The Roman nobility showed no excess of tenderness in dealing with the small farmers. Still, in so far as the adding of house to house and field to field by purchase, and not by fraudulent expropriation, is concerned, they are hardly to be blamed for enlarging their estates. The destruction of Capua, one of the incidents of the Second Punic War, placed its fertile territory (the Ager Capuanus) at the disposal of the Roman State, which leased it to individual tenants, and the rents received from these domains formed one of the chief sources of revenue of the State. B.C. 59. But in other regions the war left public domains devastated and depopulated, and fast turning into swamps and morasses. On these deserted areas the nobles established themselves as *possessores*, and turned them back into a state of devastation to productiveness. They bought their land in the cheapest market, *i.e.* the slave-market, which was kept well supplied by foreign wars—and they could not have been expected to do otherwise.

Mention has already been made of the importation of corn from regions outside Italy. Modern England shows that when once the native cereal supply of a country has become inadequate, and resort is had to importation from abroad to cover the deficiency, the tendency is for the native supply to fall even further and farther behind the demand, so that importing becomes more and more necessary as well as necessary. Imported cereals became a necessity to Rome when Hannibal had established himself in Italy. They remained a necessity when he had been driven out. Thus it came about that land which had fallen out

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\* Greenidge, "History of Rome," Vol. I., p. 64.

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tivation while the war lasted. It recovered when it was over. There were regions where the crops could not compete either in quantity or quality with those of Sicily, Sardinia, etc., and these regions, once laid waste, inevitably remained so, or became pasture lands. Even where the soil was well suited for growing cereals, the temptation was strong to substitute the easier and cheaper industry of pasturage, and to convert what had once been cornfields into a sheep- or a cattle ranch. Bruttium and Apulia became entirely pastoral. In the former region Rome seized large tracts of land as a punishment for rebellion, and reduced a large part of the population to the condition of serfs, and in much the same sort of thing took place in Apulia. When the Italian fell into two sharply-distinguished halves, the agricultural West and the pastoral East; the former well provided with harbours, intersected by roads, and inhabited by a swarm of colonies, or detached groups of Roman farmers; the latter almost destitute of harbours, penetrated by only one road, skirting the coast, the very region required by the Roman grandee for his slaves, flocks and herds.\* From March to August the cattle and sheep were pastured on the mountains; from September to February they were kept in the "saltus hiberni (winter pastures), down in the maritime lowlands. The cowherds and shepherds were slaves,—fierce, courageous and hardy, who constantly turned to brigandage, and occasionally to dangerous insurrection.

Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs in B.C. 133, was profoundly convinced of the necessity of taking measures to arrest the extension of the latifundia-system, and restore the class of "yeomen farmers." The agrarian law which he carried, not without encountering much opposition, provided for—

(a) The re-enforcement of the Licinian law with regard

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\* Nitzsch, "Die Gracchen"; cited by Greenidge, "History of Rome, p. 68.



to the area (500 jugera) of *ager publicus* which might be held in "possession."

(b) The establishment of existing "possessions" within the Licinian limit, as private property, free from *vectigal*.

(c) The resumption of the surplus of occupied land by the State and its division *viritim*.

(d) The holding of the new allotments as estates heritable but inalienable, and subject to *vectigal*.

(e) The annual election, in the Concilium Plebis, of *Tresviri agris dividendis*,

A second law conferred upon the "tresviri agris dividendis" (allotment commissioners) authority to determine what was public and what was private land.

Difficulties caused by the claims of Latin colonies and Italian allies with respect to land in "possession" led to the assumption of the commissioners' functions by the consuls in B.C. 129, and the work of allotment came to a dead stop.

Caius Sempronius Gracchus was first elected *tribunus plebis* in the summer of B.C. 124, and entered on the duties of the office on December 10 of that year. He was re-elected in the summer of B.C. 123, but failed in his third candidature in B.C. 122. In his first tribunate (B.C. 123) he procured the revival of the Allotment Commission. Nothing is recorded, however, of its subsequent operation, and C. Gracchus himself was more concerned with the foundation of new "coloniae civium Romanorum," in Italy and on the site of Carthage. In B.C. 121 he was killed, and in the course of the next ten years three agrarian laws were passed, which, taken together, repealed most of the provisions of the laws carried by him and his brother.

The first of these laws, probably passed B.C. 120, made the new allotments alienable. Thus the larger landholders were enabled to buy out their smaller neighbors, who on their part were in many cases not unwilling to be bought out.



The second law, passed B.C. 118, put an end to further distribution of public land, confirmed *possessores* in their holding, but made them subject to *vectigal*. The revenue thus obtained was to be applied "*ἐς διανομᾶς*," "to distributions"—probably to reimburse the State for selling corn to the populace below the ordinary prices, in accordance with the "*lex frumentaria*" of Cains Gracchus.

The third law, passed B.C. 111, abolished *vectigal* and converted the allotments made under the laws of the Gracchi into private property.

Cæsar, who carried to a victorious conclusion the war upon the predominance of the Senate begun by Tiberius Gracchus, maintained the Gracchan tradition with regard to the agrarian problem. In his first consulship B.C. 59, he carried an agrarian law (Pelham, p. 230). This measure was proposed and passed in order to make provision for the soldiers who had just returned from several years' campaigning in Asia under Pompey (Pelham, pp. 289-294). Cæsar's agrarian law assigned the territory of Capua, the fertile "*Ager Campanus*," as land to be divided into allotments, and thus cut off the revenue which the Roman treasury had been receiving for over 100 years from the *possessores*. It was open for him, however, to point out that the new sources of revenue obtained by Pompey's conquests in Asia might well be expected to make up for this loss. The soldiers who obtained allotments of land in Campania under this law seem not to have remained permanently settled on them, but to have allowed themselves to be bought out. So much, indeed, one infers from the complaints Cicero made, ten years later, of the scanty results of his efforts, when he was sent to Campania as a recruiting-officer in the service of Pompey and the Senate, at the outbreak of the war with Cæsar.

The agrarian problem again received Cæsar's attention when he had overthrown Pompey and the Senate (Pelham, pp. 317, 318). Allotments of land were made in Italy, but his most lasting achievement was the revival of Carthage

and Corinth as Roman colonies, after they had lain desolate for a century (B.C. 146-46). Neither he nor Augustus, nor any Roman emperor, obtained any permanent success in conflict with the decline of the population of Italy. The armies which extended Rome's domination over the Mediterranean world were armies raised in Italy; the armies by which that domination was maintained were recruited in the provinces.

5. *The position of the Senate in the Roman State.* There is no evidence that, apart from the "patrum auctoritas" and "interreges" (Pelham, pp. 21, 22 and 58), the function of the Senate was properly, and in strict theory, anything but that of a consultative body, which could *advise* the executive (consuls, prætors, etc.) when asked for its opinions and judgment, but could not legally command or compel. The Senate had "auctoritas" but not "potestas."

The power of the senate depended upon the readiness of the executive to ask, and act upon, its advice. As a rule the executive consulted the Senate, and treated its resolutions as though they were as authoritative as laws expressing the popular will.

The Senate consisted, speaking generally, of magistrates and ex-magistrates. Sulla's law "De xx quæstoribus," which made the quæstorship the qualification for membership, only confirmed a practice already in existence. As against the executive, the Senate had this advantage, that a senator could only be unseated by the censor's "nota" (the censors revised the roll of the Senate every five years), which could be avoided without much difficulty, while the personnel of the executive was always changing. But apart from this, the consuls and prætors, etc. being members of the Senate before they became members of the executive, and returning to the Senate on the expiry of their terms of office, were predisposed to consult and to cooperate with the Senate and exalt its authority.

