THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
V
THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

V

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΔΟΓΟΣ ΟΓΔΟΟΣ

I. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἢν ἕνικα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Κρατωνιάτης, ἀρχοντὸς Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγχίσου, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος Ῥοῦφος, ἄνδρες ἡκιστα πολεμικοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς ἁρχῆς ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τυχόντες, οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλους ἡγακάσθησαν κινδύνους καταστήναι, πολέμου καταρραγέντος ἕκ τῆς ἐκείνων ἁρχῆς δι’ ὅπι ἢ 2 πόλεις ὀλύγου ἐδήσεσαν ἐκ βάθρων ἀναιρεθῆναι. ὁ γὰρ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολανός, ὁ τὴν ἐτὶ τῇ τυραννὶδι αὐτίαν σχῶν καὶ φυγῇ ἀιδίῳ ἐλαθεῖσι, ἀγανακτῶν τε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, δι’ οὗ δέ ἂν αὐτῇ γένοιτο τρόπου καὶ δι’ οἰα δυνάμεως ἄνασκοπῶν,

1 ἢν Jacoby : καθ’ ἢν Ο. 2 Kiessling : ιουλλος Ο. 3 ἐκ Ο : ἐπὶ Kiessling. 4 Cobet : ἔχων Ο.

1 For chaps. 1-2, 3 cf. Livy ii. 35, 6-8. 2 487 B.C.
I. The consuls \(^1\) who were chosen after these were Gaius Julius Iulus and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy-third Olympiad \(^2\) (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 rule \(^3\) 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

\(^{1}\) Or, following Kiessling’s emendation, “in their consulship.”

\(^{2}\) See vi. 92-94, vii. 21-64.
μίαν εὐρισκε Ἡρωμαίος τὸτε ἀντίπαλον ἵσχυν τὴν Ὀὐσολούσκων, εἰ κοινῇ χρησάμενοι γνώμη καὶ τυχόντες ἥγεμόνοις ἐμφρὸνοις ἐνστήσονται πρὸς 3 αὐτὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἔλογίζετο μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰ πείσει τοὺς Ὀὐσολούσκους δεξασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἥγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πόλεμον, ῥαδίως αὐτῶ διαπεπράζεται τὸ ἔργον· ἐτάρατε δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνείδησις ὅτι πλειστάκις κατὰ τὰς μάχας δεινά δεδρακός ἤν αὐτὸς καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀφηρη-μένος. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέστη γε τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ χωρεῖν 4 ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ πᾶσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁμιῶν. φυ- λάξας δὲ νῦκτα καὶ ταύτην σκοταίαν ἤκεν εἰς "Ἀντίον, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν Ὀὐσολούσκοις πόλεων, ἤνικα περὶ δεῖπνον ᾦσαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαι ἄνδρὸς δυνατοῦ, δι' εὐγενεῖαν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολε- μοῖς πράξεις μέγα ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ φρονοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἐθνὸς ὀλον ἁγιότος ὡς τὰ πολλά, ὃς Τύλλος "Ἀττιος ὁνομά ἦν, ἰκέτης τοῦ ἄνδρος γίνεται καθεξήμενος 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας. διηγησάμενος δ' αὐτῷ τὰς κατα- σχούσας αὐτὸν ἀνάγκας δι' ὅς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταφυγεῖν, μέτρια ἥξιον φρονήσαι καὶ ἄνθρωπων περὶ ἄνδρος ἱκετοῦ καὶ μηκέτι πολέμου ἡγείσαθαι τὸν ὑποχείριον μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ὑσχῦν, ἐνθυμούμενον ὡς οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς 6 πράγμασιν αἱ τῶν ἄνθρωπων τύχαι. "Δύναμο δ' ἂν," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει κράτιστος ποτε εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων δοκῶν, νῦν ἔρημος καὶ ἀπολις καὶ ταπεινὸς

1 μὲν οὖν Garrer: 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,
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ἐρριμμένος, τούτο πείσομαι 1 ο τι ἂν ἐχθρῷ ὄντι σοι δοκῇ. ὑπισχυοῦμαι δέ σοι τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ποιήσειν Οὐολούσκους φίλος τῷ ἔθνει γενόμενος ὅσα κακὰ εἰργασάμην ἐχθρὸς ὅν. εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο γινώσκεις περὶ ἐμοῦ, χρῆσαι τῇ ὀργῇ παραχρῆμα καὶ θάνατον χάρισαι μοι τὸν τάχιστον αὐτοχειρίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίς τῆς ἕαυτοῦ 2 καθιερεύσας τὸν ἵκετην.”

II. Ἥτι δ’ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀναστήσας θαρρεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς μὴν ἄναξιον τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πεισόμενον, καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς ἕαυτον ἀφίξεως ἐφή, τιμὴν τινα οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι καὶ ταῦτῃ ἀποφανόμενον. Οὐολούσκους τε αὐτῷ πάντας ὑποψηφίετο ποιήσειν φίλους ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕαυτοῦ πατρίδος· καὶ 2 οὐδεμίαν ἐφεύσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. χρόνου δὲ τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος βουλευομένους τοῖς ἀνδράσις κατὰ σφᾶς, Μαρκίως τε καὶ Τύλλως, κινεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον. ὅ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος αὐτίκα μάλα ἐβουλεύτη πᾶσαν τὴν Οὐολούσκων δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὁρμῆν χωρεῖν ἐως ἐστασίαζε τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἀπολέμους εἰχεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος αἰτίαν πρῶτον ᾑστε δεῖν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, διδάκτων ὡς ἀπάσας μὲν πράξει θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους, ὅσω μείζους τὲ εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς ἄδηλους φιλούς κατασκήπτειν τύχας. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε Ὁρμώαιος καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐκεχειρίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους

1 πείσομαι Tauchnitz ed. : πεισόμενος O. Kiessling proposed ἐρριμμαί τούτο πεισόμενος.
2 ἕαυτοῦ ΛΒ : σεαυτοῦ C, Jacoby.
BOOK VIII. 1, 6—2, 2

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
οὕσα ὑπονόει τε διετεῖς ὅλιγον πρότερον χρόνων 3 γενόμεναι. "Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως," ἐφη, "καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρης, τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς ὑπονόας αὐτοὺς ἔσῃ καὶ τὸ δαμόμονον οὕχ ἔξεις εὑμενές· ἕαν δὲ περιμεῖνης ἐώς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λεπυμέναις ὑπονόας βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δὴ ἄν τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄρξειν παρασπονδέω, ἦμεῖς δὲ δοξαμεν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρεσι τὸν πόλε-μον, ἐγὼ σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνεύρηκα. δεὶ δ' ώφ' ἦμῶν αὕτοις ἐξαπατηθέντας ἄρξαι τής παρα-νομίας. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐξαπάτησι, ὃν ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἄπορρητον ἐφύλαττον ἀναμένων τὸν οἰκείον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, νῦν δὲ σοῦ ὑπονοδάζοντος ἔργου ἔχον θάττον ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἑυμένης ἡμεῖς ἀναγκάζομαι, τούτῳ δὲ ἑστών· θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν Ῥωμαίων μέλλουσι καὶ ἀγώνας ἄγειν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων σφόδρα λαμπρούς, ἀφίξοντα τε κατὰ θέαν ἐπὶ τούτους 5 πολλοὺς τῶν ἐξένων. τοῦτον ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον ἴδι καὶ σὺ καὶ Ὄολολοῦσκων ὅσιος δύνασαι πλείο-τους παρασκεύασον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν· ὅταν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει γένη, τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τινα σοι φί-λων κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέλλουσι ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ὄολολοῦσκοι νύκτωρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦκουσι τὸ ἔρ-γον ἀθρόως. εὖ γὰρ ἦσθι ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἄκουσαίνας οὐδὲν ἐτὶ ἐνδοίασαντες ἐκβαλοῦσιν ύμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρέξοισιν ἀφορμήν δικαίας ὀργῆς." III. Ὡς δ' ἦκουσ οὐδὲν ταῦτα Ὁ Τύλλος, ὑπερηγάσθη τε καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τῆς στρατείας ὑπερβαλό-

1 περιμεῖνης B: ἐπιμένης Λ. 2 εἰς 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,
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μενος¹ περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ πολέμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς² καιρός, Ἰουλίου τε καὶ Πιναρίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἦδη παρειληφότων, ἡ κρατίστη τῶν Ὀυολούσκων νεότης ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὡσ ὁ Τύλλος ἥξιοι, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγώνων θέαν· καὶ κατεσκήνου μι πλείους ἐν ἑροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους οὐκ ἔχοντες καταγωγὰς ἐν οἰκίαις τε καὶ παρὰ ξένους, καὶ ὅποτε διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν πορεύοντο, κατὰ συστροφὰς καὶ ἔταιρίας άθρόοι διεξήγασαν, ὡστε καὶ λόγον ἦδη γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑποψίας 2 ἀτόπους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὁ κατασκευασθὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου μινυτῆς, ὡσ ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέθετο, καὶ ὡς ἢ ἀπόρρητον πράξεν κατὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ φίλων ἐχθροῖς μέλλων ἐκφέρειν ὅρκους καταλαμβάνεται τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε τῆς αὐτοῦ² αὐτοῦ² καὶ τοῦ μηδένα Ὀυολούσκων μαθεῖν ὅστις ἢν ὁ τὴν μήνυσιν κατ᾿ αὐτῶν πεποιημένος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐκφέρει τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς κατεξευσμένης μήνυσιν.

3 ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄνδράσιν ἀληθῆς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ βουλή κατ’ ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κληθείσα συνήκτο, καὶ παραχθεῖς ὁ μηνυτῆς τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν λόγους. τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἶναι τὸ πράγμα ἐδόκει μεστὸν υποψίας τοσαύτην νεότητα ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐθνούς διαφόρου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἐλθεῖν, προσελθοῦσι ἐπὶ μηνύσεως, ἢς τὴν ἀπάτην ἡγύουν, ἵσταν βεβαιαίν ἡ δόξα ἐλαβεν, ἐδόκει τε ἀπασώ ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ήλιον

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.
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δύναι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθεῖσιν ἐπικηρύξαι θάνατον, ἑπιμεληθήναι δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἢν χωρὶς ὑβρέως καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, τοὺς ὑπάτους.

IV. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυττον διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιότες ἀπείνα\(^1\) Οὐδολούσκους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα μάλα κατὰ μίαν ἀπαντας ἔξιόντας πῦλην τῇν καλουμένην Κατυύνην, ἔτεροι δὲ παρέπεμπον τοὺς ἀπαλλαττο-μένους ἀμα τοῖς ὑπάτους. ἐνθα μάλιστα ὡφθη ὁσον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἢν καὶ ὡς ἀκμαίον ἀπαν ὑφ’ ἕνα καιρὸν καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἔξιόντων πῦλην.

πρῶτος δ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἔξει διὰ ταχέων καὶ καταλαβόν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον 2 ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς ύστεροῦντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἐπειδή δὲ πάντες συνήχθησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενος πολλὴ καταβοθῇ τῆς Ἦρωμαίων πόλεως ἐχρήσατο, δεινὴν καὶ ἀφόρητον ἀποφαίων τῇν ὑβρυν ἢν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ᾧσαν Οὐδολούσκοι μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἔξιον ἐξελαθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ λέγειν ἥξιον ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν έκαστον καὶ πράττειν ὁποις παύσωνται τῆς ὑβρεως Ἦρω-μαιιώ δικας παρασχόντες τῆς παρανομίας. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παραθῆξας ἀνθρώπους ἀγανακτοῦντας 3 ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὡς δ’ ἀπαλλαγέντες εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοῦ πατρίδας ἐδήλωσαν τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν προπηλακισμὸν ἐπὶ μείζον ἐξαίροντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἐγανάκτει τε πᾶσα πόλις καὶ κατέχει τὴν ὀργήν οὐκ ἢδύνατο. δια-

1 Sylburg : ἀπείνα O.

1 The Porta Capena. The real etymology of the name Capena is not known.
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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-
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προσβενομένη δ' ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην εἰς μίαν ἀγοράν ἀπαντας ἢξίου Οὐδολούσκους συνιέναι, ίνα κοινὴ
χρήσαιντο γνώμη περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. ἔγινετο δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τύλλου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, καὶ συν-
ήσαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οί τε ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ
πολὺς ἄλλος ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ἐχετρανῶν πόλιν: αὐτὴ
γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου ταῖς
ἀλλαίς ἡ πόλις. ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων, οὕς
εἶπον οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει, ψήφος
ἀνεδόθη τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ ἢν ἡ νικώσα γνώμη
kineῖν τὸν πολέμον, ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀρξάντων τῆς
περὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομίας.

