THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
EDWARD SPELMAN
IN SEVEN VOLUMES
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CONTENTS

BOOK VIII ................................................. 2
BOOK IX (chs. 1–24) ................................. 286
INDEX ..................................................... 376
THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΓΔΟΟΣ

I. Οι δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοι κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἦν1 ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Κροτωνιάτης, ἀρχοντὸς Ἀθηναίων Ἀγχίσου, Γάιος Ἰουλίος Ἰούλιος2 καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος Ῥοῦφος, ἄνδρες ἦκιστα πολεμικοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τυχόντες, εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἄναγκασθησάν κωδικοὺς καταστήναι, πολέμου καταργαγέντος ἐκ3 τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς δι᾽ αὐν ἡ 2 πόλις ὀλύγου ἐδέσθησεν ἐκ βάθρων ἀναιρεθήναι. ὁ γὰρ Μάρκιος ἐκείνος ὁ Κοριολανός, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι αὐτίναν σχῶν4 καὶ φυγῇ αἰδίω ἑλαθείς, ἀγανακτῶν τε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρών βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, δι’ οὗ δ’ αὖ αὕτη γένοιτο τρόπου καὶ δι’ οἰας δυνάμεως ἀνασκοπῶν,

1 ἦν Jacoby: καθ’ ἦν O. 2 Kiessling: ίουλίος O. 3 ἐκ O: ἐπὶ Kiessling. 4 Cobet: ἐχων O.

1 For chaps. 1-2, 3 cf. Livy ii. 35, 6-8. 2 487 b.c.
I. The consuls¹ who were chosen after these were Gaius Julius Iulus and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy-third Olympiad² (the one in which Astylus of Croton won the foot-race), when Anchises was archon at Athens. These magistrates, who were not in the least warlike men and for that reason chiefly had obtained the consulship from the people, were involved against their will in many great dangers, a war having broken out as a result of their rule³ which came near destroying the commonwealth from its foundations. For Marcius Coriolanus, the man who had been accused of aiming at tyranny and condemned to perpetual banishment,⁴ resented his misfortune and at the same time desired to avenge himself upon his enemies; and considering in what manner and with the aid of what forces he might accomplish this, he found that

³ Or, following Kiessling's emendation, "in their consulship."
⁴ See vi. 92-94, vii. 21-64.
μίαν εὑρίσκε  Ἠρμαιών τότε ἀντίπαλον ἰσχύν τὴν Ὀὐσωλούσκων, εἰ κοινὴ χρησάμενοι γνώμη καὶ τυχόντες ἰγεμόνοις ἐμφρονοὶ ἐνστήσονται πρὸς 3 αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐλογίζετο μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰ πείσει τοὺς Ὀὐσωλούσκους δέξασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἰγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πόλεμον, ῥαδίως αὐτῷ διαπεπράζεται τὸ ἔργον ἐτάραττε δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνείδησις ὅτι πλειστάκις κατὰ τὰς μάχας δεινὰ δεδρακὼς ἦν αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀφηρημένοις. οὐ μὴν ἀπέστη γε τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ χωρεῖν 4 ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁτιοῦν. φυλάξας δὲ νῦκτα καὶ ταύτην σκοταίαν ἦκεν εἰς "Ἀντιον, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν Ὀὐσωλούσκοις πόλεων, ἦνικα περὶ δείπνον ἦσαν οἳ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ, δ' εὐγένειάν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλον ἄγοντος ὡς τὰ πολλά, ὦ Τύλλος "Ἀττίου ὁνόμα ἂν, ἰκέτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γίνεται καθεξόμενος 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας. διηγησάμενος δ' αὐτῷ τὰς κατασχούσας αὐτὸν ἀνάγκας δι' ἄς ὑπέμενεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγχροὺς καταφυγεῖν, μέτρα ἡξίου φρονήσαι καὶ ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ μηκέτι πολέμιον ἥγεσθαι τὸν ὑποχείριον μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι τῆν ἰσχύν, ἐνθυμούμενον ὡς οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς 6 πράγμασιν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τύχαι. "Δύνατο δ' ἂν," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἦ εἷς αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει κράτιστος ποτε εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων δοκῶν, νῦν ἔρημος καὶ ἀπολις καὶ ταπεινὸς 1 μὲν οὖν Gurrer : γοῦν O, οὖν Sintenis.
the only army which was then a match for the Romans was that of the Volscians, if these would agree together and make war upon them under an able general. He reasoned, therefore, that if he could prevail on the Volscians to receive him and to entrust to him the command of the war, his purpose would easily be accomplished. On the other hand, he was disturbed by the consciousness that he had often brought calamities upon them in battle and had forced many cities to forsake their alliance with them. However, he did not desist from the attempt because of the greatness of the danger, but resolved to encounter these very perils and suffer whatever might be the consequence. Having waited, therefore, for a night—and a dark one—he went to Antium, the most important city of the Volscians, at the hour when the inhabitants were at supper; and going to the house of an influential man named Tullus Attius, who by reason of his birth, his wealth and his military exploits had a high opinion of himself and generally led the whole nation, he became his suppliant by sitting down at his hearth. Then, having related to him the dire straits which had forced him to take refuge with his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation and humanity toward a suppliant and no longer to regard as an enemy one who was in his power, nor to exhibit his strength against the unfortunate and the humbled, bearing in mind that the fortunes of men are subject to change. "And this," he said, "you may learn most clearly from my own case. For though I was once looked upon as the most powerful of all men in the greatest city, I am now cast aside, forsaken, exiled and abased,
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ερριμμένος, τούτο πείσομαι ὅτι ἂν ἔχθρῳ ὄντι σοι δοκῇ. ὑπισχνοῦμαι δέ σοι τοσάτα ἀγαθά ποιήσειν Οὐολούσκους φίλος τῷ ἐθνεὶ γενόμενος ὅσα κακὰ εἰργασάμην ἔχθρὸς ὑμ. εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο γινώσκεις περὶ ἐμοῦ, χρῆσαι τῇ ὀργῇ παραχρῆμα καὶ θάνατον χάρισαι μοι τὸν τάχιστον αὐτοχειρία τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς έαυτοῦ καθιερεύσας τὸν ικέτην.

II. Ἐτι δ’ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξίαν τ’ Τύλλος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀναστήσας θαρρέων τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς πεισόμενον, καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀφίξεως ἐφή, τιμὴν τινα οὐ μικράν εἶναι καὶ ταύτην ἀποφανόμενος. Οὐολούσκους τε αὐτῷ πάντας ὑπουχνεῖτο ποιήσεων φίλους ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος· καὶ 2 οὐδεμίαν ἐψεύσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. χρόνου δὲ τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος βουλευόμενοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ σφᾶς, Μαρκίων τε καὶ Τύλλω, κινεῖν ἑδόκει τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος αὐτίκα μάλα ἐβούλετο πᾶσαν τὴν Οὐολούσκων ὅμως παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην χωρεῖν ἐως ἐστασίαξέ τε καὶ ἰγγεμόνας ἀπολέμους εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος αὕτιαν πρῶτον ὄστε δεῖν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, διδάσκων ὡς ἀπάσαις μὲν πράξει θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους, ὃς μείζον τε εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς ἀδῆλους φιλουσι κατασκήπτεις τύχας. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε Ρωμαίοις καὶ Οὐολούσκοις ἐκεχειρία τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους

1 πείσομαι Tauchnitz cd. : πεισόμενος. Κiessling proposed ἔρριμμαι τούτο πεισόμενος.
2 έαυτοῦ AB : σεαυτοῦ Κ, Jacoby.
and destined to suffer any treatment you, who are my enemy, shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that I will perform as great services for the Volscians, if I become their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them when I was their enemy. However, if you have any other purpose concerning me, let loose your resentment at once and grant me the speediest death by sacrificing the suppliant with your own hand and at your own hearth.”

II. While he was yet speaking these words Tullus gave him his hand and, raising him from the hearth, bade him be assured that he should not be treated in any manner unworthy of his valour, and said he felt himself under great obligations to him for coming to him, declaring that he looked upon even this as no small honour. He promised him also that he would make all the Volscians his friends, beginning with those of his own city; and not one of his promises did he fail to make good. Soon afterwards Marcius and Tullus conferred together in private and came to a decision to begin war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put himself immediately at the head of all the Volscians and march on Rome while the Romans were still at odds and had generals averse to war. But Marcius insisted that they ought first to establish a righteous and just ground for war; for he pointed out that the gods take a hand in all actions, and especially in those relating to war, in so far as these are of greater consequence than any others and their outcome is generally uncertain. It happened that there was at that time an armistice and a truce existing between the Romans and the Volscians and
οὖσαι σπονδαί τε διετείς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον χρόνων 3 γενόμεναι. "Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως," ἐφη, "καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρῃς, τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς αὐτίος ἐσῃ καὶ τὸ δαμόνων οὐχ ἔξεις εὐμενές· ἐὰν δὲ περιμείνης ἐως ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λειμάνεις σπονδαίς βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τούτῳ γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀρξειαν παρασπονδεῖν, ἠμεῖς δὲ δόξαμεν οἷον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνεύρηκα. δεί δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας ἀρξαί τῆς παρα- 4 νομίας. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐξαπάτησις, ὅν ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐφύλαττον ἀναμένων τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτοῦ καιρόν, νῦν δὲ σοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἤργον ἔχεσθαι θάττον ἐκφέρειν εἰς² μέσον ἀναγκάζομαι, τοιὸσδε ἐστίν· θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν Ῥωμαίοι μέλλουσι καὶ ἀγώνας ἀγείν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων σφόδρα λαμπροῦσι, ἀφίξοντας τε κατὰ θέαν ἐπὶ τούτους 5 πολλοῖ τῶν ἔξων. τοῦτον ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον ἵδι καὶ σὺ καὶ Ὀὐκολούσκων ὅσους δύνασαι πλείοσ- τους παρασκεύασον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν· ὅταν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει γένη, τῶν ἀναγκαιότατων τινά σοι φι- λών κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ δι' ἀπορ- ρίτων εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέλλουσι ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ὀὐκολοῦσκοι νῦκτωρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦκουσι τὸ ἔρ- γον ἀθρόου. εὖ γὰρ ἦσθι ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἀκούσειν οὐδὲν ἐτὶ ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκβάλουσιν ὡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρέξουσιν ἀφορμὴν δικαίας ὀργῆς." 37 f.

III. 'Ως δ' ἦκουσε ταῦτα ο Ῥύλλος, ὑπερηγάσθη τε καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρόν τῆς στρατείας ὑπερβαλώ-

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1 περιμείνης Β : ἐπιμείνης Λ. 2 eis Reiske : ἐπὶ Ο.
1 For chaps. 2, 4-4, 4 cf. Livy ii. 37 f.
also a treaty for two years which they had made a short time before: "If, therefore, you make war upon them inconsiderately and hastily," he said, "you will be to blame for the breaking of the treaty, and Heaven will not be propitious to you; whereas, if you wait till they do this, you will seem to be defending yourselves and coming to the aid of a broken treaty. How this may be brought about and how they may be induced to violate the treaty first, while we shall seem to be waging a righteous and just war against them, I have discovered after long consideration. It is necessary that the Romans should be deceived by us, in order that they may be the first to commit unlawful acts. The nature of this deceit, which I have hitherto kept secret while awaiting the proper occasion for its employment, but am now forced, because of your eagerness for action, to disclose sooner than I wished, is as follows. The Romans are intending to perform sacrifices and exhibit very magnificent games at vast expense, at which great numbers of strangers will be present as spectators. Wait for this occasion, and then not only go thither yourself, but engage as many of the Volscians as you can to go also and see the games. And when you are in Rome, bid one of your closest friends go to the consuls and inform them privately that the Volscians are intending to attack the city by night and that it is for this purpose that they have come to Rome in so great numbers. For you may be assured that if they hear this they will expel you Volscians from the city without further hesitation and furnish you with a ground for just resentment."

III. When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased, and letting that opportunity for his expedition pass,
μενοσ¹ περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ πολέμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καθήκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς² καιρός, Ἰουλίου τε καὶ Πωλαρίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἦδη παρειληφότων, ή κρατίστῃ τῶν Ὑμολούσκων νεότης ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὡς ὁ Τύλλος ἥξιον, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγώνων θέαν· καὶ κατεσκήνουν οἱ πλείους ἐν ἔροις τε καὶ δημοσίους τόποις οὐκ ἔχοντες καταγωγὰς ἐν οἰκίας τε καὶ παρὰ ξένως, καὶ ὅποτε διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν πορεύοντο, κατὰ συστροφὰς καὶ ἐταιρίας ἀθρόοι διεξήγαγαν, ὡστε καὶ λόγον ἡδη γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑποψίας ² ἀτόπους. ἔν δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου μηνυτῆς, ὡς ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέθετο, καὶ ὡς δὴ ἀπόρρητον πράξεν κατὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ φίλων ἐχθροῖς μέλλων ἐκφέρειν ὁρκοῖς καταλαμβάνεται τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε τῆς αὐτοῦ³ αὐτοῦ⁴ καὶ τοῦ μηδένα Ὑμολούσκων μαθεῖν ὅστις ἢν ὁ τῆν μήνυσιν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιημένοις. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκφέρει⁵ τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς κατεξευσμένης μήνυσιν. ³ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀληθῆς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ βουλή κατ' ἀνδρὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κληθεῖσα συνήκτο, καὶ παραχθεῖσι ὁ μηνυτῆς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν λόγους. τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἶναι τὸ πράγμα ἐδόκει μεστὸν ὑποψίας τοσαῦτην νεότητα ἐξ ἕνος ἐθνος διαφόρον σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἐλθεῖν, ἰπσο- ελθοῦσης δὲ μηνύσεως, ἦς τῇ ἀπάτην ἠγγύων, ἢσχον βεβαιαί ἢ δόξα ἐλαβεν, ἐδόκει τε ἀπασιν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἤλιον

1 Enthoven: ἀναβαλόμενος O, Jacoby.
2 ἀρχῆς O: ἐορτῆς Sylburg.
3 αὐτὸς B: om. A.
employed himself in preparing for the war. When the time for the beginning of the festival had come, Julius and Pinarius having already succeeded to the consulship, the flower of the Volscian youth came from every city, as Tullus requested, to see the games; and the greater part of them were obliged to quarter themselves in sacred and public places, as they could not find lodgings in private houses and with friends. And when they walked in the streets, they went about in small groups and companies, so that there was already talk about them in the city and strange suspicions. In the mean time the informer suborned by Tullus, pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls, and pretending that he was going to reveal a secret matter to his enemies against his own friends, bound the consuls by oaths, not only to insure his own safety, but also to insure that none of the Volscians should learn who had given the information against them. Thereupon he gave his information concerning the alleged plot. The consuls believed his story and immediately convened the senate, summoning the members individually; and the informer, being brought before them and receiving their assurances, gave to them also the same account. The senators even long before this had looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion that such numbers of young men should come to see the games from a single nation which was hostile to them, and now that information too was given, the duplicity of which they did not perceive, their opinion was turned into certainty. It was their unanimous decision, therefore, to send the men out of the city

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

... tois de µη πεισθείσιν ἑπικηρύξαι θάνατον, ἐπιμεληθήναι de tis ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα χωρίς ὑβρεως καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, τοὺς ὑπάτους.

IV. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυττον διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξόντες ἀπειναὶ Οὐσολούσκους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα μάλα κατὰ μίαν ἀπαντας ἐξιόντας πύλην τὴν καλουμένην Καπνύνην, ἔτεροι δὲ παρέπεμπον τοὺς ἀπαλλαττο-μένους ἀμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις· ἐνθα μάλιστα ὀφθη ὅσον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ ὃς ἀκμαίοι ἀπαν ὑφ' ἕνα καιρὸν καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἐξιόντων πύλην. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἐξήι διὰ ταχέων καὶ καταλαβών ὁ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον 2 ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς ὑστερούντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἑπειδὴ δὲ πάντες συνήχθησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενος πολλῇ καταβοθῇ τῆς Ἄρωμαίων πόλεως ἐχρήσατο, δεινὴν καὶ ἀφόρητον ἀποφαίνων τὴν ὑβρινὴν ἤν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦσαν Οὐσολούσκου μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἑξών ἐξελαθέντες εκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ λέγειν ἥξιον ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκαστὸν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως παύσωσαι τῆς ὑβρεως Ἄρω-μαίου δίκας παρασχόντες τῆς παρανομίας. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παραθηξας ἀνθρώπους ἀγανακτούντας 3 ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὡς δ' ἀπαλλαγέντες εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστοῦ πατρίδας ἐδήλωσαν τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν προπηλακισμὸν ἐπὶ μεῖξον ἐξαιρόντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἡγανάκτει τε πᾶσα πόλις καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ὀργῆν ὦν ἡδύνατο· δια-

1 Sylburg: ἀπεῖναι Ο.

1 The Porta Capena. The real etymology of the name Capena is not known.

12
before sunset and to order proclamation to be made that all who did not obey should be put to death; and they decreed that the consuls should see to it that their departure took place without insult and in safety.

IV. After the senate had passed this vote some went through the streets making proclamation that the Volscians should depart from the city immediately and that they should all go out by a single gate, the one called the Capuan gate, while others together with the consuls escorted them on their departure. And then particularly, when they went out of the city at the same time and by the same gate, it was seen how numerous they were and how fit all were for service. First of them to depart was Tullus, who went out in haste, and taking his stand in a suitable place not far from the city, picked up those who lagged behind. And when they were all gathered together, he called an assembly and inveighed at length against the Roman people, declaring that it was an outrageous and intolerable insult that the Volscians had received at their hands in being the only strangers to be expelled from the city. He asked that each man should report this treatment in his own city and take measures to put a stop to the insolence of the Romans by punishing them for their lawless behaviour. After he had spoken thus and sharpened the resentment of the Volscians, who were already exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly. When they returned to their several cities and each related to his fellow citizens the insult they had received, exaggerating what had occurred, every city was angered and unable to restrain its resentment; and sending ambas-
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πρεσβευομένη δ' ἀλλη πρὸς ἀλλην εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν ἀπαντᾷ 1 ᾧ οὐλούσκουσ συνιέναι, 2 ἵνα κοινὴ 4 χρήσαιντο γνώμη περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τύλλου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, καὶ συν-
ήσαν ἐκ ἀπάσης πόλεως οὐ τε ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ
πολὺς ἄλλος ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ἐχετρανῶν πόλιν· αὐτὴ
γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου 3 ταῖς
ἀλλαῖς ἡ πόλις. θηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων, οὐς
εἶπον οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει, ψήφος
ἀνεδόθη τοῖς παρούσι, καὶ ἢν ἡ νικώσα γνώμη
κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀρξάντων τῆς
περὶ τὰς σπονδᾶς παρανομίας.

V. Ἡπερ δὲ τοῦ τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς τρό-
πον προθέντων σκοπεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι παρ-
ελθὼν δ' Τύλλος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς καλεῖν τὸν
Μάρκιον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἢν ἡ
Ῥωμαίων καταλυθεὶς δύναμις. κράτιστα γὰρ ἀπάν-
των ἀνθρώπων εἶδέναι πῇ τε κάμνει τὰ τῆς πόλεως
πράγματα καὶ πῇ μάλιστα ἔρρωται. ἐδόκει ταῦτα,
καὶ αὐτικὰ πάντες ἔβοσον καλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ
Μάρκιος ἢς ἐβούλετο ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἀνέστη
κατηφῆς καὶ δεδικρμένος καὶ μικρὸν ἑπίσχων
χρόνον τοιοῦτος διέθετο λόγους.

2 "Εἰ μὲν ἡγούμην ὑμᾶς ἀπαντᾷς ὁμοια γνώσκειν
περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑπελάμβαναν
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπολογείσθαι· ἐνθυ-
μοῦμενος δ', ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἥθεσιν
εἰκός, εἶναι τίνας οἰς παραστήσεται δόξα οὐτε
ἀληθῆς οὐτὲ προσήκουσα περὶ ἐμοῦ, 4 ὡς οὐκ ἂν

1 Kiessling : πάντας Ὀ.
2 Reiske : ἢναὶ Ὀ.
3 ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου Reiske, κάλλιστα κεῖσθαι

14
sadors to one another, they demanded that all the Volscians should meet together in a single assembly in order to adopt a common plan concerning war. All this was done chiefly at the instigation of Tullus. And the authorities from every city together with a great multitude of other people assembled at Ecetra; for this city seemed the most conveniently situated with respect to the others for a general assembly. After many speeches had been made by the men in power in each city, the votes of all present were taken; and the view which carried was to begin war, since the Romans had first transgressed in the matter of the treaty.

V. When the authorities had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war against them, Tullus came forward and advised them to summon Marcius and inquire of him how the power of the Romans might be overthrown, since he knew better than any man both the weakness and the strength of the commonwealth. This met with their approval, and at once they all cried out to summon the man. Then Marcius, having found the opportunity he desired, rose up with downcast looks and with tears in his eyes and after a brief pause spoke as follows:

"If I thought you all entertained the same opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary to make any defence of it; but when I consider that, as is to be expected among many men of different characters, there are some to whom will occur the notion, neither true nor deserved by me, that the

συνόδου Kayser: ἐν (om. ἐν Ba) καλλιστῇ κεῖσθαι συνόδῳ ΑΒ, Jacoby.  
4 περὶ ἐμοῦ B: om. R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ατέρ αὐτίας ἀληθοῦς καὶ δικαιὰς ἐξήλασε με ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, παντὸς μάλιστα οἷομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς ἐν κοινῷ πρὸς ἀπαντας ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσοσθαι. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθὲ μου, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ οἱ κράτιστα ἐγνωκότες, ὁ πέπονθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ως οὐ προσήκον μου ταύτης πεπείραμαι τῆς τύχης διεξιόντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ποθεῖτε ὃ τι χρή πράττειν ἀκοῦσαι πρὶν ὅποιος τίς εἴμι ὁ τῆς γνώμης ἀποδειξόμενος ἐξετάσαι. ἐσται δὲ βραχὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν, κἂν πρόσωθεν ἀρξωμαι, λόγος.

4 "Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολίτευμα ἢν μικρὸν ἐκ τε βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας. ἔπειτα ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τυραννίδα τῆν ἀρχὴν ἡξίου ποιεῖν. συντάντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡγεμόνες ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ κατέσχον ἀρίστην καὶ σωφρονεστάτην, ὥς ἀπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι, καταστησάμενοι πολιτείαν. χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τρίτον ἡ τέταρτον τούτ' ἔτος, οἱ πενέστατοί τε καὶ ἄργοται τῶν πολιτῶν πονηροῖς χρησάμενοι προστάταις ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐξύβρισαν καὶ τελευτώντες καταλύειν τῆν ἀριστο-

5 κρατίαν ἐπεχείρουν. ἐφ' οίς ἀπαντες μὲν οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστηκότες ἡχθοντο καὶ ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὑβρεως οἱ κινοῦντες τὴν πολιτείαν σκοπεῖν ἡξίουν, ὑπὲρ ἀπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικοὺς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων "Ἀππιος ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀξίως ἑνεκα ἐπανεισθεῖ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων

1 Steph. : προσδειξαμενος ΑΒ.
2 μικτὸν Β : om. R.
3 Reiske : πρεσβυτάτων Ο.
people would not have banished me from my country without a real and just cause, I think it necessary above all things first to clear myself publicly before you all in the matter of my banishment. But have patience with me, I adjure you by the gods, even those of you who are best acquainted with the facts, while I relate what I have suffered from my enemies and show that I have not deserved this misfortune which has befallen me; and do not be anxious to hear what you must do before you have inquired what sort of man I am who am now going to express my opinion. The account I shall give of these matters will be brief, even though I begin from far back.

"The original constitution of the Romans was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy. Afterwards Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to make his government a tyranny; for which reason the leading men of the aristocracy, combining against him, expelled him from the state, and taking upon themselves the administration of public affairs, formed such a system of government as all men acknowledge to be the best and wisest. Not long ago, however, but only two or three years since, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, having bad men as their leaders, not only committed many other outrages, but at last endeavoured to overthrow the aristocracy. At this all the leaders of the senate were grieved and thought they ought to consider how the insolence of these disturbers of the government could be stopped; but more active in this regard than the other aristocrats, were, of the older senators, Appius, a man deserving of praise on many accounts, and,

\[4 \text{ ēveka ACmg, ēnka B, om. C : ēvekev Jacoby.}\]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εγώ· καὶ λόγους ἐποιουμέθα διὰ παντὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλευθέρους, οὐ δήμῳ πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατίαν ύφορόμενοι, οὐδὲ καταδουλώσασθαί τινα βουλόμενον ῥωμαῖών ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ἀπασιν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεδόσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.

VI. "Ταῦθ' ὄρωντες οἱ πονηρότατοι τοῦ πλῆθος ἔκεινοι προστάται πρῶτος ἔγνωσαν ἡμᾶς τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐναντιομένους σφόνω ἐκποδών ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ἀμα ἄμφοτέρως ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἐνα μὴ ἐπίφθονόν τε καὶ βαρύ τὸ πράγμα γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἔμοι τοῦ νεωτέρου τε καὶ εὐμεταχειριστερόν ἀρέσμενοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀκριτόν με ἐπεχειρήσαν ἀπολέσαι, ἔπειτα ἐκδοτον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡξίουν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ λαβεῖν. ἀποτυχόντες δ' ἄμφοτέρων προὐκαλέσαντο ἐπὶ δίκην, ἢν αὐτοὶ δικάσεων ἐμέλλον, τυραννίδος ἐπιβαλόντες αἰτίαν. 2 καὶ οὐδὲ τούτ' ἐμαθον, ὅτι δήμῳ τύραννοι οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἄριστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ τάναντια μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ μέρος· δικαστήριον τε οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν πάτριον ἀπεδωκάν μοι τὴν λοχιτων καλέσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντας ὁμολογοῦσι πονηρότατον εἶναι δικαστήριον καὶ ἐπ' ἔμοι πρῶτον καὶ μόνου γενόμενον, ἐν ὥ πλέον ἔχειν ἐμέλλον οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντες βίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ τὰ κοινὰ σώζεσθαι 3 βουλομένων. τοσοῦτο δ' ἂν μοι περιήν τοῦ μηδὲν

1 βουλόμενοι B : om. R.
2 ὑπάρχειν Reiske : ἔχειν R, om. B.
3 δικαστήριον O : om. Reudler, Jacoby.

1 The tribunes. 2 The aristocracy.
of the younger men, I myself. And the speeches which on every occasion we made before the senate were frank, not by way of making war upon the populace, but from a suspicion we had of government by the worst elements; nor again from a wish to enslave any of the Romans, but from a desire that the liberty of all might be preserved and the management of public affairs be entrusted to the best men.

VI. "This being observed by those most unprincipled leaders of the populace,¹ they resolved to remove first out of their way the two of us who most openly opposed them—not, however, by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should appear invidious and odious, but beginning with me who was the younger and the easier to be dealt with. In the first place, then, they endeavoured to destroy me without a trial; and after that they demanded that I be delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death. But having failed of both purposes, they summoned me to a trial in which they themselves were to be my judges, and charged me with aiming at tyranny. They had not learned even this much—that no tyrant makes war upon the populace by allying himself with the best men,² but, on the contrary, destroys the best element in the state with the aid of the populace. And they did not give me the tribunal that was traditional, by summoning the centurial assembly, but rather a tribunal which all admit to be most unprincipled—one set up in my case and mine alone—in which the working class and vagabonds and those who plot against the possessions of others were sure to prevail over good and just men and such as desire the safety of the commonwealth. This profit, then, and no more did I gain from my
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άδικεῖν, ὡστ' ἐν ὀχλῳ κρινόμενος, οὐ τὸ πλέον μισόχρηστον ἦν καὶ διὰ τούτ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμοὶ, δυσὶ μόνον ἐάλων ψῆφοι, ἀποτιθεμένων τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημόρχων εἰ μὴ καταδικασθεὶν ἐγώ, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα πείσεσθαι πρὸς ἐμοῦ λεγόντων καὶ πάση σπουδὴ καὶ προθυμία παρὰ τὸν ἀγώνα κατ' ἐμοῦ

4 χρησαμένων. τοιαύτα δὴ πεπονθῶς ἐγὼ πρὸς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμην τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσεθαί μοι βίων, εἰ μὴ λάβομι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας· καὶ διὰ τούτ', ἐξὸν μοι ἦν ἀπραγμόνως, εἰτ' ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεις ἡβουλόμην κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, εἰτ' ἐν ταῖς νεοκτίστοις ὡς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπέκκισαν, οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δὲ κατέφυγον, οὐς ἡπι- στάμην1 πλεῖστα τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡδικημένους καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθομένους, ἵνα κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν τιμωρησάμην αὐτούς, ὅτι μοι δύναμις, λόγοις τε, ἐνθα δεὶ λόγων, καὶ ἔργοις, ὅταν ἔργων δέη. χάριν τε ὑμῖν μεγάλην2 οἶδα τῆς τε ὑποδοχῆς μου καὶ ἕτι μάλλον τῆς τιμῆς ἢ με τιμᾶτε, οὐθέν οὔτε μνησικακήσαντες οὔτε ὑπολογίσαμενοι ὅν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἑπάθετε3 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους.

VII. "Φέρε δὴ, τίς ἄν εὑρή ἀνήρ, εἰ δόξης καὶ τιμῶν ὅτι προσήκε μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις τυγχάνειν πρὸς4 τῶν εὗ παθόντων ἀποστερηθεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πατρίδος τε καὶ ὀικου καὶ φίλων καὶ θεῶν πατρών καὶ τάφων προγονικῶν καὶ

1 οὖς ἡπιστάμην R : ἡπιστάμην γάρ Α.
2 υμίν μεγάλην Reiske, τὴν μεγάλην υμίν Jacoby : τὴν με-
3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἑπάθετε Jacoby, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐτι
4 πολεμίου ὄντος ἑπάθετε Reiske, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον γε ἑπάθετε Kiessling : ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ποτὲ ὄντες ἑπάθετε ΑΒ.

20
innocence, that, though tried by the mob, of which the greater part were haters of the virtuous and for that reason hostile to me, I was condemned by two votes only, even though the tribunes threatened to resign their power if I were acquitted, alleging that they expected to suffer the worst at my hands, and though they displayed all eagerness and zeal against me during the trial. After meeting with such treatment at the hands of my fellow citizens I felt that the rest of my life would not be worth living unless I took revenge upon them; and for this reason, when I was at liberty to live free from vexations either in any of the Latin cities I pleased, because of our ties of kinship, or in the colonies lately planted by our fathers, I was unwilling to do so, but took refuge with you, though I knew you had suffered ever so many wrongs at the hands of the Romans and had conceived the greatest resentment against them, in order that in conjunction with you I might take revenge upon them to the utmost of my power, both by words where words were wanted, and by deeds, where deeds were wanted. And I feel very grateful to you for receiving me, and still more for the honour you show me, without either resenting or taking into account the injuries which you received from me, your erstwhile enemy, during the wars.

VII. "Come now, what kind of man should I be if, deprived as I am of the glory and honours I ought to be receiving from my fellow citizens to whom I have rendered great services, and, in addition to this, driven away from my country, my family, my friends, from the gods and sepulchres of my ancestors and

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4 Cobet: παρὰ O, Jacoby, ὑπὸ Prou.
παντὸς ἄλλου ἀπελαθεὶς ἀγαθοῦ, παρ' ύμῖν δ' ἀπαντᾷ ταύτα εὑρών, οἷς ἐκείνων χάριν ἐπολέμουν, εἰ1 μὴ γενούμην χαλεπὸς μὲν οἷς ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἐχθροῖς κέχρημαι, χρηστὸς δ' οἷς ἀντὶ πολεμίων φίλοις; ἀλλ' ἔγγυη οὔδ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ θείῃ ἄν ὀστίς μήτε τὸ πολέμουν δι' ὀργῆς ἐχει μήτε τὸ σῶξον ἐαυτὸν δ' εὐνοίας. πατρίδα τε ἦγονμαι οὐ τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην με πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἦς ἀλλότριος ὁν πολίτης γέγονα, γὴν τε οὐκ ἔν ἢ ἡδίκημαι 2 φιλήν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἢ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχω. καὶ ἂν θεός τε συλλαμβάνῃ καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὡς2 εἰκὸς πρόθυμα ἢ, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐλπίζω γενῆσεθαί μεταβολήν.3 εὑ γὰρ ἵστε ὅτι πολλῶν ἢδη πολεμίων4 πειραθέντες Ἡρμαῖοι οὔθένας μᾶλλον ἐδείσαν ύμῶν, οὐδ' ἐστιν ἐφ' ὡ μᾶλλον σπουδάζοντες διατελοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἁσθενεῖς ἀπο-3 δείξουσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν πολέμων λαβόντες ύμῶν ἔχουσι5 πόλεις, τὰς δὲ φιλίας ἐλπίδι παρακρουσάμενοι, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἐν ἀπαντεῖς γενόμενοι κοινὸν ἐξενέγκητε κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον. ἐὰν οὖν τὰναντία ύμεῖς ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦμεν διατελήτε καὶ μιᾶν ἀπαντεῖς ἐχήτε περί6 τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ὃ ποιεῖτε νυνί, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος παύσετε.

VIII. ""Ου δὲ τρόπον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ πῶς χρήσεσθε τοὺς πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ γνώμην ἄξιοντε με ἀποφήνασθαι, εἰτ' ἐμπειρίαν μοι μαρτυροῦντες εἰτ' εὖνοιαν εἴετε καὶ ἅμφοτερα, φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ύμῖν παραινῶ


22
from every enjoyment, and if, finding all these things among you against whom I made war for their sake, I should not become harsh toward those whom I have found enemies instead of fellow citizens, and helpful to those whom I have found friends instead of enemies? For my part, I could not count as a real man anyone who feels neither anger against those who make war upon him nor affection for those who seek his preservation. And I regard as my fatherland, not that state which has renounced me, but the one of which I, an alien, have become a citizen; and as a friendly land, not the one in which I have been wronged, but that in which I find safety. And if Heaven lends a hand and your assistance is as eager as I have reason to expect, I have hopes that there will be a great and sudden change. For you must know that the Romans, having already had experience of many enemies, have feared none more than you, and that there is nothing they continue to seek more earnestly than the means of weakening your nation. And for this reason they hold a number of your cities which they have either taken by war or deluded with the hope of their friendship, in order that you may not all unite and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore, you will strive unceasingly to counteract their designs and will all be of one mind about war, as you are now, you will easily put an end to their power.

VIII. "As to the manner in which you will wage the contest and how you will handle the situation, since you ask me to express my opinion—whether this be a tribute to my experience or to my goodwill or to both—I shall give it without concealing anything. In the first place, therefore, I advise you to.
σκοπεῖν ὅπως εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν πορίσησθε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν. εὐσεβῆς δὲ καὶ δικαία τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις ἦτις ἀν γένοιτο καὶ ἀμα συμ-2 φέρουσα ὑμῖν, ἀκούσατε μου. Ἦ ρωμαίους ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξασα γῆ βραχειά ἐστι καὶ λυπρά, ἡ δὲ ἐπίκτητος, ἣν τοὺς περοίκους ἀφελόμενοι κατέχουσι,1 πολλὴ καὶ ἄγαθὴ· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἑκαστοῦ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξιωμένην ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐδὲν οὔτως μικρὸν οὔδ᾽ ἀσθενές οὔδ᾽ ἀπορον ὡς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἁστι γενήσεται. τούτου δ᾽ οἴομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀρξαί. 3 πέμπτετε ὦν πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπαίτούντες ὡς κατέχουσιν ὑμῶν πόλεις καὶ ὁσα τείχη ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῆ ἐνετείχισαντο ἀξιοῦντες ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο βία σφετερισάμενοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχουσι πείθοντες ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμου δὲ μὴν ἀρχέτε πρὶν ἡ λαβεῖν τὰς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις. ἐὰν γὰρ τὰῦτα ποιήσῃ, δυεῖν ὅν βούλεσθι ὑπάρξει θάτερον ὑμῖν. ἡ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολήψῃσθαι ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης, ἡ καλὴ καὶ δικαίαν πρόφασιν εἰληφότες ἐσεθῇ τοῦ πολέμου. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαίτειν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας τοῦτο πολεμεῖν, ἀπαίτεις ἄν ὀμολογήσουσι2 εἶναι καλὸν. φέρε δὴ, τι ποιήσειν οἴσεθε Ῥωμαίους ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῶν προελομένων; πότερον ἀποδώσει τὰ χωρία ὑμῖν; καὶ τι κωλύσει πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀποστήμαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ἥξουσι γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοῦ γῆν ἀποληψό- μενοι. ἡ καθέξειν τὰ χωρία καὶ μηθὲν τῶν δικαῖων

1 κατέχουσι added by Sylburg, ἔχουσι by Cmg, Sintenis.  
2 ἃν ὀμολογήσουσι B : ἄνομολογήσουσιν Δ, ἃν ὀμολογήσαραν Reiske. 

24
consider how you may provide yourselves with a righteous and just pretext for the war. And what pretext for war will be not only righteous and just but also profitable to you at the same time, you shall now learn from me. The land which originally belonged to the Romans is of small extent and barren, but the acquired land which they possess as a result of robbing their neighbours is large and fertile; and if each of the injured nations should demand the return of the land that is theirs, nothing would be so insignificant, so weak, and so helpless as the city of Rome. In doing this I think you ought to take the lead. Send ambassadors to them, therefore, to demand back your cities which they are holding, to ask that they evacuate all the forts they have erected in your country, and to persuade them to restore everything else belonging to you which they have appropriated by force. But do not begin war till you have received their answer. For if you follow this advice, you will obtain one of two things you desire: you will either recover all that belongs to you without danger and expense or will have found an honourable and a just pretext for war. For not to covet the possessions of others, but to demand back what is one's own and, failing to obtain this, to declare war, will be acknowledged by all men to be an honourable proceeding. Well then, what do you think the Romans will do if you choose this course? Do you think they will restore the places to you? And if they do, what is to hinder them from relinquishing everything that belongs to others? For the Aequians, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians, and many others will come each to get back their own land. Or do you think they will retain these places and refuse all your just demands?
ποιήσεως; ὁπερ ἐγὼ νομίζω. οὐκοῦν ἀδικεῖσθαι πρότεροι1 λέγοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ ὁπλα χωρήσετε καὶ συμμάχους ἔξετε ὅσοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπεγνώκασιν ἄλλως ἂν 5 ἐτί αὐτὰ ἡ πολεμοῦντες οὐκ ἀπολήψεσθαί. κράτιςστος δ' ὁ καϊρὸς καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἔτερος ἐπιθέσθαι Ὁρμαίοις, δὴ τὴν τύχη τοῖς ἀδικομένοις οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπισθέντα παρέσκευασεν, ἐν δ' στασιάζουσι καὶ ὑποπτεύονσιν ἄλληλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσιν ἀ- πείρους πολέμοι. α' μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι ἐδεί λό- γοι καὶ παρανεῖν φίλοις, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως εἰρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοὶ, ταῦτ' ἑστίν: ἃ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστοτε προοράσθαι τε καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι δεῖσει, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῆς δυνάμεως 6 ἐπιτρέψατε διανοεῖσθαι. πρόθυμον γὰρ καὶ τούμον ἔσται ἐν δ' ἂν με τάττητε τόπω, καὶ πειράσω- μαι μηδένός εἶναι χείρων μήτε στρατιῶτον μήτε λοχαγοῦ μήτε ἡγεμόνος· ἄλλα καταχρῆσθε μοι λαβόντες ὅπου ἄν μέλλω τι ύμᾶς ὦφελήσενυ, καὶ εὐ ἱστε ὅτι, εἰ πολεμῶν ύμᾶν μεγάλα βλάπτειν δυνατός ἦν, καὶ σὺν ύμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενος μεγάλα δυνήσομαι ὦφελεῖν."  

IX. Τοιαύτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐπευ. οἱ δὲ Ἡμνα- λοῦσκοι λέγοντός τε τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐτὶ δὴλοι ἣσαν ἀγάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἐπεδῆ ἐπαύσατο, με- γάλη βοὴ πάντες ἐπεσήμηναν ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένως2 λόγον τε οὐθενὶ προθέντες ἐπικυροῦσι τὴν γνώμην. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόγματος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας ἐλό-

1 Sylburg : πρότερον Ο.
2 Reudler : ὑποτιθεμένῳ Ἄββ., ὑποτιθεμένου ΛΒβ.
That is my opinion. Protesting, therefore, that they wronged you first, you will of necessity have recourse to arms, and you will have for your allies all who, having been deprived of their possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means than by war. This is a most favourable and a unique opportunity which Fortune has provided for the wronged nations, an opportunity for which they could not even have hoped, of attacking the Romans while they are divided and suspicious of one another and while they have generals who are inexperienced in war. These, then, are the considerations which it was fitting to suggest in words and urge upon friends, and I have offered them in all goodwill and sincerity. But when it comes to the actual deeds, what it will be necessary to foresee and contrive upon each occasion, leave the consideration of those matters to the commanders of the forces. For my zeal also shall not be wanting in whatever post you may place me, and I shall endeavour to do my duty with no less bravery than any common soldier or captain or general. Pray take me and use me wherever I may be of service to you, and be assured that if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you great mischief, I shall also be able, when I fight on your side, to be of great service to you."

IX. Thus Marcius spoke. And the Volscians not only made it clear while he was yet speaking that they were pleased with his words, but, after he had done, they all with a great shout signified that they found his advice most excellent; and permitting no one else to speak, they adopted his proposal. After the decree had been drawn up they at once chose the most important men out of every city and sent them
μενοὶ πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην ἀπέστειλαν· τῷ δὲ Μαρκίῳ ψηφιζονται βουλής τε μετουσίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει καὶ ἄρχας ἔξειναι πανταχόσε μετείναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα τιμιωτάτα ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς 2 μετέχειν. καὶ πρὶν ἡ τάς Ἡρωμαίων ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμείναι, πάντες ἔργον εἴχοντο παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια· ὥσι τὲ ἥσαν αὐτῶν ἄθυμοι τέως κακωθέντες εἴν ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις, τότε πάντες ἐπερρώσθησαν1 ὡς τήν Ἡρωμαίων καθαιρήσοντες 3 ἱσχύν. οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πρέσβεις καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔλεγον ὅτι Ὀυδολύσκους περὶ πολλοὺ ἐστὶ καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων εἶναι φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὸ πιστὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἀπέφασον, εἰ κοµίσαντο γὴν τε τὴν ἐαυτῶν καὶ πόλεις ἃς ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίων ἀφηρέθησαν· ἀλλ’ οὔτε εἰρήνῃ οὔτε φιλότητα βεβαιᾷ ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἀδικούμενον ἄει πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι φύσει. ἦξίον τε μὴ καταστῆσαι σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου τῶν δικαίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας.

Χ. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ εἴπον οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ σύνεδροι μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔκριναν ἃς χρῆ ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι, καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον ταῦτῃ ἔδωσαν τὴν ἀπόφασιν· "Οὐ λανθάνετε ἡµᾶς, ὦ Ὀυδολύσκου, φιλίας µὲν οὐδὲν δεόµενοι, πρόφασιν δ’ εὑπρεπὴ λαβεῖν βουλόµενοι τοῦ πολέµου. ἀ γὰρ ἥκετε παρ’ ἡµῶν ἀπαντοῦντες, καλῶς

1 Kiessling : ἐφρώσθησαν Ο.
to Rome as ambassadors. As for Marcius, they voted that he should be a member of the senate in every city and have the privilege of standing for magistracies everywhere, and should share in all the other honours that were most highly prized among them. Then, without waiting for the Romans' answer, they all set to work and employed themselves in warlike preparations; and all of them who had hitherto been dejected because of their defeats in the previous battles now took courage, feeling confident that they would overthrow the power of the Romans. In the mean time the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, upon being introduced into the senate, said that the Volscians were very desirous that their complaints against the Romans should be settled and that for the future they should be friends and allies without fraud or deceit. And they declared that it would be a sure pledge of friendship if they received back the lands and the cities which had been taken from them by the Romans; otherwise there would be neither peace nor secure friendship between them, since the injured party is always by nature an enemy to the aggressor. And they asked the Romans not to reduce them to the necessity of making war because of their failure to obtain justice.

X. When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the senators ordered them to withdraw, after which they consulted by themselves. Then, when they had determined upon the answer they ought to make, they called them back into the senate and gave this decision: "We are not unaware, Volscians, that it is not friendship you want, but that you wish to find a specious pretext for war. For you well know that you will never obtain what you have come to demand
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπίστασθε οὐδέποτε ληψόμενοι· χρήζετε γὰρ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀδυνάτως. εἰ μὲν οὖν δόντες ἢμιν τὰ χωρία ἐπειτα μεταδόξαν ὃμιλον ἵνα ἀπαιτήτε, ἀδικεῖσθε μὴ κομιζόμενοι, εἰ δὲ πολέμων ἁφαίρεθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ὄντες κύριοι, ἀδικεῖτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐφιέμενοι. ἦμεις δὲ κρατίστας ἠγούμεθα κτήσεις ἃς ἀν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες λάβωμεν, οὔτε πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι νόμον τόνδε οὔτε αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγούμενοι εἴναι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ θεῶν· ἀπαντάς τε καὶ "Ελληνας καὶ βαρβάρους εἰδότες αὐτῶν χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίημεν ὃμιλον μαλακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἀποσταίημεν ἕτε τῶν δορι-κτήτων. πολλῆ γὰρ ἂν εἰς κακότητις, εἰ τις ἢ μετ' ἄρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐκτήσατο, ταῦτα υπὸ μωρίας τε καὶ δειλίας ἁφαίρεθείη. πολεμεῖν τε οὔτε μὴ βουλομένους ὃμας ἀναγκάζομεν, οὔτε προθυμομένους παρατούμεθα· ἂν δ' ἄρξησθε, ἠμυνόμεθα. ταῦτα Οὐδολούσκοις ἀπαγγέλλετε καὶ λέγετε ὅτι λιποῦται μὲν πρότεροι τὰ ὁπλα ἐκεῖνοι, θήσομεν δ' ἠμεῖς ύστεροι." 

XI. Ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες ἀπῆγγειλαν τῷ πλῆθει τῶν Οὐδολούσκων. συναχθείσης οὐν αὖθις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τοῦτο κυρΟῖται δόγμα κοινόν τοῦ ἔθνους προειπεῖν Ὁρμαίοις τόν πόλεμον. ἔπειτα αὐροῦται στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου Τύλλον τε καὶ Μάρκιον δυνάμεις τε ψηφίζονται καταγράφειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν καὶ τάλλα παρασκευάσασθαι ὡσον ὑπελάμβανον δείσειν τῷ πολέμῳ. μελλούσης δὲ διαλύσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστάς ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφη·

1 μεταδόξαν B : δόξαν R.
2 ἐφη O : ἐφήσεν Jacoby.
of us, since you desire things that are unjust and impossible. If, indeed, having made a present to us of these places, you now, having changed your minds, demand them back, you are suffering a wrong if you do not recover them; but if, having been deprived of them by war and no longer having any claim to them, you demand them back, you are doing wrong in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we regard as in the highest degree our possessions those that we gain through victory in war. We are not the first who have established this law, nor do we regard it as more a human than a divine institution. Knowing, too, that all nations, both Greeks and barbarians, make use of this law, we will never show any sign of weakness to you or relinquish any of our conquests hereafter. For it would be great baseness for one to lose through folly and cowardice what one has acquired by valour and courage. We neither force you to go to war against your will nor deprecate war if you are eager for it; but if you begin it, we shall defend ourselves. Return this answer to the Volscians, and tell them that, though they are the first to take up arms, we shall be the last to lay them down.”

XI. The ambassadors,\(^1\) having received this answer, reported it to the Volscian people. Another assembly was accordingly called and a decree of the whole nation was passed to declare war against the Romans. After this they appointed Tullus and Marcius generals for the war with full power and voted to levy troops, to raise money,\(^2\) and to prepare everything else they thought would be necessary for the war. When the assembly was about to be dismissed, Marcius rose up

\(^1\) For chaps. 11-13 cf. Livy ii. 39, 1 f.
\(^2\) That is, by war taxes (\(\epsilonι\sigmaφο\rhoαί\)).
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

"...А μὲν ἐψήφισται τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ γνώσθω κατὰ τὸν οἰκείον ἑκαστα καιρόν· ἐν ὃσῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα μέλλετε καταγράφειν καὶ τὰλλα εὐτρεπίζων ἔξοντά τινας, ὥσπερ εἶκος, ἀσχολίας καὶ διατριβάς, ἐγὼ καὶ Τύλλος ἔργων ἐχώμεθα. ὥσοις οὖν ὑμῶν βουλομένοις ἐστὶ προ- νομεύσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμε- θαί λείαν, ἵτε σὺν ἡμῖν. ὑποδέχομαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν θεὸς συλλάβῃ, πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς δῶσειν ωφελείας.

3 ἔτι γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι εἰσὶ Ρωμαῖοι δύναμιν οὕπω συνεστηκυιὰν ὁρῶντες ὑμετέραν, ὡστε ἀδεώς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξῃ πᾶσαν ὁσην ἂν βουλώμεθα τῆς ἑκεῖνων χώρας καταδραμεῖν..."

XII. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν γνώμην τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἔξηγεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ ταχέων, πρὶν ἐκπυστά γενέσθαι Ρωμαίους τὰ βουλεύματα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενοι στρατιῶν ἑκοῦσιον· ἂς μέρος μὲν ὁ Τύλλος ἔχων εἰς τὴν Δατίνων χώραν ἐν- ἐβαλεν, ἵνα περιστάσει τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ Ὅμηρος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν

2 Ρωμαίων ἠλάσεν. οἴα δὲ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῦ1 κακοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν διατρίβουσιν ἐπι- πεςόντος πολλὰ μὲν ἐάλῳ σῶματα Ρωμαίων ἐλέυθερα, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα, βοών τε καὶ ὑπο- ξυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων χρήμα ὀυκ ὀλίγον· σίτός τε ὅσον ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χώρα2 γεωργεῖται τὰ μὲν ἡπάσθη, τὰ δὲ διεφθάρῃ. τελευτῶντες γὰρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς φέροντες ἐνέβαλλον Οὐολούσκοι, ὡστε πολ- λοῦ χρόνου μηδ' ἀναλάβειν αὐτὰς δύνασθαι τοὺς

1 τοῦ added by Grasberger.
2 Sintenis : χώρα B, τὰ χώρα A.
and said: "What your league has voted is all well and good; and let each provision be carried out at the proper season. But while you are planning to enrol your armies and making other preparations which, in all probability, will involve some trouble and delay, let Tullus and me set to work. As many of you, therefore, as wish to plunder the enemy's territory and to gain much booty, come with us. I undertake, with the assistance of Heaven, to give you many rich spoils. For the Romans, observing that your forces have not yet been assembled, are as yet unprepared; so that we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as large a part of their country as we please without molestation."

XII. The Volscians having approved of this proposal also, the generals marched out in haste at the head of a numerous army of volunteers before the Romans were informed of their plans. With a part of this force Tullus invaded the territory of the Latins, in order to cut off from the enemy any assistance from that quarter; and with the remainder Marcius marched against the Romans' territory. As the calamity fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken and many slaves and no small number of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle; as for the corn that was found there, the iron tools and the other implements with which the land is tilled, some were carried away and others destroyed. For at the last the Volscians set fire to the country-houses, so that it would be a long time before those who had lost
3 ἀποβαλόντας. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ ἐπασχον αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν κτήσεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἐμειναν ἀσινεῖς: εὶ δὲ τινες ἐβλάβησαν, εἰς ἀναδρόμοδα καὶ βοσκήματα ἐδοξαν βλαβήναι. τούτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκιου παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις, ἵνα διʼ ὑποψίας ἐτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατρίκιοι γένωνται τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐξαιρεθείν τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὦ χαὶ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ καταδρομὴ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐξ ὑσον γεγονυῖαν ἀπασι τὴν συμφοράν, κατ- εβόων μὲν τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ὡς ἐπαγόντων σφίσι τὸν Μάρκιον, ἀπελογούντο δ’ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ κακουργίαν τινὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτην ἀπ- ἔφαινον. βοήθειν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἡ σώζειν τὰ περιόντα δι’ ὑποψίαν τε ἄλληλων καὶ δέος προ- δοσίας οὐθεὶς ἥξιον· ὧστε κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπήγγε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέστησεν ἀπαντασ ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα παθόντας μὲν οὐδὲν δεινών, δράσαντας δ’ ὁσα ἥξιον, καὶ πολλῶν εὐπορή- 5 σαντας χρημάτων. ἤκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τύλλος ὀλίγον ύστερον ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων χώρας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὠφελείας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δύναμιν ἔσχον ὄμως χωρεῖν τοῖς πολέμιος ἀπαράσκευοι τε ὄντες καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ δεινοῦ σφίσων ἐπιπεσόντος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάσα πόλις ἐπὶ ῥτο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ θαττὸν ἦ ὡς ἀν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἡ τε καταγραφή τῶν στρα- τιωτῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τάλλα ὑπηρετείτο ὅσων τοῖς στρατηγοῦς ἐδει.

XIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆκτο ἤδη 4 πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις,

1 γένωνται O : γένωντo Jacoby.
2 Kiessling : ἐκεῖ O.
3 πολεμίος Ba : πολεμίος μαχητόμενοι BbR.
them could restore them. The farms of the plebeians suffered most in this respect, while those of the patricians remained unharmed, or, if they received any damage, it seemed to fall only on their slaves and cattle. For Marcius thus instructed the Volscians, in order to increase the suspicion of the plebeians against the patricians and to keep the sedition alive in the state; and that is just what happened. For when this raid upon the country was reported to the Romans and they learned that the calamity had not fallen upon all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of bringing Marcius against them, while the patricians endeavoured to clear themselves by declaring that this was some malicious trick on the part of the general. But neither of them, because of mutual jealousy and fear of treachery, thought fit either to come to the rescue of what was being destroyed or to save what was left; so that Marcius had full liberty to withdraw his army and to bring all his men home after they had done as much harm as they pleased, while suffering none themselves, and had enriched themselves with much booty. Tullus also arrived a little later from the territory of the Latins, bringing with him many spoils; for there too the inhabitants had no army with which to engage the enemy, since they were unprepared and the calamity fell upon them unexpectedly. As a result of this every city of the Volscians was buoyed up with hope, and more quickly than anyone would have expected not only were the troops enrolled, but everything else was supplied that the generals needed.

XIII. When all their forces were now assembled,
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ε'βουλεύετο μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ὁ Μάρκιος ὡς χρηστέον τοῖς λοιποῖς πράγμασιν. ἔφη δ' οὖν λέγων: "Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅ Τύλλη, κράτιστον εἶναι νείμασθαι τάς δυνάμεις ἡμᾶς διχῇ. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἑτερον ἡμῶν ἁγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ προ-
θυμοτάτους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπομενοῦσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν ἑναι, μιᾷ κρίναι τὸν ἁγωνα μάχη, εἰ δ' ἀποκνήσουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, στρατιά νεοσυλλέκτω καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀπεί-
ροις πολέμου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἐπι-
τρέπειν, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιοντα πορθεῖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περισσάν καὶ τὰς ἀποκίας ἀν-
2 αἱρεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἀλλο κακὸν ὁ τι δύνατο ποιεῖν. τὸν δ' ἑτερον ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ λάθωσιν ἀφυλά-
κτοις ἐπιπεσόντες αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ πράγμα 
αἰσχιστὸν πάθωμεν, εῖν ὃ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐφιέμεθα 
τὰ παρόντα ἄφαιρεθέντες. ἀλλὰ χρῆ τὸν ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα ἢδη τείχη τε ἀνορθοῦν 2 ὅσα πεπτωκε 
καὶ τάφρουσ ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ φρούρια ὅχυρον, ἢν 
tοὺς γεωργοῦσι τῆς χώραν ὑπάρχωσι κατα-
φυγαί, στρατιάν τε ἄλλην προσκαταγράφειν καὶ 
τροφᾶς τοῖς ἔξω οὐδὲν ἐπιχορηγεῖν καὶ ὀπλα 
χαλ-
κεύειν καὶ εἰ τε ἄλλο ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πράγμα 
3 ὄξεως ὑπηρετεῖν. διδώμι δὲ σοι τὴν αἴρεσιν, εἴτε 
tῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιάς εἴτε τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπομενοῦ-
σης ἐθέλεις στρατηγεῖν." ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ 
σφόδρα ἡγάσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, καὶ τὸ 
δραστήριον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴδως καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς ταῖς 
μάχαις 3 ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνω τῆς ἔξω στρατιάς ἀρχεῖν.

1 μαχησόμενον after πολεμίοις deleted by Cobet.
2 Steph.: ὀρθοῦν AB.
BOOK VIII. 13, 1-3

Marcius took counsel with his colleague how they should conduct their future operations; and he said to him: "In my opinion, Tullus, it will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies; then one of us, taking the most active and eager of the troops, should engage the enemy, and if they can bring themselves to come to close quarters with us, should decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they hesitate, as I think they will, to stake their all upon a newly raised army and inexperienced generals, then he should attack and lay waste their country, detach their allies, destroy their colonies, and do them any other injury he can. And the other should remain here and defend both the country and the cities, lest the enemy fall upon these unawares, if they are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most Shameful of all disgraces in losing what we have while endeavouring to gain what we have not. But it is necessary that the one who remains here should at once repair the walls of the cities that have fallen in ruin, clear out the ditches, and strengthen the fortresses to serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen. He should also enrol another army, supply the forces that are in the field with provisions, forge arms, and speedily supply anything else that shall be necessary. Now I give you the choice whether you will command the army that is to take the field, or the one which is to remain here." While he was speaking these words Tullus was greatly delighted with his proposal, and knowing the man's energy and good fortune in battle, yielded to him the command of the army that was to take the field.

XIV. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος οὐθὲν ἕτει διαμελλήσας ἢκεν ἀγών τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Κυρκαιὰν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ κληροῦχοι Ρωμαίων ἦσαν ἀμα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἑφόδου. ὦς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Κυρκαιοί κρατούμενην σφῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ προσάγουσαν τῷ τείχει τὴν στρατιάν, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐξήσαν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνοπλοὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἄξιούντες· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αὐτίων τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον 2 ἐγένετο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτενεν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδένα οὔτε ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐσθήτα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τροφάς εἰς μῆνα ἱκανὰς καὶ ἀργυρίων τι μέτριον λαβῶν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀλίγην μοῦραν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἑνέκα, μὴ τι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πάθωσι κακῶν, καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὑστερον νεωτερίσαι.

3 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἤγγελθη τὰ γενόμενα πολὺ πλεῖων ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τῶν μὲν πατρικῶν τὸν δῆμον ἐχόντων δι’ αἰτίας ὅτι πολε- μιστὴν ἀνδρα καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς μεστὸν ψευδεὶ περιβαλόντες αἰτία τῆς πό- λεως ἀπῆλασαν καὶ παρεσκέυασαν ἠγεμόνα Οὐο-

4 λούσκοις γενόθαι, τῶν δὲ προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κατηγορίας τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιομένων καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὅλον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων κατ- εσκευάσθαι λεγόντων τὸν τε πόλεμον οὐ κοινὸν ἀπασίν, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μόνοις ἐπάγεσθαι σκηντο- μένων· καὶ ἦν τὸ κακοθέστατον τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἀμα τούτοις. στρατάς δὲ καταγράφειν ἦ καλεῖν
XIV. Marcius,¹ without losing any more time, came with his army to the city of Circeii, in which there were Roman colonists living intermingled with the native residents; and he took possession of the town as soon as he appeared before it. For when the Circeians saw their country in the power of the Volscians and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates, and coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, asked them to take possession of the town—a course which saved them from suffering any irreparable mischief. For the general put none of them to death nor expelled any from the city; but having taken clothing for his soldiers and provisions sufficient for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he withdrew his forces, leaving only a small garrison in the town, not only for the safety of the inhabitants, lest they should suffer some harm at the hands of the Romans, but also to restrain them from beginning any rebellion in the future.

When news of what had happened was brought to Rome, there was much greater confusion and disorder than before. The patricians reproached the populace with having driven from the state a man who was a great warrior, energetic, and full of noble pride, by involving him in a false charge and having thus caused him to become general of the Volscians; and the leaders of the populace in turn inveighed against the senate, declaring that the whole affair was a piece of treachery devised by them and that the war was being directed, not against all the Romans in common, but against the plebeians only; and the most evil-minded element among the populace sided with them. But neither party gave so much as a

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tou̱s su̱mmá̱xous ἡ para̱σκευά̱σασθαί τα κατα̱πε𝑖̱-

γοντα διά τα πρός ἀλλήλους ἔχθη καί τας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατηγορίας οὐδ᾽ εἰς νοῦν ἐλάμβανον.

XV. Τούτο καταμαθόντες οἱ προσβύται τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστραφέντες ἔπειθον Ἰδία τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς στασιωδεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν παύ̱-

σασθαί τῶν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ὑποψίαν τε καὶ κατηγορίων, διδάσκοντες ώς ἐν ἕνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς φυγήν τοσοῦτος κύδωνος κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, τὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, ἐὰν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πατρικίων προπηλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταυτὸ φρονῆσαι· καὶ κατέσχον οὕτω τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πλήθους. παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ 

θορύβου συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλή τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων παροῦσι προσβενταῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αὐτὶς ἀπεκρίνατο· μὴ ράδιον εἶναι σφίσι βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, αὐτοῖς δ᾽ ἢκείνους ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἔαυτῶν στρατιῶν κατα-

γράφειν καὶ ἤγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίους ἐκ-

πέμπειν ἐως ἂν αὐτοῖ ἐκπέμψωσι δύναμιν. ἐν γὰρ 

ταῖς συνθήκαις αἰς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ 

3 φιλίας ἀπόρρητον ἢν τούτων ἐκάτερον. τοῖς δ᾽ 

ὑπάτοις ἐφήκαν στρατὸν τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκ κατα-

λόγον καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆ ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς 

συμμάχους παρακαλεῖν, εἰς ὑπαίθρον δὲ μήπω τὰς 

dυνάμεις ἐξάγειν ἐως ἂν ἀπαντᾷ εὐτρεπῆ γενηται.

καὶ ὁ δήμος ταύτα ἐπεκύρωσεν. ἢν δὲ βραχὺς ὁ 

λειτόμενος τῆς ἄρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, ὡστε 

οὕτων ἐφθασαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγαγεῖν,

1 Kiessling : κατασκευάσασθαι Ὁ.
2 ὡς Ὁ : om. Sylburg, Jacoby.
3 ἐκπέμπειν ἐως ἂν Cary, ἀποδείξα ἐως ἂν Kiessling : ἐκ-

40
thought to raising armies, summoning the allies, or making the necessary preparations, by reason of their mutual hatreds and their accusations of one another in the meetings of the assembly.

XV. This being observed by the oldest of the Romans, they joined together and sought to persuade the most seditious of the plebeians both in public and in private to put a stop to their suspicions and accusations against the patricians. If, they argued, by the banishment of one man of distinction the commonwealth had been brought into so great danger, what were they to expect if by their abusive treatment they forced the greater part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? Thus these men appeased the disorderliness of the populace. After the great tumult had been suppressed, the senate met and gave the following answer to the ambassadors who had come from the Latin League to ask for armed assistance: That it was not easy for them to send assistance for the time being; but that they gave the Latins leave to enrol their own army themselves and to send out their own generals in command of their forces until the Romans should send out a force; for by the treaty of friendship they had made with the Latins both these things were forbidden. The senate also ordered the consuls to raise an army by levy, to guard the city, and to summon the allies, but not to take the field with their forces till everything was in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. Only a short time now remained of the consuls' term of office, so that they were unable to carry to completion any of the measures that had been voted,

†εμπεων τε ὅταν Jacoby, ἐκπέμπεων τε ὄσην (σην in ras. B). ἀν AB.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΟΥΔΟΛΟΥΣΚΟΙΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν ἡμιτελὴ πάντα τοῖς μεθ᾽ ἐαυτοῖς ὑπάτοις.

16. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ-λαβόντες, Σπόριος Ναύτιος καὶ Σέξτος Φούριος, στρατιάν τε ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἐκ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κατεστήσαντο καταλόγου, καὶ φρυκτωρίας καὶ σκοποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑπικαιροτάτοις φρουρίως ἔταξαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοῆσοι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας πραττομένων χρήματα τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὀπλα ἐν 2 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ ἦτομάσαντο. τὰ μὲν οὐν οὐκεῖα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐνὶ ἀριστα, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔτ᾽ ἐνδείκνυεν συμμαχικὰ οὐχ ἀπαντα ὑπίκουεν προθύμως ἐκούσια τε οὐκ ἦν οία συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ὡστε οὐδὲ προσ-αναγκάζειν αὐτὰ ἥξιον φοβοῦμενοι προδοσίαν. ἦδη δὲ τινα καὶ ἀφίστατο αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
3 καὶ τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις συνελάμβανε. πρῶτοι δ᾽ ἦρξαν Λικανοὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἀμα τῷ συντήνα τὸν πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐλθόντες ὡς τοὺς Οὐδολούσκους καὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ᾽ ὀρκῶν συνήμενοι, στρατιάν τε ἀπέστειλαν οὕτου τῷ Μαρκίῳ πλείστην τε καὶ προθυμοτάτην. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων κρύφα συνελάμβανον τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις οὕκ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ κοινὸς δόγματος ἀποστέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς συμμαχίας, εἰ δὲ τισὶν ἤν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας τῶν σφετέρων, οὐχ ὅπως ἀποτρέποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ 4 παρομοίωντες. ἑγεγόνει τ᾽ ἐνο 3 οὖ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοσαύτῃ δύναμις περὶ τοὺς Οὐδολούσκους ὡς ὑπὸ πόλειν ἐσχον ὅτε μάλιστα ἥκμαζον ταῖς πόλεσιν.

1 Kiessling : ἄπαντα Ο.
2 ἔτ᾽ ἐνδείκνυε Reiske : ἐτὶ δεῖν Ο, Jacoby.
but handed over everything half finished to their successors.

XVI. Those who assumed office after them, Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius,\(^1\) raised as large an army as they could from the register of citizens, and placed beacons and lookouts in the most convenient fortresses, in order that they might not be unaware of anything that passed in the country. They also got ready a great quantity of money, corn and arms in a short time. Their preparations at home, then, were made in the best manner possible, and nothing now seemed to be wanting; but the allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity nor were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war, so that the consuls did not think fit to use compulsion either with them, for fear of treachery. Indeed, some of the allies were already openly revolting from them and aiding the Volscians. The Aequians had begun the revolt by going at once to the Volscians as soon as the war arose and entering into an alliance with them under oath; and these sent to Marcius a very numerous and zealous army. After these had taken the lead, many of the other allies also secretly assisted the Volscians and sent them reinforcements, though not in pursuance of any votes or general decree, but if any of their people desired to take part in the campaign of Marcius, they not only did not attempt to dissuade them, but even encouraged them. Thus in a short time the Volscians had got so large an army as they had never possessed when their cities had been in the most flourishing state. At the head of this

\(^1\) Cf. Livy ii. 39, 9.

\(^3\) τ’ ἐν Hertlein : τε Ο.

\(^4\) ταῖς πόλεων Ο : τοῖς πλήθεσιν Post, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις Reiske.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ην ἐπαγόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνέβαλεν αὖθις εἰς τὴν Ρωμαίων γῆν, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἡμέρας συχνὰς ἔδῆσα τῆς γῆς ὅσην ἐν τῇ πρότερον εἰσβολῇ παρ-
5 ἐλπίῳ. σωμάτων μὲν οὖν ἐλευθέρων οὐκέτι πολλῶν ἐγκαταστήσα τα ἑαυτὴν τὴν στρατεύαν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια συσκευασάμενοι
πολαίτερον ἔτι κατεπεφεύγεσαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὰ πλησίον φρούρια, εἰ τινὰ ἦν ἐχυρώτατα: τὰ δὲ βοσκῆματα αὐτῶν, ὡσα οὖχ οἷοὶ
tε ἦσαν ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τοὺς νέοντας θεράποντας λαμβάνει τὸν τε σίτον τὸν² ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλουσι ἐτὶ κεὶ-
μενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χεραῖν ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ συγκεκομισμένους ἀναίρεται.

6 προνοομενύας δὲ καὶ διαπορθήσας ἄπαντα οὐθενὸς ὄμοσε χωρῆσαι τολμήσαντος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ’ οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν βαρέταν ὦσαν ἦδη τῷ πλῆθει τῶν ὦφε-
λεῶν καὶ σχολῆ πορευομένην.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Ὀὐδολοῦσκοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κομιζο-
μένης λείας ὅρωντες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων
ἀτολμίας ἀκούοντες, οἱ δὴ τέως τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν
λεγελατοῦντες ἀδεῶς τότε τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ἥνειχοντο
δημομένην ὅρωντες, αὐχήματος τε μεγάλου ἐν-
επίμπλαντο καὶ ἐν ἐλπίῳ ἦσαν ἡγεμονίας, ὡς δὴ
ῥάδιον καὶ ἐν ἐτοίμω σφίσιν ὑφαντάσαι τὴν τῶν
ἀντιπάλων ἰσχῦν, θυσίας τε χαριστηρίους τοῖς
θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σκύλων ἀναθέσει τοὺς νεὼς καὶ
tὰς ἄγορας ἐκόσμουν καὶ ἦσαν ἄπαντες ἐν ἐορτάῖς
καὶ εὐπαθείας, τὸν τε Μάρκιον ἁγάμενοι καὶ ὕμ-
νοντες διετέλουν, ὡς εἰ τά τε πολέμια δεινότατος
ἀνθρώπων καὶ στρατηγὸς οἶδος οὔτε ὑποθε

44
army Marcius made another irruption into the territory of the Romans, and encamping there for many days, laid waste all the country which he had spared in his former incursion. He did not, it is true, capture many persons of free condition on this expedition; for the inhabitants had long since fled, after getting together everything that was most valuable, some to Rome and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses as were most capable of defence; but he took all the cattle they had not been able to drive away, together with the slaves who tended them, and carried off the corn, that still lay upon the threshing-floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering or already gathered. Having ravaged and laid everything waste, as none dared to come to grips with him, he led homeward his army, which was now heavily burdened with the great amount of its spoils and was proceeding in leisurely fashion.

XVII. The Volscians, seeing the vast quantity of booty that was being brought home and hearing reports of the craven spirit of the Romans who, though they had hitherto been wont to ravage their neighbours' country, could now bear to see their own laid waste with impunity, were filled with great boastfulness and entertained hopes of the supremacy, looking upon it as an easy undertaking, lying ready to their hands, to overthrow the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods for their success and adorned their temples and market-places with dedications of spoils, and all passed their time in festivals and rejoicings; while as for Marcius, they continued to admire and celebrate him as the ablest of all men in warfare and a general

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1 εἰ τῶν B: ἄτων R.  
2 τὸν added by Reiske.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άλλος στρατηγὸς ἕνα πολλά ὕποκειτο πάντα ὅσοι ἀπειρήσει κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ προχωροῦντα δίχα πόνον. οὕστ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἠλικιάν ὤς ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ ἄνδρος ἤξιον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὠρμηντο μετέχειν τῶν πράξεων καὶ συνήσαν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης 3 πόλεως. ὃ δὲ στρατηγὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν Ὀυολούσκων ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρεῖον εἰς ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀνανδρον κατέκλεισεν ἀμηχανίαν, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν πόλεις ὁσαι τὸ πιστὸν διεφύλαττον ἠγε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐτοιμασάμενος ὡσα εἰς πολιορκίαν χρήσιμα ἤν, ἐπὶ 4 Τολερίνου ἐλαύνει τοῦ Λατίνων ὄντας έθνους. οἱ δὲ Τολερίνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ παρασκευάσαμεν τὰ εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεκεκομικότες ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν ἐπίοντα καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀντείχον ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων μαχόμενοι καὶ πόλους τῶν πολεμίων κατέτρωσαν ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι δείλης ὄμιας ταλαιπωροῦντες πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους 5 ἐξέλιπον. τούτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας παρήγγειλε κλίμακας προσφέρειν κατὰ τὰ γυμνούμενα μέρη τοῦ περιβόλου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατιστοὺς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἱεται βαλλόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, καὶ διαρρήξας τοὺς μοχλοὺς παρέρχεται πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἢν δ᾽ ύφεστηκός ταῖς πύλαις πολὺ καὶ καρτερὸν στίφος τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δέχονται τε αὐτὸν ἑρρωμένως καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διεκαρτέρουν

1 στρατηγὸς deleted by Reiske, Jacoby.
2 πόλεις B : om. R.
without an equal either at Rome or in the Greek or barbarian world. But above all they admired him for his good fortune, observing that everything he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire; so that there was no one of military age who was willing to be left behind by him, but all were eager to share in his exploits and flocked to him from every city. The general, after he had strengthened the zeal of the Volscians and reduced the manly fortitude of the enemy to a helplessness that was abject and anything but manly, led his army against the cities of their allies that still remained faithful to them; and having promptly prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the Tolerienses, who belonged to the Latin nation. These, having long before made the necessary preparations for war and transported all the effects they had in the country into the city, withstood his attack and held out for some time, fighting from their walls and wounding many of the enemy; then, after being driven back by the slingers and enduring hardships till the late afternoon, they abandoned many parts of the wall. When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the wall that were left unprotected, while he himself with the flower of his army hastened to the gates amid a shower of spears that were hurled at him from the towers; and breaking the bars asunder, he was the first to enter the city. Close to the gates stood a large and strong body of the enemy’s troops, who stoutly withstood his attack and continued to fight for a long time; but

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3 eis ton polemon Sylburg, Jacoby.
4 analaßon placed here by Sylburg: after pílas by O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άγωνιζόμενοι· πολλάν δ’ ἀναρεθέντων τρέπονται οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ σκεδασθέντες ἐφευγοῦ ἀνὰ τοὺς 6 στενωποὺς. ὁ δ’ ἥκολοοθεὶ κτεῖνων τοὺς1 καταλαμβανομένους, ὅσιοι μὴ τὰ ὀπλα ῥίψαντες εἰς ἱκεσίας ἐτράποντο· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκράτον τοῦ τείχους. τούτῳ δὴ2 τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξελομενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὅσα θεοὶς τε ἀναθήματα καὶ κόσμος ταῖς Οὐδολούσκων πόλεσιν ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι,3 τὰ λοιπὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφήκε 7 διαρπάσαι. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθι σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ σίτος, ὡστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι μιὰ πάντας4 ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς κρατῆσαντας ἥμέρα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἁγοντες καὶ φέροντες τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖ, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγών, πολὺν ἡγακάσθησαν διατρῆσαι χρόνον.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐξεκεκόμιστο, τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βώλαν Λατίνων5 ἐτέραν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ οἱ Βώλανοι προεγνωκότες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφοδον καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἁγώνα ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκιος ὡς ἐξ ἐφοδοῦ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσων κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολὰς· οἱ δὲ Βώλανοι περιμεῖναντες καῖρον ἐπιτήδειον ἀνοίγοντο τὰς πύλας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ συμμάττουσι τοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἔτι δὲ πλείους6 καταπρακτάσαντες τοὺς τε λοιποὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀναγκάσαντες φυγεῖν ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν

1 τοὺς B: τοὺς πολεμίους R.
2 Kiessling: δὲ O.
when many of them had been killed, the rest gave way and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets. Marcius followed, putting to death all whom he overtook except those who threw away their arms and had recourse to supplications. In the meantime the men who had ascended by the ladders were making themselves masters of the wall. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius set aside such of the spoils as were to be consecrated to the gods and to adorn the cities of the Volscians, and the rest he permitted the soldiers to plunder. Many prisoners were taken there, also a great deal of money and much corn, so that it was not easy for the victors to remove everything in one day, but they were forced to consume much time while, working in relays, they drove or carried away the booty, either on their own backs or using beasts of burden.

XVIII. The general, after all the prisoners and effects had been removed out of the city, left it desolate and drew off his forces to Bola, another town of the Latins. The Bolani also, as it chanced, had been apprised of his intended attack and had prepared everything necessary for the struggle. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, delivered his attacks upon many parts of the wall. But the Bolani, after watching for a favourable opportunity, opened their gates, and sallying out in force in regular array, engaged the front ranks of the enemy; then, after killing many of them and wounding still more and after forcing the rest to a shameful flight, they

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3 Hertlein: γενέσθαι O, Jacoby, έσεσθαι Cobet.
4 πάντα B: πάντας R.
5 Βόλαν Λατίνων Sintenis: βολανών O.
6 πλείους B: πλείους τούτων R.
2 πόλιν. ώς δ' ἔγνω τήν τροπήν τῶν Οὐολούσκων ὁ Μάρκιος, οὐ γάρ ἔτυχε παρὼν ἐν ὧν χωρίων τῷ πάθος ἐγένετο, παρήν σὺν ὅλοις κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς σκεδασθέντας ἀναλαβὼν συνίστα τε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ ἐπειδῆ κατ-έστησεν εἰς τάξεις, ὑποδείξας ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἐκέ-λευσε προσβάλλειν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας.

3 χρησαμένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Βωλανῶν τῇ αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλήθος ἐκδραμόντων οὐ δέχονται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὀὐολούσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐγκλώναντες ἐφευγον κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς, ώς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέθετο· καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ τὴν ἀπάτην οὐκ εἰδότες ἐδίκωκν ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ἐγένοντο, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τῶν νέων ὁ Μάρκιος ὁμόσε τοῖς Βωλανοῖς ἐχώρει· καὶ γίνεται πολὺς αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα φόνος τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων.