We find a stange contrast, then, between the power which belonged to the Senate *de jure* and that which it

exercised *de facto*. On the other hand, we notice that the right of convening the Senate belonged only to the consuls, prætors, and tribunes of the plebs. Only these magistrates could formally propose questions for discussion, and a senator had the right of speaking only when the presiding magistrate (*i.e.* consul or prætor) requested him "sententiam dicere," *i.e.* to express his opinion. The phrases "senatusconsultum" and "placuit senatui" exhibit the Senate's expression of opinion as advice, recommendation, not as the sentence of a sovereign authority, and a "senatusconsultum" (resolution of the Senate) was not binding until adopted by the magistrate as his decree, "decretum ex senatusconsulto." The round-about devices to which the senators had to resort, in order to coeree the executive, show that the Senate's proper function in the commonwealth was to advise and recommend, not to give orders and govern. On the other hand, we find that the Senate is the "Government" of the Roman Commonwealth. It was never a representative parliament, yet a resolution of the Senate was regarded by the consuls as justifying any measure they might think fit to take for the public safety. It could not legally dictate to the executive, yet its opinion was constantly asked for, and acted upon. It could not confer "imperium," yet it habitually prolonged tenure of "imperium," and from year to year decided the "provinciæ" in which the consuls should exercise that power.

All this authority rested on custom and precedent. The executive had found it to their convenience and interest to refer matters to the judgment of the Senate, and let it control their acts. Again, the Senate consisted of all the most experienced and influential men of affairs in the community. It seemed only proper to refer, and defer, to so august an assembly, and the moral authority of its opinion could not be decently disregarded.

The Roman idea of the sovereignty of the people did not allow of the expression of that sovereignty otherwise than through the magistrates—consuls, prætors, censors, tribunes

—and when the magistrates constantly invoked the participation of the Senate, and its guidance in the exercise of their power, it was natural that, with circumstances and conditions to suit, the Senate should become, in practice, extremely powerful.

It was characteristic of the movement towards reconstitution which began with the Gracchi and was completed by Augustus, that recourse was had to the people in cases and circumstances where, hitherto, the Senate had been called in to pronounce its opinion. The Sempronian laws (B.C. 133 and 123-122) were carried in the "Concilium Plebis," the plebeian assembly. The chief command in the Numidian war was transferred from Metellus to Marius by a vote of the same assembly (Pelham, p. 195). The important laws proposed by Gabinius, Manilius, and Vatinius were acts of the "Concilium Plebis". (Pelham, pp. 220-222, 231). The Clodian law (Pelham, p. 231) was an attack, not so much upon Cicero, as upon the Senate, whose resolution Cicero, as consul, had taken as warranting him in ordering Lentulus and the other Catilinarians to death (Pelham, p. 128). The Principate (imperial monarchy) arose out of the assertion of the rights of the people against the claims of the Senate. But when it was finally established, the Principate, so far from abolishing the Senate, was careful to preserve its existence, and respect its dignity, though it withheld all but the scantiest relics of real power. For a time the forms of popular election were retained, but in the first year of Tiberius' reign elections to the consulate and other "republican" magistracies were transferred to the Senate. This, indeed, was no real enlargement of the Senate's power, as the elections were thoroughly controlled by the Emperor. Still, we find the Emperors often consulting with—or affecting to consult with, the Senate. By doing so they may have intended to disguise the absolutism of their rule. But whether they so intended, or did not, they certainly put the Senate in the position it orig-

inally held under the kings,—that of an advisory board, the members of which might recommend, but could not enforce their recommendations.

III. *The Imperial Monarchy* (Pelham, "Outlines," Bks. V., VI., VII.). The republican constitution broke down under the strain put upon it by the acquisition of vast territories outside Italy. It was not very well suited to the government of Italy and the Italian islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica); it was utterly inadequate to the requirements of an empire extending all round the Mediterranean.

The sovereign people could not properly rule even in Italy without the machinery of "representation"; much less could it rule over the "orbis terrarum," reaching from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Euphrates.

The Senate could not take the place of the people. It was not a representative assembly, in the modern sense of the phrase, but an oligarchy, and an oligarchy is narrow and short-sighted in its views, and apt to be jealous of its own members.

The Senate was generally averse to foreign conquest. This aversion had something akin to prophecy in it, for it was from the provinces that the Monarchy returned to establish itself anew in Rome. In the provinces, the proconsuls and proprætors enjoyed an exercise of power far greater than their constitutional superiors, the consuls and prætors, could enjoy in the capital. Whilst they were abroad, they were beyond control, and even when they had returned, it was not easy to bring them to account with any effect. The success of the prosecution instituted against Verres, B.C. 70, was exceptional, not typical. In the following important respects the republican government showed itself a failure:

- (a) Control of provincial governors.
- (b) Systematic frontier defence.
- (c) Protection of commerce against pirates.

(d) Protection of the rights and interests of the Italian allies.

The remedy was found in the restoration of monarchical government.

It is true that Italy up to the Rubicon became Roman, as the result of the Social War, B.C. 90-89, but the citizenship bestowed on the Italians was depreciated by (1) the difficulty for all, and the impossibility for most, of exercising the rights of voting and candidature, which could only be done in Rome, and (2) the unfair grouping of the new citizens, who were crowded together into a few only of the thirty-five tribes. The system of voting by groups (tribes or centuries) was adverse to the majority, who might find themselves outvoted by a minority in the Forum or Campus Martius. In A.D. 15 the death of the Comitia removed this inequality, and the Emperors were not less attentive to the interests and well-being of Italy than to those of Rome (Pelham, pp. 317, 318 and 411-416).

With regard to the policing of the sea, one may notice that the powers with which Pompey was invested by the Lex Gabinia, for the conduct of the war against the pirates, were an anticipation of the powers afterwards exercised by the Emperors. Again, the work done in B.C. 66-63 and B.C. 58-49 for the fixing of the eastern and northern frontiers of the Empire was done by commanders invested with truly "imperial" powers, and could not have been done otherwise. As for a central controlling authority, it should be remembered that Sulla himself, the great champion of the Senate, had assumed autocratic powers in dealing with Mithridates on the one hand, and the home authorities on the other, in B.C. 84, and a provincial governor could interfere in the affairs of the kingdom of Egypt without a commission from Rome. The very fact that the republican constitution was overthrown by a provincial

governor (Cæsar) is enough by itself to demonstrate its inadequacy to the task of governing an empire.

In all these respects the Imperial Monarchy made vast improvements. After sixty years of turmoil and agitation (B.C. 90-30) it gave the lands bordering on the Mediterranean 280 years of peace more nearly unbroken than had ever been recorded, for an equal length of time, in all their known history. It protected commerce by sea and by land. It controlled the proceedings of provincial governors. The discovery was made, indeed, within a century, that emperors might be made elsewhere than in Rome, but such disturbances as took place in A.D. 69 or 193 did not subvert the constitution; they only transferred the supreme power from one *imperator* to another. Such occurrences indeed showed that there was still room for improvement in the imperial system, but it may still be affirmed that the sovereign, if he had the will, could exercise such control over his deputies abroad as no consul, even with the "patrum auctoritas" to back him, could, under the republican conditions, exercise over any proconsul or proprætor (Pelham, pp. 379-384).

Augustus' government was based on the theory that the Empire was under a dual control exercised by himself as *Princeps* on the one hand and the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* on the other.

This arrangement existed more in abstract theory than in concrete reality. The *princeps*, holding tribunician power for life, and supreme command over the armies and fleets of the Empire, was far and away the "predominant partner." Vespasian and his successors turned the senatorial order into an aristocracy ennobled, not so much by holding one of the old republican magistracies, as by the act of the *princeps*, concerning the senatorial insignia and the right of sitting in the Curia. At all times, the measure of power enjoyed by the Senate

depended upon the Emperor. Some Emperors consulted it regularly—others neglected it. Three important changes in the reign of Hadrian show the general drift of affairs towards a centralized despotism. viz: (1) the collection of taxes was taken from the *publicani* and committed to officials appointed by the Emperor; (2) the Emperor's *consilium*, originally an informal and occasional gathering of persons whose advice the sovereign desired, became a permanent body, consisting of jurists; (3) the jurisdiction exercised by the consuls in civil cases was transferred to four *juridici* appointed by the Emperor. In the third century, the imperial *consilium* became the chief civil and criminal court. It sat under the presidency of the *præfectus prætorio*, whose functions had originally been those of commander of the prætorian Guard (*Cohortes Prætorianæ*). The practice of conferring the rights (and burdens) of Roman citizenship on communities and individuals, much resorted to by Vespasian, was brought to its natural issue by Caracalla, who conferred Roman "civitas" on all freemen in the Empire (A.D. 212).