V. Ἄπερ δὲ τοῦ τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν αὐτοῦς τρό-
πον προθέντων σκοπεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι παρ-
ελθὼν ὁ Τύλλος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς καλεῖν τὸν
Μάρκιον καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνον πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἄν ἡ
Ῥωμαίων καταλυθεὶς δύναμις; κρατίστα γὰρ ἀπάν-
tων ἀνθρώπων εἰδέναι πῇ τε κάμνει τὰ τῆς πόλεως
πράγματα καὶ πῇ μάλιστα ἔρρωται. ἔδόκει ταῦτα,
καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐβόων καλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ
Μάρκιος ἢς ἐβούλετο ἀφορμής λαβόμενος ἀνέστη
cατηφῆς καὶ δεδακρυμένος καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν
χρόνον τοιούτος διέθετο λόγους.

"Εἰ μὲν ἡγοῦμην ὑμᾶς ἀπαντας ὀμοία γνώσκειν
περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑπελάμβανον
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπολογεῖσθαι: ἐνθυ-
μούμενοι δ', ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἦθεσιν
eἰκός, εἰναὶ τινας οἰς παραστήσεται δόξα οὔτε
ἀληθῆς οὔτε προσήκουσα περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἂν

1 Kiessling : πάντας Ο.
2 Reiske : ἵναι Ο.
3 ἐν καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι συνόδου Reiske, κάλλιστα κεῖσθαι

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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

συνόδων Kayser: εν (om. εν Ba) καλλίστη κείσαςι συνόδω ΑΒ, Jacoby.

4 peri εμου B : om. R.
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άτερ αὐτίας ἀληθοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἐξήλασέ με ὁ δήμος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, παντὸς μάλιστα οἴομαι ἐὰν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς ἐν κοινῷ πρὸς ἀπαντας ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθε μου, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ οἱ κράτιστα ἐγνωκότες, ἀ πέπονθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὡς οὐ προσήκον μοι ταύτης πεπείραμαι τῆς τύχης διεξιόντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ποθείτε ὅ τι χρῆ πράττειν ἀκούσαι πρὶν ὁποῖος τίς εἴμι ὁ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδειξόμενον1 ἐξετάσαι. ἐσται δὲ βραχὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν, κἂν πρόσωθεν ἀρξώμαι, λόγος.

4 " Ρωμαίοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολίτευμα ἂν μικρότον2 ἐκ τε βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας, ἐπειτα ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τυραννίδα τῆν ἀρχὴν ἥξιον ποιεῖν. συστάντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡγεμόνες ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ κατέσχον ἄριστην καὶ σωφρονεστάτην, ὡς ἀπαντες ὀμολογοῦσι, καταστησάμενοι πολιτείαν. χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τρίτον ἡ τέταρτον τοῦτ' ἐτος, οἱ πενέστατοι τε καὶ ἀργότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν πονηροῖς χρησάμενοι προστάταις ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐξύβρισαν καὶ τελευτῶντες καταλύειν τὴν ἀριστο-

5 κρατίαν ἐπεχειρουν. ἐβ' οἰς ἀπαντες μὲν οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστῆτικότες ἡχθοντο καὶ ὡς παύσωνται τῆς ὑβρεως οἱ κινοῦντες τὴν πολιτείαν σκοπεῦν ἥξιοι, ὑπὲρ ἀπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικοὺς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων3 "Αππιος ἀνήρ πολλῶν ἄξιος ἕνεκα4 ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων

1 Steph. : προσδειξόμενος ΑΒ.
2 μικτόν B : om. R.
3 Reiske : πρεσβυτάτων O.
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 andidlest 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 ἕνεκα ACmg, ἔνικα B, om. C: ἕνεκεν Jacoby.
ἐγὼ· καὶ λόγους ἐποιοῦμεθα διὰ παντὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλευθέρους, οὐ δὴμος πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατίαν ύφορῶμενοι, οὐδὲ καταδουλώσασθαι τινα βουλόμενοι· Ὑπαρχεῖν τινὶ δὲ προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεδόθαι τοῖς κρείττοις.

VI. "Ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ πονηρότατοι τοῦ πλῆθους ἔκεινοι προστάται πρῶτοι ἔγνωσαν ἡμᾶς τοὺς φανερῶτατα ἐναντιομένους σφίσιν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἐπίφθονον τε καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πράγμα γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου τε καὶ εὔμεταχειριστὸτερον ἀρξάμενοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀκριτὸν μὲ ἐπιχειρήσαν ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειτα ἐκδοτον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡξίουν ἐπὶ θανᾶτῳ λαβεῖν· ἀποτυχόντες δ' ἀμφοτέρων προϋκαλέσαντο ἐπὶ δίκην, ὡν αὐτοὶ δικάσειν ἐμελλον, τυραννίδος ἐπιβαλόντες αἰτίαν. 1 καὶ οὖδὲ τούτ' ἐμαθον, ὅτι δὴμως τύραννος οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ τάναντια μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναρεῖ μέρος· δικαστήριον τε οὖχ ὁπερ ἢν πάτριον ἀπεδωκάν μοι τήν λοχίτων καλέσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντες ὀμολογοῦσι πονηρότατον εἶναι δικαστήριον 2 καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον γενόμενον, ἐν δ' πλέον ἐχεῖν ἐμελλον οἱ θήτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντες βίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ τὰ κοινά σώζεσθαι 3 βουλομένων. τοσοῦτο δ' ἅρα μοι περιήν τοῦ μηδὲν

1 βουλόμενοι B : om. R.
2 ὑπάρχειν Reiske : ἐχεῖν 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 centurionate 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
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ἀδικεῖν, ὦστ' ἐν ὀχλῳ κρινόμενος, οὐ τὸ πλέον μισόχρηστον ἴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμοί, δυσὶ μόνον ἐάλων ψήφοις, ἀποτιθεμένων τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων εἰ μὴ καταδικασθεῖν ἐγώ, καὶ τὰ ἐσχατα πείσεσθαι πρὸς ἐμὸν λεγόντων καὶ πάση ὁποιήση καὶ προθυμία παρὰ τὸν ἀγώνα κατ' ἐμοῦ 4 χρησμαμένων. τοιαύτα δὴ πεπονθός ἐγὼ πρὸς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμην τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσεθᾶν μοι βίων, εἰ μή λάβομι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξόν μοι ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, εἰτ' ἐν ταῖς Δατίνων πόλεων ἡβουλόμην κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, εἰτ' ἐν ταῖς νεοκτίστοισιν ὡς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπόκειον, οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, εφ' ύμάς δὲ κατέφυγον, οὔς ἡπιστάμην1 πλείστα τε ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἡδικημένους καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθομένους, ίνα κοινή μεθ' ύμῶν τιμωρησάμην αὐτούς, οὐκ ἰομοὶ δύναμις, λόγους τε, ἐνθα δεὶ λόγων, καὶ ἔργους, ὅταν ἔργων δέη. χάριν τε ὑμῖν μεγάλην2 οἴδα τῆς τε ύποδοχῆς μου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς τιμῆς ὑμᾶς τε τιμᾶτε, οὐθὲν οὔτε μνησικακῆςαντες οὔτε ὑπολογισάμενοι ὃν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμιῶν ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε3 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους.

VII. "Φέρε δὴ, τίς ἂν εἰην ἄνηρ, εἰ δόξης καὶ τιμῶν ὃν προσήκε μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις τυγχάνειν πρὸς4 τῶν εὐ παθόντων ἀποστερηθείς, πρὸς δὲ τούτως πατρίδος τε καὶ οἶκου καὶ φίλων καὶ θεῶν πατρών καὶ τάφων προγνωκῶν καὶ

1 οὐς ἡπιστάμην R : ἡπιστάμην γάρ Α.
2 ύμῖν μεγάλην Reiske, τὴν μεγάλην ύμῖν Jacoby : τὴν μεγάλην ΛΒ.
3 ύπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε Jacoby, ύπ' ἐμοὶ ἐτι πολεμίου ὄντος ἐπάθετε Reiske, ύπ' ἐμοῦ πρῶτερον γε ἐπάθετε Kiessling : ύπ' ἐμοὶ ποτε ὄντε ἐπάθετε ΛΒ.
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 treat-
ment 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 kin-
ship, 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 erst-
while 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

4 Cobet: παρὰ O, Jacoby, ὑπὸ Prou.
παντὸς ἄλλον ἀπελαθεὶς ἁγαθοῦ, παρ’ ὑμῖν δ’ ἀπαντα ταύτα εὑρόν, οἰς ἐκεῖνὼν χάριν ἐπολέμουν, εἰ’ μὴ γενοῦμην χαλεπὸς μὲν οἰς ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἐχθροῖσι κέχρημαι, χρηστὸς δ’ οἰς ἀντὶ πολεμίων φίλοις; ἀλλ’ ἔγγυε οὐδ’ ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα θείῃ ἂν ὅστις μῆτε τὸ πολεμοῦν δ’ ὀργής ἔχει μῆτε τὸ σῶζον ἐαυτὸν δ’ εὐνοίας. πατρίδα τε ἤγοιμαι οὐ τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην με πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ γ’ ἀλλότριος ὃν πολίτης γέγονα, γῆν τε οὐκ ἐν ἂ η ἡδίκημαι.

2 φιλην, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἂ τὸ ἁσφαλὲς ἑξω. καὶ ἂν θεὸς τε συλλαμβάνῃ καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὡς εἰκὸς πρόθυμα ἢ, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐλπίδω γενῆσεσθαι μεταβολήν. εῦ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι πολλῶν ἥδη πολεμίων πειραθέντες Ἦρωμαίοι οὐθένας μᾶλλον ἔδεισαν ὑμῶν, οὐδ’ ἐστιν ἐφ’ ὡ μᾶλλον σπουδάζοντες διατελοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐθνὸς ἁσθενές ἄπο-

3 δείξουσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν πολέμων λαβόντες ὑμῶν ἔχοσιν5 πόλεις, τὰς δὲ φιλίας ἐλπίδι παρακρουσάμενοι, ἢν μὴ καθ’ ἐν ἄπαντες γενόμενοι κοινῷ ἐξενεγκητε κατ’ αὐτῶν πόλεμον. ἔὰν οὖν τὰντια ὑμεῖς ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦμεν διατελήτε καὶ μίαν ἄπαντες ἐξείτε περὶ6 τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ὅ ποιεῖτε νυνί, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος παύσετε.