4 δ' ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ἔπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡθουμένοις φθάνει πρὶν ἐπιρραχθῆναι τὰς πύλας ἀἰσθιασά-μενος εἰς τὸ τείχος. ώς δ' ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὰξ ἐγκράτης τῶν πυλῶν ἐγένετο, ἠκολούθει καὶ τὸ ἀλλο τῶν Οὐολούσκων πλήθος, οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκλιπόντες ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. γενό-μενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιωταῖς τὰ τε σώματα ἐξανδραποδίσα- σθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαρπᾶσαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ωσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀπασάν ἐκκομίσας τὴν λείαν σὺν χρώνῳ καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν, μετὰ τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπτρησεν.

XIX. Ἐντεύθεν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Λαβκανοὺς. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τότε Δατίνων ἢ πόλις, Ἀλβανῶν ωσπερ αἱ

1 χωρίω B : om. R.
BOOK VIII. 18, 2—19, 1

retired into the city. When Marcius learned of the rout of the Volscians—for it chanced that he was not present in the place where this defeat occurred—he came up in all haste with a few of his men, and rallying those who were dispersed in the flight, he formed them into a body and encouraged them. Then, having got them back in their ranks and indicated what they were to do, he ordered them to attack the town at the same gates. When the Bolani once more tried the same expedient, sallying out in force, the Volscians did not await them, but gave way and fled down hill, as their general had instructed them to do; and the Bolani, ignorant of the ruse, pursued them a considerable way. Then, when they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth; and many of the Bolani fell, some while defending themselves and others while endeavouring to escape. Marcius pursued those who were being pushed back toward the town and forced his way inside the walls before the gates could be slammed shut. When the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volscian host followed, and the Bolani, abandoning the walls, fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to the soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants and to seize their effects; and after carrying away all the booty at his leisure and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

XIX. From there he took his army and marched against the place called Labici. This city too belonged then to the Latins and was, like the others, a

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{συνίστατα \epsilon R: συνίσταται B, συνίστατο Jacoby.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{o} \text{I B: om. R.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}} \text{Cobet: \epsilonκβιασάμενος O.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}} \text{Sylburg: αυτή O.} \]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αλλα1 ἀποικος. καταπληξασθαι δε βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐνδόν ἔκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθὺς ἐπιών οθὲν μάλιστα ἐμελλον ὧψεσθαι τὴν φλογα. οἱ δὲ Λαβικανοὶ τείχος εἰ κατεσκευασμένον2 ἔχοντες οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφοδον οὔτε μαλακὸν ἐνέδοσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀντείχον ἀπομαχόμενοι γενναῖως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῦ τείχους 2 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήραξαν. οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος γε ἀντέσχον ολίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ3 τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναπαυόμενοι. πολλαὶ γὰρ προσβολαὶ καὶ καθ’ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐγίνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐδολούσκων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑποχωροῦντων μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν κεκμηκτῶν, ἐτέρων δὲ προσιότων νεαρῶν· πρὸς οὗς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυόμενον4 χρόνον ἐκλιπεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν τὸ τείχος ὑπὸ κόπου. παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ Μάρκιος τὴν πόλιν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφήκε μερί- 3 σασθαι τὰς ὑφελείας. ἀναστήσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πεδανῶν πόλιν (ἥν δὲ καὶ αὐτη5 τοῦ Λατύνων γένους), συντηταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν ἁμα τῷ πλησιάσαι τοῖς τείχεσιν αἱρεὶ κατὰ κράτος. καὶ ταύτα δια- θεῖς ὅσα τὰς πρότερον ἀλούσας ἐωθεν εὐθὺς ἀνα- 4 στήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ Κορμιώνα. ὅντι δ’ αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ ἐνδον ἀπαντώσων ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν προτείνοντες ἐκετηρία καὶ παραδιόντες ἀμαχητί τὸ τείχος. οὕς ἐπανέσας ὡς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ σφῶν βεβου-

1 aι ἄλλαι Sylburg : καὶ ἄλλη Ο. καὶ ἄλλαι Jacoby.
2 ε strerror1 katexekuvastmenon Gelenius : ἐγκατεσκευασμένον Ο.
3 οὐδὲ B : οὐ R. 4 ἀναπαυόμενοι B : ἀναπαυόμενοι R.

52
colony of the Albans. In order to terrify the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territory he set fire to the part of the country from which the flames would most clearly be seen by them. But the Labi-canis, since they had well-constructed walls, neither became terrified at his invasion nor showed any sign of weakness, but made a brave resistance and often repulsed the enemy as they were attempting to scale the walls. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the end, fighting as they were few against many and without the least respite. For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volscians, who fought in shifts, those who were fatigued continually retiring and other forces that were fresh taking their place; and the inhabitants, contending against these all day, without any respite even at night, were forced through exhaustion to abandon the walls. Marcius, having taken this city also, made slaves of the inhabitants and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils. Thence he marched to Pedum—this also was a city of the Latins—and advancing with his army in good order, he took the town by storm as soon as he came near the walls. And having treated it in the same manner as the cities he had captured earlier, he led his forces at break of day against Corbio. When he was near its walls, the inhabitants opened their gates and came to meet him, holding out olive-branches instead of weapons and offering to surrender their walls without striking a blow. Marcius, after commending them

5 Kayser: αὐτῇ Ο.
6 ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν προτείνοντες (cf. xi. 17, 4; i. 20, 1) Jacoby: ἀντὶ προτείνοντες ΑΒ (but space of one or two letters after ἀντὶ in B), πάντες προτείνοντες Kiessling.
λευμένους, ἐκέλευσεν δὲν ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ φέροντας ἥκειν ἀργύριόν τε καὶ σίτον, καὶ λαβὼν ὅσα προσέταξεν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Κοριολανῶν' πόλιν. παραδόντων δὲ κάκειν τῶν ἐνδον ἀμαχητὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀγοράς τε παρασχόντων τῇ δυνάμει καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπετέκτακτο αὐτοῖς ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς διὰ φιλίας 5 γῆς. πάνυ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐσπούδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς πόλεις πάθοιεν ὃν φιλεὶ δρᾶν ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν ἀδήμωτον ἀπολαμβάνουν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὅσα κατέλιπον ἐπὶ τῶν κτίσεων κομίζοντο, αὐλίζονταί τε οὐκ εἴπ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἵνα μή τι γένηται δι’ ἀρπαγῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡ κλοπῆς κακόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσι κατεστρατοπέδευεν.

XX. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀναστήσας τῆς πόλεως ἠλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Βοῖλλας, ἐπιφανῆ τότε οὖσαν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις πάνυ ταῖς ἠγομέναις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους πόλεσιν ἐξεταζομένην. οὐ προσδεχαμένων δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐνδον, ἀλλὰ τῶ τε ἐρυματεί πιστευόντων ἐχυρῶ γε σφόδρα ὅντι καὶ τῶ πλῆθει τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μαχησμένων, παρακάλεσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι προθύμως καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐπιβάσι τοῦ τείχους μεγάλας δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος ἐργον εἴχετο· καὶ γίνεται μάχη περὶ τῇ

1 κοριολανῶν R : κοπιολανῶν ΑΒ, Jacoby, Καρπεντανῶν Niebuhr.
2 γὰρ δὴ καὶ Λ : γὰρ καὶ R.
3 Βοῖλλας Gelenius : βολάς Α, βολᾶς Β.
4 γε Β : τε R.
5 πρῶτος ἐπιβάσι Β : πρῶτος ἐπιβαλοῦσι Ρ.

1 "The city of the Coriolani" is the reading of the later
54
for adopting the course that was to their best interest, ordered them to come out bringing whatever his army required, both money and corn; and having obtained what he demanded, he led his forces to Corioli. When the inhabitants of this place also surrendered it without resistance and very readily supplied his army with provisions and money and everything else that he ordered, he led the army away through their territory as through a friendly land. For this too was a matter about which he always took great care—that those who surrendered their cities to him should suffer none of the ills incident to war, but should get back their lands unravaged and recover all the cattle and slaves they had left behind on their farms; and he would not permit his army to quarter itself in the cities, lest some mischief should result from their plundering or stealing, but he always encamped near the walls.

XX. Departing from this city, he led his army to Bovillae, which was then a city of note and counted as one of the very few leading cities of the Latin nation. When the inhabitants would not receive him, but trusted in their ramparts, which were very strong, and in the multitude of defenders who would fight from them, Marcius exhorted his men to fight ardently, promising great rewards to those who should first mount the walls, and then set to work; and a sharp battle took place for this city.

MSS. in place of "the city of the Copiolani," given by A and B. The latter name is certainly false. But if Coriolani is the correct form here, some other name almost certainly underlies the corrupt spelling Chorielani in chap. 36, 2. Livy (ii. 39, 2 f.) names Corioli as one of the cities taken by Coriolanus for the Volscians, but his list does not follow the same order as that of Dionysius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

2 πόλει ταύτη καρτερά, οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύνοντο τοὺς προσώποις οἱ Βοιλλανοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανώς ἐώθουν βιὰ τῶν ἡφισταμένων· φόνος τε πλείστοι αὐτόθι τῶν Ὀὐολούσκων ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνος τῆς τειχομαχίας πολὺς τοῦ τε κρατήσεων τῆς πόλεως ἀπορος ἀπασίν ἢ ἔλπις. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἁδηλον ἐποίει τὴν ἀπουσίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντικαθιστάς ἑτέρους, τῶν δὲ καμνότων παρεθάρρυνε τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πονὸν μέρος τῆς στρατιάς αὐτὸς ἠθούμενος. ἤν δὲ οὐχ ο λόγος αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαγωγός εἰς τὸ οὐψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα πάντα γὰρ ὕφιστατο κίνδυνον καὶ οὔδεμιὰς 3 πείρας ἀπελεύθη, ἐὼς ἐάλω τὸ τείχος. κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ταύτης σὺν χρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμω διαφθείρας, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ἐξενεγκάμενος καὶ λάφυρα κάλλιστα καὶ πλείστα ἄγων, χρῆμασί τε παμπόλλοις ὄν ἐγκρατῇς ἐγένετο (ὥν δ' αὐτόθι ὡσα ἐν οὐδείν τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων) πλουτίσας τὴν στρατιάν.

XXI. Μετὰ τούτο χώρα τε ὅσην διατορεύοντο ύποχείριον ἢν καὶ πόλις οὐδεμία ἤναντιόντο ἐξῳ Δαοῦνιου, ἢν πρώτῃ τε πόλιν οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ κατάραντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρῶες ἐκτίσαν, καὶ ἕφ ἢς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢν γένος, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτη κατοικοῦντες πάντα

1 ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον Reiske: ἐξέθεον ἀνοίξαντες B, ἐξέθεον ἀν-οίγοντες R.
2 Sylburg: ἡφισταμένων O. 3 δὲ R: τε B.
6 ἀνθρώπων (or ἐνδον) Cary: ἀλόντων O, Jacoby. For τῶν ἀνθρώπων see ix. 34, 4; iii. 37, 4; for τῶν ἐνδον, the more 56
For the Bovillani not only repulsed the assailants from the walls, but even threw open their gates, and sallying out in a body, forcibly thrust back down hill those who opposed them. Here the Volscians suffered very heavy losses and the battle for the walls continued a long time, so that all despaired of taking the town. But the general caused the loss of those who were slain to pass unnoticed by replacing them with others, and inspired with fresh courage those who were spent with toil by pressing forward himself to that part of the army which was in distress. Thus not only his words, but his actions also were incentives to valour; for he faced every danger and was not found wanting in any attempt till the walls were taken. When at length he had made himself master of this city also and had summarily put to death some of the inhabitants and made prisoners of the rest, he withdrew his forces, having won a most glorious victory and carrying off great quantities of the finest spoils, besides enriching his army with vast amounts of money he had got possession of in this city, where it was found in greater quantity than in any of the places he had captured.

XXI. After this all the country he marched through submitted to him and no city made any resistance but Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans who landed in Italy with Aeneas, and the one from which the Romans derive their origin, as I have shown earlier.¹ The inhabitants of this city thought they

¹ i. 45, 1; iii. 11, 2.

common expression, viii. 19, 1 and 4 (bis); 20, 1. Palaeographically ἄνθρωπων is more probable. ἀλόντων may have been a marginal correction intended to apply to ἄλλων, 5 lines below, but applied here by mistake.

⁷ ἄλόντων Ο : ἄλλων Kiessling. ⁸ Reiske : γε Ω.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πρότερον ὑπομένειν ἃ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς 2 ἀπογόνοις1 σφῶν2 πιστὸν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τειχομαχίαι τινὲς αὐτοθί καρτεραί καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὄξειάν μάχαι· οὕν μὴν ἐάλω γε τὸ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος3 τῇ πρώτῃ ἑφόδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει χρόνον ἰδίω4 καὶ τριβής. ἀποστὰς οὖν τῆς τειχομαχίας5 ὁ Μάρκιος περιετάφρευε κύκλω τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπεσταύρου, τᾶς ὁδοὺς φυλάττων ἵνα μήτε ἀγορὰ μήτε ἐπικουρίᾳ τις αὐτοῖς6 ἔξωθεν προσγένοιτο.

3 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τῶν τε κεκρατημένων ἢδη πόλεων τὸν ὀλθρὸν ἀκούοντες καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ταῖς τέ προσβείαις ἐνοχλοῦμενοι ταῖς ἀφικνομέναις ὡς αὐτοὺς ὁσιμέραι παρὰ τῶν μενοῦσών ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ δεομένων βοηθείας, τοῦ τε Λαούνιου τῶν περιτεῖχισμῶν ὄρρωδούντες ἐν χερσὶ ὄντα, καὶ εἰ τόδε τὸ φρούριον ἀλώσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦξειν εὐθὺς οἰόμενοι, μίαν ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι πάντων2 τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, εἰ 4 ψηφίσαμεν τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ ὁ τε δήμος ἀπασ ἔβοτα τοῦτο8 καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι νόμον εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἀκυρώσεως τῆς καταδίκης ἐβούλωντο· ἀλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἡγαντιώθησαν αὐτοὶς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν διδακασμένων λύειν οὐθέν. μὴ γενομένου δὲ προβουλεύματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπὶ προθέειν γνώμην εἰς τὸν δήμον 5 ἐδόκει. ὁ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔξιον, ἀφ' ἦς δὴ ποτε αἰτίας ἡ βουλὴ σπουδάζουσα τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρό-

1 Sylburg : πογόνοις Βα, προγόνοις ΛΒb.
2 σφῶν R : σφῶν ρωμαίοις ΛB.
3 κατὰ κράτος R : ἀπὸ κράτοις ΛB, Jacoby.
4 δεῖν Jacoby : δεῖν ἡ πολιορκία Ο, δεῖν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Reiske.
5 τειχομαχίας Amg : πολιορκίας Ο, Jacoby.
ought to suffer any extremity rather than fail to keep faith with their descendants. Here, therefore, some stubborn fighting took place upon the walls and some sharp engagements before the ramparts; nevertheless, the walls were not carried by storm at the first assault, but their capture seemed to require time and unhurried persistence. Marcius accordingly gave over the attack on the walls and undertook to construct a ditch and a palisade round the town, while guarding all the roads so that neither provisions nor reinforcements might come to the inhabitants from outside.

The Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the cities that were already taken and of the exigency which had influenced those who had joined Marcius, and importuned by the embassies which came to them daily from those who continued firm in their friendship and besought their aid, and being alarmed, moreover, by the investment of Lavinium then in progress and believing that if this stronghold should be taken the war would promptly come to their own gates, thought the only remedy for all these evils would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius. The entire populace shouted for this and the tribunes too wished to introduce a law for the annulment of his condemnation; but the patricians opposed them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence which had been pronounced. And as no preliminary decree was passed by the senate, the tribunes too no longer thought fit to propose the matter to the populace. It may well excite wonder what the motive was that led the senate, which hitherto had

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6 Sylburg: οὐ τῶν O. 7 Kiessling: ἀπάντων O. 8 τοῦτο B: om. R.
νον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μαρκίου τότε βουλομένω τῷ δήμῳ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἡματιώθη· πότερα πείραν αὐτοῦ ποιομένη τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῷ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐτοίμως ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν παρομώσα, ἡ τὰς καθ’ ἐαυτῆς ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη διαβολᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς ὃν ἔπραττεν ὁ ἄνήρ μήτε αὐτία μήτε συνεργὸς εἶναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἢν ἀπόρρητον γενόμενον αὐτῆς τὸ βουλευμα συμβαλεῖν.

XXII. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ’ αὐτομόλων τινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς, εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, φυλακὴν τοῦ Λαοῦν ἦν ἄρκουσαν καταλιπών· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίως τετταράκοντα ἀποσχὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς καλομένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους.

2 μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσιαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοσοῦτος ἐνέπεσε θόρυβος ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς τείχεσι τοῦ πολέμου προσάξοντος, ὡσθ’ ὦι μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὀπλα λαβόντες ἔθεον ἀνευ παραγγέλματος, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατὰ πλῆθος ἐφέροντο χωρίς ἡγεμόνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς δούλους καθοπλίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσιν τῶν οἰκιῶν ἱστασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τε ἀκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο, γνωάκες τε λευμέναι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς ἔθεον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ δεόμεναι τῶν θεῶν ἀπο-3 τρέψας τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἐπιόντα φόβον. ὡς δ’ ἢ τε νὺς παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπιύσεις ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖ-στον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἢν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ’ ἔμενεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφ’ ἰσυχίας, συνέδραμον ἀπαντες

1 καὶ Kiessling : ἦ Ο.
2 ἐτοίμως B : ἐκάστῳ ἐτοίμως R.
3 τὰς καθ’ R : τὰς ἰσας καθ’ B.

60
so warmly espoused the cause of Marcius, to oppose the populace on this occasion when they wished to recall him—whether they were sounding out the sentiment of the populace and arousing them to greater zeal by their own reluctance to yield to them, or whether they wished to clear themselves of the accusations brought against them so that they might not be held to be either responsible for or accomplices in any of the acts of Marcius. For as their purpose was kept secret, it was difficult to conjecture what it was.

XXII. Marcius,¹ being informed of these events by some deserters, was so angry that he broke camp at once and marched on Rome, leaving a sufficient force to keep guard over Lavinium; and he straightway encamped at the place called the Cluillian Ditches,² at a distance of forty stades from the city. When the Romans heard of his presence there, such confusion fell upon them, in their belief that the war would at once come to their walls, that some seized their arms and ran to the walls without orders, others went in a body to the gates without anyone to command them, some armed their slaves and took their stand on the roofs of their houses, and still others seized the citadel and the Capitol and the other strong places of the city; and the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the sanctuaries and to the temples, lamenting and praying to the gods to avert the danger that threatened. But when the night had passed, as well as most of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared befell them, but Marcius remained

¹ For chaps. 22-36 cf. Livy ii. 39, 4-11.
² The fossae Cluiliae; see iii. 4, 1.

⁴ Sylburg: τείχεσι Ο. ⁵ Cobet: ἀποστρέψαι Ο.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

eis tēn ēgōrān oĩ dēmōtikoi kai toûs patrīkious ēkālouν eis tō bouleutērion, kai eĩ mē prōbou-
leusouσi tō ἀνδρὶ tēn káthodoν, αὐτοὶ bouleuσe-
thai peri σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐφασαν ὡς προδιδόμενοι.

tōte δὴ συνελθόντες eis tēn boulēn oĩ patrīkioi ψηφίζονται πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς tōn Márkion ἀπο-
στείλαι πέντε¹ ἀνδρας εκ tῶν πρεσβυτάτων, οὐς
μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἡσπάζετο, peri διαλύσεως τε καὶ
φιλίας διαλεξομένους. ἦσαν δ’ οἱ προχειρισθέντες
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἴδε, Márkος Mηνύκιος καὶ
Πόστομός Kομίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ
Πόπλιος Πινάριος καὶ Κώντος Σολτίκιος, ἀπαντες

υπατικοὶ. ὡς δ’ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,
kai ἐγὼν τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ὁ Márkios, καθ-
exómenos ἄμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ὀὐολούσκων τε
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐνδιὰ πλείστοι ἐμελλον
ἀκουσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκέλευσε καλεῖν τοὺς
ἀνδρας. ἐἰσελθόντων δ’ αὐτῶν ἦρξατο τοῦ λόγου
Mηνύκιος, ὁ πλείστα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνον
σπουδάσας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς δημοτι-
κοῖς ἐναντιωθεῖς, καὶ ἐλεξε τοῦδε:

XXIII. ""Οτι μὲν οὖ δίκαια πέπονθας ὑπὸ τοῦ
δῆμου, ὁ Márκιε, μετ’ αὐτίας αἰσχρᾶς ἑξελάθεις
ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀπαντες ἵσμεν· καὶ οὐδὲν οἰόμεθα
σε ποιεῖν θαυμαστὸν, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς
ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις. κοινὸς γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀπάντων
φύσεως οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τῷ δράσας

2 τὸ πεπονθὸς κακῶς. ὅτι δ’ οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ
σώφρονοι ἑξετάζεις οὐς ἀμύνεσθαι τε καὶ τιμωρεί-
σθαι σοι προσήκεν,2 οὔτε μετριάζεις περὶ τῆς
ἀνάπραξιν τῆς δίκης, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταυτῷ τίθεσαι τὰ τε
quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the Forum and called upon the patricians\(^1\) to assemble in the senate-house, declaring that if they would not pass the preliminary decree for the return of Marcius, they themselves, as men who were being betrayed, would take measures for their own protection. Then at last the senators met in the senate-house and voted to send to Marcius five of their oldest members who were his closest friends, to treat for reconciliation and friendship. The men chosen were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Larcius, Publius Pinarius and Quintus Sulpicius, all ex-consuls. When they came to the camp and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he seated himself in the midst of the most important of the Volscians and their allies, where very many would hear all that was said, and then ordered the envoys to be summoned. When these came in, Minucius, who during his consulship had been most active in his favour and had distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, as follows:

\[ \text{XXIII. } \text{"We are all sensible, Marcius, that you have suffered injustice at the hands of the populace in having been banished from your country under a foul accusation, and we do not regard it as anything strange on your part if you feel anger and resentment at your misfortunes. For common to the nature of all men is this law—that the injured party is an enemy to the aggressor. But that you do not examine in the light of sober reason who those are whom you ought to requite and punish, nor show any moderation in exacting that punishment, but class together} \]

\(^1\) "Patricians" is here used for "senators."

\(\text{\footnote{\text{\(\pi\varepsilon\nu\tau\varepsilon\ B : \text{om. \(R.\)}}\)}}\) \(\text{\footnote{\text{\(\text{\(\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\theta\kappa\varepsilon\ O.\)}}\)}}\)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

...
the innocent with the guilty and friends with enemies, and that you violate the inviolable laws of Nature, confound the duties of religion, and, even as to yourself, no longer remember from whom you are sprung and what sort of man you are—that has seemed strange to us. We have come now, the oldest of the patricians and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the commonwealth to present our defence mingled with entreaty, and to bring word upon what conditions we ask you to lay aside your enmity toward the populace; and furthermore, to advise you of the course which we believe will be most honourable and advantageous for you.

XXIV. "Let me speak first concerning the point of justice. The plebeians, inflamed by the tribunes, conspired against you and came with the intention of putting you to death without a trial, because they feared you. This attempt we of the senate prevented, and we permitted you to suffer no injustice on that occasion. Afterwards the same men who had been prevented from destroying you summoned you to trial, charging you with having uttered malicious words about them in the senate. We opposed this too, as you know, and would not permit you to be brought to trial either for your opinion or for your words. Disappointed in this also, they came to us at last, accusing you of aiming at tyranny. This charge you yourself consented to answer, since you were far from being guilty of it, and you permitted the plebeians to give their votes concerning you. The senate was present on this occasion also and made many pleas in your behalf. Of which of the misfortunes, then, that have befallen you have we
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

gεγόναμεν αὐτοῖο, καὶ διὰ τί πολεμεῖς ἡμῖν τοσαύτῃν εὑνοιαν ἀποδειξαμένους περὶ σε ἐκάτω τὸν τότε ἀγώνα; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἄπαν ἐξελαθήναι σε βουλόμενον εὐρέθη· δυσὶ γοῦν ψήφους ἐάλως μόναις, ὥστε οὐδὲ τούτοις ἂν εἴης σὺν δίκῃ πολέμοις οὐ σε ὄς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέλυσαν.

4 τίθημι δ', εἰ βούλει, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς δημόταις δόξαν, ὡλὴ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ φανὲν ταύτῃ χρήσασθαι σε τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι σου τὸ πρός ἀπαντας ἡμᾶς μίσος· ἀλλ' αἱ γυναικές σε, ὁ Μάρκιε, τί δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο ἄνθ' ὅτου πολεμεῖς αὐταῖς; ποιὰν ἐπενεγκασαι περὶ φυγῆς ψήφων ἡ τίνας

5 εἰποῦσαι κατὰ σοῦ πονηροὺς λόγους; τί δ' οἱ παίδες ἡμῶν δράσαντες ἢ διανοηθέντες ἀδικεῖν περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἄλῳ; οὔ τὰ δίκαια διαίτας, ὁ Μάρκιε, καὶ εἴ¹ τοῦτον οἶει δεῖν τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἀναιτίων φείδεσθαι καὶ φιλίων, οὐκ

6 ἀρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἄνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ φρονεῖς. ἢνα δὲ ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἄφῳ, τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ὁ πρὸς Διός, εἰ τις ἐροτό σε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τάφους τῶν προγόνων τί παθῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν² ἀνασκάπτεις καὶ τιμᾶς ἂς κομίζονται παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἄφαιρῇ; θεῶν δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεῶς τίνος ἀδικήματος ὀργῇ συλᾶς καὶ κατακαλεῖς καὶ ἀνατρέπεις καὶ σεβασμῶν οὐκ ἐὰς τυγχάνειν τῶν νομίμων; τί

¹ καὶ εἰ Reiske: εἰ δὲ Α, καὶ Β.
² ὑπ' αὐτῶν deleted by Cobet, Jacoby.
BOOK VIII. 24, 3-6

patricians been the cause? And why do you make war upon us who showed so much goodwill toward you during that contest? But, for that matter, not even all the plebeians were found to desire your banishment; at any rate, you were condemned by two votes only, so that you could not with justice be an enemy to those plebeians, either, who acquitted you as guilty of no wrongdoing. I will assume, however, if you wish, that it was pursuant to the vote of all the plebeians and the judgement of the entire senate that you suffered this misfortune, and that your hatred against us all is just; but the women, Marcius, what wrong have they done to you that you should make war upon them? By what vote did they condemn you to banishment, or what malicious words did they utter against you? And our children, what wrong have they done or contemplated doing that they should be exposed to captivity and to all the other misfortunes which they would presumably suffer if the city should be taken? You are not just in your judgements, Marcius; and if you think you ought to hate those who are guilty and your enemies in such a manner as not to spare even those who are innocent and your friends, then your way of thinking is not such as becomes a good man. But, to omit all these considerations, what, in Heaven’s name, could you answer if anyone should ask you what injury you have received from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepulchres and to deprive them of the honours they receive from men? Or resentment at what injury has led you to despoil, burn and demolish the altars of the gods, their shrines and their temples, and to prevent them from receiving their customary worship? What could you say in answer to this?
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πρὸς ταῦτα φαίης ἄν: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄρω. 7 ταῦτά σοι περὶ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν,1 ὁ Μάρκιε, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οὔς ἀπολέσαι προθυμῇ κακόν οὐδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πεπονθῶς, τάφων τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πόλεως τῆς γειναμένης τε καὶ θρεψαμένης τὰ δίκαια εἰρήσθω.

XXV. "Φέρε, εἴ ἐκ δὴ2 πάντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντάς σε γυναιξίν ὅμοιοι καὶ τέκνοις δίκας σοι δοῦναι προσήκε, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἡρώας καὶ δαίμονας πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἀπολαύσαι τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀνοίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρετον μηδ' ἀτιμώρητον ἀφεῖσθαι μέρος ὑπὸ σοῦ, οὐχ ἰκανὰς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων εἰσπέπραξαι δίκας τοσοῦτον μὲν φόνον ἐργασάμενος ἀνθρώπων,3 τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν πυρὶ καὶ σωδήρω λωβησάμενος, τοσαύτας δὲ πόλεις ἐκ βάθρων ἀναστήσας, ἔστρας δὲ καὶ θυσίας καὶ σεβασμοὺς θεῶν καὶ δαίμόνων ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἀνεόρτοις ἀναγκάσας γενέσθαι καὶ 2 ἀθύτους καὶ τιμῶν νομίμων ἀμοίρους; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ4 ἣξιον αὖ5 ἀνδρα ὧτῳ φροντὶς ὀποσηθῶν ἀρετῆς ἐστιν οὔτε συναναρεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ φίλα οὔτε χαλεπὸν ὀργήν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλος τε καὶ δίκας 3 παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰληφότα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας. ἀ μὲν οὖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἴκομεν καὶ παρατίθεσθαι σε περὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἃ δ’ ὑποτίθεσθαι σοι δι’ εὖνοιαν οἱ τιμωτατοι

1 αὐτῶν B : om. R.
2 φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ Jacoby, ἀλλὰ φέρε εἰ δὲ δὴ Sintenis: ἀφαιρέσθε δὲ δὴ O.
3 ἀνθρώπων B : om. R.
4 μὲν οὐκ B : μὲν οὖν οὐκ R.
5 αὖ added by Cary.

68
For my part, I see nothing that you could say. Let these considerations of justice suffice, Marcius, both in behalf of us of the senate and of the other citizens whom you are eager to destroy, even though you have suffered no wrong at their hands, and in behalf of the sepulchres, the sanctuaries and the city to which you owe both your birth and your rearing.

XXV. “Come now, even if it were fitting that all men, even those who have not wronged you at all, together with their wives and children should make atonement to you, and that all the gods, the heroes and the lesser divinities, the city and the country, should reap the benefit of the tribunes’ folly, and that nothing whatever should be exempted, nothing go unrevenged by you, have you not already exacted sufficient punishment from us all by slaying so many people, ravaging so much territory by fire and sword, razing to the ground so many cities, and doing away in many places with the festivals, the sacrifices and the worship of the gods and other divinities and compelling them to go without their festivals and sacrifices and to have no part in their customary honours? For my part, I should have refused to believe that a man who has the least regard for virtue would either destroy his friends along with his enemies or show himself harsh and inexorable in his anger toward those who offend him in any way, especially after he has already exacted from them many severe retributions. These, then, are the considerations we had to offer you by way of both clearing ourselves and asking you to be lenient toward the plebeians; and the advice which we, your most valued friends, were ready to give you out of goodwill if you were bent on
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φιλονεικοῦντι1 καὶ ὑποσχεῖσθαι διαλλαττομένων πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, ταυτὶ· ἐν δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι σοὶ μάλιστα ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐτί συλλαμβάνει, μετριάσαι καὶ ταμειέσθαι τὴν τύχην, ἐνθυμηθέντα ὅτι μεταβολὰς ἔχει πάντα2 τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὐν- δὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλεῖ διαμένειν, νεμεσάται τε πάντα ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, όταν εἰς ἄκρον ἐπιφανείας ἀφίκηται, καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ μη- δὲν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ μεγάλαυχα φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς ὅρους ἐκβαίνοντα

4 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ὑπάρχει δὲ σοι νῦν ἀπάν- των3 κράτιστα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον· ἢ τε γὰρ

βουλὴ πᾶσα ὑμηται τὴν κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι σοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτοιμός ἐστὶ νόμω κυρωθέντι λῦσαι τὴν ἀειφυγίαν. τί οὖν ἐτί κωλύει σε τὰς ἡδίστας καὶ τιμωρτάς ὁφεις τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σωμά-

των ἀπολαβείν καὶ κεκομίσασθαι τὴν περιμάχητον πατρίδα ἄρχειν τε ὡςπερ σοι προσήκεν ἄρχοντων καὶ ἴγείοθαι ἰγεμόνων παισὶ τε καὶ ἐγγόνους μέγιστον αὐχήμα καταλιπεῖν; τούτων μέντοι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἥμεις ἐγγυηταί πασῶν ἔσμεν ὡς αὐ-

5 τίκα μάλα γενησομένων. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς εἴχε ψηφίσασθαι σοι τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον οὐθέν ἐπεικές ἢ μέτριον, ἐως ἀντιπαρεστρατοπέδευσκας ἥμων καὶ τὰ πολεμίων ἔργα δρᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀποσταίς τῶν ὅπλων, ἥξει σοι τὸ περὶ τῆς καθόδου ψηφισμα

фερόμενον ψφ ἥμων ὅρει εἰς μακράν.

XXVI. "Ἀγαθὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑπάρξει σοι διαλλαττομένῳ, μένοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ

1 φιλονεικοῦντι (or φιλῶν εἰκονί) Kiessling : φιλονεικοῦντες

2 Kiessling : ἀπάντα Ο.

3 Kiessling : πάντων Ο.
strife, and the promises we could make if you were ready to be reconciled to your country, are as follows: While your power is greatest and Heaven still assists you, we advise you to act with moderation and to husband your good fortune, bearing in mind that all things are subject to change and that nothing is apt to continue long in the same state. All things that wax too great, when they reach the peak of eminence, incur the displeasure of the gods and are brought to naught again. And this is the fate which comes especially to stubborn and haughty spirits and those that overstep the bounds of human nature. It is in your power now to put an end to the war on the best possible terms; for the whole senate is eager to pass a vote for your return, and the populace is ready by a law ratifying the senate's vote to annul your sentence of perpetual banishment. What is there, then, to prevent you any longer from enjoying once more the most dear and precious sight of your nearest of kin, from recovering your fatherland that is so well worth fighting for, from ruling, as you ought, over rulers and commanding those who command others, and from bequeathing to children and descendants the greatest glory? Moreover, we are the sureties that all these promises will be performed forthwith. For though at present it would not be well for the senate or the people to pass any mild or lenient vote in your favour while you are encamped against us and are committing hostile acts, yet if you lay down your arms, the decree for your return will soon come to you, brought by us.

XXVI. "These, then, are the advantages you will reap by becoming reconciled; whereas, if you persist in your resentment and do not give up your
ДИОНИСИЙ ОФ ХАЛИКАРНАССУС

diaλυμένω το μίσως προς ἡμᾶς πολλά καὶ χαλεπά, ἡς ὃν ἐγὼ δύο τα μέγιστα νυνὶ καὶ φανερώτατα ἔρω. πρώτον μεν ὅτι δυσκόλου γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδυνάτου, πράγματος πονηρὸν ἐρωτα ἡς εχεις, πόλεως τής Ἡρωμαίων καθελεύν τὴν ἱσχῦν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Οὐνολούσκων ὁπλοῖς· ἐπειθ' ὅτι σοι κατορθώσαντι τε καὶ μὴ τυχόντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπ-ἀρξει δυστυχεστάτω νομίζεσθαι. ἡς ὃν δὲ ταύτα παρίσταται μοι περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν, ἄκουσον, ὦ Μάρκιε, μηθὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μου τῶν λόγων τρα-2 χυνόμενος. σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου.

Ἡρωμαῖος, ὥς οἶδα καὶ σύ, πολλὴ μὲν ἐστι νεότης ἐπιχώριος, ἢς εἰ τὸ στασιάζων ἐξαιρεθεὶ (γενήςεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην νυνὶ διὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον· πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους κοινοῦ συνισταθαι φιλεῖ τὰ διάφορα), οὐχ ὅτι Οὐνολούσκοι κρατήσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰτα-λίαν ἐθνῶν οὐθέν· πολλὴ δ' ἡ Δατίων καὶ τῶν ἀλ-λων συμμάχων τε καὶ ἀποίκων τῆς πόλεως ἱσχύς, ὅν δι' ὅλιγον πᾶσαν ἐπίκουρον ἥξειν προσδέχουσθαν τε ὅνος σὺ καὶ πρεσβυτεροὶ καὶ νέοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὅσοι παρὰ πᾶσαις οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῖς 3 ἀλλαὶ πόλεσι. μεγίστη δὲ πασῶν βοήθεια καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδας οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν φευγαμενή συμπάσχει τε ἀμείων ἀνθρωπίνης ἱσχύς, ἡ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴνοια, δι' οὗ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέραν εἰς τάδε χρόνον τήν πόλιν τῆς ὑιομέν ὁμόθρην ἑδη τῆν νῦν γενέαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλῶν 4 ἐθνῶν ἅρχουσαν. μὴ δὲ Πεδανοῖς ἡμᾶς εἰκάσης

1 μὴ τυχόντι ΑΒΓ: ἐπιτυχόντι D, δι' τυχόντι Jacoby.
2 τε καὶ added by Gellenius.
hatred toward us, many disagreeable things will befall you, of which I shall now mention two as the most important and the most obvious. The first is that you have an evil passion for a thing that is difficult of accomplishment, or rather, impossible—the overthrow of the power of Rome, and that too by the arms of the Volscians; the second is that, alike if you succeed and if you fail, it will be your lot to be looked upon as the most unfortunate of all men. Hear now, Marcius, the reasons that induce me to entertain this opinion concerning you, and take no offence at my frankness of speech. Consider, first, the impossibility of the thing. The Romans, as you yourself know, have a numerous body of youth of their own nation, whom, if the sedition is once banished from among them—and banished it will now inevitably be by this war, since a common fear is wont to reconcile all differences—surely not the Volscians, nay, no other Italian nation either, will ever overcome. Great also is the power of the Latins and of our other allies and colonies, and that power, be assured, will soon come to our assistance. We have generals too of the same ability as yourself, both older men and young, in greater number than are to be found in any other states. But the greatest assistance of all, and one which in times of danger has never betrayed our hopes, and better too than all human strength combined, is the favour of the gods, by whom this city which we inhabit not only continues to this day to preserve her liberty for already the eighth generation, but is also flourishing and the ruler over many nations. And do not liken us to the
μηδε Τολερίνωις μηδε τοις άλλοις μικροπολίταις ουν κατέσχες τα πολίχνια· και γαρ ἦττων ἄν τις σου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀπ’ ἐλάττωνος ἡ τοσαῦτης στρατιᾶς ὀλυγανθρωπίαν καὶ φαυλότητα ἐρυμάτων ἐβιάσατο· ἀλλ’ ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεων καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου παροῦσαν αὑτῇ τύχην, δι’ ἣν ἐκ 5 μικρᾶς τοσαῦτη γέγονε· καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἡν ἐπάγων1 ἐργον τοσοῦτο ἐπιχειρεῖς, μὴ νόμιζε ἡλλάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μέμνησο ἀκριβῶς ὅτι Οὐδολούσκων τε καὶ Λικανῶν στρατιῶν ἐπάγεις,2 οὐς ἦμεις οἴδε οἱ νῦν οἴντες3 ἐν πολλαίς ἐνικώμεν μάχαις, ὁσάκις ἦμιν ἐτόλμησαν εἰς πόλεμον καταστήναι· ὥστε σὺν τοῖς χείροσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλων ἵσθι πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἠττωμένοις διὰ παντὸς πρὸς 6 τοὺς μικρῶτας ἄει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τάναντία τούτων ἡν, ἐκεῖνό γέ τοι θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, πῶς λέληθε σε, πολεμικῶν ὅντα πραγμάτων ἐμπειροῦν, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμοῦν οὐκ ἔξ ἱσον παραγίνεσθαι φιλεῖ τοῖς τε ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τάλλοτρα πορευομένοις· οἱ μὲν γε οὐδὲν, εὰν μὴ 4 κατορθώσωσι, βλάπτονται, τοῖς δ’ οὐδὲν, εὰν πταίσωσι, καταλείπεται· καὶ τοῦ σφάλλεσθαι τάς μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλάττων καὶ τὰς κρείττους ὑπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τοῦτ’ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστ’ αὐτίον ἦν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνος ἰκανὸς θάρσος ἐνθεῦνα τινὶ καὶ μὴ προὔπαρχον φύσει. εἶχον ἐτι

1 ἐπάγων Ο : ἄγων Jacoby, ἐπαγόμενος Kiessling.
2 Kayser : ἐπάγη Ο, Jacoby.
4 οὐδὲν, εὰν μὴ B : εὰν οὐδέν R.
74
BOOK VIII. 26, 4–6

Pedani, the Tolerienses, or the peoples of the other petty towns you have seized; for a general less able than yourself and with a smaller army than this great host of yours could have reduced small garrisons and slight defences. But consider the greatness of our city, the brilliance of her achievements in war, and the good fortune that abides with her through the favour of the gods, by which she has been raised from a small beginning to her present grandeur. As for your own forces, at the head of which you are undertaking so great an enterprise, do not imagine that they have changed, but bear clearly in mind that you are leading against us an army of mere Volscians and Aequians, whom we here who are still living were wont to defeat in many battles, yes, as often as they dared to come to an engagement with us. Know, then, that you are going to fight with inferior troops against those that are superior to them, and with troops that are accustomed to defeat every time against those that are always victorious. Yet even if the contrary of this were true, it would still be a matter for wonder how you, who are experienced in warfare, could have failed to observe that courage in the face of danger is not apt to be felt in equal measure by those who fight for their own blessings and by those who set out after what belongs to others. For the latter, if they do not succeed, suffer no loss, whereas the others, if they are defeated, have nothing left. And this is the chief reason why large armies have often been beaten by smaller ones and superior forces by inferior ones. For necessity is formidable, and a struggle in which life itself is at stake is capable of inspiring boldness in a man which was not already his by nature. I had many other things to
πλείω λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταὐθ᾽ ἰκανά.

XXVII. "Εἰς ἐτί μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ὅτε εἰ μὴ μετ᾽ ὅργης ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ λογισμοῦ κρινεῖς, ὀρθῶς τε εἰρήσθαι δόξει καὶ παραστήσεται σοι μεταμέλεια τῶν πραττομένων. τίς δὲ ἐστὶν οὕτως ὁ λόγος; οὐδενὶ θνητῷ φύντι θεοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐσεσθαι βεβαιῶν ἐπιστήμην ἑδωκαν ἤχειν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εὐροῖς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ὧτῳ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε ἀ πράγματα μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσης τῆς τύχης. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οἱ φρονῆσει προὔχοντες ἐτέρων, ἡν ὁ μακρός βίος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα φέρει,1 πρὶν ἐγχειρεῖν ὀτῳδήποτε ἔργῳ, τό τελός αὐτοῦ πρώτον οἴονται δεῖν σκοπεῖν, οὐ θάτερον μόνον ὁ βούλονται γενέσθαι σφίσων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβησομενον μάλιστα δὲ οἱ τῶν πολέμων ἡγεμόνες, ὅσω μειξόνων τε γίνονται πραγμάτων κύριοι, καὶ τάς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἡ σφαλμάτων ἀπαντες ἐπὶ τούτους ἀναφέρουσα. ἔπεστα ἂν μὲν εὐρωσι μηδεμιῶν ἐνούσαν ἡ μικρὰς καὶ ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ μὴ κατορθῶσαι βλάβας, ἀπτονται τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν δὲ 3 πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἀφίστανται. τούτῳ δὴ καὶ σὺ ποιήσον καὶ σκόπει πρὸ τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν σφαλῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρξῃ, τί συμβησεται σοι παθείν. δι' αἰτίας μὲν ἐσθὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, μέμψῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν ὡς μείζοναν ἐπιχειρήσας πράγμασιν ἡ δυνατοίς.2 στρατιάς δ' ἡμετέρας πάλιν ἐκείσε ἀφικομένης καὶ φθειρούσης τῆς ἐκείνων γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξόμεθα

1 παθήματα φέρει Kiessling: πάθη μεταφέρει B, μαθήματα φέρει Α.
2 ἡ δυνατοίς Α: ἡ ἀδυνάτοις B, καὶ ἀδυνάτοις Kiessling.
say concerning the impossibility of your undertaking, but this is enough.

XXVII. "I still have one argument left which, if you will judge of it by reason rather than in anger, will not only seem to you to have been well made, but will also cause you to repent of what you are doing. What is this argument? That the gods have not given it to any mortal creature to possess sure knowledge of future events, and you will not find in all past time a man for whom all his undertakings succeeded according to his plan and whom Fortune thwarted in none. For this reason those who excel others in prudence—the fruit of a long life and many lessons from experience—think that they ought, before beginning any enterprise whatever, first to consider its possible outcome—not only the one which they desire for themselves, but also the one which will be contrary to their judgement. And this is particularly true of commanders in wars, the more so because the affairs of which they have charge are of greater importance and because everybody imputes to them the responsibility for both victories and defeats. Then, if they find that no loss inheres in failure, or few and small losses, they set about their undertakings, but if the losses might be many and serious, they abandon them. Do you too, then, follow their example, and before you resort to action, consider what it will be your fate to suffer if you fail in this war and all conditions do not favour you. You will be reproached by those who have received you and you will also blame yourself for having undertaken greater things than are possible; and when our army in turn marches into their territory and lays it waste
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μὴ ἀντιτιμωροῦμενοι τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν; δυνεῖν οὐκ ἄν ἀμάρτως θατέρου, ἣ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων, οἷς αὐτίος ἐστὶ συμφορῶν μεγάλων, αἰσχρῶς ἀναρεθήναι, ἣ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὥστε ἄπο-

κτενῶν τε καὶ δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. τάχα δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι, πρῶτον τῷ παθεῖν τι κακὸν γενέσθαι, διαλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ-

δοτον ἀξιώσειαν ἑπὶ τιμωρίᾳ σε παραδιδόναι δ' ἰπποῦ βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τοιαύτας καταστάσεις τύχας ἤγαγκάσθησαν ὑπομείνα. ἀρά

γε μικρά καὶ οὔκ ἄξια λόγου ταύτ' εἰναι σοι δοκεῖ καὶ δεῖν αὐτῶν ὑπεριδεῖν, ἢ κακῶν συμπάντων ἔσχατα παθεῖν;

XXVIII. "Φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ κατορθώσῃ, τί τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσται σοι καὶ περιμάχητον ἁγαθόν, ἣ τίνας ἔξοισῃ δόξας; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξέτασον.

πρὸτον μὲν τῶν φιλτάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαστάτων ὑπάρξει σοι στερεσθαι σωμάτων, μητρὸς ἀθλίας, ἢ γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ σοι πόνων οὐ καλὰς ἁμοιβὰς ἀποδίδως. ἐπειτα γαμετῆς σῶφρονος, ἢ διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ χιρείᾳ καθηται πάσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νῦκτα τὰς σῶς φυγάς ὁδυρομενή. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι τέκνων δυεῖν, οὐς ἐχρῆν ἁγαθῶν προγόνων ὄντας ἀπο-

γόνον καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων τιμὰς εὐδοξοῦντας 2 ἐν εὐτυχοῦσῃ τῇ πατρίδι. ὃν ἀπάντων οἰκτρᾶς καὶ ἀτυχεῖς ἀναγκασθῆσῃ θεωρεῖν καταστροφᾶς,

εἰ τολμήσεις προσάγειν τοὺς τείχες τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φείσοntαι τῶν σῶν οὐθενὸς οἱ περὶ τῶν

1 Steph. : ἀποκτεῖνων ABC. 2 Cobet : δέον O, Jacoby.
3 ἔσχατα O : τὰ ἔσχατα Reiske, Jacoby.
4 Sylburg : ἔστι AB.
—for we shall never submit to such injuries without avenging ourselves on our aggressors—you will not be able to avoid one of these two fates: you will be put to death in a shameful manner either by those very men, in whose eyes you will be to blame for great misfortunes, or by us, whom you came to slay and to enslave. But perhaps those others, before they become involved in any misfortune, may, in the attempt to effect an accommodation with us, think fit to deliver you up to us to be punished—a course to which many, both barbarians and Greeks, have been obliged to submit when reduced to such extremities. Do you look upon these as small matters unworthy of your consideration and believe that you ought to overlook them, or rather as the worst evils of all to suffer?

XXVIII. "Come now, if you do succeed, what wonderful, what enviable advantage will be yours, or what glory will you gain? For this also you must consider. In the first place, it will be your fate to be deprived of those who are dearest and nearest of kin to you—of an unhappy mother, to whom you are making no honourable return for your birth and rearing and for all the hardships she underwent on your account; and again, of a faithful wife, who through yearning for you sits in solitude and widowhood, lamenting every day and night your banishment; and furthermore of two sons who ought, being descendants of worthy ancestors, to benefit from their honours by being held in high esteem in a flourishing fatherland. But you will be forced to behold the pitiable and unhappy deaths of all these if you dare to bring the war to our walls. For surely no mercy will be shown to any of your family by those
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σφετέρων κινδυνεύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀμοιακά κακῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ πάσχοντες, ἄλλ' εἰς αἰκισμοὺς αὐτῶν δεινοῦς καὶ ὑβρεῖς ἀνηλείες καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἰδέαν προτήλαξισμοῦ χωρήσοντος ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν βιαζόμενοι καὶ τούτων οὐχ οἱ δρώντες, ἄλλ' ὁ τὴν 3 ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθείς 'αὐτοὺς ἐσή σύ. 3 ὡςονάς μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτας καρπώσῃ κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσαντός σοι τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, ἑπαίνον δὲ καὶ ζηλοῦν καὶ τιμᾶς, ὥν ὀρέγεσθαι χρή τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, σκόπει ποιάς τινάς 4. μητροκότονος κεκλήσῃ καὶ παυδοφόνος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀληθήμος καὶ πατρίδος ἀλάστωρ, καὶ οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔθ' ἐστίας, ὅποι ποτ' ἃν ἀφίκῃ, κοινωνεῖ θελήσει σοι τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων οὐθείς, αὐτοῖς τε οὔκ ἐσὴ τίμιος οἷς εὐνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ταῦτα δρᾶς, ἄλλα καρπωσάμενοι τινα ἐκαστὸς τούτων ἐκ τῶν σών ἀσεβημάτων ὡφέλειαν μισήσουσι τὴν αὐθά- 4 δειαν τοῦ τρόπου. ἔω γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι, χωρίς τοῦ μίσους ὁ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιεικεστάτων ἔξεις, καὶ φθόνος ἀπαντήσεται πολὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑσων καὶ φόβος ἐκ τῶν ἱσσόνων καὶ δι᾽ ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ὥσα εἰκὸς συμπεσεῖν ἀνδρὶ ἐρήμω φίλων καὶ ἐν ἕξη ὑντι γῇ. τὰς γὰρ δὴ παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπιπεπομένας τοῖς ἀνόσια καὶ δεινὰ διαπραξάμενοι ἐρμύνας ἐω, ὦφ' ὅν αἰκιζόμενοι ψυχὰς τε καὶ σώματα κακοὺς μὲν διαντλοῦσι βίους, οὐκτρὰς δ' ὑπομένουσι τελευτάς.

1 ὀμοια (O) : οἰκεία Kiessling. 2 δεινοὺς B : om. R. 3 ἐσή σύ Reiske : ἐσὴ O, Jacoby. 4 τινάς Jacoby, τινάς B : καὶ τινάς R.
who are in danger of losing their own and are treated
by you with the same cruelty. On the contrary, they
will proceed to inflict on them dreadful tortures,
pitiless indignities and every other kind of abuse, if
they are forced thereto by their calamities. And for
all these things it will not be those who do them that
are to blame, but you, who impose the necessity upon
them. Such will be the pleasures you will reap if
this enterprise of yours succeeds; but as for praise
and emulation and honours, which good men ought
to strive for, consider of what nature they will be.
You will be called the slayer of your mother, the
murderer of your children, the assassin of your wife,
and the evil genius of your country; wherever you
go, no man who is pious and just will be willing
to let you partake with him in sacrifices or liba-
tions or in the hospitality of his home; and even
by those for whom out of friendliness you perform
these services you will not be held in honour, but
every one of them, after reaping some advantage
from your impious actions, will detest your arrogant
manner. I forbear to add that, besides the hatred
which you will encounter on the part of the most
fair-minded men, you will have to face much envy
from your equals and fear from your inferiors and, in
consequence of both the envy and the fear, plots and
many other disagreeable things which are likely to
befall a man destitute of friends and living in a foreign
land. I say nothing, indeed, of the Furies sent by
the gods and other divinities to punish those who
have been guilty of impious and dreadful deeds—
those Furies tormented by whom in both soul and
body they drag out a miserable life while awaiting
a pitiable death. Bearing these things in mind,
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετάγνωθι καὶ παῦσαι μνησικακῶν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι· τύχην τε πάντων αἵτινα ἡγησάμενος ὅν πέπονθας πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡ δέδρακας ἡμᾶς κακῶν, ἀπίθε χαῖρων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ κόμισαι ιητρός τε περιβολάς προσηνεστάτας καὶ γυναικὸς φιλοφροσύνας ἡδίστας καὶ τέκνων ἀσπασμοῦς γλυκυτάτους, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος ὀφείλημα κάλλιστον τῇ γειναμένης σε καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα παιδευσαμένη πατρίδι."  

XXIX. Τοιαῦτα διεξελθόντος τοῦ Μηνυκίου μικρὸν ἐπισχών ὦ Μάρκιος ἔπει·  

"Σοι μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἃμα τούτω πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φίλος εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος, εἰ τι δύναμαι, ποιεῖν ἁγαθὸν, ὅτε μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε πολίτης ὑμέτερος ἦν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπραττόν, ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄναγκαιοις ἐγένεσθε καιροῖς χρήσιμοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν φυγήν οὐκ ἀπεστράφητε με καταφρονήσει τῆς τότε τύχης, ὡσ ὀὔτε φιλος ἐν ποιεῖν δυνάμενον ἔτι οὔτ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ἀλλὰ χρηστοὶ καὶ βέβαιοι διεμείνατε φίλοι μητρός τε τῆς ἐμῆς κηδόμενοι καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων, καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς κοινοτέρας 2 ποιοῦντες ταῖς ἑδέσσας ἐπιμελείαις. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέχθομαι τε ὃς δύναμαι μάλιστα καὶ πολέμω 5 καὶ οὐδέποτε μισῶν αὐτοὺς παύσομαι· οἱ μὲ ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' ὦις τιμᾶσθαι προσήκειν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστα ἑξημαρτηκότα περὶ τὸ κοινὸν αἰσχρῶς ἐξῆλθαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὔτε μητέρα αἰδεσθέντες τῆς ἐμῆν οὔτε παιδία ἐλεή-

1 καὶ κόμισαι B : om. R.  
2 τε after γυναικὸς deleted by Reiske.  
3 Cobet : γεννησομένη Λ, γεννησαμένη R.
BOOK VIII. 28, 5—29, 2

Marcius, repent of your purpose and give up your grudge against your country; and regarding Fortune as having been the cause of all the evils you have suffered at our hands or have inflicted on us, return with joy to your family, receive a mother’s most affectionate embraces, a wife’s sweetest welcome, and the children’s tenderest greetings, and give yourself back to your country as a most honourable repayment of the debt you owe to her for having given birth and rearing to so great a man.”

XXIX. Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcius after a short pause replied:

"To you, Minucius, and to all you others who have been sent here with him by the senate I am a friend and am ready to do you any service in my power, because not only earlier, when I was your fellow citizen and had a share in the administration of public affairs, you assisted me in many times of need, but also after my banishment you did not turn from me in contempt of my then unhappy fate, as if I were no longer able either to serve my friends or to hurt my enemies, but you continued to show yourselves good and staunch friends by taking care of my mother, my wife and my children, and alleviating their misfortune by your personal attentions. But to the rest of the Romans I am as hostile as I can be and am at war with them, and I shall never cease to hate them; for they, in return for the many glorious achievements for which I deserved honour, drove me out of my country with ignominy, as being guilty of the most grievous crimes against the commonwealth, and showed neither respect for my mother, nor com-

4 ἀναγκαῖοις B : ἀγαθοῖς Α.
5 καὶ πολεμῶ Ο : om. Reudler, Jacoby. 6 τὴν B : om. R.

83
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σαντες οὐτ’ ἄλλο πάθος ἢμερον οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς
3 ἐμαῖς λαβόντες τύχαις. μαθόντες δὲ τούτο, εἰ μὲν
αὐτοὶ δείσθε τοῦ παρ’ ἦμῶν, λέγετε μηθὲν ὁκνοῦν-
tει, ὃς οὐθενός ἀτυχήσοντες τῶν δυνατῶν, περὶ
δὲ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν, ἃς ἁξιώτε με ποιήσα-
thαι πρὸς τὸν ὅμιον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίδι τῆς καθόδου,
παῦσασθε διαλεγόμενοι. πάνυ γὰρ ἀγαπητῶς δεξαὐ-
μην ἃν εἰς τοιαύτην κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ἡ τὰ
μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα ἡ κακία φέρεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν
κακούργων τιμωρίας οἱ μηθὲν ἡμαρτηκότες ὑπο-
4 μένουσιν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, πρὸς τεῦων εἰπατέ μοι, τίνος
αὕρηματος αἰτία ταύτης ἐγὼ πεπείραμαι τῆς
tύχης, ἡ ποίον ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔργον ἀνάξιον τῶν
ἐμαυτοῖ προγόνων; πρῶτην ἐστρατευσάμην ἐξ-
όδον κομιδὴ νέος ὄν, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς βία
cατιόντας ἧγωνιζόμεθα. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἀρισ-
tείοις ἀνεδούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στεφάνους
πολῖτην ὑπερασπίσας καὶ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας.
5 ἐπειθ’ ὡς ἄλλας ἰππικᾶς καὶ πεζικᾶς ἡγωνισάμην
μάχας, ἐπιφανῆς ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐγενόμην καὶ τάρισ-
tεία ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἐλαβον’ καὶ οὐτε πόλις ἐκ τειχο-
μαχίας ἐάλω τις ἦν οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἐπέβην ἡ
μόνος ἡ σὺν ὅλην, οὐτε φυγῇ πολεμίων ἐκ
παρατάξεως ἐγένετο ἡ σὺκ ἐμὲ αἰτιώτατον γενέ-
thαι πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὡμολόγουν, οὐτε ἄλλο
τῶν λαμπρῶν ἡ γενναίων ἐν πολέμωι ἔργον οὐ-
θὲν ἀνεύ τῆς ἐμῆς εἰτε εὐτολμίας εἰτε εὐτυχίας
ἐπράξθη.

XXX. Ὅι ταύτη μὲν ᾦσως ἂν ἔχωι τις καὶ

1 ἡ μόνος Reudler, ἡ μόνος C : om. AB.

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1 The corona civica, which bore the simple inscription
passion for my children, nor any other humane feeling in view of my misfortunes. Now that you have been informed of this, if you desire anything from me for yourselves, declare it without hesitation, in the assurance that you shall fail of naught that is in my power; but as regards friendship and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into with the populace in the hope that they will let me return, discuss it no more. Great indeed would be the satisfaction with which I should accept restoration to a city like this, in which vice receives the rewards of virtue and the innocent await the punishment of criminals! For come, tell me, in Heaven's name, with what crime am I charged that I should have experienced this misfortune? Or what course have I pursued that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my first campaign when I was very young, at the time we fought against the kings who were endeavouring to bring about their restoration by force. As a result of that battle I was crowned by the general with a wreath of valour for having saved a citizen and slain an enemy. After that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of the horse or foot, I distinguished myself in all and from all received the rewards for valour. And there was neither any town taken by storm whose walls I was not the very first or among the first few to mount, nor any flight of the enemy from the field of battle where all who were present did not acknowledge that I had been the chief cause of it, nor any other signal or brave action performed in war without the assistance of either my valour or my good fortune.

XXX. "These are exploits, it is true, that some
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έτερος ύπερ αὐτοῦ γενναῖος ἀνήρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοσ-αὕτα, λέγειν· ἄλλα πόλιν ὅλην τίς δύνατ' ἃν καυχή-σασθαι στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς ἐλών, ὡσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Κοριολανῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ στρατιῶν πολεμίων τρεφάμενος, ὡσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἐπίκουρον τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις

2 ἀφικομένην; εὖ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἔξον μοι λαβεῖν ἕκ τῶν λαφύρων πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ' ἄργυρον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ύποξύγια καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γῆν πολλήν καὶ ἀγαθήν, οὐκ ἡξίωσα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπίθεθον ὡς μάλιστα βουληθεῖς ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἕνα μόνον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ἕξον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸν δ' ἄλλον πλοῦτον

3 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἑθηκα φέρον. πότερον· οὐν τιμωρίας ἀξίως ἢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν, ἡ τιμᾶς λαμβάνειν, καὶ πότερον ὑπὸ τοῖς κακίστοις γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἥττοσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταύτα με ἀπήλασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἀκόλαστος καὶ πολυτελῆς καὶ παράνομος ἦν; καὶ τίς ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι τινα διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς παρανόμους ἱδονᾶς ἢ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντα ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολολεκότα ἢ χρημάτων στερό-μενον ἢ ἄλλη τυι συμφορᾶ χρησάμενον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν με οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἤτιάσατο οὐδὲ δι-έβαλεν ἐπ' οὔδενι τούτων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἐμαρ-τυρεῖτό μοι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι

4 βίος. ὡς 'ἀλλ' ἡ προαιρέσεις, νὴ Δία,' φαίη τις ἂν, ἡ τῶν πολιτειμάτων σου μισηθείσα ταύτην ἐξ-ειργάσατο σοι τὴν συμφορᾶν. ἔξον γὰρ ἐλέσθαι τὴν

86
other brave man also might perhaps be able to cite in his favour, even if not so many of them; but what general or captain could boast of capturing an entire city, as I captured Corioli, and also of putting to flight the enemy's army on that very same day, as I did that of the Antiates when it came to the assistance of the besieged? I refrain from adding that after I had given such proofs of my valour, when I might have received out of the spoils a large amount of gold and silver, as well as slaves, beasts of burden and cattle, and much fertile land, I refused, but desiring to secure myself as far as possible against envy, took only a single war-horse out of the spoils and my personal friend from among the captives, and all the rest of the wealth I brought and turned over to the state. Did I, then, for these actions deserve to suffer punishments, or to receive honours? To become subject to the basest of the citizens, or myself to issue orders to my inferiors? Or perhaps it was not for these reasons that the populace banished me, but rather because in my private life I was unrestrained, extravagant and lawless? And yet who can point to anyone who because of my lawless pleasures has either been banished from his country, or lost his liberty, or been deprived of his money, or met with any other misfortune? On the contrary, no one even of my enemies ever accused or charged me with any of these things, but all bore witness that even my daily life was irreproachable. 'But, great heavens, man,' some one may say, 'it was your political principles that aroused hatred and brought this misfortune upon you. For when you had it in your power to choose the better side, you chose the

1 See vi. 92 ff.
κρείττων μερίδα τήν χείρονα εἶλον καὶ διετέλεις ἀπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἐξ ὑν καταλυθή-
σεται μὲν ἡ πάτριος ἀριστοκρατία, κύριος δέ ἐσται τῶν κοινῶν ὄχλος ἀμαθῆς καὶ πονηρὸς. ἀλλ' ἔγνω 
με ταναντία ἐπραττον, ὁ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὅπως ἡ 
βουλή τῶν κοινῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ 
ὁ πάτριος διαμενεὶ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας προνοοῦ-
5 μην. ἀντὶ τούτων μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
μάτων, ὁ τοὺς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ἔχωντα εἶναι ἐδόκει, 
tὰς εὐτυχεῖς ταύτας καὶ μακαρίας κεκόμισμαι 
παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοιβάς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου 
μόνον ἐξελαθεῖς, ὁ Μηνύκιε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον 
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἢ κατ' ἀρχάς ἐπαίρουσα μὲ κεναῖς 
ἐλπίσων, ἦνικα τοῖς δημάρχοις τυραννίδα περι-
βαλλομένους ἡναντιοῦμην ὡς αὕτη παρέξουσα τὸ 
ἀσφαλεῖς, ἐπειδὴ κίνδυνον τυχε ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν 
ὑπείδετο, ἀπέστη καὶ παρέδωκε με τοῖς ἐξήροις.
6 σὺ μέντοι τότε αὕτος ὑπατος ἡσθά, ὁ Μηνύκιε, 
ὁτε τὸ προβούλευμα τὸ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἐγένετο, 
καὶ ἦνικα Θυαλέριος ὁ παραδιδόνας με τῶς δήμω 
pαρανών σφόδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους εὐδοκίμε, καὶ ὁ 
δεδιὼς μὴ ψήφου δοθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων 
ἀλο, συνέγνων καὶ παρέξειν ἐμαυτὸν ὑπεσχόμην 
ἐκόντα1 ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

XXXI. ""Ἰθι δὴ μοι, Μηνύκιε, ἀπόκριναι, πό-
tερα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἐφάνην 
eῖναι, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα ἐπολιτευόμην τε καὶ ἐπρατ-
tον, ἡ τῶ δήμω μόνω; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπασὶ ταύτα $^{2}$ 
ἐδόκει τότε καὶ πάντες με ἀπηλάσατε, φανερὸν ὅτι 
pάντες οἱ ταύτα βουληθέντες ἀρετὴν μισεῖτε, καὶ 
tόπος οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεχόμενος καλο-

1 Reiske : ἡξοντα Ο. 2 Grasberger : ταύτα Ο.
worse, and you continued to say and do everything calculated to effect the overthrow of the established aristocracy and to put the whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of an ignorant and base multitude.' But I, Minucius, pursued a course the very reverse of that, and sought to provide that the senate should always administer the public business and that the established constitution should be maintained. In return, however, for these honourable principles, which our forefathers thought worthy of emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed reward from my country—to have been banished, not by the populace alone, Minucius, but, long before that, by the senate, which encouraged me at first with vain hopes while I was opposing the tribunes in their efforts to establish a tyranny, promising that it would itself provide for my security, and then, upon the first suspicion of any danger from the plebeians, abandoned me and delivered me up to my enemies! But you yourself were consul at the time, Minucius, when the senate passed the preliminary decree concerning my trial and when Valerius, who advised delivering me up to the populace, gained great applause by his speech, and I, fearing that, if the question were put, I should be condemned by the senators, acquiesced and promised to appear voluntarily for trial.

XXXI. "Come, answer me, Minucius, did I seem to the senate also to deserve punishment for having promoted and pursued the best measures, or to the populace only? For if you were all of the same opinion at that time and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of you who were of this mind hate virtue and that there is no place in your city for
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κἀγαθίαν· εῖ δὲ βιωθείσα ἡ βουλὴ συνεχώρησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, οὐ γνώμης, ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου πονηροκρατεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι ἂν προέλθῃ κυρίαν. 2 ἔπειτα εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξιοῦτε με κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ἂν τὸ κρείττον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἀρχεῖται; πολικὴν ἀρὰ κατεγνώκατε μονομανίαν. φέρε, καὶ δὴ πέπεισαι καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ ἀξιοῦτε, κατελήλυθα, τὸς ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσται μου διάνοια καὶ τῶν βίων ἔσομαι; πότερα τάσφαλες καὶ ἀκίνδυνον αἱρούμενοι ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ τάλλα ἀγαθὰ ὧν ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν ἤγοδιμα μετιὼν, θεραπεῦνω ὑπομενόν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν ὄχλον; πονηρὸς ἀρὰ ἐς ἄγαθον γενήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μου τῆς προτέρας ἀρετῆς ὀφελος.

3 ἄλλῳ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὢθεσε μὲν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαιρεσίν τῆς πολιτείας φυλάττων ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ ταῦτα προαιρομένοις; εἶτα νὰ πρόοδηλον ὅτι πολεμήσει μοι πάλιν ὁ δήμος καὶ δίκας ἔτέρας πάλιν ἄξιώσει λαμβάνειν, τούτῳ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἐγκλῆμα ποιούμενος, ὅτι τῆς καθόδου δὴ ἐκείνου τυχῶν οὐ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶ πολιτεύομαι; οὐκ

4 ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειτ' ἀναφανήσεται τοστ ἔτερος Ἰκιλίῳ παραπλήσιος ἡ Δεκίῳ θρασύς δημαγωγός, ὃς αἰτιάσεται μὲ διωστάναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπ' ἄλληλων ἡ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πράττειν ἐπιβουλὴν ἡ προδίδοναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἡ τυραννίδι, ὡσπερ καὶ Δεκίος ἡττάσατο, ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ ἄλλο ἄδικεῖν, ὀτιδήποτε ἂν αὐτῷ φανή· οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσει

1 τὴν πόλιν B: om. R.
loyalty to principle. But if the senate was forced to yield to the populace and its action was the result of compulsion, not of conviction, you senators admit, I take it, that you are governed by the baser element and that the senate has not the power to act in any matter as it thinks fit. After this do you ask me to return to such a city, in which the better element is governed by the worse? Then you have judged me capable of an act of sheer madness! But come, suppose that I have been persuaded, and having put an end to the war as you desire, have returned home; what sentiments shall I entertain after this, and what manner of life shall I live? Shall I choose the safe and secure course, and, in order to obtain magistracies, honours and the other advantages of which I think myself worthy, consent to court the mob which has the power of bestowing them? In that case I shall change from a worthy to a base citizen and shall reap no benefit from my former virtue. Or, maintaining the same character and observing the same political principles, shall I oppose those who do not make the same choice? Then is it not obvious that the populace will again make war upon me and insist on exacting fresh penalties, making this very point their first charge against me, that after obtaining my return at their hands I do not humour them in the measures I pursue? You cannot deny it. Then some other bold demagogue, an Icilius or a Decius, will appear who will accuse me of setting the citizens at variance with one another, of forming a plot against the populace, of betraying the commonwealth to the enemy, or of aiming at tyranny, even as Decius charged me, or of any other crime that may occur to him; for hatred will never be at a loss to find an
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

5 το μισοῦν αἵτιας. ἦξει τε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκλήμασι καὶ ταυτὶ φερόμενα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὅσα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέπρακταί μοι τούτῳ, οὕτως χώραν ύμῶν τέτμηκα καὶ λείαν ἀπελήλακα καὶ πόλεις ἀφήρημαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους τοὺς μὲν πεφόνευκα, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδέδωκα. ταύτ' ἐὰν οἱ κατήγοροι λέγωσι, τι φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπολογούμενος ἢ τίνι βοθεία χρῆσομαι;

XXXII. "Ἀρ' οὐ φανερὸν ὦτι καλλιλογεῖτε καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθε, ὥς Μηνύκιε, ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργῳ περιθέντες ἀνοσίως; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάθοδον μοι δίδοτε, ἀλλὰ σφάγιον με τῷ ὑμημίω κατάγετε, τάχα μὲν καὶ βεβουλευμένοι τούτο πράττειν. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μοι 2 χρήστον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε—τίθημι γὰρ· οὐδὲν ὃν πείσομαι προορώμενοι, τί οὖν ἔσται μοι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἁγνοίας ἡ μωρία ὁφελός, κωλύειν μὲν οὐδὲν ὃν ᾧ οἶν ἦτε δυνησομένων,1 χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ὑμημίῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαζομένων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὦτι μὲν2 οὐ συνοίσει μοι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ᾦδε, ἢν ὑμεῖς μὲν κάθοδον καλεῖτε, ἐγὼ δὲ ταχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον, οὐ πολλῶν οἴομαι δεῖν ἐτὶ λόγων· ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἡ τιμήν ἢ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν—ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων, ὥς Μηνύκιε, πρόνοιαν ἔχειν με ἤξιον, εὐ ποιῶν—ἀλλ' αἰσχυστά μοι καὶ ἀνοικτά παρακαθήσεται πεισθέντι ύμῖν, ἀκουσον ἐν 3 τῷ μέρει. ἐγώ πολέμιος ἐγενόμην τούτοις3 καὶ πολλά ἡδύκησα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῇ πατρίδι

1 οὖδ' ἂν οἶοι ἦτε δυνησομένων Sintenis: οὖδ' ἂν οἶοι τε δυνησομένων B, οὖδ' ἂν βούλησθε οὐ δυνάμενοι Λ.
2 μὲν B: om. R.
3 τούτοις Kiessling, τούτοις Cobet: τούτοις οὐδολούσκοις B, τοῖς οὐδολούσκοις Λ.

92
accusation. And, besides the other charges, there will also be brought up presently all the things I have done in this war—that I have laid waste your country, driven off booty, taken your towns, slain some of those who defended them and delivered up others to the enemy. If my accusers charge me with these things, what shall I say to them in my defence, or on what assistance shall I rely?

XXXII. "Is it not therefore plain, Minucius, that you envoys are indulging in fair words and dissimulation, cloaking with a specious name a wicked design? For surely it is not my restoration that you are offering me, but you are taking me back to the populace as a sacrificial victim, perhaps because you have actually planned to do this (for it no longer occurs to me to hold any good opinion of you); but if you wish it so—I am merely assuming this—that it is because you do not foresee any of the things that I shall suffer, what advantage shall I gain from your ignorance or folly, since you will not be able to prevent anything even if you are so disposed, but are compelled to gratify the populace in this too, as in everything else? Now to show that from the point of view of my safety there will be no gain to me in this—'restoration,' as you call it, but I a quick road to destruction, not many more words are called for, I think; but to prove that it will not enhance my reputation, either, or my honour, or my piety—for you, Minucius, asked me to take these into consideration, and rightly—but that, on the contrary, I shall be acting in a most shameful and impious manner if I follow your advice, pray hear in turn what I have to say. I became an enemy to these men here and did them many injuries during the war while I
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πράττων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἱσχύν καὶ κλέος. οὐκοῦν
προσήκε μοι τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὗ πεπονθότων,
μυσεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημένων; εἰ γοῦν τι τῶν
εἰκότων ἐγένετο. ἄνέτρεψε δ' ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἢ
τύχη, καὶ εἰς τὰναντία μετέθηκε τὰς ἁξιώσεις.
ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὅν τούτοις ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἀφ-
εῖλεσθε µε πάντα τὰμα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ποιήσαντες
ἐρρώματε οὕτω δ' οἶ τὰ δευνὰ ὑπ' ἐμοὺ παθόντες,
tὸν ἀπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἄπολιν
4 ὑπεδέξαντό με ταῖς ἔαυτῶν πόλεσι. καὶ οὐκ ἄπ-
ἐχρῆ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιῆσασι µόνον οὕτω λαμπρὸν
καὶ μεγαλομυχον ἐργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτείαν ἐδοσαν
µοὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἔαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ ἀρχας καὶ
τιμᾶς αἰ µέγισται παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐὼ τάλλα:
ἀλλὰ νυνι στρατηγὸν ἀποδεδείχασι µε αὐτοκράτορα
τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐπ'
5 ἐμοὶ πεπονήκασι µόνῳ. φέρε δή, τίνα λαβὼν καρ-
δίαν προδοήν ἃν ἐτί τούτους, ὅφ' ὅν τηλικαύτας
κεκόσμησα µιαῖς, οὐθὲν οὔτε µεῖζον οὔτε ἐλαττὸν
ἀδικηθέας; εἰ µὴ ἄρα αἱ χάριτες αὐτῶν ἀδικουσί
µε, ὡσπερ ὦµᾶς αἰ ἔµαι· καλὴν γε δόξαν οἰσε µοὶ
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γνωσθείσα ἡ παλμπρο-
dοσία.3 τίς δ' οὐκ' ἂν ἐπανέσειε µὲ ἀκούσας ὅτι
τοὺς µὲν φίλους, ὅφ' ὅν εὐ πάσχειν µοι προσήκε,
pολεμίους εὐρῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς, ὅφ' ὅν ἐχρῆ
με ἀπολωλέναι, φίλους, ἀντὶ τοῦ µυσεῖ µὲν τὰ
µισοῦντα φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ φιλοῦντα, τῆν ἐναντίαν
γνώµην ἔσχον;

XXXIII. "Ἰθι δὴ σκόπει καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν,

1 ἄνέτρεψεν Bb : καὶ ἄν ἔστρεψεν Α, ἀλλ' ἄνεστρεψεν Reiske,
ἀντεστρεψε δ' Cobet.
2 τούτοις B : om. R. 3 Sylburg : πάλιν προδοσία O.

94
BOOK VIII. 32, 3—33, 1

was acquiring sovereignty, power and glory for my country. Was it not fitting, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I had benefited and hated by those I had injured? Certainly, if what one could reasonably expect had happened. But Fortune upset both these expectations and reversed the two principles. For you Romans, on whose account I was an enemy to these men, deprived me of all my possessions, and making a nobody of me, cast me off; while they, who had suffered those dire evils at my hands, received me into their cities, the resourceless, homeless, humbled outcast. And not content with doing this only, an action so splendid and magnanimous, they also conferred on me citizenship in all their cities, as well as the magistracies and honours that in their country are highest. To omit the rest, they have now appointed me supreme commander of their expeditionary force and have committed to me alone all the interests of their state. Look you, with what heart would I now betray these men by whom I have been decked with such honours, when I have suffered no injury, great or small, at their hands? Unless, indeed, their favours are injurious to me, as mine are to you! A fine reputation forsooth, throughout all the world will such double treachery bring me, when it shall be known! Who would not praise me on hearing that when I found my friends, from whom I had the right to expect kindness, to be my enemies, and my foes, by whom I should have been put to death, to be my friends, instead of hating those who hate me and loving those who love me, I took the opposite view!