In the third century the legions played a conspicuous part in politics, making and unmaking nearly all of the 23 Emperors who assumed the purple in the period A.D. 211-284. Diocletian, who became Emperor in B.C. 284, openly broke away from old republican traditions and abolished the last vestiges of the theory of "dual control," and completely reorganized both the civil and the military administration. In A.D. 285 he made Maximian his colleague in the monarchy. All laws and edicts were issued in the name of both the *Augusti*, but in administration there was a division of the Empire into "partes Orientis" in charge of Diocletian and "partes Occidentis" in charge of Maximian. Neither of these two Emperors resided much, if at all, in Rome. Diocletian's seat of government was fixed at Nicomedia in Bithynia, Maximian's at Mediolanum (Milan).



The will of the Augusti became the law of the Empire, valid until annulled by a later Emperor. In order to exalt the majesty of the Augusti, the use of the diadem and gorgeous imperial robes, and a court with elaborate ceremonial and etiquette, were introduced from the neighbouring Kingdom of Persia.

In A.D. 293 Diocletian and Maximian chose two *Cæsares*, viz.: Galerius and Constantius, whose authority was that of delegates of the *Augusti*. The administration of the Empire was now divided as follows:—

1. Diocletian—Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt.
2. Galerius (the  
Cæsar chosen  
by Diocletian) } The Danube Provinces,  
Illyricum, Greece, Crete.
3. Maximian—Italy and Africa.
4. Constantius (the  
Cæsar chosen by  
Maximian) } Gaul, Spain, Britain.

The appointment of *Cæsares* was a device intended to provide for succession to the position of the *Augusti*. Diocletian's plan was that he and Maximian should resign after twenty years, and that the *Cæsares* should become *Augusti* and choose two new *Cæsares*. This plan, however, failed to secure the desired result of an undisputed succession. Constantine, the son of Constantius, was proclaimed Augustus by the legions at York, on his father's death in A.D. 306 (Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in A.D. 305), but Maxentius, son of Maximian, usurped the same title in Italy. Galerius was Augustus in the East, with Licinius as Cæsar. Galerius died in A.D. 311. In the following year, A.D. 312, Constantine and Licinius stood as legitimate Augusti over against the usurpers Maxentius in Italy and Maximinus in Asia. Constantine got rid of Maxentius in that year, and for the next eleven years he and Licinius were nominally colleagues, but in reality rivals. The end came in A.D. 323, when Constan-

tine overthrew Licinius and once more brought the whole Empire under the authority of a single supreme head.

Under Diocletian and Maximian, Rome ceased to be the centre of government. The Senate occasionally acted as a court for the trial of important political cases, but for the most part it had to be content with functions much the same in kind as those of any municipal council. Nevertheless, the status of a Senator was still a distinguished one, and the consulate was still honourable,\* though the *consules ordinarii* who entered on their office on the Kalends of January, and gave their names to the year, abdicated after two months and were succeeded by *consules suffecti* holding office for the same period. Prætors and quæstors were still elected, but their main concern now was the management of the *spectacula* in the amphitheatre and the chariot-races and horse-races in the Circus Maximus.

A second Senate was instituted by Constantine in the New Rome which he brought into being on the shore of the Bosphorus. Viewed in relation to the part played by the Roman Senate in the history of the Roman State, Constantine's action is very significant. (1) It emphasized the virtual declaration already made by Diocletian, that even the *theory* of partnership between Emperor and Senate in the administration of the Empire had been abandoned—the Senate was so completely under the monarch's control that he could duplicate it, just as he duplicated the metropolis. (2) It prepared the way for, if it did not proclaim, the division of the Empire, the re-opening *en permanence* of a cleavage which had existed ever since Rome acquired transmarine provinces to the east as well as to the west of the Adriatic.

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\*The Emperors frequently assumed the consular title and so obtained places for their names in the Consular Fasti.

Diocletian reorganized the imperial administration on the following principles; (1) the complete separation of civilian from military functions; (2) increase in the number of government officials, both civil and military; (3) gradation of officials in a "hierarchy." The second principle involved increase in the number of administrative areas, obtained by breaking up the old ones.

The most important civilian officials were the four *Præfecti Prætorio*. Originally the *Præfecti Prætorio* were commanders of the *Cohortes Prætorianæ*, a military force charged with the protection of the Emperor's household (*prætorium*.) In the second century, however, we find them acting in a judicial capacity as members of the Emperor's *consilium*, which had become the most important civil and criminal court in the Empire. This imperial council was one of a number of developments of the family council of ancient Rome. In dealing with matters of grave import, the paterfamilias would consult with kinsmen and friends. The *rex* (whose *regium imperium* was an extension of *patria potestas*) held his *consilium* of *patres*, the Senate, which was afterwards the *consilium* available for the consuls. In the provinces, the proconsul or proprætor had a *consilium*, consisting of his staff-officers, and Roman citizens resident in the province. It was chiefly, perhaps, in judicial matters that the *consilium* was important. The strongest form which the *consilium propinquorum et amicorum* ever grew into was the Senate. But just as, in strict theory, the family council could only *advise*, so was it with the Senate, and the consultative function of the Senate, disguised in practice, reappeared clearly in the *consilium* of the proconsul and the Emperor. Again, the presence of military officers in a council assembled for judicial purposes was quite in accord with the old Roman practice of combining military with civil functions, which

we find exemplified in the magistrates of the Republic as well as in the ancient Kings. In the peaceful days of Hadrian and the Antonines, the prætorian prefect found more scope for his activities in judicial than in military functions, and then the change set in which transformed the "captain of the guard" into a jurist. In the first three centuries, we sometimes find one prætorian prefect, sometimes two. Under Diocletian, there were probably four corresponding to the four princes (two Augusti and two Cæsares). In the period A.D. 306-378, three seems to have been the ruling number, but after that time four.

The four prefectures or "presidencies" from the accession of Theodosius I. onwards (i.e. from A.D. 378) were (1) *Oriens*, (2) *Illyricum*, (3) *Italia*, (4) *Gallie*. The several headquarters of these prefectures were established at *Constantinople*, *Sirmium*,\*<sup>1</sup> *Milan*, and *Trier*.\*<sup>2</sup> After A.D. 331 the judicial authority of these prefects was exempted from appeal. They nominated to the Emperor, superintended, and if they saw cause, deposed the governors of the dioceses and provinces included within their Prefectures, and controlled the finances. Appointment for short terms only was resorted to as a check upon possibilities of danger arising from possession of powers so extensive as those of a prætorian Prefect.

The *Prefectures* were divided into *Dioceses*, and these again into *Provinces*. In A.D. 297, under Diocletian, there were 12 dioceses, viz.:

1. *Oriens* = Libya, Egypt, N.W. corner of Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Isauria, Cyprus.
2. *Pontus* = Eastern, east-central and northern Asia Minor; reaching from Mt. Taurus to the Bosphorus.

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\*<sup>1</sup> Now Mitrowitz, on the Save, about 40 miles (as the crow flies) to the west of Belgrade. \*<sup>2</sup> On the Moselle.

3. Asia = West-central and western Asia Minor, with adjoining islands: included the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont (Dardanelles).
4. Thracia = Country from the Hellespont to the Danube, and Mt. Rhodope (Despoto-Dagh) to the Black Sea.
5. Moesia = Bulgaria west of 24° E, Servia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Crete.
6. Pannonia or Illyricum = Austro-Hungarian territories between the Danube and the Adriatic, except the Tirol.
7. Britannia = England and Wales, with Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde.
8. Gallia = Countries between the Rhine and the Loire, with northern and western parts of Switzerland.
9. Viennensis or Aquitania = France from the Loire and Rhône to the Pyrenees and Mediterranean.
10. Italia = Italy, with Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, eastern Switzerland, Tirol, and German territories S. of the Danube.
11. Hispania = Iberian Peninsula, with the Balearic Islands and maritime regions of Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana).
12. Africa = Territory along the N. African coast from Oran to the Gulf of Scidra.

These dioceses included 102 provinces. Subsequent changes, made in the fourth century, brought the number of dioceses up to 13, and that of provinces to 116.

The dioceses were governed by *vicarii*, the provinces by *præsides*, *consulares*, or *correctores*.