VIII. “Ον δὲ τρόπον ἀγωνιεῖσθε καὶ πῶς χρήσεσθε τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ γνώμην ἄξιοιτε με ἀποφήμασθαι, εἰτ’ ἐμπειρίαν μοι μαρτυροῦντε εἰτ’ εὔνοιαν εἰτε καὶ ἀμφότερα, φράσοι καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν παραπλῆκ

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1 εἰ B by correction: om. R.
2 ὡς Steph. : om. AB.
3 μεταβολήν O : τὴν μεταβολήν Jacoby.
4 Sylburg : πολέμων O.
5 ἔχουσι Steph. : ἀποδείξουσι ABC.
6 περὶ added by Kiessling.
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
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σκοπεῖν ὅπως εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν πορίσησθε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν. εὐσεβὴς δὲ καὶ δικαία τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις ἢτις ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἀμα συμ-2 φέρουσα ὑμῖν, ἀκούσατε μου. Ἦρωμαῖος ἦ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξασα γῆ βραχεῖα ἐστι καὶ λυπρά, ἦ δὲ ἐπίκτητος, ἦν τοὺς περιοίκους ἀφελόμενοι κατέχουσι,1 πολλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἡδυκημένων ἕκαστος τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀξιωθεὶν ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενές οὐδ' ἀπορον ὡς τὸ Ἦρωμαῖων ἦστι γενήσεται. τούτου δ' οἴομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀρξαί. 3 πέμπτετε οὖν πρέσβεις ὅς αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντες ἃς κατέχουσιν ὑμῶν πόλεις καὶ ὡσα τείχη ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ ἐνετειχίσαντο ἄξιούντες ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο βία σφετερισάμενοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχουσι πείθοντες ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμου δὲ μήπω ἀρχετε πρὶν ἡ λαβεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις. ἐὰν γάρ ταῦτα ποιήσητε, δυνέων ἰν βουλέσθη ὑπάρξει θάτερον ὑμῖν. ἦ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀπολήψεθε ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης, ἦ καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν πρό-φασιν εἰληφότες ἔσεσθε τοῦ πολέμου. τὸ γάρ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας τούτου πολεμεῖν, ἀπαντεῖ αὖν ὁμολογήσουσιν2 εἶναι καλῶν. φέρε δὴ, τί ποιήσειν οἴεσθε Ἦρωμαῖον ταθ' ὑμῶν προελμένων; πό-τερον ἀποδόσων τὰ χωρία ὑμῖν; καὶ τί κωλύσει πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ἥξουσι γάρ Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστος γῆν ἀποληφό-μενοι. ἦ καθέξειν τὰ χωρία καὶ μηθὲν τῶν δικαῖων

1 κατέχουσι added by Sylburg, ἔχουσι by Cmg, Sintenis.
2 ἄν ὁμολογήσουσιν B : ἀνομολογήσουσιν Λ, ἄν ὁμολογήσαειν Reiske.

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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?
τοιχήσεων; ὁπερ ἐγὼ νομίζω. οὐκοῦν ἀδικείσθαι πρῶτερον 1 λέγοντες ὡς αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα χωρῆσετε καὶ συμμάχους ἔξετε ὅσοι τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπεγνώκασιν ἄλλος οὖν ἐν 5 ἑτέρῳ ὅποι τοις ἀδικουμένοις οὐδὲ ἐν ἑλπισθέντα παρεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ στασιάζουσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν ἄλληλους καὶ ἰγνομόνας ἐξουσιν ἀνείρους πολέμου. ἀ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι άδει λόγους καὶ παραιτεῖν φίλους, μετὰ πᾶσης εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως εἰρήμενα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ταύτ' ἐστίν. ἂ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστοτε προσφέραται τε καὶ μηχανάσθαι δεήσει, τοῖς ἰγνομοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρέψατε διανοεῖσθαι. πρόθυμον γὰρ καὶ τοῦμὸν ἔσται ἐν δὲ ἄν με τάττητε τόπως, καὶ πειράσομαι μηδενὸς εἶναι χείρων μήτε στρατιώτων μήτε λοχαγοῦ μήτε ἰγνομόνας. ἄλλα καταχρῆσθε μοι λαβόντες ὅπου ἂν μέλλω τι ὑμᾶς ὕφελήσειν, καὶ εὖ ἵστε ὅτι, εἰ πολεμῶν ὑμῖν μεγάλα βλάπτειν δυνατόν ἢν, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενος μεγάλα δυνήσομαι ὕφελέιν.”

IX. Τοιαύτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐσολούσκοι λέγοντος τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτί δῆλοι ἦσαν ἀγάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο, μεγάλῃ βοῇ πάντες ἐπεσήμηναν ὡς τα κράτιστα ὑποθεμένως 2 λόγον τε οὔθεν προθέντες ἐπικυροῦσι τὴν γνώμην. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόγματος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀνδρας ἐλό-

1 Sylburg: πρῶτον O.
2 Reudler: ὑποθεμένω Ba, ὑποθεμένου ΑΒβ.
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
μενοι πρεσβευτάς εἰς τὴν Ἀρέστειλαν· τῷ δὲ Μαρκίῳ ψηφιλίζονται βουλής τε μετουσίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει καὶ ἄρχας ἐξεῖναι πανταχόσε μετιέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀπόσα τιμωτάτα ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς
2 μετέχειν. καὶ πρὶν ἡ τάς Ἐρωμαίων ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμείναι, πάντες ἔργοι εἴχοντο παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια· ὥσις τε ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἄθυμοι τέως κακωθέντες ἐν ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις, τότε πάντες ἐπερρώσθησαν· ὡς τὴν Ἐρωμαίων καθαρήσοντες
3 ἵσχυν. οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρέστειλαν ἀποστάλεντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πρεσβεῖς καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐλεγον ὅτι Ὀὐδολούκοις περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς Ἐρωμαίων ἐγκλήματα καὶ τῶν λυπῶν χρόνον εἶναι φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. ἐσεσθαί δὲ τὸ πιστὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἀπέφαινον, εἰ κομίσαντο γῆν τε τὴν ἐαυ-
τῶν καὶ πόλεις ἡς ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίων ἀφηρεθήσαν· ἄλλως δ’ οὔτε εἰρήνην οὐτε φιλότητα βεβαίαν ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἀδικούμενον ἀεὶ πολέμου εἶναι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι φύσει. ἦξίον τε μὴ κατα-
στήσαι σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου τῶν δικαίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας.

Χ. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ εἶπον οἱ πρεσβεῖς, ἐβουλεύσατο κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ σύνεδροι μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς ἄν-
δρας. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκρίναν ἃς χρή ἀποκρίσεις ποιή-
σασθαι, καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον ταύτην ἐδοξαν τὴν ἀπόφασιν· "Ὁ λανθάνετε ἡμᾶς, ὃ Ὀὐδολούσκοι, φιλίας μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, πρόφασιν δ’ εὐπρεπὴ λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τοῦ πολέ-
μου. ἃ γὰρ ἢκετε παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀπαίτοῦντες, καλῶς

1 Kiesßling: ἔρρωσθησαν 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 magistrates 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
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Ο ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΙΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΔΙ-2 ΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΩΝ. ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΑ ΧΩΡΙΑ ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΔΟΞΑΝ 1 ΥΜΩΝ ΝΩΝ ἈΠΑΙΤΕῖΤΕ, ἈΔΙΚΕΙΣΘΕ ΜΗ ΚΟΜΙΖΩΜΕΝΟΙ, ΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΩ ἉΦΑΙΡΕΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΙ, ἈΔΙΚΕΙΣ ΣΩΝ ἈΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΝ ἘΦΙΕΜΕΝΟΙ. ἩΜΕῖΣ ΔΕ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΑΣ ἩΓΟΥΜΕΘΑ ΚΤΗΣΕΙΣ ὉΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΛΆΒΩΜΕΝ, ΟΥΣΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΤΟΝΔΕ ΟΥΣΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ἌΝΔΡΩΠΩΝ ἩΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ὁ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΕΩΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΑΙ “ΕΛΛΗΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ ΕΙΔΟΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΩΧ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΟΥΚ ἈΝ ΧΕΙΜΕΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΜΑΛΑΚΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΥΔ’ ΑΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΪΜΕΝ ΕΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΡΙ-3 ΚΤΗΤΩΝ. ΠΟΛΛΗ ΓΑΡ ὉΝ ΕΙΗ ΚΑΚΟΤΗΣ, ΕΙ ΣΙΣ Δ ΜΕΤ’ ἈΡΕΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ἍΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ἘΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ, ΤΑΪΤΑ ὩΠΟ ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΣ ἈΦΑΙΡΕΘΕΙ. ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΟΥΣΕ ΜΗ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΥΜΑΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΟΜΕΝ, ΟΥΣΕ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΘΑ. ἌΝ Δ’ ἈΡΞΗΣΟΤΕ, ἈΜΝΟΥΜΕΘΑ. ΤΑΪΤΑ ΟΥΛΟΛΟΥΣΚΟΙΣ ἈΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΈΓΕΤΕ ὉΤΙ ΛΗΦΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΙ ΤΑ ὈΠΛΑ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΙ, ΘΗΣΟΜΕΝ Δ’ ἩΜΕῖΣ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΙ.”

XI. ΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΟΙ ΠΡΕΟΣΒΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΣ ἈΠΗΓΓΕΙΛΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΗΘΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΛΟΛΟΥΣΚΩΝ. ΣΥΝΑΧΘΕΙΟΙ ΟΥΝ ΑΘΙΣΕ ΕΙΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΥΡΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΔΟΓΜΑ ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΕΠΕΙΝ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ. ἘΠΕΙΤΑ ΑΙΡΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΤΥΛΛΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΚΙΟΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΨΗΦΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΙΣΟΘΕΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ ὩΣΩΝ ὶΠ-2 ΕΛΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝ ΔΕΘΕΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ. ΜΕΛΛΟΥΣΗΣ ΔΕ ΔΙΑΛΥΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ἈΝΑΣΤΑΣ Ὁ ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ ΕΦΗ 2.

1 μεταδόξαν B: δόξαν R.
2 έφη O: ἐφησεν 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

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\(^1\) For chaps. 11-13 cf. Livy ii. 39, 1 f.

\(^2\) That is, by war taxes (ἐλοφοπαί).
'Α μὲν ἐψήφισται τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ γυνέσθω κατὰ τὸν οἴκειόν ἐκαστα θαυρόν· ἐν ὦσι δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα μέλλεται καταγράφειν καὶ τὰλλα εὐπρεπίζειν ἔξοντά τινας, ὦσπερ εἰκός, ἁσχολίας καὶ διατριβάς, ἐγὼ καὶ Τύλλος ἔργον ἑχώμεθα. ὦσοις οὖν ὑμῶν βουλομένους ἔστι προνομεύσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέθωσαι λείαν, ὅτε σὺν ἡμῖν. ὑποδέχομαι δ' ὑμῖν, ἐὰν θεὸς συλλάβη, πολλάς καὶ καλᾶς δῶσειν ὕφελείας.

3 ἐτὶ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι εἰσὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι δύναμιν οὐπω συνεστηκυίαν ὀρόντες ὑμετέραν, ὥστε ἄδειῶς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει πᾶσαν ὅσην ἂν βουλώμεθα τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας καταδραμεῖν.'

XII. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην τῶν Ὀὐολούσκων ἐξήσεαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ ταχέων, πρὶν ἐκπυστα γενέσθαι 'Ρωμαίως τὰ βουλεύματα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενοι στρατιὰν ἐκούσιον ἢς μέρος μὲν ὁ Τύλλος ἔχων εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐν-ἐβαλεν, ἵνα περιστάσει τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἠλασεν. οἷα δ' ἀπροσδοκήτων τοῦ̃ κακοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν διατρίβουσιν ἐπι-πεσόντος πολλὰ μὲν ἐάλω σῶματα 'Ρωμαίων ἐλεύθερα, πολλὰ δ' ἀνδράποδα, βοῶν τε καὶ ὑπο-ζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων χρῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγον· σίτός τε ὁσος ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χώρας νεωργεῖται τὰ μὲν ἣρπάσθη, τὰ δὲ διεφθάρῃ. τελευτώντες γὰρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς φέροντες ἐνέβαλλον Ὀὐολούσκοι, ὥστε πολ-λοῦ χρόνου μηδ' ἀναλαβείν αὐτὰς δύνασθαι τοὺς

1 toû added by Grasberger.
2 Sintenis: χωρία Β, τὰ χωρία Α.
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 τούτ’ ἐπασχον αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν κτήσεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἐμειναν ἁσινεῖς· εἰ δὲ τινες ἐβλάβησαν, εἰς ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα ἐδοξαν βλαβήναι. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκιον παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς Οὐδολούσκοις, ἵνα δ’ ὑποψίας ἐτὶ μὰλλον οἱ πατρίκιοι γένωνται’ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ μὴ ἑξαιρεθεὶ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς
4 πόλεως· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὡς γὰρ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ καταδρομή τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐγνώσαν οὐκ ἐξ ὑσον γεγονυῖαν ἀπασι τὴν συμφοράν, κατεβόων μὲν τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ὡς ἐπαγόντων σφίς τὸν Μάρκιον, ἀπελογοῦντο δ’ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ κακουργίαν τινὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτην ἀπέφαυνον. βοήθειν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἡ σώζει τὰ περιόντα δ’ ὑποψίαν τε ἀλλήλων καὶ δέος προδοσίας οὐθεὶς ἥξιον. ὡστε κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέστησεν ἀπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ ὀικεῖα παθόντας μὲν οὐδὲν δεινόν, δράσαντας δ’ ὅσα ἥξιον, καὶ πολλῶν εὐπορη-
5 σαντας χρημάτων. ἤκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τύλλος ὀλίγων ὄστερον ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων χώρας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὁφελείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνον ὁ δύναμιν ἔσχον ὁμοίῳ χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαράσκευοι τε ὀντες καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ δεινοῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσα πόλις ἐπήρτο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ ἄττουν ἦ ὡς ἀν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἢ τε καταγραφή τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τάλα ὑπηρετείτο ὃσων τοῖς στρατηγοῦς ἐδει.