XXXIII. "Come now, Minucius, consider next

\[4 \text{ o\text{u}}\kappa \text{ O : om. Sylburg, Jacoby.} \]
Μηνύκιε, οία μοι νῦν τε ἀπήντηται καί, ἐάν ἄρα πεισθεῖς υμῖν προδώ τὴν τούτων πίστιν, οἴα τὸν λοιπὸν ὑπάρξει μοι βίον. νῦν μὲν γε πάσης πράξεως ἂν ἄψωμαι καθ’ υμῶν συλλαμβάνουσί μοι,
2 καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς πείρας ἀποτυγχάνω. καὶ τοῦτο πηλίκον οἴεσθε εἰναὶ τεκμήριον εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ γὰρ δὴ 1 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος οὐχ ὄσιν ἐγὼ πόλεμον ἐνεστησάμην, ἀπαντᾷ χρὴν 2 ἐναντία μοι γίνεσθαι τὰ 3 παρὰ θεῶν· ὅποτε δ’ οὐρὼ πνεοῦση κέχρημαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους τύχῃ, καὶ ὅποσοι ἄν ἐπιβάλωμαι πράγμασι κατ’ ὀρθῶν ἀπαντᾷ μοι χωρεῖ, δὴλον ὅτι εὐσεβής εἰμι ἀνήρ καὶ πράξεις
3 προήρμημα καλᾶς. τί οὖν, ἐὰν μεταβάλωμαι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα αὔξειν, τὰ δὲ τούτων ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν ζητῶ, γενήσεται μοι; ἀρ’ οὖχι τάναντία, καὶ πονηρὰν νέμεσιν ἔξω παρὰ τοῦ δαμονίου τοῖς ἦδικημένοις τιμωρῶν, καὶ ὅσπερ ἐκ ταπεινοῦ μέγας διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγενόμην, οὕτως αὕθεσ ἐκ μεγάλου ταπεινὸς γενήσομαι, καὶ τάμα παθήματα παιδεύ-
4 ματα γενήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἐμοί μὲν ταῦτα παρισταται περὶ τοῦ δαμονίου φρονεῖν, καὶ πείθομαι γε τὰς ἐρυνύας ἐκείνας τὰς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τοῖς ἀνόσιον τι διαπραξαμένοις, ὅν καὶ σὺ ἐμνήσθης, ὥς Μηνύκιε, τότε μοι παρακολουθήσειν ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αἰκιζομένας, ὅταν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς σώσαντάς με ἀπολωλότα υφ’ υμῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώσαι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς προσθέντας εὐεργεσίας, οἷς ἐγνωσάχθας ἐδοκικαθεοὺς, ὥς ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ κακῶ τὴν ἄφιξιν ποιησάμενος καὶ

1 δὴ Cobet : αὖ Ο. 2 Jacoby : ἔχρῆν Ο. 3 τὰ B : om. R.
the matter of the gods' treatment of me, what it has shown itself to be at present and, if I do let you persuade me to betray the trust reposed in me by these people, what it will be for the rest of my life. At present they assist me in every enterprise I undertake against you and in no attempt am I unsuccessful. And how weighty a testimony to my piety do you consider that? For surely, if I had undertaken an impious war against my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in everything; but since I enjoy the favouring breeze of Fortune in the wars I wage and everything that I attempt goes steadily forward for me, it is evident that I am a pious man and that my choice of conduct has been honourable. What, then, will be my fate if I change my course and endeavour to increase your power and humble theirs? Will it not be just the reverse, and shall I not incur the dire wrath of Heaven which avenges the injured, and just as by the help of the gods I from a low estate have become great, shall I not in turn from a great be brought again to a low estate, and my sufferings become lessons to the rest of the world? These are the thoughts that occur to me concerning the gods; and I am persuaded that those Furies you mentioned, Minucius, so frightful and inexorable toward those who have committed any impious deed, will dog my steps and torment both my soul and body only when I abandon and betray those who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the same time as they preserved me, conferred upon me many fine marks of their favour, and to whom I gave the gods as guarantors of my pledge that I had not come among them with the purpose of doing them any injury and
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φυλάξων τὴν εἰς τὸ δε χρόνου καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμφι
αντόν συνούσαν μοι πίστιν.

XXXIV. "Ὅταν δὲ φίλους ἔτι καλῆς, ὁ Μηνύ-
κιε, τοὺς εξελάσαντάς με καὶ πατρίδα τὴν ἀπαρνη-
σαμένην, φύσεως τε νόμους ἀνακαλή καὶ περὶ τῶν
όσίων διαλέγη, φαΐνη μοι τὰ κουνότατα καὶ ὑπὸ
μηδενὸς ἀγνοούμενα μόνος ἀγγοείν· ὅτι τὸ φίλιον
ἡ πολέμιον οὔτε οὐσιωδὸς ὄριζει χαρακτήρ οὔτε
ονόματος θέσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χρείαις καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς
δηλούται τούτων ἐκάτερον, φιλούμεν τε πάντες τὰ
ωφελοῦντα καὶ μισοῦμεν τὰ βλάπτοντα, οὐκ ἀν-
θρώπων τινῶν ἡμῖν τόνδε θεμένων τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ
ἀνελούντων2 ποτὲ αὐτὸν, ἕαν τάναντία αὐτοῖς δοκῆ,
ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐξ ἀπαντός τοῦ3 χρό-
νου τάσι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως μετεληφόσι κείμενον καὶ
2 εἰς ἀεὶ διαμενοῦντα παραλαβόντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
φίλους τε ἀπαρνούμεθα ὅταν ἀδικήσωσι, καὶ ἔχ-
θροὺς φίλους ποιοῦμεθα4 ὅταν τις ἡμῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν
ὑπάρξῃ χάρις, πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην ἡμᾶς, ὅταν
μὲν ὀφελῆ, στέργομεν, ὅταν δὲ βλάπτῃ, κατα-
λείπομεν, οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγαπῶντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ
3 διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οὕτως5
ἐπέρχεται καθ’ ἑνα φρονεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεων
ἀλαι καὶ ἐθνεσιν, ὡστε ὁ ταύτη τῇ γνώμῃ χρώμε-
νοι οὐδὲν ἐξὸ τῶν θείων ἀξιοὶ νομίμων, οὐδ’ παρὰ
τὴν κοινὴν ἀπαντῶν ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ δικαίωσιν.
ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα6 πράττοντα ἐμαυτὸν τά τε δίκαια
ηγοῦμαι πράττει καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ καλά

1 φυλάξων ACmg : om. R.
2 ἀνελούντων B : ἀνελούντων R.
3 τοῦ B : om. R.
4 φίλους ποιοῦμεθα ACmg : φιλοσοφοῦμεθα BC.
5 οὕτως B (?), Sylburg : om. AC.
6 ταῦτα B : om. R.
that I would keep with them the faith which I have hitherto preserved pure and untarnished.

XXXIV. "When you call those still my friends, Minucius, who banished me and that nation my country which has renounced me, when you appeal to the laws of Nature and discuss the obligations of religion, you seem to me to be ignorant of the most common facts, of which no one but you is ignorant—namely, that a friend or an enemy is not determined either by the lineaments of a face or by the giving of a name, but both are made manifest by their services and by their deeds, and that we all love those who do us good and hate those who do us harm. No men laid down this law for us nor will men ever annul it if the opposite course seems to them better; on the contrary, it has been enacted from the beginning of time by the universal Nature for all creatures endowed with sense, a heritage of man to remain in force forever. For this reason we renounce our friends when they injure us and make friends of our enemies when some kindly service is done for us by them; and we cherish the country that gave us birth when it helps us, but abandon it when it harms us, since our affection is based, not on the place, but on the benefit it confers. These are the sentiments not merely of individual persons in private life, but of whole cities and nations. Consequently, whoever applies this principle demands nothing not sanctioned by religious usage and does nothing that contravenes the common judgement of all mankind. I, therefore, consider that in doing these things I am doing what is just, advantageous
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ ἀμα καὶ¹ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιώτατα· καὶ οὐ δέομαι δικαστὰς ύπὲρ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τοὺς εἰκασμοὺς καὶ δόξη τεκμαρισμένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους, ἐπειδὴ θεοὶς ἀρέσκοντα πράττω. οὐ γὰρ ἀδυνάτως ἐπιχειρεῖν ύπολαμβάνω πράγμασι θεοὺς ἐχων αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας, εἰγε δει τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἦδη τὰ μέλλοντα.

XXXV. "Περὶ δὲ τῆς μετριότητος, ἐφ’ ἦν παρακαλεῖτε με, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν τὸ 'Ῥωμαιῶν γενός μηδ’ ἐκ βάθρων ολὴν ἀναστήσας τὴν πόλιν, εἶχον μὲν,² ὦ Μηνύκιε, λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτου κύριος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν³ στρατηγὸς εἰμι τῆς δυνάμεως, πολέμου δὲ⁴ καὶ εἰρήνης οὕτω κύριοι· ὥστε παρὰ τούτων αἰτεῖσθε γε ἂνοχάς ἐπὶ δι-² ἀλλαγάις,⁵ ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ’ ἐμοῦ. οὐ μὴν⁶ ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς σέβων τοὺς πατρίδος καὶ τάφους αἰδούμενος προγόνων καὶ γῆν ἐξ ἒς ἐφυν, γυναῖκας τε καὶ παίδας ὑμῶν ἐλεῶν, οἵ οὐκ ἐπιτιθείοις οὐδὶ τὰ πατέρων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἦξει⁷ σφάλματα, καὶ οὐχ ἢκιστά τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δι’ ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς προ-χειρίσθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως,⁸ τάδε ἀποκρίνομαι· ἐὰν ἀποδώσιν⁹ 'Ῥωμαιοὶ Οὐνολυσκοίς χώραν τε ὅσην αὐτοὺς ἀφήρημαι καὶ πόλεις ὁσας κατέχουσιν ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἐποίκους,¹⁰ φιλίαν τε ποιή-σωνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον καὶ ἱσοπολι-

1 καὶ ἀμα καὶ Cary : καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα καὶ O, Jacoby.
2 μὲν B : οὖν AC, ἃν Sylburg.
3 μὲν added by Reiske.
4 δὲ B : om. R.
5 αἰτεῖσθε γε ἂνοχάς ἐπὶ διαλλαγάις B : αἰτεῖσθε εἰτε ἂνοχάς εἰτε διαλλαγάις R.
6 After οὐ μὴν the MSS. have ταῦτην γε δίδωμι τὴν ἀπόκρι-σων, which Reiske deleted.
BOOK VIII. 34, 3—35, 2

and honourable, and at the same time what is most holy in the eyes of the gods; and I do not care to take as judges of my conduct mere men who infer the truth from guesswork and opinion, since the gods are pleased with what I do. Nor do I agree that I am undertaking impossible things when I have the gods as my guides therein—not, at least, if one is to judge of the future by the past.

XXXV. "As regards the moderation which you recommend to me and your plea that I should not utterly destroy the Roman race or overthrow the city from its foundations, I might answer, Minucius, that this is not in my power to decide, nor should your plea be addressed to me. No, I am general of the army, but as to war and peace these men here have the decision; so apply to them for a truce as a step toward reconciliation, and not to me. Nevertheless, because I revere the gods of my fathers and respect the sepulchres of my ancestors and the land which gave me birth, and feel compassion for your wives and children, on whom, though undeserving, will fall the errors of their fathers and husbands, and, not least of all, on account of you men, Minucius, who have been chosen envoys by the commonwealth, I answer as follows: If the Romans will return to the Volscians the land they have taken from them and the cities they hold, first recalling their colonists, and if they will enter into a league of perpetual friendship with them and give them equal rights of citizenship,

1 Or, following Kiessling’s emendation, "by the senate."

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7 ἤξει BC : ἤξειν Cmg, ἤξειν Λ.
8 πόλεως O : βουλής Kiessling.
9 Jacoby : ἀποδιδώσι O.
10 ἐποίκους AΒa : ἐποίκους Bb.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τείας μεταδώσων\(^1\) ὦσπερ Λατίνοις ὁρκοῦσα καὶ ἄρας κατὰ τῶν παραβανόντων τὰ συγκείμενα ποιησάμενοι, διαλύσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον, πρότερον 3 δὲ οὖ.\(^2\) ταῦτ' οὖν\(^3\) ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρὸς ἔμε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάνω ἑπιστρεφῶς ταῦτα διαλέγεσθε. καλὸν τοι τὰς ἒκαστοὺς ἑξωτάν κτήσεις ἐν εἰρήνη ἦν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἄξιοι τὸ μηθένα δεδουκέναι μὴν ἔχθρον μὴτε καιρὸν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιεχομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ὑπομένει, ἐν θυ καὶ\(^4\) περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάντων κινδυνεύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν. τὰ τε ἄθλα ἐπιδείκνυτε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ίσα\(^5\) κατορθοῦσι τε καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσι γινόμενα γῆς ἀλλοτρίας γλυχομένοις. εἰ δὲ βοῦλεσθε, προστίθετε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἡδικημένων προσλαβεῖν βουλομένους, ἐὰν μὴ κρατῶσι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἀφαιρέθηναι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτων γυναῖκας ἐπιδείκνυτε τὰ\(^6\) αἰσχύστα πασχοῦσας καὶ παίδας εἰς ὕβριν ἀγομένους καὶ γονεῖς δούλους 4 ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ἐπὶ γῆρως οὐδ'\(^7\) γυνομένους. καὶ ἀμα διδάσκετε τὴν βουλήν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἢν ἔχουεν αἰτιάσασθαι Μάρκιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ δεινῷ περιπέσειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔσχατων κινδυνοῦ ἀναίρησονται μέχρι παντὸς φιλοχωροῦντες τοῖς\(^8\) ἀλλοτρίοις.

5 "Ἐχετε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εὐ-

\(^1\) μεταδώσων A : μεταδιδὼσιν R.
\(^2\) οὐ Kiessling : om. O, but in B one or two letters erased after δὲ.
\(^3\) ταῦτ' οὖν Jacoby, ταῦτα δὴ Kiessling : ταῦτα O, but in B three (?) letters erased after ταῦτα.
\(^4\) καὶ B : δὴ καὶ R.

102
as they have done in the case of the Latins, confirming their covenant by oaths and by imprecations against those who may violate it, I will put an end to the war against them, and not until then. So carry this report back to them, and discuss very earnestly with them also, in the same way as you have with me, these considerations of justice—how fine a thing it is for everyone to enjoy his own possessions and to live in peace, how important to have no enemy and no crisis to fear, but how disgraceful it is for a people, by clinging to the possessions of others, to expose themselves to an unnecessary war, in which they will run the hazard of losing even all their own blessings. Point out to them also how unequal are the prizes that reward success and failure when men covet the territory of others. Add too, if you please, that people who desire to seize the cities of those they have wronged, if they do not overcome them, are deprived of both their own territory and city, and in addition to this see their wives suffer the greatest indignities, their children led away to contumely, and their parents upon the threshold of old age become slaves instead of free men. And at the same time point out to the senators that they would not be able to impute the blame for these evils to Marcius, but to their own folly; for though they have it in their power to practise justice and to incur no disaster, they will hazard their all by their continual fondness for the possessions of others.

“You have my answer, and you will get nothing

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5 ἵσσα Hudson : ἐἰς ἃ O.
6 τὰ added by Grasberger.
7 Reiske : ὀδοῦ Α, ὀδοῦ B.
8 ἐν before τοῖς deleted by Jacoby.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

rhoisθε παρ' ἐμοῦ πλεόν, ἀλλ' ἀπίτε καὶ σκοπείτε ὁ τι πρακτέον ὑμῖν: ἕως δὲ βουλεύσασθε1, δίδωμι χρόνον ὑμῖν ἁμερῶν τριάκοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σήν τε χάριν, ὡς Μηνύκιε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἑνεκα τὴν στρατιάν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάξω· μεγάλα γὰρ ἃν βλάπτουσθε μενοῦσθη αὐτὴς ἐνθάδε. τῇ δὲ τριακοστῇ προσδέχεσθε με ἤμερα τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενον."

XXXVI. Ταῦτ' εἶπον ἀνέστη καὶ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακήν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιάν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις, εἴτε κατ' ἀλήθειαν πεπυσμένος ὅτι μέλλοι τις ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρία Ῥωμαίως ἀφίσαται,2 ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἐφήσεν, εἴτε αὐτὸς πλασάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἵνα3 μὴ δοξεί χαριζόμενος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καταλελιτυνέαι τὸν πόλεμον.

2 ἑπιβαλὼν δὲ τῇ καλομένῃ Λογγόλα4 καὶ δίχα πόνου γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁντερ τὰς ἑτέρας ἤξανδραποδισάμενος τε καὶ διαρπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Σατρικανῶν ἡλαυνεὶ πόλιν. ἐλὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὁλίγον ἀντισχόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων5 ὦφελείας μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἐχέτραν, τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναλαβῶν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἄλλην τὴν καλομένην Κετίαν.6 γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς καὶ διαρπάσας εἰς τὴν Πολυσκανῶν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν. οὐ δυνηθέντων δ' ἀντισχεῖν τῶν Πολυσκανῶν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν καὶ

1 βουλεύσασθε B : βουλεύσασθε Α, βουλεύσασθε CD.
2 Naber : ἀφικέσθαι O, Jacoby.
3 ἵνα B : ὑνα R.
4 Sylburg : λογγάδι O.

104
further from me. Depart, then, and consider what you must do. I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the meantime, to show my regard for you, Minucius, as well as for the rest of you envoys, I will withdraw my army from your territory, since it would cause you great injury if it remained here. And on the thirtieth day expect my return in order to receive your answer."

XXXVI. Having thus spoken, Marcius rose up and dismissed the conference; and the following night he broke camp about the last watch and led his army against the rest of the Latin cities, either having actually learned that some reinforcements were to come from them to the Romans, as he declared at the time in his harangue to the troops, or having invented the report himself, in order that he might not seem to have given up the war to gratify the enemy. And attacking the place called Longula, he gained possession of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner as he had treated the others, by making slaves of the inhabitants and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of Satricum, and having taken this also, after a short resistance by the townspeople, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty taken in these two towns to Ecetra, he marched with the rest of his forces to another town, called Cetia. After gaining possession of this place also and pillaging it, he made an irruption into the territory of the Poluscini; and when these were unable to withstand him, he took their city also by

1 A name otherwise unknown.

5 αὐτῶν ἄμφωτέρων Jacoby: αὐτῶν ἄμφωτέρων τῶν πόλεων O, ἄμφωτέρων τῶν πόλεων Portus.
6 κετίαν O: Κοτίαν Lapus, Σητίαν Gelenius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

toutous ep' tais exeis exwreis. 'Albientas\(^1\)\ mên ouv kai Mogillumovs\(^2\)\ ek teichomachias aîrei, Xwrielanvovs\(^3\)\ dé kath' omologias paralambanei. genomevos d' en hmeras triakonta poleon ep'ta kurios \(\gamma\)kev ep'i thn 'Rwmh\(\iota\) auwv polu pleiw stratian ths proteras kai stadious aposchoi ths poleos olignv pleious twn triakonta parà thn ep'i Tuskianous ferousan òðon katestratopèdeusen.

'En ò dé tais Latínnwv exeirei te kai prôstígeto poleis, 'Rwmvouis prôs tais epitugias auvou polôa bouleusamevnoi edóxe mhdèn anáxion poieiv ths polews, alî' éan mên aptelwsan auvôn ek ths xóras Òuloðskoi kai ths twn summáxon te kai úptkòwn\(^4\) kai\(^5\) katalesamenei tòon polemon prôsbheis apostelwsoi toûs dialeurômenous peri filias, pro-
boulevseai to suneðrion ef' ois èssonai dikaious filoi, kai tâ bouleutheventa eis toû dêmou exeug-
keiv. éws d' ãn en th xóra méonontes auvôn kai tòwn summáxon érga pràttwsi polewvwn, mu-
thèn auvôi òpsi-sethein filantwronton. polus galu dè 'Rwmvouis aëi lógos toû mhdèn dràsai potè e ëx epitágamatos mhdè fóbwv polewvwn exeuntas, spèusaménoi dé tois diaforous kai paraaschousin éantous úptkous chrísethai te kai epitrepewn

\(^1\) òlbientas AB : Labevntas Sylburg.
\(^2\) Kiessling : mogillumovs BC, mosgevialívous A.
\(^3\) xwrielanvovs O : Karpovianovs Steph.
\(^4\) ùs after úptkòwn deleted by Reudler.
\(^5\) kai added by Portus.

\(^1\) At least two of these names are corrupt. For the strange form ËLABINTAC (Albietes or Albietae) Sylburg proposed to read ËLABINATAC (Lavinienses), an emendation that is 106
storm, and then proceeded against the others in order: the Albieten and the Mugillani he took by assault and the Chorielani by capitulation.\(^1\) Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned toward Rome with an army much larger than his former force, and encamped at a distance of a little more than thirty stades from the city, on the road that leads to Tuseulum.

While Marcius was capturing or conciliating the cities of the Latins, the Romans, after long deliberation over his demands, resolved to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, but if the Volscians would depart from their territory and from that of their allies and subjects and, putting an end to the war, send ambassadors to treat for friendship, the senate would pass a preliminary vote fixing the terms on which they should become friends and would lay its resolution before the people; but as long as the Volscians remained in their territory and in that of their allies committing hostile acts they would pass no friendly vote. For the Romans always made it a great point never to do anything at the dictation of an enemy or to yield to fear of him, but when once their adversaries had made peace and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them and con-

very attractive both palaeographically and also because Lavinium has already been mentioned as undergoing siege (chap. 21) and Livy names it among the cities taken by Coriolanus. The form Chorielani at once suggests Coriolani; but that name seems to have been used already in chap. 19. Mugilla is not otherwise known to us, though the Roman cognomen Mugillanus may well be derived from a place name. Gronovius on the basis of our passage substituted Mugillam for the adjective novella(m) in Livy’s list of captured cities (ii. 39, 3), but some recent editors have not followed him in this.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οτου δέοιντο των μετρίων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα ἐν¹ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις φυλάττουσα ἡ πόλις κατὰ τε τοὺς ὀθνείους καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μέχρι τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνου διατετέλεκε.

XXXVII. Ταῦτα ψηφισμαίνησς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἐτέρους ἐλομένης δέκα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας τὸν ἄνδρα μηθὲν ἐκφερεν ἐπίταγμα βαρύ μηδ’ ἀνάξιον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀναστήσαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πειθοὶ καὶ διὰ λόγων συμβατηρίων ταῦτα πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν, εἰ βρύλεται βεβαιόντας τε καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ διαμεμονύσας ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τῶν πόλεων, ὡς τῶν γε ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἡ καρποῦ συγχωρουμένων καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλειν ἀμα τῶν μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς καρποὺς ἡ τὰς ἀνάγκας εὐθὺς διαλυμένων· οἱ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῆς πρέσβεις ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Μαρκίου πορευθέντες ὡς αὐτόν πολλὰ ἐπαγωγά διελέγοντο φυλάττοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις 2 τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ Μάρκιος ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς² ἀπεκρίνατο, συνεβούλευε δὲ κρείττον τι βουλευσαμένους ἢκεῖν τριῶν ἐντὸς ἕμερῶν· ταῦτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐσεσθαί μόνας ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου. βουλομένων δὲ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπίεσα τὴν ταχύτητι ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀπειλήσας, εἰ³ μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὡς κατασκόποις χρήσεσθαι⁴· κακεύνων σωπῆς ἀπίστες ἐν τοῦ ὁχοντο. μαθόντες δ’ οἱ βουλευταὶ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων τὰς αὐθάδεις ἀποκρίσεις τε καὶ ἀπειλάς

1 ἐν B : ἐν τοῖς R.
2 αὐτοῖς B : om. R.
3 εἰ Cary : ὡς εἰ O, Jacoby, οὕτως εἰ Hertlein.
4 Hertlein : χρήσεται O, Jacoby.

108
cede anything in reason that they asked. And this proud spirit the commonwealth has continued to preserve down to our own time amid many great dangers in both their foreign and their domestic wars.

XXXVII. The senate, having passed this decree, chose ten other men from among the ex-consuls as envoys to ask Marcius not to make any demand that was severe or unworthy of the commonwealth, but laying aside his resentment and withdrawing his forces from their territory, to endeavour to obtain his demands by persuasion and conciliatory language, if he wished to make the compact between the two states firm and enduring, since all concessions made either to individuals or to states under compulsion of some necessity or crisis become void at once when the crisis or the necessity changes. The envoys appointed by the senate, as soon as they were informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him and used many tempting arguments, preserving also in their discussions, however, the dignity of the commonwealth. But Marcius gave them no answer except to advise them to reach some better decision and then return within three days; for they should have a truce from war for that period only. And when the envoys desired to make some answer to this, he would not permit it, but ordered them to quit the camp immediately, threatening, if they refused, to treat them as spies. Thereupon they at once withdrew in silence. The senators, upon being informed by the envoys of the haughty answer and

1 For chaps. 37 f. cf. Livy ii. 39, 12.
τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιάν μὲν ὑπερόριον ἑξάγεων οὔδὲ τότε ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴτε τὸ ἀπειροπόλεμον τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν (νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν αὐτῶν) ευλαβηθέντες, εἴτε τὴν ἀτολμίαν τῶν ὑπάτων (ἡκιστα γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ δραστήριον ἦν) σφαλερὰν ἡγησάμενοι τηλικοῦτον ἀναρεῖσθαι ἀγώνα, εἴτε ἁρα καὶ τοῦ δαμονίου σφίσιν ἐναντιομένου πρὸς τὴν έξοδον δι’ οἰωνῶν¹ ἡ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων ἡ τινος ὀττείας πατρίου, ὅν οὐκ ἦξιον οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ὑπερορὰν φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελεστέρα φυλακῆ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων τοὺς ἐπίσταντας ἀμύνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

XXXVIII. Ταύτα δὲ πράπτοντες καὶ παρασκευάζομεν τῆς τε ἐλπίδος οὐπώ ἀφιστάμενοι ὡς δυνατὸν ὑπάρχον ἐτὶ μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ μεἴξον καὶ τιμωτέρα πρεσβεία δεηθεῖεν αὐτοῦ, ψηφίζοντα τοὺς τε ἱεροφάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας ὅσοι τιμήν τινα ἱερὰν ἡ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεία δημοτελή λαβόντες εἶχον (εἰσὶ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἴερεῖς καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεῶν πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι διαφανέστατοι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τε οἶκους πατέρων καὶ ἄρετὴς οἰκείας ἄξιωσιν) ἔχοντας ἀμ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν οργιαζομένων τε καὶ θεραπευομένων θεῶν τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀμπεχομένους ἐσθῆτας ἀθρόους ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων πορεύεσθαι 2 τοὺς αὐτοὺς φέροντας τοῖς προτέροις λόγοις. ὡς δ’ ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐλεξαν ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν, οὐδὲ τούτους ἐδωκεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπόκρισιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦξιον, ἀλλ’ ἡ τὰ κελευόμενα

¹ δ’ οἰωνῶν Reiske : οἰωνῶν B, οἶον A.
threats of Marcius, did not even then vote to send out an expeditionary force, either because they feared the inexperience of their troops, most of whom were new recruits, or because they regarded the timidity of the consuls—there was indeed no boldness for action in them at all—as a serious risk in undertaking so great a struggle, or perhaps too because Heaven opposed their expedition by means of auspices, Sibylline oracles, or some traditional religious scruple—warnings which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect as do those of to-day. However, they resolved to guard the city with greater diligence and to repel from their ramparts any who should attack them.

XXXVIII. While they were so engaged and were making their preparations, and were not yet ready to give up all hope, believing that Marcius could still be persuaded to relent if they sent a larger and more dignified embassy to intercede with him, they voted to send the pontiffs, the augurs, and all the others who were invested with any sacred dignity or public ministry relating to divine worship (there are among them large numbers of priests and ministers of religion, these also being distinguished beyond their fellows not only for their ancestry, but for their reputation for personal merit as well), and that these, carrying with them the symbols of the gods whose rites and worship they performed, and wearing their priestly robes, should go in a body to the enemy's camp bearing the same message as the former envoys. When they arrived and delivered the message with which the senate had charged them, Marcius returned no other answer even to them concerning their demands, but advised them either to depart and do
CIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ποιεῖν συνεβούλευεν ἀπιόντας, εἰ θέλουσιν εἰρήνην ἁγειν, ἢ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἦξοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπείπε μὴ διαλέγεσθαι τρὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀπέτυχον τῆς πείρας οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, πᾶσαν ἠλπίδα διαλαγῆς ἀπογνόντες ὡς πολυορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς μὲν ἄκμαιστάτους ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις τάξαντες, τοὺς δ’ ἀφειμένους ἂδη στρατεύειαν, οἷς ἐτὶ τὰ σώματα ἰκανὰ ἦν κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοὺς τείχεσιν.

XXXIX. Αἶ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐγγύς ὄντος ἦδη τοῦ δεινοῦ, καταλυόμασι τῆς οὐκοί μονής τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ὀλοφυρόμενοι τοῖς ἦν ἄπασ μὲν ἱερὸς τόπος οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ ἱκετείας γυναικῶν ἀνάπλεως, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ τοῦ Καπιτω-λίου Διὸς ἱερὸν. ἔνθα δὴ τῆς αὐτῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι προύχουσα καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τότ' οὖσα καὶ φρονήσα τὰ δέοντα ἰκανωτάτη, Ὀυαλερία μὲν ὄνομα, Ποπλικόλα δὲ τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς πόλιν ἄδελφη, θείω τυν παραστήματι κινηθείσα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ κρηπίδος ἐστῇ τοῦ νεῶ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἄλλας γυναίκας πρῶτον μὲν παρεμιθῆσατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἄξιοῦσα μὴ καταπεπλήχθαι τὸ δεινόν · ἔπειτα ὑπέσχετο μίαν εἶναι σωτηρίας ἠλπίδα τῇ πόλιν, ταύτην δ’ ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι μόναις καταλειπο-3 μένην, εἶν ἐλθήσωσι πράττειν ἄ ἰ. καὶ τις ἐπεν εἴς αὐτῶν. "Καὶ τί πράττουσιν ἂν ἢμεῖς· αἰ γυναῖκες διασώσω δυνηθείμην τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρηκότων; τίς ἡ τοσαύτη περὶ ἦμᾶς τάς

1 Sintenis: ὑπὸ O, Jacoby.
as he commanded, if they wished to have peace, or to expect the war to come to their very gates; and he forbade them to attempt any negotiations with him for the future. When the Romans failed in this attempt also, they gave up all hope of reconciliation and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men beside the moat and at the gates, and stationing upon the walls those who had been discharged from military service but whose bodies were still capable of enduring hardships.

XXXIX. In the meantime their wives,¹ seeing the danger now at hand and abandoning the sense of propriety that kept them in the seclusion of their homes, ran to the shrines of the gods with lamentations and threw themselves at the feet of their statues. And every holy place, particularly the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was filled with the cries and supplications of women. Then it was that one of them, a matron distinguished in birth and rank, who was then in the vigour of life and quite capable of discreet judgement, Valeria by name and sister to Publicola, one of the men who had freed the commonwealth from the kings, moved by some divine inspiration, took her stand upon the topmost step of the temple, and calling the rest of the women to her, first comforted and encouraged them, bidding them not to be alarmed at the danger that threatened. Then she assured them that there was just one hope of safety for the commonwealth and that this hope rested in them alone, if they would do what required to be done. Upon this one of them asked: “And what can we women do to save our country, when the men have given it up for lost? What strength so

¹ For chaps. 39-54 cf. Livy ii. 40, 1-10.
ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταλαιπώρους ἐστίν ἴσχύς;" "Οὐχὶ1 ὅπλων," ἔφησεν ἡ Ὀυαλερία, "καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη,2 τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ’ εὐνοίας καὶ λόγου." Βοήσα δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένης καὶ δεομένων ἀπασών φανερόν3 ποιεῖν ἦτις ἐστὶν 4 ἡ ἐπικουρία, λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς: "Ταύτην ἔχουσαι τὴν πιναράν τε καὶ ἄκοσμον ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παραλαβοῦσαι γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπαγόμεναι βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀὐσεροῦρίας τῆς Ἀρκιίου μητρὸς οἰκίαν· καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα θείσαι, δεώμεθα μετὰ δακρύων ἡμᾶς τε οἴκτείρασαν τὰς μηθενός κακοῦ αἰτίας καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις οὕσαν πατρίδα προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγοῦσαν τοὺς τε νύμνους καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας· ἀκολουθώμεν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ παιδία ἐπαγόμεναι: ἐπείτα ἰκέτων γενομένην τοῦ τέκνου, ἁξίουν καὶ δείσθαι μηδὲν 5 ἀνήκεστον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὁλοφυρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντιβολοῦσης οἰκτός τε εἰσελεύσαται τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ λόγισμὸς ἤμερος. οὐχ οὕτω στερράν καὶ ἀτρωτὸν ἔχει καρδίαν ὥστε ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ γόνασι κυλιομένην.

XL. Ὡς δ’ ἐπήνεςαν αἱ παροῦσαι τὸν λόγον, εὐξαμένη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθὼν καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν περι-θείναι τῇ δεήσει προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, αἱ δ’ ἡκολούθουν. καὶ μετὰ τούτου παραλαβοῦσαι τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Ἀρκιίου μητρὸς ἀθρόαι. ἱδοῦσα δ’ αὐτὰς προσ-ιούσας ἡ τοῦ Ἀρκιίου γυνὴ Ὀυαλερία πλησίον καθημένη τῆς ἐκυρᾶς ἐθαύμασε· τε καὶ ἐπε· "Τίνος

1 οὐχὶ Λ: οὐχ R.
BOOK VIII. 39, 3—40, 1

great do we weak and miserable women possess?"

"A strength," replied Valeria, "that calls, not for weapons or hands—for Nature has excused us from the use of these—but for goodwill and speech." And when all cried out and begged of her to explain what this assistance was, Valeria said: "Wearing this squalid and shabby garb and taking with us the rest of the women and our children, let us go to the house of Veturia, the mother of Marcius; and placing the children at her knees, let us entreat her with tears to have compassion both upon us, who have given her no cause for grief, and upon our country, now in the direst peril, and beg of her to go to the enemy's camp, taking along her grandchildren and their mother and all of us—for we must attend her with our children—and becoming the suppliant of her son, to ask and implore him not to inflict any irreparable mischief on his country. For while she is lamenting and entreating, a feeling of compassion and a tender reasonableness will come over the man. His heart is not so hard and invulnerable that he can hold out against a mother who grovels at his knees."

XL. This advice having been approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to invest their plea with persuasion and charm, and then set out from the sanctuary, followed by the others. Afterwards, taking with them the rest of the women, they went in a body to the house of Marcius' mother. His wife Volumnia saw them approaching as she sat near her mother-in-law, and being surprised at their coming, asked: "What is it you want,

2 Sintenis: δεόμεναι O, δεόμεθα Grasberger.
3 Grasberger: φανεράν O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

dεόμεναι, γυναίκες, ἐληλύθατε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς οἴκιαν δύστηνον καὶ ταπεινήν;" καὶ ἡ Οὐαλερία

2 ἔλεξεν. "Ἐν ἐσχάτως οὖσαι κινδύνοις καὶ αὕται καὶ τὰ νήπια ταῦτα καταπεφεύγαμεν ἵκετιδες ἐπὶ σέ, ὡς Οὔετουρία, τὴν μόνην καὶ μίαν βοήθειαν, ἀξιοῦσαι σε πρῶτον μὲν οἰκτείραι τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, ἣν οὕθεν πάλιντε γενομένην ὑποχείριον μὴ περίδης ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Οὐσολούσκων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἰ δὴ καὶ φείσονται αὐτῆς κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐ πρόρριξον ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἄνελεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιβολοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δυστήνων παιδίων τούτων, ἢν μὴ πέσωμεν εἰς ἐχθρῶν ὑβρῖν οὖθενος οὖσαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑμῖν κα-κ3 κῶν αὕται. εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἐν σοὶ ψυχῆς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλανθρώπου καταλειπομένη μερίς, ἐλέησον, ὡς Οὔετουρία, γυνη γυναίκας κοινωνησάσας ἰερῶν ποτε καὶ σοίων, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ σεαντῆς Οὐσολούνιαν τε τὴν ἀγαθὴν γυναίκα καὶ τους παι-δας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ἵκετιδας ἡμᾶς φεροῦσας τὰ νήπια ταυτί, καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας, ἃθι πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πείθε καὶ λιπάρει καὶ μὴ ἄνησ δεομένη, μίαν αὐτὶ πολλῶν χάριν αὐτοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ σπείσα-σθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας καὶ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δεομένην ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν πατρίδα: πείσεις γάρ, εἰ ἦσθι, καὶ οὐ περισσεῖται σε ἐρρυμένην 4 παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσῶν ἄνηρ εὐσεβῆς. κατ-αγαγοῦσα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῇ τε ἀθάνατον ἐξεις κλέος ὡσπερ εἰκός ἐκ τηλικοῦτον κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ῥυσαμένη τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἡμῖν τιμῆς τινὸς αὐτία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔση,

1 τὰ νήπια ταυτί καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας Jacoby, τὰ νήπια καὶ ταῦτα ἱκέτας γενναίους Post : τὰ νήπια καὶ ταῦτα τὰς γενναίας Ὀ. 116
women, that so many of you have come to a household that is distressed and in humiliation?" Then Valeria replied: "Because we are in the direst peril, both we ourselves and these children have turned as suppliants to you, Veturia, our one and only succour, entreating you, first, to take compassion on our common country and not to permit this land, which has never fallen under any man's hand, to be robbed of its freedom by the Volscians—even supposing that they will spare it after subduing it and not endeavour to destroy it utterly; and next, imploring you in our own behalf and in behalf of these unfortunate children that we may not be exposed to the insolence of the enemy, since we are the cause of none of the evils that have befallen your family. If there remains in you any portion of a gentle and humane spirit, do you, Veturia, as a woman, have mercy on women who once shared with you the same sacrifices and rites, and taking with you Volumnia, the good wife of Marcius, and her children, and us suppliant women—ourselves too of noble birth—carrying in our arms these infants, go to your son and try to persuade him, implore him, and cease not to entreat him, asking of him this one favour in return for many—to make peace with his fellow citizens and return to his country that longs to get him back. For you will persuade him, be assured; a man of his piety will not permit you to lie prostrate at his feet. And when you have brought your son back to Rome, not only will you yourself most likely gain immortal glory for having rescued your country from so great a danger and terror, but you will be the cause to us also of some honour in the eyes of our
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οτι τον ου δυνηθεντα υπ έκεινων διασκεδασθηναι πόλεμον αυται διελυσαμεν έκεινων τε øληθως1 εγγονοι2 των γυναικων φανησομεθα αι τον συσταντα Ρωμυλω προς Σαβινους πόλεμον αυται πρεσβευσαμεν διελυσαντο και συναγαγοσαι τους τε ήγεμόνας και τα έθνη μεγάλην έκ μικρας 5 εποιησαν την πόλιν. καλος ο κινδυνος, ο Ουετουρία, τον υιων κομισασθαι, ελευθερωσαι την πατριδα, σωσαι τας έαυτής πολιτιδας, κλεος άρετής αθανατον τοις3 εσομενοις καταλιπειν. δος ήμιν έκοιος και μετα προθυμια την χαριν και σπευσον, ο Ουετουρία· θουλην γαρ η χρόνον ο κινδυνος οδυς ην ουκ επιδεχεται.”

XLI. 'Η μεν δη ταυτα ειποισα και πολλα προεμενη δάκρυα εσίγησεν· οδυρομενων δε και των άλλων γυναικων και πολλαις δεησεις ποιομενων μικρων επισχοισα η Ουετουρία και δακρύσασα είπεν:

"Εις άσθενη και λεπτην έλπιδα καταπεφευγατε, ο Ουαλερία, την έξ ήμων των άθλιων γυναικων βοηθειαν, αις η μεν ενυοια η προς την πατριδα πάρεστι και το θελεν σωζεσθαι τους πολιτας, οιοι ποτε εισω, η δ ισχυς και το δύνασθαι ποιειν αν 2 θελομεν άπεστιν. απεστραπται γαρ ήμας, ο Ουαλερία, Μαρκιος, έξ ου την πικραν έκεινην ο δήμως αυτωι κατέγνυ δικην, και μεμισηκε την οικίαν ολην άμα τη πατριδι· τοτο δ ήμιν ου παρ' άλλου τυνος, άλλα παρ' αυτωι Μαρκιου μαθουσαι λέγειν4 εξομεν. οτε γαρ άλους την δικην5 ήλθεν εις την οικιαν προπεμπόμενοι υπο των έταιρων, καταλαβων ήμας καθημενας6 εν πενθιμοις τρυ-

1 άληθως B : om. R. 2 εγγονοι Ba : εγγονοι ΑΒC.
husbands for having ourselves put an end to a war which they had been unable to stop; and we shall show ourselves to be the true descendants of those women who by their own intercession put an end to the war that had arisen between Romulus and the Sabines and by bringing together both the commanders and the nations made this city great from a small beginning. It is a glorious venture, Veturia, to recover your son, to free your native land, to save your countrywomen, and to leave to posterity an imperishable reputation for virtue. Grant us this favour willingly and cheerfully, and make haste, Veturia; for the danger is acute and admits of no deliberation or delay.\(^5\)

XLI. Having said this and shed many tears, she became silent. And when the other women also lamented and added many entreaties, Veturia, after pausing a short time and weeping, said:

"It is a weak and slender hope, Valeria, to which you have turned for refuge—the assistance of us wretched women who feel indeed affection for our country and a desire for the preservation of the citizens, no matter what their character, but lack the strength and power to do what we wish. For Marcius has turned away from us, Valeria, ever since the people passed that bitter sentence against him, and has hated his whole family together with his country. This we can tell you as a thing we learned from the lips of none other than Marcius himself. For when, after his condemnation, he came home, escorted by his friends, and found us sitting there in garments of mourning,

3 τοῖς B : ἐγγόνους τοῖς R.
4 μαθοῦσαι λέγειν B : om. R.
5 τὴν δίκην Ba (?) : τὴ δίκη ABb. 6 καθημένας B : om. R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

χεσι, ταπεινάς, κρατούσας ἐν τοῖς γόναις τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ στενούσας τε οἰα εἰκός καὶ ἀνακλαυμένας¹ τὴν καθέξουσαν ἡμᾶς τίχην στερομένας ἐκεῖνον, στὰς μικρὸν ἀπωθεὶ ἡμῶν ἀδακρυς ὁσπερ λίθος καὶ 3 ἀτενῆς. 'Οιχεται, φησίν, 'ὑμίν Μάρκιος, ὃ μὴτερ ἀμα καὶ σύ, ὃ Οὐνολομνία, κρατίσσῃ γυναικῶν, ἐξελαθείς ύπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι γενναῖος ἦν καὶ φιλότολος καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνας. ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει γυναῖξιν ἀγαθαίς, οὕτω φέρετε τὰς συμφορὰς μηδὲν ἄσχημον ποιοῦσαι μηδὲ ἀγεννές, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα παραμύθια τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρημιάς ἔχουσαι τρέφετε ἄξιως ἡμῶν² τε καὶ τοῦ γένους. οἷς θεοί δοῦεν οἰς ἀνδρᾶς ἐλθοῦσι τίχην μὲν κρείσσονα τοῦ πατρός, ἀρετὴν δὲ μὴ χείρονα καὶ χαίρετε. ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ Ἡδῆ καταλιπὼν τὴν οὐκ- ἐτι χωρουσαν ἀνδρᾶς ἁγαθοὺς πόλιν. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὃ θεοί κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ 4 κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἡμεῖς μὲν αἰ δυστυχεῖς ἃς τὸ πάθος ἀπήτευ φωνάς ἀναβοώσας καὶ παίουσαι τὰ στήθη περιεχύθημεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς κομ- ούμεναι· τῶν δὲ παιδίων τούτων ἐγὼ μὲν το πρεσβύτερον ἤγον, ἢ δὲ μὴτηρ τὸ νεώτερον εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλης· ὃ δ' ἀποστραφεῖς καὶ παρωσά- μενος ἡμᾶς εἶπεν. 'Ουτε σὸς ύνὸς ἐτι, μήτερ, ἔσται τὸν ἀπὸ τούδε χρόνον Μάρκιος, ἀλλ' ἀφήρηται σε τὸν γηροβοσκὸν ἡ πατρίς, οὔτε σὸς ἀνήρ ἀπὸ ταὐ- τῆς, ὃ Οὐνολομνία, τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' εὐτυχοῖς ἔτερον ἀνδρὰ λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐμοῦ, οὖθ' ἡμῶν, ὃ τέκνα φιλτατα, πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ ἐρημοὶ παρὰ ταύτας, ἐως εἰς ἀνδρᾶς ἐλθητε, τραφή-

¹ Portus: ἀνακλαυμένας Ο.  
² Gelenius: ἡμῶν Ο.
abased, clasping his children upon our knees, uttering such lamentations as one would expect in the circumstances and bewailing the unhappy fate which would come upon us when bereft of him, he stood at a little distance from us, tearless as a stone and unmoved, and said: 'Marcius is lost to you, mother, and to you also, Volumnia, best of wives, having been exiled by his fellow citizens because he was a brave man and a lover of his country and undertook many struggles for her sake. But bear this calamity as befits good women, doing nothing unseemly or ignoble, and with these children as a consolation for my absence, rear them in a manner worthy both of yourselves and of their lineage; and when they have come to manhood, may the gods grant them a fate better than their father's and valour not inferior to his. Farewell. I am departing now and leaving this city in which there is no longer any room for good men. And ye too, my household gods and hearth of my fathers, and ye other divinities who preside over this place, farewell.' When he had thus spoken, we unhappy women, uttering the cries which our plight called for, and beating our breasts, clung to him to receive his last embraces. I led the elder of these his sons by the hand, and the younger his mother carried in her arms. But he turned away, and thrusting us back, said: 'No longer shall Marcius be your son henceforth, mother, but our country has deprived you of the support of your old age; nor shall he be your husband, Volumnia, from this day, but may you be happy with another husband more fortunate than I; nor shall he be your father, dearest children, but, orphans and forsaken, you will be reared by these women till you come to manhood.'
5 σεσθε. ταύτ' εἰπών, ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν οὔτε διοικησάμενος οὔτε ἐπιστείλας οὐθ' ὅποι πορεύεται φράσος ἀπήλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος, ὡ γυναῖκες, ἄδουλος, ἀπόρος, οὔθε τὴν ἐφήμερον ὁ δύστηνος ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ᾗδη τούτον, ἕξ οὗ φεύγει τήν πατρίδα, πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίους ἐαυτοῦ νενόμικεν, οὐ γράφων οὐθὲν, οὐκ ἐπιστέλλων, οὐ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς

6 εἰδέναι βουλόμενος. πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτῃ φυχῇ οὖτω σκληρῶν καὶ ἀτρωτῶν, ὡ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἵσχυν ἐξουσίαν αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν δεήσεις, αἰς οὔτε ἀσπασμῶν μετέδωκεν οὔτε φιλημάτων οὔτε ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης οὐδεμίας τῆς τελευταίαν πορεύμενος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁδὸν;

XLII. 'Αλλ' εἰ καὶ τούτον δείσθη ὑμεῖς, ὡ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντως θέλετε ἀσχημονούσας ἡμᾶς ἱδεῖν, ύπολάβετε παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κἀκεὶ καὶ Οὐδολομεῖαν ἀγούσας τὰ παιδία· τίνας ἐρῶ πρῶτον ἡ μήτηρ ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγους, καὶ τίνα δέσιων ποιήσομαι τοῦ νίου; λέγετε καὶ διδάσκετε με. φείσασθαι παρακαλῶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ὡφ' ὅν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελήλυσαται καὶ μηθὲν ἄδικῶν; οἰκτύρμωνα δὲ καὶ συμπαθῆ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς γενέσθαι, παρ' ὅν οὔτε ἐλέους μετέσχεν οὔτε συμπαθεῖς; ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δ' ἄρα καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοῦ τῆν φυγήν, οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον, οὐ πολεμίων μίσος, ἀλλὰ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν εὖνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπε-2 εδείξαντο; τίνα φυχὴν λαβόουσα ἄξιώσω τῶν νίων τὰ μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φιλεῖν, τὰ δὲ σώσαντα ἄδικεῖν; οὐκ εἰσὶν οὕτωι μητρὸς ὑγιαινόοις λόγοι πρὸς νίων

1 ἄλλο δ' Ο : ἄλλ' Jacoby.
With these words and nothing else—withdrawing any of his affairs, sending any messages, or saying whither he was going—he went out of the house alone, women, without a servant, without means, and without taking from his own stores, wretched man, even a day's supply of food. And for the fourth year now, ever since he was banished from the country, he has looked upon us all as strangers to him, neither writing anything nor sending any messages nor caring to have news of us. On such a mind, so hard and invulnerable, Valeria, what force will the entreaties of us women have, to whom he gave neither embraces nor kisses nor any other mark of affection when he left his house for the last time?

XLII. "But if you desire it so, women, and firmly wish to see us act an unbecoming part, just imagine that I and Volumnia with these children have come into his presence. What words shall I, his mother, first address to him and what request shall I make of my son? Tell me and instruct me. Shall I exhort him to spare his fellow citizens, by whom he was exiled from his country though guilty of no crime? To be merciful and compassionate to the plebeians, from whom he received neither mercy nor compassion? Or perhaps to abandon and betray those who received him when an exile and, notwithstanding the many calamities he had previously inflicted on them, showed to him, not the hatred of enemies, but the affection of friends and relations? What courage can I pluck up to ask my son to love those who have ruined him and to injure those who have preserved him? These are not the words of a sane mother to her son nor of

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2 καὶ Ο : καὶ ταῦτα Reiske, om. Cobet.
3 εἰς αὐτόν B : om. R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οὐδὲ γυναῖκὸς ᾧ δεῖ λογιζομένης πρὸς ἄνδρα· μηδ' ὑμεῖς βιάζεσθε, γυναῖκες, ᾧ μὴτε πρὸς ἄνθρωπος δίκαια ἐστί μὴτε πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια, ταῦτα ἦμας αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἄλλ' ἄφετε τὰς ἐλευνάς, ὡς πεπτώκαμεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, κεῖσθαι ταπεινὰς μηθέν ἐτὶ πλέον ἀσχημονοῦσας.''

XLIII. Πανσαμένης δ' αὐτὴς τοσούτος ὁδυρμὸς ἐκ τῶν παρουσῶν γυναίκῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τηλικαύτη κατέσχε τὸν οἶκον οἰμωγή, ὥστ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐξακουσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τῆς βοήν καὶ μεστοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας στενωποὺς ὅχλον. 2 ἔπειτα ἦ τε Οὐαλερία πάλιν ἔτερας ἔξετενε μακράς καὶ συμπαθείς δεήσεις, αἱ τε ἄλλαι γυναῖκες αἱ κατὰ φιλίαν ἦ συγγένειαν ἐκατέρα τῶν γυναίκῶν προσήκουσας3 παρέμενον λιπαροῦσαὶ τε καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμεναι, ὥστε οὐκ έχουσα ὦ τι πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δεήσεις, εἰξεν ἦ Οὐετουρία καὶ τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο4 τὴν τε γυναίκα τοῦ Μαρκίου παραλαβοῦσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὰς βουλομένας. αἱ μὲν ὅτι περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμεναι συλλαβήσασθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήσαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ὑπάτοις· οἱ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπανέσαντες συνεκάλουσι τὴν βουλήν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν γυναίκων, εἰ συγχωρητέου ἄυταῖς, γυνωμηδὸν ἐπυνθάνοντο.5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγωι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας διετέλεσαν ὦ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βου-

1 παρουσῶν B : om. R. 2 μέρος deleted by Jacoby.
a wife who reasons as she should to her husband; nor ought you either, women, to compel us to ask of him things that are neither just in the sight of men nor right in the eyes of the gods, but permit us miserable women to lie abased as we have been cast down by Fortune, committing no further unseemly act."

XLIII. After she had done speaking there was so great lamentation on the part of the women present and such wailing pervaded the household that their cries were heard over a great part of the city and the streets near the house were crowded with people. Then Valeria again indulged in fresh entreaties that were long and affecting, and all the rest of the women who were connected by friendship or kindred with either of them remained there, beseeching her and embracing her knees, till Veturia, not seeing how she could help herself in view of their lamentations and their many entreaties, yielded and promised to perform the mission in behalf of her country, taking with her the wife of Marcius and his children and as many matrons as wished to join them. The women rejoiced exceedingly at this and invoked the gods to aid in the accomplishment of their hopes; then, departing from the house, they informed the consuls of what had passed. These, having commended their zeal, assembled the senate and called upon the members to deliver their opinions one after the other whether they ought to permit the women to go out on this mission. Many speeches were made by many senators, and they continued debating till
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 λευόμενοι. 1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι τῇ πόλῃ κυνήγευμα γυναίκας ἀμα τέκνοις εἰς πολεμίων στρατόπεδον πορευομένας ἔσασαι· εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν νενομισμένων ὅσιῶν περί τε πρεσβείας καὶ ἱκεσίας δόξει εἰς ἑαυτὸν προῆσθαι τὰς γυναίκας, ἀμαχητὶ σφῶν ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ἥξιον τε αὐτὰς μόνον ἔσασαι τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Μαρκίῳ γυναίκας ἀμα τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πορευομένας. ἔτεροι δ’ οὖντες γνώσθηκαν ἐπι- τρέπειν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ ταῦτας παρ- ἴναν φυλάττειν, ὀμὴρα νομίζοντας ἕχειν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχέγγυα τοὺ ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἔσεθεν τὴν πόλιν ἀνήκεστον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πάσαις συνεβούλευον συν- χωρῆσαι ταῖς βουλομέναις γυναιξί τῆν ἔξοδον, ἵνα σὺν μελθον ἀξιώματι αἱ τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσήκοσαν ποιήσουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος δέησιν. τού δὲ μηθὲν αὐταῖς συμβηκῆσαι δεινὸν ἐγγυητᾶς ἀπ- ἐφαίνον ἑσομένους θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον οἴς καθοσω- θεῖσαι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσουσι· ἔπειτα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτὸν πρὸς ὅν ἐμελλον πορεύεσθαι, πάσης ἁδικὸν τε καὶ ἀνοσίου πράξεως καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμιάντον εἰς χηκότα τὸν βιόν. ἐνίκα δ’ ὅμως ἡ συγχωροῦσα γνώμη ταῖς γυναιξί τὴν ἔξοδον, μέγιστον ἀμφοῖν ἐγκώμιον ἑχοῦσα, τῆς μὲν βουλῆς τοῦ φρονίμου, ὅτι κράτιστα τὰ 2 γενησόμενα προείδετο οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνήγου τηλικοῦδε ὄντος ἐπιταραχθεῖσα, τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὅτι πολέμου ὧν ἐπι- στευεῖτο μηδὲν ἰσεβήσειν εἰς τὸ ἀσθενεστάτον τῆς πόλεως μέρος κύριος αὐτοῦ καταστάς. ὡς δὲ τὸ

1 ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι ΛCh : ἀποροῦντες ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν R (?)
the evening what they ought to do. For some argued that it was no small risk to the commonwealth to permit the women with the children to go to the enemy's camp; for if the Volscians, in contempt of the recognized rights of ambassadors and suppliants, should decide not to let them go afterwards, their city would be taken without a blow. These men, therefore, advised permitting only the women who were related to Marcius to go, accompanied by his children. Others believed that not even these should be allowed to go out, and advised that they too should be carefully guarded, considering that in them they had hostages from the enemy, to secure the city from suffering any irreparable injury at their hands. Still others advised giving leave to all the women to go who so desired, in order that the kinswomen of Marcius might intercede more impressively for their country; and to insure that no harm should befall them, they said they would have as sureties, first, the gods, to whom the women would be consecrated before making their petition, and next, the man himself to whom they were going, who had kept his life pure and unstained by any act of injustice or impiety. However, the proposal to allow the women to go prevailed, implying a great compliment to both parties—to the senate for its wisdom, in that it perceived best what was going to happen, without being disquieted at all by the danger, though it was so great, and to Marcius for his piety, inasmuch as it was not believed that he would, even though an enemy, do anything impious toward the weakest element of the state when he should have them in his power. After

2 κράτιστα τὰ Sintenis: κράτιστα καὶ B, τὰ κράτιστα καὶ Λ, Jacoby.
προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, προελθόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν σκότους ὄντος ἦδη τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεσάφησαν καὶ προείπαν ἦκειν ἀπαντάς ἐσθήνει ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προπέμψοντας ἐξεύοσας τὰς γυναίκας· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν κατεπειγόντων ἔλεγον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι.

XLIV. Ὅτε δ’ ἦδη περὶ τὸν ὀρθρὸν ἦν, αἱ μὲν γυναίκες ἄγουσαν τὰ παιδία μετὰ λαμπάδων ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ παραλαβοῦσαν τὴν Οὐντουρίαν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ ζεύγη τε ὀρικά καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τὰλλα πορεία1 ὡς πλείστα παρασκευασμένοι καθεξόμενα αὐτᾶς προϋπερμον ἀχρι πολλοῦ. παρηκολούθουν δ’ αὐταῖς οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συγχοὶ σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δεήσει2 τὴν ἐξόδων ἐπι- 2 φανεστέραι αὐταῖς ποιοῦντες. ὡς δ’ εὐσύνοπτοι πόρρωθεν ἐπὶ προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ γυναίκες ἐγένοντο, πέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τινάς ὁ Μάρκιος κελεύσας μαθεῖν τὸς ἐστιν ὁ προσιόν ὁχλός ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τί παραγένοντο. μαθὼν δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὅτι ‘Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναίκες ἦκουσιν ἐπαγόμεναι παιδία, προηγεῖται δ’ αὐτῶν ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαυμα- σε τῆς τόλμης τὰς γυναίκας, εἰ γνώμην ἔσχον εἰς χάρακα πολεμίων ἀτερ ἀνδρῶν φυλακῆς ἐλθεῖν ἄγουσα τὰ τέκνα, οὕτε αἴδουσ ἐτὶ τῆς ἁρμοτούσης γυναιξίν ἐλευθέραις καὶ σώφροσι προνοοῦμεναι τὸ3 μὴ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἄσυννήθεσιν ὁρᾶσθαι, οὕτε κυστών λαβοῦσα δέος οὕς ἀναρριπτεῖν ἐμελλὼν, εἰ τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐλομένοις σφίσι

1 Cobet : φορεῖα Ο, Jacoby.
2 Reiske : δεήσει Ο.
the decree had been drawn up, the consuls proceeded to the Forum, and summoning an assembly when it was already dark, announced the senate’s decision and gave notice that all should come early the next morning to the gates to accompany the women when they went out; and they said that they themselves would attend to all urgent business.

XLIV. When it was now break of day, the women, leading the children, went with torches to the house of Veturia, and taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the meantime the consuls, having got ready spans of mules, carts, and a great many other conveyances, seated the women in them and accompanied them for a long distance. The women were attended by the senators and many other citizens, who by their vows, commendations and entreaties lent distinction to their mission. As soon as the women, while still approaching at a distance, could be clearly seen by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horsemen with orders to learn what multitude it was that advanced from the city and what was the occasion of their coming. And being informed that the wives of the Romans together with their children had come to him and that they were led by his mother, his wife and his sons, he was at first astonished at the assurance of the women in resolving to come with their children into an enemy’s camp without a guard of men, neither showing regard any longer for the modesty becoming to free-born and virtuous women, which forbids them to be seen by men who are strangers, nor becoming alarmed at the dangers which they would run if his soldiers, preferring their

3 τὸ Ο : τοῦ Sylburg. Naber would reject τὸ μὴ . . . ὃρασθαί as a gloss.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

dóξειε κέρδος αὐτὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ωφέλειαν.
3 ἐπεὶ δ' ἄγχοι ἤσαν, ὑπαντῶν τῇ μητρὶ προσέθων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔγνω σὺν ὅλιγοις, τοὺς τε πελέκεις, οὓς προηγεῖσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔθος ἢν, ἀποθέσατε κελεύσας τοῖς υπηρέταις, καὶ τὰς βάδους, ὅταν ἔγνως τῆς μητρὸς γένηται, καταστείλαι.
4 τάῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἔθος ὅταν ὑπαντῶσι ταῖς μείζοσιν ἀρχαῖς οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὥς καὶ 1 μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται. ἢν δὴ τότε συνήθειαν φυλάττων ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς ἔξοσια μείζον μέλλων εἰς ταύτο ἦξεν, πάντα ἀπέθετο τὰ τῆς ἱδίας παράσημα ἀρχῆς. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν αἰῶν ὅσον καὶ πρόνοια τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ἐυσεβείας.
XLV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, πρώτῃ μὲν αὐτῷ δεξιωσόμενη προσήλθεν ἡ μήτηρ πένθιμα τε ἡμιφεσμένη τρύχῃ καὶ τὰς ὀράσεις ἐκτετηκυία ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ἐλευθή σφόδρα. ἢν ὁ Μάρκιος ἱδών, ἀτεγκτος τέως καὶ στερρός, οἷος ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀνιαροῖς ἀντέχειν, οὐθὲν ἔτι τῶν λελογισμένων φυλάττειν ἱκανὸς ἢν, ἀλλ' ὕχετο φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ περβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἥσπάζετο καὶ ταῖς ἱδίστας φωναῖς ἀνεκάλει καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κλαίων τε καὶ περίεστων κατείχεν ἐκλευμένην καὶ ῥέουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀλὶς εἶχε, τὴν γυναίκα προσελθοῦσαν 2 δεξιωσόμενος ἄμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἰ-2 πεν. "Ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἐργὸν ἐποίησας, ὦ Οὐδολομνία, μεῖνασα παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ μου καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλυσώσα τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτῆς, ἐμοὶ τε 3 πασῶν ἱδίστην κεχάρισαι δωρεάν." μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν παι-

1 καὶ added by Reiske.  
2 προσελθοῦσαν B : om. R.  
3 ἐμοὶ τε Kiessling : ἐμοὺς O, Jacoby.
own interests to justice, should think fit to make a profit and advantage of them. But when they were near, he resolved to go out of the camp with a few of his men and to meet his mother, after first ordering his lectors to lay aside the axes which were customarily carried before generals, and when he should come near his mother, to lower the rods. This is a custom observed by the Romans when inferior magistrates meet those who are their superiors, which continues even to our time; and it was in observance of this custom that Marcius, as if he were going to meet a superior power, now laid aside all the insignia of his own office. So great was his reverence and his concern to show his veneration for the tie of kinship.

XLV. When they came near to one another, his mother was the first to advance toward him to greet him, clad in rent garments of mourning and with her eyes melting in tears, an object of great compassion. Upon seeing her, Marcius, who till then had been hard-hearted and stern enough to cope with any distressing situation, could no longer keep any of his resolutions, but was carried away by his emotions into human kindness, and embracing and kissing her, he called her by the most endearing terms, and supported her for a long time, weeping and caressing her as her strength failed and she sank to the ground. After he had had enough of caressing his mother, he greeted his wife when with their children she approached him, and said: "You have acted the part of a good wife, Volumnia, in living with my mother and not abandoning her in her solitude, and to me you have thereby done the dearest of all favours." After this, drawing each of his children to him, he
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

dόνων ἐκάτερον προσαγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀσπασμοὺς ἀποδοῦσθς, ἐπέστρεψεν αὕτης πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τίνος δεομένη πάρεστιν. ἢ δὲ πάντων ἀκοουόντων ἐφήσεν ἔρειν, οὐθένος γὰρ ἀνοσίαν δεήσεσθαι, παρεκάλει τε αὐτὸν, ἐν ὧν καθεξόμενος εἰώθει χωρίῳ δικάζειν τοῖς ὀχλοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ καθίσαι. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο ὡς ἡ περιουσία τε πολλῇ¹ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς τὴν ἐντευξίν αὐτῆς χρησόμενος καὶ ἐν καλῷ ποιησόμενος² τοῖς ὀχλοῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἔλθων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν βήμα πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν δίφρον καὶ θείναι χαμάι, μητρὸς ὑψηλότερον οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν τόπον ἔχειν οὐδ’ ἔξουσία χρήσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνης ωὐδεμιᾶς ἐπείτα παρακαθισάμενος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐάσας παρεῖναι τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐκέλευσε τὴν μητέρα λέγειν.

XLVI. Καὶ ἡ θυετουρία παραστησάμενη τὴν τε γυναῖκα τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν ἐν Ὁρίῳ γυναικῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκλαίειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὅρῳσα μέχρι πολλοὶ, καὶ πολὺν ἑκίνησεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεον. ἐπείτα ἀνα-2 λαβοῦσα αὐτὴν ἔλεξεν: "Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὁ Μάρκιε τέκνον, τὰς ὑβρείς ἐνθυμοῦμενα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συμφορὰς τὰς συμβησομένας αὐταῖς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται, πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀπογνωσαί βοήθειαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν ἄξιοι διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐθάδεις καὶ

¹ πολλῇ B : om. R.
gave them a father's caresses, and then, turning again to his mother, begged her to state what she had come to ask of him. She answered that she would speak out in the presence of all, since she had no impious request to make of him, and bade him be seated where he was wont to sit when administering justice to his troops. Marcius willingly agreed to her proposal, thinking, naturally, that he should have a great abundance of just arguments to use in combating his mother's intercession and that he should be giving his answer where it was convenient for the troops to hear. When he came to the general's tribunal, he first ordered the lictors to remove the seat that stood there and to place it on the ground, since he thought he ought not to occupy a higher position than his mother or use against her any official authority. Then, causing the most prominent of the commanders and captains to sit by him and permitting any others to be present who wished, he bade his mother speak.

XLVI. Thereupon Veturia, having placed the wife of Marcius with his children and the most prominent of the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on the ground for a long time, and roused great compassion in all who were present. Then, recovering herself, she said: "These women, Marcius, my son, mindful of the outrages and other calamities which will come upon them if our city falls into the power of the enemy, and despairing of all other assistance, since you gave haughty and harsh answers to their husbands when they asked you to end the

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2 Casaubon: πολούμενος Ο, Jacoby.
3 ὁ Μάρκιος τέκνον (or ὁ τέκνον) Kiessling: ὁ τέκνον Μάρκιος Ο.
σκληράς ἔδωκας ἀποκρίσεις, ἀγούσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ
toῖς πενθήμοις τούτοις ἡμιφιεσμέναι τρύχεσι κατ-
έφυγον ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ, τὴν σὴν μητέρα, καὶ Οὐδολομώναν,
tὴν σὴν γυναῖκα, δεόμεναι μὴ περιδεῦν αὐτὰς τὰ
μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθοῦ-
σας, οὐθὲν μὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ᾽ ἔλαττον εἰς ἡμᾶς
ἐξαμαρτοῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ, ὅτ᾽ εὐτυχοῦμεν,
eύνοιαν ἔτι παρασχόμενα, καὶ, ὅτ᾽ ἐπταίσαμεν,
3 συμπάθειαν. ἔχομεν γὰρ αὐτὰς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐξ οὐ
σὺ ἀπήρας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔρημοι καὶ
tὸ μηθὲν ἔτι οὐσι κατελειπτόμεθα, συνεχῶς τε
παραγινομέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθούμεναι
tὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν καὶ συναλγούσαις.2 τούτων
δὴ λαμβάνουσι μνήμην ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σῇ γυνῇ ἢ
synoikouroússa met' ἕμοι τὰ ἱκεσίασ αὐτῶν οὐκ
ἀπεστράφημεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεμείναμεν, ὡς ἠξίου ἡμᾶς,
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιήσα-
σθαι δεῖσεις.

XLVII. Ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτῆς λεγοῦσης ὑπολαβὼν ὁ
Μάρκιος εἶπεν: "Αδυνάτων δεομένη, μήτερ,
ἐλήλυθας ἄξιοῦσα προδοῦναι με τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσι
τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντᾷ με ἄφελο-
μένοις τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς χαρισαμένους τὰ μέγιστα
tῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν  οῖς ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρχὴν
τήνδε παραλαμβάνων θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγυη-
tὰς ἔδωκα μήτε προδώσειν τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν μήτε
προκαταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐὰν μὴ Οὐδολούσκοις
2 ἀπασί δοκῇ. θεοὺς τε ὑδ θεσβόμενοι οὐς ὁμοσα, καὶ
ἀνθρώποις αὐδούμενοι οὐς τὰς πίστεις ἔδωκα,
polemu̔s αὐχρί τέλους. ἕαν δ᾿ ἀποδιδώσι

1 παραγινομέναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθούμεναι τὰς συμφο-
ρᾶς Α: παραγινομέναις τὰς συμφορὰς Β.
134
war, took their children, and clad in these rent garments of mourning, turned for refuge to me, your mother, and to Volumnia, your wife, begging us not to permit them to suffer the greatest of all human evils at your hands, as they have never done us any injury, great or slight, but showed much affection for us while we were still prosperous, and compassion when we met with adversity. For we can bear them witness that since you withdrew from your country and we were left desolate and no longer of any account, they constantly visited us, alleviated our misfortunes, and consoled with us. So, remembering all this, neither I nor your wife, who lives with me, rejected their entreaties, but brought ourselves to come to you, as they asked, and to make our supplications in behalf of our country.”

XLVII. While she was yet speaking Marcius interrupted her and said: “You have come demanding the impossible, mother, when you ask me to betray to those who have cast me out those who have received me, and to those who have deprived me of all my possessions those who have conferred on me the greatest of human blessings—men to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave the gods and other divinities as sureties that I would neither betray their state nor end the war unless all the Volscians agreed to do so. Both out of reverence, then, for the gods by whom I swore and out of respect for the men to whom I gave my pledges I shall continue to make war upon the Romans to the last. But if they will

\[2 \text{καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν συναλγοῦσαι C, καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμῶν συναλγοῦσαι Cobet.} ^3 \text{η added by Reiske.}\]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tὴν χῶραν Ὠνολούσκοις ἦν κατέχουσιν αὐτῶν βία, καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν τὰν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μεταδίδοντες τῶν ἱσών ἄσσερ Λατῖνοι, διαλύσο-3 μαί τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ἄλλως δ’ ὦ. ὦ μεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς γυναῖκες, ἀπίτε καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα καὶ πείθετε αὐτοὺς μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀδίκως, ἄλλ’ ἀγαπάν ἐὰν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐχειν τις αὐτοὺς1 ἕα, μηδ’, ὅτι πολέμων λαβόντες ἐχουσι τὰ Ὠνολούσκων, περιμένεις ἔως πολέμῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπο-χρήσει τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κρατηθέντων Ἰδία ἀξιώσουσιν ἐχεῖν. ἑὰν δὲ περιεχόμενοι τῶν μηθὲν αὐτοῖς προσ-ηκόντων πᾶν ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπομένωσι φυλάτ-τουτες τὸ αὐθαίρετον, ἐκεῖνοι αἰτιάσασθε2 τῶν καταληψομένων κακῶν, οὐ Μάρκιον οὖδὲ Ὠνολούσκους 4 οὖδ’ ἄλλον3 ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα. σοῦ δὲ, ὡς μήτερ, ἐν μέρει πάλιν υἱός ὃν ἐγὼ δέομαι μὴ με4 παρα-καλεῖν εἰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις καὶ ἀδίκους, μηδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐμοί τε καὶ σεαυτή τεταγμένην πολεμίους ἥγεισθαι τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους. ἄλλα παρ’ ἐμοὶ γενομένην, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, πατρίδα τε νέμειν ἣν ἐγὼ νέμω, καὶ οἶκον5 ὅν ἐγὼ κέκτημαι, τιμᾶς τε καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύσων τῆς ἐμῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγουμένην φίλους τε καὶ πολεμίους6 οὕσπερ ἐγώ: ἀποθέσθαι τε ἥδη τὸ πένθος δ’ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ὑπέμεινας, ὦ ταλαιπώρε, 1 αὐτοὺς B : om. R.
2 Cobet, Jacoby : αἰτιάσαθε ὦ.
3 οὗτ’ ἄλλον Ba : οὗτ’ ἄλλων ΛΒβ, οὖδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Cobet, Jacoby.
4 με added by Kiessling.
136
BOOK VIII. 47, 2-4

restore to the Volscians the lands of theirs which they hold by force, and will make them their friends, giving them an equal share in all privileges as they have to the Latins, I will put an end to the war against them, otherwise not. As for you women, then, depart and carry this word to your husbands; and persuade them to cease their unjust fondness for the possessions of others and to be content if they are permitted to keep what is their own, and not, just because they now hold the possessions of the Volscians which they took in war, to wait till they are in turn deprived of them in war by the Volscians. For the conquerors will not be satisfied with merely recovering their own possessions, but will think themselves entitled also to those that belong to the conquered. And if, by clinging to what is not theirs at all, the Romans persist in their arrogance and are willing to suffer anything whatever, you will impute to them, rather than to Marcius, the Volscians or anyone else, the blame for the miseries that shall befall them. And of you, mother, I, who am your son, beg in my turn that you will not urge me to wicked and unjust actions, nor, ranging yourself on the side of those who are the bitterest foes both to me and to yourself, regard as enemies your nearest of kin, but that, taking your place at my side, as is right, you will make the land where I dwell your fatherland, and your home the house I have acquired, and that you will enjoy my honours and share in my glory, looking upon my friends and enemies as your own; also that you will lay aside at last the mourning which, un-

5 Reiske proposed to add κεκτήθαι after οἶκον. Capps would read οἶκον οίκεῖν.
6 καὶ πολεμίους B: καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πολεμίους R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φυγάς, καὶ παύσασθαι τιμωρουμένην με τῷ σχῆ-5 ματι τούτῳ. ἕμοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὃ μὴτερ, ἀγαθὰ κρείττονα ἐλπίδων καὶ μείζονα εὐχῆς παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπων ἀπῆνηται, ἢ δὲ περὶ σοῦ φροντίς, ἢ τὰς γνησίους οὐκ ἀπέδωκα χάριτας, ἐντετηκών τοῖς σπλάγχνοις πικρόν πεποίηκε1 καὶ ἄνόνητον ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον. εἰ δὲ σὺν ἕμοι τάξεις σεαυτῆν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσεις ἀπάντων, οὕθενος ἐτί μοι δεήσει τῶν ἄνθρωπίων ἀγαθῶν.''

XLVIII. Παυσαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἡ Οὐε-τουρία ἐπισχοῦσα χρόνον, ἐως ὅ τῶν περιστηκότων ἐπαινοῦ ἐπαύσατο πολὺς τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ γενόμενος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν:

" Ἀλλ' ἐγωγε ν σε, ὥ Μάρκιο τέκνον, οὔτε προ-δότην Οὐδολούσκων γενέσθαι ἄξιῶ, οὔ σε φεύγοντα ὑποδεξάμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐτίμησαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυ-τῶν ἁγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν, οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ὁμο-λογίας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους οὓς ἐδωκας αὐτῶς ὅτε τὰς δυνάμεις παρελάμβανες, ἀνεύ κοινῆς γνώμης ἴδια καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἐχθραν βούλομαι μηδ' ὑπολάβης τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα τοσαυτῆς ἀναπτελήσθαι θεο-βλαβείας, ὥστε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον νῦν εἰς 2 αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίους πράξεις παρακαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης ἀποστήναι σε ἄξιῶ τοὐ πολέ-μου, πείσαντα τοὺς Οὐδολούσκους μετράσαι περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἄμφο-τέρως τοῖς ἐθνεῖς καλῆν καὶ πρέπουσαν. τοῦτο δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ νῦν μὲν ἁναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγάγους ἐναυσίους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχάς, εἰ δὲ τῷ μεταξ' χρόνῳ πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλων τε καὶ

1 Post : ἐποίει Ο, Jacoby.
happy woman, you have endured because of my banishment, and cease to avenge yourself upon me by this garb. For though all other blessings, mother, have been conferred on me both by the gods and men above my hopes and beyond my prayers, yet the concern I have felt for you, whose old age I have not cherished in return for all your pains, has so sunk into my inmost being as to render my life bitter and incapable of enjoying all my blessings. But if you will take your place by my side and consent to share all I possess, no longer will any of the blessings which fall to the lot of man be lacking to me."

XLVIII. When he had ended, Veturia, after waiting a short time till the great and long-continued applause of the bystanders ceased, spoke to him as follows:

"But I, Marcius, my son, neither ask you to become a traitor to the Volsci ans who received you when an exile and, among other honours, entrusted you with the command of their army, nor do I desire that, contrary to the agreements and to the sworn pledges you gave them when you took command of their forces, you should arbitrarily, without the general consent, put an end to enmity. And do not imagine that your mother has been filled with such fatuousness as to urge her dear and only son to shameful and wicked actions. On the contrary, I ask you to withdraw from the war only with the general consent of the Volsci ans, after you have persuaded them to use moderation with regard to an accommodation and to make such a peace as shall be honourable and seemly for both nations. This may be done if you will now withdraw your forces, first making a truce for a year, and will in the meantime, by sending and receiving
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δεχόμενος ἀληθῆ φιλίαν πράττοις καὶ διαλλαγὰς

3 βεβαίας. καὶ εὖ ἵσθι: Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ὃσα μῆτε τὸ ἀδύνατον μῆτε ἄλλη τις ἀδοξίᾳ προσοῦσα1 κωλύσει, πάντα ὑπομενοῦσι πράττειν λόγῳ καὶ παρακλῆσει πειθόμενοι, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν ἀξιώσ, οὐθὲν ἂν πώποτε χαρίσαντο ὡμῖν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἐλαττον, ὡς ἔξ ἄλλων τε πολλών πάρεστι σοι καταμαθέν καὶ τὰ τελευταία ἔξ ὧν Λατίνοις συνεχώρησαν ἀποστάσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων. Οὐνο- λοῦσκοι δὲ πολὺ τὸ αὐθαδες ἔχουσιν, ὁ συμβαίνει

4 τοῖς μεγάλα εὐτυχῆσασιν· ἕαν δὲ2 διδάσκης αὐτούς ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν εἰρήνη παντὸς ἐστὶ πολέμου κρείττων, σύμβασις δὲ φίλων κατὰ τὸν ἐκουσίων γνωμένη τρόπων τῶν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης συγχωρηθέντων βεβαιοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι σωφρόνων ἐστίν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν μὲν εὕ πράττειν δοκῶσι, ταμεύεσθαι τὰς τύχας, ὅταν δὲ εἰς ταπεινὰς καὶ φαύλας ἔλθωσι, μηθεν ὑπομένειν ἀγεννέτες, καὶ τάλλα ὅσα εἰς ἥμερότητα καὶ ἐπι- είκειαν ἐπαγωγὰ παιδεύματα εὑρηταί λόγων, οὐς ὑμεῖς οἳ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττοντες μάλιστ' ἐπί- στασθε,3 εὖ ἵσθι4 ὅτι τοῦ τε αὐχήματος ἔφ' οὖ νῦν εἰσν ἐκόντες ὑποβῆσονται, καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐξουσίαν σοι τοῦ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνης

5 συνοίσεων. ἕαν δὲ ἀντιπράττωσι σοι καὶ τοὺς λόγους μὴ προσδέχωνται, ταῖς διὰ σὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν

1 προσοῦσα B : προσεποῦσα ΑC.
2 δὲ added by Sylburg.
3 ἐπίστασθε added by Jacoby, προχείρους ἔχετε by Reiske, ἔχετε διὰ στόμα by Capps, σπουδάζετε (or ἀσκείτε) by Sintenis.
4 εὖ ἵσθι5 (ἱσθι) Reiske, ἵσθι Sintenis : ἵστε O, Jacoby.