At the head of the military department stood the *Magistri Militum*, distinguished by the regions they were charged to defend—Oriens, Illyricum, etc. Under them were *duces* and *comites* (dukes and counts), the latter being especially charged with frontier-supervision—*e.g.*, Comes

*Litoris Saxonici*, the officer charged with the defence of the eastern and southern shores of Britain against Saxon pirates.

The cities of Rome and Constantinople had prefects of their own, not subordinate to the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

The *Prætorian Cohorts* disappeared from Rome, and the legions, though increased in number, were reduced in size. This reduction appears to have been the work of Constantine rather than of Diocletian. At the beginning of the 3rd century (A.D. 210) the Roman Army consisted of 33 legions; at the end of the fourth (A.D. 400) there were 132, of which 62 were stationed in the Western Empire, 70 in the Eastern.

[See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvii.; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. i.; Pelham, *Outlines*, Bk. vii., ch. i.; Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 335-339.]

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### Causes and Events Leading to the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

1. Existence of slave-labour, the area of which was apt to encroach on that of free labour.
2. Irreparable reduction of the population by pestilence in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (i.e. in the years A.D. 166-180) and Gallienus (i.e. between A.D. 250 and 265).
3. Fiscal oppression, increased by the numerous additions to the number of paid officials of the Government, under the new system instituted by Diocletian and developed by his successors; increased also by the extravagance of the Imperial Court, which maintained much outward splendour in times when misery was widespread. The burdens of the State pressed mainly on the *decuriones* or *curiales*—magistrates and councillors of provincial towns. The status of a *curialis* was perforce made hereditary by the law. Taxation ate up all, or nearly all, the profits of agriculture. The results were (1) that many

estates were abandoned, and the rural population thereby reduced; (2) that curiales sought refuge in the ranks of the ministry of the Church—and though married men might obtain ordination, ordained men were forbidden to marry; this was another cause of depopulation; (3) that the victims of fiscal tyranny became disaffected, hating the Government which had crushed them, and ready to welcome the appearance of invaders, especially invaders who came to settle and to make an end of government by the Imperial magistrates and agents; (4) the population best qualified to recruit the ranks of the legions was a continually and rapidly diminishing quantity.

4. Bad faith and corrupt character of Imperial officers and agents, who acquiesced in, or fled from the face of, barbarian invasion, which to some extent must have been impelled by the knowledge that in the Empire there lay wide tracts, formerly cultivated and productive, but now, after a century and more of fiscal tyranny, lying unoccupied and waste.

5. Material and moral weakness of Rome. The city was not a first-class stronghold; not to be compared with Constantinople: its communications could much more easily be interrupted or stopped altogether. The mass of the population was demoralized by regular periodical distribution of food and the gratuitous provision of seats in Circus or Amphitheatre: the *spectacula* were demoralizing—especially those of gladiators. This latter source of corruption was stopped in 404, but it had already had time to inflict lasting injuries.

6. Extensive enlistment of *barbarians*: they were a source of expense (in donatives, etc.) and at the same time lacking in patriotic spirit.

7. *Monasticism* assisted in depopulation of country-estates and withdrew many from the service of the State. The Empire had become tyrannous and avaricious.

Too weak, or too unscrupulous, to govern the provinces successfully, it brought about the abandonment of extensive areas. Its recruiting-ground, apart from the barbarian tribes it retained by tribute or bribery in its service, had become diminished in extent and degenerate in quality.

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### The Eastern Empire.

"From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman Empire."

This sentence is taken from Gibbon's description of the storming of Constantinople by the Turks on May 29, A.D. 1453 (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; ch. lxxviii.). At the time of the capture of Constantinople, the Roman Empire, whose deliverance or destruction depended on the issue of the fierce conflict fought in the morning hours of that fatal Tuesday in Whitsun-week, had been reduced to the area enclosed within the walls of the city. Gibbon calls the defenders of the city *Greeks*, and Greeks they were by the test of language, if not by that of race. But in another passage in the same chapter, he recounts how the Protovestiaris, George Phranza, "informed his master" the Emperor Constantine Dragases, "with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*"—and Romans they actually did call themselves (*Romaioi*, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *Romani*), and might claim to be considered, on the strength of their political history.

The Empire which perished in the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks, 454 years ago, is variously known as the Eastern, Byzantine, or Greek Empire. There



are objections, however, to each of these descriptions. "Eastern" is, for one thing, too indefinite. "Byzantine" and "Greek" are open to the charge of irrelevance. The proper name of the capital was Constantinople, not Byzantium, though indeed the "City of Constantine, New Rome,"\* was built on the site of the old Dorian colony Byzantium. Against the epithet "Greek" it may be urged that although, even from the earliest days in the history of Constantinople, Greek was the prevailing language there, and over the greater part, if not the whole, of the realm of which that city was the capital, still that realm, that Empire, was not a Greek creation. In its widest extent, it consisted of the *dioceses* and *provinces* included in the fourth-century Prefectures of Oriens (the East) and Illyricum.

A formal division of the Roman Empire into an Eastern and a Western realm was made in A.D. 364\*<sup>1</sup> and again—and this time for good—in A.D. 395.\*<sup>2</sup> In the first years of the 5th century (probably not later than A.D. 402) a compilation was produced, entitled "Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii," i.e. "A description of the Offices of State in either Empire." The line of demarcation between the two Empires was, in Europe, the boundary between the Eastern and the Western Illyricum (nearly corresponding to a line drawn from the Gulf of Cattaro in Montenegro to the junction of the Save and the Drin), and in Africa, the boundary between Libya and Tripolis (about Long. 19.E.).

The phrases "division of the Roman Empire" and "two Empires" have been used here, but it is not intended

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\*The city is thus described in the title of the Patriarch of Constantinople—"Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ρώμης, Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης."

\*<sup>1</sup>Between Valentinian and his brother Valens. \*\*Between Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius I.

to convey by their means the statement that the "division" was regarded, at the time, as destroying the unity of the Empire. Some—especially members of the Senate in Rome, and in general those who found no reason to approve of the changes made by Diocletian and his successors—probably enough did think that the unity of the Roman Empire had indeed been broken up, or rather that the provinces east of the Adriatic had been formed into an alien and rival Empire, the true *Roman* Empire having been diminished in extent by the abandonment of those provinces. On the other hand, it was possible to maintain the division was one of administration only, made merely to meet the requirements of the time, and that it need continue no longer than those requirements continued to exist. It was a special application of an administrative device, the history of which might be traced back to the day when Romulus and Titus Tatius began to reign together as Kings of Rome. At the head of the Republic there had been two associated chief magistrates, the consuls, who divided the duties and functions of consular authority either by casting lots\*<sup>1</sup> or mutual concession in some form.\*<sup>2</sup> From the days of Augustus down to those of Diocletian, a number of instances might be quoted, of an Emperor choosing a colleague. It was this device to which recourse was had when an Emperor wished to designate his successor. There had been no thought of dividing or breaking up the unity of the Empire in A.D. 285, when Diocletian chose Maximian as his colleague, and fixed his headquarters at Nicomedia in Bithynia, while Maximian fixed his at Milan in Northern Italy. The institution of two imperial successions, one in the East and the other in the West, facilitated the internal administration of an Empire on whose northern and eastern frontiers there was a state of almost incessant warfare. Both Empires, or

\*<sup>1</sup>Sortitio, sortiri provincias.   \*\*Comparatio, comparare provincias.

both halves of the Empire, had the same law. In both, the subjects were Romans, and in both the tongue of Latium was that of law and authority.

Constantinople, the new imperial city, was certainly the foundation of a Roman Emperor. Its founder was a Romanized native of Naïssus in Upper Mœsia (Nisch in Servia). He provided the city with a Senate and Forum, in imitation of Rome, and "Nova Roma" rather than "Constantinopolis" was the name he preferred for its official designation. Roman Law is the "monumentum ære perennius" of the Roman Empire. It was in Constantinople, under Theodosius and Justinian, that Roman Law was codified. The greatest architectural monument of the Christian Empire within the walls of Constantinople is the Church (now the Mosque) of Sta. Sophia. There is nothing Hellenic in the design of this building. With its arches and domes, it belongs to the realm of Roman, rather than Greek, architecture. It belongs to the group which includes the Pantheon, the Colosseum, the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, the Churches of Ravenna, not to that which is typified by the temples of Phigalia or Paestum. In a word, it is Roman, not Greek, though for centuries it was the greatest sanctuary of Greek Christendom.