XIII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήκτο ἡδῆ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις,

1 γένωνται Ο : γένουτο Jacoby.
2 Kiessling : εἴκε Ο.
3 πολεμίοις Ba : πολεμίοις μαχησάμενοι 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,
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εβουλεύετο μετά τοῦ συνάρχοντος ὁ Μάρκιος ὡπως χρηστέον τοὺς λοιποὺς πράγμασιν. ἐφη δ’ οὖν λέγων· "‘Εμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὃς Τύλλε, κράτιστον εἶναι νείμασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἡμᾶς διψῇ· ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἐτερον ἡμῶν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ὀμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις,₁ καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπομενοῦσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν ἵναι, μιᾷ κρίναι τὸν ἄγωνα μάχη, εἰ δ’ ἀποκνήσουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, στρατιὰ νεόσυμμετέχω καὶ ἢμεμόσιν ἀπείροις πολέμου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἐπιτρέπειν, τῇ τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιοῦσα πορθεῖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περιστὰν καὶ τὰς ἀποκίας ἀν-2 αἰρεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο κακὸν ὃ τι δύνατο ποιεῖν. τὸν δ’ ἐτερον ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ λάθωσιν ἀφιλάκτως ἐπιπεσόντες αὐτοῦσ ὀι πολέμιοι, καὶ πράγμα αἰσχιστὸν πάθωμεν, ἐν δ’ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐφιέμεθα τὰ παρόντα ἀφαιρεθέντες. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα ἢδη τείχῃ τε ἄνορθοῦν² ὅσα πέπτωκε καὶ τάφρους ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ φρούρια ὅχυρον, οἷα τοῖς γεωργοῦσι τῆν χώραν ὑπάρχουσι καταφυγαί, στρατιάν τε ἅλλην προσκαταγράφειν καὶ τροφᾶς τοῖς ἔξω ὤσιν ἐπίχορηγεῖν καὶ ὁπλα χαλκεύειν καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πράγμα 3 ὁξείως ὑπηρετεῖν. δίδωμι δὲ σοι τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιάς εἴτε τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπομενοῦσης ἐθέλεις στρατηγεῖν.‘’ ταύτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἡγάσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, καὶ τὸ δραστήριον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶδὼς καὶ ἐπιτυχῆς ταῖς μάχαις ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἔξω στρατιάς ἄρχειν.

1 μαχηθομενον after πολεμιοι deleted by Cobet.
2 Steph.: ὀρθοῦν ΑΒ.
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 ἔτι διαμελλήσας ἢκεν ἁγῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Κυρκαίαν πόλιν, ἐν ἡ κληρονομοῦσι Ρωμαίων ἦσαν ἀμα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίους πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου. ὥς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Κυρκαίου κρατουμένην σφῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ προσάγουσαν τῷ τείχει τὴν στρατιάν, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐξῆσαν ὁμὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνοπλοὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀξιούντες· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αὐτίων τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον

2 ἐγένετο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδένα οὔτε ἐξῆλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐσθήτα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταισι καὶ τροφάς εἰς μὴν ἱκανὰς καὶ ἄργυριόν τι μέτριον λαβῶν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀλίγην μοῖραν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπών τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἔνεκα, μὴ τι ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων πάθωσι κακόν, καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὑστερον νεωτερίσαι.

3 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἠγγέλθη τὰ γενόμενα πολὺ πλείων ταραχῇ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τῶν μὲν πατρικίων τὸν δήμου ἑχόντων δὲ αὐτίας ὃτι πολεμιστήν ἄνδρα καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονήματος ἐνγενεύσεις μεστὸν ψευδεὶ περιβαλόντες αὐτία τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλασαν καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ἠγέμονα Οὐώ-

4 λούσκοις γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ προεστηκόσων τοῦ δήμου κατηγορίας τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιουμένων καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὅλον εἴ ἐπιβουλής ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεσκεύασθαι λεγόντων τὸν τε πόλεμον ὡς κοινὸν ἀπασιν, ἀλλὰ σφίσοι μόνοι ἐπάγεσθαι σκηπτομένων· καὶ ἢν τὸ κακοθέστατον τοῦ δημοῦ μέρος ἀμα τούτοις· στρατιάς δὲ καταγράφειν ἦ καλεῖν

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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

\(^1\) For chaps. 14-21 cf. Livy ii. 39, 2-4.
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tòus συμμάχους ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ κατεπείγοντα διὰ τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχθη καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατηγορίας οὐδὲ εἰς νοῦν ἐλάμβανον.

XV. Τούτῳ καταμαθόντες οἱ προσβύτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστραφέντες ἔπειθον ἴδια τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς στασιωδεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν παύσασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ὑποψίαν τε καὶ κατηγορίων, διδάσκοντες ὡς εἰ δὲ ἐνός ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς φυγὴν τοσοῦτος κὶ δύναν κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, τῇ χρή προσδοκᾶν, εάν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πατρικίων προπηλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταῦτα φρονήσαντες καὶ κατέσχον οὐκεὶ τὴν 2 ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πλῆθους. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων παροῦσι προσβενταῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αὔτην ἀπεκρίνατο· μὴ ράδιον εἶναι σφίσι βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιτρέπει τὴν ἐαυτῶν στρατιῶν καταγράφειν καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίους ἐκπέμπειν ἐως ἃν3 αὐτοῖ ἐκπέμψωσι δύναμιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συνθήκαις αἰσ ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ 3 φιλίας ἀπόρρητον ἢν τοῦτων ἐκάτερον. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐφήκαν στρατόν τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρακαλεῖν, εἰς ὑπαίθρον δὲ μῆπω τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν ἐως ἃν ἀπαντα ἑπτετρῆ γενηται καὶ ὁ δῆμος ταῦτα ἐπεκύρωσεν. ἢν δὲ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἐφθασαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν,

1 Kiessling : κατασκευάσασθαί Ο.
2 ὡς Ο : om. Sylburg, Jacoby.
3 ἐκπέμπειν ἐως ἃν Cary, ἀποδείξαι ἐως ἃν Kiessling : ἐκ-
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,

πέμπειν τε ὅταν Τακοβί, ἐκπέμπειν τε ὅσην (σην in ras. B). ἀν·ΑΒ.
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ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν ἡμιτελὴ πάντα τοῖς μεθʺ έαυτοῖς ὑπάτοις.

XVI. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τήν ἁρχὴν παρὰλαβόντες, Σπώριος Ναῦτιος καὶ Σέξτος Φούριος, στρατιάν τε ὅσην ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἐκ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κατεστήσαντο καταλόγου, καὶ φυκτωρίας καὶ σκοποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις φρουρίοις ἔταξαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας πραττομένων. χρήματὰ τε καὶ σύτον καὶ ὄπλα ἐν

2 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ ἢτομάσαντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν οἴκεια παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐνήν ἀριστα, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔτ‘ ἐνδεῖν ἐδόκει. τὰ δὲ συμμαχικὰ οὐχ ἄπαντα ὑπῆκουν προθύμως ἐκούσια τε οὐκ ἢν οἰα συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστε οὐδέ προσ-αναγκάζειν αὐτά ἥξιον φοβούμενοι προδοσίαι. ἱδη δὲ τινα καὶ ἀφίστατο αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ

3 καὶ τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις συνελάμβανε. πρώτοι δ’ ἤρξαν Αἰκανοί τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἀμα τῶ συντήνα τοῦ πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐλθόντες ὡς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους καὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ’ ὥρκων συνθέμενοι, στρατιάν τε ἀπέστειλαν οὗτοι τῷ Μαρκίῳ πλείστην τε καὶ προθυμοτάτην. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων συμμάχων κρύφα συνελάμβανον τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις οὐκ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων οὖδ’ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἀποστέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς συμμαχίας, εἰ δὲ τισιν ἢν βουλουμένους μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας τῶν σφετέρων, οὐχ ὅπως ἀποτρέποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ

4 παρορμώντες. ἐγεγόνει τ’ ἐν, οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοσαύτη δύναμις περὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ὅσην οὐ πώποτ’ ἔσχον ὅτε μάλιστα ἥκμαζον ταῖς πόλεσιν.

1 Kiessling : ἄπαντα O.
2 ἔτ‘ ἐνδεῖν Reiske : ἐτι δεῖν O, 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 O.

4 ταῖς πόλεων O: τοῖς πλήθεσιν Post, ἐν τοῖς πολέμους Reiske.