1 The verb of this relative clause is wanting in the MSS.: 140
ambassadors, work to bring about a genuine friendship and a firm reconciliation. And be well assured of this: the Romans, in so far as no impossible condition or any dishonour attaching to the terms prevents, will consent to perform them all if won over by persuasion and exhortation, but if compulsion is attempted, as you now think proper, they will never make any concession, great or small, to please you, as you may learn from many other instances and particularly from the concessions they recently made to the Latins after these had laid down their arms. As to the Volscians, on the other hand, their arrogance is now great, as happens to all who have met with signal success; but if you point out to them that 'any peace is preferable to any war,' that 'a voluntary agreement between friends is more secure than concessions extorted by necessity,' and that 'it is the part of wise men, when they seem to be prosperous, to husband their good fortune, but when their fortunes become low and paltry, to submit to nothing that is ignoble,' and if you make use of such other instructive maxims conducive to moderation and reasonableness as have been devised, maxims with which you politicians in particular are familiar, be assured that they will voluntarily recede from their present boastfulness and give you authority to do anything you believe will be to their advantage. But if they oppose you and refuse to accept your proposals, being elated by the successes they have see the critical note. The translation follows Jacoby’s emendation—literally, "which you politicians more than anyone understand." The proposal of Reiske means "which you . . . have ready at hand"; that of Capps, "which you . . . have at your tongues’ end"; that of Sintenis, "which you . . . cultivate (or practise)."
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ηγεμονίαν τὴν σήν γενομένως περὶ αὐτοῦς τύχαις ὡς ἂεὶ διαμενούσας ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασο φανερῶς, καὶ μήτε προδότης γίνου τῶν πεπιστευκότων μήτε πολέμιος τῶν ἀναγκαιο- τάτων· ἁσεβὲς γὰρ ἐκάτερον. ταῦτα ἦκω δεομένη σοὺ γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ σοῦ, Μάρκιε τέκνων, οὔτε ἀδύνατα, ὡς σὺ φής, πάσης τε ἄδικον καὶ ἀνοσίον συνειδήσεως καθαρά.

XLIX. “Φέρε, ἀλλὰ δόξαν αἰσχρὰν ὑσύσθαι, δέδωκας, εἰκὸν ἄν παρακαλῶ σε πράττης, ὡς ἀχάρισ- τος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐξελεγκθησόμενος, οἴς σε πολέμιον οὖντα ὑποδεξάμενοι πάντων μετέδωκαν ὅποι τοῖς φύσει πολίταις μέτεστιν ἁγαθῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ 2 ἀπὸ τὸ μεγάλα ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις ἂεί. οὐκ ἀπο- δεδωκας ὅποι αὐτοῖς πολλάς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ νενίκηκας ἀπειρφ δὴ τινι μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει1 χαρί- των τάς ἐξ ἐκείνων εὐεργεσίας; οὔς ἁγαπητὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἁγαθῶν,2 εὖν ἐλευθέρας οἰκὼσι τὰ τάκτως συνειδήσεως, οὐ μόνον ἕαυτῶν κυρίους εἶναι βεβαιώς παρέσκευακας, ἀλλὰ καὶ3 πεποίηκας ἤδη σκοπεῖν πότερα καταλύσαι τὴν Ἄρωμαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς4 ἀμεινὸν ἢ μετέχειν αὐτῆς 3 ἔξ ἵνα κομὴν καταστησαμένους πολιτείαν. ἐώ γὰρ λέγειν ὅσοις κεκόσμηκας ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρωσ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ πηλίκους κεχάρισαι τοῖς συνορευσαμένοις πλούτοις. τοὺς δὴ τοσοῦ- τους διὰ σὲ γενομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτης βεβη-

1 καὶ πλήθει B : om. R. 2 ἁγαθῶν B : ἁγαθὸν R. 3 καὶ added by Reiske. 4 ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς Reiske : αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν B, ἀρχὴν R.
gained through you and your leadership, as if these would always continue, resign publicly the command of their army and make yourself neither a traitor to those who have trusted you nor an enemy to those who are nearest to you; for to do either is impious. These are the favours I have come begging you to grant me, Marcius, my son, and they are not only not impossible to grant, as you assert, but are free from any consciousness on my part of an unjust or impious intent.

XLIX. "But come, you are afraid perhaps that if you do what I urge you will incur a shameful reputation, believing that you will stand convicted of ingratitude to your benefactors, who received you, an enemy, and shared with you all the advantages to which their native-born citizens are entitled; for these are the things you constantly stress in your remarks. Have you not, then, made them many fine returns, and have you not by the favours you have bestowed, well nigh limitless in magnitude and number, surpassed the kindnesses received from them? Though they regarded it as enough and as the greatest of all blessings if they could continue to live as freemen in their native cities, you have not only made them securely their own masters, but have also brought it about that they are already considering whether it is better for them to destroy the dominion of the Romans or to have an equal share in it by forming a joint commonwealth. I say nothing of all the spoils of war with which you have adorned their cities nor of the great riches you have bestowed upon those who accompanied you on your expeditions. Do you believe that those who through your aid have become so great and have entered upon such pros-
kòtas εὐτυχίας οὐ δοκεῖς ἀγαπῆσειν οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὀργεῖσθαί σοι καὶ ἀγανακτῆσειν, ἕαν μη καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἶμα ταῖς χεραῖν αὐτῶν ἐπισπείης; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. εἰς1 ἐτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ἵσχυρὸς μὲν, ἕαν λογισμῷ κρίνης αὐτόν, ἀσθενῆς δ', ἕαν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὅ περὶ τῆς οὐ δικαίως μισομένης ὑπὸ σοῦ πατρίδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ κόσμῳ πολιτευμένη τὴν οὐ δικαίαν κατὰ σοῦ κρίσιν ἔξηγενεν, ἀλλὰ νοσοῦσα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι σαλευμένη, οὔτε ἀπασα ταῦτην τὴν2 γνώμην τότε ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος πονηρῶς προστάταις 5 χρησάμενον. εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῖς κακίστοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἔδοκει ταῦτα, καὶ ὅσ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα πολιτευμένους ἀπηλάθης ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτωσιν οὐτωσοι προσήκε μισισκακεῖν πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα. πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πολιτευμένων τὰ παραπλήσια συνέβη παθεῖν· καὶ σπάνιοι δὴ τυνὲς εἰσὶν οἷς οὐκ ἀντέπνευσε πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀρετὴν φθόνος ἐκ 6 τῶν συμπολιτευμένων ἀδικός.3 ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπόνως, ὁ Μάρκιος, φέρουσι καὶ μετρίως ἀπαντεῖς οἱ γενεαῖοι τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ πόλεις μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν αἷς οὐκήσαντες οὐθὲν λυπήσουσι τὰς πατρίδας· ὅσπερ καὶ Ταρκύνιος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κολλατίνος ἐπικαλοῦμενος (ἐκανὸν ἐν παραδείγμα καὶ οἰκεῖον),4 ὁς συνελευθερώσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς πολίτας,

1 εἰς added by Kiessling.
2 ταῦτην τὴν Kiessling: τὴν αὐτὴν O, Jacoby.
3 ἀδικος B : ἀδίκως R.
4 This parenthesis rejected by Cobet as spurious; καὶ omitted in B.
perity will not be content with the blessings they have, but will be angry with you and indignant if you do not also spill by their hands your country's blood? For my part, I do not believe so. I have still one point left to speak of—a strong one if you judge of it by reason, but weak if you judge by passion. I refer to the unjust hatred you bear toward your country. For the commonwealth was neither in a state of health nor governed according to the established constitution when she pronounced that unjust sentence against you, but was diseased and tossed in a violent tempest; nor did the state as a whole entertain this opinion at that time, but only the baser element in it, which had followed evil leaders. Yet supposing not only the worst of the citizens, but all the rest as well had been of this mind, and you had been banished by them as not acting for the best interests of the state, not even in that case did it become you to bear any resentment against your country. For it has fallen to the lot of many others, you know, of those whose policies were prompted by the best motives, to have the same experience, and few indeed are those who have not, because of their reputation for virtue, felt the breath of unjust envy on the part of their political rivals. But all who are high-minded, Marcius, bear their misfortunes like men and with moderation, and remove to other cities in which they can dwell without causing harm to their fatherland. This was the case with Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus. (A single instance and one from our own history will suffice.)¹ He had assisted in freeing his fellow citizens from the tyrants, but was later accused

¹ This parenthetical remark is perhaps due to a scribe.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπειτα διαβληθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς συμπράττων πάλιν τοῖς τυράννοις τὴν κάθοδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελαθεῖς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκει πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ ἐπεστράτευε τῇ πόλει τοὺς τυράννους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐποίει τεκμήρια τῶν διαβολῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν Λαούνιον ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἐβίω χρόνον εὑνοῦς ὡν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ φίλοις.

L. "Εστώ δ' οὖν ὄμως, καὶ δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ παθοῦσι μὴ διακρίνειν εἰτε φίλιον εἰτη τὸ κακῶς δεδρακὸς εἰτε ἄλλοτριον, ἀλλ' ἵσην πρὸς ἀπαντας ὀργην ἐχειν· ἐπειτα οὐχ ἰκανᾶς εἰσπέταρ-ξαι παρὰ τῶν υβρισάντων σε δίκας γῆν τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρίστην πεποιηκῶς μηλόβοτον καὶ πόλεις διαπεπορθηκῶς συμμαχίδας, ἃς πολλοῖς πόνοις κτησάμενοι κατέσχον,1 καὶ τρίτον ἢδη τοῦτ' ἐτος εἴς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων κατακεκλεικῶς αὐτοὺς2 ἀπορίαν; ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι3 ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν ἀγριαίνουσιν2 καὶ μανομένην ὀργην προάγεις4· καὶ οὖντες πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις φέροντάς σοι τῶν τε ἐγκλημάτων ἄφεσιν καὶ κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας ἐνετράπης, οὔτ' τοὺς ιερεῖς οὐς τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπέμψεν ἢ πόλις, γηραιοὺς ἄνδρας5 ιερὰ στέμματα θεῶν προτείνοντας,6 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπήλασας, αὐθάδεις καὶ δεσποτικὰς ως κεκρατημένους ἀπο-

1 κτησάμενοι κατέσχον Sylburg: κτησάμενη κατέσχε O, Jacoby.
2 αὐτοὺς added by Schenkl.
3 μέχρι Reiske, πόρρω Jacoby: περὶ O.
146
before them of attempting in turn to restore these tyrants and for that reason was himself banished from his country; yet he retained no resentment against those who had exiled him, nor would he march against his country bringing with him the tyrants nor commit acts that would substantiate the charges made against him, but retiring to Lavinium, our mother-city, he spent the remainder of his life there, continuing loyal to his country and its friend.

L. "Conceding the point nevertheless, and granting the right to all who have suffered grievously not to distinguish whether those who have injured them are friends or aliens but to direct their anger against all impartially, even so have you not taken a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, now that you have turned their best land into a sheep-walk, have utterly destroyed the cities of their allies, which they had acquired and held at the cost of many hardships, and have reduced them now for the third year to a great scarcity of provisions? But you carry your wild and mad resentment even to the point of enslaving them and razing their city; and you showed no regard even for the envoys sent to you by the senate, men of worth and your friends, who came to offer you a dismissal of the charges and leave to return home, nor yet for the priests whom the commonwealth sent at the last to you, old men holding before them the holy garlands of the gods; but these also you drove away, giving a haughty and imperious answer to them as

4 προάγεις Ba : προσάγεις ABB.

5 γηραιοῦς ἀνδρᾶς placed here by Portus: after ἰερὰ στέμματα θεῶν ἔχοντας by O; Jacoby deleted.

6 προτείνοντας Capps: ἔχοντας γηραιοῦς ἀνδρᾶς προτείνοντας ABD, ἔχοντας καὶ προτείνοντας Portus, Jacoby.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 κρίσεις δούσ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω ταῦτα τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ὑπέραυχα καὶ τὴν θυητὴν φύσιν ἐκβεβηκότα δικαιώματα, ὁρῶσα καταφυγάς εὐρημένας ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ παρατήρεις ὅν ἄν ἐξαμαρτάνωσι περὶ ἀλλήλους ἱκετηρίας καὶ λιτᾶς, τόθ' ὧν μαραίνεται πᾶσα ὁργὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μισείν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεεῖ· τοὺς δ' αὐθαδείᾳ χρησμένους καὶ λιτᾶς ἱκετῶν ὑβρίσαντας ἀπαντάς νεμεσωμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ εἰς συμφορᾶς καταστρέφοντας οὐκ εὕτυχεῖς. αὐτοὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ ταῦτα καταστησάμενοι καὶ παραδόντες ἦμιν θεοὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις εἰσὶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ εὐδιάλλακτοι, καὶ πολλοὶ ἦδη μεγάλα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὸν χόλον ἐξιλάσαντο· εἰ μὴ σύ, ὁ Μάρκιε, ἀξιοὶς τὰς μὲν τῶν θεῶν ὀργὰς θυητὰς εἰναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους. δίκαια μὲν οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σεαυτῷ πρέποντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ἀφεῖς αὐτῇ τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετανοοῦση γε καὶ διαλλαττομένη καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἀφείλετό σοι νῦν ἀποδιδοῦσῃ.

LI. "Εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀδιάλλακτος ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ ταὐτὴν δός, ὃ τέκνον, τὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν, παρ' ἃς οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστον ἀξιὰ ἔχεις οὐδ' ὃν ἀντιποιήσωτ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐτερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα καὶ οἷς ἀπαντὰ τὰ λοιπὰ κέκτησαι, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. δανείσματα γὰρ ἔχεις ταῦτα

1 After λιτᾶς the MSS. all add: καὶ τὸ καταφυγέων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱδικυμένους τὸ ἀδικοῦν ταπεινόν, θεῶν ἠμῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἔθη καταστησάμενον. Jacoby deleted.
2 Portus (and B, according to Jacoby): παραστησάμενοι R.

148
to men who had been conquered. For my part, I cannot commend these harsh and overbearing claims, which overstep the bounds of human nature, when I observe that a refuge for all men and the means of securing forgiveness for their offences one against another have been devised in the form of suppliant boughs and prayers, by which all anger is softened and instead of hating one’s enemy one pities him; and when I observe also that those who act arrogantly and treat with insolence the prayers of suppliants all incur the indignation of the gods and in the end come to a miserable state. For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive the offences of men and are easily reconciled; and many have there been ere now who, though greatly sinning against them, have appeased their anger by prayers and sacrifices. Unless you think it fitting, Marcius, that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself and to your country if you forgive her her offences, seeing that she is repentant and ready to be reconciled and to restore to you now everything that she took away from you before.

LI. "But if you are indeed irreconcilable to her, grant, my son, this honour and favour to me, at least, from whom you have received, not the boons that are of least value nor those to which another also might lay claim, but rather those that are the greatest and most precious and have enabled you to acquire everything else you possess—namely, your body and your soul. These are loans you have from me, and neither

3 ἐξαμαρτάνοντες O : ἐξαμαρτάνοντες Portus, Jacoby.
4 ἄφεις αὐτῇ Kiessling : αὐτῇ, ἄφεις O, Jacoby.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐμά, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαίρησεται με ταῦτα οúdeis οὔτε τότος οὔτε καίρος, οὔτε γε αἱ Ὀὐσιοῦσκων οὔτε τῶν ἀλλών ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσία συμπάντων καὶ χάριτες τοσούτον ἵσχύσουσιν ὁυδ' ἂν οὐρανομῆκεις γένωνται, ὥστε τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἕξαλείψαι καὶ παρ- ελθεῖν δίκαια. ἀλλ' ἐμὸς ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον ἑση καὶ πρώτη πάντων τὰς τοῦ βίου χάριτας ὀφειλῆσεις ἐμοί, καὶ ὡν ἂν δέωμαι δίχα προφάσεως ὑπουργή- 2 σεις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὅ τῆς φύσεως νόμος ὄρισεν ἄπασι τοῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ λόγου μετειλήφοσι τὸ δίκαιον, ὥς πιστεύουσα, Μάρκιε τέκνον, κἀγὼ δειμαί σου μή ἐπάγειν πόλεμον τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἵσταμαι σου βιαζομένῳ. ἥ προτέραν οὐν ἐμὲ τὴν ἐναντιο- μένην σοι μητέρα ταῖς ἐρωτεῦσαι αὐτο- χειρία τότε τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἅπτου πολέμου, ἥ το μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος εἴξων τῇ σειαυτῷ 3 μητρὶ καὶ δός, ὥ τέκνον, τὴν χάριν ἐκών. νόμον μὲν οὖν τόνδε, ὅν οὔθεις πώποτε ἀνελεῖ4 χρόνοις, τιμώρων καὶ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα οὐκ ἄξιῳ, Μάρκιε, μόνη τιμῶν ἃς οὔτως μοι διδωσίν ἀμοιρὸς ἐκ σοῦ γενέσθαι. ἑργῶν δὲ χρηστῶν ὑπομνῆσεις, ἵν' ἄφο τὸν νόμον, σκόπει πάλιν ὡς πολλᾶς καὶ μεγάλας: ἠτὶς ὀρφανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σε5 παραλαβοῦσα νῆπιον διέμεινα ἐπὶ σοι χήρα καὶ τοὺς ἔπι τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήμενος πόνους, οὐ μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατήρ6 καὶ τροφὸς καὶ 4 ἀδελφῇ καὶ πάντα τὰ φιλτατά σοι γενομένη. ἐπειδῆ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἠλθες, εἴξων μοι τότε ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν φροντίδων ἐτέρω γημαμένην καὶ ἐτέρα τέκνα ἐπιθερέσαι καὶ πολλᾶς γηροβοσκοὺς ἑλπίδας ἐμαυτῇ

1 Steph. : ἵσχύσουν ΑΒ, Jacoby.
2 Kiessling : μοι Ο.
3 οὖν added by Reiske.

150
place nor time will ever deprive me of them, nor will the benefactions and favours of the Volscians or of all the rest of mankind together, even if they should reach the heavens in magnitude, avail to efface and surpass the rights of Nature; but you will be mine forever, and to me before all others you will owe gratitude for your life, and you will oblige me in everything I ask without alleging any excuse. For this is a right which the law of Nature has prescribed for all who partake of sense and reason; and putting my trust in this law, Marcius, my son, I too beg of you not to make war upon your country, and I stand in your way if you resort to violence. Either, therefore, first sacrifice with your own hand to the Furies your mother who opposes you and then begin the war against your country, or, if you shrink from the guilt of matricide, yield to your mother, my son, and grant this favour willingly. Having this law, then, which no lapse of time will ever repeal, to avenge my wrongs and be my ally, I cannot consent, Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of honours to which it entitles me. But leaving this law aside, consider in turn the reminders I have to give you of the good offices you have received from me, how many and how great they are. When you were left an orphan by your father, I took you as an infant, and for your sake I remained a widow and underwent the labours of rearing you, showing myself not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a sister, and everything that is dearest. When you reached manhood and it was in my power to be freed from these cares by marrying again, to rear other children, and lay up many hopes.

4 Cobet: ἀνείλε O.
6 πατὴρ B: πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς R.
καταβαλεῖν, 1 οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, ἀλλ' ἐμενα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐστερεξα βίων, ἐν σοὶ μόνῳ πάσας τιθεῖσα τὰς ἐμαυτῆς ἱδονὰς τε καὶ ωφελείας· ὅν ἐφευσάς με τὰ μὲν ἀκων, τὰ δ' ἐκὼν, καὶ πασῶν ἀτυχεστάτην ἐποίησας μητέρων. ποίον γάρ χρόνον, ἃφ' οὖ σε εἰς ἀνδρας ἠγαγον, ἀνευ λύπης ἡ φόβου διετέλεσα, ἡ πότε ἱλαρῶν ἐπί σοι τὴν ψυχήν πολέμους ἐπὶ πολέμους στέλλοντα ὁρώσα σε καὶ μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τραύματα ἐπὶ τραύμασι λαμβάνοντα;

ΛΙΙ. ' 'Ἀλλ' ἐξ οὖν ἐπολιτεύον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττες, ἡδονὴ τυι ἐκαρπωσάμην ἡ μήτηρ ἐγὼ διὰ σε; τότε μὲν οὖ τὰ μάλιστα ἦτύχων στάσεως πολιτικῆς μέσον ὁρώσα σε κείμενον. ἐν οἷς γάρ ἀνθεὶ τοιοῦτοι πολιτεύμασι καὶ πολὺς ἐπεις ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φόβου μεστὰ ἦν ἐνθυμουμένη τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίων, ὡς ἐπὶ μικρὰς αἰωρεῖται ροπῆς, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκουσμάτων τε καὶ παθημάτων μαθούσῃ ὅτι τοῖς ἐπισήμοις ἀνδράσι θεία τις ἐναντιοῦται νε- μεσις τῆ φθόνοις τῶν ἀνθρώπινοι πολεμεῖ· καὶ ἢν ἡ ἀρα μάντις ἀληθῆς, ὡς μὴποτε ὠφέλον, 3 τῶν ἐκβησο- μένων. κατηγωνίσατό γε οὖν σε πολὺς ἐπιρράξας ὁ πολιτικὸς φθόνος καὶ ἀνήρτασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· ὃ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα μου βίος, εἰ δὴ καὶ βίον αὐτὸν δεὶ καλεῖν, ἄφ' οὖ με καταλυτῶν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τοῖς παι- δίοις τούτοις ἀπήλθες, ἐν τούτῳ δεδαπάνηται τῷ 2 ῥύπῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθήμοις τρύχεσι τούτους. ἀνθ' 1

1 Capps: καταλυπεῖν O, Jacoby. 2 εξ οὐ Gelenius: εξ ὠν O. 3 Jacoby: ὠφέλον O.
to support me in my old age, I would not do so, but remained at the same hearth and put up with the same kind of life, placing all my pleasures and all my advantages in you alone. Of these you have disappointed me, partly against your will and partly of your own accord, and have made me the most wretched of all mothers. For what time, since I brought you up to manhood, have I passed free from grief or fear? Or when have I possessed a spirit cheerful on your account, seeing you always undertaking wars upon wars, engaged in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon wounds?

LII. "But from the time when you took up the life of a statesman and engaged in public affairs have I, your mother, enjoyed any pleasure on your account? Nay, it was then that I was most unhappy, seeing you placed in the midst of civil strife. For those very measures which seemed to make you flourish and blow strong in popularity as you opposed the plebeians in behalf of the aristocracy filled me with fear, as I called to mind what the life of man is, how it hangs nicely suspended as in a balance, and had learned from many instances which I had heard and experienced that a kind of divine vengeance opposes men of prominence or a certain envy of men makes war upon them; and I proved a true prophet of what was to be—would to Heaven I had not! At any rate, you were overpowered by the ill-will of your fellow citizens, which burst upon you violently and snatched you away from your country; and my life thereafter—if, indeed I ought to call it life since you departed leaving me and these children, too, desolate—has been spent in this squalor and in these rent garments of mourning. In return for all this I,
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δὲν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπαιτῶ σε χάριν, μηδέποτε σοι βαρεία γενομένη μηδ’ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσομένη χρόνον, ἐως ἃν ζω, διαλλαγήναι πρὸς τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἠδή ποτὲ καὶ παύσασθαι τὸν ἀμείλυκτον χόλον φυλάσσοντα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, κοινὸν ἀγάθον ἀμφιτέρως ἦμῖν ἀξιοῦσα λαβεῖν καὶ οὐκ 3 ἐμαντῆς ὕδιον μόνης. σοὶ τε γάρ, ἐὰν πεισθῇς καὶ μηθὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐξεργάσῃ, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἔχειν συμβήσεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς χόλου καὶ παράγματος δαμονίον· ἐμοὶ τε ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τε καὶ πολιτίδων τιμὴ ζωῆς τε παρακολουθοῦσα τὸν1 βιόν εὐδαίμονα ποιῆσει καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀποδιδομένη καθάπερ εἰκὸς εὐκλειαν ἀθάνατον 4 οὔσει. καὶ εἰ τις ἄρα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς ἀπολυθεῖσας τοῦ σώματος ὑποδέχεται τόπος, οὗχ ὁ καταχθόνιος καὶ ἀφεγγῆς ὑποδέχεται τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐν ὡς ἐξαίτω τοὺς κακοδαίμονας οἰκείων, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Λήθης πεδίον, ἀλλ’ ὁ μετέωρος καὶ καθαρὸς αἰθήρ, ἐν ὡς οὐκ ἔκθεὼν φύντας οἰκείων λόγος εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἔχοντας βίον· οἷς διαγγέλλουσα τὸ σὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὰς σὰς χάριτας, αἰς αὐτὴν ἐκόσμησας, αἰεὶ τινας αἰτήσεται σοι παρὰ θεῶν ἄμοιβάς καλάς.

ΛIII. "Εἰάν δὲ προπηλακίσῃς τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ ἄτμον ἀπολύσῃς, ὃ τι μὲν αὐτῷ σοι συμβήσεται ὁταύτα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, μαντεύομαι δὲ οὐδὲν εὐτυχές. ὅτι δ’ εἶναι καὶ τέλλα πάντα εὐδαίμονῆς, ἐστώ γάρ, ἡ δ’ ἐμὲ καὶ τὰς ἑμᾶς συμφοράς παρακολουθήσουσα σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀνήσουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὀδύνη πάντων ἀγαθῶν

1 τῶν added by Kiessling, Jacoby.

1 Forgetfulness.
who was never a burden to you nor ever shall be as long as I live, ask this favour of you—that you will at last be reconciled to your fellow citizens and cease nursing that implacable anger against your country. In doing this I am but asking to receive what will be a boon common to us both, and not mine alone. For you, if you hearken to me and commit no irreparable deed, will have a mind free and unvexed by any heaven-sent wrath and disquiet, while as for me, the honour I shall receive from the men and women of the city, attending me while I live, will make my life happy, and being paid to my memory after my death, as I may well expect, will bring me everlasting fame. And if there is in very truth a place which will receive men's souls when released from the body, it is not that subterranean and gloomy place where, men say, the unhappy dwell, that will receive mine, nor the region called the Plain of Lethe,¹ but the pure ether high up in the heavens, where, as report has it, those who are sprung from the gods dwell, enjoying a happy and a blessed life; and to them my soul will relate your piety and the acts of kindness with which you honoured her, and will ever ask the gods to requite you with glorious rewards.

LIII. "If, however, you treat your mother with indignity and send her away unhonoured, what you yourself will have to suffer for this I cannot say, though I presage no happiness. But even if you should be fortunate in all other respects—for let that be assumed—yet your compunction because of me and my afflictions, haunting you and never giving respite to your soul, will rob your life of the enjoy-
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

2 soi ἀνόνητον ποιήσει τὸν βίον, εὕ οἶδα. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται Οὐντούρια τὴν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὑβριν ἐν τοσοῦτοις μάρτυσιν υβρισθείσα τὸν ἑλάχιστον βιώναι χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐχθρῶν οἰμασιν ἐμαυτὴν διαχρήσομαι, βαρεῖαν ἀρὰν καὶ δεινὰς ἐρινύας ἀντ’ ἐμαυτῆς
3 καταλιποῦσά σοι τιμωρούσ. ὃν μὴ δείσεις, ὃ θεοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν φύλακες ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ’ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ καλοὺς δοῖτε Μαρκίων λογισμούς καὶ ὥσπερ ἄρτι προσιόνη μοι τούς τε πελεκεῖς ἀπ’ ἔθετο καὶ τὰς ράβδους ἔκλυνε καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἔθηκε χαμαί καὶ 1 πάντα τάλλα οἷς κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτοκράτορας ἀρχὰς νόμοι, τὰ μὲν ἐμείσωσε, τὰ δ’ ἐκποδῶν εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε,1 δὴλον ἀπασι βουλόμενος ποιήσαι ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀλλῶν ἀρχεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκεν, ὅπο δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἄρχεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τιμίαν καὶ περίβλεπτόν με ποιήσειε, καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα ἀντὶ κακοδαμονεστάτης εὐδαμονεστάτην ἀποδείξειε μὲ 4 πασῶν γυναικῶν. εἰ δὲ ὅσιόν2 ἔστι καὶ θεμιτὸν νῦν γόνασι μητέρα προσκυλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πάν ἄλλο ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ λειτούργημα ὑπομενόσ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τῆς πατρίδος."'

LIV. Ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα ἔρριψεν ἐαυτὴν χαμαί καὶ περιπλέξασα ταῖς χερῶν ἀμφοτέρας τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Μαρκίου κατεβίλησε. πεσοῦσης δ’ αὐτῆς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνεβόησαν ἀμα πᾶσαι κωκυτὸν ἄξιν καὶ μακρόν, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐθ-

1 καὶ πάντα . . . εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε rejected as a gloss by Garrer, Jacoby.
2 Sylburg: ὅσιον Ο.
ment of all its blessings; this I do know full well. Veturia, for one thing, after this cruel and irreparable ignominy received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live a moment; nay, I will kill myself before the eyes of all of you, both friends and enemies, leaving to you in my stead a grievous curse and dire furies to be my avengers. May there be no occasion for this, O gods who guard the empire of the Romans, but inspire Marcius with sentiments of piety and honour; and just as a little while ago at my approach he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods to be lowered, and his chair to be taken from the tribunal and placed on the ground, and as for all the other observances by which it is the custom to honour supreme magistrates, he moderated some and did away with others altogether, desiring to make it clear to all that though it was fitting that he should rule all others, by his mother he should be ruled, even so may he now also make me honoured and conspicuous, and by giving me back our common country as a favour, render me, instead of the most ill-starred, the most fortunate of all women. And if it is right and lawful for a mother to grovel at the feet of her son, even to this and every other posture and office of humility will I submit in order to save my country."

LIV. With these words she threw herself upon the ground, and embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them. As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, raising a loud and prolonged wailing; and the Volscians who

1 The words "and, as for all the other observances . . . and did away with others altogether" were rejected by Garrer and Jacoby as an interpolation. There is nothing corresponding to these words in chap. 44, 3 and 45, 3, where the actual circumstances are related.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

λούσκων οὖκ ἴνεσχοντο τὴν ἀθηθειαν¹ τῆς ὀψεως, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφησαν. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἀναλόμενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφρον καὶ περιπεσών τῇ μητρὶ ἀνίστησαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀλγοὺς ἐμπνέουσαν, καὶ περιβαλών² καὶ πολλὰ ἐκχέασ δάκρυα εἶπε· "Νικᾶς, ὦ μῆτερ, οὐκ ἐντυχῆ νίκην οὔτε σεαυτῇ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόστοργον ὦν ἀπολώλεκας."

2 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆκε κελεύσας ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν τε μήτερα καὶ τὴν γυνǎικα καὶ τὰ παιδία, ἐνθα τὸν λουπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοπούμενος σὺν αὐταῖς ὁ τι χρῆ πράττειν διετέλεσεν. ὃν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοὺς τοιάδε· περὶ μὲν τῆς καθόδου μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν δήμον μήτ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπιμηφίζειν, πρὶν ἃν τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις εὐτρεπῆ γένηται τὰ περὶ φιλίας καὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου· αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναστήσαντα ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἀπάγειν· ὑποσχόντα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον καὶ τὰς ἐυρεγεσίας ἀποδειξάμενον ἂξιοὺν τοὺς ἐπιτρέφαντας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν, μάλιστα μὲν φιλία δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ συνθήκας πονησασθαι δικαίας, αὐτῷ τὴν ἱσότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι περὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας

3 ἐπιτρέφαντας. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις σφίσιν αὐθαδείας ἀνασπηλάκαμενοι μὴ δέχοντο τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς. ἦ γὰρ οὖν ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ αἱρεῖσθαι στρατηγῷν δ' ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἡ παρακινδυνεύσαντας ὀτωδῆτιν παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν μεγάλῃ διδαχθήσεσθαι βλάβη τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος

¹ ἀθηθειαν B : ἀλήθειαν R.
² περιβαλών B : περιλαβῶν R.
were present at the assembly could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. Marcius himself, leaping up from his seat, took his mother in his arms, and raising her up from the ground scarcely breathing, embraced her, and shedding many tears, said: "Yours is the victory, mother, but a victory which will be happy for neither you nor me. For though you have saved your country, you have ruined me, your dutiful and affectionate son." After saying this, he retired to his tent, bidding his mother, his wife, and his children follow him; and there he passed the rest of the day in considering with them what should be done. The decisions they reached were as follows: That the senate should lay no proposal before the people providing for his return nor should the latter pass any vote till the Volscians should be ready to consider friendship and the termination of the war; that Marcius should break camp and lead his army away as through friendly territory; and that after he had given an accounting to the Volscians of his conduct in the command of their army and recounted the services he had done them, he should ask those who had entrusted him with the army, preferably to admit their enemies into friendship and to conclude a just treaty with them, commissioning him to see that the terms of the agreement were fair and free from guile; but if, becoming puffed up with arrogance over their successes, they should reject an accommodation, he should resign the command they had given him. For they thought that the Volscians would either not bring themselves to choose another commander, for want of a good general, or, if they did run the hazard of handing over their forces to any chance person, they would learn through heavy losses
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αἱρεσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα
dิกαία τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμης τε ἀγαθῆς, ἐφ’ ἣ
μάλιστα ὁ ἀνήρ ἐσπούδαζε, παρὰ πάσι τενξόμενα,
4 τοιάδε ἦν. ἐτάραττε δὲ τις αὐτοῦς υποψία ἰδεὸς
ἐχουσα, μὴ ποτὲ ἄλογιστος ὄχλος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ
catatapolemeikέναι τὸ ἀντίπαλον Ἥδη ὅν δ’ ὄργης
ἀκράτου λάβη τὴν ἀποτυχίαν κάπειτα ὡς προδότην
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοχειρία φθάσῃ δι-
ολέσας. ἐδόκει οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτο καὶ εἴ τι ἅλλο
dεινότερον εἴη κινδύνευμα σὺν ἁρετῇ σώζουσι τὴν
5 πίστιν ύπομένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου ἦν
ήδη, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐξήσαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς:
ἐπειθ’ αἱ μὲν γυναικὲς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆσαν, ὁ
δὲ Μάρκιος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς αὐτίας ἀποδοὺς τοῖς
παροῦσι δι’ ἀσ ἐμελλε λύειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν δειθεῖς συγγνώναι τε αὐτῷ καὶ,
ἐπειδὰν οἰκαδε ἀφίκωνται, μεμνημένους ὅν ἐπάθον
ἐὗ 2 τοῦ μηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν
συναγωνιστᾶς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἐπ-
αγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς
τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ νυκτὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύσωντας.

LV. Ῥωμαίοι δ’ ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι λένται σφῶν ὁ
κινδύνος (ἐφθασε γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν παρουσίαν
προλαβοῦσα ἡ φήμη), σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταλιπόντες
τὴν πόλιν ἔθεον ἑξώ καὶ υπήντων τοῖς γυναιξίν
ἀσπασοῦν καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐκ μεγάλων
κινδύνων εἰς ἀδόκητον εὐνυχίαν ἄνθρωπο κατα-
stάντες πράττουσι τε καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, τὰ
μὲν ἄθροϊ, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ἕνα ἐκαστὸν ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

1 ἦν Steph. : om. AB. 2 εὗ B : om. R.
to choose what was advantageous. Such were the subjects of their deliberation and such were the decisions they reached as just and right and calculated to win the good opinion of all men—a thing which Marcius had most at heart. But they were troubled by a suspicion, not unmixed with fear, that an unreasoning mob, now buoyed up with the hope that they had completely crushed their foe, might take their disappointment with uncontrolled anger and as a result put Marcius to death with their own hands as a traitor without even granting him a hearing. However, they determined to submit even to this or to any other danger still more formidable which they might incur in honourably keeping faith. When it was now near sunset, they embraced one another and left the tent, after which the women returned to the city. Then Marcius in an assembly of the troops laid before those present the reasons why he intended to put an end to the war; and after earnestly beseeching the soldiers both to forgive him and, when they returned home, to remember the benefits they had received from him and to strive with him to prevent his suffering any irreparable injury at the hands of the other citizens, and after saying many other things calculated to win their support, he ordered them to make ready to break camp the following night.

LV. When the Romans heard that their peril was over—for the report of it was brought before the arrival of the women—they left the city with great joy, and running out to meet them, embraced them, sang songs of triumph, and now all together and now one by one showed all the signs of joy which men who emerge out of great dangers into unexpected good fortune exhibit in both their words and actions. That
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

2 ἐκεῖνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐν θαλείαις τε καὶ εὐπαθείαις διετέλεσαν, τῇ δὲ ἔξης ἡμέρᾳ συν- αχθείσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ θουλη ἐρεῖ μὲν τοῦ Μαρκίου γνώμην ἀπεδείξαντο εἰς ἐτέρους ἀναβάλ- λεσθαι καίρους ἐπιτηδειοτέρους τὰς δοθησόμενας αὐτῷ τιμάς· ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ ἐπαυνὸν τε ἀποδεδο- σθαι τῆς προσθιμίας ἑνέκα ὁμοσία γραφὴ μνήμην οἴσοντα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγυμνομένων αἰώνων, καὶ γέρας, ὥς τι ἂν αὐταῖς λαβοῦσαι ἔδιστον τε καὶ τιμώτατον

3 ἔσεσθαι μέλλῃ· καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα. ὧν ἡ γυναιξὶ βουλευσαμέναις εἰσῆλθεν ἐπιφόνον μὲν ὅρῳς μηδεμάς δείσθαι, ἀξίουν δὲ ἐπιτρέψας σφύσι τὴν θουλὴν Τύχης4 γυναικῶν ἰδρύσασθαι ἱερὸν ἐν ὧ ταῖς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λιτᾶς χωρίῳ, ὧν ιεροὶ τε καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος αὐτῇ συνιούσας ἐπι- τελεῖν ἐν ἥ τον πόλεμον ἐλυσαν ἡμέρα. ἡ μέντοι θουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιφίσαντο χρημάτων τέμενος τε ὑψηθέν καθιερωθῆναι τῇ θεῶ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ νεὼν καὶ βωμὸν, ὥς ἄν' οἱ ιερο- μνήμονες ἐξηγοῦνται, συντελεσθῆναι, θυσίας τε

1 ἑνέκα (or αὐτίκα or αὐτίκα μᾶλα) Cary; πάλαι O, πάλιν Sintenis, παλαία Jacoby; Kiessling proposed στήλης δημοσίας ἐπιγραφῆ.
2 καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα R (?) : om. B.
3 εἰσῆλθε B : εἰσέλθειν C, ἐδόκει ACmg.
4 ἐπὶ before Τύχης deleted by Reiske.

¹ For chap. 55, 2-5 cf. Livy ii. 40, 11 f.
² From this point the clause is packed with difficulties. (1) πάλαι ("long ago"), the reading of the MSS., is almost certainly corrupt. ἑνέκα, while probably not really necessary here after the genitive, does at least give the construction normally found in laudatory decrees. On the other hand, we rather expect an adverb or adverbial phrase meaning "at once," and the early translators rendered πάλαι by 162
night, then, they passed in festivities and merrymaking. The next day the senate, having been assembled by the consuls, resolved, in the case of Marcius, to postpone to a more suitable occasion such honours as were to be given to him, but as for the women,¹ that not only praise should be bestowed upon them for their zeal,² the same to be expressed by a public decree which should gain for them eternal remembrance on the part of future generations, but also a gift of honour, whatever to those receiving it would be most pleasing and most highly prized; and the people ratified this resolution. It occurred to the women after some deliberation to ask for no invidious gift, but to request of the senate permission to found a temple to Fortuna Muliebris on the spot where they had interceded for their country, and to assemble and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day on which they had put an end to the war. However, the senate and people decreed that from the public funds a precinct should be purchased and consecrated to the goddess, and a temple and altar erected upon it, in such manner as the pontiffs should direct, and that sacrifices should be performed

quam primum; either αὐτίκα or αὐτίκα μάλα would be quite in accord with Dionysius’ usage. (2) The phrase δημοσία γραφή is suspicious. γραφή has generally been interpreted here as “inscription”; but Dionysius normally uses ἐπιγραφή when he means “inscription,” and γραφή in the sense of “writing.” If the text is correct, he probably means by a “public writing,” a publicly displayed decree of the senate and people. (3) ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγνωμένων, in place of εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγνωμένους, is a surprising construction, if οἴσοντα be taken in the sense of “carry,” “transmit.” But in this context it probably means “win” as a prize, “gain”; cf. vi. 68, 2, where remembrance on the part of future generations is also mentioned; also viii. 52, 3.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

...proságesthai demoteleis katarhoiménes tôn ierón gnvaiikós, ἆν ἀποδείξεσαν αὐταὶ ¹ λειτουργον τῶν ἱερῶν. ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμάτων ἔρεια μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γνώμην ἀπεδείχθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ τῆς γνώμην αὐταῖς εἰσηγησαμένη περὶ τῆς προσβείας Ὀὐαλερία καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου πείσασα συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἔξοδου. θυσίαν δὲ πρῶτην αἱ γνώμαις ἔθυσαν ύπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ὀὐαλερίας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει βωμοῦ, πρὶν ἡ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀναστάθηναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίω τοῦ κατόπων ἐναυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνη, ἡν Ἔλληνες μὲν νομηνίαν, 'Ῥωμαίοι δὲ καλάνδας καλοῦσιν· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λύσασα τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. ἐναυτῶ δ’ ύστερον δευτέρω ² μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην θυσίαν ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεῶς συνετελέσθη τε καὶ καθιερώθη Κοῦντιλίου μηνὸς ἐβδόμη μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνη. αὕτη δὲ κατὰ 'Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ἡ προηγομένη τῶν Κοῦντιλίων νωνῶν ἡμέρα. ὁ δὲ καθιερώσας αὐτόν ἢν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος ἀτέροις τῶν ὑπάτων.

LVI. Ἕξη δ’ ἄν ἄρμόττον ἱστορίας σχήματι καὶ ἑπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τῶν οἰομένων μὴτ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς παρ’ ἄνθρώπων χαίρειν τοὺς θεοὺς μὴτ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνοσίαις καὶ ἀδικοῖς πράξεσιν ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ δηλῶσαι τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐχ ἀπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῖς, ὡς αἱ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν περιέχουσι γραφαί, ἴνα τοῖς

¹ Sylburg: αὕται O.
² δευτέρω Kiessling: ἔτερῳ Ο, Jacoby.

¹ Noumenia and calendae were the names given to the first 164
at the public expense, the initial ceremonies to be conducted by a woman, whichever one the women themselves should choose to officiate at the rites. The senate having passed this decree, the woman then chosen by the others to be priestess for the first time was Valeria, who had proposed to them the embassy and had persuaded the mother of Marcius to join the others in going out of the city. The first sacrifice was performed on behalf of the people by the women, Valeria beginning the rites, upon the altar raised in the sacred precinct, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December of the following year, on the day of the new moon, which the Greeks call *noumenia* and the Romans calends\(^1\); for this was the day which had put an end to the war. The year after the first sacrifice the temple built at public expense was finished and dedicated about the seventh day of the month Quintilis, reckoning by the course of the moon; this, according to the Romans' calendar, is the day before the nones of Quintilis.\(^2\) The man who dedicated the temple was Proculus Verginius, one of the consuls.

LVI. It would be in harmony with a formal history and in the interest of correcting those who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honours they receive from men nor displeased with impious and unjust actions, to make known the epiphany of the goddess at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the books of the pontiffs, to the end that day of the month, but the new moon fell on that day only so long as the calendar followed the lunar months.

\(^1\) There is an error somewhere in this sentence, since the nones fell on the seventh day of the month Quintilis (later Iulus). Glareanus proposed to read “sixth” in place of “seventh” just above.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μὲν εὐλαβεστέροις περὶ τὸ συνέχειν ἃς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων δόξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαιμόνιου παρέλαβον ἀμεταμέλητος ἢ τοιαύτη προαίρεσιν καὶ βεβαιὰ διαμένῃ, τοῖς δ' ὑπερορώσι τῶν πατρίων ἔθισμῶν καὶ μηθενὸς ποιοῦσι τοῦ δαιμόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν κύριον μάλιστα μὲν ἀναθέσθαι ταῦτην τὴν δόξαν, εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως ἔχουσιν, ἐτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπεξεπάνεσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονεστέρως εἶναι.

2 ἱστορεῖται τοῖς ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισματένης ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πάσας ἐπιχορηγηθήναι τὰς εἰς τὸν νεὼν τε καὶ τὸ ἕοανον δαπάνας, ἐτερον δ' ἀγαλμα κατασκευασμένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀφ' ἄν αὐταῖς συνήνεγκαν χρημάτων, ἀνατεθέντων τε αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἀμα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀνιερώσεως ἡμέρᾳ, θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδριμάτων, δ' κατασκευάσαντο καὶ γυναίκες, ἐφθέγξατο πολλῶν παρουσῶν γλώττῃ Λατίνῃ φωνῇ εὐσύνετον τε καὶ γεγονόν· ἦς ἐστὶ φωνῆς ἐξερμηνεύόμενος ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον τούσδε· "Οσίω πόλεως νόμῳ, 3 γυναῖκες γαμεταί, δεδώκατε με." οία δὲ φιλεὶ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς παραδόξους φωνᾶς τε καὶ ὁφεις, πολλὴ ταῖς παρούσαις ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπιστία, μὴ ποτ' οὗ τὸ ἕοανον εἰ ὁ φθεγξάμενον, ἀνθρωπίνη δέ τις φωνή· μάλιστα δ' ὅσαι πρὸς ἄλλω τυί τῶν νοὺν ἔχουσιν τηνικαῦτα ἑτυχον, οὐκ ἴδούσαι ὁ φθεγγό- μενον, ὁ τι ποτ' ἕν, ταῦτην εἶχον τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἴδούσας ἀπιστίαν. ἐπειτ' αὕθις πληθύνοντος τοῦ

1 Unless we assume an anaeolthon, a subjunctive is required in this clause corresponding to διαμένῃ just above. Reiske supplied ἢ, Kiessling περὶ, after ἀναθέσθαι. Capps would add δοκῇ after δόξαν.

166
by those who are more scrupulous about preserving the opinions concerning the gods which they have received from their ancestors such belief may be maintained firm and undisturbed by misgivings, and that those who, despising the customs of their forefathers, hold that the gods have no power over man's reason, may, preferably, retract their opinion, or, if they are incurable, that they may become still more odious to the gods and more wretched. It is related, then, that when the senate had ordered that the whole expense both of the temple and of the statue should be defrayed from the public treasury, and the women had caused another statue to be made with the money they themselves had contributed, and both statues had been set up together on the first day of the dedication of the temple, one of them, the one which the women had provided, uttered some words in Latin in a voice both distinct and loud, when many were present. The meaning of the words when translated is as follows: "You have conformed to the holy law of the city, matrons, in dedicating me." ¹

The women who were present were very incredulous, as usually happens in the case of unusual voices and sights, believing that it was not the statue that had spoken, but some human voice; and those particularly who happened at the moment to have their mind on something else and did not see what it was that spoke, showed this incredulity toward those who had seen it. Later, on a second occasion, when the

¹ According to Valerius Maximus (i. 8, 4) the words uttered were: Ῥίτε με, ματρόναι, δεδιστὶς ριτείς δεδικαστὶς.

² αὖτοῖς O : αὐτοῖς θεοῖς Post.
³ Sylburg : αὖται O.
⁴ Kiessling : κατεσκευάσαν O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

νεώ καὶ σωπῆς πλείστης κατὰ δαίμονα γενομένης ἐν μείζονι φωνῇ ταύτῳ ξόανον ἐφθέγξατο τὴν αὐτὴν 4 λέξιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι εἶναι τὸ ἀμφίλογον. ἦ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ ὃς ταῦτ' ἔμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ σεβασμοῦ, οὐς ἂν οἱ τῶν ιερῶν ἐξήγη- ται παραδώσι, καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν. αἰ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν θει κατεστῆσαντο, τῇ τῆς ιερείας χρησάμεναι γυνώμη, τῷ ξοάνῳ τούτῳ μήτε στεφάνοις ἐπιτυθέναι, μήτε χειρὰς προσφέρειν γυναίκας ὡςα δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τὴν δὲ τιμῆν καὶ θεραπεῖαν αὐτοῦ πάσαν ἀποδεδόσθαι ταῖς νεογάμοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὔτε παρελθεῖν τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν καλῶς εἶχεν οὔτε πλείονα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. ἐπάνεμι ὃ ὀθεν εἰς τούτον ἡξῆβην τὸν λόγον.

LVII. Μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπαλλαγήν τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ Μάρκιος περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀναστῆσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπηγεν ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ὀυολούσκων ἐγένετο, πάντα ὡσα ἐκ τῶν λαβύρων ἔλαβε δωρησάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐαυτῷ δ' οὖδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑπολιπόμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία. ἦ μὲν οὖν κοινωνίσασα τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτῷ στρατιὰ πλούτῳ βαρεῖ 3 ἀφικομένη τὴν τε ἀνάπαυλαι οὐκ ἀγδῶς ἔδέξατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δ’ εὐνοίας εἴχε τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγνώμης τε ἄξιον ἡγείτο, εἰ μὴ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ πολέμῳ μητρὸς οἴκτους 2 καὶ λιτὰς ἐντραπεῖς. ἦ δ’ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπομείνασα νέότης φθονούσα μὲν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατόπεδῳ γενομένοις τῶν πολλῶν ὕφελεων, διημαρτυρία δ’ ὅπων ἤλπισεν εἰ καθαιρεθεῖν τὸ Ἡρωμαίων φρόνημα

1 Hudson : ἐπιτεθῆναι O. 
2 Sylburg : ὑπολιπόμενος O. 
3 Jacoby : βαρεῖ O, but one letter deleted in B after τ.
temple was full and there chanced to be a profound silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice, so that there was no longer any doubt about it. The senate, upon hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices and rites to be performed every year, such as the interpreters of religious rites should direct. And the women upon the advice of their priestess established it as a custom that no women who had been married a second time should crown this statue with garlands or touch it with their hands, but that all the honour and worship paid to it should be committed to the newly-married women. But concerning these matters it was fitting that I should neither omit the native account nor dwell too long upon it. I now return to the point from which I digressed.

LVII. After the departure of the women from the camp 1 Marcius roused his army about daybreak and led it away as through a friendly country; and when he came into the territory of the Volscians, he divided among the soldiers all the booty he had taken, without reserving the least thing for himself, and then dismissed them to their homes. The army, accordingly, which had shared in the battles with him, returning loaded with riches, was not displeased with the respite from war and felt well disposed toward him and thought he deserved to be forgiven for not having brought the war to a successful end out of regard for the lamentations and entreaties of his mother. But the young men who had remained at home, envying those who had seen active service the great booty they had won, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled by

1 For chaps. 57-59 cf. Livy ii. 40, 10 f.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἑτραχύνετο πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πικρὰ σφόδρα ἤν· καὶ τελευτῶσα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μίσους ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε τοὺς πλείστον ἐν τῷ ἔθνει δυναμένους, ἐξηγρωθῆ τε καὶ ἔργον ἐδρασεν ἁν-
3 όσιον. ἦν δὲ Τύλλος "Ἀττιος ὁ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν 
παραθήξας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν ἐξ ἀπάσης 
pόλεως οὐκ ὀλίγην. τούτῳ δ' ἄρα ἐδεδοκτὸ παλαι-
τερον ἐτὶ τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυναμένω κατέχειν, εἰ 
μὲν εὖ πράξας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν 
dιαφθείρας εἰς Ὀὐολούσκους ἔλθοι, κρύφα καὶ σὺν 
δόλῳ αὐτὸν ἀνελείν, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτῶν τῆς πεῖρας 
ἀτελῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἀναστρέφειν, ὡς προδότην παρα-
4 δόντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν ἀποκτείνα: ὅπερ 
ἐποίει τότε, καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην 
kατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ψευδὴ τεκμαίρομενος ἀλη-
θέοι καὶ οὐ γενησόμενα εἰκάζων γεγενημένοις. 
ἐκέλευε τε ἀποθέμενον αὐτὸν τὴν ἁρχὴν λόγον 
ὑπέχειν τῆς στρατηγίας. ἦν δὲ τῆς ὑπομενούσης 
στρατιάς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡγεμῶν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον 
eἰρηταὶ μοι, κύριος τοῦ τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκκλησίαν 
καὶ τοῦ καλεῖν ὅν βούλοιτο ἐπὶ δίκην.

LVIII. Ὅ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐ-
δέτερον τούτων ἔδικαιον, περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως 
αὐτῶν διεφέροντο λόγον ἀξιῶν ἀποδοῦναι πρότερον 
tῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πόλεον, ἐπειτα, 
ἐὰν ἀπασί δόξη Ὁὐολούσκοις, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν 
ἀρχήν. τούτων δ' οὐ μίαν ἔστε πόλιν δεῖν, ἐν ἃ 
tὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου διεφθαρτὸ μέρος, γενέ-

1 διαφθείρας εἰς Ὀὐολούσκους B: διαφθείρας εἰς Ὀὐολούσκους ὑποτάξας R.
2 γεγενημένοις (οτ γενομένως) Steph.: γεγενημένοις O.
3 ἡγεμῶν B: om. R.

170
the capture of their city, were incensed against the general and very bitter; and at last, when they found as leaders of their hatred the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage and committed an impious deed. The one who in particular whetted their anger against Marcius was Tullus Attius, who had about him a large faction collected out of every city. This man had, in fact, long since resolved, being unable to control his jealousy, that if Marcius succeeded and returned to the Volscians after destroying Rome, he would make away with him secretly and by guile, or if, failing in his attempt, he came back leaving the task unfinished, he would deliver him over to his faction as a traitor and have him put to death—a plan which he now proceeded to carry out. And getting together a considerable band, he brought charges against him, drawing false inferences from things that were true and, from what had happened, surmising things that were not going to happen; and he kept bidding him resign his command and give an account of his conduct. For, as I said before, Tullus was general of the forces which had been left in the cities, and had authority both to call an assembly and to summon to trial any man he pleased.

LVIII. Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands, but objected to their order, insisting that he ought first to give an account of his conduct in the war, after which he would resign his command if all the Volscians should so decide. But he thought that no single city in which the greater part of the citizens had been corrupted by Tullus

1 In chap. 13.
σθαὶ κυρίαν, ἄλλα τὸ ἔθνος ἀπαν εἰς τὴν ἐννομον ἀγορᾶν συναχθὲν, εἰς ἣν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς οτὲ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι μέλλουεν, εξ ἀπάσης
2 πόλεως προβούλους ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἀνήρ1 πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐργῶν λόγων ἀποδιδοὺς ἐν ἕγερμονικῷ ἄξιωματι μένων πείσει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοσοῦτον δεῖσει τιμωρίαν προδοτῶν υποσχέων ὡστε καὶ λαμπρότερος ἐτί καὶ τιμιώτερος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔσται, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὅπως ἃν βουληταί καταλύσασθαι συγχωρησάντων ἀπάντων γενήσεται
3 κύριος. καὶ ἣν μέχρι πολλοῖ πόλης τε καὶ ἀντιμαχήσεως τῶν ἐπ’ ἄλληλοις γινομένων καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατ’ τὴν ἀγορᾶν πολὺς ἀγῶν. ἐργῶν γὰρ ὄνας ὄν τε ἡ ὄνδετέρω βιάσασθαι τὸν ἐτερον τῆς ἵστομοι ἀρχῆς
4 ἄξιωσει κρατυνόμενον. ὦς δ’ οὖθέν τῆς φιλονεκίας ἐγίνετο πέρας, ἠμέραν προειπὼν ὁ Τύλλος ἐν ἢ τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκέλευσεν ἤκειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθησόμενον καὶ δίκην υφέξοντα τῆς προδοσίας, θρασυτάτους τε ἀνδρὰς εὐεργεσίων ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἀρχηγοὺς ἀνοσίου ἐργον γενέσθαι, παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθέεσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ προελθῶν2 ἐτὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλῆ κατηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο τοῦ Μάρκιον, καὶ, εἰ μὴ βούλιοτο ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν, τῷ δήμῳ παρεκελεύετο παύειν3 αὐτὸν ἀπάσῃ δύναμει.

LIX. Ἄναβαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτὶ τῆν ἀπολογίαν βοὴ τε πολλῆ κωλύουσα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Τύλλον ἐγίνετο: καὶ μετὰ

1 ἀνήρ Kiessling, ὁ ἀνήρ Christian : ἀνήρ Ο.
2 προελθὼν O : παρελθὼν Sylburg, Jacoby.
3 Sylburg : παύσεων Ο.
ought to be given sole authority in the matter, but rather the whole nation meeting in their lawful assembly, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every city when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance. This Tullus opposed, well knowing that Marcius, eloquent as he was, when he came to give an account of the many splendid actions he had performed, if he still retained a general's prestige, would persuade the multitude, and would be so far from suffering the punishment of a traitor that he would actually become still more illustrious and be more highly honoured by them, and would be authorized by general consent to put an end to the war in such manner as he pleased. And for a long time there was great strife as they daily engaged in arguing and wrangling with one another in the assemblies and the forum; for it was not possible for either of them to employ force against the other, since both were protected by the prestige of an equal command. But when there was no end to their contention, Tullus appointed a day on which he commanded Marcius to appear for the purpose of laying down his office and standing trial for treason; and having encouraged some of the most daring, by hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in an impious deed, he appeared at the assembly on the day appointed, and coming forward to the tribunal, inveighed at length against Marcius and exhorted the people to use all the force at their command to depose him if he would not voluntarily resign his power.

LIX. When Marcius had ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, a great clamour arose from the faction of Tullus, hindering him from speaking;
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tαῦτα Ἡ Παίε' καὶ Ὁ Βάλλε' φωνοῦντες περι-

ιστανται αὐτῶν οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ συναράττοντες

tοῖς λίθοις ἀποκτινώνυσιν. ἔρριμμένον δ' αὐτοῦ

χαμάι1 κατὰ τὴν ἄγοράν οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τῷ

πάθει καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη νεκροῦ οὗτος ἀφικόμε-

νοι τὸν τε ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης ὑδύροντο ὡς οὐ καλὰς

εἰληφότα παρὰ σφῶν ἀμοιβὰς, ἐπιλεγόμενοι πάντα

ὅσα τὸ κοινὸν ὑφέλησε, καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας τὸν

φόνον ἐπόθουν λαβεῖν ὡς ἀνόμου ἔργον καὶ ἀσυμ-

φόρου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀρξαντας, ἀνευ δίκης ἐν χειρῶν

2 νόμῳ τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ταῦτα ἤγεμόνα. μάλιστα

δ' ἡγανάκτοιν οἱ ταῖς στρατείαις αὐτοῦ παραγενό-

μενοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξοντὶ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο

cωλυται τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον

οφειλομένας ἐγνωσαν ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας, συμ-

φέροντες εἰς τὴν ἄγορὰν ὅσων ἔδει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς

3 ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τιμήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα

ἐντρέπεστο, θέντες ἐπὶ στρωμνής ἐκπρεπεστάτῳ2

ἡσκημένης κόσμῳ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἔχοντα

ἐσθήτα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι

κελεύσαντες λάφυρα τε καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους

καὶ μνήμας ὅν εἶλε πόλεων, ἠραντὸ τὴν κλίνην οἱ

λαμπρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους

ἐργοις· καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς το προάστειον ὁ μάλισ-

τα ἦν ἐπιφανές, ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεσκευασμένην

πυράν, συμπροπεμπούσης τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως

4 ὅλης μετ' οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ δακρύων. ἐπειτα κατα-

σφάξαντες τ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰ3 βοσκήματα καὶ τῶν

ἀλλων ἀπαρξάμενοι πάντων ὅσων ἀνθρώπων βασι-

λεύσαν ἡ στρατιάς ἤγεμόσιν ἐπὶ πυραῖς ἀπάρχον-

ται, παρέμειναν οἱ μάλιστα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀσπαζόμενοι

1 χαμαί B : om. R. 2 Steph. : ἐκπρεπεστάτης ΑΒC.

174
then, with cries of "Hit him," "Stone him," the most daring surrounded him and stoned him to death. While he lay where he had been hurled upon the ground in the forum, both those who had been present at the tragedy and those who came there after he was dead bewailed the misfortune of the man who had found so ill a return from them, recounting all the services he had rendered to their state, and they longed to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of a deed that was lawless and prejudicial to their cities, in killing a man, and him a general, by an act of violence without a trial. But most indignant were the men who had taken part in his campaigns; and since they had been unable, while he was living, to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to show fitting gratitude after his death by bringing into the forum everything that was necessary for the honour owed to brave men. When all was ready, they laid him, dressed in the garb of a supreme commander, on a couch adorned in a most sumptuous manner, and ordered the booty, the spoils and the crowns, together with the representations of the cities he had taken, to be carried before his bier; and the young men who were the most distinguished for their military achievements took up the bier, and carrying it to the most conspicuous suburb, placed it on the funeral pile that had been prepared, the whole population of the city accompanying the body with lamentations and tears. Then, when they had slain a large number of victims in his honour and offered up all the first-offerings that people make at the funeral piles of kings and commanders of armies, those who had been most closely attached to him

\[3 \text{\textsuperscript{a}} \text{πολλâ B : om. R.}\]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μέχρι τοῦ μαρανθήναι τὴν φλόγα, κάπειτα συν-
αγαγόντες τὰ λείψανα ἐθαίμαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ
χώματι ύψηλῷ διὰ πολυχειρίας χωσθέντι2 μνήμα
ἐπίσημον ἐργασάμενοι.

LX. Μάρκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς
ἐτυχεν, ἀνήρ καὶ2 τὰ πολέμια ἀριστοὶ τῶν καθ'
ηλικίαι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἱδονὰς ὁσαί ἀρχουσι
νέων ἐγκρατῆς, τὰ τε δίκαια οὐκ ἀπὸ νόμου μᾶλλον
ἀνάγκης διὰ τιμωρῶν δέος ἀκούσοις ἀποδιδοὺς,
ἀλλ' ἐκών τε καὶ πεφυκὼς πρὸς αὐτὰ εὗ, καὶ οὐδὲ
ἐν ἀρετῆς μούρα τὸ μηθὲν ἀδικεῖν τιθέμενος, οὐ
μόνον τε αὐτὸς ἀγνεύειν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας προ-
θυμούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζειν
2 δικαίων· μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ δωρηματικός καὶ εἰς
ἐπανόρθωσιν ὁν ἐκάστω δέοι τῶν φίλων, ὅποτε
γνοῖ, προχειρότατος, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν
οὐδὲνος χεῖρῶν τῶν ἀριστοκρατίκων· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ
στασιάζον τῆς πόλεως ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολι-
tεῦμασιν ἐγένετο, μεγίστην ἂν ἡ 'Ρωμαίων πόλις
ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων πολιτεν-
mάτων ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν δυνατῷ ἡν ἂμα3
πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι φύσει,
οὐδὲ φύσεταί τις ἀπὸ θνητῶν καὶ ἐπικήρων σπερ-
mάτων περὶ πάντα ἀγαθός.

LXI. Ἐκείνῳ γε οὖν ταύτας ὁ δαίμων τὰς ἀρε-
tὰς χαρισάμενος ἐτέρας οὐκ εὑρικεῖς κῆρᾶς τε καὶ
ἀτας προσῆψε. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶυ4 καὶ φαιδρὸν οὐκ ἐνήν5
αυτοῦ τοῖς τρόποις, οὐδὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν
πέλας ἐν τε ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύσεσιν,6 οὐδὲ

1 χωσθέντι Cary : ἐργασθέντι O, Jacoby.
2 καὶ B : om. R.
3 ἂμα Kiessling : ἄρα O.
remained there till the flames died down, after which they gathered together his remains and buried them in that very place, constructing an imposing monument by heaping up a high mound with the assistance of many hands.

LX. Such was the end of Marcius, who was not only the greatest general of his age, but was superior to all the pleasures that dominate young men, and practised justice, not so much through compulsion of the law with its threat of punishment and against his will, but voluntarily and from a natural propensity to it. He did not regard it as a virtue to do no injustice, and not only was eager to abstain from all vice himself, but thought it his duty to compel others to do so too. He was both high-minded and open-handed and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends as soon as he was informed of them. In his talent for public affairs he was inferior to none of the aristocratic party, and if the seditious element of the city had not hindered his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from those measures. But it was impossible that all the virtues should be found together in a human being's nature, nor will anyone ever be created by Nature from mortal and perishable seed who is good in all respects.

LXI. In any case the divinity who bestowed these virtues upon him added to them unfortunate blemishes and fatal flaws. For there was no mildness or cheerfulness in his character, no affability in greeting and addressing people that would win those whom he

4 πραύ Ο : πράου Cobet.
5 Kiessling : ἐπὴν Ο, Jacoby.
6 προσαγορεύσεως Α : προσαγορεύσει R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δὴ τὸ εὐδιάλλακτον καὶ μετριοπαθὲς, ὅτοτε δὲ ὄργῆς τῷ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἦ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικοσμοῦσα χάρις· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς

2 ἦν. ταῦτα τε δὴ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ἤβλαψε, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἦ περὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρατός τε καὶ ἀπαράπειστος καὶ οὐθέν τῷ ἐπιεικεὶ διδοῦσα ἀποτομία· ἐοικε τε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσοφῶν, ὅτι μεσότητις εἰσὶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκρότητις αἱ τῶν ἑθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἠλλείπουσα τοῦ μετρίου πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα, αὐτοὶς τε οὐ λυσιτελῆς, ἀλλ' ἐστιν ὅτε ἀιτία μεγάλων συμφορῶν, καὶ εἰς θανάτους οἰκτροὺς καὶ λύμας ἀνηκέστους καταστρέφουσα.

3 Μάρκιον γε οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτερον ἀρα δ' τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασε καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησεν ἦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀκρον δίκαιον. τοῖς τε γὰρ δημόταις εἶκεν τὰ μέτρα δέον καὶ ἐφίεναι τι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἠβουλήθη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπαντὰ τὰ μὴ δίκαια ἀντι-λέγον μίσος ἕγερε καὶ ἐξηλάθη πρὸς αὐτῶν· τῆς τε Οὐσιοῦσκων στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἀμα τῷ διαλύσα τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαλαγῆναι παρὸν καὶ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οὐκηθοῦν ἐτέρωσεν ποι., ἐώς ἄν ἦ κάθοδος αὐτῷ δοθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαίς καὶ ἡχλῶν ἀμαθίας σκοπῶν, οὐκ ἦξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ σῶμα

1 πολλοῖς B : πολλοῖς πολέμοις AC. 2 γε B : δὲ R. 3 ἐώς R : τέως Ba (?), Cod. Peirescianus, Jacoby. 4 δοθῇ Cod. Peiresc., Kiessling : δοθεῖ O.
met, nor yet any disposition to conciliate or placate others when he was angry with them, nor that charm which adorns all human actions; but he was always harsh and severe. And it was not alone these qualities that hurt him in the minds of many, but, most of all, his immoderate and inexorable sternness in the matter of justice and the observance of the laws, and a strictness which would make no concessions to reasonableness. Indeed, the dictum of the ancient philosophers seems to be true, that the moral virtues are means and not extremes, particularly in the case of justice. For by its nature it not only may fall short of the mean, but also may go beyond it, and is not profitable to its possessors, but is sometimes the cause of great calamities and leads to miserable deaths and irreparable disasters. In the case of Marcius, at any rate, it was nothing else but his passion for exact and extreme justice that drove him from his country and deprived him of the enjoyment of all his other blessings. For when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and by yielding somewhat to their desires to have gained the foremost place among them, he would not do so, but by opposing them in everything that was not just he incurred their hatred and was banished by them. And when it was in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove his habitation to some other place till his country had granted him leave to return, instead of offering himself as a target for the plotting of his enemies and the folly of the masses, he did not think fit to do so; but regarding it as his duty to put his

2 Ibid. 1133 b 32.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

paraoshein tois pepeisteneukosi tina arxhēn kai logos apodous oin eprraxe kata tina ἡγεμονιαν, ei ti fainoito ãdéikwn, tina kata nómos synechein dikyn, tis ákras dikaiosynhe ou kalous apeleabe musoûs.

LXII. Ei men obn amia tois sýmasa dialume nóus kai to theis psukheis, oðidhipot' estin ékeino, synidialvetai, kai ouðaméi oûthev eti estin, ouk oidi' òpws makaríous xpolabw tois meðen, apolausantas tis áretës ágathon, di' autèn de taútën apoloménous. ei di' afharto mekhri tois panteis ai psukai vugxanousin ëmwn ouças, kathaper oinontai tives, ëi chrônion tina 1 metà tina apallaghein twn swwmatwn epidiameñosoi, 2 mhkioston men ai twn ãgathon anidroin, élachiston di' ai twn kàkow, apoxhrôsa tìmè faiñont' an, ois arêtën ãskouin ènantrwthta tà èk tis túxhës, ëi para twn kàswtwv eułogyia kai mnèmè mecheri pleíston paraameinasa chrônou. ò kai tò ò ò 2 anðri ékeinoi sunebê. ou gar monon Oûloúthkoi tòñ ãnavaton ëpenêtësan autov kai òsw twn áristwn xenómenvn en tîmè ëxouin, alla kai Rowmaioi, èpeidh tà òðhos ègnwsth, megalh synföràn xpolabóntes einai tis pólewos, pénthos èpoxhnantò idia kai ðhmósia: kai ai3 xynaikeis autewn, ò nómos estin autais esti tois ìdïos te kai ãnagkaiois poiein kîdësin, apothëmeinai xhrusou te kai porphûran kai tòñ allon ãpantà kósmon mèlasin ámfiesmois 3 chrônemai tòñ ènnavóstoun ëpenêtësan chrônou. ëtwn de metà tà òðhos ðmou tì pentakosión ëðh ðia- xegonótwn eis tòndê tòn chrônou ou gêgoun evxítelos

1 tina placed here by Sylburg: after apallaghein by O. 2 epidiameños Cobet, ëti diameños Sintenis, Jacoby: evdiameños O. 3 ai added by Reiske.

180
person at the disposal of those who had entrusted him with the command and after giving an account of his conduct during his generalship, if he were found guilty of any misconduct, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he received a sorry reward for his extreme justice.

LXII. Now if when the body perishes the soul also, whatever that is, perishes together with it and no longer exists anywhere, I do not see how I can conceive those to be happy who have received no advantage from their virtue but, on the contrary, have been undone by this very quality. Whereas, if our souls are perchance forever imperishable, as some think, or if they continue on for a time after their separation from the body, those of good men for a very long time and those of the wicked for a very short period, a sufficient reward for those who, though they have practised virtue, have suffered the enmity of Fortune, would seem to be the praise of the living and the continuance of their memory for the longest period of time. And that was the case with this man. For not only the Volscians mourned his death and still hold him in honour as having proved himself one of the best of men, but the Romans also, when they were informed of his fate, looked upon it as a great calamity to the commonwealth and mourned for him both in private and in public; and their wives, as it is their custom to do at the loss of those who are nearest and dearest to them, laid aside their gold and purple and all their other adornment, and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him for the full period of a year. And though nearly five hundred years have already elapsed since his death down to the present time, his memory has not be-
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ἄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβής καὶ δίκαιος ἀνήρ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχὼν Ἦρωμαίους κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς Ὀὐδολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανών ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβούσης ἤγεμόνα, μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχῶν τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀνελεῖν ἐκ βάθρων, τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

LXIII. Ἡμέρας δ' ὀλίγας ύστερον ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρὸν Ἦρωμαίου πολλῇ στρατῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ προελθόντες ἀχρι τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς σφετέρας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσών, ἵδιον ἔκατερον τῶν ὑπάτων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔρυμνοτάτοις καταστησαμένον.1 οὐ μὴν ἔδρασάν γε οὔδεν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον,2 ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεφαν ἀπράκτου, καίτοι καλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων δρᾶσαι τι γενναίον.

2 πρότεροι γὰρ ἐτι τούτων Ὀὐδολούσκοι τε καὶ Αἰκανοὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦρωμαίων γῆν ἦγαγον γνώμην ποιησάμενοι μὴ ἀνεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλ', ἔως ἐτὶ καταπεπλῆκθαι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐδόκουν, χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιον διὰ δεὸς παραστησόμενον. στασιάσαντες δὲ περὶ τῆς ἤγεμονίας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὀπλα ἦρπασαν καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, οὔτε κατὰ τάξιν οὔτε ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ ἀναμίξῃ, ὦστε πολὺν εἰς ἁμφοῖν γενέσθαι φόνον καὶ εἰ μὴ δύς ὁ ἦλιος ἐφθασεν, ἀπασαὶ δὲν αὐτῶν αἱ δυνάμεις διεφθάρησαν. τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ λυνύσῃ τὸ νεῖκος ἀκούσωι εὔξαντες διεκριθή-

1 καταστησαμένον added by Kiessling. Reiske added ἔχοντος before ἵδιον.
2 οὔδεν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον Sylburg: οὔδεν μείζον AC, μείζων οὔδεν B.

182
come extinct, but he is still praised and celebrated by all as a pious and just man.

Thus ended the danger with which the Romans had been threatened by the expedition of the Volscians and Aequians under the command of Marcius, a danger that was greater than any to which they had ever been exposed before and came very near destroying the whole commonwealth from its foundations.

LXIII. A few days later the Romans took the field with a large army commanded by both consuls, and advancing to the confines of their own territory, encamped on two hills, each of the consuls placing his camp in the strongest position. Nevertheless, they accomplished nothing, either great or little, but returned unsuccessful, though excellent opportunities had been afforded them by the enemy for performing some gallant action. It seems that even before their expedition the Volscians and the Aequians had led an army against the Roman territory, having resolved not to let the opportunity slip, but to attack their adversaries while they seemed to be still panic-stricken; for they thought that in their fear they would surrender of their own accord. But quarrelling among themselves over the command, they rushed to arms, and falling upon one another, fought without keeping their ranks or receiving orders, but in confusion and disorder, so that many were killed on both sides; and if the sun had not set in time to prevent it, all their forces would have been utterly destroyed. But yielding reluctantly to the night which put an

1 Cf. Livy ii. 40, 12 f.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σὰν τε ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱδίους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν ἔωθεν δ’ ἀναστήσατε τὰς δυνάμεις.
3 ἀπήρευσαν ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. οἱ δ’ ὑπάτοι παρὰ τε αὐτομόλων καὶ ἀιχμαλώτων, οἱ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδρασαν, ἀκούσαντες οἶα κατέσχε λύσασα καὶ θεοβλάβεια τὰ πολέμια, οὔτε συνεπέθει τῷ κατ’ εὐχὴν δοθέντι καιρῷ τριάκοντα σταδίων οὐ πλείον ἀπέχοντες, οὔτε ἀπιόντασ εὕωξαν, ἐν ὧ κεκυκτότας καὶ τραυματίας καὶ ὀλίγους ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀτάκτους χωροῦντας ἄκραιφνεις αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι ῥαδίως ἄν διεφθείραν 4 πασοῦδι. λύσαντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπήρευσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἶτε ἀρκούμενοι τῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθέντι ἀγαθῷ, εἰτε οὐ πιστεύοντες ἀνασκήτῳ στρατιᾷ τῇ σφέτερα, εἰτε περὶ πολλού ποιούμενοι τὸ μηδ’ ὀλίγος τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δ’ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ πολλὴ ἤσαν δειλιὰς δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φερόμενοι· καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἐτί ποιησάμενοι παρέδοσαν τοῖς μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀρχήν.