The division of the Empire in the fourth century fell in with facts of geography and history. It coincided with a cleavage already existing, a cleavage which had only been masked, and never done away with, even when the Roman Empire appeared to have been thoroughly unified.

This division coincided with the division of the Mediterranean Sea into an Eastern and a Western basin.

The line of demarcation fell between the Balkan Peninsula and Italy. These peninsulas lie back to back rather than face to face, and Rome is on the western flank of

Italy, the side furthest from the regions of the Hellenic East.

Rome was well placed for conquering and controlling, not only Italy and the Italian islands, but Gaul and Spain as well. The possession of Sicily and Spain also enabled the Romans to add to their Empire the African regions now known as Tunis and Algeria. On the other hand, the position of Rome in relation to the countries of the Levant is external, not central as in the West.

Furthermore, in Greece and the Greek Islands, in Western Asia Minor, in Cilicia and Syria, in Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, the Romans came into contact with peoples in many respects superior to them in civilization. The world conquered for Rome by Æmilius Paulus,<sup>\*1</sup> Gnæus Pompeius,<sup>\*2</sup> and Cæsar Octavianus,<sup>\*3</sup> was not a new world, but a very old one. It contained the monuments and memorials of enormously old civilizations in Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, and Egypt. It was the world in which Hellenic arts and letters, Hellenic philosophy and science, had come into the perfection of their being, and in which they were still living and powerful realities. In Italy, of course, the Romans had long before come into contact with the speech and arts of the Hellenes, and the contact was by no means without effect on the progress of civilized life in Rome.<sup>\*3</sup>

Romans of the "old school," such as Marcus Porcius Cato, the famous Censor, had no liking for the Greeks, but they could not deny the facts of Greek cleverness and Greek refinement. These facts were well known to them for generations, before any Roman army ever crossed the Adriatic. When they conquered the Levant, they found Hellenism in possession, pervading and dominating, and they never attempted to oust or suppress it. On the con-

<sup>\*1</sup>B.C. 168.—<sup>\*2</sup>B.C. 66-63.—<sup>\*3</sup>B.C. 31-30. <sup>\*2</sup>e.g. the Roman alphabet was a modified Greek alphabet.

trary, they were well pleased to assume towards it the rôle of champions and protectors, and it may be claimed for the statesmen and generals of Rome that they did far more for the preservation of Alexander's work than any Macedonian or Greek had done.

In the Hellenic East, the Romans could annex and govern, but there was little scope for any "mission of civilization." They could put down piracy, they could construct new roads, they could avert the danger of Parthian conquest. But that was about all that their "mission of civilization" amounted to—and it was a mission to preserve civilization already existing, not to civilize.

The situation in the West was very different. Rome could make the West her own. To the populations of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and the Rhineland, the Romans came as conquerors superior, not only in the art of war, but in the arts of peace as well. They annexed the East, but they appropriated the West.

This was the state of affairs long before Theodosius the Great bequeathed the Empire of the East to Arcadius and the Empire of the West to Honorius (A.D. 395). The contrast between the Hellenic or Hellenized East and the Romanized West had been fixed in the Roman Empire from the very first. By the foundation of a new capital, though it was called New Rome, in the Hellenic half of that Empire, Constantine emphasized this contrast and made separation, sooner or later, inevitable. From the fourth to the fifteenth century (except for a break of less than sixty years in the thirteenth) Constantinople was the seat of a government in origin beyond dispute Roman. But those who administered that government, and those who submitted to the administration, were Greeks rather than Romans. The East-Roman Empire, as perhaps it is best called, was indeed a Government without a Nation, but in that polity the language and spirit of the Greeks—

both alike degenerate—had a clear field. Persians and Armenians, Turks and Slavs, Englishmen and Danes, all found their way, in different capacities, into the service of the Mediæval East-Roman Emperors. They did not all become Hellenized, but in order to carry on intercourse with the sovereign they served, and the subjects on whose behalf they fought, or over whom they tyrannized, they had to learn the Greek language—not indeed the language of Thucydides or even Xenophon, but a language more like ancient Greek than modern English is like the English of *Ælla* and *Ina*.

The Eastern or East-Roman Empire reached its widest extent in the latter years of Justinian, i.e. about A.D. 560, but soon after his death a process of shrinkage began, and a general conspectus of its history from the sixth to the thirteenth century, (when it was shattered, though not finally destroyed, by a piratical expedition of Frenchmen, Flemings and Venetians), shows that, in its *average* extent, it coincided almost exactly with the Greek "*orbis terrarum*" round the *Ægean* as it had existed in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The core of it, in fact, was to a remarkable degree the same in extent as the Athenian Empire in the time of Pericles. To call it "the Greek Empire," then, is not unjustifiable. The objection to the title is that it is hardly true to the actual origin of the state to which it is applied. The *tradition* of Empire which it carried on was Roman, not Greek.

The disappearance of the Latin language, however, in the capital and province of the East-Roman Empire, and substitution of Greek as the language of authority and government as well as of literature and social intercourse, makes the use of the word "Roman" appear somewhat incongruous. This triumph of Greek over Latin was of course bound to take place, sooner or later. It was not the cause of the separation of the Eastern from the Western

Empire—it was rather the effect of the completely Greek character of Constantinople and so much of the East-Roman Empire. Hellenism had already fixed its impress upon Christianity in the lands east of the Adriatic and the Greek Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra), and to whatever extent the imperial system centering upon Constantinople was other than Greek at first, the Church of Constantinople was from the very beginning a Greek Church, and was destined, in course of time, to become, in quite a real sense, *the* Greek Church. In the West, the Church was almost entirely Latin, and the Church of Rome might be said already to have become *the* Church for all Christians in Spain and Gaul, no less than in Italy.

There was no such clearly-marked separation of the two Empires as there was of Norway and Sweden two years ago, or of Belgium and Holland in the days of our grandfathers. The East-Roman Empire came to be left alone standing, by the collapse of the West-Roman fabric of government. To that collapse, however, the foundation of Constantinople and the establishment of a second throne and a second court, a second senate, a distinct hierarchy of civil and military service, contributed their part. The foundation of the city was due to more causes and motives than one. A new imperial metropolis became necessary, after the alliance made by Constantine between the State and the Church. The traditions of paganism in Rome were too strong and vivid. But the foundation of the new city so far from the old centre was very much due to anxiety and apprehension respecting the Persians, who nourished hopes of restoring the Empire of Darius in its full extent, and were in consequence very troublesome neighbours. Yet the fear of the Persian enemy would probably have been much less, had not a Persian King, in the year 260, defeated and captured a Roman Emperor.\*

Between the Old and the New Rome it was inevitable

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\*Capture of Valerian by Sapor. Valerian died in captivity in Persia.

that opposition and enmity should arise. Down to A.D. 330, Rome had been supplied with grain from Egypt, as well as from Sicily and the African province. After that date, the Egyptian grain went to Constantinople, which imitated Rome in the possession, not only of a Senate, but also of a large populace which periodically received presents of food from the Government. Rome had now to depend on Sicily and Africa for supplies of grain to meet the demands of a populace whose idea of life was still "panem et circenses," bread for nothing and games for ever. In A.D. 397 the African supplies were cut off in consequence of the formal declaration of war against Gildo the Moor, who for more than ten years had usurped the government of Africa and Mauretania. The poet Claudian represented the Genius of the City making her complaint to Jupiter—

"Frugiferas certare rates, lateque videbam

Punica Niliacis concurrere carbasa velis.

*Cum subiit par Roma mihi, divisaque sumpsit*

*Equales Aurora togas, Ægyptia rura*

*In partem cessere novam. Spes unica nobis*

*Restabat Libye. . . .*

Hanc quoque nunc Gildon rapuit—"\*1

Gildo was put down by Stilicho in A.D. 398, and the grain-supply restored. But the Court of Constantinople had been cherishing hopes of annexing Africa, by Gildo's aid, to the Eastern sphere of government.\*2 Fifty-one years later Carthage was captured by the Vandals, and the African corn-supplies was entirely lost to Rome. Meanwhile, Constantinople monopolized the corn of Egypt. The contrast between the prosperity of the New Rome and the necessity of the Old was not adapted to allay any existing enmity, or strengthen any feeling of alliance, between the two.