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'ην ἐπαγόμενος δ' Μάρκιος ἐνέβαλεν αὖθις εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, καὶ ἐγκαθεδροῦμενος ἡμέρας συχνὰς ἐδήμου τῆς γῆς ὅσην ἐν τῇ πρῶτῃ εἴσοβολῃ παρ-5 ἐλπίς. σωμάτων μὲν οὖν ἐλευθέρων οὐκέτι πολλῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν· οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια συσκευασάμενοι πολαίτερον ἔτι κατεπεφεύγεσαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον φρούρια, εἰ τινὰ ἡν ἐχθρώτατα· τὰ δὲ βοσκῆματα αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐχ οἶοι τε ἦσαν ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας θεράποντας λαμβάνει τὸν τε σίτου τὸν² ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλοισιν ἐτί κεί-μενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χεραίν οὖντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ συγκεκομισμένους ἀναιρεῖται. 6 προνομεύσας δὲ καὶ διαπορθήσας ἂπαντα οὐθένος ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τολμήσαντος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οὐκοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν βαρέταιν οὖσαν ἦδη τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὦφελειῶν καὶ σχολὴ πορευομένην.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Ὀυολοῦσκοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κομιζο-μένης λείας ὀρῶντες καί περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀτολμίας ἀκούοντες, οἱ δὴ τέως τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λεηλατοῦντες ἀδεῶς τότε τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ἰνείχοντο δημομένην ὀρῶντες, αὐχήματος τοι τε μεγάλου ἐν-επίμπλαντο καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἤγεμονίας, ὡς δὲ ράδιον καὶ ἐν ἐτοίμω σφίσιν ὅν καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἵσχυν, θυσίας τοις χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σκύλων ἀναθέσει τοὺς νεὼς καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐκόσμουν καὶ ἦσαν ἄπαντες ἐν ἔορταις καὶ εὐπαθείαις, τὸν τε Μάρκιον ἀγάμενοι καὶ ύμ-νοῦντες διετέλουν, ὡς εἴη τάς τε πολέμια δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ στρατηγὸς οἷος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε
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 εὐ τινα Β : ἀτινα Ρ.  2 τὸν added by Reiske.
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άλλος στρατηγὸς ὡς Ελλήνων ἡ βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς. 2 μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐμακάριζον ἀπαντα ὡσοι ἐπιχειρήσει κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῶ προχωροῦντα ὅρωντες δίχα πόνον· ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἢν τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικιὰν ὃς ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἠρμηντο μετέχειν τῶν πράξεων καὶ συνήσειν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθημάν τῶν Οὐλούσκων ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρεῖον εἰς ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀνανδρον κατέκλεισεν ἰμη- χανίαν, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν πόλεις ὁσαί τὸ πιστὸν διεφύλαττον ἢγε τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτίκα ἐτοιμασάμενος ὡσα εἰς πολιορκίαν χρῆσιμα ἢν, ἐπὶ 4 Τολερίνος ἐλαύνει τοῦ Δατίνων ὄντας ἠθνος. οἴ δὲ Τολερίνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν συγκεκομικότες ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἀντείχον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν μαχόμενοι καὶ πολ- λοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατέτρωσαν· ἐπείτα ὑπὸ τῶν σφευδονητῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι δείλης ὠμίας ταλαπωροῦντες πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἕξελιπον. τοῦτο καταμαθῶν ὁ Μάρκιος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις παρῆγγειλε κλίμακας προσ- φέρειν κατὰ τὰ γυμνούμενα μέρη τοῦ περιβόλου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵπται βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, καὶ διαρρήξας τοὺς μοχλοὺς παρέρχεται πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἤν δ' ὡφεστηκός ταῖς πύλαις πολὺ καὶ καρτερὸν στίφος τῶν πολεμίων, οἳ δέχονται τε αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως 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 Volsciants 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 τὸν πόλεμον Sylburg, Jacoby.
4 ἀναλαβὼν placed here by Sylburg: after πύλας by O.
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ἀγωνιζόμενοι· πολλῶν δ’ ἀναρεθέντων τρέπονται οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ σκεδασθέντες ἐφευγον ἀνὰ τοὺς 6 στενωποὺς. ὁ δ’ ἠκολούθει κτείνων τοὺς1 κατα-καμβανομένους, ὁσοι μὴ τὰ ὅπλα βίωντες εἰς ἤκεισίας ἐτράποντο· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ τείχους. τού- τον δὴ2 τὸν τρόπον ἀλουσίς τῆς πόλεως ἐξελό-μενος ο Μάρκιος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὅσα θεοὶς τε ἀναθήματα καὶ κόσμους ταῖς Ὀυλούσκων πόλεσιν ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι,3 τὰ λοιπὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφήκε 7 διαρπάσαι. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθι σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ χρῆματα, πολὺς δὲ σῶτος, ὡστε μὴ βάδιον εἶναι μιὰ πάντα4 ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἡμέρα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖ, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, πολὺν ἡγαγκάσθησαν διατρῆναι χρόνον.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐξεκεκόμιστο, τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καταλιπών ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βῶλαν Λατίνων5 ἐτέραν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ προεγνω-κότες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφόδου καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκιος ὡς εξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσων κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς· οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ περιμείναντες καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι ἀνοίγοντο τὰς πύλας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐν τάξις τε καὶ κόσμω συρράττουσι τοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἔτι δὲ πλείους6 κατατραυματίσαντες τοὺς τε λοιποὺς αὐ- σχρῶς 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: νενέστηκε O, Jacoby, εσσεσθαι Cobet.
4 πάντα B : πάντας R.
5 Βῶλαν Δατίνων Sintenis : βωλάνων O.
6 πλείους B : πλείους τούτων R.
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2 πόλιν. ὡς δ΄ ἔγνω τῇ τροπῇ τῶν Ὄουλούσκων ὁ Μάρκιος, οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχε παρῶν ἐν ὦ χωρίῳ1 τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο, παρῆν σὺν ὁλίγοις κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς σκεδασθέντας ἀναλαβὼν συνίστα τε2 καὶ παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ ἐπείδη κατ- ἐστησαν εἰς τάξεις, ὑποδείξας ᾧ δεὶ πράττειν, ἐκ- λευσε προσβάλλειν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας.

3 χρησαμένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Βωλανῶν τῇ αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐκδραμόντων οὐ δέχονται αὐτοὺς οἱ3 Ὄουλούσκοι, ἄλλ' ἐγκλύνατε ἐφευγον κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς, ὡς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέθετο· καὶ οἱ Βωλάνοι τῇ ἀπάτῃ οὐκ εἰδότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ἐγένοντο, ἐχών τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τῶν νέων ὁ Μάρκιος ὁμόσε τοῖς Βωλανοῖς ἐχύρει· καὶ γίνεται πολὺς αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα φόνος τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων.

4 ὁ δ’ ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλιν ὁθομένους φθάνει πρὶν ἐπιρραχθῆναι τὰς πύλας ἐσβισσά- μενος4 εἰς τὸ τείχος. ὡς δ’ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπαξ ἐγκρατής τῶν πυλῶν ἐγένετο, ἦκολούθει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ὄουλούσκων πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκλιπόντες ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. γενό- μενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ σύμματα ἐξανδραποδίσα- σθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὠσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀπασαν ἐκκομίσας τὴν λείαν σὺν χρώνι τε καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν, μετὰ τούτο τῇ πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν.

XIX. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῇ δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλομένους Λαβικανούς. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ6 τότε Δατίνων ἡ πόλις, Ἄλβανῶν ὥσπερ αἱ

1 χωρίῳ 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

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2 συνίστα τε R: συνίσταται B, συνίστατο Jacoby.
3 οἱ B: om. R.
4 Cobet: ἐκβιασάμενος O.
5 Sylburg: αὐτῇ O.
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άλλαι¹ ἀποικος. καταπλήξασθαι δὲ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐνδον ἔκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθὺς ἐπιών ὀθὲν μάλιστα ἐμελλὼν ὀψεσθαι τὴν φλόγα. οἷὲ δὲ Λαβικανοὶ τείχος εὗ κατεσκευασμένον² ἔχοντες οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν αὐτοῖ τὴν ἐφοδου οὔτε μαλακοὶ ἐνέδοσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀντείχον ἀπομαχόμενοι γενναίως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῦ τείχους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήραξαν. οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος γε ἀντέσχον ὀλίγου πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ χρόνον οὔδὲ³ τὸν ἑλάχιστον ἀναπαυόμενοι. πολλαὶ γὰρ προσβολαὶ καὶ καθ’ ὀλην τὴν πόλιν εὐγόντω υπὸ τῶν Ὀὐδολούσκων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑποχωροῦντων μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν κεκμηκότων, ἐτέρων δὲ προσιότων νεαρῶν. πρὸς οὖς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δι’ ὀλης ἡμέρας καὶ οὔδὲ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενοι⁴ χρόνον ἐκλπεῖν ἡγαγάθησαν τὸ τείχος υπὸ κόπου. παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὸν Μάρκιος τὴν πόλιν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφῆκε μερὶ-3 σασθαί τὰς ωφελείας. ἀναστήσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πεδανῶν πόλιν (ἥν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ⁵ τοῦ Λατίνων γένους), συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατιάν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμα τῷ πλησίασα τοῖς τείχεσιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. καὶ ταύτα δια-θεῖς ὥσα τὰς πρότερον ἀλούσας ἔσθεν εὐθὺς ἀνα-4 στήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ Κορμιώνα. ὅτι δ’ αὐτῷ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ ἐνδον ἀπαντώσων ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλών προτείνοντες ἐκετηρίας καὶ παραδιδόντες ἀμαχητί τὸ τείχος. οὕς ἐπαινέσας ὡς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ σφῶν βεβου-

¹ aí álloi Sylburg: καὶ álly O, καὶ álloi Jacoby.
² εὗ κατεσκευασμένον Gelenius: ἐγκατεσκευασμένον O.
³ οὔδὲ B: οὗ R.
⁴ ἀναπαυσάμενοι B: ἀναπαυόμενοι R.
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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 Labicani, 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: αὐτῷ O.
6 ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπλῶν προτείνοντες (cf. xi. 17, 4; i. 20, 1) Jacoby: ἀντὶ προτείνοντες AB (but space of one or two letters after ἀντὶ in B), πάντες προτείνοντες Kiessling.
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λευμένους, ἐκέλευσεν δὲν ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ φέροντας ἥκειν ἀργύριόν τε καὶ σίτον, καὶ λαβὼν ὅσα προσέταξεν ἅπιγε τῇ δύναμιν ἕπι τῇ Κοριολανῶν πόλιν. παραδόντων δὲ κακείνη τῶν ἔνδον ἀμαχητὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀγοράς τε παρασχόντων τῇ δυνάμει καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπετέτακτο αὐτοῖς ἅπιγε τῇ στρατιᾷν ὡς διὰ φιλίας 5 γῆς. πάνυ γὰρ δή καὶ τοῦτο ἐσπούδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς πόλεις πάθοιεν ὃν φιλεὶ δρᾶν ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν ἀδήστων ἀπολαμβάνοιεν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὅσα κατέλιπον ἐπὶ τῶν κτήσεων κομίζοντο, αὐλίζεσθαι τε οὐκ εἶνα τῇ δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἵνα μή τι γένηται δὲ ἀρπαγῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡ κλοπῆς κακῶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσι κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

XX. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀναστήσας τῆς πόλεως ἠλανυὸ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Βοῖλλας, ἐπιφανῆ τότε οὔσαι καὶ ἐν ὅλιγαις πάνυ ταῖς ἡγουμέναις τοῦ Λατῖνων γένους πόλεσιν ἐξεταζομένην. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε ἐρύματι πιστευόντων ἐχυρῷ γε σφόδρα ὅντι καὶ τῶν πλῆθει τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μαχησμένων, παρακάλεσας τῇ δύναμιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι προθύμως καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐπιβάσιοι τοῦ τείχους μεγάλας δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος ἐργος εἴχετο καὶ γίνεται μάχῃ περὶ τῇ

1 κοριολανῶν R : κοπιολανῶν ΑΒ, Jacoby, Καρνετανῶν Niebuhr.
2 γὰρ δή καὶ Α : γὰρ καὶ R.
3 Βοῖλλας Gelenius : βωλᾶς Α, βολᾶς Β.
4 γε Β : τε R.
5 πρῶτοι ἐπιβάσι B : πρῶτωs ἐπιβαλοῦσι R.

1 "The city of the Coriolani" is the reading of the later
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.
2 πόλει ταύτη καρτερά. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἤμυνοντο τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ Βούλλανοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πῦλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον 1 ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐώθουν βίᾳ τοὺς ψυφισταμένους2. φόνος τε πλείστος αὐτόθι τῶν Ὀὐολούσκων ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνος τῆς τειχομαχίας πολὺς τοῦ τε κρατήσεως τῆς πόλεως ἀποροῦ ἀπανν ἢ ἐλπίς. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀδῆλον ἐποίη τῇ ἀπουσίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντικαθιστᾶς ἐτέρους, τῶν δὲ καμνός των παρεθάρρυνε τῇ ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτός ὕθουμενος. ἦν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαγωγὸς εἰς4 τὸ ἐὑψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα: πάντα γὰρ ὕφιστατο κίνδυνον καὶ οὔδεμιᾶς 3 πείρας ἀπελεύθη, ἐως5 ἐάλω τὸ τείχος. κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ταύτης σὺν χρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων6 τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμως διαφθείρας, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπήγε τῇ δύναμιν ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ἐξενεγκάμενος καὶ λάφυρα κάλλιστα καὶ πλείστα ἄγων, χρήμασί τε παμπόλλοις ὄν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο (ἡν δ᾽ αὐτόθι ὁσα ἐν οὔδενι τῶν ἀλόντων7 χωρίων) πλούτισας τῇ στρατιᾷν.

XXI. Μετὰ τούτῳ χώρα τε ὅσην διαπορεύοντο ὑποχείριοι ἢν καὶ πόλις οὐδεμίᾳ ἤναντιούτο ἐξω Λαοῦνίου, ἢν πρώτην τε8 πόλιν οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ κατάραντες εἰς Ἁ Ἰταλίαν Τρῶες ἐκτίσαν, καὶ ἂφ ἦς τὸ Ῥωμαῖον ἦν γένος, ὡς καὶ πρὸτέρον μοι δεδήλωται. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες πάντα

1 ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον Reiske : ἐξέθεον ἀνοίξαντες B, ἐξέθεον ἀν-οίγνοντες R.
2 Sylburg : ἐφισταμένους 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. The inhabitants of this city thought they

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1 i. 45, 1; iii. 11, 2.