LXIV. Τῷ δ’ ἔξης ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος μὲν Ἀκύλλιος καὶ Τίτος Σίκκιος, ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων, τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελήφθησαν. η δὲ βουλὴ προθέντων λόγον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὑπάτων πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο προσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς Ἔρμικας αἰτήσουσαν ὡς παρὰ φίλων τε καὶ ἐνοπόνων δίκας νομίμους· ἡδίκητο γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ὀὐσολούσκων τε καὶ Ἀικανῶν ἐπιστρατείαν ἡστεῖ-

1 καὶ added by Reiske.
end to the quarrel, they separated and retired to their own camps; and rousing their forces at dawn, both sides returned home. The consuls, though they learned both from desertsers and from prisoners who had escaped during the action itself what fury and madness had possessed the enemy, neither embraced an opportunity so desirable when it offered, though they were no more than thirty stades distant, nor pursued them in their retreat—a situation in which their own troops, being fresh and following in good order, might easily have destroyed to a man those of the enemy, who were fatigued, wounded, reduced from a large to a small number, and were retiring in disorder. But they too broke camp and returned to Rome, either being contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops, who were undisciplined, or considering it very important not to lose even a few of their own men. When they got back to Rome, however, they found themselves in great disgrace and had to bear the stigma of cowardice for their behaviour. And without undertaking any other expedition they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

LXIV. The next year Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccius, men experienced in war, succeeded to the consulship. The senate, when the consuls had brought up the war for consideration, voted, first, to send an embassy to the Hernicans to demand, as from friends and allies, the customary satisfaction; for the commonwealth had suffered wrongs at their hands at the time of the attack of the Volscians and Aequians through brigandage and incursions into the part of

1 For chaps. 64-67 cf. Livy ii. 40 14. Our MSS. of Livy give the name as T. Sicinius, but Cassiodorus read Siccius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αἰς τὲ καὶ καταδρομαίς τῆς ὀμορούσης αὐτοῖς γῆς. ἔως δ' ἄν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσιν ἀποκρίσεις, στρατιάν ὅσην δύνανται πλείστην καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πρεσβείων ἀποστολάις παρακάλεῖν σῷτον τε καὶ ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τάλα ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ 2 πολυχειρίας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐν τάχει. ὃς δ' ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέψαντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἃς παρὰ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, ὅτι συν-θήκας μὲν οὐ φασὶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις κοινῆ γενομένας οὐδέποτε, τὰς δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ὁμολογίας αἰτιώνται λελύθαι τήν τε ἄρχην ἀφαιρεθέντος ἐκείνων καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης· εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρπαγαί καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς χώρας ἐγένοντο διὰ λῃστηρίων, οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτῶν ἀδική-ματα μετιότων τὰ ἴδια, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ταύτα δράσαντας παρέχειν οἶοί τ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ δίκην, ἐτερα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτα πεποιθέναι λέγοντες καὶ ἀντεγκαλοῦντες, ἀσμενοὶ τε δέχονται1 τὸν πόλεμον—

3 ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο νείμασθαι τὴν καταγραφεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων στρατιάν τριχῆ· τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν καίνα ἄγοντα Γάιον Ἀκύλλιον τὸν ὑπατὸν ὠμόσε τῇ Ἐρνίκων στρατιὰ χωρεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἡδη ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς), τὴν δ' ἐτέραν Τίτον Σίκκιον ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἄγειν, τὸν ἐτέρουν τῶν ὑπατῶν, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τρίτην μερίδα παραλαβόντα Ὑπόριον Λάρκιον, ὃς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπάρχος τῆς ἐγγυστα τῆς πόλεως

1 δέχονται Cary, ἐκδέχεσθαι Post: εἰσὶ δέχεσθαι O, Jacoby.

186
the Roman territory that bordered on their own; and they voted further that while waiting to receive their answer the consuls should enrol all the forces they could, summon the allies by sending out embassies, and get ready corn, arms, money, and all the other things necessary for the war, by employing a large number of men and using haste. When the ambassadors returned from the Hernicans, they reported to the senate the answer they had received from them, to the following effect: They denied that there had ever been a treaty between them and the Romans by act of the public, and they charged that the compact they had made with King Tarquinius had been dissolved both by his expulsion from power and by his death in a foreign land; but if any depredations had been committed or incursions made into the territory of the Romans by bands of robbers, they said these had not been made by the general consent of their nation, but were the misdeeds of individuals pursuing their private ends, and that they were unable to deliver up to justice even the men who had done these things, since they claimed that they themselves had also suffered similar wrongs and had the same complaints to make; and they said that they cheerfully accepted the war. The senate, upon hearing this, voted that the youth already enrolled should be divided into three bodies, and that with one of these the consul Gaius Aquilius should march against the army of the Hernicans (for these were already in arms), that Titus Siccius, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volscians, and that Spurius Larcius, who had been appointed prefect of the city by the consuls, should with the remaining third part defend the portion of the country that lay
χώραν φυλάττειν· τοὺς δ’ ύπερ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, ὅσοι δύναμιν εἶχον ἐτί βαστάζειν ὅπλα, ταχθέντας ὑπὸ σημείας τὰς τέκνας φρουρεῖν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τείχη, μὴ τις αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων γένηται ἐφοδος ἐξεστρατευμένης τῆς νεότητος ἀθρόας· ἤγείρθαι δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Αὐλον Σεμπρῶνον Ἀτρατίνον, ἀνδρα τῶν ὑπατικῶν. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐ διὰ μακροῦ.

LXV. Ἀκύλλιος μὲν οὖν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῇ Πραινεστίων χώρα τὸν Ἐρνίκων στρατὸν ὑπομένοντα καταλαβὼν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἀγχοτάτω σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσχῶν ὀλίγων πλείους διακοσίων· τρίτη δ’ ἂφ’ ἑς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡμέρα προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἐρνίκων εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν τάξει καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράντων τῆς máχης, ἀντεξῆη καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ κατὰ τέλη.

2 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἄγχοι ἐγένοντο ἀλλήλων ἔθεον ἀλαλάζαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψιλοὶ σαυνίων τε βολαῖς καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ σφενδόνης μαχόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις· ἐπείτα ἔππεισ ἐππεύσι συρράττουσι κατ’ ὅλας ἑλαύνοντες καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τῷ πεζῷ κατὰ σπείρας μαχόμενον. ἐνθα δὴ καλὸς ἄγων ἦν ἐκθύμως ἀμφοτέρω ἀγωνιζόμενων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον οὐδέτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ὧ ἐτάχθησαν εὖκοντες. ἐπείτα ἡ Ῥωμαιῶν ἥρξατο κάμμενως φάλαγξ, οὐ διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τοὺς πρῶτον ἴνα γκασμένη ὁμι-3 λεῖν πολέμως. τοῦτο συνιδὼν Ἀκύλλιος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀκμῆτας ἐτὶ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλαττο-

1 καὶ placed before πρῶτον (one line above) by Sylburg.
nearest to the city; that those who were above the military age but were still capable of bearing arms should be arrayed under their standards and guard the citadels of the city and the walls, to prevent any sudden attack by the enemy while all the youth were in the field, and that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, one of the ex-consuls, should have the command of this force. These orders were presently carried out.

LXV. Aquilius, one of the consuls, finding the army of the Hernicans waiting for him in the country of the Praenestines, encamped as near to them as he could, at a distance of a little more than two hundred stades from Rome. The second day after he had pitched his camp the Hernicans came out of their camp into the plain in order of battle and gave the signal for combat; whereupon Aquilius also marched out to meet them with his army duly drawn up and disposed in their several divisions. When they drew near to one another, they uttered their war-cries and ran to the encounter; and first to engage were the light-armed men, who, fighting with javelins, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds. Next, horsemen clashed with horsemen, charging in troops, and infantry with infantry, fighting by cohorts. Then there was a glorious struggle as both armies fought stubbornly; and for a long time they stood firm, neither side yielding to the other the ground where they were posted. At length the Romans' line began to be in distress, this being the first occasion in a long time that they had been forced to engage in war. Aquilius, observing this, ordered that the troops which were still fresh and were being reserved for this very purpose should

1 Literally "third," reckoning inclusively.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μένουσ ὑπὸ τὰ κάμνοντα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπελθείν μέρη, τοὺς δὲ τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ὁπίσω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπιέναι. οἱ δ᾽ Ἐρνικες ὡς ἐμαθον κινούμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς λόχους, φυγῆς τε ἄρχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέλαβον, καὶ παρακελευ-σάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐμβάλλουσι πυκνοῖς τοῖς λόχοις εἰς τὰ κινούμενα τῶν πολεμίων μέρη, καὶ οἱ ἀ-κραῖφνεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίοντας αὐτοὺς δέχονται· καὶ ἣν αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων μάχη καρτερά· καὶ γὰρ¹ οἱ τῶν Ἐρνίκων ἔξεπθηροῦντο λόχοι τοῖς ἀκμήσων ὑπο-πεμπομένοις εἰς τὰ κάμνοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. 4 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ δείλην ὄψιν ἢ ἤδη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὁ ὑπατος νυνὶ γ'² ἂνδρας ἄγαθους γενέσθαι, ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίως κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς ἠγούμενος τῆς ἔλης. οἱ δ᾽ ὁλίγον τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐγκλίνουσι, καὶ γίνεται φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῶν Ἐρνίκων κέρας ἐπόνει τῇ ἤδη καὶ ἐξέλεπτε τῆν τάξιν, τὸ δ᾽ εὐώνυμον ἐτί ἀντείχε καὶ περὶ ἤν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων³ δεξιοῦ· μετ᾽ ὁλίγον μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο 5 ἐνέδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ Ἀκύλλιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν νέων ἐπαγόμενος παρεβοήθη κάκει παραθαρρύνων τε καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς εἰσωθότας ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἀριστεύεων μάχαις, τὰ τε σημεία τῶν λόχων ὅσοι μὴ ἐρρωμένως ἔδοκον ἀμύνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν σημειοφόρων ἀρτᾶξων εἰς μέσους ἔρριπτε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τὸ δέος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννόμου τιμωρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀνασώσαιντο τὰς σημείας, ἄνδρας ἄγαθους εἶναι ἀναγκάσῃ· τῷ τε κάμνοντι αὐτὸς

¹ καὶ γὰρ Ὅ : καὶ γὰρ καὶ Reiske, Jacoby.
² γε added by Sylburg.
come up to reinforce the parts of the line that were in distress and that the men who were wounded and exhausted should retire to the rear. The Hernicans, learning that their troops were being shifted, imagined that the Romans were beginning flight; and encouraging one another and closing their ranks, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset. Thus once more, as both sides fought stubbornly, there was a strenuous battle all over again; for the ranks of the Hernicans were also continually reinforced with fresh troops sent up by their generals to the parts of the line that were in distress. At length, late in the afternoon, the consul, encouraging the horsemen now at least to acquit themselves as brave men, led the squadron in a charge against the enemy's right wing. This, after resisting them for a short time, fell back, and a great slaughter ensued. While the Hernicans' right wing was now in difficulties and no longer keeping its ranks, their left still held out and was superior to the Romans' right; but in a short time this too gave way. For Aquilius, taking with him the best of the youth, hastened to the rescue there also, and exhorting his men and calling by name upon those who had been wont to distinguish themselves in former battles, and seizing from their bearers the standards of any centuries that did not seem to be fighting resolutely, he hurled them into the midst of the enemy, in order that their fear of the punishment prescribed by the laws in the case of failure to recover the standards might compel them to be brave men; and he himself continually came to

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3 Sylburg: 'Ρωμαίου Ο.
παρεβούθει μέρει ἄει, ἔως¹ ἐξέωσε τῆς στάσεως καὶ θάτερον κέρας.² ψιλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄκρων 6 οὐδὲ τὰ μέσα παρέμεινε. φυγῇ δὴ τῶν Ἐρνίκων τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τεταραγμένη τε καὶ άκοσμος, καὶ οἱ Ἔρωμαίοι αυτοῖς κτεῖνοντες ἤκολούθουν. τοσαύτη δ’ ἀρα προθυμία παρὰ τὸν τότε ἄγωνα τῇ Ἔρωμαιών στρατιᾷ ἐνέπεσεν ὡστε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων πειρᾶσθαι τινας ἐπιβαίνειν ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσομένους. διὸ οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι γιγνομένῃ ὑρών ὁ ὕπατος, σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὀμόσε χωροῦντας ἄκοιν απὸ τῶν ἑρματῶν, δείσας μὴ ἐξ ὑπερ- δεξίων βαλλόμενοι σὺν αἰσχὺνε τε καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης βλάβης ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποχωρεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης εὐκλειαν ἀφαί- σωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν—νὴδη γὰρ³ ἢν περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου —χαίροντες τε καὶ παυανίζοντες οἱ Ἔρωμαιοι κατ- εστρατοπέδευσαν.

LXVI. Τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί ψόφος τε ἦκούστο πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἐρνίκων καὶ βοή, καὶ πολλα ἐφαίνετο σέλα λαμπάδων. ἁπογόντες γὰρ ἐτὶ ἀνθέξειν ἐτέρα μάχη καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἐγενόσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι καὶ τὸ ποιήσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ βοήν τούτῳ ἤν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκαστοι δυνάμεως εἶχον καὶ τάχους ἑφευγὸν ἐπιβοῶντες τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπιβοῶμενοι, τῶν δ’ ὑπολειπομένων διὰ τραύματα ἡ νόσους οἴμωγάς καὶ λιτανείας εἰν 2 οὐδενί λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. τούτῳ ἐγνοοῦντες οἱ Ἔρωμαιοι, πεπυσμένοι δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων

¹ ἔως R : τέως Ba, Jacoby.
² κέρας Sylburg : μέρος O.
³ γὰρ Reiske : καὶ γὰρ O.
192
the relief of any part that was in distress, till he dislodged the other wing also from its position. Their flanks being now exposed, even the centre did not stand its ground. It became a flight then for the Hernicans, a flight back to their camp in confusion and disorder; and the Romans pursued, cutting them down. Such ardour, indeed, came upon the Roman army in that struggle that some of the men endeavoured even to mount the ramparts of the enemy's camp in the hope of taking it by storm. But the consul, perceiving that their ardour was hazardous and detrimental, ordered the signal for a retreat to be sounded and thus brought down from the ramparts against their will those who were coming to blows with the enemy; for he feared that they would be forced by the missiles hurled down upon them from above to retire with shame and great loss and would thus efface the glory of their earlier victory. On that occasion, then, it being now near sunset, the Romans made their camp rejoicing and singing songs of triumph.

LXVI. The following night there was much noise and shouting heard in the camp of the Hernicans, and the lights of many torches were seen. For the enemy, despairing of being able to hold their own in another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own accord; and this was the cause of the disorder and shouting. For they were fleeing with all the strength and speed which each man was capable of, calling to and being called by one another, without showing the least regard for the lamentations and entreaties of those who were being left behind on account of their wounds and sickness. The Romans, who knew nothing of this but had been
Πρώτορον ὁτι δύναμις Ἕρνικων ἐτέρα μέλλοι βοήθος ἦξειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀφίξει γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, τά τε ὅπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περιστεφανόσαντες, μὴ τις ἐφόδος αὐτοίς γένοιτο νῦκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὅπλων κτύπων ἐποίουν ἀθρόου, τοτὲ δ' ὦσπερ εἰς μάχην ὀρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηγάλαζον. τοῖς δ' Ἕρνιξι καὶ ταύτα δέος μέγα παρείχε, καὶ ὡς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων 3 σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἔθεον. ἤμερας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοίς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπήν ἐππεῖς ὡς οὔτε δύναμις ἐτέρα παρῆκε· σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ τῇ προτέρᾳ παρατάξαμενοι μάχη πεφεύγασιν, ἐξ- αγαγών τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων αἱρεὶ μεστὸν ὡς ὑπούργίων τε καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεφευγότων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε ἐποίησαν ἐκπέμβασα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ὑλὰς πολλῶν γίνεται σωμάτων ἐγκρατής· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡδη τὴν Ἕρνικων γην ἐπῆξε λεγιατῶν ἄδεως, οὐδενὸς ἐτὶ ὑπομένοντος εἰς χέιρας ἴέναι. ταύτα μὲν Ἀκύλλιος ἐδρασεν.

LXVII. ὘ δ' ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Σικκιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Ὅωλοῦσκους, ὥσπερ ἡν κράτιστον τῆς δύναμεως μέρος ἀναλαβὼν 2 εἰς τὴν Ὅωλο- τραγῶν χώραν εἰσέβαλεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡν Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὁ τῶν Ὅωλοῦσκων ἥγεμῶν τὴν ἀκμαιο- τάτην συσκευασάμενος στρατιῶν, γνώμην ἔχων τὰ

1 ἔθεον B : om. R.
2 παρήκει B : παρῆκα Λ, παρείχε Reiske.
3 ἀναλαβῶν B (?): λαβῶν Cb, om. R.
informed earlier by the prisoners that another army of Hernicans was intending to come to the aid of their countrymen, imagined that this shouting and tumult had been occasioned by the arrival of those reinforcements, and they accordingly took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war-cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle. The Hernicans were greatly alarmed at this also, and believing themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed and fled, some by one road and some by another. When day came and the horse sent out to reconnoitre had reported to the Romans that not only was there no fresh force coming to the enemy’s assistance, but that even those who had been arrayed in battle the day before had fled, Aquilius marched out with his army and seized the enemy’s camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms, and also took captive their wounded, not fewer in number than those who had fled; and sending the horse in pursuit of such as were scattered along the roads and in the woods, he captured many of them. Thereafter he overran the Hernicans’ territory and laid it waste with impunity, no one any longer daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

LXVII. The other consul, Titus Siccius, who had been sent against the Volscians, took with him the flower of the army and made an irruption into the territory of Velitrae. For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was there with the most vigorous part of the army, which he had assembled with the intention of
συμμαχικὰ 'Ρωμαίων κακῶσαι πρῶτον, ὡσπερ ὁ Μάρκιος ἔδρασεν ὅτ' ἠρχετο τοῦ πολέμου, δόξας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φόβῳ 'Ρωμαίους ἔτι διαμένειν καὶ μηδεμιᾶν τοῖς ύπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύονσι πέμψειν ἑπικουρίαν. ὡς δ' ὥφθησάν τε καὶ ἐδον ἀλλήλας αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἄναβαλόμεναι συνήσεαν εἰς 2 τὸ αὐτὸ. ἦν δ' ὁ χῶρος ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐν δ' τὴν μάχην ἔδει γενέσθαι, λόφος πετρώδης πολλαχὴ περικαταγώς, ἐνθα οὐδετέρος ἢ ἵππος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμη. μαθόντες δὲ τούτο οἱ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἵππεις καὶ ἐν αὐτχύνῃ θέμενοι εἰ παρόντες τῷ ἀγώνι μηδὲν προσωφελήσουσιν, ἐδέ−
οντο τοῦ ὑπάτου προσελθόντες ἄθροοι ἔσαυρι σφᾶς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μάχεσθαι πεζοῦς, εἰ 3 τούτο αὐτῷ δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι. κάκεινος πολλὰ ἐπανέσας αὐτοὺς καταβιβάζει τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ σὺν ἐναὐτῷ τεταγμένους ἔχειν ἑπισκόπους τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτᾶς τοῦ κάμνοντος ἐσομένους1 καὶ ἐγένοντο τῆς τότε νίκης λαμπρᾶς σφόδρα γενομένης2 οὗτοι 'Ρωμαίοις αὐτοῖ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν ἀριστέρων πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων2 ώς μάλιστα ἢν καὶ ὀπλασμὸς ὀμοίωσόν τον, ἡδεύως τε κόσμῳ καὶ μάχης ἐμπειρία κατὰ τε ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις πληγάς τε αὐ καὶ φυλακᾶς παραπλήσιον. 4 μετέμιαθον γὰρ οἱ Ὀὐλοῦσκοι πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἔσχον ἡγεμόνα, καὶ εἰς τὰ 'Ρωμαίων προσεχώρησαν ἐθη.

Διέμενον οὖν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχωμάλως αἱ φάλαγγες ἀγωνιζόμεναι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἀνώμαλος οὕτα ἐκατέρως πολλὰ εἰς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρεῖχετο. οἱ δ' 1 γενομένης ΛμγC : ἐσομένης ΑΒ.

196
first harassing the Romans' allies as Marcius had done when he began the war, thinking that the Romans still continued in the same state of fear and would not send any assistance to those who were incurring danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by and saw each other, they engaged without delay. The ground between their camps on which the battle would have to take place was a rocky hill broken away in many parts of its circuit, where the horse could be of no use to either side. The Roman cavalry, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action without assisting in it; and coming to the consul in a body, they begged him to permit them to quit their horses and fight on foot, if this seemed best to him. He commended them heartily, and ordering them to dismount, drew them up and kept them with him to observe any part of the line that might be hard pressed and to go to its relief; and they proved to be the cause of the very brilliant victory which the Romans then gained. For the foot on both sides were remarkably alike both in numbers and in armament, and were very similar in the tactical formation of their lines and in their experience in fighting, whether in attacking or retreating, or again in dealing blows or in warding them off. For the Volscians had changed all their military tactics after securing Marcius as their commander, and had adopted the customs of the Romans.

Accordingly, the legionaries of the two armies continued fighting the greater part of the day with equal success; and the unevenness of the terrain afforded each side many advantages against the other. The

2 ἀνθρώπων ἱσάρθμον Reiske.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Ο Ο ΗΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΥΣ

ίππεις τῶν Ἐρωμαίων διχῇ νειματες ἐαυτούς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ πλάγια τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιέλθοντες διὰ 1 τοῦ 5 λόφου τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιρράττουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν εἰσακοντίζοντες τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἔξεσιν μακροτέρους οὐδὲ κατὰ βραχιόνων παιόντες καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταφέροντες, πολλῶν μὲν τὰς 2 χειρᾶς αὐτῶς σκεπάσματί τε καὶ ἀμυντηρίως ἀπέκοπτον, πολλοὺς δὲ γονάτων τε καὶ ἀστραγάλων πληγαῖς βαθείας 6 ἀπὸ κρατίστης βάσεως ἔρριπτον ἡμιθαλείς. περιευστήκει τε πάντοθεν τοῖς Οὐνολοῦσκοι τὸ δεινὸν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέκειντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων τε καὶ τῶν κατόπιων οἱ ἱππεῖς, ὥστε ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀγαθὸι γενόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τόλμησι τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀποδειξάμενοι, μικροῦ δὲν πάντες οἱ τοῦ δεξιῶν κέρας ἔχοντες κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τε τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου κέρως ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεξιὸν τε παρερρηγμένου εἶδον καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπον ἐπιώντας σφίσα τους τῶν Ἐρωμαίων ἱππεῖς, ἐξελίξαντες τοὺς λόχους βαδῆν ἀπεχώρουν ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἔν 3 τάξει ἠκολούθουν.

7 Ἕπει δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐρύματι ἦσαν, ἐτέρα γίνεται μάχη τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς περισταυρώμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ χάρακος ὀξεῖα καὶ παλιντροπος. πονουμένων δὲ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων οὔπατος κελεύσας τοῖς πεζοῖς ὕλην προσενέγκαντας ἀποχώσαι τὰς τάφρους, πρῶτος ἔχωρει κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβατὸν ἔχων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς

1 διὰ B : ἀπὸ R.
Roman horsemen having divided themselves into two bodies, one of these attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, stormed across it against their rear. Thereupon some of them hurled their spears at the Volscians, and others with their cavalry swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, struck all whom they encountered on the arms and slashed them down to the elbows, cutting off the forearms of many together with the clothing that covered them and their weapons of defence, and by inflicting deep wounds on the knees and ankles of many others, hurled them, no matter how firmly they had stood, half dead upon the ground. And now danger encompassed the Volscians on every side, the foot pressing them in front and the horse on their flank and in the rear; so that, after having displayed bravery beyond their strength and given many proofs of hardihood and experience, nearly all who held the right wing were cut down. When those arrayed in the centre and on the other wing saw their right wing broken and the Roman horse charging them in the same manner, they caused their files to countermarch and retired slowly to their camp; and the Roman horse followed, keeping their ranks.

When they were near the ramparts, there ensued another battle, as the horsemen endeavoured to surmount the breastworks of the camp in many different places—a battle that was sharp and of shifting fortunes. When the Romans found themselves hard pressed, the consul ordered the foot to bring brushwood and fill up the ditches; then, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he advanced

\[2 \text{ ἀνυμομένας ἦ σκεποῦσας τὰ σώματα after τὰς deleted by Reiske.}\]

\[3 \text{ ἐν added by Steph.}\]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐχυρωτάτας τοῦ χάρακος πύλας· ἀναστείλας δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας τῶν πυλῶν διακόψας ἐντὸς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἐρυμάτων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπίοντας τῶν σφετέρων πεζῶν ἐδέχετο.

8 Τύλλος δ’ Ἀττίος ἕχων τοὺς ἔρρωμενεστάτους καὶ εὐτολμοτάτους Οὐολούσκων ὡμόσε αὐτῷ χωρεῖ καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα γενναία ἀποδειξάμενος (ἢ γὰρ ἀγωνιστὴς μὲν πολέμων σφόδρα ἀλκίμος, στρατηγῆσαι δ’ οὐχ ἰκανός) ὑπὸ κόπου τε καὶ πλήθους μαχαίριτων καταπονηθεὶς ἀποθνῄσκει. τῶν δ’ ἅλλων Οὐολούσκων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χάραξ ἦλίσκετο, οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὀπλα ῥίπαντες πρὸς ἱκεσίας τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐτράποντο, ὁλίγου δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ ὀικεία φεύγοντες ἀπεσωθήσαν.

9 Ἀφικομένων δ’ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγέλων, οὐσ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὑπατοῦ, μεγίστη χαρὰ τὸν δῆμον κατέσχε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς χαριστηρίους ἐμφανίσαντο θυσίας, τοῖς δ’ ὑπάτοις τὴν τῶν θρι- ἁμβων τιμῆν προσέθεσαν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν γε ἀμφοτέρος· ἀλλὰ Σικκίω μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φόβον μείζο- νος ἡλευθερωκέναι ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν τῶν Οὐολού- σκων ὑβριστὴν καθελων στρατὸν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μείζονα πομπῆν ἐμφανίσαντο· καὶ εἰσῆλθαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγων τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν συναγωνισμένην δύναμιν ἄρματι παρεμβεβηκὸς χρυσοχαλίνων ῥππών τὴν βασιλικήν ἡμφιεσμένος ἔσθήτα, ὡς περὶ τοὺς μείζονας θριάμβους νόμος. Ἀκυλλίω δὲ τὸν ἐλάτ- τονα θρίαμβον ἀπέδοσαν, ὅν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐσιστὴν. δεδήλωται δὲ μοι διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἣν ἔχει

1 ὡς περὶ Reiske: ὥσπερ O.
2 Casaubon: εὐάστην Λ, ὥστε R.
over the passage they had made to the strongest gate of the camp, and having driven back the defenders in front of it and cut asunder the portcullis, he got inside the ramparts and let in those of his foot who followed. Here Tullus Attius encountered him with the sturdiest and most daring of the Volscians, and after performing many gallant deeds—for he was a very valiant warrior, though not competent as a general—at last, overcome by weariness and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. As for the other Volscians, as soon as their camp was being taken, some were slain while fighting, others threw down their arms and turned to supplicating the conquerors, while some few took to flight and got safely home.

When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived in Rome, the people were filled with the greatest joy, and they immediately voted sacrifices of thanksgiving for the gods and decreed the honour of a triumph to the consuls, though not the same to both. For as Siccius was thought to have freed the state from the greater fear by destroying the insolent army of the Volscians and killing their general, they granted to him the greater triumph. He accordingly drove into the city with the spoils, the prisoners, and the army that had fought under him, he himself riding in a chariot drawn by horses with golden bridles and being arrayed in the royal robes, as is the custom in the greater triumphs. To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, which they call an ovation (I have earlier shown the difference between this and the

1 v. 47.
διαφοράν οὗτος πρὸς τὸν μεῖζον· καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνήρ πεζὸς τὰ λουτά τῆς πομπῆς ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

LXVIII. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ὑποτείναν παραλαβόντες Πρόκλος Οὐεργύνος καὶ Σπόριος Κάσσιος τρίτον τὸτε ἀποδειχθεῖς ὑπατος, τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀναλαβόντες δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον εἰς τὴν ὑπαίθρον, Οὐεργύνος μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐρνίκων τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκων, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἐξόδους. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ὀχυρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἄξια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὴν τε γην περιεύρων δηομενήν καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἐμπυμπραμένας, ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ὁ Οὐεργύνος ὅσην ἐδύνατο πλείστην αὐτῶν γην κείρας τε καὶ λωβησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἡμεῖς ἐξῆγει μαχούμενος ἀπήγα τὴν στρατιάν. Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ καὶ Ἐρνικες, ἔφοιτος ὁ Κάσσιος έστρατευσε, γνώμην μὲν ἐπούσαντο δηομένης τῆς χώρας περιορᾶν καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις. οὐ μὴν ἔμεναν γε ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, χώρας τε ἀγαθῆς κειρομένης, ἂν οὐ ραδίως ἀνακτήσεσθαι ἐτι ἦλπισαν, οὐκτω ὑπαχθέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυρῶς οὖσιν, εἰς ἀ κατεπεφύγεσαν ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου δεσομένους. Οὐολοῦσκοι μὲν πρότεροι, καὶ θάττων ὀὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐτυχον ἀργυρίον τε ὀντὸς ὅσον αὐτοῖς.

1 Sigonius: τόπλιος Ο. 2 τὸ τρίτον Reiske. 3 μαχούμενος B: μαχόμενος R. 4 τὰς πόλεις Portus: τὴν πόλιν O. 5 Sylburg: ἀνακτήσασθαι O.
greater triumph); and he entered the city on foot, bringing up the remainder of the procession. Thus that year ended.

LXVIII. These consuls 1 were succeeded by Proculus Verginius and Spurius Cassius (the latter being then chosen consul for the third time), who took the field with both the citizen forces and those of the allies. It fell to the lot of Verginius to lead his army against the Aequians and to that of Cassius to march against the Hernicans and the Volscians. The Aequians, having fortified their cities and removed thither out of the country everything that was most valuable, permitted their land to be laid waste and their country-houses to be set on fire, so that Verginius with great ease ravaged and ruined as much of their country as he could, since no one came out to defend it, and then led his army home. The Volscians and the Hernicans, against whom Cassius took the field, had resolved to permit their land to be laid waste and had taken refuge in their cities. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resolution, being overcome with regret at seeing the desolation of a fertile country which they could not expect to restore easily to its former condition, and at the same time distrusting the defences in which they had taken refuge, as these were not very strong; but they sent ambassadors to the consul to sue for a termination of the war. The Volscians were the first to send envoys and they obtained peace the sooner by giving as

1 For chaps. 68-76 cf. Livy ii. 41, 1-9.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ο ὑπατος ἔταξε, καὶ τάλλα ὄσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ὑπηρετῆσαντες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπῆκοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔσσεθαι ὁμολόγησαν οὐθενὸς ἐτὶ μετα-3 ποιοῦμενοι τῶν ὄσων. Ἐρνικες δ' ὑστεροι, ἐπειδή μεμονωμένους ἑαυτοὺς εἴδον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. ὦ δὲ Κάσσιος πολλὴν κατηγορίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτῶν διαθέμενος πρῶτον ἐφή δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν κε-κρατημένων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων ποιήσαντας, τότε διαλέγεσθαι περὶ φιλίας· τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ὁμολο-γούντων1 ποιήσειν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μέτρια ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον τε ὁ κατ' ἄνδρα τοὺς στρατιώ- τας εἰς ὁψωνισμὸν ἔθος ἢν ἔξ2 μηνῶν δίδοσθαι 4 καὶ διμήνου3 τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν. ἐως δ' ἂν ταῦτα εὐπορήσωσι,4 τάξας τινὰ χρόνου ἣμερῶν ἀνοχάς αὐτοῖς ἔδιδον τοῦ πολέμου. ὑπηρετησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς ἄπαντα τῶν Ἐρνικων διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς5 φιλίας διαλεξομένους ἀποστελάντων αὐθίς, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κάσσιος ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συν-εδρίου πολλὰ βουλευσαμένους ἐδοξε δέχεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν, ἐφ' ὦς δὲ γενήσονται δικαί-ως αἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθῆκαι, Κάσσιον τὸν ὑπατον γνώναι τε καὶ καταστήσασθαι,6 ὦ τι δ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, τοῦτ' εἶναι σφίσι κύριον.

LXIX. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης ἀνα-στρέψας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον κατάγειν ἥξιον δεύτερον ὡς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κεχερω-μένος, χάριτι μᾶλλον ἀρπάζων τὸ τίμιον ἢ τῷ

1 ὁμολογούντων Cary, εἰπόντων Cobet, Jacoby: χάριν Λ, om. R (but D has λεγόντων after μέτρια). 2 ἔξ added by Sylburg.

204
much money as the consul ordered and furnishing everything else the army needed; and they agreed to become subject to the Romans without making any further claims to equality. After them the Hercians, seeing themselves isolated, treated with the consul for peace and friendship. But Cassius made many accusations against them to their ambassadors, and said that they ought first to act like men conquered and subjects and then treat for friendship. When the ambassadors agreed to do everything that was possible and reasonable, he ordered them to furnish the amount of money it was customary to give each soldier as pay for six months, as well as provisions for two months; and in order that they might raise these supplies he granted them a truce, appointing a definite number of days for it to run. When the Hercians, after supplying them with everything promptly and eagerly, sent ambassadors again to treat for friendship, Cassius commended them and referred them to the senate. The senators after much deliberation resolved to receive this people into their friendship, but as to the terms on which the treaty with them should be made, they voted that Cassius the consul should decide and settle these, and that whatever he approved of should have their sanction.

LXIX. The senate having passed this vote, Cassius returned to Rome and demanded a second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, thus attempting to seize the honour as a favour rather than

3 διμήνου Kiessling : διὰ μηρός O, Jacoby.
4 εὐπορήσω) O (but erasure of 2-3 letters before εῦ in B) : εἰςευπορήσω) Naber, συμπορήσω) Kiessling.

205
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

δικαίω λαμβάνων, ὃς οὔτε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἔλιν ἐκ τειχομαχίας οὐτ' ἐν υπαίθρῳ μᾶχῃ στρατιῶν πολεμίων τρεφάμενος αἰχμάλωτα καὶ σκῦλα, οὐς κοσμεῖται θρίαμβος, ἐμελλὲ κατάγειν. τοιγάρτοι δὲ θάδεις καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐτι τῶν ὄμοιῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονεῖν τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἡγεμόνες ἡνεγκε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ δοθήναι τὰς πρὸς Ἔρνικας ἐξήγησεν ὁμολογίας· αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένων, ἐφ' αἷς πάνυ ἡχοντο οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τε καὶ τιμωταί καὶ δ' ὑποψίας αὐτῶν ἠλάμβανον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς τοῖς συγγενεῖσι Λατίνους τοὺς ἀλλοεθεῖς Ἔρνικας τυγχάνειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλὰ εὐνοίας ἔργα ἐπιδειξάμενοι τοὺς μηδ' ὄτιοιν ἁγαθῶν δεδρακότας τῶν αὐτῶν φιλανθρώπων μετέχειν, τῇ τε ὑπεροψίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀχθόμενοι, ὥσυπ' τῆς βουλῆς τιμηθεῖς οὐκ ἀντετήμησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἑσοίς, οὐδὲ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν συνεδρῶν ἄλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει γράφας ἐξήγησε τὰς ὁμολογίας. ἤν τε ἀρα τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐτυχεῖν σφαλερὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆμα καὶ ἀσύμφορον· αὐχήματος τε γὰρ ἀνοήτου πολλοῖς αὐτίων γενόμενον λαμβάνει καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἑκμανουσῶν τῆς ἄνθρωπίνης φύσιν· ὃ καὶ τῶ ἀνδρὶ ἑκείνῳ συνέβη. τρισὶ γὰρ ὑπατείαις καὶ δυοῖ θριάμβοις μόνος τῶν τότε ἄνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετμημένος σεμνότερον ἐαυτὸν ἤγε καὶ μοναρχικὸς ἐξούσιας ἠλάμβανε πόθον· ἐνθυμομένοις ὃ' ὅτι τοῖς βασιλείας ἢ τυραννίδος ἐφιεμένους ῥάστη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη πασῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἡ

1 φθόνον after πρῶτον deleted by Kiessling.
2 τῇ τε ὑπεροψίᾳ Cb, Reiske: τῆς τε ὑπεροψίας O.
to receive it as a right, since, though he had neither
taken any cities by storm nor put to rout an army
of enemies in the field, he was to lead home captives
and spoils, the adornments of a triumph. Accord-
ingly, this action first brought him a reputation
for presumption and for no longer entertaining
thoughts like those of his fellow citizens. Then,
when he had secured for himself the granting of the
triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with
the Hernicans, which was a copy of the one that had
been made with the Latins. At this the oldest and
most honoured of the senators were very indignant
and regarded him with suspicion; for they were
unwilling that the Hernicans, an alien race, should
obtain the same honour as their kinsmen, the Latins,
and that those who had not done them the least
service should be treated with the same kindness as
those who had shown them many instances of their
goodwill. They were also displeased at the arrogance
of the man, who, after being honoured by the senate,
had not shown equal honour to that body, but had
produced a treaty drawn up according to his own
pleasure and not with the general approval of the
senate. But it seems that to be successful in many
undertakings is a dangerous and prejudicial thing for
a man; for to many it is the hidden source of sense-
less pride and the secret author of desires that are too
ambitious for our human nature. And so it was with
Cassius. For, being the only man at that time who
had been honoured by his country with three consul-
ships and two triumphs, he now conducted himself in
a more pompous manner and conceived a desire for
monarchical power. And bearing in mind that the
easiest and safest way of all for those who aim at
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

to plēbos euergetias tisw ὑπαγομένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ διδόντος τὰ κοινὰ συτείχεια ἑθίζουσα, ταύτην ἐτράπτετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οὐθενὶ προειπόν, ἣν γάρ τις χώρα δημοσία πολλὴ παρημελημένη τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπορωτάτων κατεχομένη, ταύτην ἐγνώ τῶ δήμῳ διανέμειν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἐλθὼν ἡρκέσθη, τὰχ’ ἂν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τὸ ἔργον ἡχώρησε· νῦν δὲ πλειόνων ὁρεγόμενος στάσων οὐ μικρὰν ἤγερεν, ἐξ ὑπὲρ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ συνέβη. Λατίνους τε γὰρ ἥξιον τῇ καταγραφῇ τῆς χώρας συμπεριλαμβάνων καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ προσληφθέντας εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐρνικας οἰκεία ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάσαι τὰ ἔθνη.

LXX. Ταῦτα διανοηθεῖς τῇ μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον ἡμέρα συνεκάλεσε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ὅς ἐθὸς ἐστὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς τεθριαμβευκόσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδὼκε2 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων αὐτῷ λόγον, οὐ κεφάλαια ἦν ταῦτα· ὅτι τῆς μὲν πρώτης ὑπατείας τυχὼν τὸ Σαβινῶν ἔθνος ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μάχῃ νικήσας ὑπῆκοον ἦν ἀγκασε ὅπως γενέσθαι ἀποδειχθεῖς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατος τῆς ἐμφύλιον ἐπαυσε τῆς πόλεως στάσιν καὶ κατήγαγε τὸν ὑπὸ μὲν ὄντα τῆς ὅπως γενέεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡμᾶς τῷ πατρίδα, Λατίνους θείσας συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας τῆς ὅπως γενέεσθαι τῷ ἡμᾶς. αἰεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας

1 συμπεριλαμβάνων . . . παρασκευάσει Sintenis, συμπεριλαμβάνων . . . παρασκευάσεις Jacoby: συμπεριλαμβάνειν . . . παρασκευάσαι O (but Cmg adds βουλόμενος after τὰ ἔθνη). Cobet supplied καὶ οὕτως before παρασκευάσεις.
2 Sintenis: ἀπεδώκε O.

1 Cf. Aristotle, Athen. Pol. 27, 4, διδόναι τῶι πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, the demagogic principle which Pericles is said to have adopted in introducing pay for jury duty.

208
monarchy or tyranny is to draw the multitude to oneself by sundry gratifications and to accustom them to feed themselves out of the hands of the one who distributes the possessions of the public,¹ he took that course; and at once, without communicating his intention to anyone, he determined to divide among the people a certain large tract of land belonging to the state which had been neglected and was then in the possession of the richest men. Now if he had been content to stop there, the business might perhaps have gone according to his wish; but as it was, by grasping for more, he raised a violent sedition, the outcome of which proved anything but fortunate for him. For he thought fit in assigning the land to include not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had only recently been admitted to citizenship, and thus to attach these nations to himself.

LXX. Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph he called the multitude together in assembly, and coming forward to the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he first gave his account of his achievements, the sum of which was as follows: that in his first consulship he had defeated in battle the Sabines, who were laying claim to the supremacy, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans; that upon being chosen consul for the second time he had appeased the sedition in the state and restored the populace to the fatherland,² and had caused the Latins, who, though kinsmen of the Romans, had always envied them their supremacy

² After their withdrawal to the Sacred Mount. But there is nothing in Dionysius' lengthy account of the secession (vi. 45-90) to indicate that Cassius deserved any special credit for the return of the plebeians.
καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς φθονοῦντας, εἰς φιλότητα συνήγαγε τῆς ἱσοπολιτείας μεταδοὺς, ὅστε μηκέτι
3 ἀντίπαλον ἄλλα πατρίδα τὴν Ἐρμίην νομίζειν· τρίτον
dὲ καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἁρχὴν Οὐκολούσκους
tε ἡνάγκασε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ
Ἐρμίκων ἔθνος μέγα τε καὶ ἄλκιμον καὶ πλησίων
σφῶν κεῖμενον βλάπτειν τε καὶ ὕφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα
4 ἰκανώτατον ἐκόουσιν ὑπηγάγετο. ταῦτα τε ὅτι καὶ
tὰ ὀμοια τούτοις διεξελθὼν ἥξιον τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτῷ
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους
πρόνοιαν ἔχοντι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν
ἔξοντι χρόνον. τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοσαῦτα
ἐφή καὶ τηλικάυτα ἄγαθα ποιήσειν τὸν δῆμον ὅπως
ἄπαντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπαινομένους ἐπὶ τῷ
φιλεῖν καὶ σωζεῖν τὸ δημοτικὸν· καὶ ταῦτα ἐφή
5 ποιήσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν. διαλύσας δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον διαλυπῶν τῇ κατ-
όπιν ἡμέρα συνεκάλει τὴν βουλήν εἰς τὸ συνεδριον,
ἀρθήν καὶ περίφοβον οὖσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπ᾽
αὐτοῦ λόγοις· καὶ πρὶν ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀρξασθαι λόγον
τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ φυλαχθεῖσαν γνώμην
eἰς μέσον ἐφερεν, ἄξιῶν τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐπειδὴ
πολλὰ ὁ δήμος τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος γέγονε τὰ μὲν
eἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἐτέρων ἁρχεῖν
συλλαβόμενοι, πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, τὴν τε
χώραν αὐτῶ νείμαντας όση πολέμω κρατήθεισα
λόγῳ μὲν ἢν δημοσία, ἔργῳ δὲ τῶν ἀναιδεστά-
tῶν τε καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ δικαιῷ κατεσχηκότων πατρι-
kὼν, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου

1 τὸ τρίτον Cobet.
and glory, to become their friends by conferring upon them equal rights of citizenship, so that they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their fatherland; that being for the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had not only compelled the Volscians to become their friends instead of enemies, but had also brought about the voluntary submission of the Hernicans, a great and warlike nation situated near them and quite capable of doing them either the greatest mischief or the greatest service. After recounting these and similar achievements he asked the populace to pay good heed to him, as to one who then had and always would have a greater concern for the commonwealth than any others. He concluded his speech by saying that he would confer upon the populace so many benefits and so great as to surpass all those who were commended for befriending and saving the plebeians; and these things he said he would soon accomplish. He then dismissed the assembly, and without even the slightest delay called a meeting the next day of the senate, which was already in suspense and terrified at his words. And before taking up any other subject he proceeded to lay before them openly the purpose which he had kept concealed in the popular assembly, asking of the senators that, inasmuch as the populace had rendered the commonwealth great service by aiding it, not only to retain its liberty, but also to rule over other peoples, they should show their concern for them by dividing among them the land conquered in war, which, though nominally the property of the state, was in reality possessed by the most shameless patricians, who had occupied it without any legal claim; and that the price paid for the corn sent
LXXI. Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ θόρυ-βος ἢν πολὺς, ἀχθομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ὑπο-μενόντων τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐπαύσατο ὑ τε συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ὀὐεργίνως πολλὴν ἐπονήσατο κατηγορίαν ὡς στάσιν εἰσάγοντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τε καὶ τιμίωτατοι, μάλιστα δ’ Ἀππίου Κλαύδιος· καὶ μέχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἠγριωμένοι τε καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα¹ κατ’ ἄλληλων 2 ὅνειδη λέγοντες οὕτοι διετέλεσαν. ταῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐκκλησίας συνεχεῖς ποιού-μενος ἐξεδημαγώγη τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας λόγους εἰσέφερε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων. ὁ δὲ Ὀὐεργίνως τὴν βουλὴν ὄσημέρα κυνᾶκον μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικῶν ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο φυλακάς τε καὶ 3 κωλύσεις νομίμους. καὶ ἦν στίφος ἐκατέρω τῶν παρακολουθοῦντων τε καὶ φυλακὴν τῷ σώματι παρεχόντων πολὺ, τὸ μὲν ἀποροῦν καὶ ρυπαρὸν καὶ πάντα τολμᾶν πρόχειρον ὑπὸ τῷ Κασσίων τεταγ-μένον, τὸ δ’ εὐγενεστάτων τε καὶ καθαρώτατον ὑπὸ 4 τῷ Ὀὐεργίνως.² τέως μὲν οὖν τὸ χεῖρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεκράτει μακρῷ θατέρῳ προῦχον, ἐπειτα ἱσόρροπον ἐγένετο προσνειμάντων ἐαυτοῦ τῶν δημάρχων τῇ κρείττοι μοιρᾳ, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει δεκασμοῖς

¹ ἔσχατα Ο : αἰσχρότα Sylburg, Jacoby.
² Ὀὐεργίνως B : Ὀὐεργίνως τιθέμενον R.
them by Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily, as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens as a free gift, the poor had got by purchase, should be repaid to the purchasers from the funds held in the public treasury.

LXXI. At once, while he was still speaking, a great tumult arose, the senators to a man disliking his proposal and refusing to countenance it. And when he had done, not only his colleague Verginius, but the oldest and the most honoured of the senators as well, particularly Appius Claudius, inveighed against him vehemently for attempting to stir up a sedition; and until a late hour these men continued to be beside themselves with rage and to utter the severest reproaches against one another. During the following days Cassius assembled the populace continually and attempted to win them over by his harangues, introducing the arguments in favour of the allotment of the land and laying himself out in invectives against his opponents. Verginius, for his part, assembled the senate every day and in concert with the patricians prepared legal safeguards and hindrances against the other's designs. Each of the consuls had a strong body of men attending him and guarding his person; the needy and the unwashed and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise were ranged under Cassius, and those of the noblest birth and the most immaculate under Verginius. For some time the baser element prevailed in the assemblies, being far more numerous than the others; then they became evenly balanced when the tribunes joined the better element. This change of front on the part of the tribunes was due perhaps to their feeling that it was not best for the commonwealth
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τε ἄργυρίου καὶ διανομαῖς τῶν δημοσίων διαφθειρό-
μενον τὸ πλῆθος ἄργυν καὶ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τάχα
δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον, ὅτι τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτης
οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότες, ἀλλ' ἑτέροις οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ ἕνεκ τοῦ δεὸς ὃς πρὸς
τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ ἁνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον μείζονα γενο-
5 μένην ἡ τῇ πόλει συνέφερεν. ἀντέλεγον γοῦν ἢ ἢδη
cατὰ κράτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς
eἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου νόμους, διδάσκον-
tες τὸν δήμου ὡς οὐκ εἴη δίκαιον, ἀ διὰ πολλῶν
ἐκτῆσατο πολέμων, ταῦτα μὴ Ὑσωμαίους νείμα-
σθαι μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατινοὺς αὐτοῖς ἵσομορεῖν
tοὺς μὴ παραγενομένους τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ τοὺς
νεωστὶ προσελθόντας πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν Ἕρνικας, οίδι
ἀγαπητὸν ἢν πολέμῳ προσαχθεῖσιν τὸ μὴ τὴν ἔαιν-
6 τῶν ἀφαιρεθήναι χώραν. ὃ δὲ δήμος ἀκούων τοτε
μὲν τοῖς τῶν δημάρχων προσετίθετο λόγοις, ἐνθυμοῦ-
μενος ὅτι μικρὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσται λόγου
τὸ ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἐσόμενον ἑκάστῳ λάχος,
eἰ μεθ' Ἕρνικων τε καὶ Λατινῶν αὐτὴν νεμήσονται,
tοτε δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου μετεπείθετο δημαγωγοῦν-
tος ὡς προδιδόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρικίοις τῶν
dημάρχων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τῆς κωλύσεως
εὔπρεπὴ τὴν Ἕρνικων τε καὶ Λατινῶν ἱσομορίαιν,

1 καὶ added by Reiske.
2 τὸ δεός Reiske: τὸῦτο τὸ δεὸς Ὁ, Jacoby.
3 Kiessling: γινομένην B, γενέσθαι Ἀ.
4 Capps: οὖν Ὁ, μὲν οὖν Garrer.
5 πολέμων Ὁ: πόνων Cobet.

214
that the multitude should be corrupted by bribes of money and distributions of the public lands and so be idle and depraved, and perhaps also to envy, since it was not they themselves, the leaders of the populace, who had been the authors of this liberality, but someone else; however, there is no reason why their action was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase in Cassius’ power, which had grown greater than was to the interest of the commonwealth. At any rate, these men in the meetings of the assembly now began to oppose with all their power the laws which Cassius was introducing, showing the people that it was not fair if the possessions which they had acquired in the course of many wars were not to be distributed was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase among the Romans alone, but were to be shared equally not only by the Latins, who had not been present in those wars, but also by the Hernicans, who had but lately entered into friendship with them, and having been brought to it by war, would be content not to be deprived of their own territory. The people, as they listened, would now assent to the representations of the tribunes, when they recalled that the portion of the public land which would fall to the lot of each man would be small and inconsiderable if they shared it with the Hernicans and the Latins, and again would change their minds as Cassius in his harangues charged that the tribunes were betraying them to the patricians and using his proposal to give an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins as a specious pretence for their opposition; whereas, he said, he had included these

1 Or, following Cobet’s emendation, “through many hardships”—a favourite expression with Dionysius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

καὶ τὰς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσω τὰ δοθέντα, κωλύσεως, κρείττον ἦγοομενὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πολλοῖς μικρὰ λαβοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἐχεῖν ἡ πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχεῖν.

LXXII. Τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Κασσίου θαμιναὶ μεταπείθοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ὀχλον παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων, Γάιος Ῥαβδόλυος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄφρων, τὴν τε διχοστασίαν τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπέσχετο παύσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσειν φανερὸν ὁ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπισημασίας δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ μεγάλης καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῆς, "Οὐχὶ ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὡς Κάσσις, καὶ σὺ Ὀὔεργυίνε, τὰ κεφάλαια ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἐν μὲν, εἰ χρὴ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν κατ᾿ ἄνδρα διανεμηθήναι, ἐπεροῦ δὲ, εἰ χρὴ καὶ Λατῖνους καὶ Ἐρνικας μέρος αὐτῆς 2 λαβεῖν;" ὁμολογησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν: "Εἶπεν δὴ σὺ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς Κάσσις, ἀμφότερα ταῦτ’ ἐπιψηφίζειν ἄξιοις τὸν δήμον, σὺ δὲ δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ὡς Ὀὔεργυίνε, λέξον ἡμῖν, πότερα θάτερον3 ἀκυροῖς τῆς Κασσίου γνώμης μέρος τὸ κατὰ τους συμμάχους οὐκ οἴμον τοῖς ἀμφότεροις ἡμῖν "Ἐρνικας τε καὶ Λατῖνους ποιεῖν, ἥ καὶ θάτερον ἀκυροῖς ἄξιον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν τὰ κοινά; ταῦτα γὰρ 3 ἀπόκριναι μοι μηθέν ἀποκρυψάμενος." εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀὔεργυίνου τῆ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἐρνίκων

1 κωλύσεως Ba: κωλύσαι ABb.
2 λαβεῖν (or λαβόντας ἔχειν) Sylburg, λαβόντας ἔχειν Jacoby: λαβόντας O.
3 θάτερον O: θάτερον μόνον Reiske. Jacoby in accepting Reiske’s emendation, inadvertently added μόνον after the second θάτερον, three lines below, instead of here.

216
peoples in his law with a view to adding strength to
the poor and of hindering any attempt that might
thereafter be made to deprive them of what had been
once granted to them, since he regarded it as better
and safer for the masses to get little, but to keep that
little undiminished, than to expect a great deal and
to be disappointed of everything.

LXXII. While Cassius by these arguments fre-
quently changed the minds of the multitude in the
meetings of the assembly, one of the tribunes, Gaius
Rabuleius, a man not lacking in intelligence, came
forward and promised that he would soon put an end
to the dissension between the consuls and would also
make it clear to the populace what they ought to do.
And when a great demonstration of approval followed,
and then silence, he said: "Are not these, Cassius
and Verginius, the chief issues of this law—first,
whether the public land should be distributed with
an equal portion for everyone, and second, whether
the Latins and the Hernicans should receive a share
of it?" And when they assented, he continued:
"Very well. You, Cassius, ask the people to vote
for both provisions. But as for you, Verginius, tell us,
for Heaven's sake, whether you oppose that part of
Cassius' proposal which relates to the allies, believing
that we ought not to make the Hernicans and the
Latins equal sharers with us, or whether you oppose
the other also, holding that we should not distribute
the property of the state even among ourselves. Just
answer these questions for me without concealing
anything." When Verginius said that he opposed
giving an equal share of the land to the Hernicans
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀντιλέγειν ἴσομοιρία, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ πάσιν δοξεῖε, διανέμεσθαι συγχωρεῖν, ἐπιστρέψας ὁ δήμαρχος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν. "Ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν τὸ μὲν ἔτερον τῆς γνώμης μέρος ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνδοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἔτερον ἀντιλέγεται πρὸς θατέρου, ἱσότιμοι δ' ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὐχ ὦδον τε βιάσασθαι θατέρῳ τὸν ἐτέρου, δ' μὲν δίδοται παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἥδη λάβωμεν, ὑπέρ οὖν δ' ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ἀναβαλόμεθα." ἐπισημηναντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένω καὶ καταλύει καὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸ ποιοῦν διχοστασίαν μέρος ἀξιοῦντος, ἀπορῶν ὦ τι χρὴ πράττειν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ οὔτε ἀναθέσαι τὴν γνώμην προαιρούμενος οὔτε μένειν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀντιπραττόντων τῶν δημάρχων δυνάμενος, τότε μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταῖς δ' ἔξις ήμέραις ἀρρωστίαν σκηπτόμενος οὐκέτι κατέβαινε εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἄλλ' ὑπομένων ἔνδον ἐπραγματεύετο βία καὶ χειροκρασίᾳ κυρώσαι τὸν νόμον· καὶ μετεπέμπτετο Λατῖνων τε καὶ Ἐρνίκων ὅσοις 5 ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν. οἱ δὲ συνήσαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ δ' ὅλιγον μεστὴ ἐξένων ἢ τὸ πόλις. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐεργύνιος κηρύττει ἐκέλευσε κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἀπέναι τοὺς μη κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ὀρίσας οὐ πολὺν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τάναντια ἐκέλευσε κηρύττει παραμένει τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἔως ἂν ἐπικυρωθῇ ὁ νόμος.

LXXIII. Ὡς δ' οὖδὲν ἐγίνετο πέρας, δείσαντες οἱ πατρίκιοι μὴ ψήφων τε ἀρταγαῖ καὶ χειρὸν ἐπιβολοὶ γένωνται καὶ τὸλλα1 ὁσα φιλεῖ βίαν συμβαίνειν ἐν ταῖς στασιαζούσαις ἐκκλησίαις εἶσ-

1 Capps : ἄλλα O, Jacoby.
and the Latins, but consented to its being divided among the Roman citizens, if all were of that opinion, the tribune, turning to the multitude, said: "Since, then, one part of the proposed measure is approved of by both consuls and the other is opposed by one of them, and as both men are equal in rank and neither can use compulsion on the other, let us accept now the part which both are ready to grant us, and postpone the other, concerning which they differ."

The multitude signified by their acclamations that his advice was most excellent and demanded that he strike out of the law that part which gave occasion for discord; whereupon Cassius was at a loss what to do, and being neither willing to withdraw his proposal nor able to adhere to it while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed the assembly for that time. During the following days he feigned illness and no longer went down to the Forum; but remaining at home, he set about getting the law passed by force and violence, and sent for as many of the Latins and Hernicans as he could to come and vote for it. These assembled in great numbers and presently the city was full of strangers. Verginius, being informed of this, ordered proclamation to be made in the streets that all who were not residents of the city should depart; and he set an early time limit. But Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed—that all who possessed the rights of citizens should remain till the law was passed.

LXXIII. There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing that when the law came to be proposed there would be stealing of votes, recourse to violence, and all the other forcible means that are wont to be employed in factious assemblies, met in
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

φερομένου τοῦ νόμου, συνήλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἀπαξ βουλευσόμενοι. "Αππιος μὲν οὖν πρώτος ἐρωτηθεῖσα γνώμην ὦκ εἰς συγ- χωρεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διανομήν, διδάσκων ὡς χαλε- πὸς ἔσται καὶ ἀλυσιτελής σύνοκος ὄχλος ἀργὸς ἑθισθεὶς τὰ δημόσια λιχνεύειν, καὶ οὐθὲν έάσει ποτὲ τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε κτημάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἔτι κοι- νὸν μένειν· αἰσχύνης τε, ἥξιον πράγμα εἶναι λέγων, εἰ Κασσίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς πονηρὰ καὶ ἀσύμφορα πολιτευμένου καὶ τὸν δήμον διαφθείροντος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ κοινῆ γνώμη ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσουσιν ὡς δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα· ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἥξιον, ὡς οὐδ' ἡ χάρις ἡ παρὰ τῶν πενήτων, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ διανείμαντο, τοῖς συγχωρήσασι καὶ ἐπιψηφισα- μένοις ὑπάρξει,1 ἀλλ' ἐν2 τῷ προθέντι τὴν γνώ- μην Κασσίω καὶ δόξαντι ἦνακακέναι τὴν βουλήν ἢκουσαν ἐπικυρώσαι. προειπῶν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ παραπλῆσια τούτοις ἐστερα τελευτῶν τάδε συνεβού- λευσεν· ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων βουλευτῶν ἐλέσθαι δέκα3 οἵτινες ἐπελθόντες τὴν δημοσίαν γὴν ἀφορμοῦσι, καὶ εἰ τίνα εἰς αὐτῆς κλέπτοντες ή βιαξόμενοι τίνες ἰδιώται κατανέμοντιν ἐπεργάζον- ται διαγνότες ἀποδώσουσι τῷ δημοσίῳ. τῇ δ' ὄρισθεισαν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνων γὴν διωρεθέασαν εἰς κλήρους ὡς οὕς δὴ τίνας καὶ στήλας εὐκόσμοις διαγραφέασαν τὴν μὲν ἀπεμποληθήναι παρῆνει καὶ μάλιστα περὶ ἦς ἀμφιλογοῦν τι πρῶς ἰδιώτας ἴν,

1 Sylburg : ὑπάρχει O. 2 ἐν Reiske : ἐπὶ O. 3 δέκα added by Cobet.

1 "Ten" is omitted here by the MSS.; but the next refer-

220
the senate-house to deliberate concerning all these matters once and for all. Appius, upon being asked his opinion first, refused to grant the distribution of land to the people, pointing out that an idle multitude accustomed to devour the public stores would prove troublesome and unprofitable fellow citizens and would never allow any of the common possessions, whether property or money, to continue to be held in common. He declared that it would be a shameful thing if the senators, who had been accusing Cassius of introducing mischievous and disadvantageous measures and of corrupting the populace, should then themselves by common consent ratify these measures as just and advantageous. He asked them also to bear in mind that even the gratitude of the poor, if they should divide up among themselves the public possessions, would not be shown to those who gave their consent and sanction to this law, but to Cassius alone, who had proposed it and was believed to have compelled the senators to ratify it against their will. After saying this and other things to the same purport, he ended by giving them this advice—to choose ten of the most distinguished senators to go over the public land and fix its bounds, and if they found that any private persons were by fraud or force grazing or tilling any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuse and restore the land to the state. And he further advised that when the land thus delimited by them had been divided into allotments, of whatever number, and marked off by pillars duly inscribed, one part of it should be sold, particularly the part about which there was any dispute with private persons, so

ence (chap. 75, 3) to the proposed law seems to imply that the number ten has been already mentioned.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οἵτινες ὑνησαμένοι εἶναι1 πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιησομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς2 κρίσεις, τὴν δὲ3 πενταετῆ μισθοὺν χρόνον· τὸ δὲ προσιόν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων ἀργύριον εἰς τοὺς ὁμωνυσμούς τῶν στρατευμένων ἀναλοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰς μισθώσεις δυν οἱ πόλεμοι 4 χορηγιῶν δέονται. "Νῦν μὲν γάρ," ἔφη,4 "ὁ φθόνος τῶν πενήτων ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὥσοι σφετερισάμενοι τὰ κοινὰ διακατέχουσι, δικαίος ἐστι καὶ οὐθέν θαυμαστὸν εἰ τὰ κοινὰ πάντας διανείμασθαι μᾶλλον αξιοῦσιν ἡ τοὺς ἀναίδεστάτους τε καὶ ὅλγους κατέχειν· ἐὰν δὲ αἵρετα-μένους αὐτῶν5 ὀρώσι τοὺς νῦν καρπούμενους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὃντως κοινὰ γινόμενα, παύσονται φθονοῦντες ἦμιν, τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διανομῆς τῶν ἀγρών ἐπανήσουσι, μαθόντες ὅτι λυσιτελεστέρα τῆς μικρᾶς ἑκάστω μερίδος ἡ κοινὴ μετὰ 5 πάντων ἐσται κτήσις. διδάσκωμεν6 γὰρ αὐτούς," ἔλεγεν, "ὅσον τὸ διάφορον, καὶ ὡς εἰς μὲν ἐκαστος τῶν πενήτων γήδιον οὐ μέγα λαβῶν καὶ εἰ τύχοι γείτονας ὀχληρούς ἔχων ὦτ' αὐτὸς ἰκανός ἐσται τοῦτο γεωργεῖν δ' ἀπορίαν, οὔτε τὸν μισθώσομεν ὅτι μὴ τὸνν γείτονα εὐρήσει· εἰ δὲ μεγάλοι κλήροι ποικιλὰς τε καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἑχοντες γεωργοῖς ἔργασίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μισθοῦτο, πολλὰς οίσουσι προσόδους· καὶ ὁτι κρείττον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ὅταν ἐξίσωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου τῶν ἐπιστησιμῶν τε καὶ ὁμωνυσμὸν λαμβάνειν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων οἴκων εἰς τὸ ταμείον

1 εἶναι O: οὐκ εἶναι Reiske, μὴ εἶναι Kayser, Jacoby.
2 Reiske: αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.
3 τὴν δὲ Kiessling, after Gellenius: καὶ Λ, om. B.
4 ἔφη O: ἔφησεν Jacoby. 5 Reudler: αὐτῆς O, Jacoby.
222
that the purchasers might be involved in litigation over it with any who should lay claim to it, and the other part should be let for five years; and that the money coming in from these rents should be used for the payment of the troops and the purchase of the supplies needed for the wars. "For, as things now stand," he said, "the envy of the poor against the rich who have appropriated and continue to occupy the public possessions is justified, and it is not at all to be wondered at if they demand that the public property should be divided among all the citizens rather than held by a few, and those the most shameless. Whereas, if they see the persons who are now enjoying them give them up and the public possessions become really public, they will cease to envy us and will give up their eagerness for the distribution of our fields to individuals, once they have learnt that joint ownership by all the citizens will be of greater advantage to them than the small portion that would be allotted to each. Let us show them, in fact," he said, "what a great difference it makes, and that if each one of the poor receives a small plot of ground and happens to have troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to cultivate it himself, by reason of his poverty, nor will he find anyone to lease it of him but that neighbour, whereas if large allotments offering varied and worthwhile tasks for the husbandman are let by the state, they will bring in large revenues; and that it is better for them, when they set out for the wars, to receive both their provisions and their pay from the public treasury than to pay in their individual contributions

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6 διδάσκομεν D: διδάσκομεν ABC.
7 τὸν added by Reiske.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐκάστοτ' ἐἰσφέρειν τεθλιμμένων ἔστιν ὡτε τῶν βίων καὶ ἐτὶ μάλλον ἐν τῷ συμπορίζειν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπιβαρησμένων.

LXXIV. Ταύτην εἰσηγήσαμένοι τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου καὶ σφόδρα δόξαντος εὐδοκιμεῖν δεύτερος ἐρωτηθεὶς Ἀδλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος ἐλέξεν. "Ἀππιον μὲν οὐ νῦν ἔχω πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν, ὡς φρονήσαι τε ἰκανώτατον πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ γνώμας τὰς καλλίστας τε καὶ ωφελιμωτάτας ἀποδεικνύμενον βέβαιον τε καὶ ἀμετακφήνου ἐν τοῖς κρίθεις καὶ οὔτε φόβῳ εἰκόνα οὔτε χάρισι ὑποκατακλινόμενον. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζων διατελῶ τοῦ τε φρονίμου καὶ τῆς γεναιότητος ἧν παρὰ τὰ δενα ἔχει. γνώμην τε οὐχ ἐτέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδείκνυμαι, μικρὰ ἐτὶ προσθεῖς αὐτῇ, ἢ μοι παραλιπεῖν Ἀππίος 2 ἔδοκεί. Ἐρνικας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λατῖνος, οἷς νεωστὶ δεδώκαμεν τὴν ἱσοπολιτείαν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς οἶμαι δεῖν κληρουχεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ οὗ προσήλθον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῖν ταῦτην τὴν γῆν κτησάμενοι ἔχωμεν, ἀλλὰ παλαίτερον ἔτι τοῖς ἐαυτῶν κινδύνοις οὕθενος ἄλλου προσωφελήσαντος ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχθροὺς. ἀποκρυνώμεθα 4 τε αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰς μὲν πρότερον ὑπαρχοῦσας ἡμῖν κτήσεις, ὡς ἦκαστοι ἔχομεν ὅτε τὴν φιλίαν συνετυθέμεθα, ἱδίας τε καὶ ἀναφαίρετος ἐκάστοις δεὶ μένειν, ὡς 5 ἂν ἂν ἂν ὑ τὰς συνθήκας ἐποιησάμεθα κοινῇ στρατεύσαντες ἐκ πολέμου κύριον γενώμεθα, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ 3 ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις λάχος. ταύτα γὰρ οὔτε τοῖς

1 ἐκάστοτ' Post, ἐκάστον Reiske, Jacoby : ἐκάστον O.
2 εἰσφέρειν added by Sylburg.
3 τὴν αὐτὴν Reiske : ταύτην O, Jacoby.

224
each time to the treasury out of their private estates, when, as sometimes happens, their means of livelihood are scanty and will be still further cramped by providing this money.”

LXXIV. After Appius had introduced this motion and appeared to win great approval, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who was called upon next, said:

“This is not the first time that I have had occasion to praise Appius as a man highly capable of grasping eventualities long in advance, and as one always offering the most excellent and useful opinions, a man who is firm and unshaken in his judgements and neither yields to fear nor is swayed by favour. For I have never ceased to praise and admire him both for his prudence and the noble spirit he shows in the presence of danger. And it is not a different motion that I offer, but I too make the same one, merely adding a few details which Appius seemed to me to omit. As regards the Hernicans and the Latins, to whom we recently granted equal rights of citizenship, I too think they ought not to share in the allotment of our lands; for it was not after they entered into friendship with us that we acquired this land which we now occupy, but still earlier, when by our own perilous efforts, without the assistance of anyone else, we took it from our enemies. Let us give them this answer: that the possessions which each of us already had when we entered into the treaty of friendship must remain the peculiar and inalienable property of each, but that in the case of all that we may come to possess through war when taking the field together, from the time we made the treaty, each shall have his share. For this arrangement will
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

συμμάχοις ως ἀδικουμένοις ὤργης παρέξει δικαίας
προφάσεις, οὐτε τῶν δήμων δέος μὴ δόξη τὰ κερδαλεώ-
tera πρὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων' αἱρεῖσθαι. τῇ τε
αἱρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐσ Ἀππιος ἡζίου ὄριστὰς
γενέσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς πάνω εὐδοκῶ. πολλὴν
γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο οἰσει παρρησίαν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτι-
κοὺς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἄχθονται κατ' ἀμφότερα, καὶ ὁτι
ἀυτοὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐθὲν ἀπολαύσουσι κτημάτων,
καὶ ὁτε ἐξ ἡμῶν τινες οὐ δικαίως αὕτα καρποῦνται.
ἐὰν δὲ δημοσιωθέντα ἰδοσι καὶ τάς ἀπ' αὐτῶν
προσόδους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἄναγκαια δαπανωμένας,
οὐδὲν ὑπολήψονται σφίσι διαφέρειν τῆς γῆς ἡ τῶν
ἐξ αὐτής καρπῶν μετέχειν. ἐδ᾿ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τῶν
ἀπόρων ἐνίοις μᾶλλον εὐφραίνουσιν αἱ ἀλλότριαι
βλάβαι τῶν ἱδίων ωφελεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῆν γε
οἴσαι τούτων ἐκάτερον ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γραφέν; ả
ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾿ ἀλλῆς τινος οἴσαί δεῖν θεραπείας
μετρίας τὸν δήμον οἰκεῖσσαθαί τε καὶ ἄναλαβεῖν·
ἡν μετὰ μικρὸν ἔρωτην τὴν αὐτίαν πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἀπο-
δειξάμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι᾿ ἡν καὶ
τοῦτο πρακτέον ἠμῖν.

LXXV. "Ἅστε δῆπον τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥη-
θέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου λόγους, ὅτε ἦρετο τῶν
ὑπάτων τὸν ἔτερον τοῦτον Οὐεργίνων ἦν τίνα γνώ-
μην ἔχει περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας, πότερα τοῖς γὰ 
πολλαῖς συνχωρεῖ διανέμει τὰ δημόσια, τοῖς δὲ 
συμμάχους οὐκ ἐὰ, ἡ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων
οὐδ’ ἡμῖν συνχωρεῖ μέρος λαγχανεῖν. καὶ οὕτως
ὁμολογήσετο τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς μέρος οὐ κωλύειν τῆς

1 Sylburg : εὐπρεπεστάτων Ο.
2 γραφέν O : γράφειν Cobet, Jacoby. For this somewhat
rare use of the participle cf. i. 6, 3; ix. 32, 1; 43, 1.
226
neither afford our allies any just excuses for anger, as being wronged, nor cause the populace any fear of appearing to prefer their own interests to their good name. As to the appointment of the men proposed by Appius to delimit the public land, I quite agree with him. For this will afford us great frankness in dealing with the plebeians, since they are now displeased on both accounts—because they themselves reap no benefit from the public possessions and because some of us enjoy them contrary to justice. But if they see them restored to the public and the revenues therefrom applied to the necessary uses of the commonwealth, they will not suppose that it makes any difference to them whether it is the land or its produce that they share. I need not mention, of course, that some of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others than with their own advantages. However, I do not regard the entering of these two provisions in the decree as enough; but we ought in my opinion to gain the goodwill of the populace and relieve them by another moderate favour also, one which I shall presently name, after I have first shown you the reason, or rather the necessity, for our doing this also.

LXXV. “You are aware, no doubt, of the words spoken by the tribune in the assembly when he asked one of the consuls, Verginius here, what his opinion was concerning the allotment of the land, whether he consented to divide the public possessions among the citizens but not among the allies, or would not consent that even we should receive a share of what belongs to us all in common. And Verginius admitted that he was not attempting to hinder the allotting of the
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

κληρονομίας, εὰν ἄπασι1 ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι δοκῇ· καὶ ἡ συγχώρησις ἦδε τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν συναγωνιστὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιεικέστερον.

2 τί οὖν μαθοῦντες,2 ἀ τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν, νῦν ἀναθησόμεθα; ἢ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἦσται τὰ γενναία καὶ τὰ καλὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ ἄξια τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολιτευμένως, ἐὰν μὴ πείθωμεν τοὺς χρησομένους; οὐ πείσομεν δὲ, καὶ τούτο οὔδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀνγοεί. χαλεπώτερα3 γὰρ ἂν, τῶν μὴ τυγχανόντων, ἀποργιασθεὶν4 οἴ ψευσθέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα μὴ κομιζόμενοι. οἰκήσεται δὴ πάλιν φέρων αὐτοὺς ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἰδονὴν πολιτεύμενος, καὶ οὔδὲ τῶν δημ-3 ἀρχῶν τις ἐτὶ μεθ’ ἡμῶν στήσεται. τί οὖν ὑμῖν πράττειν παραινώ καὶ τί προστίθημι τῇ Ἀππίου γνώμη, μᾶθετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προεξαναστήτε μηδὲ θορυβήσετε πρὶν ἀπαντᾶ ἄκουστητε ἀ λέγω. τοῖς αἱρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς χώρας καὶ περιορισμῶν, εἴτε δέκα ἁνδράσιν εἴθ’ ὀσιωδήποτε, ἐπιτρέψατε διαγνῶναι τάνα τε αὐτῆς δεῖ καὶ ὅποιῃ κούνῃ εἶναι πάντων καὶ κατὰ πενταείαν μισθουμενίην αἴξειν τὰς τοῦ ταμείου προσόδους· ὀπόσην τ’ αὐ καὶ ἦντινα τοῖς δημόταις ἡμῶν διαρεθήναι. ἢν δ’ ἂν ἐκείνου κληρονομὸν ἀποδείξωςι γῆν, ὑμᾶς διαγνόντας εἴθ’ ἄπασιν εἴθ’ ὅσ δὴ οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ κλῆρος εἴτε τοῖς ἐλάχιστον ἔχουσι τίμημα εἴθ’


1 The verb given by the MSS. is almost certainly corrupt: for the meaning “take vengeance” the middle voice of that verb is wanted. Post’s emendation is very attractive.
land so far as it related to us Romans, if this seemed best to everybody. This concession not only caused the tribunes to espouse our cause, but also rendered the populace more reasonable. What has come over us, then, that we are now to change our mind about what we then conceded? Or what advantage shall we gain by pursuing our noble and excellent principles of government, principles worthy of our supremacy, if we cannot persuade those who are to make use of them? But we shall not persuade them, and this not one of you fails to know. For, of all who fail to get what they want, those will feel the harshest resentment who are cheated of their hopes and are not getting what has been agreed upon. Surely the politician whose principle it is to please will run off with them again, and after that not one even of the tribunes will stand by us. Hear, therefore, what I advise you to do, and the amendment I add to the motion of Appius; but do not rise up or create any disturbance before you have heard all I have to say. After you have appointed commissioners, whether ten or whatever number, to inspect the land and fix its boundaries, empower them to determine which and how great a part of it should be held in common and, by being let for five years, increase the revenues of the treasury, and again, how great a part and which should be divided among our plebeians. And whatever land they appoint to be allotted you should allot after determining whether it shall be distributed among all the citizens, or among those who have no land as yet, or among those who have the lowest property rating, or in whatever manner you shall in the light of the somewhat similar passage in v. 67, 2; see also viii. 89, 3.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οὖπως ἂν βούλησθε κατανείμαί τοὺς δ' ὀριστὰς αὐτῆς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ψήφισμα, δ' ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς οἱ λειτομενὸς ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνοις, τοὺς εἰσίντας ὑπάτους, ὡς ἂν 4 αὐτοῖς κράτιστα δοκῇ ἔξειν, ἐπιτελέσαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὠλίγων τηλικαία πράγματα δεῖ ται χρόνων, οὔτε ἡ νῦν στασιάζουσα ἀρχὴ φρονιμῶτερον αὖν καταμάθοι τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς μετ' αὐτὴν1 ἀποδειχθῆσομένης, ἕαν ἑκεῖνη γε, ύστερε ἑλπίζομεν, ὅμονοι. χρήσιμον δὲ πράγμα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἥκιστα σφαλερὸν ἀναβολῆ, καὶ πολλὰ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετατίθησα καὶ τὸ μὴ στασιάζου ἐν τοῖς προετοιμασίν τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ἀποφαίνομαι γνώμην· εἰ δὲ τὸς ἄλλο κρείττον εἰσηγεῖται, λεγέτω."  

LXXVI. Παισαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐπαίνος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐθεὶς τῶν μετ' ἑκείνου ἐρωτηθέντων ἐτέραν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται· γράφεται δὴ μετὰ ταύτα τὸ τῆς βούλησις δόγμα τοιόνδε· ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν αἱρεθῆναι2 δέκα τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, οὕτως ὀρίσαντες τὴν δημοσίαν χῶραν ἀποδείξουσιν ὁσήν τε δεὶ μισθοῦσαι καὶ ὁσὴν τῷ ἐνδήμῳ διαιρεθῆναι· τοῖς δ' ἰσοπολίταις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, ἐὰν τινα υστερὸν ἐπικτῆσωσί τοι νὴ στρατευσάμενοι, τὸ ἐμπάλλων ἐκάστοις κατὰ τὰς ὀμολογίας ύπάρχειν μέρος· τὴν δ' αἴρεσιν τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν κληρῶν καὶ τάλλα ὡς δεὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς εἰσίντας ἐπιτελέσαι ὑπάτους.

1 met' αὐτὴν Kiessling : μεθ' ἑαυτὴν Α, μετὰ ταύτην Β.  
2 Jacoby : ἀποδειχθῆναι R (κ), om. ΛΒ.
think proper. As regards the men who are to fix the bounds of the land and the decree you will publish concerning its division and everything else that is necessary, I advise, since the present consuls have but a short time to continue in office, that their successors shall carry out these purposes in such manner as they think will be for the best. For not only do matters of such moment require no little time, but the present consuls, who are at variance, can hardly be expected to show greater insight in discovering what is advantageous than their successors, if, as we hope, the latter shall be harmonious. For delay is in many cases a useful thing and anything but dangerous, and time brings about many changes in a single day; furthermore, the absence of dissension among those who preside over the public business is the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by states. As for me, this is the opinion I have to express; but if anyone has anything better to propose, let him speak."