The rivalry of the Old and the New Rome was reproduced in the relations of the bishoprics which possessed

\*1 De Bello Gildonico, 58-63, 66. \*2 Op. cit. 213-324.



their local habitation in the two capitals, and drew their names from them. Whereas the Bishop of Byzantium had never claimed or received any special consideration, the Archbishop or Patriarch of Constantinople was regarded in the East as the equal of the Archbishop of Rome in everything but "honorary precedence." Thus Constantine, besides creating a rival metropolis in the State-system, had brought about the creation of a rival metropolis in the Church-system as well. Constantinople supplied Eastern, or at least Hellenistic, Christendom with something that neither Alexandria nor Antioch had supplied—an *imperial see-city*. The equilibrium of the Church was disturbed, as well as the equilibrium of the Empire. Constantine made common cause with the Church for the preservation of the Empire. The result of founding Constantinople was that the purpose of the alliance was obtained only for the Eastern half of the Empire, i.e., the less Roman, not to say non-Roman half, and even then incompletely.

The continuance of the East-Roman Empire for nearly a thousand years after the collapse of the West-Roman, must be accounted for by the strength of its capital. In the ages when long-range heavy artillery was unknown, it was difficult to form the siege of Constantinople at all, and impossible to carry any siege to a successful issue, if the place was defended with any vigour. A fleet as well as an army was necessary for the besieging enemy, in order to block the maritime lines of communication, over which the city, however closely beleaguered by land, could be systematically supplied with food and all other necessaries. Along the Propontis-front, there was no point that gave any opening or foothold for attack. The Golden Horn, on the other side of the city, could be closed by means of a great chain drawn across from the Buceleon (Seraglio Point) to the opposite suburb of Galata. A hostile army, therefore, could operate only on the land-walls, which were triple, and were protected in front by a moat some thirty feet deep—and this moat could be flooded with water. The place was

often besieged, but only twice was a siege successful, viz. : in 1204, when the defenders were demoralized and disaffected, and in 1453, when they were not numerous enough to occupy the circuit of the walls properly. Moreover, the city was bereft of the help of an efficient navy on both occasions.

The maritime position of the capital was also advantageous in commercial relations. From the sixth century to the thirteenth, Constantinople was the greatest commercial centre on the Mediterranean. Sea-routes and land-routes converged there, routes from north to south and from east to west. The State took its share of the profits accruing from the commerce of the city, and thus provided itself with ample funds, expended in purchasing the services of warlike barbarians, for the defence of a government whose native subjects were not trusted with arms, and so perforce became unwarlike.

The sack of Constantinople in 1204 by the "Crusade" which Alexius Angelus diverted from its proper objective for the sake of his own interests and to his own destruction, was a disaster to European civilization. An enormous quantity of art-treasures, hoarded (as it were) for centuries within the walls of the great city, perished utterly, and there was no replacing them. The loss of literary memorials can only be conjectured, but it must have been very great. Innocent III., as the head of the Latin Christendom, could only regard the shattering of the heretical and excommunicated East-Roman Empire as a just judgment, but he had no excuses either to offer or to accept for the horrors and outrages which disgraced the conquest. He might have been yet more deeply moved, could he have seen 250 years ahead into the future, and perceived how the break-up of the East-Roman Empire opened a fatal breach in the defences of South-Eastern Europe, through which the Ottoman Moslem was to force his way. Constantinople, it is true, was recovered by the Greeks in 1261, and the interrupted succession of Greek rulers of the city and dependen-

cies was restored, but the injuries inflicted by the Crusaders were beyond repair: The broken Empire could not be pieced together again. Its final extinction was not achieved for two centuries, but those were two centuries of misery and humiliation, the misery of a State "dying by inches." Yet the last scene was not inglorious. Constantine Dragases, the last Christian sovereign who reigned in Constantinople, fell bravely leading the defence of the city, which he maintained for nearly eight weeks, with some 7,000 men, against a besieging army more than ten times—possibly twenty times, as numerous, and supported by a fleet.

Schism and enmity, which were destined to become the normal relations of the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, appear as early as the fifth century. The introduction of "Filioque" into the wording of the clause in the Nicene Creed which relates to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the evermore-persistent claims of the Roman arch-bishop to sovereignty over the whole church, his strenuous endeavours to introduce into the Church the autocratic régime of the State, to transform the successor of S. Peter into a mitred Cæsar—these were the principal causes of a permanent rupture of communion, accompanied by mutual denunciations of heresy, which has now lasted for the greater part of ten centuries. Pope Gregory VII. is said to have contemplated the organization of an expedition for the conquest, and forcible conversion to obedience, of the Eastern Empire, as a preliminary measure necessary to ensure the permanent recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the power of the Islamite infidel. In the age of the Crusades, Greek Orthodox and Latin Catholic hated each other worse than either hated their common adversary the Mohammedan. The Frenchmen, Flemings, and Venetians who sacked Constantinople in 1204 thought anything permissible against a heretic, even to the stripping of altars and the opening of sepulchres. Michael Palæologus endeavoured to bring about a Reunion of the Churches in

the 13th century, when threatened with an invasion of his territory by the French King of the Two Sicilies, but his subjects repudiated his action. The same thing happened in 1439, after the "False Union" negotiated at Florence. The object of the Greeks who negotiated for this union was to put themselves right with the Church in the West and thus be able to appeal with more hope of success for assistance against the Turk, who was fast reducing the Empire to the sole city of Constantinople and threatened soon to obliterate even that scanty remnant. But the Unionist policy was futile and hopeless. Rome would accept no terms but those of her own defining. The Orthodox people in Constantinople stoned the Unionists in the streets. A Cardinal came to Constantinople in 1452, Constantine Dragases being still bent upon obtaining Remmon, but only hoping against hope. The liturgy was performed according to the Roman rite in Sta. Sophia, and the populace regarded with horror "the Great Church" as a polluted sanctuary. "I would rather see the Turk's turban under the dome of Sta. Sophia, than the Cardinal's hat," cried one of the notables of Constantine's court. His ill-omened prayer was granted within a twelvemonth.

Constantine the Great, sincerely desirous as he was to secure the well-being of his Empire through alliance with the Christian Church and Religion,\* which he regarded as a power making for peace, order, and righteousness, nevertheless contributed, by his foundation of Constantinople, to the promotion of dissension, schism, and separation. Upon the old contrast of Latin and Greek was superposed the enmity of Catholicism and Orthodoxy, of the See of Old Rome and the See of New Rome. The quarrels of Christian Churches let the Turk into Constantinople. The jealousies of Christian States have been the best security for his prolonging the days of his possession there.

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\*Edict of Milan, A. D. 313; presidency in the Nicene Council, A. D. 325; recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, A. D. 326.

### The Holy Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire in the West might well be regarded as having come to an end, if not in the cessation of the Western succession of Emperors, then certainly in the establishment of the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy, A. D. 493. Germanic Kingdoms had already arisen, in the fifth century, in Spain and Northern Africa, in Gaul and Britain.

The Vandal Kingdom of Africa was destroyed by Justinian's armies in 533, and the same fate overtook the Ostrogoth power in Italy, after twenty years of destructive warfare. Thus Northern Africa, Sicily, and Italy were restored to the Empire. But Rome required, by the Reconquest, nothing better than the status of a provincial town. It was not even the seat of the provincial government. The Exarch of Italy resided at Ravenna, and the representatives of the imperial authority in Rome were subordinate to him. To the inhabitants of Rome, indeed, the Exarch and the rest of the officials appointed by the Emperor, and sent from Constantinople, appeared as foreigners, and their authority was far less respected than that of the Bishop.

Italy had hardly been recovered from the Ostrogoths when the greater part of it was lost to the Lombards (A. D. 568). The Exarch in Ravenna was a broken reed for the people of Rome, and indeed of Italy in general, to trust in for support against the aggressive violence of the new invaders, who thrust themselves well down toward the south of the peninsula. At last, the Pope appealed for protection to the King of the Franks, who not only delivered him from the Lombard, but endowed the Holy See with the Flaminian Pentapolis—a tract of land lying round and about Ravenna, on the Adriatic coast (A. D. 774). This deliverer of the Church was the Frankish King Charles, or Charlemagne, the greatest prince of Western Europe. Pope Leo III. conceived the idea of restoring the Empire to Rome, with Charlemagne to continue the legitimate succession of

Emperors, which was considered to have been broken by the Empress Irene's usurpation of sole authority in A.D. 797.