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

7 ἀλόντων Ο : ἄλλων Kiessling. 8 Reiske : γε Ο.
πρότερον ὑπομένειν ἢ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπογόνους σφῶν πιστὸν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τειχομαχίας τινὲς αὐτοθί καρτεραὶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἄξειας μάχαι οὐ μὴν ἐάλω γε τὸ τείχος κατὰ κράτος τῇ πρώτῃ ἔφοδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει χρόνου δεῖν καὶ τριβῆς. ἀποστάσις οὖν τῆς τειχομαχίας ὁ Μάρκιος περιετάφρευε κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπεστάραμεν, τὰς ὀδοὺς φυλάττων ἴναι μήτε ἁγορά μήτε ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἐξώθεν προσγένοντο.

3 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τῶν τε κεκρατημένων ἡδὴ πόλεων τὸν ὀλθθρὸν ἀκούοντες καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ταῖς τε προσβείαις ἐνοχλοῦμενοι ταῖς ἀφικνομέναις ὡς αὐτοὺς δοσμέραι παρὰ τῶν μενουσῶν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ δεσμέων βοηθείας, τοῦ τε Λαοῦνιου τὸν περιτειχισμὸν ὄρρυδοῦντες ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα, καὶ εἰ τόδε τὸ φρούριον ἀλώσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν εὐθὺς οἰόμενοι, μίαν ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι πάντων τῶν κακῶν λύσων, εἰ 4 ψηφίσαντο τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ ὁ τε δῆμος ἀπασ ἔβοια τοῦτο καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι νόμον εἰσφέρειν ύπὲρ ἀκυρώσεως τῆς καταδίκης ἐβοῦλοντο. ἀλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἑναντιώθησαν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄξιοντες τῶν δεδικασμένων λύειν οὐθέν. μὴ γενομένου δὲ προβολεύματο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐτὶ προθείναν γνώμην εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐδόκει. ὁ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀφ' ἑκ δῆποτε αἰτίας ἢ βουλὴ σπουδάζουσα τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρό-

1 Sylburg : σαγόνους Ba, σαγόνους ABB.  
2 σφῶν R : σφῶν ρωμαίους AB.  
3 κατὰ κράτος R : ἀπὸ κράτους AB, Jacoby.  
4 δεῖν Jacoby : δεῖν ἡ πολιορκία O, δεῖν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Reiske.  
5 τειχομαχίας Amg : πολιορκίας O, 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 : αὐτῶν O.  
7 Kiessling : ἀπάντων O.  
8 τοῦτο B : om. R.
νον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκιον τότε Βουλομένῳ τῷ δήμῳ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἡματιώθης πότερα πείραν αὐτοῦ πουμηνή τῆς γνώμης καὶ1 τῷ μη συγχωρεῖν ἐτοίμως2 ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν παρομώσα, ἡ τὰς καθ’3 έαυτής ἀπολύσασθαι Βουλομηνή διαβολᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μηθενός ὃν ἐπραττεν ὁ ἀνήρ μήτε αὐτία μήτε συνεργὸς εἶναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἡν ἀπόρρητον γενόμενον αὐτῆς τὸ Βούλευμα συμβαλείν.

XXII. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ’ αὐτομόλων τινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὥς εἰχεν ὄργης, εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην, φυλακὴν τοῦ Λαοῦνίου τὴν ἄρκουσαν καταλυτῶν. καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους τετταράκοντα ἀποσχῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους. 2 μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοσοῦτος ἐνέπεσε θόρυβος ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς τείχεσι τοῦ πολέμου προσάξεσθος, ὡς τ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὁπλα λαβόντες έθεον ἀνευ παραγγέλματος, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατὰ πλήθος ἐφέροντο χωρὶς ἤγεμόνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς δούλους καθοπλίσαστες ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι τῶν οἰκίων ἴστασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τε ἀκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους ἔρμουνς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο, γυναίκες τε λελυμέναι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς ἔθεον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ διέομεναι τῶν θεῶν ἀπο- 3 τρέψαλ5 τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιόντα φόβον. ὥς δ’ ἦ τε νῦς παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπισύρης ἤμερας τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ οὔδὲν ὃν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ’ ἐμενεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας, συνεδραμον ἀπαντες

1 καὶ Kiessling: ἦ Ο.
2 ἐτοίμως B: ἐκάστῳ ἐτοίμως R.
3 τὰς καθ’ R: τὰς ἵσας καθ’ B.
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, 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; 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.
εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προβουλεύσουσι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν κάθοδον, αὐτοὶ βουλεύσεσθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐφασαν ὡς προδιδόμενοι.

4 τότε δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατρικίοι ψηφίζονται προσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἀποστείλαι πέντε ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν προσβυτάτων, οὓς μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἑσπάζετο, περὶ διαλύσεως τε καὶ φιλίας διαλέξομένους. ἦσαν δ' οἱ προχειρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀυτῶν ἄνδρες οἴδε, Μάρκος Μηνύκιος καὶ Πόστομός Κομίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος καὶ Κώντος Σολτίκιος, ἀπαντες ὕπατικοῖ. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐγνώ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, καθεξόμενος ἄμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ὀὐολουσκὼν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐνθα πλείστοι ἐμελλον ἀκούσεσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκέλευσε καλεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἢρξατο τοῦ λόγου Μηνύκιος, ὁ πλείστα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνον ὑποδάσας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἐναντιωθεὶς, καὶ ἐλεξε τούαδε·

XXIII. ""Οτι μὲν οὐ δίκαια πέπονθας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ Μάρκιος, μετ' αὐτίας αὐσχρᾶς ἐξελαθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀπαντες ἦσεν· καὶ οὔδεν οἰόμεθα σε ποιεῖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις. κουνὸς γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως οὕτος ὁ νόμος, ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τῷ δράσαντι· 2 τὸ πεπονθὸς κακῶς. ὅτι δ' οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σόφρονος ἐξετάζεις οὕς ἀμύνεσθαι τε καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι σοι προσήκεν, οὔδὲ μετράζεις περὶ τὴν ἀνάπραξιν τῆς δίκης, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῳ τίθεσαι τὰ τε
quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the Forum and called upon the patricians 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:

XXIII. "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."

1 πέντε B: om. R. 2 Jacoby: προσήκει O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀναίτια τοῖς αὐτίοις καὶ τὰ φίλια τοῖς πολεμίοις, νόμους τε κινεῖς φύσεως ἀκυνήτους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνταράττεις ὅσια, καὶ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ἓξ ὅν τε καὶ ὅστις ἐφύς ἑτί μέμνησαι, τούτῳ 3 τεθαυμάκαμεν. ἦκομέν τε ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρέσβεις οἱ προύχοντες ἥλικία τῶν πατρικίων καὶ περὶ σε προθυμότατοι μεμιγμένην φέροντες δικαιολογίαν παραίτησει, καὶ ἐβ’ οῖς ἄξιομένες σε διαλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὸν ἅμον ἀπαγγελοῦντες2. πρὸς ἐν τούτοις, ᾧ νομίζομεν εἶναι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφωνῶτατά σοι, ταῦτα παρανέσοντες.

XXIV. ‘’Αρχέτω δ’ ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγωσ. συνέστη τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐπὶ σοι παροξυσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ ἤκουν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες σε ἀκριτον, οἰς φοβερὸς ἡσθα. τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐκωλύσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ παρέσχομεν σοι μὴν ὁ μὴ δίκαιον ἣν τότε παθεῖν. μετὰ τούτῳ προὔκαλοντο σε οἱ κωλυθέντες ἀνελεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην, αἰτιασάμενοι πονηροὺς κατ’ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ 2 βουλῇ λόγους. ἐνέστημεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὡς οίσθα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε λόγων ὑποσχεῖν σε δίκας. ἀποτυχόντες καὶ τούτῳ τελευτώντες ἤκουν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς αἰτιώμενοι σε τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν.3 ταύτην αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινας ἀπολογήσασθαι τὴν αὐτίαν, ἐπειδὴ πάμπολυ ἀπείχες αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέσχες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ 3 τὴν ψήφον ἀναλαβεῖν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καὶ τότε παρὴν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο δεήσεις περὶ σοῦ. τίνος οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρικίοι τῶν συμβεβηκότων σοι κακῶν

1 διαλύσασθαι R : διαλύσεσθαι Ba, Jacoby.
2 ἀπαγγελοῦντες Bb : ἀπαγγέλλοντες Ba, ἀπαγγέλλοντες R.
64
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

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α ἐπικήπηρεῖν Sintenis : ἐπὶ (sic) O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

γεγόναμεν αὐτοὶ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πολεμεῖς ἢμῖν τοσαύτην εὐνοιαν ἀποδειξαμένους περὶ σὲ κατὰ τὸν τότε ἁγώνα; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπαν ἐξελαθῆναι σε βουλόμενον εὐρέθη· δυσὶ γοῦν ψήφους ἐάλως μόναις, ὡστε οὐδὲ τούτοις ἂν εἰς σὺν δίκη πολέμιος οἱ σε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέλυσαν.

4 τίθημι δ', εἰ βούλει, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς δημόταις δόξαν, οὐκ ὑδὲ τῇ βουλῇ φανὲν ταύτη χρήσασθαι σε τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι σου τὸ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἡμᾶς μίσος· ἀλλὰ οἱ γυναῖκες σε, ὡς Μάρκιε, τί δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο ἀνθρώποιν πολεμεῖς αὐταῖς; ποιὰν ἐπενέγκασαι περὶ φυγῆς ψήφου ἣ τίνας

5 εἰποῦσαι κατὰ σοῦ πονηροὺς λόγους; τί δ’ οἱ παῖδες ἡμῶν δράσαντες ή διανοηθέντες ἄδικεῖν περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ύπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἱ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς ἔαν ἡ πόλις ἄλῳ; οὐ τὰ δίκαια διαίτας, ὡς Μάρκιε, καὶ εἰ1 τούτων οἴει δεῖν τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν, ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν ἀναίτιων φείδεσθαι καὶ φιλίων, οὐκ

6 ἥρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ φρονεῖσ. ἵνα δὲ ἄπαντα ταῦτα ἀφῶ, τί ἂν ἔχως εἰπεῖν, ὡ πρὸς Διὸς, εἰ τις ἔρωτό σε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τάφους τῶν προγόνων τί παθῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν2 ἀνασκάπτεις καὶ τιμᾶς ἂς κομίζονται παρ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιρῆ; θεῶν δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεώς τίνος ἀδικήματος ὀργῆς συλᾶς καὶ κατακαλεῖς καὶ ἀνατρέπεις καὶ σεβασμῶν οὐκ ἔας τυγχάνειν τῶν νομίμων; τί

1 καὶ εἰ Reiske : εἰ δὲ Α, καὶ Β.
2 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν deleted by Cobet, Jacoby.
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?
πρὸς ταύτα φαίης ἂν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὔδὲν ὅρω. 7 ταύτα σοι περὶ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὦ Μάρκιε, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οὐς ἀπολέσαι προθυμῆ κακοῦ οὔδὲν ὅπερ αὐτῶν πεποιθῶς, τάφων τε καὶ ἑρῶν καὶ πόλεως τῆς γενιμένης τε καὶ θρεψαμένης τὰ δίκαια εἰρήσθω.