LXXVI. When Sempronius had ended, there was much applause from those present, and not one of the senators who were asked their opinion after him expressed any different view. Thereupon the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: that the ten oldest ex-consuls should be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land and to declare how much of it ought to be let and how much divided among the people; that those enjoying the rights of citizens and the allies, in case they later acquired more land by a joint campaign, should each have their allotted share, according to the treaties; and that the appointment of the decemvirs, the distribution of the allotments, and everything else that was necessary should be carried out by the incoming
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τούτο τό δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεχθὲν τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἔπαισε τῆς δημαγωγίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναρριπτομένην ἐκ τῶν πενήτων στάσιν οὐκ ἔιασε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν.

LXXVII. Τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνεστώσης, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον ’’Αστυλος Συρακούσιος, Ἀθήνησι δ’ ἄρχων ἦν Λεώστρατος, Κοίντον Φάβιον καὶ Σερουῖον Κορνήλίῳ τὴν ὑπάτειαν παρεληφότοι, ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικῶν νέοι μὲν ἐτὶ τὴν ἥλικιαν, ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ γ’ ἀξιώσεις προγόνων, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐταιρίας τε καὶ πλούτους μέγα δυνάμενοι, καὶ ὥσ νέοι τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδὲνὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ χείροις, Καίσων Φάβιος, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας, ἀδελφὸς2 τοῦ καταλύσαντος τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὴν ταμιευτικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκκλησίαν συνάγειν ὄντες κύριοι, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ Σπόριον Κάσσιον καὶ τολμήσαντα τοὺς περὶ τῆς διανομῆς εἰσηγηθασθαι νόμους εἰσήγησαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τυραννίδος αὐτίας καὶ προειπόντες ἦμέραν ῥητὴν ἑκάλουν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν δίκην ἀπο-2 λογησόμενον. οὐχοὶ δὲ πλείστου συναχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἥμεραν συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τά τε ἐμφανῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα ὡς ἐπὶ οὐδὲν χρηστῶ γενόμενα διεξήγαν ὅτι Λατῖνοι μὲν πρώτων, οἷς ἀπέχρη πολιτείας κοινῆς ἀξιωθήναι, μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγομένοις εἰ καὶ ταύτης

1 γε Steph.2: τε Ο.
2 ἀδελφὶδοις or ἀδελφόπασ Glareanus.
consuls. When this decree was laid before the populace, it not only put a stop to the demagoguery of Cassius, but also prevented the sedition that was being rekindled by the poor from going any farther.

LXXVII. The following year,\(^1\) at the beginning of the seventy-fourth Olympiad (the one at which Astylus of Syracuse won the foot-race), when Leostatus was archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius had succeeded to the consulship, two patricians, young indeed in years, but the most distinguished of their body because of the prestige of their ancestors, men of great influence both on account of their bands of supporters and because of their wealth, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their ability in civil affairs, namely, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Publicola, brother\(^2\) to the man who overthrew the kings, being quaestors at the same time and therefore having authority to assemble the populace, denounced before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the preceding year, who had dared to propose the laws concerning the distribution of land, charging him with having aimed at tyranny; and appointing a day, they summoned him to make his defence before the populace. When a very large crowd had assembled upon the day appointed, the two quaestors called the multitude together in assembly, and recounting all his overt actions, showed that they were calculated for no good purpose. First, in the case of the Latins, who would have been content with being accounted worthy of a common citizenship with the Romans, esteeming it a great piece of good luck to

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\(^1\) 483 B.C. For chaps. 77-79 cf. Livy ii. 41, 10-12.

\(^2\) Or, more probably, nephew, as Glareanus preferred.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tύχοιεν, οὗ μόνον ἣν ἦτον πολιτείαν ὑπατος ὃν ἔχαρισατο, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λα-
φύρων, ἐάν κοινῇ γένηται στρατεία, τὴν τρίτην ἐψηφίσατο διδοσθαί. ἔπειτα Ἐρνικας, οὓς πολέμω-
χειρωθέντας ἀγαπᾶν ἦρην εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἱπτηκών ἐποίησε, πολίτας δ’ ἀνθ’ ὑποτελῶν, γῆς
τε καὶ λείας ἢν ἢν ἐκ παντὸς κτήσωνται τὴν ἔτεραν
3 ἐτάξε λαμβάνειν τρίτην μερίδα. ὥστε μεριξομέ-
νων εἰς τρεῖς κλήρους τῶν λαφύρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπ-
ηκόους τε καὶ ἐπῆλυδας διμοιρίας λαμβάνειν, τοὺς
δ’ αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἤγεμόνας τρίτην μερίδα. ἐκ δὲ
tούτου δυνεῖ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων θάτερον ἐπεδείκνυ-
sαν αὐτοῖς συμβησόμενον, εάν τινας ἔτερους διὰ
πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας προέλωνται ταῖς
αὐταῖς τιμῆσαι δωρεαῖς αἷς Λατίνους τε ἐτίμη-
σαν καὶ τοὺς μηδ’ ὅτιον ἀγαθὸν ἀποδειξαμένους
Ἔρνικας. μᾶς γὰρ καταλείπομένης αὐτοῖς τρίτης
μερίδος, ἢ οὐχ ἐξειν ὁ τι δῶσονς ἐκείνοις μέρος,
ἡ τά ὀμοια ψηφισαμένους μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς κατα-
λείψειν.

LXXVIII. Πρὸς δὲ τούτους διεξήγεσαν ὅτι δημει-
sαὶ τα κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλόμενος,3 οὔτε τῆς
βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτε τῷ συνυπάτῳ δοκοῦν,
βίᾳ κυροῦν ἐμελλῆσε τῶν νόμων, ὅσ οὖ καθ’ ἐν τούτῳ
μόνον ἣν ἀσύμφορος τε καὶ ἄδικος, ὅτι προβουλεύ-

1 πολιτείαν BCmg : ύπατείαν AC, ἱσοπολιτείαν Sylburg.
2 αὐτῶν Post : αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.
3 Sylburg : ἐπιβαλλόμενος O.
get even so much, he had as consul not only bestowed on them the citizenship they asked for, but had furthermore caused a vote to be passed that they should be given also the third part of the spoils of war on the occasion of any joint campaign. Again, in the case of the Hernicans, who, having been subdued in war, ought to have been content not to be punished by the loss of some part of their territory, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries, and had ordered that they should receive the second third of any land and booty that the Romans might acquire from any source. Thus the spoils were to be divided into three portions, the subjects of the Romans and aliens receiving two of them and the natives and dominant race the third part. They pointed out that as a result of this procedure one or the other of two most absurd situations would come about in case they should choose to honour any other nation, in return for many great services, by granting the same privileges with which they had honoured not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had never done them the least service. For, as there would be but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors or, if they granted them the like favour, they would leave nothing for themselves.

LXXVIII. Besides this they went on to relate that Cassius, in proposing to give to the people the common possessions of the state without a decree of the senate or the consent of his colleague, had intended to get the law passed by force—a law that was inexpedient and unjust, not for this reason alone, that, though the senate ought to have considered the measure first,
σαί δέον τὸ συνέδριον καί, εἰ δόξειεν ἐκεῖνῳ, κοινῆν ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆν φιλανθρωπίαν,
2 ένός ἀνδρὸς ἐποίει τὴν χάριν, ἄλλα καί κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ πάντων σχετιῶτατον, ὡτι λόγῳ μὲν
dόσις ἢ τοῖς πολίταις τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, ἐργῳ
δ' ἀφαίρεσις, Ρωμαίων μὲν τῶν κτησαμένων αὐτὴν
μίαν μοίραν ληψομένων, Ἐρνίκων δὲ καί
Λατίνων, οἷς οὖθεν αὐτής1 μετῆν, τὰς δύο· καί ὡς
οὔδε τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐναντιωθείσι καί παραλύειν ἐκ
τοῦ νόμου θάτερον ἄξιοῦσι μέρος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν
ἰσομοιρίαν τῶν ἐπτηλίδων ἐπείσθη, ἄλλα καί δημ-
άρχοις καί συνυπάτῳ καὶ βουλῇ καί πάσι τοῖς
υπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένους τάναν-
3 τία πράττων διετέλεσε. διεξελθόντες δὲ ταῦτα καί
μάρτυρας αὐτῶν ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς πολίτας ποιησά-
μενοι, μετὰ τοῦτο ἡδὴ καί τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῆς
τυραννίδος παρείχοντο πίστεις, ὡς χρήματα τε
συνενέγκαιεν αὐτῷ Λατῖνοι καί "Ἐρνίκες καί ὅπλα
παρασκευάσαντο καί συμπορεύοντο ὡς αὐτὸν οἱ
θρασύτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέων ἀπόρρητά τε
ποιούμενοι βουλευτήρια καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις
ἐτερα ὑπηρετοῦντες· καὶ παρείχοντο τοὺς τούτων
μάρτυρας πολλοὺς μὲν ἄστοις, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν
アルバム ψυχαχίδων πόλεων, οὔτε φαύλους οὔτε
4 ἀφανεῖς. οἷς ἐπίστευσεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ οὔτε λόγοις
ἐτὶ ὑπαχθεῖς οὕς ὁ ἀνήρ ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς
συγκειμένους διέθετο, οὔτε οὐκτῶ ἔνδοιοι τριῶν μὲν

1 οἷς οὖθεν αὐτῆς Kiessling : ἢς οὖθεν αὐτοῖς O, Jacoby.
236
and, in case they approved of it, it ought to have been a joint concession on the part of all the authorities, he was making it the favour of one man, but also for the further reason—the most outrageous of all—that, though it was in name a grant of the public land to the citizens, it was in reality a deprivation, since the Romans, who had acquired it, were to receive but one third, while the Hernicans and the Latins, who had no claim to it at all, would get the other two thirds. They further charged that even when the tribunes opposed him and asked him to strike out the part of the law granting equal shares to the aliens, he had paid no heed to them, but continued to act in opposition to the tribunes, to his colleague, to the senate, and to all who consulted the best interests of the commonwealth. After they had enumerated these charges and named as witnesses to their truth the whole body of the citizens, they then at length proceeded to present the secret evidences of his having aimed at tyranny, showing that the Latins and the Hernicans had contributed money to him and provided themselves with arms, and that the most daring young men from their cities were resorting to him, making secret plans, and serving him in many other ways besides. And to prove the truth of these charges they produced many witnesses, both residents of Rome and others from the cities in alliance with her, persons who were neither mean nor obscure. In these the populace put confidence; and without either being moved now by the speech which the man delivered—a speech which he had prepared with much care,—or yielding to compassion when

1 In place of "secret evidences" we should expect "secret actions," as contrasted with his "overt actions" (chap. 77, 2).
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αὐτῷ παῖδων μεγάλην παρεχόντων εἰς ἔλεον ἐπικουρίαν, πολλῶν δ' ἄλλων συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἐταῖρων συνολοφυρομένων, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργων, δι' οὖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἢθε τιμῆς, φειδὼ λαβών τινα, καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην. οὔτως τε ἀρα ἣν πικρὸς πρὸς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα ὦστε οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τιμήματι τῆς δίκης μετρίᾳ ὄργῃ ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου ἐτίμησεν. εἰσήγει γὰρ αὐτὸν δέος μὴ φυγάς ἐλαθείς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνὴρ στρατηγῆσαι πολέμους τῶν τότε δεινότατος ὁμοία δράση Μαρκίων τὰ τε φίλα διαβάλλων καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ συνυστάσαι καὶ πόλεμον ἀσπιστοῦ ἐπαγάγη τῇ πατρίδι. τούτῳ τὸ τέλος τῆς δίκης λαβούσης ἀγαγόντες οἱ ταμία τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρημνον, ἀπάντων ὄρων τῶν ἐρρίψαν κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. αὐτῇ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀλόντων ἡ κόλασις.

LXXIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανότερος τῶν παραδεδομένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄνδρος λόγων τοῦτος ἐστὶν· δεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἤσον πιθανόν, ὡπειδὴ κάκεινος πεπίστευται ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀξιοχρείοις φέρεται, μὴ παρελθεῖν. λέγεται δὴ τισιν ὡς, ἀδῆλου πᾶσιν οὔσης ἐτι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσκευαζομένης τυραννίδος, πρῶτος ὑποπτεύσας ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης βασάνου τὸ πράγμα ἐξετάσας ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν· ἐπείτα κελεύσας ἐλθεῖν τὸν ὑδὸν μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καταγνώσης δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀγαγὼν 2 αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκτεινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πικρὸν

1 πολλῶν Cmg : πολλῶν ABC.  2 δι' οὖς O : δι' α Kiessling.  3 λαβών ACmg : om. BC.

238
his three young sons contributed much to his appeal for sympathy and many others, both relations and friends, joined in bewailing his fate, or paying any regard to his exploits in war, by which he had attained to the greatest honour, they condemned him. Indeed, they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny that they did not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death. For they were afraid that if a man who was the ablest general of his time should be driven from his country into exile, he might follow the example of Marcius in dividing his own people and uniting their enemies, and bring a relentless war upon his country. This being the outcome of his trial, the quaestors led him to the top of the precipice that overlooks the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens hurled him down from the rock. For this was the traditional punishment at that time among the Romans for those who were condemned to death.

LXXIX. Such is the more probable of the accounts that have been handed down concerning this man; but I must not omit the less probable version, since this also has been believed by many and is recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, then, by some that while the plan of Cassius to make himself tyrant was as yet concealed from all the world, his father was the first to suspect him, and that after making the strictest inquiry into the matter he went to the senate; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both informer and accuser, and when the senate also had condemned him, he took him home and put him to death. The harsh and inexorable

4 Sylburg: διαβαλών O.
5 ἐπαγάγη A: ἐπάγου B.
καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὑγίης εἰς νῦνς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τότε 'Ῥω-
μαίως οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀπωθεῖται τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ πρότερον Βρούτος ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν
ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς νῦν εἴδοικώς κατὰ τὸν τῶν κακοῦργων νόμον ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ πελέκεσθι τοὺς
αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, ὅτι συμπράττειν τοὺς βασι-
λεύουν εἴδοκουν τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα
Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν τὸν
νῦν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς μὲν ἄνδρείας
ἐνεκα τοῖς ἀριστεῖοι στεφάνοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἀπει-
θείαν δ' ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δ' ἐτάχθη φρούρω
ἐμείναι ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ ἱγμονὸν
ἐξήλθεν ἀγωνιοῦμενος, ὡς λυποτάκτην ἀπέκτεινε.
3 καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μείζονι
αὐτῶς, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ἐλάττουσιν, οὔτε φειδῶ τῶν παῖδων
οὔτε ἐλευν ἔσχων. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούτ' οὐκ ἄξιῶ,
ὡσπερ ἐφην, προβεβληθαί τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀπίθανον·
ἐκεῖνα δὲ με ἀνθέλκει τεκμηρίων ὅτα οὔτ' ἐλά-
χιστα οὔτ' ἀπίθανα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν ἀγε
συγκατάθεσιν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου
ἡ τε οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀνεῖται ὁ
τόπος αὐτῆς αὐθριος ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Γῆς, ὅν
ὑστέροις ἡ πόλις κατεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τοῖς
αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὅδον, καὶ τὰ
χρήματα αὐτοῦ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέλαβεν· ἐξ ὅν ἀπαρχᾶς
ἐν ἄλλους τε ἱεροῖς ἀνέθηκε καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι

1 νῦνς Sintenis, following Sylburg: τοῦς O.
2 Sintenis: πρόφασιν O, Jacoby.
3 Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον Jacoby: μάλλιος ἐν τῷ γαλατικῷ πολέμῳ O.
4 οὔτ' ἀπίθανα A: om. R.

1 The noun is uncertain, as the MSS. give a corrupt form.

240
anger of fathers against their offending sons, particularly among the Romans of that time, does not permit us to reject even this account. For earlier Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die in accordance with the law concerning malefactors, and they were beheaded because they were believed to have been helping to bring about the restoration of the kings. And at a later time Manlius, when he was commander in the Gallic war and his son distinguished himself in battle, honoured him, indeed, for his bravery with the crowns given for superior valour, but at the same time accused him of disobedience in not staying in the fort in which he was posted but leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to take part in the struggle; and he put him to death as a deserter. And many other fathers, some for greater and others for lesser faults, have shown neither mercy nor compassion to their sons. For this reason I do not feel, as I said, that this account should be rejected as improbable. But the following considerations, which are arguments of no small weight and are not lacking in probability, draw me in the other direction and lead me to agree with the first tradition. In the first place, after the death of Cassius his house was razed to the ground and to this day its site remains vacant, except for that part of it on which the state afterwards built the temple of Tellus, which stands in the street leading to the Carinae; and again, his goods were confiscated by the state, which dedicated first-offerings from them in various temples, especially the bronze statues to Ceres, which by their

The word used by Dionysius here was clearly not λόγος, his usual word for "account."
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

toûs χαλκέους ἀνδριάντας ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντας 4 ἀφ' ὧν εἰς χρημάτων ἀπαρχαί. εἰ δὲ γε ὁ πατὴρ μηνυτὴς τε καὶ κατήγορος καὶ κολαστὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, οὔτ' ἂν ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη οὔτε ἡ οὐσία ἐδημεύθη. Ἦρωμαιοις γὰρ οὐθέν ἢδιόν ἐστιν κτῆμα ξώντων ἔτι τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν παίδων ὦ τι βούλονται διατιθέναι τοῖς πατράσιν ἀποδέδοται. ὡστε οὐκ ἂν δήποτε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν τοῦ μηνύσαντος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδικήμασιν ἀφ' αφείσθαι καὶ δημεύειν ἡ πόλις ἥξιον. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τῷ προτέρῳ συγκατατίθεμαι τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον· ἔθηκα δ' ἀμφότερος, ἵνα εἴξῃ τοῖς ἀναγνωσμένοις ὑποτέρῳ βούλονται τῶν λόγων προσεχέων.

LXXX. Ἐπιβαλλόμενων δὲ τινῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτείνα τοῦ Κασσίου δεινὸν τὸ ἔθος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορον· καὶ συνελθόντα ἐμψηφίσατο ἀφείσθαι τὰ μειράκια τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἁδείᾳ ζῆν, μῆτε φυγῇ μῆτε ἀτιμία μῆτε ἀλλή συμφορὰς ζημιωθέντα. καὶ εἴς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθος τοῦτο Ἦρωμαιοι ἐπιχώριον γέγονεν ἐως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς διατηρούμενον ἡλικίας, ἀφείσθαι τιμωρίας ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας ὧν ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἀδικήσωσιν, εάν τε τυράννων ὄντες νῦν τύχωσιν, εάν τε πατροκτόνων, ἐάν τε προδοτῶν, ὦ μέγιστον ἐστιν παρ' 2 ἐκείνους ἀδίκημα. οὐ τε καταλύσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο ἐπιβαλλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἠμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ τε καὶ ἐμφυλίου

1 The inscription read, according to Livy (ii. 41, 10): ex CASSIA FAMILIA DATUM.
2 The Social War and the Sullan War. The former was 242
inscriptions ¹ show of whose possessions they are the first-offerings. But if his father had been at once the informer, the accuser and the executioner of his son, neither his house would have been razed nor his estate confiscated. For the Romans have no property of their own while their fathers are still living, but fathers are permitted to dispose both of the goods and the persons of their sons as they wish. Consequently the state surely would never have seen fit, because of the crimes of the son, to take away and confiscate the estate of his father who had given information of his plan to set up a tyranny. For these reasons, therefore, I agree rather with the former of the two accounts; but I have given both, to the end that my readers may adopt whichever one they please.

LXXX. When the attempt was made by some to put to death the sons of Cassius also, the senators looked upon the custom as cruel and harmful; and having assembled, they voted that the penalty should be remitted in the case of the boys and that they should live in complete security, being punished by neither banishment, disfranchisement, nor any other misfortune. And from that time this custom has become established among the Romans and is observed down to our day, that the sons shall be exempt from all punishment for any crimes committed by their fathers, whether they happen to be the sons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors—treason being among the Romans the greatest crime. And those who attempted to abolish this custom in our times, after the end of the Marsic and civil wars,²

usually called *bellum Marsicenum* (or *Italicum*) by Roman writers of the following two centuries.
It was Julius Caesar (Dio Cassius xli. 18; Suetonius, Jul. 41) who restored to the "children of the proscribed" their civil rights of which they had been deprived by Sulla (Plutarch, Sulla 31); in the intervening period of more than three decades neither the aristocratic nor the popular party had offered to relieve them of their disability. Dionysius in describing the fate of those who had kept them from holding office while they themselves were in power seems to have had Pompey particularly in mind, though he probably wished his words to be understood in general of the men prominently identified with the Sullan régime. The description might even apply to the family of Sulla, regarded as a dynasty;
and took away from the sons of fathers who had been proscribed under Sulla the privilege of standing for the magistracies held by their fathers and of being members of the senate as long as their own domination lasted, were regarded as having done a thing deserving both the indignation of men and the vengeance of the gods. Accordingly, in the course of time a justifiable retribution dogged their steps as the avenger of their crimes, by which the perpetrators were reduced from the greatest height of glory they had once enjoyed to the lowest depths, and not even their posterity, except of the female line, now survives; but the custom was restored to its original status by the man who brought about their destruction. Among some of the Greeks, however, this is not the practice, but certain of them think it proper to put to death the sons of tyrants together with their fathers; and others punish them with perpetual banishment, as if Nature would not permit virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers or evil sons of good fathers. But concerning these matters, I leave to the consideration of anyone who is so minded the question whether the practice prevalent among the Greeks is better or the custom of the Romans

Sulla himself did not experience a reversal of fortune, but his son Faustus was defeated and slain by Caesar's forces, and with him ended the male line of Sulla's descendants, even as Pompey's male line terminated with the death of his son Sextus. For some reason or other Dionysius forbore to mention by name any of the prominent Romans after Sulla, with the exception of a reference to the defeat of Crassus (ii. 6, 4) and mention of Augustus and his stepson Claudius Nero (the later emperor Tiberius) merely as a means of dating events (i. 7, 2; 3, 4). Another conspicuous example of this reluctance to name people prominent in his own times is found below in chap. 87, 7 f. See also i. 70, 4 and note.
κρεῖττον, ἀφίημι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν ἔπάνεμι δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξης.

LXXXI. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου θάνατον οἱ μὲν αὐξάνοντες τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν θρασύτεροι τε καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν· οἱ δ' ἐν ἀφανεὶ τῆς δόξης1 φερόμενοι καὶ βίου2 εἰς ταπεινὰ συνεστάλησαν, καὶ ὃς ἀριστον ἀπολωλε-κότες φύλακα τῆς δημοτικῆς μερίδος πολλὴν ἀνοιαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ κατηγόροις.3 τούτοι δ' αἵτων ἢν ὅτι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας οὐκ ἔπραττον οἱ ὑπατοί, δέον αὐτοὺς ἀνδρας τε ἀποδείξαι δέκα τοὺς ὀριοῦντας τὴν γην καὶ γνώμην εἰσηγήσασθαι πόσην τε αὐτῆς καὶ τίς 2 δεῖσαι νεμηθήναι. συνήσεσαν τε πολλοὶ κατὰ συν-στροφὰς περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐκάστοτε διαλεγόμενοι, καὶ ἐν αἵτων τοὺς προτέρους εἶχον δημάρχους ὡς προδεδωκότας τὸ κοινὸν ἐκκλησία τε συνεχεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δημάρχων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀπαύσεις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. ταῦτα συνιδόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ γνώμην ἐπούησαντο πολέμων προφάσει τὸ παρακινῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος καὶ ταραττόμενον καταστείλαν4. ἐτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ληστηρίους τε ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχόρων πόλεων καὶ καταδρομαίς τισιν ἡ 3 γῆ βλαπτομένη. τιμωρίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων ἐνεκα προῦθεσαν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου σημεία καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς πόλεως κατέγραφον· οὐ προσιόντων δὲ τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀδύνατο οὕτως τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκην τοὺς ἀπειθοῦσι προσφέρειν (προειστήκεσαν γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους οἱ δήμαρχοι καὶ

1 τῆς δόξης Kiessling : τε δόξη ΛΒ, τῇ δόξη Α.
2 βίου C : βίω R.
3 καταστείλα ACmg : om. R.

246
is superior; and I now return to the events that followed.

LXXXI. After the death of Cassius¹ those who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy had grown more daring and more contemptuous of the plebeians, while those of obscure reputation and fortune were humbled and abased, and feeling that they had lost the best guardian of the plebeian order, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The reason for this was that the consuls were not carrying out the decree of the senate regarding the allotting of the land, though it was their duty to appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the land and to present a proposal as to how much of it ought to be distributed, and to whom. Many met in groups, always discussing this duplicity and accusing the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth; and there were continual meetings of the assembly called by the tribunes then in office, and demands for the fulfilment of the promise. The consuls, perceiving this, determined to repress the turbulent and disorderly element in the city, taking the wars as a pretext. For it chanced that their territory was at that very time harassed by bands of robbers and forays from the neighbouring cities. To punish these aggressors, then, they brought out the war standards and began to enrol the forces of the commonwealth. And when the poor did not come forward to enlist, the consuls, being unable to make use of the compulsion of the laws against the disobedient—for the tribunes defended the plebeians

¹ For chaps. 81-82, 4 cf. Livy ii. 42, 1.
κωλύσειν ἐμελλον, εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσειν ἢ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐκλειπόντων τὴν στρατεύαν ἀγεν ἢ τὰ χρήματα φέρειν, ἀπειλαῖς χρήσαμενοι πολλαίς ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστρέφοντες τοῖς ἀνασείοιο τὸ πλῆθος, λεληθοῦσιν ὑποψίαι κατέλυσαν ὡς δικτάτορα ἀποδείξοντες, ὡς ἐμελλε καταλύσας τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρχὰς τὴν τυραννικὴν καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον μόνος ἔξειν ἐξουσίαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτην ἐλαβον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν οἱ δημοτικοὶ, δεῖσαντες μὴ τὸν Ἀππιον ἀποδείξοι πικρῶν ὄντα καὶ χαλεπῶν, πάντα πρὸ τοῦτο πάσχειν ὑπέμενον.

LXXXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεγράφη τὰ στρατεύματα, παραλαβόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔξηγαγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Κορνήλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανών χώραν ἐμβιαλών τὴν ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαν λείαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπήλασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσβευσαμένων τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τοὺς τε αἰχμάλωτους αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων καὶ ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου συνέθετο ἐνιαυσίον. Φάβιος δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν δύναμιν ἔχων εἰς τὴν Αἰκανών γῆν ἐνέβαλεν, ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν 2 Οὐολοῦσκων. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὐ πολὺν ἠνέσχοντο οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι διαρπαζόμενων αὐτοῖς καὶ κειρομένων τῶν ἄγρων· ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς οὐ πολλῇ δυνάμει παρόντων ἐξεβοήθουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας τὰ ὅπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἀθρόοι, ταχύτερα μάλλον ἡ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔθεσασθαν ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφανέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, μεγάλην ἄν αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο τροπὴν· νῦν δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἐφοδιὸν αὐτῶν ὃ ὑπατος διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπὶ τὰς κατασκοπαῖς, ἀνακλῆσει ταχεία τοὺς ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους

248
and were prepared to prevent any attempt to seize either the persons or the goods of those who failed to serve—made many threats that they would not yield to those who were stirring up the multitude, leaving with them a lurking suspicion that they would appoint a dictator, who would set aside the other magistracies and alone by himself possess a tyrannical and irresponsible power. As soon as the plebeians entertained this suspicion, fearing that Appius, a harsh and stern man, would be the one appointed, they were ready to submit to anything rather than that.

LXXXII. When the armies had been enrolled, the consuls took command and led them out against their foes. Cornelius invaded the territory of the Veientes and drove off all the booty that was found there, and later, when the Veientes sent ambassadors, he released their prisoners for a ransom and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequians, and from there into that of the Volscians. For a short time the Volscians permitted their lands to be plundered and laid waste; then, conceiving contempt for the Romans, as they were not present in any great force, they snatched up their arms and set out from the territory of the Antiates in a body to go to the rescue of their lands, having formed their plans with greater precipitancy than regard for their own safety. Now if they had surprised the Romans by appearing unexpectedly to them while they were dispersed, they might have inflicted a severe defeat upon them; but as it was, the consul, being informed of their approach by those he had sent out to reconnoitre, by a prompt recall drew in his men, then dis-
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΝ

ἀναλαβὼν, τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε τὴν εἰς πόλεμον
3 ἀρμόττουσαν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐνολούσκοις σὺν καταφρονή-
σει καὶ θάρσει χωροῦσιν, ὡς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη
συνεστῶσα ἐν κόσμῳ πάσα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύνα-
μις, δέος ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον ὅψιν, καὶ
τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας οὐδεμία φροντίς, ἡς
δ' ἰδίας ἐκάστωσι σωτηρίας πρόνοια. ὑποστρέψαντες
dὴ ὡς εἶχον ἐκαστοῦ τάξους ἔφευγον ἄλλοι κατ'
ἀλλας ὁδοὺς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεσώζθησαν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν, ολίγον δὲ τῷ στίφος, δ' ἐμισταὶ ἢν
συντεταγμένον, εἰς ὅρους τινὰ κορυφὴν ἀναδραμοῦ
καὶ θέμενον ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὀπλα τὴν ἐπιουσίαν νῦκτα
dιέμενε· ταῖς δὲ ἔξης ἡμέραις φουράν περιστή-
σαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τῷ λόφῳ καὶ πάσας διακλεί-
σαντος ὀπλοὺς τὰς ἐξόδους, λυμῷ βιασθὲν ὑποχείριον
4 γίνεται καὶ παραδίδωσι τὰ ὀπλα. δ' ὑπατος
τὴν τε λείαν ὅση ἐπέτυχε καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς
αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ταμίαις, εἰς
τὴν πόλιν ἀπήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον. καὶ μετ' οὔ
πολὺν χρόνον ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς πολε-
μίας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οὐκοῦ τελευτῶντος ἡδὴ τοῦ ἔτους.
'Επιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιεσίων ἔδοξε τοῖς
πατρικίως ἡρεθισμένον ὅρῳ τὸν δήμον καὶ μετα-
μελόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Κασσίῳ καταδίκη, διὰ φυλακῆς
αὐτῶν ἔχειν, μὴ τί παρακινήσει πάλιν εἰς δεκασμῶν
ἐλπίδα καὶ κλήρων διανομῆς ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
δημαγωγῆσαι δυνατῷ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας λαβόντος
ἀξίωμα. ἐφαίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς ῥάστα κωλυθήσεσθαι

1 οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ ἐτ' ἢν φροντίς Reiske.
2 τῷ B : om. R.
3 Reiske : διανομήν O.
persed in pillaging, and put them back into the proper order for battle. As for the Volscians, who were advancing contemptuously and confidently, when the entire army of the enemy unexpectedly appeared, drawn up in orderly array, they were struck with fear at the unlooked-for sight, and no longer was there any thought for their common safety, but every man consulted his own. Turning about, therefore, they fled, each with all the speed he could, some one way and some another, and the greater part got back safely to their city. A small body of them, however, which had been best kept in formation, ran up to the top of a hill, and standing to their arms, remained there during the following night; but when in the course of the succeeding days the consul placed a guard round the hill and closed all the exits with armed troops, they were compelled by hunger to surrender and to deliver up their arms. The consul, after ordering the quaestors to sell the booty he had found, together with the spoils and the prisoners, brought the money back to the city. And not long afterwards, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he returned home with them, as the year was now drawing to its close.

When the election of magistrates was at hand,¹ the patricians, perceiving that the people were exasperated and repented of having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest they should create some fresh disturbance when encouraged to hope for bribes and a distribution of allotments by some man skilful in the arts of the demagogue who should have gained the prestige of the consulship. And it seemed to them that the people would be most

¹ For chaps. 82, 4–86, 9 cf. Livy ii. 42, 2–5.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tούτων τινὸς ὅρεγόμενος, εἰ γένοιτο ὑπατος ἀνὴρ
5 ἡκιστα δημοτικὸς. βουλευσάμενοι δὴ τοῦτο κελεῦ-
ουσι μετείναι τὴν υπατείαν τὸν ἔτερον τῶν κατ-
γορησάντων τοῦ Κασσίου, Καίσωνα Φάβιον
ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τοῦ τότε υπατεύνωτος Κοῦντο, καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικῶν Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄνδρα
ἀριστοκρατικὸν. τούτων δὲ μετιόντων τὴν ἄρχην
κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοὶ, κατα-
λιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὑφόπτο εκ τοῦ πεδίου.
6 τὸ γὰρ τῆς λοχίτειδος ἐκκλησίας κύρος ἐν ταῖς
ψηφοφορίαις περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἦν καὶ τὰ
πρῶτα τιμήματα ἔχοντας, καὶ σπάνιον τι ἦν ὃ
ἐπεκύρων οἱ διὰ μέσου. ὃ δὲ τελευταῖος λόχος, ἐν
ὅ το πλεῖστόν τε καὶ ἀπορώτατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ
μέρος ἐψηφοφόρει, μιᾶς, ὃς καὶ πρότερον εὐρηταὶ
μοί, τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου κύριος ἦν.

LXXXIII. Παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ τὴν υπατείαν
κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν τε καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς 'Ρώμης Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος
Μαμέρκου νῖος καὶ Καίσων Φάβιος Καίσωνος νῖος,
ἀρχοντος 'Αθήνης Νικοδήμου. οἷς κατ' εὐχὴν
συνέβη μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιταραχθῆναι
dιχοστασίας πολέμων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων ἀλλο-
2 εθνῶν. ἐν ἀπασὶ μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι καὶ τόπωσ 'Ελλη-
νῶν τε καὶ βαρβάρων φιλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἐξωθεν
κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαι ἐμφυλίους τε καὶ ἐνδήμους ἐγεί-
ρεσι πολέμους, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχοιν ὅσοι
πολεμισθήν καὶ κακόπαθον αἱροῦνται βίον ἔλευ-
θερίας τε καὶ ἱγγεμονίας πόθω. χαλεπαί γὰρ αἱ
μαθοῦσα τοῦ πλείωνος ἐφίεσθαι φύσεις ἐξειργο-

1 The Campus Martius.
easily prevented from realizing any of these desires if a man who was least democratic in his sympathies should become consul. Having come to this decision, they ordered Caeso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was consul at the time, and, from among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratic party, to stand for the consulship. When these offered themselves for the office, the plebeians, though they could do nothing to prevent it, did leave the comitia and withdraw from the Field.¹ For in the centurial assembly the balance of power in voting lay with the most important men and those who had the highest property ratings, and it was seldom that those of middling fortunes determined a matter; the last century, in which the most numerous and poorest part of the plebeians voted, had but one vote, as I stated before,² which was always the last to be called for.

LXXXIII. Accordingly, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, succeeded to the consulship in the two hundred and seventieth year ³ after the settlement of Rome, when Nicodemus was archon at Athens. It chanced fortunately that their consulship was not disturbed at all by civil strife, since the state was beset by foreign wars. Now in all nations and places, both Greek and barbarian, respite from evils from abroad are wont to provoke civil and domestic wars; and this happens especially among those peoples who choose a life of warfare and its hardships from a passion for liberty and dominion. For natures which have learned to covet more than they have find it difficult, when

¹ See iv. 20, 5; vii. 59, 8.
² 482 b.c.
μεναι τῶν συνήθων ἐργῶν καρτερεῖν· καὶ διὰ τούτο
οἱ φρονεμώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων άε ὑπαῖ τῶν
ἀλλοεθνῶν ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἔχθρας, κρείττονας ἡγού-
μενοί τῶν ἐντοπίων πολέμων τοὺς ἀλλοδαποὺς.
3 τότε δ' οὔν, ὃσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ δαίμονα τοῖς ὑπά-
τοις συνέπεσον αὐτὸν ὑπηκόων ἐπαναστάσεις.
Οὐσολούσκοι γάρ, εἴτε τῇ πολιτικῇ 'Ῥωμαίων κινή-
σει πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἐκπεπολεμωμένου1 τοῦ δημο-
τικοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει, εἴτε τῆς προτέρας
ήττης ἀμαχητή γενομένης αἰσχύνη παροξυνθέντες,
εἴτ' ἐπὶ 2 ταῖς έαυτῶν δυνάμεις πολλαῖς οὐσαίς
μέγα φρονήσαντες, εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα πάντα, πολεμεῖν
4 'Ῥωμαίοις διέγνωσαν, καὶ συναγαγόντες εξ ἅπασης
πόλεως τὴν νεότητα, μέρει μὲν τῶν τῆς δυνάμεως
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἰερίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων πόλεις ἐστράτευ-
σαν, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, ἡ πλείστη τη βὴν καὶ κρατίστη,
τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἥξοντας δέχεσθαι ἤμελ-
λον. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐδοξὲ διχῇ νέμειν
τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρᾳ τὴν Ἰερίκων τε
καὶ Λατίνων διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, τῇ δ' ἐτέρᾳ τὴν
Οὐσολούσκων λεγλάτειν.

LXXXIV. Διακληρωσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων
τὰς δυνάμεις, ὡς ἔστων αὐτοῖς ἐδος, τὸ μὲν ἐπι-
kourein μέλλον τοῖς συμμάχοις στράτευμα Καίσων
Φάβιος παρέλαβε, θάτερον δὲ Λεύκιος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀντιατῶν ἤγε πόλιν. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν
ὀρίων καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, τότε
μὲν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ λόφοι, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἥμερας ἐξιόντων εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῶν πολεμίων
θαμνᾶ καὶ προκαλομένων εἰς μάχην, ἦνικα τὸν

1 Kiessling: ἐκπολεμομένου ΛΒΕ.
2 εἰτ' ἐπὶ added by Sylburg.

254
restrained from their usual employments, to remain patient, and for this reason the wisest leaders are always stirring up the embers of some foreign quarrels in the belief that wars waged abroad are better than those fought at home. Be that as it may, at the time in question, as I said, the uprisings of the subject nations occurred very fortunately for the consuls. For the Volscians, either relying on the domestic disquiet of the Romans, in the belief that the plebeians had been brought to a state of war with the authorities, or stung by the shame of their former defeat received without striking a blow, or priding themselves on their own forces, which were very numerous, or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans. And assembling the youth from every city, they marched with one part of their army against the cities of the Hernicans and Latins, while with the other, which was very numerous and powerful, they proposed to await the forces which should come against their own cities. The Romans, being informed of this, determined to divide their army into two bodies, with one of which they would keep guard over the territory of the Hernicans and Latins and with the other lay waste that of the Volscians.

LXXXIV. The consuls having drawn lots for the armies according to their custom, the army that was to aid their allies fell to Caeso Fabius, while Lucius at the head of the other marched upon Antium. When he drew near the border and caught sight of the enemy's army, he encamped for the time opposite to them upon a hill. In the days that followed the enemy frequently came out into the plain, challenging the consul to fight; and when he
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οὐκειον ἔχειν καυρὸν ύπελάμβανεν, ἔξηγε τὰς δυνάμεις· καὶ πρὶν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπικελεύσει χρησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνεις τὸ πολεμικὸν· καὶ οἱ στρατιώται τὸ σύνθες ἀλαλάξαντες ἀθρόοι κατὰ σπείρας τε καὶ κατὰ 2 λόχους συνέβαλλον. ὡς δὲ τὰς λόγχας καὶ τὰ σαυνία καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ἐκηβόλα ἐξανάλωσαν, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη συρράττουσιν ἀλλήλους ἵση τόλμη τε καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐκάτεροι χρώμενοι· ἤν τε, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, παραπλήσιος αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἀγώνος τρόπος, καὶ οὔτε η ζοφία καὶ η ἐμπειρία Ῥωμαιῶν περὶ τὰς máχας, ἢ χρώμενοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκράτουν, οὔτε τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἐν τοῖς πόνοις διὰ πολλῶν ἕσκημένου ἀγώνων ἐπιεκράτει· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, εἴς οὖν Μάρκιον ἡγεμόνα Ῥωμαιῶν οὐ τὸν ἀφενεστατον στρατηγίαν ἔσχον· ἀλλ' ἀντείχον ἐκάτεροι, τῆς χωρᾶς ἐν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστησαν οὕχ ύφιέμενοι. 3 ἕπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ύπεχώρουν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει δεχόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαιῶν. στρατήγημα δὲ τοῦτ ἦν, ὅτι διασπάσωσί τε αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις καὶ εἴς ὑπερδεξίον γένωται χωρίου.

LXXXV. Οἱ δ' ὑπολαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν φυγῆς ἡκολουθοῦν βάδην μὲν ἀπιοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δρόμω χωροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἤθεάσαντο, ταχείᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ διώξει καὶ ἀσυντάκτω χρώμενοι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τελευταίοι τε καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες λόχου νεκροὺς τε ἐσκύλευν,

1 γένωται Ω : ἐπιγένωται or ἀγωνίσωνται Sylburg.

1 In chap. 67, 3.
2 The final verb of this sentence is uncertain; the syntax

256
thought he had the suitable opportunity, he led out his army. Before they engaged, he exhorted and encouraged his troops at length, and then ordered the trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry, attacked in close array both by cohorts and by centuries. After they had used up all their spears and javelins with the rest of their missile weapons, they drew their swords and rushed upon each other, both sides showing equal intrepidity and eagerness for the struggle. Their manner of fighting, as I said before, was similar, and neither the skill and experience of the Romans in engagements, because of which they were generally victorious, nor their steadfastness and endurance of toil, acquired in many battles, now gave them any advantage, since the same qualities were possessed by the enemy also from the time that they had been commanded by Marcius, not the least distinguished general among the Romans; but both sides stood firm, without quitting the ground on which they had first taken their stand. Afterwards the Volscians began to retire, a little at a time, but in order and keeping their ranks, while receiving the Romans' onset. But this was a ruse designed to draw the enemy's ranks apart and to secure a position above them.

LXXXV. The Romans, supposing that they were beginning flight, kept pace with them as they slowly withdrew, they too maintaining good order as they followed, but when they saw them running toward their camp, they also pursued swiftly and in disorder; and the centuries which were last and guarded the rear fell to stripping the dead, as if they had already would be improved by either of Sylburg's conjectures, "attack" or "fight" "from a higher position."

VOL. V  K  257
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ός κεκρατηκότες ἥδη τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐφ᾿ ἀρπαγὴν τῆς χώρας ἐτράποντο. μαθόντες δ᾿ οἱ Οὐσόλοουσκοί ταῦτα οἳ τε δόξαν παρασχόντες φυγῆς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιθησάσαν, ὅποιοι στραφέντες ἐστησαν, καὶ οἱ καταλειψθέντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες ἐξέδραμον ἀθρόοι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη· γίνεται τε αὐτῶν παλιντροπὸς ἡ μάχη· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διώκοντες ἐφευγοῦν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἔδιωκον. ἐνθα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίῶν θνήσκουσιν οἴα εἰκὸς ὁθούμενοι κατὰ πρανοῦς χωρίου καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι κυκλω—

3 θέντες. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐπασχόν οὓς πρὸς 1 σκῦλα τε καὶ ἀρπαγὰς τραπόμενου τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει ὑποχωρεῖν 2 ἀφηρέθησαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ 3 οὕτωι καταλειψθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἵ δ᾿ αἰχμάλωτοι ἔληφθησαν. οὐσι δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαραχθέντων διεσώθησαν, ὡς τῆς ὠρας τῶν ἵππων αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ μὴ πασοῦδὶ διαφθαρῆσαι χειμῶν πολὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρραγεῖς καὶ σκότος, οἶνον ἐν ταῖς βαθείαις ὡμίχλαι γίνεται, δ᾿ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅκνον τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως παρέσχεν οὐ δυναμένοις τὰ πόρρω καθορᾶν. τῇ δ᾿ ἐπιεύθυνυ νυκτὶ ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ ὕπατος ἀπῆγες συγῆ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ, λαθεῖν τους πολεμίους προνοούμενος· καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ πόλει λεγομένη Λογγόλα περὶ δείλην ὑφίαν, γῆλοφον ἵκανον ἐρύκεω τους ἐπιόντας ἐκλεξάμενος. ἐνθα ὑπομένοις τοὺς τε ὑπὸ

1 Sylburg: περὶ Ο.
2 ὑποχωρεῖν Λ.Ε.: ἀποχωρεῖν Β.
3 καὶ added by Sylburg.

258
BOOK VIII. 85, 1-4

conquered the enemy, and turned to plundering the country. When the Volscians perceived this, not only did those who had feigned flight face about and stand their ground as soon as they drew near the ramparts of their camp, but those also who had been left behind in the camp opened the gates and ran out in great numbers at several points. And now the fortune of the battle was reversed; for the pursuers fled and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being driven down a declivity as they were and surrounded a few by many. And a like fate was suffered by those who had turned to despoiling the dead and to plundering and now found themselves deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly and regular retreat; for these too were overtaken by the enemy, and some of them were killed and others taken prisoner. As many as came through safely, both of these and of the others, who had been driven from the hill, returned to their camp when the horse came to their relief late in the day. It seemed, moreover, that their escape from utter destruction had been due in part to a violent rainstorm that burst from the sky and to a darkness like that occurring in thick mists, which made the enemy reluctant to pursue them any farther, since they were unable to see things at a distance. The following night the consul broke camp and led his army away in silence and in good order, taking care to escape the notice of the enemy; and late in the afternoon he encamped near a town called Longula, having chosen a hill strong enough to keep off any who might attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in restoring with
Ionic, of Halicarnassus

τραυμάτων κάμνοντας ἀνεκτάτο θεραπείας, καὶ τοὺς ἀδημονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους αἰσχύνη παραμυθούμενος ἀνελάμβανε.

LXXXVI. 'Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν. Ὡσολούσκοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἤμερα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἔγνωσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκλελοιπότας τὸν χάρακα, προσελθόντες1 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. σκυλεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθνήτας οὐς σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπὶς ἢν ἀνελόμενοι ταφᾶς τε ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτω πόλιν Ἀντίοχον ἀνέζευξαν. Ἐνθα παιανίζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ θύσαντες ἐν ἀπασω ἱεροῖς εἰς εὐπαθείας καὶ ἰδονάς ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐτράποντο.

2 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε νίκης διέμεναν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεξεργάσαντο, καλὸν ἂν αὐτοῖς εἰλήφει τέλος ὁ ἀγών. 'Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν ἐτι προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἀγαπητὸς δ' ἂν ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας, κρείττονα τοῦ προδήλου θανάτου τὴν ἀδοξών ἡγησάμενοι φυγῆν. νῦν δὲ τοῦ πλείωνος ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης 3 δόξαν ἀπέβαλον. ἀκούόντες γὰρ παρὰ τε κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀποδιδρασκόντων,3 ὃτι κομιδὴ τ' εἰσὶν οἱ σωθέντες 'Ῥωμαίων ὅλης καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τραυματίαι, πολλῆς αὐτῶν ἐπούχαντο καταφρόνησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀνοπλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγώνος καὶ ἀμα ἐφ' ἀρπαγήν τε καὶ ὁφέλειαν.

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσβάλοντες τῷ λόφῳ τὸν τε χάρακα

1 προσελθόντες Ba : προσελθόντες R.
2 ἀγαπητὸς δ' ἂν Kiessling : ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν εἰ (εἰ om. Ba)
O, ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν ἢν εἰ Sylburg, Jacoby.
260
medical attention those who suffered from wounds and in raising the spirits of those who were disheartened at the unexpected disgrace of defeat by speaking words of encouragement to them.

LXXXVI. While the Romans were thus occupied, the Volscians, as soon as it was day and they learned that the enemy had left their entrenchments, came up and made camp. Then, having stripped the dead, taken up those whom, though half dead, there was hope of saving, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the nearest city; and there, singing songs of triumph for their victory and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they devoted themselves during the following days to merry-making and pleasures. Now if they had rested content with their present victory and had attempted nothing further, their struggle would have had a glorious end. For the Romans would not have dared to come out again from their camp to give battle, but would have been glad to withdraw from the enemy’s country, considering inglorious flight better than certain death. But as it was, the Volscians, aiming at still more, threw away the glory of their former victory. For hearing both from scouts and from those who escaped from the enemy’s camp that the Romans who had saved themselves were very few, and the greater part of these wounded, they conceived great contempt for them, and immediately seizing their arms, ran to attack them. Many unarmed people also followed them out of the city to witness the struggle and at the same time to secure plunder and booty. But when, after attacking the hill and surrounding the

3 ἀποδεδρακόντων R: ἀποδεδρακόντων C, ἀποδεδρακότων Co-bet.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

περιέστησαν καὶ τὰ περισταυρώματα διασπάν ἐπε- 
εχείρουν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιπείς πεζοὶ 
μαχόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξεδραμοῦν ἐπὶ 
αὐτούς, ἔπειτα τούτων κατόπιν οἱ καλούμενοι τριά-
ριοι πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· οὕτω δ’ εἰσίν οἱ 
πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατευμένων, οἰς τὰ στρατό-
πεδα ἐπιτρέπουσι φυλάττειν ὅταν ἔξισωσι εἰς τὴν 
μάχην, καὶ ἐφ’ οὐς τελευταίους, ὅταν ἀθρόα γένηται 
tῶν ἐν ἀκμῆ φθορά, σπανίζοντες ἑτέρας ἐπικουρίας 
καταφεύγουσι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. οἱ δὲ Οὐκολούσκοι 
κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καὶ 
μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενοι. ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, 
ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν μειονεκτοῦντες 
ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τέλος ὅλγα μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους 
καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ἐργασάμενοι, πλείων δ’ αὐτοῖ 
παθόντες κακὰ ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐνθα 
καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταῖς ἐξής ἡμέραις ἐξ-
έταττον τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προὐκαλοῦντο τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίους εἰς μάχην, οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν.

6 Ὅς δὲ τούτ’ εἶδον, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ 
Οὐκολούσκοι συμεκάλουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δυνάμεις 
καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ως ἐξελοῦντες πολυχειρία τοῦ 
φρούριου· ῥαδίως τε ἄν ἐξειργάσαντο μέγα ἔργον 
ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως η βία κρατή-
σαντες ἡ καὶ ὁμολογίαις (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 
ἐτι εὐπόρει τὸ χωρίον), ἔφθη δὲ πρότερον ἐπικουρία 
Ῥωμαίοις ἐλθοῦσα, ὧν ἦς ἐκκωλυθήσαν οἱ Οὐκολοῦ-
7 σκοί τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. δ’ 
γὰρ ἔτεροι τῶν ὑπάτων Καίσων Φάβιος μαθῶν ἐν 
αἰς ἣν τύχαις ἡ παραταξαμένη Οὐκολούσκοι δύναμις

1 Kiessling: πλέω Ο.
2 καὶ ὁμολογίαις ΑΒΚ: καθ’ ὁμολογίαις D (?).

262
camp, they endeavoured to pull down the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out against them, and, behind the horse, those they call the *triarii*, with their ranks closed. These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guarding of the camp when they go out to give battle, and they fall back of necessity upon these as their last hope when there has been a general slaughter of the younger men and they lack other reinforcements. The Volscians at first sustained their onset and continued to fight stubbornly for a long time; then, being at a disadvantage because of the nature of the ground, they began to give way and at last, after inflicting slight and negligible injuries upon the enemy, while suffering more themselves, they retired to the plain. And encamping there, during the following days they repeatedly drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight; but these did not come out against them.

When the Volscians saw this, they held them in contempt, and summoning forces from their cities, made preparations to capture the stronghold by their very numbers. And they might easily have performed a great exploit by taking both the consul and the Roman army either by force or even by capitulation, since the place was no longer well supplied with provisions either; but reinforcements came in time to the Romans, thus preventing the Volscians from bringing the war to the most glorious conclusion. It seems that the other consul, Caeso Fabius, learning to what straits the army had been reduced which had been arrayed against the Volscians, proposed to
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐβούλετο μὲν ὡς εἴχε τάχους ἀπασαν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν εὐθὺς ἐπιέναι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ φρούριον. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐγινετο αὐτῷ θυμομένῳ τε καὶ οἶωνοις χρωμένῳ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ, ἀλλ' ἤναντιοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ τὸ δαμόνιον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν, τὰς δὲ κρατίστας ἐπιλεξάμενοι σπείρας ἀπέστειλεν τῇ συνάρχοντι. αἱ δὲ διὰ τέ ὅρῶν ἀφανῶς καὶ νῦκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ ποιησάμεναι τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς πολεμίους λαθοῦσαι. δὲ μὲν οὖν Αἰμώλιος θρασύτερος ἐγεγόνει τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τῷ πελάθει τῷ σφετέρῳ εἰκῇ πίσυνοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπεξείναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην ἐπαρθέντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι παρέντες αὐτοὺς ἀναβήναι καθ' ἱσυχίαν καὶ πολλὰ πονεῖν περὶ τῶν σταυρώματι ἐάσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη τῆς μάχης διασπάσαντες κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸν χάρακα ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας καταστάντες τοὺς ξίφεσιν ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων λίθοις τε καὶ σαμνίοις καὶ λόγχαις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐβαλλον, βέλος τε οὐδὲν ἀσκοπον ἢν πεπιλημένον γε ἐν βραχεί χωρίῳ πολλῶν. ἀπαράττονται δὴ τοῦ λόφου πολλοὺς σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες οἱ Ὀὐλοῦσκοι καὶ εἰς φυγήν ὀρμήσαντες μόγις εἰς τὸν ἵδιον ἀποσώζονται χάρακα. Ῥωμαίοι δ' ὡς ἐν ἄσφαλείᾳ τέλος ὀντες ἡδη κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν ἐκ ὶν ἐπιστισμοῦ καὶ τὰλλα ὄσων σπάνις ἤν ἐν τῷ χάρακι ἐλάμβανον.

LXXXVII. Ἔπειδη δὲ καθῆκεν δ τῶν ἀρχ-

1 ὅρων ἀφανῶς Sintenis, ὅρων ἀφανέος Reudler: ὅδων ἀφανῶν Ο.
2 Sylburg: ἐκεῖ Ο.

264
march as quickly as possible with all his forces and fall at once upon those who were besieging the stronghold. Since, however, the victims and omens were not favourable when he offered sacrifice and consulted the auspices, but the gods opposed his setting out, he himself remained behind, but chose out and sent his best cohorts to his colleague. These, making their way covertly through the mountains and generally by night, entered the camp without being perceived by the enemy. Aemilius, therefore, had become emboldened by the arrival of these reinforcements, while the enemy, rashly trusting to their numbers and elated because the Romans did not come out to fight, proceeded to march up the hill in close order. The Romans permitted them to come up at their leisure and to spend their strength on the palisade; but when the signals for battle were raised, they pulled down the ramparts in many places and fell upon the enemy. Some of them, coming to close quarters, fought with their swords, while others from the ramparts hurled at their assailants stones, javelins and spears; and no missile failed of a mark where many combatants were crowded together in a limited space. Thus the Volscians were hurled back from the hill after losing many of their number, and turning to flight, barely got safely back to their own camp. The Romans, feeling themselves secure at last, now made descents into the enemy’s fields, from which they took provisions and everything else of which there was a dearth in the camp.

LXXXVII. When the time for the election of

3 Sylburg: αὐτῶις O. 4 τε O: δ’ Reiske, Jacoby.
5 γε Reiske: τε O.
6 τέλος Kiessling: τέως O, Jacoby.
αἱρεσίων καυρός, ὁ μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου διὸ αἰσχύνης ἔχων ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐσχήμοσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέλθειν τὸ κράτιστον ἀπολωλέκας τῆς στρατιάς. ὁ δὲ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑφ’ ἔαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καταλυόντες εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ὄχθου καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρχαις ἔσοδον ὑπατείαν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οὐ προὔθηκε τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ μετήσαν τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐκόντες, ὕπερ δὲ τῶν μετίοντων τοὺς τε λόχους ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰς ἕσης ἀνέδωκεν. οὕτω δ’ ἦσαν οὐς ἡ βουλὴ προεῖλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλεις τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ σφόδρα τῷ ἰδίῳ κεχαρισμένου. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐναυτὸν ὑπατοῦ ὁ τε νεῶτερος ἄδελφος τοῦ προβέντος τὰς ἄρχαις ὑπάτου, Μάρκος Φάβιος Καίσωνος νῖός, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Μάρκου νῖός, ὁ τὸν τρίς ὑπατεύσαντα Κάσσιον κρίνας ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ ἀποκτείνας. 3 οὕτω τὴν ἁρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας πολέμω στρατωτῶν ἡς ἱεύον ἐτέρους καταγράφειν, ἢν τὸ ἐλλιπές ἀναπληρωθῇ τῶν λόχων. καὶ δόγμα ποιησάμενοι βουλῆς προὔγραψαν ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἑξοντας ἡλικίαις στρατεύσιμον ἐδεί. μετὰ τοῦτο θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ λόχοι τῶν πενετάτων στασιώδεις οὐκ ἄξιούντων οὔτε βουλῆς δόγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν οὔτε ὑπάτων ἐξουσίᾳ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅτι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ὑποσχέσεις

1 Sylburg: οὔκ Ο.
2 δόγμα ποιησαμένης τῆς βουλῆς Kiessling.

266
magistrates arrived,¹ Aemilius remained in camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army. But his colleague, leaving his subordinate officers in camp, went to Rome; and assembling the people for the election, he declined to propose for the voting those among the ex-consuls on whom the populace wished the consulship to be bestowed, since even these men were not voluntary candidates, but he called the centuries and took their votes in favour of such as sought the office. These were men the senate had selected and ordered to canvass for the office, men not very acceptable to the populace. Those elected consuls for the ensuing year were Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul who conducted the election, and Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the man who had accused Cassius, who had been thrice consul, of aiming at tyranny and caused him to be put to death.

These men, having taken office, asked for the levying of fresh troops to replace those who had perished in the war against the Antiates, in order that the gaps in the various centuries might be filled; and having obtained a decree of the senate, they appointed a day on which all who were of military age must appear. Thereupon there was a great tumult throughout the city and seditious speeches were made by the poorest citizens, who refused either to comply with the decrees of the senate or to obey the authority of the consuls, since they had violated the promises made

¹ For chaps. 87-89, 3 cf. Livy ii. 42, 6-9.

³ εν ή . . . ἐδει B : ἐν ή τοὺς ἐχοντας ἥλικιαν στρατεύσιμον ἤκειν ἐδει R. ⁴ ὀλην B : om. R.
ДИОНИСИУС ПО ГАЛИКАРНАССУС

€βεψαντο προς αυτούς· συνιόντες τε κατά πλήθος ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὁνείδιζον αυτοῖς προδοσίαν καὶ κατεβών ἐπικαλούμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οὐκ ἔδοκει καιρὸς ἀρμόττων εἶναι πολέμου συνεστώτως ὑπερορίου τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας ἀναξιωπρεῖν, εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος Μαίνιος οὐκ ἔφη προδώσειν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς, οὐδ᾽ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις στρατιάν καταγράφειν, ἦν μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὁριστάς τῆς δημοσίας γῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ψήφισμα γράψαντες εἰς τὸν δήμον εξενέγκωσιν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιομένων τοῦ μηθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν ὃν ἥξιον τὸν ἐν χεραῖν ὄντα πόλεμον, οὐκ ἔφη προσέξειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κωλύσειν ἀπάση δυνάμει τὴν καταγράφην. καὶ ἔποιει ταῦτα· οὗ μὴν ἱσχυσὲ γε μέχρι τέλους. οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ παρακεμένῳ πεδίῳ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς δίφρους ἔθηκαν· ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν στρατηγικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον, καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας τοὺς νόμους, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὺς ἄγειν οὐχ οίδα τῇ ἤσαν, εἰς χρήματα ἔξημίσων, όσοι μὲν χωρία ὑπήρχεν, ἐκκόπτοντες ταῦτα καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καθαιροῦντες, ὅσων ἐν γεωργίκωσ ὁ βίος ἦν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήμασι, τοὺ- ὑν ἄγοντες τε καὶ φέροντες τὰ παρεσκευασμένα πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ξεύγη τε βοῶν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ὑποξύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ σκεύη παντοῖα οἷς γῆ ὣς τ᾽ ἐξεργάζεται καὶ καρποὶ συγκομίζονται. οὗ δὲ κωλύσων τὴν καταγράφην δήμαρχος οὐθὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν ἦν δυνατός. οὔδενδος γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κύριοι· περι-
to them concerning the allotment of land. And going in great numbers to the tribunes, they charged them with treachery, and with loud outcries demanded their assistance. Most of the tribunes did not regard it as a suitable time, when a foreign war had arisen, to fan domestic hatreds into flame again; but one of them, named Gaius Maenius, declared that he would not betray the plebeians or permit the consuls to levy an army unless they should first appoint commissioners for fixing the boundaries of the public land, draw up the decree of the senate for its allotment, and lay it before the people. When the consuls opposed this and made the war they had on their hands an excuse for not granting anything he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no heed to them, but would hinder the levy with all his power. And this he attempted to do; nevertheless, he could not prevail to the end. For the consuls, going outside the city, ordered their generals' chairs to be placed in the near-by field; and there they not only enrolled the troops, but also fined those who refused obedience to the laws, since it was not in their power to seize their persons. If the disobedient owned estates, they laid them waste and demolished their country-houses; and if they were farmers who tilled fields belonging to others, they stripped them of the yokes of oxen, the cattle, and the beasts of burden that were on hand for the work, and all kinds of implements with which the land is tilled and the crops gathered. And the tribune who opposed the levy was no longer able to do anything. For those who are invested with the tribuneship possess no authority over anything outside the city, since their jurisdic-

1 The Campus Martius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

gέγραπται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπαυλισθήναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς θέμις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἐνα καιρὸν, ἐν ὧν πᾶσαι θύσιοιν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαὶ κοινὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους τῷ Διῷ θυσίαι ἔπι τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ὂρος ἀναβαίνουσαι.

7 τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων τὸ ἔθος, τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι τῶν ἕξω τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημάρχους κυρίους· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ἅρω-μαίων πόλεμον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας, ὦς μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ἔγενετο, ἡ κινήσασα πρόφασις ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἄλλας δόξας μείζων εἶναι καὶ ἀποχρώσα4 διαστήσαι τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἦν, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἐξεληλάθαν τῆς πόλεως αὐτώμενοι βία πρὸς τοῦ τότε κατέχοντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγεμόνος, ἦν μηθενὸς εἶεν ἐτὶ κύριοι, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέχοντα,

8 ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι τράπωνται, κατέφυγον. ὦ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ χρησάμενος, ὡς ἀρχὴ δήμου παναγεῖ τὸ κράτος ἀφαιρεθείη παρὰ τοὺς ὀρκους τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶς ὀσίως καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βοηθῶν αὐτῶς τε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν κατήγαγε.

LXXXVIII. Τότε δ’ οὖν οἱ δημοταὶ τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲν ἀπολαύοντες ὑφείντο τοῦ θράσους καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας τεταγμένοι τὸν ἱερὸν ὀρκον ὡμνύσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς

1 'Αλβανὸν Kiessling.
2 τὸν added by Steph.
3 μείζων ACmg: om. R.
4 καὶ ἀποχρώσα Ο: καὶ μάνη ἀποχρώσα Reiske, Jacoby.

1 Pompey.
2 Caesar.
tion is limited by the city walls, and it is not lawful for them even to pass a night away from the city, save on a single occasion, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth ascend the Alban Mount and offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter in behalf of the Latin nation. This custom by which the tribunes possess no authority over anything outside the city continues to our times. And indeed the motivating cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans which occurred in my day and was greater than any war before it, the cause which seemed more important and sufficient to divide the commonwealth, was this—that some of the tribunes, complaining that they had been forcibly driven out of the city by the general who was then in control of affairs in Italy, in order to deprive them henceforth of any power, fled to the general who commanded the armies in Gaul, as having no place to turn to. And the latter, availing himself of this excuse and pretending to come with right and justice to the aid of the sacrosanct magistracy of the people which had been deprived of its authority contrary to the oaths of the forefathers, entered the city himself in arms and restored the men to their office.

LXXXVIII. But on the occasion of which we are now speaking the plebeians, receiving no assistance from the tribunician power, moderated their boldness, and coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath and enlisted under their

3 At the beginning of the year 49 B.C. Antony and Q. Cassius, two of the new tribunes, and Curio, who had just laid down that office, fled to Caesar, then encamped at Ravenna. Attention has already been called (see chap. 80) to Dionysius' avoidance of proper names when mentioning persons of his own day.
σημειάς κατεγράφοντο. ἔπει δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνὶς τῶν λόχων ἐξεπληρώθη, διεκληρώσαντο τὰς ἤγειμονίας τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσταλέσαν δύναμιν παρελάμβανεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος τὴν ἐν Ὄουλούσκωις στρατοπεδεύσασαν ἀγῶν τοὺς νεώστε

2 καταγραφέντας. μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολέμιοι ἔδοκει στρατιὰν τε ἐτέραν μετα-

πέμπεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἰσχυρότερῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιήσασθαι χωρίς καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν ἐτὶ προστετε κινδύνευμα ὡς πρότερον ὑπο-

μένειν. ἔγεγονε ταῦτα διὰ ταχέως, ἀμφοτέροις τε παρέστη τοῖς ἤγειμοσι τῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη, τὰ ἐαυτῶν φυλάττειν ἔρματα, ἐὰν τις ἐπίγ., τοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς βία κρατή-

3 θησομένους μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων τριβό-

μενος· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς τέλος γε διαμένειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἐδυνήθησαν. ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπιστισμοῦ

χάρυν ἦ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων τῶν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει 2 μοιρὰ τις ἀποσταλεί ἡς στρατιῶς, συμβολαί

τε αὐτῶν ἐγώνοντο καὶ πληγαῖ, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ ἂε παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔμενε· πολλάκις δὲ συμπλεκο-

μένων ἀλλήλους ἀπέθνησαν τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ

4 τραυματίαι πλείους ἐγώνοτο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἡρω-

μαίοις το ἀπαναλούμενος τῆς στρατιῶς οὐδεμία ποθὲν 3 ἐπικουρία 4 ἐξεπλήρου, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ὅου-

λούσκων στρατόπεδον ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλους ἤκοντων

πολλὴν αὐξῆσιν ἐλάμβανε· καὶ τούτω ἐπαρθέντες

1 σημείας AB : σημαίας Portus, Jacoby.

2 ἔδει Reiske : ἔδοκε Ο.

ποθὲν Ο : οἱκοθεν Kiessling.

272
BOOK VIII. 88, 1-4

standards. When the gaps in the several centuries had been filled, the consuls drew lots for the command of the legions; as a result, Fabius took over the army which had been sent to the assistance of the allies, while Valerius received the one which lay encamped in the country of the Volscians, and took with him the new levies. When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army and to encamp in a place of greater strength, and no longer out of contempt for the Romans to expose themselves to reckless danger, as before. These resolutions were quickly carried out; and the commanders of the two armies both came to the same decision regarding the war, namely, to defend their own entrenchments if they were attacked, but to make no attempt upon those of the enemy in the expectation of carrying them by assault. And meanwhile not a little time was wasted, because of their fear of making any attack upon each other. Nevertheless, they were not able to abide by their resolutions to the end. For whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions or anything else that was necessary to the two armies, there were encounters and blows were exchanged, and the victory did not always rest with the same side; and since they frequently clashed, not a few men were killed and more wounded. For the Romans the wastage of their army was made good by no replacements from any quarter; but the army of the Volscians was greatly increased by the arrival of one force after another, and their generals,

1 Kiessling proposed "from home."

4 ἐπικουρία Ambrosch, Kiessling, ἐπιοῦσα ἐπικουρία Sintenis: ἐπιοῦσα O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐξήγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν δύναμιν ὡς εἰς μάχην.

LXXXIX. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραταξαμένων ἱσχυρὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ ἵπτεων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἱση πάνων χρωμένων προθυμία τε καὶ ἐμπειρία, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἕκαστον

2 παρ’ ἑαυτὸν μόνον τιθεμένου· ὡς δὲ νεκροὶ τε αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ὧ ἐτάχθησαν χωρίων πεσόντες ἐκείνο, καὶ ἰμιθύντα τί πλείους τῶν νεκρῶν, 1 οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἁγώνα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐτί διαμένοντες ὅλοι τί τοι ἰσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι δρᾶν τὰ πολέμου ἔργα δυνάμενοι, βαρυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων τὰς εὐνύμοις χεῖρας διὰ πλήθος τῶν ἐμπεπηγγότων βελῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐώντων ὑπομένειν τὰς προσβολὰς, τετραμένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων τὰς ἁκμᾶς, ἔστι δ’ ὅν καὶ κατεαγότων ὅλων, οἰς οὐθὲν ἑτὶ ἑν χρήσθαι, τοῦ τε κόπου, ὅς δ’ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀγωνιζομένοις αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, παραλύνοντος τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἀσθένειας ποιοῦντος, ἱδρῶτος δὲ καὶ δίψης καὶ ἀσθμάτως, οἷα ἐν πυγμῷ ὅρα 2 ἔτους τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνιζομένοις συμπίπτειν φιλεί, παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους γινομένων, τέλος οὐδὲν ἐλαβεν ἀξιόλογον ἡ μάχη, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπητῶς ἀμφότεροι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνακαλυμένων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τούς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας· καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τούτ’ ἐξήσαν εἰς μάχην ουδέτεροι, ἀλλ’ ἀντικαθήμενοι 3 παρεφύλαττον ἀλλήλων τὰς 3 ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιτηθείων γινομένας ἐξόδους. ἔδοξε μέντοι, ὡς 4 λόγος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολὺς, δυναμεῖν 5

1 τῶν νεκρῶν deleted by Reudler, Jacoby.
2 ἐν πυγμῇ ὅρα>Bb : ἐμπνεύσει ὅρα>A.
3 ἀλλ’ ἀντικαθήμενοι>Α : ἀλλὰ καθήμενοι>B.

274
elated at this, led out the army from the camp ready for battle.

LXXXIX. When the Romans also came out and drew up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, not only of the horse, but of the foot and the light-armed troops as well, all showing equal ardour and experience and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone. At last, however, the bodies of the dead on both sides lay in great numbers where they had fallen at the posts assigned to them, and the men who were barely alive were even more numerous than the dead, while those who still continued the fight and faced its dangers were but few, and even these were unable to perform the tasks of war; for their shields, because of the multitude of spears that had stuck in them, weighed down their left arms and would not permit them to sustain the enemy’s onsets, and their daggers had their edges blunted or in some cases were entirely shattered and no longer of any use, and the great weariness of the men, who had fought the whole day, slackened their sinews and weakened their blows, and sweat, thirst, and want of breath afflicted both armies, as is wont to happen when men fight long in the stifling heat of summer. Thus the battle came to an end that was anything but remarkable; but both sides, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, gladly returned to their camps. After that neither army any longer ventured out for battle, but lying over against one another, they kept watch on each other’s movements when any detachments went out for supplies. It was believed, however, according to the report common

4 ὡς Naber: καὶ O, Jacoby.
5 δυναμένη Naber: ὡς δυναμένη O, Jacoby.

275
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tότε νικάν ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐκουσία μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι1 λαμπρὸν διὰ μίσος τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ ὀργῆν ἦν εἰς πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ τῆς κληρονομίας. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιωταὶ τὸν ὑπάτον ὡς οὐχ ἰκανὸν στρατηγεῖν ἠτίωντο, γράμματα πέμποντες ὡς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοί.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γινόμενα τοιαῦτά ἦν· ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμη πολλὰ δαμόνων σημεῖα ἐφαινετο δηλωτικὰ θείου χόλου κατὰ τε φωνὰς καὶ 4 οἶχεις ἀγίθεις. πάντα δὲ εἰς τοῦτο συνέτευν, ὡς οἱ τε μάντεις καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξήγηται συνενέγκαστε τὰς ἐμπειρίας ἀπέφαινον, τὸ2 θεῶν χολοῦσθαι3 τινας4 ὅτι οὐ κομίζονται τὰς νομίμους τιμάς, οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως ἐπιτελουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν. ζήτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ἐκ πάντων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μήνυμις ἀποδίδοται τοῖς ἱεροφάνταις ὅτι τῶν παρθένων μία τῶν φυλαττοσῶν τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, Ὁπιμία ὅνομα αὐτῆ, τὴν παρθένοιν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα μιαίνει τὰ ἱερὰ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῖς βασάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξεων μαθῶντες ὅτι τὸ μηνύμενον ἢν ἂδικημα5 ἀληθὲς, αὐτὴν μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀφελόμενον τὰ στέμματα καὶ πομπεύσαντες δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐντὸς τείχους ζῴων κατωργάζαν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐξελεγχθέντας διαπράξασθαι τὴν ψυχὰν

1 μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι O : μηδὲν ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Jacoby.
2 ἀπέφαινον, τὸ Post : ἀπέφαινοντο O, Jacoby.
3 χολοῦσθαι ACmg : om. BC, Jacoby.
4 τινας Sylburg : τινες B, Jacoby, των Λ, and C (by correction).
5 ὅτι Reiske : οὗ Λ (by correction), om. BC ; Jacoby placed ὅτι before θεῶν and (with BC) omitted χολοῦσθαι.

276
in Rome, that the Roman army, though it was then in their power to conquer, deliberately refused to perform any brilliant action because of hatred for the consul and the resentment they felt against the patricians for having played a trick upon them in the matter of the allotment of land. Indeed, the soldiers themselves, in letters they sent to their friends, accused the consul of being unfit to command.

While these things were happening in the camp, in Rome itself many prodigies in the way of unusual voices and sights occurred as indications of divine wrath. And they all pointed to this conclusion, as the augurs and the interpreters of religious matters declared, after pooling their experiences, that some of the gods were angered because they were not receiving their customary honours, as their rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. Thereupon strict inquiry was made by everyone, and at last information was given to the pontiffs that one of the virgins who guarded the sacred fire, Opimia by name, had lost her virginity and was polluting the holy rites. The pontiffs, having by tortures and other proofs found that the information was true, took from her head the fillets, and solemnly conducting her through the Forum, buried her alive inside the city walls. As for the two men who were convicted of violating her, they ordered them to be

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1 For chap. 89, 3-5 cf. Livy ii. 42, 10 f.
2 Livy gives her name as Oppia.
3 Literally, "a true crime"; but the word ἀδίκημα is suspicious, and was deleted by Kiessling; Kayser proposed ἀσέβημα ("act of impiety").

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6 ἀδίκημα deleted by Kiessling; Kayser proposed to read ἀσέβημα or ἀμάρτημα.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

μαστιγώσαντες ἐν φανερῷ παραχρήμα ἀπέκτειναν...
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ὡς ἀφεικότων αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν τὸν χόλον, ἐγνετο.

XC. Ὡς δὲ καθήκεν ὁ τῶν ἁρχαιρεσίων χρόνος, ἔλθοντων τῶν ὑπάτων πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους περὶ τῶν παραληψομένων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἄνδρῶν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐβούλοντο τοὺς δραστηρίους τε καὶ ἥκιστα δημοτικοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προ-

αγαγεῖν· καὶ μετῆι τὴν ἁρχήν κελευθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ χίδου Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου τοῦ πολεμωτάτου τῶν
dήμων δοκοῦντο εἶναι, μεστὸς αὐθαδείᾳ ἀνὴρ καὶ
θράσους, ἐταίρους τε καὶ πελάταις ἀπάντως πλεί-

στον τῶν καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν δυνάμενος· ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐκ
tῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ τῶν περί ἡδὴ δεδωκότων
tῆς ἐπισκέψης τοὺς προνοομένους τοῦ κοινῆς συμ-

φέροντος ὄνομάζων ἡξίου ποιεῖν ὑπάτους. αἱ τε
ἀρχαὶ διειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰς ἄλληλαν ἀνέλυον ἐξου-

σίας. ὅποτε μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καλοῖεν τὸ πλῆθος
ὡς ἀποδείξεισις τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἁρχήν ὑπάτους,
οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι διέλουν τὰ
ἀρχαιρεσία, ὅποτε δ᾽ αὐτὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι καλοῖε
ὡς ἀρχαιρεσάσοντα τὸν δήμον, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ
ὑπατοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τοὺς
λόχους καὶ τὰς ἴσης ἀναδιδόναι. κατηγορίαν τὲ
ἄλληλων ἐγνύοντο καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀφημαχεῖα καθ᾽
ἐταιρίας συνισταμένων, ὡστε καὶ πληγὰς ἄλληλοις
dιδόναι τινὰς ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχεῖν
3 τὴν στάσιν τῶν ὀπλῶν. ταύτα μαθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ

1 παραχρήμα placed before μετὰ τοῦτο by Reiske.

1 For chaps. 90 f. cf. Livy ii. 43, 1 f.

278
scourged in public and then put to death at once. Thereupon the sacrifices and the auguries became favourable, as if the gods had given up their anger against them.