In the 7th and 8th centuries the Eastern Emperors continued to regard Italy as *de jure* part of their dominions, but the aggressions of Moslems in Asia and of Avars, Slavs and Bulgarians in Europe made it impossible for them to detach forces sufficient for a reconquest of Italy.

The legitimacy of the imperial succession maintained in Constantinople might be recognized in Italy. But the Emperors were Easterners—they were Greek by speech and therefore alien to Western, i.e., Latin, Christendom, whose head was Rome. The controversy over images and pictures intensified the opposition of Rome and her rival. Leo, the first "Iconoclast" Emperor\* annoyed by the opposition which his policy of reform encountered in Italy, as elsewhere in his dominions, punished the Popes, who put themselves at the head of the Italian opposition, by transferring (A.D. 733)

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\* "Iconoclast" = breaker of images. The word "icon" (like the Latin "imago") may denote either a picture, or a figure "in the round," or a representation carved in "relief." In actual use, "icon" denotes a picture rather than a statue or a figure in relief, but divine honours rendered to pictures are of course neither more, nor less, objectionable than those which are offered to other forms of visible representation "graven by art and man's device." To kiss pictures and images, bow the knee, make the sign of the Cross, place lighted lamps, candles, or tapers before them, exposed—and still exposes—Christians to the charge of idolatry. The "Iconoclast" Emperors desired to roll away this reproach from Christianity. Their purpose of abolishing, or at least severely restricting, the use of icons was part of a programme of general reform of State and Church, and like all reformers, they encountered the bitterest opposition, their fiercest adversaries being the monks. The degree to which Christianity had degenerated, and monasticism had become a power in society, is revealed by the failure even of Imperial authority to carry out reforms eminently desirable, but only by a few desired. In this case, the saying "*victrix causa deis placuit*" may be applied with truth if by the "gods" we understand the "rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. vi. 12.) The Christianity of mediæval and modern Greeks and Romans stands rebuked, and the policy of the Iconoclasts commended, no less by the legend of Numa Pompilius than by the history of S. Paul.

the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Crete, Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Albania, Southern Italy, and Sicily from the See of Rome to that of Constantinople, from Latin to Greek Christendom. Such of the above-named regions as lie east of the Adriatic belonged naturally and historically to the sphere of Hellenism, but the case was somewhat different with South Italy and Sicily, which were at least in process of being Latinized. To the east of the Adriatic, the change made by Leo was permanent; to the west, it always depended on the extent to which the Emperors in Constantinople could make their authority felt and recognized—and that authority ceased to be of any account after the middle of the eleventh century, when it was extinguished by the Normans. But to return from the eleventh century to the earlier part of the eighth; we find Italy groaning under Lombard oppression, while those who claimed to be the legitimate lords of Italy appeared to be more concerned with ecclesiastical questions than with the deliverance of the land from the barbarian. It should be remembered, however, that Constantinople had been besieged for the *second* time by the Moslems in 717, and that they were at all times infinitely more dangerous to the Empire than the Lombards. Yet the resources of the Empire were very considerable, and might well have been found adequate for an effective re-establishment of the Imperial authority in the land of its origin. That authority, however, now that it was striving for reform—in other words for the extirpation of superstitious practices and the repression of monasticism, was odious to the prophets who (sincerely enough) prophesied falsely, to the priests who bore rule by their means, and to the people who loved to have it so. History and geography took effect through the opposition of Pope and Emperor on the question of the honours to be rendered to pictures or images of Christ and the Saints. The Popes indeed were at heart less anxious for the veneration of pictures and images than for the consolidation of their influ-



ence and power in Rome and Italy,\* and to stand out as defenders of things dear to the mass of the people against the despotism of temporal princes was just the action required and adapted for the compassing of the end they had in view.

The crisis came when the Emperor Constantine VI. was deposed, imprisoned and blinded at the instance of his mother, the Empress Irene, who had been regent during his minority. Irene then (A.D. 797) assumed authority as sole ruler of the Empire. She was indeed orthodox, and she had supported the patriarch Tarasius, whose occupation of the See of Constantinople had been marked by the assembling of a Council at Nicaea, which restored images and pictures to their former venerated estate. But her son was also orthodox, and her reign was resented, in Italy at least, as a usurpation. The time had come when a design over which the Papal mind had been brooding for years might be carried out in action.

The controversy over images presented itself as an opportunity for self-aggrandisement to the Lombard King as well as to the Roman Pope. In A.D. 730, Liudprand, King of the Lombards, invaded the Exarchate of Ravenna as the champion of the images, and marched upon Rome as the ally of the Emperor. Pope Gregory managed to overawe the Lombard by his spiritual authority, as his predecessor Leo the Great had overawed Attila and Gaiseric. But the spell might be broken, and Gregory, between the devil of heresy and the deep sea of Lombard conquest, looked for a deliverer to the land beyond the Alps, where Charles Martel, conqueror of the Saracens on the field of Tours, ruled as Mayor of the Palace in the name of the Merovingian King. In the appeal of Gregory II. to Charles Martel began that connection of Germanic princes with

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\*They ratified the decree of the Council which met at Nicaea in 787 and restored the use of images, but they do not appear to have enforced it, or tried to enforce it, outside Italy.



Rome which existed from the eighth century to the nineteenth under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles Martel died before he could take any action upon the Pope's appeal, but his son and successor Pepin was active in developing relations of mutual assistance and service with the Papacy. Pepin obtained from the Holy See a rescript transferring the royal title and authority from Childeric, the descendant of Clovis, to himself (A.D. 751).

Pope Stephen III. crowned and anointed Pepin, already acknowledged as King of the Franks, at St. Denis in A.D. 754. In the same year, and again in A.D. 756, Pepin crossed the Alps, and drove back Aistulf and the Lombards from the walls of Rome. On the latter occasion he followed up his victory over the Lombards by bestowing the territories of the Exarchate of Ravenna upon the Roman See. In return for this service he received the title of *Patricius*, being thus acknowledged as Lord Protector of Italy and Rome.

Eighteen years later the Lombards were up again in arms, and threatening the possessions of the Holy See. Again a cry for help went out from Rome to the King of the Franks, and for the third time a Frankish host crossed the Alps. Both Pepin and Aistulf had passed away; their places were occupied by Charles (Charlemagne), and Desiderius. Charles made an end of the Lombard Kingdom, annexed its territories to his own, and renewed the donation of Ravenna and the Exarchate to the Holy See—A.D. 774. For a quarter of a century the government of Rome was carried on in the name of Charles, the *Patricius*, though the names and regnal years of the Emperors in Constantinople were used in dating documents. In A.D. 798 Pope Leo III. narrowly escaped being murdered in a sedition, and sought safety in flight, first to Spoleto and then to the court of Charles, at Paderborn in Westphalia. The king's authority was willingly exerted to restore the Pope to his place, and subsequently, in A.D. 800, Charles himself entered Rome and presided over the trial of the

cause between the Pope and his adversaries and accusers. Leo III's innocence was proved and proclaimed, but, although peace was now fully restored, Charles remained in Rome to keep Christmas. On the great day of the Feast, he went, attired as a Roman patrician, to hear mass in the basilica of S. Peter. After the reading of the Gospel, the Pope, leaving his throne, stood by Charles, who was kneeling in prayer near the high altar, and set a diadem upon his head. The act of coronation was instantly followed by the acclamation of the Roman People assembled in the basilica; *Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori, vita et victoria*. "To Charles, the Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-making Emperor, be life and victory!"

On the side of the Roman Pontiff and the Roman People, the event had been carefully prepared. On the side of Charles, the most probable theory represents it as unexpected at the moment of its occurrence, though previously discussed as a possibility, and consented to.