XXV. "Φέρε, εἰ δὲ δῆ ἑσπερίδως καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικόντας σε γυναιξῖν ὄμοι καὶ τέκνοις δίκας σου δοῦναι προσήκε, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἡρωσι καὶ δαίμονας πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἀπολαύσαι τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀνοίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρέτον μηδ’ ἀπιμωρητὸν ἀφείσασθαι μέρος ὑπὸ σοῦ, οὐχ ἰκανὰς ἦδη παρὰ πάντων εἰσπέπραξα δίκας τοσοῦτον μὲν φόνον ἐργασάμενοι ἀνθρώπων, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν πυρὶ καὶ συδήρῳ λωβησάμενος, τοσαύτας δὲ πόλεις ἐκ βάθρων ἀναστήσας, ἐορτᾶς δὲ καὶ θυσίας καὶ σεβασμοὺς θεῶν καὶ δαμόνων ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἀνεόρτους ἀναγκάσας γενέσθαι καὶ 2 ἀθύτους καὶ τιμῶν νομίμων ἀμοίρους; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἢξίων ἂν ἄνδρα ὅτως φρόντις ὀποσηθῶν ἀρετῆς ἐστιν οὔτε συναναρεύν τοὺς ἐχθροῖς τὰ φίλα οὔτε χαλεπὸν ὄργην εἶναι καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ δίκας 3 παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰληφότα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὔχομεν καὶ παρατείσθαι σε περὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἃ δ’ ὑποτίθεσθαι σοι δι’ εὔνοιαν οἱ τιμωτατοί

1 αὐτῶν B : om. R.  
2 φέρε, εἰ δὲ δῆ Jacoby, ἀλλὰ φέρε εἰ δὲ δῆ Sintenis: ἀφαίρεσαι δὲ δῆ O.  
3 ἀνθρώπων B : om. R.  
4 μὲν οὐκ B : μὲν οὖν οὐκ R.  
5 ἂν added by Cary.
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
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philoneikouvnti\(^1\) καὶ ὑπισχυέσθαι διαλλαττομένων πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, ταυτί· ἐν ὧ τὸ δύνασθαι σοι μάλιστα ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ θείον ἔτι συλλαμβάνει, μετριάσαι καὶ ταμεέσθαι τὴν τύχην, ἐνθυμηθέντα ὅτι μεταβολὰς ἐχει πάντα\(^2\) τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὖν-δὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλεὶ διαμένειν, νεμεσάται τε πάντα ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ ὑπερέχουντα, ὅταν εἰς ἀκρον ἐπιφανείας ἀφίκηται, καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ μη-δὲν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ μεγάλαυχα φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς ὄρους ἐκβαινοντα 4 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ὑπάρχει δὲ σοι νῦν ἀπάν-των\(^3\) κράτιστα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον· ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ πάσα ὁμηται τὴν κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι σοι, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτοιμός ἐστι νόμω κυρωθέντι λύσαι τὴν ἀειφυγίαν. τί οὖν ἔτι κωλύει σε τὰς ἡδίστας καὶ τιμωτάτας ὅψεις τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σωμάτων ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ κεκομισθαὶ τὴν περιμάχησον πατρίδα ἀρχεῖν τε ὅσπερ σοι προσῆκεν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἤγεισθαι ἡγεμόνων παισί τε καὶ ἐγγόνους μέγιστον αὐχήμα καταλιπέων; τούτων μέντοι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἥμεις ἐγγυναῖ πασῶν ἐσμέν ὡς αὐ-5 τίκα μάλα γενησομένων. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς εἶχε ψηφίσασθαι σοι τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δήμον οὐθέν ἐπιεικές ἢ μέτριον, ἔως ἀντιπαρεστρατοπέδευκας ἥμων καὶ τὰ πολεμίῳ ἔργα δρᾶς· εἰ δ’ ἀποσταῖς τῶν ὅπλων, ἤξει σοι τὸ περὶ τῆς καθόδου ψήφισμα φερόμενον υφ’ ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

XXVI. “Ἀγαθὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑπάρξει σοι διαλλαττομένω, μένοντι δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ

1 ἐκοινωνίσκεται (ὁ ἄλλων εἴκοστος Λεοντίνος 6, ἄλλων ἤκοικος B, ἄλλων ἤκοικος C)
2 Kiessling: ἀπαντᾶ ὅ
3 Kiessling: πάντων ὅ

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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
διαλυμένω τὸ μέσος πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, εξ ὧν ἔγω δύο τὰ μέγιστα νυνὶ καὶ φανερώτατα ἐρῶ. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι δυσκόλου γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἄδυνάτου, πράγματος πονηρῶν ἔρωτα ἔχεις, πόλεως τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων καθελεῖν τὴν ἵσχυν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Οὐολούσκων ὀπλοῖς. ἐπειθ' ὅτι σοὶ κατορθώσατί τε καὶ μὴ τυχόντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρξει δυστυχεστάτω νομίζεσθαι. εξ ὧν δὲ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν, ἄκουσον, ὅ Μάρκιε, μηθὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μου τῶν λόγων τρα-2 χυνόμενοι. σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄδυνάτου. Ῥωμαίοις, ὂς οἶσθα καὶ σὺ, πολλὴ μὲν ἐστὶνεότης ἐπιχώριος, ἂς εἰ ἦ τὸ στασιάζον ἐξαρεθείη (γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν ἄναγκην νυνὶ διὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον· πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους κοινοῦ συνίστασθαι φιλεῖ τὰ διάφορα), ὅνυ ὅτι Οὐολούσκοι κρατήσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὔδε ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀυθέν· πολλὴ δ' ἡ Δατίνων καὶ τῶν ἀλλων συμμάχων τε καὶ ἄποικων τῆς πόλεως ἰσχύς, ἂς δι' ὅλιγον πᾶσαν ἐπίκουρον ἤζειν προσδέχουσιν στρατηγοῖ τε όδος σὺ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νέοι τοσοῦτοι τῷ πλῆθος ὅσοι παρὰ πάσας ὅνυ εἰσὶν ταῖς 3 ἄλλαις πόλεσι. μεγίστη δὲ ποσῶν βοήθεια καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδας οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχυσάμενη συμπάθης τε ἀμείων ἀνθρωπίνης ἰσχύς, ἡ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοια, δι' οὗς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέραν εἰς τάδε χρόνον τὴν πόλιν τῆν δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν ὀγδοῦν ἦδη τὴν νῦν γενεάν, ἄλλα καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλῶν 4 ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσαν. μὴ δὲ Πεδανοῖς ἡμᾶς εἰκάσης

1 μὴ τυχόντι ABC : ἐπιτυχόντι D, δὲ τυχόντι Jacoby.
2 τε καὶ added by Gelenius.
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
μηδὲ Τολερίνους μηδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοις μικροπολίταις ὃν κατέσχες τὰ πολίχνα· καὶ γὰρ ἣττων ἂν τίς σου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀπ’ ἐλάττονος ἡ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ὀλυγανθρωπίαν καὶ φαυλότητα ἐρυμάτων ἐβιάσατο· ἀλλ’ ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ μέγεθός τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεων καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου παρούσαν αὐτῇ τύχην, δι’ ὑν ἐκ 5 μικρᾶς τοσαύτη γέγονε. καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἢν ἐπάγων ἐργῷ τοσάδε ἐπιχειρεῖς, μὴ νόμιζε ἠλλάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μέμνησο ἀκριβῶς ὅτι Οὐδολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν στρατιῶν ἐπάγεις, οὕς ἦμεις οἴδε οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν πολλαῖς ἐνικώμεν μάχαις, ὁσάκες ἦμῖν ἑτόλημαν εἰς πόλεμον καταστήναι· ὡστε σὺν τοῖς χείροις αὐχώζεσθαι μέλλων ἵσθι πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἠττωμένοις διὰ παντὸς πρὸς 6 τοὺς νικῶντας αἰεί. εἰ δὲ δὴ τάναντια τοῦτων ἦν, ἐκείνῳ γέ τοι θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, πῶς λέληθε σε, πολεμικῶς ὄντα πραγμάτων ἐμπειρόν, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὔτολμον οὐκ ἔξ ἱσοι παραγίνεσθαι φιλεῖ τοῖς τε ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τάλλοτρα πορευομένοις· οἱ μὲν γε οὐδὲν, εἰν μὴ κατορθώσωσι, βλάπτονται, τοῖς δ’ οὐδέν, εἰν πταίσωσι, καταλείπεται· καὶ τοῦ σφάλλεσθαι τὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαττόνων καὶ τὰς κρείττους ὑπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τοῦτ’ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστ’ αὐτίων ἦν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνος ἰκανὸς θάρσος ἐνθείναι τινὶ καὶ μὴ προὐπάρχον φύσει. εἶχον ἐτὶ

1 ἐπάγων Ο : ἀγων Τακυβί, ἐπαγόμενος Κιέσλινγ.
2 Kayser : ἐπάγη Ο, Τακυβί.
3 οἱ νῦν ὄντες Ο : οἱ νῦν παρόντες Κιέσλινγ, om. Κοβέτ, Τακυβί.
4 οὐδέν, εἰν μὴ B : εἰν οὐδέν R.
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
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πλείω λέγειν ύπερ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἰκανά.

XXVII. "Εἰς ἐτί μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, δόν εἰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ κρινεῖς, ὦρθώς τε εἰρήθαι δόξει καὶ παραστήσεται σοι μεταμέλεια τῶν πραττομένων. τίς δ' ἐστὶν οὕτος ὁ λόγος; οὐδενὶ θνητῷ φύντι θεοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐσεσθαι βεβαιῶν ἐπιστήμην ἔδωκαν ἔχειν, οὐδ' ἂν εὐροῖς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ὅτι χάρι τα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐξώρησεν τὰ πράγματα μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεὶς τῆς τύχης. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονῆσει προοίμοντος ἐτέρων, ἦν ὁ μακρὸς βίος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα φέρει,1 πρὶν ἐγχειρεῖν ὁπωδήποτε ἐργω, τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον οἴονται δεῖν σκοπεῖν, οὐ θάτερον μόνον ὦ βούλονται γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἔκβηγος-μενονι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τῶν πολέμων ἡγεμόνες, ὅσοι μειζόνων τε γίνονται πραγμάτων κύριοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἡ σφαλμάτων ἀπαντεῖ ἐπὶ τούτως ἀναφέρουσι. ἐπειτα ἂν μὲν εὐρωποὶ μηδεμίαν ἐνοῦσαν ἡ μικρᾶς καὶ ὁλίγας ἐν τῷ μὴ κατορθώσαι βλάβας, ἀπτονται τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐὰν δὲ τρὶς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἀφίσταται. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ σὺ ποίησον καὶ σκόπει πρό τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐὰν σφαλής κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρξῃ, τὶ συμβήσεται σοι παθεῖν. δι' αἰτίας μὲν ἐσθ' παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεχαμένοις, μέμψις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτόν ὡς μείζοσιν ἐπιχειρήσας πράγμασιν ἡ δυνατοῖς,2 στρατιῶς δ' ἡμετέρας πάλιν ἐκεῖυσε ἀφικομένης καὶ φθειρούσης τῆς ἐκείνων γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἁνεξόμεθα

1 παθήματα φέρει Kiessling: πάθη μεταφέρει B, μαθήματα φέρει Α.