XC. When the time for the election of magistrates arrived ¹ and the consuls had returned to Rome, there was great rivalry and marshalling of forces between the populace and the patricians concerning the persons who were to receive the chief magistracy. For the patricians desired to promote to the consulship those of the younger men who were energetic and least inclined to favour the plebeians; and at their behest the son of the Appius Claudius who was regarded as the greatest enemy of the plebeians stood for the office, a man full of arrogance and daring and by reason of his friends and clients the most powerful man of his age. The populace, on their part, named from among the older men who had already given proof of their reasonableness those who were likely to consult the common good, and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates also were divided and sought to invalidate one another's authority. For whenever the consuls called an assembly of the multitude, to announce the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, by virtue of their power to intervene, would dismiss the comitia; and whenever the tribunes, in turn, called an assembly of the people to elect magistrates, the consuls, who had the power of calling the centuries together and of taking their votes, would not permit them to proceed. There were mutual accusations and continual skirmishes between them, each side uniting in factional groups, with the result that even angry blows were exchanged and the sedition stopped little short of armed violence.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πολὺν ἐσκόπει χρόνον ὁ τι χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὕτε βιάσασθαι δυναμένη τὸν δῆμον οὕτε εἴξαι Βουλομένη. ἤν δ' ἡ μὲν αὐθαδεστέρα γνώμη δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι τῶν ἁρχαιρεσίων ἑνεκα, ὅν ἂν ἡγόωται κράτιστον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς τε νοσοποιοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἕξελείν, καὶ εἰ τι ἡμάρτηται ταῖς πρότερον ἁρχαῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὁ Βουλέται καταστησάμενον ἀνδράσι τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἁρχὰς. ἡ δ' ἐπιεικεστέρα μεσοβασιλεία ἐλέσθαι τοὺς προσβυτάτους τε καὶ τιμωτάτους ἀνδρας, οἷς ἐπιμελεῖς ἔσται τὰ περὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς, ὅπως κράτισται γενήσονται, προνοηθήναι, τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐκλιπόντων ἐγίνοντο. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πλειόνων ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν μεσοβασιλείαν. 1 Αὔλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος· αἰ δ' ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν 5 ἁρχαῖ. οὕτως ἐπιτροπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἀστασίαστον ὅσα εἶχεν ἡμέρας ἔτερον ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἢν, Σπόριον Λάρκιον. κάκεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτων ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ψήφους κατὰ 2 τὰ τιμήματα ἀναδούσι, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εὐδοκήσεως ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους Γάιον Ἰούλιον, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰουλίων, ἐκ τῶν φιλοδήμων, 3 καὶ Κόντων Φάβιον Καίσωνος νῦν τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ 6 τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν. καὶ δ' μὲν 4 δῆμος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ πεπονθῆς εἴασε

1 ἀποδείκνυται . . . μεσοβασιλείας Σινγ : ἀποδείκνυται . . . μεσοβασιλεῖσ ΛΒΓ.
2 κατὰ Συλβούργκ : καὶ Ο.
3 Jacoby : φιλοδήμωτικῶν Ο, δημοτικῶν Cobet.
4 μὲν added by Reiske.

280
The senate, being informed of all this, deliberated for a long time how it should deal with the situation, being neither able to force the populace to submit nor willing to yield. The bolder opinion in that body was for appointing a dictator, whomever they should consider to be the best, for the purpose of the election, and that the one receiving this power should banish the trouble-makers from the state, and if the former magistrates had been guilty of any error, that he should correct it, and then, after establishing the form of government he desired, should hand over the magistracies to the best men. The more moderate opinion was for choosing the oldest and most honoured senators as *interreges* to have charge of the election and see that it was carried out in the best manner, just as elections were formerly carried out upon the demise of their kings. The latter opinion having been approved by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was appointed *interrex* by the senate and all the other magistracies were suspended. After he had administered the commonwealth without any sedition for as many days as it was lawful,¹ he appointed another *interrex*, according to their custom, naming Spurius Larcius. And Larcius, summoning the centurionate assembly and taking their votes according to the valuation of their property, named for consuls, with the approval of both sides, Gaius Julius, surnamed Iulus, one of the men friendly to the populace, and, to serve for the second time, Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, who belonged to the aristocratic party. The populace, who had suffered naught at his hands in his former consulship, permitted him to obtain this

¹ The period was five days; see ii. 57, 2.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tuχειν ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεύτερον, μισῶν τὸν "Ἀπτιον καὶ ὡς ἕκεινος ἀτιμασθῆναι ἐδόκει

σφόδρα ἡδόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τέλει διαπεπραγμένους

δραστήριον ἀνδρὰ καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνδώσοντα τῷ δήμῳ

μαλακόν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατειάν παρελθεῖν, κατὰ γνώμην

ἐδόκει κεχωρηκέναι τὰ τῆς διχοστασίας.

XCI. Ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Αἴκανοὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν

Λατίνων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπήλασαν ἀνδράποδα

καὶ βοσκήματα πολλὰ ληστρικῆ ἐφόδῳ χρησάμενοι·

Τυρρηνῶν δὲ οἱ καλοῦμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς Ἀρω-

μαίων γῆς πολλῆν ἡδίκησαν προνομαίς. τῆς δὲ

βουλῆς τὸν μὲν πρὸς Αἴκανοὺς πόλεμον εἰς ἔτερον

ἀναβαλμένης χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν δίκαια

ἀιτεῖν ψηφισμένης. Αἴκανοὶ μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα

αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε, καὶ οὐθές ὦ κωλύσων

τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφαίνετο, θράσει ἐπαρθένες ἀλογίστω

ληστρικῆς μὲν οὐκέτι στρατείαν ἐγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι,

δυνάμει δὲ βαρείᾳ ἐλάσσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτώνα,

κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσι· καὶ διαρράσαντες τὰ τε ἐκ

τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπήρεσαν εὐπορίαν

2 πολλῆν ἀγόμενοι. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ

τῆς Ἀρωμῆς ἤκοντας ἀποκρινόμενου ὡς οὐκ ἔξ ἀὐτῶν ἐγήσαν οἱ προνομεύσαντες τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ

tῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἀνδρὰς οὐθὲν

tῶν δικαίων ποιήσαντες· καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπι-

τυγχάνονσι τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς λείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀὐτῶν

χώρας ἄγουσι. ταύτα παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα

πολεμεῖν τε ἐνηφίσατο Οὐιεντανοῖς καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-

3 τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ἐγένετο

1 δίκασ αἰτεῖν ψηφισμένης B : αἰτεῖν ψηφισμένης ἀπολογίαν R.

2 Sylburg : ὀρῶνα O.

282
power for the second time because they hated Appius and were greatly pleased that he seemed to have been deprived of an honour; while those in authority, having succeeded in advancing to the consulship a man of action and one who would show no weakness toward the populace, thought the dissension had taken a course favourable to their designs.

XCI. During the consulship of these men the Aequians, making a raid into the territory of the Latins after the manner of brigands, carried off a great number of slaves and cattle; and the people of Tyrrenia called the Veientes injured a large part of the Roman territory by their forays. The senate voted to put off the war against the Aequians to another time, but to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The Aequians, accordingly, since their first attempts had been successful and there appeared to be no one to prevent their further operations, grew elated with an unreasoning boldness, and resolving no longer to send out a mere marauding expedition, marched with a large force to Ortona and took it by storm; then, after plundering everything both in the country and in the city, they returned home with rich booty. As for the Veientes, they returned answer to the ambassadors who came from Rome that those who were ravaging their country were not from their city, but from the other Tyrrenian cities, and then dismissed them without giving them any satisfaction; and the ambassadors fell in with the Veientes as these were driving off booty from the Roman territory. The senate, learning of these things from the ambassadors, voted to declare war against the Veientes and that both consuls should lead out
μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἀμφιλογία, καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ τῶν πόλεμων οὐκ ἔωντες ἐκφέρειν τῆς τοις κληρουχίας ὑπομιμήσκοντες τοὺς δημοτικοὺς, ἤς γε πέμπτον ἐτος ἐψηφισμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κενὴ πιστεύσαντες ἐλπίδι ἐξηπάτητηντο, καὶ κοινὸν ἀποφαίνοντες πόλεμον, εἰ κοινῆ χρήσεται γνώμη 4 πᾶσα Τυρρηνία τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖς βοηθοῦσα. οὐ μὴν ᾗγχυσάν γε οἱ τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοι, ἀλλ' ἐκύρωσε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τῇ Σπορίου Δικίου γνώμη τε καὶ παρακλῆσει χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπατοὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας συχνὰς, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀντεξῆγον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς δυνάμεις, προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ὅσην ἐδύναυτο πλείστην ἀπῆγον ἐπὶ οἰκον τὴν στρατιὰν. ἄλλο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπράξεθη.

1 κοινὸν Ο : δεινὸν Post.
2 Portus, Syllburg : στρατιωτῶν Ο.
3 ἀπὸ B : om. R.
the army. There was a controversy,¹ to be sure, over the decree, and there were many who opposed engaging in the war and reminded the plebeians of the allotment of land, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, though the senate had passed the decree four years before; and they declared that there would be a general² war if all Tyrrhenia by common consent should assist their countrymen. However, the arguments of the seditious speakers did not prevail, but the populace also confirmed the decree of the senate, following the opinion and advice of Spurius Larcius. Thereupon the consuls marched out with their forces and encamped apart at no great distance from the city³; but after they had remained there a good many days and the enemy did not lead their forces out to meet them, they ravaged as large a part of their country as they could and then returned home with the army. Nothing else worthy of notice happened during their consulship.

¹ This was in the assembly; see just below.
² Post would emend "general" to "formidable."
³ Veii is meant.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

1. Τῷ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει διαφοράς γενομένης τῷ δῆμῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθησομένων ύπάτων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥξιοιν ἀμφότεροι ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγεῖν, ὥς δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτῶ ἱκεχαρισμένων) γνωσιμαχήσαντες1 τέλος2 συνέπεισαν ἄλληλους ἀφ' ἑκάστης μερίδος ύπατον αἱρεθῆναι καὶ ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων μὲν Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοι Καλλιάδου, καθ' ὄν χρόνων ἐστράτευσε3 Ἐρέτης ἐπὶ 2 τῆν Ἑλλάδα. ἀρτὶ δὲ παρευληφότων αὐτῶν τὴν

1 πρὸς ἄλληλους ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος after γνωσιμαχήσαντες deleted by Cobet. 2 τέλος Portus : τῶς ACmg, ἐὼς BC. 3 Portus : ἐστρατοπέδευες Ο.

1 For chaps. 1-4 cf. Livy ii. 43.
2 479 B.C. Dionysius synchronized each Roman consul-
I. The following year,¹ a dispute having arisen between the populace and the senate concerning the men who were to be elected consuls, the senators demanding that both men promoted to that magistracy should be of the aristocratic party and the populace demanding that they be chosen from among such as were agreeable to them, after an obstinate struggle they finally convinced each other that a consul should be chosen from each party. Thus Caeso Fabius, who had accused Cassius of aiming at tyranny, was elected consul, for the second time, on the part of the senate, and Spurius Furius on the part of the populace, in the seventy-fifth Olympiad,² Calliades being archon at Athens, at the time when Xerxes made his expedition against Greece. They had no sooner taken office than ambassadors of the

ship with the Greek year in the course of which it began (see vol. i. pp. xxx f.). Calliades was archon in 480/79, and the arrival of Xerxes in Greece came at about the time he assumed office.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άρχὴν Λατίνων τε πρέσβεις ἢκον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν
deόμενοι πέμψαι σφίσι τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετὰ
dυνάμεως, ὅσ ποικόν εἶσει προσωτέρω χωρεῖν τὴν
Αἰκανῶν καταφρόνησιν, καὶ Τυρρηνία πᾶσα ἡγγέλ-
λετο κεκινημένη καὶ οὕ διὰ μακρὸ χωρήσουσα εἰς
πόλεμον. συνήχθη γὰρ εἰς κοινὴ ἐκκλησίαν τὸ
ἐθνος, καὶ πολλὰ Οὐιεντανῶν δειθέντων συνάρα-
σθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ἱωμαίων πολέμου, τέλος
ἐξῆνεγέν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Τυρρηνῶν μετ-
έχεω τῆς στρατείας· καὶ ἐγένετο χειρ ἀξιόμαχος ἡ
τοῖς Οὐιεντανοὺς ἑκουσίως τοῦ πολέμου συναραμένη.
ταῦτα μαθοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τέλει Ἱωμαίων ἐδοξὲ στρα-
τιάς τε καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἐξεῖναι, τὸν μὲν Αἰκανοῦς τε πολεμῆσοντα καὶ
Λατίνους τιμωρον ἐσόμενον, τὸν δ’ ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν

3 ἀξοντα τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραπτε δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα
Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος τῶν δημάρχων εἰς· καὶ συνάγων
 eius ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δήμου δοκήρει τὰς περὶ τῆς
κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις ἀπήτευ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφη συγχωρήσειν οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλε-
μον οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλων υπ’ αὐτῆς ψηφιζομένων
ἐπιτελεσθήναι, ἓν μὴ τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας ἀποδεί-
ξωσι πρῶτον ὁμιστας τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, καὶ
4 διελύσει τὴν γῆν, ὥσ υπέσχοντο, τῶ δήμῳ. ἀπορου-
μένη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀμηχανούσῃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν,
"Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὑποτίθεται σκοπεῖν ὅπως δια-
στήσεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων πρὸς αὐτὸν,
dιδάσκων ὅτι τὸν κωλύοντα καὶ ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον
tοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ νόμῳ τὴν

1 Naber : τυρρηνίας Ο, Jacoby.
2 Sylburg : ικίλιος Ο (and so in later chapters).
3 οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον Sintenis : ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων Ο.
Latins came to the senate asking them to send to them one of the consuls with an army to put a check to the insolence of the Aequians, and at the same time word was brought that all Tyrrenia was aroused and would soon go to war. For that nation had been convened in a general assembly and at the urgent solicitation of the Veientes for aid in their war against the Romans had passed a decree that any of the Tyrrenians who so desired might take part in the campaign; and it was a sufficiently strong body of men that voluntarily aided the Veientes in the war. Upon learning of this the authorities in Rome resolved to raise armies and also that both consuls should take the field, one to make war on the Aequians and to aid the Latins, and the other to march with his forces against Tyrrenia. All this was opposed by Spurius Icilius, one of the tribunes, who, assembling the populace every day, demanded of the senate the performance of its promises relating to the allotment of land and said that he would allow none of their decrees, whether they concerned military or civil affairs, to take effect unless they should first appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the public land and divide it among the people as they had promised. When the senate was at a loss and did not know what to do, Appius Claudius suggested that they should consider how the other tribunes might be brought to dissent from Icilius, pointing out that there is no other method of putting an end to the power of a tribune who opposes and obstructs the decrees of the

1 The MSS. give this name here and below as Sicilius. Livy calls him Licinius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἄλλως οὐκ ἐστὶν παύσαι τῆς δυναστείας, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἔτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων τάναντια πράττην καὶ, οἷς ἂν ἔκεινος ἐμποδὼν γίνηται, ταῦτα κελεύῃ. οὐ συνεβουλεύει τε-τοις ἄθικις παραληψομένοις τὴν ἁρχὴν ὑπάτως τούτῳ πράττειν καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐξουσία τίνας ἀεὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκείων σφῖσι καὶ φίλους, μὲν εἶναι λέγον τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀρχείου κατάλυσιν, έὰν στασιάζωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἀνδρεῖς.

II. Ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τῇ γνώμῃ τ' Ἀππίου δόζαντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς παρανείποι τε ὑπάτως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατώτατοι πολλῆς θεραπείας διεπράξαντο τοὺς τέτπαρας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκεί-2 

οὺς τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν λόγῳ μεταπέθειν τὸν Ἰκῖλων ἐπεξείρουν ἀποστῆιν τῶν περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας πολιτευμάτων ἔως οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι τέλος. ὡς δ' ἦγαντιοτε καὶ διώμυντο, λόγον τὸ τν' αὐθαδέστερον ἐπεἶν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ δήμου παρόντος, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν βουλοῦσι Τυρρηνοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους κρατήσαντας τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδεῖν ἢ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν τῆς δημοσίας ἀφεῖναι, δόξαντες ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι καλὴν πρὸς αὐθαδεῖαν τοσοῦτον τοῦ τάναντια λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἢδεως δεξαμένου, κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἠφησαι, καὶ φανερῶς ἐπράττων ὅσα τῇ βουλῇ τε καὶ τοῖς υπάτοις δοκοῦν·

1 πράττην B : πράττειν R.
2 γίνηται ΛΒ : γένηται Jacoby.
290
senate, since his person is sacred and this authority of his legal, than for another of the men of equal rank and possessing the same power to oppose him and to order to be done what the other tries to obstruct. And he advised all succeeding consuls to do this and to consider how they might always have some of the tribunes well disposed and friendly to them, saying that the only method of destroying the power of their college was to sow dissension among its members.

II. When Appius had expressed this opinion, both the consuls and the more influential of the others, believing his advice to be sound, courted the other four tribunes so effectually as to make them well disposed toward the senate. These for a time endeavoured by argument to persuade Icilius to desist from his course with respect to the allotment of land till the wars should come to an end. But when he kept opposing them and swore that he would continue to do so, and had the assurance to make a rather insolent remark in the presence of the populace to the effect that he had rather see the Tyrrhenians and their other enemies masters of the city than leave unpunished those who were occupying the public land, they thought they had got an excellent opportunity for opposing so great insolence both by their words and by their acts, and since even the populace showed displeasure at his remark, they said they interposed their veto; and they openly pursued such measures as were agreeable to both the senate and the consuls. Thus Icilius being de-

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4 θεραπεία B : δυναστεία R.  
5 των Post : τον O, Jacoby.  
6 αὐθαδεστατον Sylburg.  
7 τε καὶ B : ἦ R.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

3 μονωθείς δ’ Ἰκίλιος οὐδενὸς ἐτὶ κύριος ἦν. μετὰ τούτο η ἑστατικά κατεγράφητο, καὶ ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀπάση προσβασία: καὶ διὰ τάχους οἱ ὑπατοί διακληρωσάμενοι τὰ στρατεύματα ἐξήσαν, Σπόριος μὲν Φοῦρος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανών πόλεις, Καῖσων δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς.

4 Σπορίω μὲν οὕν ἀπαντᾷ κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐξεγένετο χρήματα τε καὶ σώματα λαβεῖν. ἐπῆλθε γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσαν ὅσην οἱ πολέμιοι χώραν κατείχον, ἄγων καὶ φέρων, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπαντὰ ἐχαρίσατο.

5 δοκῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου εἶναὶ φιλόδημος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας ἔθεράπευσε τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς στρατείας, ἄγων1 τὴν δύναμιν ὁ λόγοληρον τε καὶ ἀπαθὴ χρήμασιν εὑπορον κατέστησε τὴν πατρίδα.

III. Καῖσων δὲ Φαβιός ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, οὐδενὸς χείρον στρατηγήσας, ἀφηρέθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπαινῶν παρ’ οὐδὲν ἀμάρτημα ἰδίον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ ἐῖχε κεκαρισμένον2 αὐτῷ ἔξ ὄν τῶν ὑπατον Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας3 ἀπε-2 κτείνεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὅσα δεότα σὺν τάχει στρατηγῶς κελεύσαντι τούς ὑπηκόοις πειθαρχεῖν, οὔθ’ ὅσα τῷ προθύμῳ καὶ πρέποντι4 χρησιμένους βία κατασχεῖν, οὔθ’ ὅσα λάθρα τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων5 χωρία εἰς

1 ἄγων O : ἀπάγων Kiessling.
2 κεκαρισμένον C : μένον R, εὐνοῶν Sintenis.
3 κρίνας B : προσαγγείλας Α, Jacoby, εἰσαγγείλας C.
4 καὶ πρέποντι O : ἐν πρέποντι Reiske, ἐν πρέποντι καρῷ Kayser, ἐπιτρέποντας καὶ Kiessling.
5 Reiske : ἀντιπολεμίων O.

292
serted by his colleagues, no longer had any authority. After this the army was raised and everything that was necessary for the war was supplied, partly from public and partly from private sources, with all possible alacrity; and the consuls, having drawn lots for the armies, set out in haste, Spurius Furius marching against the cities of the Aequians and Caeso Fabius against the Tyrhenians. In the case of Spurius everything succeeded according to his wish, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement, so that in this expedition he had the opportunity of taking much booty in both money and slaves. For he overran almost all the territory that the enemy possessed, carrying and driving off everything, and he gave all the spoils to the soldiers. Though he had been regarded even before this time as a friend of the people, he gained the favour of the multitude still more by his conduct in this command; and when the season for military operations was over, he brought his army home intact and unscathed, and made the fatherland rich with the money he had taken.

III. Caeso Fabius, the other consul, though as a general his performance was second to none, was nevertheless deprived of the praise that his achievements deserved, not through any fault of his own, but because he did not enjoy the goodwill of the plebeians from the time when he had denounced and put to death the consul Cassius for aiming at a tyranny. For they never showed any alacrity either in those matters in which men under authority ought to yield a prompt obedience to the orders of their general, or when they should through eagerness and a sense of duty seize positions by force, or when it was necessary
πλεονεξίαν εὐθετα σφετερίσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλο πράττειν ουδὲν ἑτοιμοὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οὐ τιμήν τινα ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθήν ἐξοίσεσθαι ἐμελλε. καὶ τάλλα μὲν 1 αὐτῶν, ὥσα υβρίζοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα διετέλουν, ἐκείνῳ τε 2 ήττον λυπηρὰ ἦν καὶ τῇ πόλει βλάβης οὐ μεγάλης αὖτια, 3 ὦ δὲ τελευτῶντες εξειργάσαντες κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἦνεγκε καὶ πολλὴν 3 αἰσχύνην ἀμφοῖν. γενομένης γὰρ παρατάξεως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων ἐφ' οἶς ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἀμφότεροι πάση τῇ παρ' ἐκατέρων δυνάμει, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσαντες ἀρξαί φυγής, οὔτ' ἡκολούθησαν ἀποιοῦσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ ἐπικελέυσιν ὥστε παραμείναντες ἐκπολυορκήσαι τὸν χάρακα ἡθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες ἅτελες ἔργον καλὸν ἅπήσαν 4 εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεῖαν. ἐπιχειρησάντων δ' αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ὑπατον ἀναγορεύσασί τινος μέγα ἐμβοηθότας 4 ἀθρόοι κακιζοῦσα τῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔλοιδόρουν, ὡς πολλοὺς σφών καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπολωλεκότα δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ στρατηγεῖν· καὶ ἄλλη πολλῇ βλασφημίᾳ καὶ ἀγανάκτησκε χρησάμενοι λύει τὸν χάρακα καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥξιον, ὡς οὐκ ἰκανοὺς ἐσομένους, ἐὰν ἐπ-5 ίωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, δευτέραν ὑπομείναι μάχην. καὶ οὔτε μεταδιάσκοντος ἐπείθοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, οὔτε ὀλοφυρομένου καὶ ἱκετεύοντος ἐπασχόν τι πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις, οὔτε ἀπειλᾶς καὶ ἀνατάσεις, ὁπότε καὶ ταύτας χρήσατο, δι' εὐλαβείας ἐλάμ-
to occupy advantageous positions without the knowledge of the enemy, or in anything else from which the general would derive any honour and good repute. Most of their conduct, to be sure, by which they were continually insulting their general was neither very troublesome to him nor the occasion of any great harm to the commonwealth; but their final action brought no small danger and great disgrace to both. For when the two armies had arrayed themselves in battle order in the space between the hills on which their camps were placed, using all the forces on either side, and the Romans had performed many gallant deeds and forced the enemy to begin flight, they neither pursued them as they retreated, notwithstanding the repeated exhortations of the general, nor were they willing to remain and take the enemy’s camp by siege; on the contrary, they left a glorious action unfinished and returned to their own camp. And when some of the soldiers attempted to salute the consul as imperator, all the rest joined in a loud outcry, reproaching and taunting their commander with the loss of many of their brave comrades through his want of ability to command; and after many other insulting and indignant remarks they demanded that he break camp and lead them back to Rome, pretending that they would be unable, if the enemy attacked them, to sustain a second battle. And they neither gave heed when their commander endeavoured to show them the error of their course, nor were moved by his entreaties when he turned to lamentations and supplications, nor were they alarmed by the violence of his threats when he made
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

βανον, ἄλλα πρὸς ἀπαντα τραχυνόμενοι ταύτα διέμενον. τοσαύτῃ δ’ ἀναρχία καὶ καταφρόνησις τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τισὶν εὖ αὐτῶν1 παρέστη ὡστε περὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐξαναστάντες τάς τε σκηνὰς ἔλυον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐβάσταζον οὔδενος κελεύσαντος.

IV. Ταύτα ὁ στρατηγὸς μαθὼν ἡμαγκάσθη πᾶσι δοῦναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῆς ἐξόδου δείσας τὴν ἀναρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ θράσος. οἱ δ’ ἁσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς ἀνασωζόμενοι τάχει πολλῷ συνάπτουσι τῇ πόλει περὶ τὸν ὀρθρόν. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγνοῆσαντες ὅτι φίλιον ἤν στράτευμα, ὅπλα τ’ ἐνεδύοντο καὶ ἄλλης ἀνεκάλουν, ἡ τ’ ἄλλη πόλις, ως ἐπὶ συμφόρῳ μεγάλῃ, ταραχῆς ἐγεώνει μεστῇ καὶ θορύβου· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνέωξαν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας οἱ φύλακες ἡ2 λαμπράν τε ἡμέραν γενέσθαι καὶ γνωσθῆναι τό οἰκεῖον στράτευμα· ὅστε πρὸς τῇ αἰσχύνῃ ἢν ἐκ τοῦ καταλιπέων τὸν χάρακα ἦν ἦγεκαντο καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἑλάχιστον αὐτῶν ἀναρρίψας σκότους ἀπίστας διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἀτάκτως, εἰ γοῦν τούτῳ καταμαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ ποδὸς3 ἀποικοῦν αὐτοῖς ἡκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἢν ἐκώλυσεν ἀπασαν ἀπολολέναι τὴν στρατιάν. τῆς δ’ ἀλόγου ταύτης ἀπάρσεως ἡ φυγής τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μᾶς, ἁσπερ ἐφῆν, αἰτιον ἢν, καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς, ἵνα μὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῆς κοσμηθεῖς ἐπιφανεστάτος γένη-3 ταί. τῇ δ’ ἔξης ἡμέρα μαθόντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπαρσάν τῶν Ἐρμαιῶν νεκροὺς τ’ αὐτῶν ἐσκύλευ-

1 τισὶν εὖ αὐτῶν Post (cf. chap. 9, 4): πᾶσιν εὖ αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.
2 ἡ Β : ἐως ΑΣ.
296
use of these too; but they continued exasperated in the face of all these appeals. Indeed, some of them were possessed with such a spirit of disobedience and such contempt for their general that they rose up about midnight and without orders from anyone proceeded to strike their tents, take up their arms, and carry off their wounded.

IV. When the general was informed of this, he was forced to give the command for all to depart, so great was his fear of their disobedience and audacity. And the soldiers retired with as great precipitation as if they were saving themselves from a rout, and reached the city about daybreak. The guards upon the walls, not knowing that it was an army of friends, began to arm themselves and call out to one another, while all the rest of the city was full of confusion and turmoil, as if some great disaster had occurred; and the guards did not open the gates to them till it was broad day and they could distinguish their own army. Thus, in addition to the ignominy they incurred in deserting their camp, they also exposed themselves to great danger in returning in the dark through the enemy’s country, without observing any order. Certainly, if the Tyrrhenians had learned of it and had followed close on their heels as they departed, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. The motive of this unaccountable withdrawal or flight was, as I have said, the hatred of the populace against the general and the begrudging of any honour to him, lest he should be granted a triumph and so acquire the greatest glory. The next day the Tyrrhenians, having learned of the withdrawal of the Romans, stripped their dead, took

3 ἐκ ποδὸς Sylburg : ἐκ παντὸς O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σαν καὶ τραυματίας ἀράμενοι ἀπήγγειλαν τάς τε καταλειψθέεισάς εν τῷ χάρακι παρασκευάσας (πολλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χρόνιον παρεσκευασμέναι1 πόλεμον) διεφόρησαν, καὶ ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες2 τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων τῆν ἐγγυτάτω λειτατήσαντες ἀπῆγγον τὴν στρατιάν.

V. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοῦ, Γνάυος Μάλλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχεῖν αἴρεθείς, ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ποιησμένης στρατῶν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν, ὃς ἦν πλεῖστον δυνηθῶσι, προὐθηκαν ἡμέραν ἐν ἦ τὸν κατάλογον ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι τῆς στρατιάς. γινομένου δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ κωλύει τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, Τιβερίου Ποντοφικίου, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ψήφισμα ἀνακαλουμένου, θεραπεύσαντες τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ τινας, ὡςπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑπατοῦ, διέστησαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον καὶ μετὰ τούτ', ἐπραττόν ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ δόξαν τῇ 2 βουλῆ. γενομένης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξήγεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, δύο μὲν ἐκάτερος ἁγών 'Ρωμαίων τάγματα τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καταγραφέντων τῆς πόλεως, ὥς ἔλαττω δὲ ταύτης χείρα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων τε καὶ ύπηκόων ἀποσταλείσαν. ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἐρυκῶν θυγνοὺς διπλάσιον τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπικουρικόν.3 οὐ μὴν ἔχρησαντό γε παντὶ4. πολλὴν δὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσαντες τῆς προθυμίας ἀπέλυσαν τῆς ἀποσταλείσης δυνάμεως 3 τῆς ἡμίσειαν. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως 1 ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι Steph. : ἦσαν ἐσκευασμέναι ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι ABC.

298
up and carried off their wounded, and plundered all the stores they had left in their camp, which were very abundant as having been prepared for a long war; then, like conquerors, they laid waste the adjacent territory of the enemy, after which they returned home with their army.

V. The succeeding consuls, ¹ Gnaeus Manlius and Marcus Fabius (the latter chosen for the second time), in pursuance of a decree of the senate ordering them to march against the Veientes with as large an army as they could raise, appointed a day for levying the troops. When Tiberius Pontifecius, one of the tribunes, opposed them by forbidding the levy and called upon them to carry out the decree relating to the allotment of land, they courted some of his colleagues, as their predecessors had done, and thus divided the college of tribunes, after which they proceeded to carry out the will of the senate with full liberty. The levy being completed in a few days, the consuls took the field against the enemy, each of them having with him two legions of Romans raised in the city itself and a force no less numerous sent by their colonies and subjects. Indeed, there came to them from the Latin and the Hernican nations double the number of auxiliaries they had called for; they did not, however, make use of this entire force, but stating that they were very grateful for their zeal, they dismissed one half of the army that had been sent. They also drew up before the city a third army,

¹ For chaps. 5-13 cf. Livy ii. 43, 11–47, 12.

² ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες Cb: ὡς δημοκρατοῦντες ABCa, ὡς ἡδή κρατοῦντες Sylburg, ὡς δῆλοι κρατοῦντες Kiessling.
³ ἐπικουρικὸν Reiske: ἐπικουρικοῦ O.
⁴ παντὶ B: πάντη AC, τῷ παντὶ Hertlein.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τρίτον ἐκ δυνατών τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατῶν, φύλακα τῆς χώρας ἐσόμενον, εἰ ὑς ἑτέρα δύναμις πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτον φανείη· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον οἷς ἐτί δύναμις ἢν ὀπλῶν χρήσεως ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπον ἀκρας τε καὶ τείχη φυλάξοντας.

4 Ἄγαγόντες δὲ πλησίον τῆς Ὄρμεντανῶν πόλεως τὰς δυνάμεις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσών οὐ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκόσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ἐξεστρατευμένη πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πολλῇ τε καὶ ἀγαθῇ. συνεληύθεσαν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας οἱ δυνατῶτατοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πενέστας ἐπαγόμενοι, καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ἀρωμάικοῦ 5 στρατοῦ μείζον τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν οὐκ ὁλίγῳ. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις τὸ τε πλῆθος ὅρωσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὀπλῶν πολὺ δέος ἐνέπεσε μὴ ποτ' οὐχ ἱκανοί γένωνται στασιαζούσῃ δυνάμει τῇ σφετέρᾳ πρὸς ὀμονοοῦσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀντι- ταξάμενοι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς ὀχυρωσαμένοι τὰ στρατόπεδα τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκδεχομένοι εἰ τινὰ δώσει πλεονεξίας ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων θράσος ἀλογίστω κατα- φρονήσει ἐπαρθέν. ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὴ μὲτὰ τοῦτο συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαὶ βραχεῖα, μέγα δ' ἡ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ουδὲν.

VI. Οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου δείλιαν τε ὠνείδιζον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξήχεσαν εἰς μάχην, καὶ ὡς παρακαθωρη- κότων αὐτῶν σφίζῃ τῆς ὑπαίθρου μέγα ἐφρόνουν. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήρθησαν εἰς υπεροψίαν τοῦ ἀντι- πάλου στρατοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν τῶν ὑπάτων 2 δόξαντες καὶ τὸ θείον αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. τοῦ γὰρ 300
consisting of two legions of the younger men, to serve as a garrison for the country in case any other hostile force should unexpectedly make its appearance; the men who were above the military age but still had strength sufficient to bear arms they left in the city to guard the citadels and the walls.

When the consuls had led their forces close to the city of Veii, they encamped on two hills not far apart. The enemy's army, which was both large and valiant, had also taken the field and lay encamped before the city. For the most influential men from all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents, with the result that the Tyrrhenians' army was not a little larger than that of the Romans. When the consuls saw the numbers of the enemy and the lustre of their arms, great fear came upon them lest, with their own forces rent by faction, they might not be able to prevail when arrayed against the harmonious forces of the enemy; and they determined to fortify their camps and to prolong the war in the hope that the boldness of the enemy, encouraged by an ill-advised contempt for them, might afford them some opportunity of acting with advantage. After this there were continual skirmishes and brief clashes of the light-armed troops, but no important or signal action.

VI. The Tyrrhenians, being irked by the prolongation of the war, taunted the Romans with cowardice because they would not come out for battle, and believing that their foes had abandoned the field to them, they were greatly elated. They were still further inspired with scorn for the Roman army and contempt for the consuls when they thought that even the gods were fighting on their side. For

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1 Reiske: τὸν Ο.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Γναίου Μαλλίου κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐμπεσὼν τὴν τε σκηνὴν διέσπασε καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ἀνέτρεψει καὶ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὀπλών τὰ μὲν ἐστίλισε, τὰ δὲ περιέκαυσε, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς τέλος ἣφανίσεν· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν λαμπρότατον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἵππων, δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἄγωνας τρίχρητο, καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τινάς. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων τοῦ τε χάρακος ἁλώσων προσημαινεῖν τους θεοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπώλειαν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάλλιος ἀπήγει περὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐτερον χάρακα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος κατεστρατοπέδευσε. μαθόντες όὖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπανάστασιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας ἐγένετο παρὰ τινῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες ἐπήρθησάν τε ταῖς γνώμαις ἐτὶ μάλλον, ὡς πολεμοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον ἐλπίδα κρατήσειν αὐτῶν· οἱ τε μάντεις ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ποιοῦντες ἐξητακέναι τὰ μετάρασιν, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γύνονται βολαὶ καὶ τίνες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πληγαῖς ἀπίστασας τόπου, θεῶν τε οἰς ἔκαστοι ἀποδίδονται καὶ τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἡ κακῶν μηνυταῖ, χωρεῖν ὁμός τοῖς πολεμίοις παρήνουν διαιροῦμενοι τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σημεῖον κατὰ τάδε· ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέλος εἰς ὑπάτου σκηνὴν κατέσκηψεν, εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐνῆν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἄχρι τῆς ἐστίας ἤφανίσεν, ἀληθείᾳ προσημαινεὶν τὸ δαιμόνιον τῆς στρατιᾶς τοῦ χάρακος ἐκλεψιν βία κρατηθέντος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀλέθρων. "Εἰ μὲν οὖν," ἐφασαν, "ἐμεναν ἐν ὧ κατέσκηψε χωρίῳ τὸ βέλος οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ μετηνέγκαντο τὰ σημεῖα

1 Sylburg : ἀνέτρεψε ΛΒ.
a thunderbolt, falling upon the headquarters of Gnaeus Manlius, one of the consuls, tore the tent in pieces, overturned the hearth, and tarnished some of the weapons of war, while scorching or completely destroying others. It killed also the finest of his horses, the one he used in battle, and some of his servants. And when the augurs declared that the gods were foretelling the capture of the camp and the death of the most important persons in it, Manlius roused his forces about midnight and led them to the other camp, where he took up quarters with his colleague. The Tyrrhenians, learning of the general's departure and hearing from some of the prisoners the reasons for his action, grew still more elated in mind, since it seemed that the gods were making war upon the Romans; and they entertained great hopes of conquering them. For their augurs, who are reputed to have investigated with greater accuracy than those anywhere else the signs that appear in the sky, determining where the thunderbolts come from, what quarters receive them when they depart after striking, to which of the gods each kind of bolt is assigned, and what good or evil it portends, advised them to engage the enemy, interpreting the omen which had appeared to the Romans on this wise: Since the bolt had fallen upon the consul's tent, which was the army's headquarters, and had utterly destroyed it even to its hearth, the gods were foretelling to the whole army the wiping out of their camp after it should be taken by storm, and the death of the principal persons in it. "If, now," they said, "the occupants of the place where the bolt fell had remained there instead of removing their standards

\[\text{B00K IX. 6, 2-6}\]

2 \text{ἀπανάστασιν \(B\) : ἀπόστασιν \(R\).}
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

... τοὺς ἐτέρους, μᾶς τε παρεμβολῆς ἀλώσει καὶ ἕνος ὀλέθρῳ στρατοῦ τὸ νεμεσῶν αὐτοῖς δαμόων ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἃν τὸν χόλον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σοφότεροι τῶν θεῶν εἶναι ξητούντες εἰς τὸν ἑτερον χάρακα μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καταλυόντες ἔρημου τῶν τόπων, ὡς οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ προδηλοῦντος τὰς συμφορὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τόποις, κοινὸς ἄπασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἦξει χόλος, τοῖς τε 7 ἀπαναστάσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀλώναι σφῶν τὸν ἑτερον χάρακα βία θείας ἐπιθεσιούσης ἀνάγκης οὐ περιέμεναν τὸ χρεών, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐκείνωσ ὁ χάραξ ὁ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑποδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀλώσεται βία κρατηθεῖς.

VII. Ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων οἳ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀκούσαντες μέρει τινὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν στρατιᾶς τὴν ἔρημωθείσαν ὕπο τῶν Ὁρμαίων καταλαμβάνονται στρατοπεδείαν ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ποιησόμενοι τῆς ἑτέρας. ἦν δὲ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ὅρμης ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἴσους κωλύσεως ἐν καλῷ κείμενον. πραγματευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τάλλα ἐξ ὄν πλεονεκτήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμελλόν, ἐξήγον 2 εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὰς δυνάμεις. μενώντων δὲ τῶν Ὁρμαίων ἐφ' ἠσυχίας προσπιπεύσουντες ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ τολμηρῶτατοι καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος ἵστα- μενοὶ, γυναίκας τε ἀπεκάλουν ἀπαντάς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν τοῖς δειλιτάτοις τῶν ἔως ἐοικε- ναι λέγοντες ἐκάκιζον, καὶ δειεῖν θάτερον ἥξιον· εἰ μὲν ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς,

1 μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο B : μετέστρατοπεδεύσαν R.
2 ἐξ B : πρός R.
to the other army, the divinity who was wroth with them would have satisfied his anger with the capture of a single camp and the destruction of a single army; but since they endeavoured to be wiser than the gods and changed their quarters to the other camp, leaving the place deserted, as if the god had signified that the calamities should fall, not upon the men, but upon the places, the divine wrath will come upon all of them alike, both upon those who departed and upon those who received them. And since, when destiny had foretold that one camp should be taken by storm, they did not wait for their fate, but of their own accord handed their camp over to the enemy, the camp which received the deserted camp¹ shall be taken by storm instead of the one that was abandoned."

VII. The Tyrrhenians, hearing this from their augurs, sent a part of their army to take possession of the camp deserted by the Romans, with the intention of making it a fort to serve against the other camp. For the place was a very strong one and was conveniently situated for intercepting any who might come from Rome to the enemy's camp. After they had also made the other dispositions calculated to give them an advantage over the enemy, they led out their forces into the plain. Then, when the Romans remained quiet, the boldest of the Tyrrhenians rode up and, halting near the camp, called them all women and taunted their leaders, likening them to the most cowardly of animals; and they challenged them to do one of two things—either to descend into the plain, if they laid claim to any war-

¹ *i.e.*, the men from the deserted camp. The word "camp" in this passage refers now to the site, now to the occupants.
καταβάντας εἰς τὸ πεδίον μιᾷ τὸν ἀγώνα κρίνα τὸν ἀγώνα κρίνα 
κρίνα, εἰ δ’ ὀμολογούσιν εἶναι κακοί, παραδόντας 
παραδόντας τὰ ὀπλα τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ δίκας ύποσχόντας ὃν 
ἐδρασαν μηδενὸς ἐτί τῶν μεγάλων ἑαυτοὺς ἄξιοιν. 

3 τούτ’ ἐποίον ὅσιμέραι καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέρανον, 
ἀποτεῖχέν εὐτοὺς ἐγνωσαν ὡς λιμῷ προσαναγκά-

σοντες παραστήναι. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ περιεώρων τὰ 
γινόμενα μέχρι πολλοῦ, δι’ ἀνανδρίαν μὲν ἡ μαλα-
κίαν οὐθεμίαν (ἀμφότεροι γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ τε καὶ 
φιλοπόλεμοι ἦσαν), τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν θελό-
κακὸν τε καὶ ἀπρόθυμον, διαμένον εἰς τοῖς δημοτι-
κοῖς ἐξ οὐ περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας διεσταίεσαν, 
ὑφορώμενοι· ἐτί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔναυλα καὶ πρὸ ὀμμά-
των ἢν ὅ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἐγκοτο 
τῆς πρὸς’ τὸν ὑπατον τιμῆς-αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια 
τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσαντο, παραχωρήσαντες τῆς νίκης 
τοῖς ἦττηθείσι καὶ φυγῆς ὅνειδος οὐκ ἄλθησε ὑπο-
μείναντες, ἱνα μὴ καταγάγῃ τὸν ἐπινίκιον θρίαμβον 
ὁ ἀνήρ.

VIII. Βουλόμενοι δὴ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς στρατι-

άς ἑξελεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ καταστήσαι πάλιν εἰς 
τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀμόνοιαν ἢπαν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ εἰς ἐν 
τούτο πάσαν εἰσεφερόμενοι βουλήν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, 
ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κολάσει μέρους τινὸς σωφρονεστερον 
ἀποδοῦναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἢν, πολὺ καὶ αὐθαίδες ὑπάρχων 
καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐχον, οὔτε πειθοὶ 
προσαγαγέσθαι λόγων τοὺς οὐδὲ πεισθήναι βου-
λομένοις, δύο ταῦτα ὑπέλαβον ἐσεθαί τῶν 
στασιαζόντων αἰτίας τῆς διαλλαγῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἐπι-

1 πρὸς Ο : περὶ Reiske.
2 Reiske : οὔτε Ο.
3 ἐσεθαί B : om. R.

306
like valour, and decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they owned themselves to be cowards, to deliver up their arms to those who were their betters, and after paying the penalty for their deeds, never again to hold themselves worthy of greatness. This they did every day, and when it had no effect, they resolved to block them off by a wall with the purpose of starving them into surrender. The consuls permitted this to go on for a considerable time, not through any cowardice or weakness—for they were both men of spirit and fond of war—but because they feared the soldiers' wilful shirking of duty and their apathy, which had persisted among the plebeians ever since the sedition over the allotment of land. For they still had ringing in their ears and fresh before their eyes the shameful behaviour, unworthy of the commonwealth, which the soldiers, because of their begrudging the honour that would come to the consul, had been guilty of the year before, when they had yielded up the victory to the vanquished and endured the false reproach of flight in order that their general might not celebrate the triumph awarded for victory.

VIII. Desiring, therefore, to banish sedition from the army once and for all and to restore the whole rank and file to their original harmony, and devoting to this single end all their counsel and all their thought, since it was not in their power by punishing some of them to reform the rest, who were numerous, bold, and had arms in their hands, or to attempt by the persuasion of words to win over those who did not even wish to be persuaded, they assumed that the following two motives would bring about the reconciliation of the seditious: first, for those of a more
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

eikestērās μετειληφόσι φύσεως (ἐνήν γάρ τι καί τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ) τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅνειδισμοῖς τῶν πολεμίων αἰσχύνην, τοῖς δὲ δυσαγώγοις ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἢν ἀπασά δεδοικεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀνάγκην.

2 ἦνα δὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο ἁμφότερα, ἐφήκαν τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγω τῷ άισχύνειν κακίζονται σφῶν ὡς ἀνανδρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἔργοις ὑπεροβίαις τε καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολλοῖς γυνομένοις ἀναγκαζών ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐκουσίως εἶναι μὴ βουλομένου. γυνομένων γὰρ τούτων πολλάς ἑλπίδας ἐίχον ἦξειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀπαντάς ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ καταβούντας καὶ κελεύοντας ἤγείσθαι 3 σφῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὡς γὰρ ἦρξαντο τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ χάρακος ἀποταφρεῦεν τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦν οἱ πολέμοι, δυσανασχετήσαντες οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, τέως μὲν κατ’ ὀλίγους, ἐπεῖτ' ἀθρόοι συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκεκράγεσαν τε καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἤγησεται σφῶν τῆς ἐξόδου, δίκα ἐκεῖνων αὐτοῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς 4 πολεμίους ἔλεγον ἐξελεύσεσθαι. ὡς δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνετο τοῦτο, παρεῖναι τὸν χρόνον ὃν περιέμενον οἱ στρατηγοὶ νομίσαντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπηρέτας συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλήθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ προελθὼν Φάβιος τούδα εἶπε·

IX. "Βραδεία μὲν ἡ ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν γίνεται περὶ ὧν ὑβρίζεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἄνδρες στρα-

1 ἐν τῷ πολλῷ πλήθει Reiske.
2 Cary : πολλῆς O, Jacoby.

308
reasonable disposition (for there was an admixture of these also among the mass of the troops), the shame of being taunted by the enemy, and second, for those who were not easily led to adopt the honourable course, the thing of which all human nature stands in dread—necessity. In order, then, to accomplish both these results, they allowed the enemy not only to shame them by words, as when they branded their inaction as cowardice, but also by repeated deeds of scorn and contempt\(^1\) to compel those to show themselves brave men who were not disposed to be so of their own accord. For if these insults should be continued, they had great hopes that all the soldiers would come to headquarters, giving vent to their indignation, reproaching the consuls, and demanding that they lead them against the enemy; and that is just what happened. For when the enemy began to block the outlets of the camp with ditches and palisades, the Romans, growing indignant at their action, ran to the tents of the consuls, first in small numbers and then in a body, and crying out, accused them of treachery, and declared that if no one would lead them in a sortie, they themselves would take their arms and without their generals sally out against the enemy. This being the general cry, the consuls thought the opportunity for which they had been waiting had now come, and they ordered the lictors to call the troops to an assembly. Then Fabius, coming forward, spoke as follows:

IX. “Long delayed is your indignation at the insults you are receiving from the enemy, soldiers and

\(^1\) The text is uncertain here. Reiske wished to read “by deeds full of great scorn and contempt”; Kayser proposed “by deeds of great scorn and contempt.”
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tιώται τε καὶ ἡγεμόνες· καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐκάστου χωρείν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὑστερον φαινόμενον ἀωρόν ἔστι. παλαίτερον γὰρ ἐτὶ τοῦθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐδεί πράττειν, οτὲ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἶδετε καταβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἔρματων καὶ μάχης ἀρχεῖν βουλόμενον. τότε γὰρ δῆπον καλὸς ὁ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἥν ἀγών καὶ τοῦ Ἄρωμαίων φρονή-ματος ἀξίως. νῦν δ’ ἀναγκαῖος ἦδη γίνεται, καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ τέλος, ὁμοίως καλὸς.

2 εἴ δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖτε ὁμος ἐπαναρθώσασθαι τὴν βραδυτητα βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ἀνα- λαβεῖν, καὶ πολλή χάρις ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὀρμής, εἴτ’ ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς γίνεται (κρεῖττον γὰρ ἄστιν ὁβε ἄρξασθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἡ μηδέποτε), εἴτ’ οὖν ἀπαντεῖς ὁμοίως ἔχετε περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμούς, καὶ ἡ προθυμία τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα

3 ὀρμής ἀπαντας ἡ αὐτὴ κατείλθησε. νῦν δὲ φοβοῦ- μεθα μὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας προσκρούσματα τῶν δημοτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει μεγάλης αὑτία τῶ κοινῷ γέννηται βλάβης. ὑποψία τε ἡμᾶς κατ- είληφεν ὡς ἡ περὶ τῆς ἓξόδου καταβοή καὶ ἀγανάκτησις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαίρεσεως παρὰ πάντων γίνεται, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμεῖσθε τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν, οἴ

4 δ’ ὡς ἀποδρασόμενοι. εἵ ὡς δὲ παρέστηκεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ὑποπτεύειν οὐ μαντεῖας εἴσαν οὐδὲ στοχασμοί, ἀλλ’ ἔργα ἐμφανῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα παλαιά, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἑναντίῳ γενόμενα, ὡς ἀπαντεῖς ἱστε, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους τούτους πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐξελθούσης στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πρώτης μάχης

1 Reiske: ε’ γε Ο, Jacoby.
2 Sylburg: δη ΛΒC.
officers, and the eagerness which you one and all have to come to grips with your opponents, by showing itself much too late, is untimely. For you should have done this still earlier, when you first saw them come down from their entrenchments and eager to begin battle. Then, no doubt, the contest for the supremacy would have been glorious and worthy of the Roman spirit; as things are, it is already becoming a matter of necessity, and however successful its outcome may be, it will not be equally glorious. Yet even now you do well in desiring to atone for your slowness and to retrieve what you have lost by neglect, and great thanks are due to you for your eagerness to follow the best course, whether this springs from valour—for it is better to begin late to do one’s duty than never—or whether indeed you have all come to the same logical conclusions as to what is expedient, and the same eagerness for rushing into battle has seized all of you. But as it is, we are afraid that the grievances of the plebeians against the authorities over the allotment of land may be the cause of great mischief to the commonwealth. And the suspicion has come to us that this clamour and indignation about a sortie do not spring from the same motive with all of you, but that while some desire to go out of the camp in order to take revenge on the enemy, others do so in order to run away. As for the reasons which have induced us to entertain these suspicions, they are neither divinations nor conjectures, but overt deeds, and deeds, too, that happened, not long ago, but only last year, as you all know. For when a large and excellent army had taken the field against this very

\[3\] Sylburg: \(\mu\acute{a}nte\)s O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὸ κράτιστον ἡμῖν λαβοῦσθε τέλος, δυνηθέντος ἄν τοῦ τότε ἄγνοιας ὑμᾶς ὑπάτου Καίσωνος, ἀδελφοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ τουδεί, καὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξελείν καὶ νίκην τῇ πατρίδι καταγαγεῖν λαμπροτάτην, φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ δόξης τινες, ὦτι δημοτικὸς οὐκ ἢν οὐδέ τὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς πένησι διετέλει πολύτευγομένως, τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀναστάσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, οὔτε τὸν κύνδυνον ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν καταληψόμενον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως καὶ χωρίς ἥγεμόνος ἀπόστατα ἐκ πολεμίας γῆς καὶ ταύτα ἐν νυκτὶ, οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ὅση καθέξειν αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὑπολογισάμενοι, ὦτι παρεξώρουν τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τὸ γοῦν ἑφ' ἐαυτοῖς1 μέρος, καὶ ταύτα οἱ νυκήσαντες τοὺς κεκρατημένους.

5 τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἀνδρας ὀρρωδοῦντες, ὁ ταξιαρχὸς τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατωταῖ, τοὺς οὔτ' ἄρχειν δυναμένους οὔτ' ἀρχεσθαι βουλομένους πολλοὺς καὶ αὐθάδεις ὄντας καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντας ἐν χερσὶν, οὔτε πρότερον ἐβουλομέθα μάχην συνάπτειν οὔτε νῦν ἔτι θαρσοῦμεν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις συμμάχοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, μὴ κωλύματα καὶ βλάβαι γένωνται τοῖς ἀπαντα τὰ καθ' ἐαυτοῦς 6 πρόθυμα παρεξωμένους. εἰ μέντοι κάκεινων ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τῶν νοῦν ἂνει νυνὶ καὶ2 καταβαλόντες τὸ στασιάζουν, ὑφ' οὐ3 πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα βλάπτεται τὸ κοινὸν, ἥ γε δὴ4 εἰς τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναβαλόμενου καιροὺς, ἐπανορθώσασθαι βούλονται τὰ παρελθόντα ὁνείδη τῇ νῦν ἀρετῇ, μηδὲν ἔτι τὸ

1 ἐαυτοῖς B : ἐαυτοῖς Λ.
2 καὶ added by Sintenis.
3 νῦν after οὐ deleted by Reiske.
enemy and the first battle had had the most successful outcome for us, so that your commander at the time, the consul Caeso, my brother here, could not only have taken the enemy's camp, but also have brought back a most glorious victory for the fatherland, some of the soldiers, begrudging him the glory because he was not a friend of the people and did not constantly pursue such a course as was pleasing to the poor, struck their tents the first night after the battle and without orders ran away from the camp, neither taking thought for the danger they would incur in retreating from a hostile country in disorderly fashion and without a general, and that too in the night, nor taking into account all the disgrace that was sure to come upon them for yielding the supremacy to the enemy, as far at least as in them lay, and yielding it, moreover, as victors to the vanquished. Being afraid, therefore, tribunes, centurions, and soldiers, of these men who are neither able to command nor willing to obey, who are numerous and bold and have their weapons in their hands, we have been unwilling hitherto to join battle and dare not even now, with such men to support us, engage in a life-and-death struggle, lest they prove hindrances and detriments to those who are displaying all the alacrity in their power. If, however, Heaven is turning the minds of even these men to better ways at the present time, and if, laying aside their seditious spirit, from which the commonwealth is suffering very great harm, or at least postponing it till times of peace, they wish to redeem their past disgrace by their present valour, let there be no further hindrance to your advancing.

4 ἂ γε δὴ Sintenis : εἰ γε δὴ B, om. R.
κωλύσον ἐστώ χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδας.

7 "Ἐχομεν δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτας ἃς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνόητον ἦμῶν παρέχει, οὐ γε πληθεί στρατιᾶς μακρῷ προὐχοντες ἦμων, καὶ τούτω μόνῳ δυνηθέντες ἃν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας τόλμας τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀντέχειν, ἀπεστερήκασι τῆς μόνης ὕφε- λείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαναλώσαντες τὸ πλεῖον τῆς δύνα-

8 μεως μέρος εἰς τὰς τῶν φρουρίων φυλακάς. ἔπειτα δέον αὐτοὺς σὺν εὐλαβεία καὶ λογισμῷ σώφρον πράττειν ἐκαστα, ἐνθυμομενόν πρὸς ο iov ἀνδρας καὶ πολὺ 1 ἄλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν ο κινδυνός ἦστα, θρασεύς καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγώνα χυροῦ-

σι, ὡς ἀμαχοι δὴ τινες 2 καὶ ὡς ἦμῶν κατα-

πεπληγότων αὐτούς. αἱ γοῦν ἀποταφρεύσεις καὶ 

αἰ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἦμῶν καθηπτεύσεις καὶ 

τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις υβρίσματα τούτο 

9 δύναται. ταῦτα τε δὴ ἐνθυμομενοι καὶ τῶν προ-

tέρων ἁγώνων μεμημένοι, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, 

ἐν οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐνκατε, χωρεῖτε μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ 

ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν ἁγώνα· καὶ ἐν ὃ ἄν ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸς 

χυρῷ ταχθῆν, τούτῳ ὑπολαβέτω καὶ οἴκον εἶναι καὶ 

κλήρον καὶ πατρίδα: καὶ ὁ τε σώζων τὸν παρα-

στάτην ἑαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβέτω, 

καὶ ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τῶν πέλασ ἑαυτῶν ἡγείσθω τοῖς 

πολεμίως προδιδόναι. μάλιστα δ’ ἐκεῖνο μεμνήσθαι 

προσήκει, 3 ὀτι μενόντων μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχο-

μένων ὄλγον τὸ ἀπολλύμενόν ἐστιν, ἐγκλινάντων 

de καὶ φευγόντων κομιδὴ βραχὺ τὸ σωζόμενον."  

1 καὶ πολὺ Β : om. C, καὶ R. Garrer and Jacoby reject 

καὶ πολὺ ἄλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν as a gloss. 

314
against the foe, setting before your eyes the fair hopes of victory.

"We have many resources for winning, but greatest and most decisive are those afforded us by the folly of the enemy. For though they far exceed us in the size of their army, and for that reason alone might have withstood our courage and experience, they have deprived themselves of their only advantage by using up the greater part of their forces in garrisoning the forts. In the next place, when they ought to act with caution and sober reason in everything they do, bearing in mind against what kind of men, actually far superior to them in valour, the hazard will be, they enter the struggle recklessly and incautiously, as if forsooth they were some invincible warriors and as if we stood in terror of them. At any rate, their digging of ditches round our camp, their riding up to our entrenchments, and their many insults both in words and actions indicate this. Bearing these thoughts in mind, then, and remembering the many glorious battles of the past in which you have overcome them, enter with alacrity into this contest also. And let every one of you look upon the spot in which he shall be posted as his house, his lot of land, and his country. Let him who saves the man beside him feel that he is effecting his own safety, and let him who forsakes his comrade feel that he is delivering himself up to the enemy. But, above all, you should remember this, that when men stand their ground and fight their losses are small, but when they give way and flee very few are saved."

1 The clause "actually far superior to them in valour" looks suspiciously like a gloss; see the critical note.

2 ἄν ῥυσὶς R : ῥυσὶς B, Jacoby. 
3 προσῆκεν A : προσῆκει R.
Χ. "Ἐτὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναίῳ ἐπαγωγά καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐκχέοντος δάκρυα, λοχαγῶν τε καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ τῶν άλλων ὀστρατιωτῶν ἐκαστὸν ὃ συνήδει τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐν μάχαις ἀποδεξαμένῳ κατ’ ὄνομα ἀνακαλοῦντος, καί πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασι κατὰ τὴν μάχην φιλάνθρωπα δώσειν ὑποχνουμένου πρὸς τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος, τιμᾶς τε καὶ πλούτους καὶ τὰς άλλας βοηθείας, ἀναβοήσεις εἴς ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευμένων καὶ ἁγενὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγώνα ἄξιοντων. ἐπειδή δ’ ἐπαύσατο, προ- ἔρχεται τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήμος ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὗ μήν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἑπανουμένων δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀλκίμος, καὶ δι’ ἀμφώ ταύτα ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἁρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἢ τάς ἐξήκοντα ἐκατονταρχίας ἐπε- σθαί τε καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει δ’ νό- μος. τούτους Ἄρωμαῖοι τοὺς ἥγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώστῃ προμοπίλους καλοῦσιν. οὕτος ὁ ἀνήρ (ἠν ἰδίως φασίς τοῦτο) μὲν ἐπὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἀλλοῖς μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν) στὰς ὀθὲν ἄπασιν ἐμελλέν ἐσεσθαί φανερός, "’Επεί τοῦτο,“ ἐφήσειν, "ὡ ὑπατοί, δεδοκατε, μὴ τὰ ἔργα ἕμων οὐχ ὁμοία γένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ὑπο- σχέσεως ἓκ τῆς μεγίστης πίστεως παρέξομαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς δ’, ὡς πολιταί τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοῖ τύχης, ὅσοι διεγνώκατε3 εἰς ἴσον καταστήσα τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἄν ἀμαρτάνουτε τὸ αὐτὸ ποι- 4 οὖντες ἐμοὶ.” ταύτ’ εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ἔφος ἀνατείνας

1 ὁ added by Kiessling.
2 ἐπεὶ τοῦτο Sintenis : ἐπὶ τοῦτο Α, ἐπὶ τοῦτο B.
X. While he was yet uttering these encouragements to bravery and accompanying his words with many tears, calling by name each one of the centurions, tribunes, and common soldiers whom he knew to have performed some gallant action in battle, and promising to those who should distinguish themselves in this engagement many great rewards in proportion to the magnitude of their deeds, such as honours, riches, and all the other advantages, shouts arose from all of them as they bade him be of good cheer and demanded that he lead them to battle. As soon as he had done speaking, there came forward from the throng a man named Marcus Flavoleius,¹ a plebeian and small farmer, though not one of the rabble but one celebrated for his merits and valiant in war and on both these accounts honoured with the most conspicuous command in one of the legions—a command which the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow and obey. These officers the Romans call in their own tongue primipili. This man, who, besides his other recommendations, was tall and fair to look upon, taking his stand where he would be in full view of all, said: "Since this is what you fear, consuls, that our actions will not agree with our words, I will be the first to give you in my own name the assurance for the performance of my promise by the greatest pledge I can give. And you too, fellow citizens and sharers of the same fortune, as many of you as are resolved to make your actions match your words, will make no mistake in following my example." Having said this, he held up his sword and

¹ For chap. 10, 2-4 cf. Livy ii. 45, 13 f.

³ διεγνώκατε Ο : δὴ ἐγνώκατε Reiske.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὁμοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριον τε Ἡρωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὁρκον, τὴν ἁγαθὴν ἐαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλως δ’ οὐ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληγίου τὸν ὁρκον πολὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ ἀμφότεροι τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρων καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ, 5 τελευτῶσα δ’ ἡ πληθὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τε αὖ καὶ μένος· καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις Ἰαλυνοὺς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ὁπλῶν ἔξεματτον· καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου3 πᾶσα 6 ἡν ἔτοιμος εἰς τὸν ἁγώνα ἡ στρατιά. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαίς τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ λιταῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου σφίσι γενέσθαι ἱγμόνας, ἐξήγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐρμιματῶν ἱδόντες ἑθαύμασάν τε καὶ ἀντεπεξήσαν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει.

XI. Ὡς δ’ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἀμφότεροι κατέστησαν καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλους ἵππεῖς τε 4 ἵππεύοι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοὶς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο φόνος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες τῶν Ἡρωμαίων κέρας, οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μάλλιος, ἐξ-έωσαν τὸ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς μέρος, καὶ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐμάχοντο πεζοὶ. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι ταχθέντες υπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων

1 ἤπποις B : ἤππεῖς AC.
2 ἐνέβαλλον Bb : ἐνέβαλλον R.
took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tribunes and centurions, and last of all the rank and file. When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour. And going from the assembly, some bridled their horses, others sharpened their swords and spears, and still others cleaned their defensive arms; and in a short time the whole army was ready for the combat. The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the army out of the camp in regular order and formation. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them come down from their entrenchments, were surprised and marched out with their whole force to meet them.

XI. When both armies had come into the plain and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they raised their war-cries and ran to close quarters; and engaging, horse with horse and foot with foot, they fought there, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The troops on the right wing of the Romans, commanded by Manlius, one of the consuls, repulsed the part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, and quitting their horses, fought on foot. But those on the left wing were being surrounded by the enemy’s
2 ἑκυκλοῦντο. ἢν γὰρ Ἡ Τυρρηνών φάλαγξ κατὰ τούτο τὸ χωρὸν ὑπερπετῆς τε καὶ ὅποι ὁλίγων μείζων τῆς ἐτέρας. παρερρήγνυτο δὴ ταῦτῃ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐλάμβανεν. ἦγείτο δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ κέρως Κώντος Φάβιος, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ὁν, ὁ δ' ὑπατεύσας καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἀντεἶχε τραύματα λαμβάνων παντοδαπά, ἔπειτα λόγχη βληθεὶς εἰς τὰ στέρνα μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ἐλθούσης τῆς αἴχμης ἐξαιμος

3 γενόμενος πίπτει. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἦκουσεν ὁ ἐτέρος τῶν ὑπάτων, Μάρκος Φάβιος (ἦν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένος) τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν λόχων ἀναλαβῶν καὶ τὸν ἐτέρον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καίσωνα Φάβιον ἀνακαλεσάμενος, παρῆλαντεν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλλαξεν τὸ δεξιόν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας, ἦλανυν ἐπὶ τοὺς κυκλομένους. ἐμπεσῶν δ' αὐτοῖς φόνον τε τοῖς ἐν χερσὶ ποιεῖ πολὺν καὶ φυγὴν τῶν πρὸσω, τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν ἐτί ἐμπνέοντα καταλαβῶν αἱρεται. ἔκεινος μὲν οὐν οὐ πολὺν ἐτι χρόνον ἐπιβιοὺς ἀποθνήσκει· τοῖς δὲ τιμωροῦσιν αὐτῶν θυμός ἐτί πλείων παρέστη καὶ μείζων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον· καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτί τῆς ἱδίας ψυχῆς προ- νοούμενοι σὺν ὁλίγοις εἰς μέσους ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς μάλιστα συνεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, σωροὺς ἐξ- 5 επιλήρουν νεκρῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούτο τὸ μέρος

1 ἐπὶ before τὴν deleted by Gelenius.
2 Portus : παρῆλλαξεν ο.
3 πλείων παρέστη καὶ μείζων Α : μείζων παρέστη Β.

1 Dionysius employs ἀνθύπατος, the usual Greek word for "proconsul" or the adjective "proconsular," only in con-
right wing, since the Tyrrhenians' line at this point outflanked that of the Romans and was considerably deeper. Thus the Roman army was being broken in this sector and was receiving many blows. This wing was commanded by Quintus Fabius, who was a legate and proconsul and had been twice consul. He maintained the fight for a long time, receiving wounds of all kinds till, being struck in the breast by a spear, the point of which pierced his bowels, he fell through loss of blood. When Marcus Fabius, the other consul, who commanded in the centre, was informed of this, he took with him the best of the centuries, and summoning Caeso Fabius, his other brother, he passed beyond his own line, and advancing a long way, till he had got beyond the enemy's right wing, he turned upon those who were encircling his men, and charging them, caused great slaughter among all whom he encountered, and also put to flight those who were at a distance; and finding his brother still breathing, he took him up. The man lived only a short time after that; but his death filled his avengers with still more and greater anger against the foe and, heedless now of their own lives, they rushed with a few followers into the densest ranks of the enemy and made large heaps of their dead bodies. In this part of their line, therefore, the

nexion with a person possessing the imperium (see chaps. 16, 3-4; 17, 5; 63, 2; cf. xi. 62, 1), but when, as in the present passage and one other (chap. 12, 5), he is speaking of a proconsul in a subordinate position, he uses the term ἀντιστράτηγος. The latter term was used by most writers for "praefect," and the phrase πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος was the Greek equivalent for legatus pro praetore; but at the period with which we are here concerned the praetorship had not been set off as yet from the consulship.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐκαμεν ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ, καὶ οἱ πρότερον ὤσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων ἀνεκόπησαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες κέρασιν, ἐνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν, 1 κάμυντες ἵδη καὶ φυγής ἀρχοντες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς. παλτῷ γάρ τις βαλὼν τὸν Μάλλιον διὰ τοῦ γόνατος ἀχρὶ τῆς ἱγνών ἀνρήσει τὴν λόγχην καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ πέριξ ἀραντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τῶν ἤγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τεθνηκέναι δόξαντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ παραβοκησάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις 6 οὐκ ἐχουσιν ἤγεμόνα. ἡγαγκάσθησαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φάβιοι καταλιπόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρασι τῷ δεξιῷ βοηθείν· καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσώντας αὐτοὺς στίφει καρτερῷ μαθόντες τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀποτρέπονται, πυκνώσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόχους ἐμάχοντο ἐν τάξει, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτειναν.

XII. 'Εν γὰρ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίνετο, οἱ τῶν χάρακα τὸν ἐκλειψθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίων καταλαβόμενοι Τυρρηνοὶ συνήματος ἀρθέντος ἀπὸ 3 τοῦ στρατηγίου 4 σὺν τάχει πολλῷ καὶ προθυμία μεγάλη χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐτέρον ἥπειγοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάρακα, ὅσι οὐκ ἀξιοχρέω δυνάμει φυλαττόμενον. καὶ ἢν ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀλῆθής. ἐξω γὰρ τῶν τριαρίων καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐμπόρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ἦν ἐν αὐτῶ· γίνεται τε πολλῶν εἰς ὀλίγον συνελάθεντων χωρίον (περὶ γὰρ ταῖς πύλαις ὁ ἀγών ἦν) δόξεια καὶ

1 ἐνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν placed here by Kiessling, after ἀρχοντες by O; deleted by Jacoby.
322
Tyrrhenians were hard pressed, and those who earlier had forced their enemies to give ground were now repulsed by those they had conquered; but those on the left wing, where Manlius was, though they were already in distress and beginning to flee, put their opponents to flight. For when Manlius had been struck in the knee with a javelin by an opponent who thrust the point through to the hamstrings, and those about him took him up and were, carrying him back to the camp, the enemy, believing the Roman commander to be dead, took heart and, the rest coming to their assistance, pressed hard upon the Romans who now had no commander. This obliged the Fabii to quit their left wing once more and rush to the relief of the right; and the Tyrrhenians, learning that they were approaching in a strong body, gave over further pursuit, and closing their ranks, fought in good order, losing a large number of their own men, but also killing many of the Romans.

XII. In the meantime the Tyrrhenians who had possessed themselves of the camp abandoned by Manlius, as soon as the signal for battle was given at headquarters, ran with great haste and alacrity to the other camp of the Romans, suspecting that it was not guarded by a sufficient force. And their belief was correct. For, apart from the triarii and a few younger troops, the rest of the crowd then in the camp consisted of merchants, servants and artificers; and with many crowded into a small space—for the struggle was for the gates of the camp—a sharp and

1 This awkward explanation may be an interpolation.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

χαλεπή μάχη, καὶ νεκροὶ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων πολλοί.
2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ὁ τε ὑπατος Μάλλιος ἑκβοηθῶν ἀμα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ὑππος ἔπεσε, συγκατενεχθείς καὶ ἀδύνατος ὁν ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ πλῆθους τραυματῶν, ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ πολλοί καὶ ἀγαθοὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι νέοι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο εὐθύς ὁ χάραξ ἠλίσκετο, καὶ τέλος εἴχε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὰ μαντεύματα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐταμειώσαντο τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἰχοῦς τὸν χάρακα, τάς τε ἀποσκευὰς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων κατέσχον ἀν καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀπελθεῖν ἣνάγκασαν. νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγῆν τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναψυχόντες τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ πλείους καλὴν ἁγραν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφηρέθησαν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπηγγέλθη θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ τοῦ χάρακος ἄλωσις, ἦπειγέτο σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἱππεῶν τε καὶ πεζῶν.
4 καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἔπιοντα περιεστεφάνωσαν τὸν χάρακα, μάχη τ’ αὐτῶν γίνεται καρτερὰ τῶν μὲν ἀνασώσσοντας θυσιομείνα τὰ σφέτερα, τῶν δὲ μὴ πασσοῦντες διαφθάρων ἀλώτος τοῦ χάρακος διδοκύτων. χρόνου δὲ γινομένου πλείουν καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πολλὰ πλεονεκτούντων (ἡν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τε χωρίων καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δὶ ἡμέρας ὀλὰς κεκυκληκοτας ἡ μάχη’),
5 Τίτος Σίκκιος ὁ πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, κοινωνόμενος τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκέλευε σημαίνειν, καὶ καθ’ ἐν ἀπαντας

1 ὁ τε ὑπατος μάλλιος B : ὁ τε μάλλιος ὑπατος R. Kiessling and Jacoby rejected Μάλλιος.
2 εἰχοῦς Ὁ : εἰχοῦς Steph.2, Jacoby.
3 ἀν added by Cobet.
4 Sylburg : ἤναγκαζον Ὁ.
5 τὸ λοιπὸν B : om. R.
6 τε χωρίων Reiske : τὸ χωρίον Ὁ.

324
severe engagement followed, and there were many dead on both sides. During this action the consul Manlius was coming out with the cavalry to the relief of his men, when his horse fell; and he, falling with him and being unable to rise because of his many wounds, died there, and likewise many brave young men at his side. After this disaster the camp was soon taken, and the Tyrrhenians' prophecies had their fulfilment. Now if they had husbanded the good fortune that was then theirs and had kept the camp under guard, they would have got possession of the Romans' baggage and forced them to a shameful retreat; but as it was, by turning to plundering what had been left behind and from then on refreshing themselves, as most of them did, they allowed a fine booty to escape out of their hands. For as soon as word of the taking of the camp reached the other consul, he hastened thither with the flower of both horse and foot. The Tyrrhenians, informed of his approach, formed a circle round the camp and a sharp battle occurred between them, as the Romans endeavoured to recover what was theirs and the enemy feared being annihilated if their camp should be taken. When considerable time passed and the Tyrrhenians had many advantages, since they fought from higher ground and against men spent with fighting the whole day, Titus Siccius, the legate and proconsul, after communicating his plan to the consul, ordered that a retreat should be sounded and

1 See note on chap. 11, 2.

7 ἡ μάχη Sylburg : τῆς μάχης O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

...
that all the men should assemble in a single body and assault one side of the camp where it was most easy of attack. He left free from attack the parts next the gates, reasoning plausibly—and in this he was not deceived—that if the Tyrrhenians saw any hope of saving themselves, they would abandon the camp, whereas, if they despaired of this, finding themselves surrounded on all sides and no way of escape left, necessity would make them brave. And when the attack was directed against one point only, the Tyrrhenians no longer resisted, but opening the gates, made their way back in safety to their own camp.

XIII. The consul, after he had averted the danger, returned once more to the assistance of those who were in the plain. This battle is said to have been greater than any the Romans had previously fought as regards not only the numbers of the combatants, but also the time it lasted and its sudden turns of fortune. For of the Romans themselves from the city the flower and choice of their youth consisted of about 20,000 foot and some 1200 horse attached to the four legions, while from their colonies and allies there was another force equally large. As for the duration of the battle, it began a little before noon and lasted till sunset. Its fortunes continued for a long time shifting to and fro with alternating victories and defeats. A consul was slain, as well as a legate who had himself been twice consul, and many other commanders, tribunes and centurions—more indeed than in any previous battle. But the victory in

6 νίκαις τε καὶ ἠτταῖς Bb : νίκαις τε καὶ ἠτταῖς ABaC.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

εδόκει περὶ τοὺς Ὄρμαίοις γεγονέναι κατ’ ἀλλ’ μὲν οὐδὲν, οτι δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ καταλυπόντες 3 τὸν χάρακα οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀνέζευξαν. τῇ δὲ ἔξης ἡμέρα πρὸς ἀρταγάς τῆς ἐκλειφθείσης ύπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν παρεμβολῆς οἱ Ὄρμαιοι τραπόμενοι καὶ ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν έαυτῶν χάρακα. ἐκεί δ’ ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς ἀγωνισμένοις λαμπρῶς τὰς ἀριστείους ἀπέδοσαν τιμάς, πρῶτος μὲν Καίσων Φαβίω τῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀδελφῷ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένων, δευτέρω δὲ τῷ Σικκίῳ, τῷ δια- πραξαμένῳ τὸν χάρακα ἀνασώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ Φλαβιλέῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ τάγματος, τοῦ 3 ὅρκου χάριν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ρώμης. 4 διαπραξαμένοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ως οὐδεὶς ἀντεπεξήκει τῶν πολεμίων μαχησόμενος, ἀπήσαν ἐπὶ οἶκοι. πάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ως ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ ἁγώνι κάλλιστον τέλος εἰληφότι, τὴν ἐπινίκιον τι- μὴν τοῦ θριάμβου τῷ περιόντι ὑπάτῳ προσθεῖναι βουλομένων, ἡρνήσατο τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπάτος, οὔτε ὅσιοι εἶναι λέγων οὔτε θεμιτὸν ἐπὶ ἀδελφὸς θανάτῳ καὶ συνάρχοντος ἀποβολῆ πομπεύειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν ἀποθείς δὲ τὰς σημείας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῆς ὑπατείας ἀπωμόσατο, διειν ἐπὶ μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαύςον χρόνον λειτουργοῦν, ἀδύνατος ὁ ποτὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι

1 διαπραξαμένως B: διαπραξαμένως C, διαφρασαμένως ACmg.
2 ρώμης O: τόλμης Kiessling, όρμης Grasberger.
3 σημεία O: σημεία Sylburg, Jacoby. The form σημεία is given by the MSS. in several passages in the chapters that follow, but has been regularly emended by the editors.

328
the struggle seemed to rest with the Romans, for this one reason alone, that the Tyrrhenians left their camp the following night and withdrew. The next day the Romans turned to plundering the camp which had been abandoned by the Tyrrhenians, and having buried their dead, returned to their own camp. There, having called an assembly of the soldiers, they distributed the rewards of valour to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, as follows: first, to Caeso Fabius, the consul’s brother, who had performed great and remarkable exploits; next, to Siccius, who had brought about the recovery of their camp; and third, to Marcus Flavoleius, the commander of the legion, on account of both the oath he had taken and the prowess he had shown in the midst of danger. After attending to these things they remained a few days in the camp; then, when none of the enemy came out to fight against them, they returned home. Though all in the city wished to honour the surviving consul with the victor’s reward of a triumph because of a most glorious outcome to a very great battle, the consul declined the favour they offered, saying that it was neither right nor lawful for him to ride in procession and wear a crown of laurel after the death of his brother and the loss of his colleague. But after putting away the standards and dismissing the soldiers to their homes he resigned the consulship when two months still remained to complete his year’s term, since he was no longer capable of performing the duties of the office. For

1 The primipilus; see chap. 10, 2.
2 The word here rendered “prowess” is perhaps corrupt; we should expect a word like “intrepidity.” See the critical note.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

πράττειν. ἐταλαμώρει γὰρ ὑπὸ τραύματος ἐξαισίου καὶ ἦν κλινοπετής.