In the coronation and unction of Charles as Roman Emperor there was no thought implied of returning to the state of affairs which had terminated in A.D. 476—viz. : an administrative division of the one Empire between two Emperors. Leo III. and those who acted with him sought "to make Old Rome again the civil as well as the ecclesiastical capital of the Empire that bore her name."\* They professed to be "legitimately filling up the place of the deposed Constantine the Sixth, the people of the imperial city exercising their ancient right of choice, their bishop his right of consecration."\*<sup>1</sup> There was, however, no precedent which would fit Leo's action. The nearest instance that could be cited was perhaps the function of the *interrex* in the ancient Kingdom of Rome.\*<sup>2</sup> But it is improbable that this was present to the mind of the Pope. Still, there

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\*Bryce; *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 63 (ed. of 1904).

\*<sup>1</sup>Ibidem.

\*<sup>2</sup>Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 21-22.

is some sort of analogy between the *interrex*, after consultation with the *patres*, nominating a King to the people, who accepted him as their chief, and the Pope, after consultation with his advisers (who would be the principal *presbyteri* of Rome), presenting Charles as Emperor to the acclaiming people in S. Peter's. From the Constantinopolitan point of view, however, Leo III. was a rebel and Charles a mere usurper. In the fourth and fifth centuries there had been two imperial lines conjointly governing a single realm. From the eighth to the fifteenth century, there were again two imperial lines, but they were rivals and hostile. The claims habitually maintained—and the habit is only more clearly marked by sporadic instances of mutual concession—were mutually exclusive.

In practice, we read, write, and speak of an Eastern and a Western Empire. But it should be remembered that in the Middle Ages the Empire was thought of as one and unique. It was just because of the persistence of this idea, which had been inherited from the ancient days long before Charles and Leo III., that the Germanic and Grecian claimants of the Imperial title disputed each other's legitimacy.

This idea of one Empire, and one only, was closely and intimately related to the idea of a Catholic Church. In the Catholic Church, the Popes claimed supremacy, and finally declared that to call in question their supremacy was to sever oneself from the communion of the Church, *extra quam nulla salus*—outside whose pale there was no hope of salvation. The Patriarchal Churches of the East were not eager to break off communion with the Roman See, but they would allow its occupant nothing more than such "precedence of honour" as was appropriate to the Bishop of the "elder Rome," as president of the Church in an imperial city. This was the position taken up—much to the displeasure of Leo the Great—by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and this has been the position of the Eastern Orthodox Churches to the present day.

The decisive rupture between the Churches of Rome and

Constantinople, the West and the East, was delayed till the eleventh century, but their previous relations had for a long time been far from peaceful and harmonious. To the opposition, therefore, of German Kaiser and Grecian Autokrator, was added the opposition of Pope and Patriarch—indeed, the one opposition involved the other, or attracted it as a reinforcing influence.

In Western Christendom the claims of the Roman See naturally obtained recognition and reception. Their repudiation in the East cannot be dissociated from the antique pre-eminence, in the history of Christianity, enjoyed by Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and the imperial precedence of Constantinople. Similarly, their recognition in the West cannot be dissociated from the fact that all the great centres of population there had either been created<sup>\*1</sup> or restored<sup>\*2</sup> by Rome, and that not one of them could claim possession of an *Apostolic* throne—a claim which could be maintained by so many Eastern cities.

Roman government collapsed in the West sooner than in the East, and yet the glamour of Rome, the "magni nominis umbra," dominated men's minds there, and made it impossible to dissociate the idea of Empire from that name. The Germanic invaders who settled in the Western provinces in the fifth century came in as colonizers quite as much as invaders. The population already existing there, which came under the power of Germanic chieftains, was thoroughly Romanized. Their civilization, and still more their religion, impressed the new-comers. This civilization was an enduring monument of Roman rule. The religion was the peculiar charge and occupation of a class of men who looked with profound veneration to Rome as the See of Peter, the city which possessed the relics of the Prince of the Apostles and his "beloved brother Paul." The political system, which had given way at last under the long-

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<sup>\*1</sup>e.g. Lugdunum (Lyon), Augusta Trevirorum (Trier), Colonia Agrippina (Cologne).

<sup>\*2</sup>Carthage, founded anew by Caesar and Augustus.

sustained pressure of barbarian invasion and settlement in the fourth and fifth centuries had been in alliance with the Church, and its restoration could easily be conceived of as not only natural, but even necessary.

Christendom, according to the theory developed in Western Europe in the course of the Middle Ages, was in its spiritual aspect the Catholic Church, in its temporal aspect the Roman Empire. Both as Church and as Empire, Christendom had its headquarters, and the local habitation of authority, in Rome. There, in the City of the Seven Hills, there alone could be the capital of the Christian world—

*Fundamenta ejus super montibus  
sanctis; diligit Dominus portas  
Sion super omnia tabernacula  
Jacob.  
Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas  
Dei.\**

But the restoration of the Empire to Rome was a restoration in name only, and the theory of the politico-ecclesiastical unity of Christendom was from the first a theory only, however grand and beautiful. The Kingdom of Charles, extensive as it was, had not included Spain or Britain, and the Empire of which Constantinople was the head stood aloof as an alien and even hostile power. After the death of Charles, the great Frankish Kingdom broke up. The growth of feudalism precluded even the thought of restoring the provincial system which had gone to pieces in the fifth century. The Imperial title gave prestige, but no power. The Mediæval Emperors who were indisputably the greatest princes in Western Europe were powerful rather as German Kings than as Roman Emperors. Many who bore the title of Imperator Romanus or Imperator Romanorum never entered the gates of Rome, or even came near the city. Yet the title was prized, and the Empire as a principle or formula of Christian unity was believed in—a belief assisted by the opposition between Christendom

\* Ps. lxxxvi. (lxxxvii.) 1-2.

and Islam. The Moslems, who held not only the whole of North Africa, but Spain also, and added Sicily and the Balearic Islands to their conquest, were the common enemy, dreaded by all Christians in the West as well as in the East. Unfortunately, common enmity to the Moslem never brought East and West to a reconciliation.

The Mediæval phases of the Roman Empire, both Eastern and Western, might be called the mere tradition of a name, the lingering of a shadow. In the East, the shadow vanished in the morning hours of the 29th of May, A.D. 1453, when the Ottoman Turks forced the defences of Constantinople. In the West, one might say, it fled before the "Sun of Austerlitz," for the defeat of Austria on that fatal field led to Francis II.'s formal abandonment of the title of Roman Emperor, and the proclamation that the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist (A.D. 1806).

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### The Papacy.

The Eastern Empire has gone, the Holy Roman Empire has gone,—but the imperial spirit of Rome still survives in the Papacy. Because Rome was the imperial city, therefore the See of Rome acquired a recognized primacy in the ancient Church. This primacy was more conspicuous, and more effective, in relation to the Eastern than to the Western Churches. Coincident, or nearly coincident, with the division of the Empire into an Eastern Hellenic, and a Western Latin, half there was a similar division of Christendom. East of this demarcation, the four Patriarchates divided the ground, (somewhat unequally)—west of it there was but one primatial and patriarchal See, pre-eminent over all the rest, even as Rome surpassed all other cities in the Latin "circle of lands." Supremacy over all Christendom has been claimed for the Bishop of Rome on the ground that he is the successor of the "Prince" of the Apostles, St. Peter, or on the strength of the martyrdom of

St. Peter and St. Paul, the former crucified close by the Vatican Mount, the latter beheaded on the Ostian Way. But the primacy of St. Peter—at any rate as interpreted by the Roman Church—has for ages been disputed, even by men whose names figure in the Roman Calendar; and if Rome could claim the sepulchres of St. Peter and St. Paul, Ephesus could claim the sepulchre of St. John, the beloved disciple, and Jerusalem could claim the sepulchre of Christ Himself. The Imperial prestige of the City of Rome was communicated to the Church of Rome. The spirit and genius of Sovereignty, of *imperium*, which had dwelt in the *Respublica Romana* from the first, and had expanded that *Respublica* from a city-state into an Empire, a world, passed into the Church, and found its appropriate organ in the Bishop, the spiritual Imperator,—*Il Papa Re*, as he came to be styled in the language of modern Rome. *Il Papa Re*—the Father-King. The *imperium* of the *Rex* was but the extension of *patria potestas*, fatherly rule—paternal despotism we should be apt to call it—over the *familia* of the State; the authority of the Holy Father was exalted as that of a King over the *familia* of the Church.