XIV. Ἐλομένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μεσοβασιλείας τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐνεκα, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μεσο-

βασιλέως συγκαλέσαντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοὺς λό-

χους, ἀποδείκνυται Καύσων Φάβιος ὁ τὰ ἀριστεία

λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχήν

ἀποθεμένου, τὸ τρίτον ὑπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ

Τίτος Οὔεργίνιος. οὗτοι διαλαχόντες τὰς δυνάμεις

ἐξήσαν εἰς τὴν ὑπαθρον, Φάβιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς

πολεμήσων προνομεύονσι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς,

2 Οὔεργίνιος δὲ Οὐινενταῖος. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἑπιδή

στρατον ἐλευσόμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐγγυόταν, ἀναστάν-

τες ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰς

ἐαυτῶν πόλεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λεγατουμένης τῆς

σφετέρας γῆς ἤνείχοντο, ὅστε πολλῶν κρατήσαι

χρημάτων τὸν ὑπατον καὶ σωμάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης

λείας εξ ἐφόδου. Οὐινενταῖος δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐντὸς

τείχους μένοντες, ἑπιδή καρον ἔχειν ἐδοξαῖν ἐπι-

τήδειον, ἐπέθεντο τοῖς πολεμίωσι ἐσκεδασμένοις

ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγήν τετραμμένοις

3 τῆς λείας. ἔχοντες δὲ πολλὴν καὶ συντεταγ-

μένην δύναμιν ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν

τε λείαν ἀφαιροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ὁμός χωροῦντας

οὐσ μὲν ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὕτω δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπουσιν·

καὶ εἰ μὴ Τίτος Σίκκιος πρεσβυτης τοτ' ὄν στίφει

συντεταγμένων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππεων παραβοθῆσας

ἐπέσχεν αὐτοὺς, οὔδεν ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἢν ἀπασαν

ἀπολέσθαι τὴν στρατιάν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐμποδῶν
he was still suffering from a horrible wound and obliged to keep his bed.

XIV. The senate\(^1\) chose *interreges* to preside at the election of magistrates, and the second *interrex* having assembled the centuries in the Field,\(^2\) Caeso Fabius, the one who had been awarded the prize for valour in the battle, and brother to the man who had abdicated his magistracy, was chosen consul for the third time, and with him Titus Verginius. These, having drawn lots for the armies, took the field, Fabius to war against the Aequians, who were plundering the fields of the Latins, and Verginius against the Veientes. The Aequians, when they learned that an army was going to come against them, hastily evacuated the enemy's country and returned to their own cities; and after that they permitted their own territory to be ravaged, so that the consul possessed himself at the first blow of large amounts of money, many slaves, and much booty of other sorts. As for the Veientes, they at first remained within their walls; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they fell upon the enemy as they were dispersed over the plains and occupied in seizing booty. And attacking them with a large army in good order, they not only took away their booty, but also killed or put to flight all who engaged them. Indeed, if Titus Siccius, who was legate at the time, had not come to their relief with a body of foot and horse in good order and held the foe in check, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. But when he got in the enemy's way,

\(^1\) *Cf.* Livy ii. 48, 1-7.

\(^2\) The Campus Martius.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

genoménon synelthein éfthasai ou loipoi ou kath' éna diaskedasmein' pántes dé en tauth génoimenoi lóphon tina katalembánontai peri deilhen óphían, 4 kai ti th épioussan vúkta en toutw émeinai. éparkeréntes dé Oúienvanou to katothwmati plhsión ton lóphon tìthenai ta ópla, kai toutis ék thés pólewos ékaloan ós katakekleikótes tois Rwmiais eis xwrióon éntha oudean tîn épitideiwn émelion éxewn, kai proasanaagkássontes ouk eis makrân paradoúnav ouphi tâ ópla. gínetai te autón suxhnoi élhontos ókhlon dúo stratéymata peri tás épimáxous laqóvás ton lófon, pollá t' 1 allá phrouria braxútera kata touton ́ptton épikairous topous kai pánta ñn meóstà óplow.

5 'O dé éteros tôn úptaton Phábios grámmátwn para toû synaráxontos afikoménovn épignous ós2 én ésxatois eisin oui katankleísthentes en tîn lóphon, kai kíndunéssousin, ei mi tis autois bothèsei, ljmò álloinai anasthías ton stratón ñgen epî toutis Oúienvanous sún táchei. kai ei miá bradúteron ñméra diýnusse thn óðón, oudean ãn õnñsen, allá dieftharménh thn ékei stratín katełabhe. piezômenoi gar tî spánnei tôn anakaiwovn ou katonchontes ton lóphon ežêlwov õs tôn eúprépéstaton aýrsômenovn tîn thnáton, kai sýmbalontes tous polemíovn ois émáchontous kekymikóteres oui pleíouvs tâ sýmata ljmò te kai diáth kai aýrpnia kai tî állyn káko-6 seí. met' ou póly dé õs tô toû Phábiov stratéyma prosión õphthi polû te kai sýntetanêmovn, thárous men ñfere tois sfetérous, deos dé tois polemíovn.

1 te Reiske : dé O.
the rest of the troops, who had been scattered one here and one there, succeeded in getting together before it was too late; and being now all united, they occupied a hill late in the afternoon and remained there the following night. The Veientes, elated by their success, encamped near the hill and sent for their forces in the city, imagining that they had shut up the Romans in a place where they could not get any provisions, and that they would soon force them to deliver up their arms to them. And when a great multitude of their men had arrived, there were now two armies posted on the two sides of the hill that could be assailed, as well as many smaller detachments to guard the less vulnerable positions; and every place was full of armed men.

The other consul, Fabius, learning from a letter that came from his colleague that the troops shut up on the hill were in the direst straits and would be in danger of being reduced by famine unless someone came to their relief, broke camp and marched in haste against the Veientes. Indeed, if he had been one day later in completing his march, he would have been of no help, but would have found the army there destroyed. For the men holding the hill, distressed by the lack of provisions, had sallied out, ready to choose the most honourable death; and having engaged the enemy, they were then fighting, though the bodies of most of them were weakened by hunger, thirst, want of sleep, and every other hardship. But after a short time, when the army of Fabius, which was very large and drawn up in order of battle, was seen approaching, it brought confidence to their own men and fear to the enemy; and the Tyrrhenians,
καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ὑκέτι ἀξιόμαχοι εἶναι νομίζοντες πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ ἀκμῆτα δύναμιν εἰς ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν, ὧνοντο ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας. ώς δ’ εἰς ταῦτο συνήλθον αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀμφότεραι, στρατόπεδον τε πουλοῦνται μέγα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἑχυρῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοθε διατρίβοντες καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν Ὀυιεντανῶν χώραν λειλατήσαντες ἀπῆγγον ἐπ’ οὗκον τὴν στρατιάν. ώς δ’ ἐγγυσαν οἱ Ὀυιεντανοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφειμένας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, τὴν εὐξείων ἀναλαβόντες νεότητα, ἢν τε αὐτοὶ συντεταγμένη εἰσάκιν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων παρούσαν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰ προσκείμενα τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ πεδία, καὶ διαρπάζουσι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα μεστά. κατέβησαν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ γεωργοὶ χιλοῦ τε τῶν βοσκημάτων ἑνεκα καὶ ἐργαζόμενόι τῶν ἀγρῶν πιστεύοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ προκαθημένη καὶ οὐ φθάσαντες ἀπελθοῦσις ἀνασκευάσασθαι1 πάλιν, οὐκ ἂν2 ἐλπίσαντες τοσαύτα κεκακωμένους τοὺς Ὀυιεντανοὺς ταχείαν οὕτως ἀντεπιχείρησιν κατὰ 8 τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ποιήσασθαι.3 αὕτη χρόνου μὲν μήκει βραχεία ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ὀυιεντανῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβολή, πλήθει δὲ χώρας ἢν ἐπηλθοῦν ἐν τοῖς3 πάνω μεγάλη, καὶ ἄχρηστον σὺν αὐσχυνή Ῥωμαίοις ἀὕρη παρέσχεν ἄχρεις Τεθειός τε ποταμοὶ καὶ ὅριος Ἰανίκλου στάδια τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδ’ εἴκοσιν ἀφεστῶτος ἀφικομένη. ἡ4 κωλύσουσα

1 ἀνασκευάσασθαι BCimg : ἀνασκευάσαστες AC.
2 οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντες B : οὐκ ἐλπίσαντες Λ, Jacoby, οὖδ’ ἐλπίσαντες Kiessling.
3 ποιήσασθαι ABC : ποιήσασθαι Steph., Jacoby.
334
believing themselves no longer to be strong enough to engage in battle with a valiant and fresh army, abandoned their camps and withdrew. When the two armies of the Romans had come together, they made a large camp in a strong position near the city; then, after remaining there many days and plundering the best part of the territory of the Veientes, the generals led the army home. When the Veientes heard that the forces of the Romans had been discharged from the standards, taking the light-armed youth, not only their own which they had already assembled, but also that of their neighbours which was then present, they made an incursion into the plains bordering upon their own territory, which were full of corn, cattle and men, and plundered them. For the husbandmen had come down from the strongholds to get feed for their cattle and to till their lands, relying upon the protection of their army, which then lay encamped between them and the enemy; and after this army had retired, they had made no haste to move back, as they did not expect the Veientes, after having suffered so many defeats, to make a return attack so promptly against the foe. This irruption of the Veientes into the Romans' country, though brief in point of the time it lasted, was very serious with respect to the amount of territory they overran; and it caused the Romans unusual vexation, mingled with shame, since it extended as far as the river Tiber and Mount Janiculum, which is not twenty stades from Rome.\(^1\) For there was no force

\(^1\) In chap. 24, 3 the distance is given as 16 stades (2 miles).

\(^4\) Kiessling : \(\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\ O.\)

\(^5\) \(\eta\ \Lambda\) : om. B, but three letters deleted before \(\kappa\omega\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\sigma\alpha.\)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γάρ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλεῖον χωρεῖν τὰ πολέμια οὐκ ἢν ὑπὸ¹ σημείας. ἔφθασε γοῦν τὸ τῶν Ὀῳεντανῶν στράτευμα πρὶν² συνελθεῖν τε καὶ λοχισθῆναι τούς Ρωμαιοὺς ἀπελθόν.

XV. Συναχθείσης δὲ μετὰ τούτο τῆς³ βουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ σκέψεως γενομένης τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ὀῳεντανοῖς τρόπον, ἢ νικῶσα ἢν γνώμη στράτευμα συνεστηκός ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις, ὃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξει τὴν χώραν θυραυλοῦν καὶ αἰεὶ μένον ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς. ἔλυπε δ' αὐτοὺς ἢ τε εἰς τοὺς φρουροὺς δαπάνη πολλή σφόδρα ἐσομένη, τοῦ τε κοινοῦ ταμείου διὰ τάς συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἐξαναλωμένου¹ καὶ τῶν ἱδίων βίων ἀπειρηκτῶν ταῖς εἴσοδοις· καὶ ἔτι μάλλον ἢ τῶν ἀποσταλησιμένων φρουρῶν καταγραφῆ τίνα τρόπον ἄν γένοιτο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκοναύων γε τινῶν⁵ προκαθημένων⁶ ἀπάντων καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ταλαι- 2 πωρείς ὑποστηρισμένων. ἀδημονούσης δ' αὐτῆς ἐπ' ἀμφότεροι τούτοις συγκαλέσαντες οἱ δύο: Φάβμοι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο τῇ βουλῇ τοῦτο τὸ κινδύνευμα αὐτοὶ περὶ πάντων ἐκόντες ὑπομενεῖν, πελάτας τε τοὺς ἕαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ φίλους καὶ τέλεσι τοῖς ἱδίοις, ὡςον ἂν χρόνον ὁ 3 πόλεμος διαμένῃ, στρατεύομενοι. ἀγαθόντων δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων τοῦ γενναίου τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον τιθεμένων, κλεινοὶ

¹ Portus : ἐπὶ Ο. 
² πρὶν Ὀ : πρὶν ἦν Jacoby. 
³ τῆς added by Sylburg. 
⁴ ἐξαναλωμένου Ba : ἐξαναλωμένου R. 
⁵ After τινῶν Kayser proposed to add ὄλγων. 
⁶ Kiessling : προκείμενων Λ, Jacoby, προκείμενων B, προ- κυνδυνεύειν Köstlin. 
⁷ δύο B : om. R. 
336
then under the standards to stop the enemy's further progress; at any rate, the army of the Veientes had gone before the Romans could assemble and be assigned to centuries.

XV. When the senate¹ was later called together by the consuls and had deliberated in what manner the war should be carried on against the Veientes, the opinion which prevailed was to maintain a standing army upon the frontiers, which should keep guard over the Roman territory, camping in the open and always remaining under arms. But the expense of maintaining the garrisons, which would be very great, grieved them, since the public treasury was exhausted as a result of the continual campaigns, and their private fortunes had proved unequal to the burden of the war-taxes. And they were grieved still more by the problem of enlisting the garrisons which were to be sent out, how that could be accomplished, there being little probability that a few men would, willingly at least, serve as a bulwark in defence of all and submit to hardships, not in successive shifts, but continuously. While the senate was troubled on both these accounts, the two Fabii assembled all the members of their clan, and having consulted with them, promised the senate that they themselves would voluntarily undertake this risk in defence of all the citizens, taking along with them their clients and friends, and would at their own expense continue in arms as long as the war should last. All admired them for their noble devotion and placed their hopes of victory in this single undertaking; and while they

¹ Cf. Livy ii. 48, 8-49, 8.
καὶ περιβόητοι καθ’ ὀλην τὴν πόλιν ὄντες ἐξῆσαν ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὀπλὰ σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις. ἤγείτο δ’ αὐτῶν Μάρκος Φάβιος ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἐτει καὶ νυκῆσας¹ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς τῇ μάχῃ, πετρακασχιλίους μάλιστα ἐπαγόμενος, ὡν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πελατῶν τε καὶ ἑταῖρων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἀνδρεῖς. εἰπετο δ’ αὐτοῖς μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἦ Ὄρμαιων δύναμις, ἦ ἤγειτο Καῖσων Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

4 Γενόμενοι δὲ ποταμοὺ Κρεμέρας² πλησίον, οὐ οὐ μακράν ἀπέχει τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ὅχθου τινός ἀποτόμου καὶ περιρρόγος ἐπετείχιζον αὐτοῖς φρουρίων ἰκανὸν φυλάττεσθαι τοσαύτη στρατιὰ τὰφρους τε ὀρυζάμενοι περὶ αὐτὸ διπλᾶς καὶ πύργους ἐγείραντες πυκνοῖς· καὶ ἀνομάσθη τὸ φρουρίον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρα. οὶ δὲ πολυχειρίας τε ἐργαζομένης καὶ υπάτου συλλαμβάνοντος θάττον ἦ κατὰ δόξαν ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον.

5 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐξαγαγῶν τὴν δύναμιν παρῆλασεν ἐπὶ θάτερα³ μέρη τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἐστραμμένα Τυρρηνίαν, ἐνθα ἦν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τὰ βοσκῆματα, οὐδέποτε στρατὸν ἦξειν Ὄρμαιων ἐκεῖ προσδεχομένοις. περιβαλόμενος δὲ πολλὴν λειαν ἀπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεόκτιστον φρουρίον, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ κατ’ ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πολεμίων τιμωρίας ἑνεκα, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν ἐμελλε παρέξειν εὐπορίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτ’ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον

¹ Sylburg: ἐνίκησε Ο.
² Portus: κρεμέρα Ο.
³ τὰ after θάτερα deleted by Reiske.
BOOK IX. 15, 3-5

were being acclaimed and their names were on the lips of all, they took their arms and marched forth, accompanied by vows and sacrifices. Their leader was Marcus Fabius, the man who had been consul the preceding year and had conquered the Tyrrenians in the late battle; those he took with him were about four thousand in number, the greater part of them being clients and friends, while of the Fabian clan there were three hundred and six men. They were followed a little later by the Roman army under the command of Caeso Fabius, one of the consuls.

When they came near the river Cremera, which is not far from the city of the Veientes, they built upon a steep and craggy hill a fortress to command their territory, as large as could be garrisoned by an army of such size, surrounding it with a double ditch and erecting frequent towers; and the fortress was named Cremera, after the river. Since many hands were employed at this work and the consul himself assisted them, it was completed sooner than might have been expected. After that the consul marched out with the army and went past the city to the other side of the territory of the Veientes, the side facing toward the rest of Tyrrenia, where the Veientes kept their herds, not expecting that a Roman army would ever come there; and having possessed himself of much booty, he returned to the newly erected fortress. This quarry afforded him great satisfaction for two reasons—first, because he had so promptly retaliated upon the enemy, and again, because it would furnish abundant supplies to the garrison of the stronghold. For he neither turned over any part of
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀνήνεγκεν,1 οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ὑποξύγια καὶ ξεύγη βοεικὰ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τάλλα ὃσα εἰς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν τοῖς περιπόλοις τῆς χώρας ἐχαρίσσατο. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ’ οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἐπιτείχισμον τοῦ χωρίου κακῶς πάνυ τὰ πράγματ’ εἶχεν, οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἐτὶ δυναμένους ἀσφαλῶς γεωργεῖν οὔτε τὰς 7 ἐξωθεὶν ἐσαγορομένας ἄγορὰς δέχεσθαι.3 νείμαντες γὰρ εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν στρατιάν οἱ Φάβιοι, τῷ μὲν ἔν τι διεφύλαττον τὸ χωρίον, τοῖς δὲ τρισὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν· καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων4 χειρὶ οὐκ ὀλύγη καὶ εἰς χωρία ἐνέδρας κατεχόμενα ὑπαγορεύνων, περιήγαν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ πολύς νεκροὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆραν εἰς τὸ χωρίον· ὡστε οὐδ’ ὅμοσε χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐτί οἱ πολέμιοι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τειχώρεις μένοντες τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κλέπτοντες τὰς ἐξόδους διετέλουν· καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἐκείνος ἐτελεύτα.5

XVI. Τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἦτε Λευκίον τε Αἰμιλίου καὶ Γαίου Σεροῦλίου6 τὴν ὑπατείαν παρειληφότων ἀπηγγέλη Ἶρωμαίοις ὅτι Ὀυιουλοῦκοι καὶ Αἰκανοὶ7 συνθήκας πεποίηται στρατιῶς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἁμα ἐξάγειν καὶ οὐ διὰ μακρὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλοῦσι· καὶ ἦν ἀληθῶς τὰ λεγόμενα. θάττον γοῦν ἡ προσ-

1 Tegge: ἀπῆγκεν Ο.
2 στρατιώταις Kiessling, στρατευομένοις Kayser: στρατευομένοις ίδιώταις Ο.
3 δέχεσθαι BhCmg: om. R.
4 Cary: ἐπιθεμένων O, Jacoby.
5 340
the spoils to the treasury nor distributed any to the soldiers, but presented all the cattle, the beasts of burden, the yokes of oxen, the iron, and the other implements of husbandry to the patrols of the country. After accomplishing this he led the army home. The Veientes found themselves in very dire straits after the erection of the frontier stronghold, since they could no longer either till their land in safety or receive the provisions that were imported from abroad. For the Fabii had divided their army into four bodies, with one of which they guarded the stronghold, while with the other three they continually pillaged the enemy's country; and often, when the Veientes openly attacked them with a considerable force or endeavoured to entice them into places beset with ambuscades, the Fabii had the advantage in both situations, and after killing many of them, would retire safely to their stronghold. Consequently the enemy no longer dared to engage them, but remained shut up within their walls for the most part, and only ventured out by stealth. Thus ended that winter.

XVI. The next year,¹ when Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius had assumed the consulship, the Romans were informed that the Volscians and the Aequians had entered into an agreement to lead out armies against them at the same time, and that they would soon make an irruption into their territory. And this information was true. At all events, sooner

¹ For chaps. 16-17, 3 cf. Livy ii. 49, 9-12.

⁵ ἐτελεύτα Ο : οὕτως ἐτελεύτα Reiske, Jacoby.
⁶ Σερονίλιον Sigonius : σεργιόν Ο (and similarly below).
⁷ αἰκανοὶ Bb : λευκανοὶ ΛΒα.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

eδόκα τις ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἐδήμουν τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐκαστοὶ χώραν, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων Ῥωμαίων τῷ τε Τυρρηνικῷ πολέμῳ
2 ἀντέχειν καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντας δέχεσθαι. καὶ ἔτεροι ἀδῆσες ἕκοντες ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τυρρηνίαν ἀπήγγελλον ὅλῃ καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι Οὐιεντανοῖς κοινῆν ἀποστέλλειν συμμαχίαν. κατέφυγον γὰρ ὃς αὐτοὺς ἄδυνατοι ὡντες ἐξελεῖν δὲ ἐαυτῶν τῷ φρούριον Οὐιεντανοῖς, συγγενείας τὰ ὑπομυμνήσκοντες καὶ φιλίας καὶ οἴσους μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἱραντο πολέμους διεξόντες. ἀντὶ πάντων δὲ τοῦτων ἄξιοντες συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, ὡς σφῶν τε προκαθημένων Τυρρηνίας ὅλης καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνακωχεύοντων τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ρέοντα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἔξιόν συμμαχίαν.

3 Ταύτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο τρισάς ἐκπέμψαι1 στρατιάς, καὶ γενομένων ἐν τάχει τῶν καταλόγων Λεύκιος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐπέμφηθ. συνήρατο δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξόδου Καίσων Φάβιος, ὁ νεώστη τῇ ἄρχῃ ἀποθέμενος, δεηθεὶς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐν Κρεμέρα συγγενέσιν, οὕς ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ φρουρήσοντας τὸ χωρίον ἐξήγαγε, συνείναι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγώνων μετέχειν καὶ ἔξηλθε σὺν τοῖς ἄμφ᾽ αὐτῶν

4 ἐξουσία κοσμήθεις ἀνθυπάτω. Γάιοις δὲ Σερούλιοις ὁ ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοὶ στράτευεσ, Σερούλιος δὲ Φούριος ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνος. ἐκάστῳ δ᾽ αὐτῶν δῦο μὲν τάγματα Ῥωμαίων εἰπετο, Λατῖνων δὲ καὶ Ἔρνικων καὶ τῶν

1 Cobet : ἐκπέμψειν Ο, Jacoby.
than anyone was expecting, both nations with their armies were ravaging the parts of the Roman territory that adjoined their own, in the belief that the Romans would not be able to cope with the Tyrrhenian war and at the same time to withstand their own attack. And again other messengers came reporting that all Tyrrhenia had become hostile to them and was prepared to send joint reinforcements to the Veientes. For the latter, finding themselves unable to destroy the fortress by themselves alone, had turned to them for help, reminding them of their kinship and friendship, and enumerating the many wars they had waged in common. In view of all this, they asked them to assist them in their war against the Romans, since they were now serving as a bulwark for all Tyrrhenia and stemming the torrent of war which was rushing from Rome upon all the peoples of their race. The Tyrrhenians were persuaded, and promised to send them as large a force of auxiliaries as they asked for.

The senate, being informed of this, resolved to send three armies into the field; and the levies were speedily raised. Lucius Aemilius was sent against the Tyrrhenians; and taking part in the expedition with him was Caeso Fabius, the man who had recently resigned the consulship, having now asked leave of the senate to join his kinsmen on the Cremera whom his brother had led out to garrison that place, and to take part in the same contests as they; and invested with the proconsular power, he set out with his followers. Gaius Servilius, the other consul, marched against the Volscians, and Servius Furius, the proconsul, against the Aequians. Each of them was at the head of two legions of Romans and an equally
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

άλλων συμμάχων ούκ ἐλάττω τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερονίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐχώρησε καὶ σὺν τάχει. μιᾷ γὰρ ἔτρεψατο τοὺς Λίκανοὺς μάχη καὶ ταύτη δίχα πόνου, τῇ πρώτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλήξας ἐφόδῳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδήν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καταπεφευγό-5 τῶν εἰς τὰ ἔρματα. Σερονίλῳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ αὐθαδείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα χωρῆσαντι πολὺ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησε, καρτερῶς πάνυ τῶν Οὐδολούσκων ἀντιτάξαμένων, ὥστε ἡμαγκάσθη πολλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολέσας μηκέτι χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑπομένων ἀκροβολομοῦσι καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαῖς διαφέρειν1 τὸν πόλεμον.

6 Λεύκιος δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, εὑρὼν ἐξεστρατευμένους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Οὐδενταύνους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὄμοσθών ἐπικουρικόν, οὐδὲν ἐτι μελλήςας ἔργου εἰχετο. ἠμέραν δὲ μίαν2 ἄφ' ἢς τὸν χάρακα ἐθετο διαλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς μάχην, θρασεώς πάνυ τῶν Οὐδενταύνων ὁμόσε χωροῦντων. ἑσορ-ρόπον δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος γινομένου τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀνα- 

1 ἐγνω after διαφέρειν deleted by Cobet.
2 μίαν added here by Capps, after ἔθετο by Kiessling.
strong force of Latins, Hernicans and the other allies. In the case of the proconsul Servius the war went according to his wish and was soon over. For in a single battle he routed the Aequians, and that without any trouble, having terrified the enemy at the first onset; and thereafter he laid waste their country, as the people had taken refuge in their forts. But Servilius, one of the consuls, having rushed into battle in a precipitate and headstrong fashion, found himself greatly disappointed in his expectations, as the Volscians offered a very stout resistance, with the result that after losing many brave men he was forced to give up engaging in pitched battles with them any longer, but remaining in his camp, to carry through the war by means of skirmishes and engagements of the light-armed troops.

Lucius Aemilius, who had been sent against the Tyrrhenians, finding that the Veientes had taken the field before their city together with a large number of auxiliaries of the same race, set to work without further delay; and letting only a single day pass after making camp, he led out his forces to battle, in which the Veientes joined with great confidence. When the contest continued doubtful, he took the horse and charged the right wing of the enemy; then, after throwing that into confusion, he proceeded to the other wing, fighting on horseback where the ground would permit, and where it would not, dismounting and fighting on foot. When both of the enemy’s wings were in distress, those in the centre could no longer hold out either, but were thrust back by the Roman foot; and after that they all fled to their camp. Aemilius followed them in their flight
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

toῖς φεύγονσι συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθειρε. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος καὶ προσβαλών ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκείνην τε παρέμευε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα κόπως τε καὶ τραύμασι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἁγρυπνία ἀπειρηκτῶν ἐγκρατῆς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ, ὡς εἶδον ἐπιβαίνοντας ἦδη τοὺς Ἦλωμαίους τοῖς περιστατήμοις, ἐκλιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφευγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀρίτμησιν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὅρη. ταύτην μὲν οὐν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἔμενεν ὁ ὑπατος, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταιος ὁμαναίασις, πάντα τὰ ἐγκαταλειφθέντα ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑποξύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ σκηνῆς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν γεμοῦσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔχαρισατο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν πολλῇ εὐπορίᾳ τὸ τῶν Ἦλωμαίοι περιστερίων ὡς ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας πῶς ποτὲ μάχης. ἀβροδίτων γὰρ δῆ καὶ πολυτέλες τὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος ἦν, οἶκου τε καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου περιαγόμενον ἐξώ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων πλοῦτου τε καὶ τέχνης ἔργα παντοίᾳ πρὸς ἤδονᾶς μεμηχανημένα καὶ τρυφάς.

XVII. Ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπειρηκτότες ἦδη τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Οὐλεντανοὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἱκετηρίας φέροντας ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλεξομένους. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὁλοφυρόμενοι τε καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ τὰλλ’ ὑπαγονά ἦν εἰς ἔλεος μετὰ πολλῶν δικρύσων διεξόντες πείθοντι τὸν ὑπατον ἐπιτρέψαι

1 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις Reiske: ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐκπρεπεστάταις O, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις Jacoby.

346
with his army in good order and killed many of them. When he came near their camp, he attacked it with relays of fresh troops, remaining there all that day and the following night; and the next day, when the enemy were spent with weariness, wounds and want of sleep, he made himself master of the camp. The Tyrrhenians, when they saw the Romans already mounting the palisades, left their camp and fled, some to the city and some to the neighbouring hills. That day the consul remained in the enemy’s camp; and on the next day he rewarded with the most magnificent presents those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and gave to the soldiers all the beasts of burden and slaves that had been left behind in the camp, together with the tents, which were full of many valuables. And the Roman army found itself in greater opulence than after any former battle. For the Tyrrhenians were a people of dainty and expensive tastes, both at home and in the field carrying about with them, besides the necessities, costly and artistic articles of all kinds designed for pleasure and luxury.

XVII. In the course of the following days the Veientes, yielding at last to their misfortunes, sent their oldest citizens to the consul with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. These men, resorting to lamentations and entreaties and with many tears rehearsing every argument calculated to rouse compassion, endeavoured to persuade the consul to let

2 ἐγκαταλειψθέντα O : ἐγκαταληφθέντα Reiske, Jacoby.
3 Gelenius : ὑπεραγόμενον O, ὑπεραγάμενον Reiske.
σφίσι πρεσβευτάς¹ εἰς Ἦρωμην ἀποστείλα τοὺς ύπερ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν διαλεξομένους, ἔως δ' ἄν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφίκωνται φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, μηδὲν αὐτῶν κακουργεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἦνα δ' αὐτῶς ἐγγέννηται ταῦτα πράττειν, σύμφωνα τῷ ὁμολογήσαν τῇ Ἦρωμαιών στρατιῶν διμήνυον παρέξειν καὶ χρήματα εἰς ὄψωνιασμὸν ἐξ 2 μηνῶν, ὡς ὁ κρατῶν ἔταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπατός λαβὼν τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ διάδοις τῇ στρατιᾷ ποιεῖται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνοχὰς. ἡ δ' βουλὴ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκούσας καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὑπατοῦ γράμματα δεξιαμένη³ πολλὴν ποιουμένου παράκλησιν καὶ παραινοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα καθαρέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον, δόγμα ἐξήγησε διδόναι τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἦτοῦντο οἱ πολέμοι. ἐφ' οἷς δὲ δικαίως αὕτη γενήσεται,⁴ τὸν ὑπατον καταστήσασθαι Δευκίου Αἰμίλιον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ κράτιστα ἐξεῖν. τὰντάς λαβῶν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὁ ὑπατός ὑπένθεται πρὸς τοὺς Οὐιεντανοῦς, ἐπιεικεστέραν μᾶλλον ἡ συμφορωτέραν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι ποιησάμενος εἰρήνην, οὔτε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος οὔτε χρημάτων ἄλλων ἐπιθεῖς ζημίαν, οὔτε ὀμήρων δόσει τὸ 4 πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς συγκεκεμένοις βεβαιωσάμενος. τοῦτ' αὐτῷ μέγαν ἑνεγκε φθόνον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς κατωρθωμένους χάριτας αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. ἐνέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτομείνῳ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν συνθηκῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης αὐτὰς ἐπραξεν. ἦνα δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὑβρίν ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν λάβη

¹ πρεσβευτάς Reiske: τοὺς πρεσβευτάς ΛΒ, Jacoby.
² ἀποστείλα placed here by Sylburg, Jacoby, after πολέμου by O.
³ 348
them send ambassadors to Rome to treat with the senate for a termination of the war, and until the ambassadors should return with the senate’s answer, to do no injury to their country. In order to obtain these concessions, they promised to supply the Roman army with corn for two months and with money for their pay for six months, as the victor commanded. And the consul, after receiving what they brought and distributing it among his men, made the truce with them. The senate, having heard the ambassadors and received the letter of the consul, in which he earnestly recommended and urged putting an end to the war with the Tyrrhenians as soon as possible, passed a decree to grant peace as the enemy desired; as to the terms on which the peace should be made, they left them for the consul Lucius Aemilius to determine in such manner as he should think best. The consul, having received this answer, concluded a peace with the Veientes that was more equitable than advantageous to the conquerors; for he neither took from them any part of their territory, nor imposed on them any further fine of money, nor compelled them to give hostages as security for the performance of their agreement. This action brought upon him great odium and was the reason for his not receiving from the senate the rewards due for his success; for when he requested the customary triumph, they opposed it, censuring his arbitrary behaviour in the matter of the treaty, in that he had concluded it without their concurrence. But lest he should take this action as an insult and evidence of their anger,

3 δεξαμένη O: ἀναδεξαμένη Cobet, Jacoby.
4 Baumann: γένηται O.
5 ἐν O: om. Reiske.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τὸ πράγμα, ἐπὶ Ὀυσλούσκους αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάγεω ἐπικουρίας τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνεκα, εἰ δύνατο κατορθώσας τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον (ὅν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον) ἀφανίσατε ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀμαρτήμασιν ὄργας. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτμίᾳ πολλὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγοριάν, ὡς ἀχθομένης ἐπὶ τῷ λελύσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ἔφη δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ὑπεροφίας τῶν πενήντων ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ὑπεροφίων ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων ἀπαιτῶσι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις, πολλοστὸν ἔτος ἦδη ὁ φενακιζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταύτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ὄμοια δι᾽ ὀργῆς ἀκράτου τῶν πατρικίων ὀνείδης κατασκεδάσας, τὴν τε συστρατευσαμένην αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων καὶ τὴν μετὰ Φουρίου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου διατρίβουσαν ἐν Αἰκανοῖς μεταπεμψάμενος ἄφηκεν ὑπὶ τὰ σφέτερα· ἔξ ὧν πολλὴν πάλιν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς δημάρχοις κατηγορεῖν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ διστάναι τοὺς πένητας ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων.

XVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Γάιος Ὁράτιος καὶ Τίτος Μενήνιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἐκτῆς ολυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνικα στάδιον Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναῖος, ἀρχοντὸς Ἀθῆναις Φαίδωνος. τούτως κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὁ πολιτικὸς θόρυβος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο πράττειν τὰ κοινά, ἤρεθισμένον τοῦ δήμου καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκινήσε ἐτερον

1 ὡς B : om. R.

2 δι᾽ Kiessling : καὶ δι᾽ Ο. Retaining καὶ, Reiske supplied συνείρας, Jacoby εἰπὼν, after ὄμοια.

350
they ordered him to march with his army against the Volscians in order to bear aid to his colleague, on the chance that if he succeeded in the war there—for he was a man of great bravery—he might blot out the resentment for his former errors. But Aemilius, angry at this slight upon his honour, inveighed violently against the senate in the popular assembly, accusing them of being displeased that the war against the Tyrrhenians was ended. He declared that they were doing this with treacherous intent and through contempt of the poor, lest these, when freed from foreign wars, should demand the performance of the promises concerning the allotment of land with which they had been cajoled by them for so many years already. After he had in his ungovernable resentment poured forth these and many similar reproaches against the patricians, he not only dismissed from the standards the army that had served under him, but also sent for the forces that were tarrying in the country of the Aequians under Furius the proconsul and dismissed them to their homes. Thereby he once more gave the tribunes a considerable warrant for accusing the senators in the meetings of the assembly and sowing dissension between the poor and the rich.

XVIII. These consuls were succeeded by Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius ¹ in the seventy-sixth Olympiad ² (the one at which Scamander of Mitylene won the foot-race), when Phaedo was archon at Athens. The new consuls were at first hindered from transacting the public business by the domestic disturbance, the populace being exasperated and not permitting any other public business to be carried on

¹ Cf. Livy ii. 51, 1. ² 475 b.c.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐπιτελείσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἔως ἂν μερίσηται τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, χρόνῳ δ’ ύστερον εἰξε τὰ παρακινοῦντα καὶ ταραττόμενα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συγχωρήσαντα 2 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐκούσια ἦλθε. Τυρρηνῶν γὰρ αἱ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνδεκα πόλεις ἀγορὰν ποιησάμεναι κοινὴν κατηγόρουν τοῦ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔθνους ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Ἄρωμαίους πόλεμον οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης κατελύσαντο, καὶ δυεῖν θάτερον αὐτοὺς ἥξιον πράττειν, ἣ λύει τὰ πρὸς Ἄρωμαίους 3 ὀμολογηθέντα ἦ πολεμεῖν σφίσι μετ’ ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης τὴν ἀνάγκην ἔτιώντο, ὅπως δ’ ἂν αὐτὴν καταλύσαντο εὐπρεπῶς εἰς κοινὸν ἔτεθεσαν σκοπεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑποτίθεται τις αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμα ποιησαμένους τὸν ἐπιτειχίσμον τῆς Κρεμέρας καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπανύστασθαι τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, λόγῳ μὲν πρῶτον 1 ἔξιον αὐτοῖς ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι, πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ταύτην ἄρχην ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου. 4 ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἀπηλλάττοντο ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου· καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν ἀποστείλατες πρεσβείαν ὡς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀπήτων παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον, Τυρρηνία δὲ πάσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ταῦτα Ἄρωμαίοι αἰσθόμενοι Φαβίων αὐτοῖς ἐπι- στειλάντων 2 ἤγνωσαν ἀμφότερος ἐκπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν τε ἀπὸ Τυρ- ρηνίας ἐπαγόμενον σφίσι καὶ τὸν ἐτί πρὸς Οὐ- 5 λούσκους συνεστώτα. Ὁράτιος μὲν οὖν ἄγων δύο τάγματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκοις,

1 πρῶτον B : om. R.
2 ἐπιστειλάντων C, by correction, Reiske : ἀποστειλάντων ΛΒΣ.

352
until they should divide up among themselves the public land; but after a time the seditious and turbulent elements yielded to necessity and came in voluntarily to be enlisted. For the eleven cities of the Tyrrhenians which had had no part in the peace, holding a general assembly, inveighed against the Veientes for having put an end to the war with the Romans without the general consent of the nation, and demanded that they do one of two things—either break the compact they had made with the Romans, or join with the Romans in making war upon the rest of the Tyrrhenians. But the Veientes laid the blame for the peace upon necessity, and proposed that the assembly consider how they might break it with decency. Upon this someone suggested to them that they should make formal complaint of the erection of the frontier stronghold on the Cremera and of the failure of its garrison to withdraw from there, and then should first make an oral demand that they evacuate the place, and, if they refused, should lay siege to the fortress and make this action the beginning of the war. Having agreed on this course, they left the assembly; and not long afterwards the Veientes sent ambassadors to the Fabii to demand from them the fortress, and all Tyrrhenia was in arms. The Romans, learning of these things through letters from the Fabii, resolved that both the consuls should take the field, one to command in the war that was coming upon them from Tyrrhenia and the other to prosecute the war which was still going on with the Volscians. Horatius, accordingly, marched against the Volscians with two legions and an adequate force of the allies, and Menenius was
Μενήνιος δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν ἐτέραν ἁγών ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς ἐμελλε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξοδον. παρα-
σκευαζομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τρίβοντος τῶν χρόνων ἐφθη τὸ ἐν Κρεμέρα φρούριον ἐξαιρεθέν ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων καὶ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἀπαν ἀπολομένον. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἄνδρας συμφοράς
διττὸς φέρεται λόγος, ὃ μὲν ἦττον πιθανός, ὃ δὲ
μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενος. θήσω δ’ αὐτοὺς
ἀμφοτέρους, ὂς παρέλαβον.

XIX. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν ὅτι θυσίας ἐπιστάσης
πατρίου, ἴν ἔδει τὸ Φαβίων ἐπιτελέσαι γένος, οἱ
μὲν ἄνδρες ἑξῆλθον ὄλιγους ἑπαγόμενοι πελάταις
ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ προῆσαν οὔτε διερευνώμενοι τάς
όδους οὔτε ὑπὸ σημείας τεταγμένοι κατὰ λόχους,
ῥαθύμως δὲ ἡ ἀφυλάκτως ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ διὰ
2 φιλίας γῆς πορευόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ προεγνω-
kότες αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξοδον ἐλόχησαν τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίων
μέρει τῆς στρατιάς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν συν-
tεταγμένην ἔχοντες οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἥκολούθουν.
ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασαν οἱ Φαβίοι ταῖς ἐνέδραῖς, ἔξ-
αναστάντες τοῦ λόχου οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσπίπτοντος
αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων,
καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολλῆ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν δύναμις
προσέβαλεν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν· καὶ περιστάντες αὐ-
τοὶς πανταχόθεν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ τόξοις,
οἱ δὲ σαυνίοις τε καὶ λόγχαις στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ
3 πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀπαντας κατεργάσαντο. οὕτως
μὲν οὖν ἦττον ἐμοιγε πιθανὸς φαίνεται εἶναι λόγος.
οὔτε γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου θυσίας ἕνεκα τοὺς
ὕπο ταῖς σημείαις τοσοῦτος ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἀναστρέφειν ἄνευ ψηφίοματος βουλῆς, δυναμένων

1 δὲ B : τε ΑC.
preparing to set out against the Tyrrhenians with another force of equal size; but while he was making his preparations and losing time, the fortress on the Cremera was destroyed by the enemy and the entire Fabian clan perished. Concerning the disaster that befell these men two accounts are current, one less probable and the other coming nearer to the truth. I shall give them both as I have received them.

XIX. Some say that when the time was at hand for a traditional sacrifice which devolved upon the Fabian clan, the men set out from the fortress, attended by a few clients, to perform the rites, and proceeded without reconnoitring the roads or marching ranged in centuries under their standards, but negligently and unguardedly as in time of peace and as if they were passing through friendly territory. The Tyr­rhenians, having learned of their departure in advance, placed one part of their army in ambush at a spot along the road, and followed soon after with the rest of their forces in regular formation. When the Fabii drew near the ambuscade, the Tyrrhenians who were lying in wait there rose up and fell upon them, some in front and others in flank, and a little later the rest of the Tyrrhenian force attacked them from the rear; and surrounding them on all sides and shooting at them, some with slings, some with bows, and others hurling javelins and spears, they over­whelmed them all with the multitude of their missiles. Now this account seems to me to be the less credible. For not only is it improbable that so many men serv­ing under the standards would have returned from the camp to the city because of a sacrifice without a decree from the senate, when the rites might have
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

tῶν ἱερουργῶν καὶ δὴ ἔτερων ἐπιτελεσθήναι τῶν
μετεχόντων μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, προβεβηκότων
dὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις· οὔτ' εἰ πάντες ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδεμία μοῖρα τοῦ Φαβίων γένους
eν τοῖς ἐφεστίοις ὑπελείπετο, πάντας εἰκὸς ἢν τοὺς
cατέχοντας τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν φυλα-
kήν· ἥρκουν γὰρ ἃν καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἀφικόμενοι
συντελέσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους· ὄλου τὰ ἱερά. διὰ μὲν
δὴ ταύτας τὰς αὐτίς οὐκ ἐδοξέ μοι πιστὸς εἶναι
ὁ λόγος.

XX. 'Ο δ' ἔτερος, δὴ ἀληθέστερον εἶναι νομίζω
περὶ τε τῆς ἀπολείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως
tοῦ φρουρίου, τοίσδε τὲς ἔστων. ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς
προνομὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τὸ κατ-
ορθοῦν ἐν ταῖς πείραις συνεχῶς προσωτέρω προ-
χωροῦντων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι στρατιῶν
συχνὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐγγιστᾳ χωρίους λαθόντες τοὺς
πολεμίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἔπευξ' ἀποστελ-
λοντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ποιμνὰς τε καὶ βουκόλια
καὶ φορβάδων ἄγελας ἐπὶ νομὴν τῷ λόγῳ,
προὐκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπὶ ταύτα· οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες
τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους συνήρπαζον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα
2 περιήλαυνον. τοῦτο συνεχῶς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ποιοῦντες
καὶ προαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ἐπὶ προσωτέρω
τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπειδὴ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν τὸ προ-
νοητικὸν τοῦ ἁσφαλοῦς ταῖς συνεχέσις ἠφελείας
dελεάσαντες, ἐγκαθίζουσι λόγους ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις
tῶν χωρίων νῦκτωρ, καὶ ἔτεροι τὰς ὑπερδεξίους
tῶν πεδίων καταλαμβάνονται σκοπιάς· τῇ δ' ἐξῆς
ἡμέρα προπέμπαντες ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνόπλους ὡς
δὴ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νομέων, ἀφήκαν ἐκ τῶν

1 ὁ Β : οὐδε ὁ Ρ.
2 Suidas : σκοπιάς Ο.
been performed by others of the same clan who were advanced in years; but even if they had all gone from the city and no part of the Fabian clan was left in their homes, it is improbable that all who held the fortress would have abandoned the guarding of it, since even three or four of them would have sufficed to return to Rome and perform the rites for the whole clan. For these reasons, then, this account has not seemed to me to be credible.

XX. The other account concerning the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of the fortress, which I regard as being nearer to the truth, is somewhat as follows. As the men went out frequently to forage and, encouraged by the continued success of their forays, advanced ever farther, the Tyrrhenians got ready a numerous army and encamped in the near neighbourhood unperceived by the enemy. Then, sending out of their strongholds flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and droves of mares as if to pasture, they lured the garrison to these; and the men, coming out, seized the herdsmen and rounded up the cattle. The Tyrrhenians kept doing this and drawing the enemy ever farther away from their camp; then, when they had destroyed in them all thought for their safety by enticing them with constant booty, they placed ambuscades at night in the most suitable positions, while others occupied the heights that commanded the plains. The next day, sending ahead a few armed men, as if to serve as a guard for the herdsmen, they drove out a large number of herds.

1 For chaps. 20-22 cf. Livy ii. 50.
3 χωρίων¹ πολλὰς ἀγέλας. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς Φαβίοις ὅτι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπερβαλόντες λόφους ἐν ὀλίγῳ δή τινι χρόνῳ μεστὸν εὐρήσουσι τὸ πεδίον παντοίων βοτῶν καὶ τὴν φυλάττουσαν αὐτὰν² χειρα ὑπὶ ἑκατερίνην, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες· καὶ διανύσαντες ὁπονὴ καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν ὀδὸν ἐπιφαίνονται τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν βοσκημάτων συντεταγμένοι· κακεῖνοι οὐ δεξάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐφευγον. οἱ δὲ Φάβιοι, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ δὴ ὄντες, τοὺς τε νομεῖς συν- 4 ελάμβανον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα περιήλαμον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες κατὰ πολλὰ χωρία προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς παντα- χόθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ἁρμαίων ἐσκεδάσ- μενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀμύνενοι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, ἐνταῦθα ἀπόλλυνται. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκό- τες θανα προθυμούμενοι τι καταλαβέσθαι χωρίων ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅρη σπεύδοντες εἰς ἑτερον ἐμπίπτουσι λόχον ἐν ὑλαις καὶ νάπαις ὑποκαθ- ἴμενον. καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτέρα καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πολύς. ἀπειώσαντο δ' οὗν καὶ τούτους ὀμως,³ καὶ πληρώσαντες τὴν φάραγγα⁴ νεκρῶν ἀνέδραμον ἐπὶ λόφον οὐ βαδιόν ἀλῶναν· ἐν ὦ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νῦκτα ἀποροὶ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἡπιόσαντο.

XXI. Τῇ δ' ἐξής ἦμέρᾳ μαθόντες τὴν κατασχοῦ- σαν τοὺς σφετέρους τύχην οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ φρού- ριον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἀπόλολε τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον ἐν ὦρει πολιορκεῖται κατακεκλεισμένον ἐρήμω, καὶ εἰ μή

¹ χωρίων Cmg, Sintenis : φρουρίων O.
² Steph. : αὐτῶν Ba, αὐτὸ Λββ.

358
BOOK IX. 20, 3—21, 1

from their strongholds. When word was brought to the Fabii that if they went over the neighbouring hills they would in a very short time find the plain covered with cattle of all sorts with a guard insufficient to defend them, they went out of the fortress, leaving an adequate garrison there. And covering the distance speedily in their eagerness, they appeared before the guards of the cattle in battle array. These did not await their attack, but fled, and the Fabii, thinking themselves now quite secure, set about seizing the herdsmen and rounding up the cattle. Thereupon the Tyrrenians, rising up from ambush in many places, fell upon them from all sides. The greater part of the Romans, being scattered and unable to assist one another, were killed upon the spot; but those who were in a body, being eager to reach a secure position and hastening toward the hills, fell into another ambuscade that lay concealed in the woods and glens. Here a sharp battle took place between them and there was great slaughter on both sides. But nevertheless they repulsed even these foes, and after filling the ravine with dead bodies, they ran up to the top of a hill that was not easy to take, and there passed the following night in want of the necessary provisions.

XXI. The next day those who were holding the fortress, upon being informed of the disaster that had befallen their companions—namely, that the greater part of the army had been destroyed in their pursuit of plunder and the bravest of them were shut up and besieged on a lonely mountain, and that if some aid

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3 ὁμως Ba (?), Portus: ὁμόσε ABb.
4 Sylburg: φάλαγγα O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ταχεία τις αυτοῖς ἡ ἡξει¹ βοήθεια, ὀπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων φθάσουσιν ἐξαιρεθέντες, ἐξήγεσαι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὀλίγους πάνιν καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ φρούριῳ φύλακας. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, πρὶν ἡ συμμισέας τοῖς έτέροις, ἐπικαταδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων κυκλούνται τε καὶ πολλὰ γενναία ἔργα ἀποδείξα-2 μένους διαφθείρουσιν ἀπαντας σὺν χρόνῳ. μετ' οὗ πολὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν λόφον καταλαβόμενοι λυμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ πιεζόμενοι ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίωσι ἐγνώσαι καὶ συμπεσόντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐωθεν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τοσ-ούτον ἐποίησαν τῶν πολεμίων φόνον ὡστε τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ἔμποδών αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς μάχης πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ πλείον ἡ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιάς μέρος ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείσαντες, μικρὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰ ὀπλα διὰ τῶν ἀνακλητικῶν ἐπεκηρυκέντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς υποσχοῦμενοι καὶ δίδον ἐὰν 3 τὰ ὀπλα ἀποθώνται καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐκλίπσωσιν. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον αἰρουμένων, ἐπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς αὕθις ἐκ διαδοχῆς, συντάδην μὲν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκέτι μαχόμενοι, πρόσωθεν δὲ βάλλοντες ἄθροις λόγχαις καὶ χερμάσαι, καὶ ἢ νυφτῷ παραπλήσιος ἡ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν. οἱ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίοι συντρεφό-μενοι κατὰ λόχους προσέτρεχον αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑφιστα-μένοις καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν 4 πέριξ ὑπέμενον. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη πολλοὶς ἀχρηστα ἢν, τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμὰς, τὰ δὲ κατ-εαγότα, καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ πέριξ ὑτος ἔχομενα

1 ἡξει ACmg : ἡσταί B, om. C.
2 φρούριῳ Cmg : χωρίῳ O.
BOOK IX. 21, 1-4

did not reach them promptly they would soon be destroyed for want of provisions—set out in haste, leaving very few in the fortress to guard it. These troops, before they could join their companions, were surrounded by the Tyrrhenians, who rushed down upon them from their strongholds; and though they displayed many feats of valour, they were in time all destroyed. Not long afterwards those also who had seized the hill, being oppressed by both hunger and thirst, resolved to charge the enemy; and engaging, a few against many, they continued fighting from morning till night, and made so great a slaughter of the enemy that the heaps of dead bodies piled up in many places were a hindrance to them in fighting. Indeed, the Tyrrhenians had lost above a third part of their army, and fearing for the rest, they now gave the signal for a retreat and stopped fighting for a short time; and sending heralds to the men, they offered them their lives and a safe-conduct if they would lay down their arms and evacuate the fortress. When the others refused their offer and chose the death befitting men of noble birth, the Tyrrhenians renewed the struggle, attacking them in relays, though no longer fighting at close quarters in hand-to-hand combat, but standing in a body and hurling javelins and stones at them from a distance; and the multitude of missiles was like a snow-storm. The Romans, massing by companies, rushed upon their foes, who did not stand their ground, and though they received many wounds from those surrounding them, they stood firm. But when the swords of many had become useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and the borders of their shields
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

dietēθρυπτο, ἔξαιμοι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ καταβελεῖς καὶ παράλυτοι τὰ μέλη διὰ πλῆθος τραυμάτων ἔσαν, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ χωροθείς· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσπίπτοντες ὄσπερ θηρία δόρατα τε αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων, καὶ ξίφη δραττόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἀκμὰς ἀπέσπων, καὶ περικυλώντες εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα συνεφύροντο θυμῷ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ δυνάμει διαγωνιζόμενοι.

5 ὥστε οὐκέτι συνήθεσαν αὐτοῖς εἰς χείρας οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ τε καρτερικὸν ἐκπληττόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπονοας ἣν προσειλήφθεσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ ξήνας ἐξιδότες· ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες αὐθις ἐβαλλον ἀθρόου καὶ ξύλους καὶ λίθους καὶ ὅτω ἄλλω ἐντύχομεν, καὶ τελευτώντες ἐγκατέκχωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ πλῆθει τῶν βελῶν. διαφθείραντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κεφαλάς, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοὺς ἔκει ὁ παραληψόμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησε γε αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἔλπιδα τὸ ἔργον· οἱ γὰρ καταλυθέντες ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχλωσαντες τὸ εὐγενεῖς τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τε ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξηλθον ολίγοι πανταπασιν ὄντες, καὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τοῖς ἔτεροις ἀπαντες διεφθάρησαν· τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔρημον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρέλαβον. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πιστότερος ἐφαινετο πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου· φέρονται δ' ἐν γραφαῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀξιοχρέως ἀμφότεροι.

XXII. Τὸ δὲ συναπτόμενον τούτως ὑπὸ τινῶν οὔτ' ἀληθεῖς ὃν οὔτε πιθανόν, ἐκ παρακούσματος

1 κατὰ τὴν Ο : κατ' Jacoby. 2 τῶν added by Sylburg. 362
next the rims were hacked in pieces, and the men themselves were for the most part bled white and overwhelmed by missiles and their limbs paralysed by reason of the multitude of their wounds, the Tyrrhenians scorned them and came to close quarters. Then the Romans, rushing at them like wild beasts, seized their spears and broke them, grasped their swords by the edges and wrenched them out of their hands, and twisting the bodies of their antagonists, fell with them to the ground, locked in close embrace, fighting with greater rage than strength. Hence the enemy, astonished at their endurance and terrified at the madness that had seized them in their despair of life, no longer ventured to come to grips with them, but retiring again, stood in a body and hurled at them sticks, stones, and anything else they could lay their hands on, and at last buried them under the multitude of missiles. After destroying these men they ran to the fortress, carrying with them the heads of the most prominent, expecting to take the men there prisoners at their first onset. However, the attempt did not turn out according to their hopes; for the men who had been left there, emulating the noble death of their comrades and kinsmen, came out of the fortress, though very few in number, and after fighting for a considerable time were all destroyed in the same manner as the others; and the place was empty of men when the Tyrrhenians took it. To me now this account appears much more credible than the former; but both of them are to be found in Roman writings of good authority.

XXII. The addition to this account which has been made by certain writers, though neither true nor
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

dε τινος πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἅπιον μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεξέταστον. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τίνες, τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων Φαβίων ἀπολομένων, ὅτι ἐν μόνον ἐλείφθη τοῦ γένους παιδίον, πράγμα οὐ μόνον ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰσάγοντες. οὐτε γὰρ ἀτέκνους τε καὶ ἀγάμους ἀπανταὶ εἶναι δυνατόν ἴνα τοὺς ἐξελθόντας εἰς τὸ φρούριον Φαβίους. ὁ γὰρ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν νόμος γαμεῖν τε ἡγαγκαζεῖ τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐπάναγκες τρέφειν· διὸ οὐκ ἂν δὴ που κατέλυσαν οἱ Φάβιοι μόνοι πεφυλαγμένοι ἄχρι τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο θείη τις, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ γε οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ συγχωρήσει, τὸ μηδ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι τισιν ἡλικίαν ἐπὶ παῖδων ἔχοντας. μύθοις γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα γε καὶ πλάσμασιν έοικε θεατρικοῖς. οἱ δὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν, οσοὶ παῖδας ἐτὶ ποιεῖν εἶχον ἡλικίαν, τοσαῦτης κατασχοῦσης τὸ γένος ἐρήμιας οὐκ ἂν ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐτέρους παῖδας ἐποίησαντο, ἵνα μήτε ἔρα ἐκλειφθῇ πατρὼ πάντα μήτε δόξα τηλικαύτη διαφθαρῆ γένους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν τισιν ἑλείποντο, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς ταῦτο συνήλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ἀδύνατα—μὴ παῖδας αὐτοῖς καταλειφθῆναι νηπίους, μὴ γυναίκας ἐγκύους, μὴ ἀδελφοὺς ἀνήβους, μὴ πατέρας εἰν ἅκμη. ταῦτῃ μὲν δὴ τὸν λόγον ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἀληθῆ νενόμικα, ἐκείνων δ' ἀληθῆ τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, Καίσωνος τε καὶ Κοϊντοῦ καὶ Μάρκου τῶν ὑπατευ-

1 Reiske: ἀπὸ Ὀ.  2 πλῆθους B: ἄληθοὺς R.

364
plausible, but invented by the multitude from some false report, does not deserve to be passed over without examination. For some report that after the three hundred and six Fabii had been slain, there was only one boy left out of the whole clan, thereby introducing a detail that is not only improbable, but even impossible; for it is not possible that all the Fabii who went out to the fortress were unmarried and childless. For not only did the ancient law of the Romans oblige all of the proper age to marry, but they were forced also to rear all their children; and surely the Fabii would not have been the only persons to violate a law which had been observed by their ancestors down to their time. But even if one were to admit this assumption, yet he would never make the further admission that none of them had any brothers still in their childhood. Why, such situations resemble myths and fictions of the stage! Besides, would not as many of their fathers as were still of an age to beget children, now that so great a desolation had come upon their clan, have begotten other children both willingly and unwillingly, in order that neither the sacrifices of their ancestors might be abandoned nor the great reputation of the clan be extinguished? Unless, indeed, none even of their fathers were left and all the conditions which would render it impossible to perpetuate the clan combined together in the case of those three hundred and six men—namely, that they left behind them no infant children, no wives with child, no brothers still under age, no fathers in the prime of life. Testing the story by such reasoning, I have come to the conclusion that it is not true, but that the following is the true account. Of the three brothers, Caeso, Quintus, and Marcus, who had
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

σάντων τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπτὰ ὑπατείας, ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι πείθομαι Μάρκω παιδίον, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ 6 λεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων οὐκοῦν λοιπόν. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει τῷ μηκέτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ τινα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξώ τοῦ ἔνος τούδε ἀνδρωθέντος γενέσθαι ταύτην παραστῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς την δόξαν ὅτι μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐστὶ λοιπός—οὐχ ως μηδενὸς ἄλλου ὄντος, ἀλλὰ ως μηδενὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁμοίου—ἀρετὴ τεκμαίρομένου τὸ συγγενὲς, οὐ φύσει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦθ’ ἐκανά.

XXIII. Οἱ δ' οὖν3 Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας δια-φθείραντες καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Κρεμέρᾳ φρουρίου παρα-λαβόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἣγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτυχε δ' οὐ μακρὰν κατεστρατοπεδευκώς ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μενήνιος οὐκ ἐν ἄσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ· καὶ ὅτε ἡ Φαβίων συγγένεα καὶ τὸ πελατικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυντο, τριάκοντα ποὺ σταδίους ἀπείχεν ἄφ' οὐ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τόπου, δόξαν τε οὐκ ὀλίγους παρέσχε, γνοὺς ἐν οἴκους κα-κοίς ἦσαν οἱ Φάβιοι, μηδεμιάν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι φροντίδα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης τοῖς ἄνδράσι 2 φθονόν. τοιγαροῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς δίκην ἐπὶ ταύτη μᾶλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἐάλω. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπένθησεν ἡ 'Ρωμαίων πόλις ἄνδρῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιοῦτων ἀρετᾶς ἀποκειρα-μένη. καὶ πρὸς ἀπαν τὸ δόξαν αὐτῶς αἰτίων γεγονέναι τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως εἶχεν τὴν δ' ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ἦ τὸ

1 λεγόμενον ὁ: λεγόμενον μόνον Kiessling.
2 δ' added by Sintenis.
been consuls for seven years in succession, I believe that Marcus left one young son, and that this boy was the one who is reported to have been the survivor\(^1\) of the Fabian house. There is no reason why it should not have been because no one else of the clan became famous and illustrious except this one son, when he had grown to manhood,\(^2\) that most people came to hold the belief that he was the only survivor of the Fabian clan—not, indeed, that there was no other, but that there was none like those famous three—judging kinship on the basis of merit, not of birth. But enough on this subject.

XXIII. After the Tyrrhenians,\(^3\) then, had destroyed the Fabii and taken the fortress on the Cremera, they led their forces against the other army of the Romans. It chanced that Menenius, one of the consuls, lay encamped not far away in an insecure position; and when the Fabian clan and their clients perished, he was only some thirty stades from the place where the disaster occurred—a circumstance which gave many people reason to believe that, though aware of the dire straits of the Fabii, he had shown no concern for them because of the envy he felt of their valour and reputation. Accordingly, when he was later brought to trial by the tribunes, this was the chief ground for his condemnation. For the people of Rome deeply mourned their having shorn themselves of the valour of so many and so brave men and were severe and inexorable toward all whom they suspected of having been responsible for so great a calamity; and they regard the day on

\(^1\) Or, following Kiessling, "the sole survivor."
\(^2\) He was consul ten years later; see chap. 59.
\(^3\) For chaps. 23 f. cf. Livy ii. 51, 1-3.
πάθος ἐγένετο μελανινὸς τοῦτον τύχης ὀπτευομένη. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἵρμαιῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, συνιδόντες αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἡ δ' ὑπὸ λαγόνι κείμενον ὅρους) τῆς τε ἀπειρίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατεφρόνησαν καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πλεον-έκτημα1 ἀγαπητῶς ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς ἰπτείς ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ λόφου ὀυδενὸς κωλύνοντο ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κυρφήν. καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς2 τῶν Ἵρμαιῶν κόρυμβον ἔθεντο ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὀπλα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς ἀναβιβάσαντες υψηλῶς χάρακι καὶ βαθεῖα τάφρῳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὕχυρὼ-4 σαντο. εἶ μὲν οὖν συνιδῶν ὁ Μενήνιος οἰον ἐδωκε πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετέγνω τε τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ εἰς ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπήγαγε3 χωρίον τῆς στρατίαν, σοφὸς ἄν ἦν, νῦν δὲ δι' αἰσχύνης λαμβάνων τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸ αὕθαδες πρὸς τοὺς μεταδιδάσκοντας φιλάττων, μετ4 αἰσχύ-5 νης ἄξιον πτῶμα ἐπεσεν. οἷα γὰρ εἴ ὑπερδεξίων αὐτοῦ τόπων οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκάστοτε ποιοῦμενοι πολλὰ ἐπλεονέκτουν, ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν ἀγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀρταξόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλῶν ἢ υδωρ ἐκπορευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ περειστήκει τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ μῆτε καιρὸν εἶναι κυρίω ἐν ὧ τὸν ἁγώνα ἐμελλὲ ποιεῖσθαι μῆτε τόπου —ἀ δοκεῖ μεγάλα εἶναι κατηγορήματα ἡγεμόνων στρατηγίας ἀπείρων—τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀμφότερα 6 ὡς ἐβούλοντο εἰχε ταῦτα. καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀπανα-

1 πλεονέκτημα R : om. B.
2 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς B : ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς R.

368
which the disaster occurred as black and inauspicious
and will begin no useful labour on it, looking upon the
disaster which then occurred on that day as a bad
omen. When the Tyrrhenians came near the Romans
and observed the situation of their camp, which lay
under a flank of a hill, they felt contempt for the
inexperienced of the general and gladly grasped the
advantage presented to them by Fortune. They at
once marched up the opposite side of the hill with
their horse and gained the summit without opposi-
tion. Then, having thus possessed themselves of the
height above the Romans, they made camp there,
brought up the rest of their army in safety, and
fortified the camp with a high palisade and a deep
ditch. Now if Menenius, when he perceived what
an advantage he had given the enemy, had repented
of his error and removed his army to a safer position,
his would have been wise; but as it was, being
ashamed to be thought to have made a mistake, and
maintaining an obstinate front toward those who ad-
vised him to change his plans, he came a merited fall
which brought disgrace as well. For as the enemy
were constantly sending out detachments from places
that commanded his camp, they had many advantages,
not only seizing the provisions which the merchants
were bringing to the Romans, but also attacking his
men as they went out for forage or for water; and it
had come to the point where the consul did not have
it in his power to choose either the time or the place
of combat—which seems to be strong evidence of the
inexperience of a general—whereas the Tyrrhenians
could do both as they wished. And not even then
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

στήσαι τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Μενήνιος ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξαγαγὼν παρέταξεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, καταφρονήσας τῶν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑποτιθεμένων. καὶ οἱ Τυρ-ρηνοὶ τὴν ἀνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέγα εὐτύχιμα ἠγησάμενοι κατέβαινον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐκ ἐλάτ-7 τοὺς ἡ διπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες. ὡς δὲ συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, φόνος ἐγίγνετο2 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολὺς οὐ δυναμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει μένεν. ἐξεώθους3 γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὸ ποτήρι τῆς φύσιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχον καὶ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων κατόπιν (ἐτάξαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ βάθος) ἐμπτῶσε πολλῆς συν-εργούμενοι. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν4 ἐπιφανεστάτων λοχ- αγῶν ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐγκλίνασα ἐθευγην ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα: οἰ δὲ ἱκολούθουν, καὶ τὰς της σημεῖας αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς τραυμα-τίας συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν γίνονται 8 κύριοι. καὶ κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν καὶ δὲ ὀλῆς τῆς λοιπῆς ἡμέρας προσβολὰς ποιησά-μενοι πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν νῦκτα ἀφέντες αἱροῦσι τῶν χάρακα ἐκλιπτοῦντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνδον, καὶ γίνονται πολλῶν σωμάτων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγ-κρατεῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποσκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἔσχον οἱ φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα διέσωσαν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὀπλα πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες.

XXIV. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὴν τε ἀπώλειαν τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὴν ἀλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος μαθόντες (ήκον γὰρ οἱ πρώτοι διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς πολλῆς5 ἐπὶ νυκτός οὐσίας) εἰς μέγαν θάρυβον ὦσπερ εἰκὸς κατέστησαν· καὶ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλευσομένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ

1 Gelenius: ἀπαναστήναι O. 2 ἐγίγνετο B: ἐγένετο A. 3 Prou: ἐξώθουν O.
could Menenius bring himself to move his army away from there; but leading out the troops, he drew them up ready for battle, scorning all who offered salutary advice. The Tyrrhenians, looking upon the folly of the general as a piece of great good fortune, came down from their camp with numbers fully twice those of their foe. When they engaged, there was a great slaughter of the Romans, who were unable to keep their ranks. For they were forced back by the Tyrrhenians, who not only had the terrain as an ally, but were also helped by the vigorous pressure of those who stood behind them, their army being drawn up with deep files. When the most prominent centurions had fallen, the rest of the Roman army gave way and fled to the camp; and the enemy pursued them, took away their standards, seized their wounded, and got possession of their dead. Then they shut them up in their camp and besieged them; and delivering numerous attacks during all the rest of the day, without desisting even at night, they captured the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, and took many prisoners and a great quantity of booty; for those who fled had not been able to pack up their belongings, but were glad to escape with their bare lives, many not keeping even their arms.

XXIV. When those at Rome heard that their army was destroyed and their camp taken—the first who had saved themselves from the rout arrived while it was still deep night—they fell into great confusion, as may well be imagined; and expecting the enemy to come against them at any moment, they seized

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} \text{δὲ τῶν R} : \text{δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ACmg.}}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5} τροπῆς πολλῆς Kiessling : πολλῆς τροπῆς O.}\]
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

οπλα, οἱ μὲν τὰ τείχη περιεστεφάνουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ
tῶν πυλῶν ἐτάξαντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως
2 καταλαμβάνοντο. ἢν δὲ δρόμοις ἀτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν
πόλιν ὀλην1 καὶ βοὴ συμμυγής, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι2
tῶν οἰκῶν εἰς ἅλκην καὶ ἀγώνα εὐτρεπής ὁ κατ-
οικίδιος οἶχος, πυρσοί τε συνεχεῖς, οί δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ
καὶ σκότῳ, διά τε ὑπολαμπάδων3 καὶ ἀπὸ τεγῶν
tοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ᾦδοντο4 ὡστε συναφὲς εἶναι
dοκεῖν τοῖς πρόσωπεν ὁρῶσι τὸ σέλας καὶ δόξαι
3 ἐμπιστραμένης πόλεως παρασχεῖν. καὶ εἰ τότε οἱ
Τυρρηνοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ωφελεῖον ὑπεριδόν-
tες ἐκ ποδὸς τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἱκολούθησαν, ἀπασά
ἂν διέφθαρτο ἡ στρατεύσασα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναμις.
ὡν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγάς τε τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων
ev τῷ χάρακι τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὰ σώ-
ματα δόντες μεγάλου αὐχήματος ἐαυτοὺς ἑστέρη-
σαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρα τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγοντες ἐπὶ
tὴν Ῥώμην καὶ σταδίους ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐκκαίδεκα
ἀποσχόντες ὅρος ἐξ οὗ σύνοπτος ἔστιν ἡ Ῥώμη,
τὸ καλούμενον Ἰάνικλον, καταλαμβάνονται, οὗτοι
ὀρμώμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ἡγοῦν τε καὶ

1 ὀλην B : om. R. 2 Jacoby : στέγεα Ο.
3 νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ, διά τε ὑπολαμπάδων Post : νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ
διατὰ τε ὑπὸ λαμπάδων A, νυκτὶ σκότῳ (σκότῳ Bb) διατάτε
(διατάται Bb) ὑπὸ λαμπάδων B, νυκτὶ καὶ σκοταία ταύτῃ ὑπὸ
λαμπάδων Jacoby.
4 ᾦδοντο Capps : ᾦδοντο B, ἐπειρώντο ὤραν AC, ἐπυρωντο
Steph.

1 "Lantern" is here used in the architectural sense of
a light open structure set upon a roof to admit light and
air to the interior. The only other occurrence of the
372
their arms and some formed a circle about the walls, others stationed themselves before the gates, and still others occupied the heights in the city. There was a disorderly running to and fro throughout the entire city and a confused clamour; on the roofs of the houses were the members of each household, prepared to defend themselves and give battle; and an uninterrupted succession of torches, as it was in the night and dark, blazed through lanterns and from roofs, so many in number that to those seeing them at a distance it seemed to be one continuous blaze and gave the impression of a city on fire. And if the Tyrrhenians at that time had scorned the booty to be got from the camp and had followed on the heels of the fleeing Romans, the whole army which had taken the field against them would have been destroyed; but as it was, by turning to plundering everything which had been left behind in the camp and to resting their bodies, they deprived themselves of a great opportunity for boasting. The next day they led their forces against Rome, and when they were about sixteen stades from the city, they occupied the mount called Janiculum, from which the city is in full view. And using that as a base of operations, they pillaged the territory of the Romans without

word ἀπολαμμάτως in extant literature is in a quotation from Phylarchus found in Athenaeus (536 e). But in an inscription (Inscript. Graec. xi. 366 λ, lines 14-48 passim) containing an account of the expenditures made on the hypostyle hall at Delos the word occurs several times, as a detailed list is given of the parts of the lantern that were repaired. Remains of the lantern have been found and agree with the references given in the inscription. See Exploration archéologique de Délos: Nouvelles recherches sur la salle hypostyle, Suppl. 2 (R. Vallois and G. Poulsen, Paris, 1914), pp. 10, 34, 38 f., 51 f.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

έφερον ἀκώλυτοι κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν ἕνδον ὑπεροψίαν, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπάτων

4 Ὄρατιον ἁγιοτα τὴν ἐν Οὐσολούσκοις δύναμιν. τότε δὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ Ἡρωμαίοι νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητα καθοπλίσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον. ὡς δὲ τὴν τε πρῶτην μάχην ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἐλπίδος ίερὸν ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ ἀπεωσάντο τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην αὕθις ἐτέρα1 πλείον δυνάμει τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐπελθόντων παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναις καλομέναις πύλαισ2 λαμπρῶς ἡγωνισάντο, ἀνέπνευσαν3 ἐκ τοῦ δέους· καὶ τὸ ἐτος τούτῳ ἐτελεύτα.

1 ἐτέρα ABC : ἐτέραν D.
2 ποιησάμενοι after πύλαισ deleted by Sintenis.
hindrance, holding those in the city in great contempt, till the other consul, Horatius, appeared with the army which had been among the Volscians. Then at last the Romans thought themselves safe, and arming the youth that were in the city, they took the field; and having not only in the first battle, which was fought at the distance of eight stades from the city near the temple of Hope, overcome their opponents and driven them back, but also, after that engagement, having fought brilliantly with them again near the gate called the Colline, when the Tyrrhenians had come against them with another and larger army, they recovered from their fear. Thus ended that year.

3 καὶ before ἁνέπνευσαν deleted by Sylburg.
## INDEX

| Aemilius, L., 253-267, 341-351 | Cassius, Q., 271 and n. |
| Aeneas, 57 | —— Sp., 203-221, 233-243, 247, 251 f., 287, 293 |
| Aequians, 25, 43, 75, 183 f., 203, 249, 283, 289, 293, 331, 341-345, 351 | Ceres, 241 |
| Alban Mount, 271 | Cetia, 105 and n. |
| +Albietes, 107 and n. | Circeians, 39 |
| Anchises, archon, 3 | Circeii, 39 |
| Antiates, 87, 249, 267 | Claudius, Sabinus, App., 17f., 213, 221-229, 249, 289 f. |
| Antium, 5, 255, 261 | —— ——, son of preceding, 279, 283 |
| Antony, Mark, 271 and n. | Cluillian Ditches, 61 |
| Aquiliius, C., 185-195, 201 f. | Colline gate, 375 |
| Astylus of Croton, 3 | Cominius, Postumus, 63 |
| —— of Syracuse, 233 | +Copiolani, 55 n. |
| Athens, archons at, 3, 233, 253, 287 | Corbio, 53 f. |
| Attius, Tullus, 5-15, 31-37, 171 f., 195 f., 201 | Coriolani, 55 n., 107 n. |
| Augustus, 245 n. | Coriolanus. See Marcius |
| Bola, 49 f. | Coriolani, 55 n. |
| Bolani, 49 f. | —— Sulla, L., 245 and n. |
| Bovillae, 55 f. | Cremera, 339, 343, 353 f., 367 |
| Bovillani, 57 | Curio, C., 271 n. |
| Brutus. See Junius | December, 165 |
| Caesar. See Julius | Decius, 91 |
| Calliades, 287 | Ecetra, 105 |
| Capitol, 261 | Etruria. See Tyrrenia |
| Carinae, 241 | Etruscans. See Tyrrhenians |
INDEX

Fabii, Roman gens, 337-343, 353-367
— Q., son of Marcus, 367 and n.
Flavoleius, M., 317 f., 329
Fortuna Muliebris, 163-169
Forum, 63, 129, 219, 239, 277
Furies, 81, 97, 151, 157
Furius, Ser., 343 f., 351
— Sex., 43; cf. 129, 183 f.
— Sp., 287, 291 f.

Gallic War, 241
Gaul, 271
Gelon, 213
Greece, 287; cf. 47, 253
Greeks, 31, 79, 245

Hope, temple of, 375
Horatius, C., 351 f., 375

Icilius, Sp., 289 and n., 293
Italy, 57, 271; cf. 73

Janiculum, 335, 373
Julius Caesar, C., 245 n., 271 and n.
— Iulus, C., 3, 11, 281
Junius Brutus, M., 241
Jupiter, 271
— Capitoline, 113

Labicani, 53
Labici, 51
Larcus, Sp., 63, 187, 281-285
Lavinienses, 107 n.
Lavinium, 57-61, 147
Leostatus, 233
Lethe, Plain of, 155
Longula, 105, 259

Maenius, C., 269
Manlius, Gn., 299-303, 319, 323 f.
— Torquatus, T., 241
Marcius Coriolanus, C., 3-183 passim, 197, 239, 257
Marsic War, 243
Menenius, T., 351-355, 367-371
Minucius, M., 63-83, 89, 93-105
Mugilla, 107 n.
Mugillani, 107

Nautius, Sp., 43; cf. 129, 183 f.
Nicodemos, 253

Opimia, 277 and n.
Ortona, 283

Pedani, 75
Pedum, 53
Phaedo, 351
Pinarius Rufus, P., 3, 11, 63
Poluscini, 105
Pompey, Cn., 245 n., 271 and n.
— Sex., 245 n.

377
INDEX

Pontificius, Tib., 299
Porta Capena, 13 and n.
— Collina, 375
Praenestines, 189

QUINTILIS, month, 165

RABULEIUS, C., 217 f.
Romans, passim
Rome, 7, 9, 29, 39, 45, 61, 101, 107, 277, 373
Romulus, 119

SABINES, 119, 209
Sacred Mount, 209, n. 2
Satricum, 105
Seamander, Olympic victor, 351
Sempronius Atratinus, A., 189, 225-231, 281
Servilius, C., 341
Sibylline oracles, 111
Siccius, T., 185 and n., 187, 195-201, 325-333
Sicily, 213
Sulla. See Cornelius
Sulpicius, Q., 63

TARPEIAN ROCK, 239
Tarquinius Collatinus, 145 f.
— Superbus, 17, 187
Tellus, temple of, 241
Tiber, 335

TIBERIUS, 245 n.
Tolerienses, 47, 75
Trojans, 57
Tullus. See Attius
Tusculum, 107
Tyrrenia, 285, 289, 301, 339, 343, 353
See also under Veientes

VALERIA, 113-119, 125, 165
Valerius Publicola, L., 233, 267, 273-277
— M’, 89
— P., 113
Veientes, 249, 283, 289, 299, 331-349, 353. See also
Veientes, 249, 283, 289, 299, 331-349, 353. See also
Tyrrhenians
Veius, 301, 339
Velitrae, 195
Verginius, Proculus, 165, 203, 213, 217 f., 227 f.
— T., 331
Veturia, 115-165
Volscians, 5-63, 73 f., 101
105 f., 117, 127, 135-143, 157-161, 169-187, 195-205,
211, 249 f., 255-265, 273 f., 341-345, 351 f., 375
Volumnia, 115-135, 159

XERXES, 287

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