2 ἡ δυνατοῖς 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
μὴ ἀντιτιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἅρξαντας ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν) δυνέων ὅτι ἂν ἂμαρτοις θατέρου, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων, οἷς αὐτίος ἔση συμφορῶν μεγάλων, αἰσχρῶς ἀναιρεθήναι, ἡ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὗς ἀπο-κτενὼν ¹ τε καὶ δουλωσόμενος ἥλθε. τάχα δ’ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι, πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν τι κακῶν γενέσθαι, διαλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ-δοτον ἀξιώσειν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ σε παραδιδόναι ὁ πολλοὶ βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἐλληνες εἰς τοιαύτας καταστάντες τύχας ἰναγκάσθησαν ὑπομεῖναι. ἀρά γε μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ταῦτ’ εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ καὶ δεῖν ² αὐτῶν ὑπεριδεῖν, ἡ κακῶν συμπάντων ἐσχατα ³ παθεῖν;

XXVIII. "Φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ κατορθώσῃ, τί τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσται ¹ σοι καὶ περιμάχητον ἁγαθὸν, ἡ τίνας ἔξοιση δόξας; καὶ γὰρ τούτο ἐξέτασον. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν φιλτάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων ὑπάρξει σοι στέρεσθαι σωμάτων, μητρὸς ἄθλιας, ἡ γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι ἔσχεν ἐπὶ σοι πόνων οὐ καλάς ἁμοιβᾶς ἀποδίδως. ἐπείτα γαμετής σώφρονος, ἡ διὰ τοῦ σοῦ πόθου ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ χρηεία κάθηται πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νῦκτα τὰς σὰς φυγάς ὀδυρομένη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τέκνων δυνέω, οὓς ἔχρην ἁγαθῶν προγόνων ὄντας ἀπογόνους καρπούσθαι τὰς ἐκεῖνων τιμᾶς εὐδοξοῦντας 2 ἐν εὐτυχοῦσῃ τῇ πατρίδι. ὃν ἀπάντων οἰκτρᾶς καὶ ἀτυχεῖς ἀναγκασθῆσθι θεωρεῖν καταστροφᾶς, εἰ τολμήσεις προσάγειν τοὺς τείχεσι τὸν πόλεμον: οὔ γὰρ δὴ φείσονται τῶν σῶν οὐθενὸς οἱ περὶ τῶν

¹ Steph. : ἀποκτείνων ABC. ² Cobet : δέον O, Jacoby. ³ ἐσχατα O : τὰ ἐσχατα 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
σφετέρων κινδυνεύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄμοια1 κακῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ πάσχοντες, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς αἰκισμοῦς αὐτῶν δεινοὺς2 καὶ ὑβρεῖς ἀνηλεεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἱδέαν προπηλακισμοῦ χωρήσουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν βιαζόμενοι καὶ τούτων οὐχ οἱ δρώντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὃ τὴν 3 ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεῖς αὕτιος ἔση σύ.3 ἦδονᾶς μὲν δὴ τοιαύτας καρπώσῃ κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσαντός σοι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ξῆλον καὶ τιμᾶς, ὧν ὀρέγεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, σκόπει ποίας τινὰς4. μητροκτόνος κεκλήσῃ καὶ παιδοφόνος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀλιτήριος καὶ πατρίδος ἀλάστωρ, καὶ οὐτε θυσίων οὐτε σπουδῶν οὐθ᾽ ἐστίας, ὅποι ποτ' ἄν ἄφικη, κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσει σοι τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δυκαίων οὐθέεις, αὐτοῖς τε οὐκ ἔση τίμιος οἶς εὐνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ταῦτα δρᾶς, ἀλλὰ καρπωσάμενοι τινα ἐκαστος τούτων ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀσεβημάτων ὠφέλειαν μισήσουσι τὴν αὐθα-4 δειαν τοῦ τρόπου. ἐω γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι, χωρίς τοῦ μίσους ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπεικεστάτων ἔξεις, καὶ φθόνος ἀπαντήσεται πολὺς ἐκ τῶν ὦσων καὶ φόβος ἐκ τῶν ἡσόνων καὶ δι᾽ ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐπιβουλαί καὶ ἄλλα πολλά καὶ χαλεπά, ὃσα εἰκὸς συμπεσεῖν ἄνδρὶ ἐρήμῳ φίλων καὶ ἐν ἓνῃ ὄντι γῆ. τὰς γὰρ δὴ παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπιπεμπομέναι τοῖς ἀγόσια καὶ δεινὰ διαπραξαμένοις ἐρνύας ἐω, ὦφ᾽ ὅν αἰκιζόμενοι ψυχάς τε καὶ σώματα κακοὺς μὲν διαντλοῦσί βίους, οἰκτρὰς δ᾽ ὑπομένουσι τελευτάς.

1 ὄμοια Ο : οἰκεία Kiessling. 2 δεινοὺς Β : om. R. 3 ἔση σύ Reiske : ἔση Ο, Jacoby. 4 τινὰς Jacoby, τίνας Β : καὶ τίνας 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 libations 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,
ταύτα ἐνθυμηθείς, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετάγγισθι καὶ παῦσαι μνησικακῶν τῆς σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι τῆς πάντων αὐτίαν ἡγησάμενος ἃν πέπονθας πρὸς ἦμων ἡ δέδρακας ἦμᾶς κακῶν, ἀπιθὶ χαίρων ἐπὶ τὰ οἴκεια, καὶ κόμισαι¹ μητρὸς τε περιβολὰς προσηνεστάτας καὶ γυναικὸς² φιλοφροσύνας ἠδίστας καὶ τέκνων ἁσπασμοὺς γλυκυτάτους, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδοσ ὁφείλομα κάλλιστον τῇ γειναιμένης³ σε καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα παιδευσαμένη πατρίδι."  

XXIX. Τοιαύτα διεξέλθοντος τοῦ Μηνυκίου μικρὸν ἐπισχῦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἔπει. 

"Σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀμα τούτῳ πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φίλος εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος, εἰ τὶ δύναμαι, ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε πολίτης ὑμέτερος ἦν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἑπράττον, ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀναγκαίοις ἐγένεσθε καιροὶς χρήσιμοι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς φυγῆς οὐκ ἀπεστράφητε με καταφρονήσει τῆς τότε τύχης, ὡς οὔτε φίλους εὗ 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 κοινοφέρας ποιούντες ταῖς ἱδίαις ἑπιμελείαισι. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις 'Ρωμαίοις ἀπέχοθοπαί τε ὡς δύναμαι μάλιστα καὶ πολέμῳ⁵ καὶ οὐδέποτε μισῶν αὐτοὺς παύσομαι' οἱ μὲ ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς τιμᾶθαι προσήκειν, ὡς τα μέγιστα ἐξήμαρτηκότα περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀισχρῶς ἐξῆλθαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὔτε μητέρα αἰδεσθέντες τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε παιδία ἔλεγ- 

¹ καὶ κόμισαι B : om. R. 
² te after γυναικὸς deleted by Reiske. 
³ Cobet : γεννησομένη Α, γεννησαμένη R. 

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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-
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santess ouvt' alllo pathos ymeron ouden epi tais 3 emais labontes tuchais. matontes de toito, ei men autoi deishe tou par' hemw, legete meqe'ven oknoun-tes, ws ouvtheos atuchhontes tov dunatov, perı de filias kai diallagwv, as axiouthe me poiuusa-

...
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 ob civeum servatum. The slaying of the foe is not expressly mentioned, as a rule.
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ἐτερὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γενναῖος ἀνήρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοσ-αὐτα, λέγειν· ἄλλα πόλιν ὅλην τίς δύναιτ' ἂν καυχή-σασθαι στρατηγὸς ἡ λοχαγὸς ἐλών, ὥσπερ ἐγώ τὴν Κοριολανῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ στρατιῶν πολεμίων τρεφάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐγώ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἐπίκουρον τοῖς πολυρκομένοις

2 ἀφικομένην; ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔξον μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν λαβύρων πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ’ ἄργυρον ἀνδράποδα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, οὐκ ἤξισα, ἀλλ’ ἀνεπίθνον ὡς μάλιστα βουλθεῖς ἐμαυτὸν· παρασχεῖν, πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἕνα μόνον ἐκ τῶν λαβύρων ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν ἐμαυτὸν ἔξον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν, τὸν δ’ ἀλλὸν πλοῦτον

3 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔθηκα φέρων. πότερον οὖν τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ὑπέχειν, ἡ τιμᾶς λαμβάνειν, καὶ πότερον ὑπὸ τοῖς κακίστοις γενέσθαι τῶν πο-λιτῶν, ἡ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἦττοσιν; ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ ταύτα μὲ ἀπήλασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ’ ὅτι περὶ τὸν ἀλλὸν βίον ἀκόλαστος καὶ πολυτελής καὶ παράνομος ἦν; καὶ τὶς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι τινα διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς παρανόμους ἑδονὰς ἡ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντα ἡ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα ἡ χρημάτων στερό-μενον ἡ ἅλη τινὶ συμφορὰ χρησάμενον; ἀλλ’ οὐδε τῶν ἐχθρῶν με οὔδεις πώποτε ἤτιάσατο οὐδὲ δι-έβαλεν ἐπ’ οὔδενι τούτων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐμαρ-τυρεῖτο μοι καὶ ὁ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι

4 βίος. ἂλλ’ ἡ προαιρέσις, νὴ Δία,’ φαίη τις ἂν, ἢ τῶν πολιτευμάτων σου μυσθείσα ταύτην ἐξ-ειργάσαστο σοι τὴν συμφοράν. ἔξον γὰρ ἐλέσθαι τὴν

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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? ¹ 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.
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κρείττω μερίδα τῇν χείρονα εἶλον καὶ διετέλεισ ἀπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἐξ ὧν καταλυθῆ- 
σεται μὲν ἡ πάτριος ἀριστοκρατία, κύριος δ' ἐσται 
tῶν κοινῶν ὅχλος ἀμαθῆς καὶ πονηρός. ἀλλ' 
ἔγιγνε τάναντι ἐπραττον, ὡς Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὅπως 
ἡ βουλή τῶν κοινῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ 
ὁ πάτριος διαμενεί κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας προῦνού-
5 μην. ἀντὶ τούτων μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
μάτων, ὃ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ἦλθοτά εἶναι ἐδόκει,
tὰς εὐτυχεῖς ταύτας καὶ μακαρίας κεκόμισμαι 
παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοιβάς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου 
μόνον ἐξελαθεῖς, ὡς Μηνύκιε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον 
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἡ κατ' ἀρχάς ἐπαίρουσα μὲ κεναῖς 
ἐλπίσιν, ἦνίκα τοῖς δημάρχοις τυραννίδα περι-
βαλλομένους ἦναντιοῦμην ὡς αὐτή παρέξουσα τὸ 
ἀσφάλεις, ἐπειδὴ κύνδυνον τινα ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν 
ὑπείδετο, ἀπέστη καὶ παρέδωκε με τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.
6 ὑ μέντοι τότε αὐτῶς ὑπατος ἥσθα, ὡς Μηνύκιε, 
ὅτε τὸ προβούλευμα τὸ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἐγένετο, 
καὶ ἦνίκα Οὐαλέριος ὁ παραδίδονας μὲ τῷ δῆμῳ 
παρανύων σφόδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις εὐδοκίμει, κἂν 
δεδιῶς μὴ ψήφου δοθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων 
ἀλῷ, συνέγνων καὶ παρέξεως ἐμαυτὸν ὑπεσχόμην 
ἐκόντα1 ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

XXXI. ""Ιθι δὴ μοι, Μηνύκιε, ἀπόκριναι, πό-
tερα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἔφανη 
eῖναι, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα ἐποιετευόμην τε καὶ ἐπρατ-
tου, ἡ τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄπασι ταύτα ἐδόκει 
tότε καὶ πάντες με ἀπηλάσατε, φανερὸν ὅτι 
πάντες οἱ ταύτα βουληθέντες ἀρετὴν μισεῖτε, καὶ 
τόπος οὐδείς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεχόμενος καλο-

1 Reiske : ἡξουτα O. 
2 Grasberger : ταύτα O.
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
κάγαθιαν· εἰ δὲ βιασθείσα ἡ θουλή συνεχώρησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ έργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, οὐ γνώμης, ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου πονηροκρατεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς εἶναι τὴν θουλὴν ἃν ἄν προέλθηται κυρίαν.

2 ἔπειτα εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξιοῦτε με κατελθείν πόλιν, ἐν ἦ τὸ κρείττον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἀρχεται; πολ- λὴν ἁρα κατεγνώκατε μοι μανιάν. φέρε, καὶ δὴ πέπεισμαι καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ ἀξιοῦτε, κατελήλυθα, τὸς ἦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦσται μου διάνοια καὶ τίνα βίον ζήσομαι; πότερα τάσφα- λες καὶ ἀκίνδυνουν αἱρούμενος ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ τάλλα ἀγαθὰ ἃν ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι μετ- ἰῶν, θεραπεύειν ὑπομενότα τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτων ἐξ- ουσίαν ὄχλον; πονηρὸς ἁρα ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γενήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσται μοι τῆς προτέρας ἀρετῆς ὀφελος.

3 ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεσι μένων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαιρέσειν τῆς πολιτείας φυλάττων ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ ταῦτα προαιρουμένοις; εἰτα οὐ πρόδηλον ὃτι πολεμήσει μοι πάλιν ὁ δήμος καὶ δίκας ἐτέρας πάλιν ἀξιώσει λαμβάνειν, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ πρώτον ἐγ- κλήμα ποιούμενος, ὃτι τῆς καθόδου δι’ ἐκείνου τυχών οὐ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶ πολιτεύσομαι; οὐκ

4 ἔνεστ’ ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειτ’ ἀναφανήσεται τις ἔτε- ρος Ἣκιλίῳ παραπλήσιον ἡ Δεκίω θρασύς δημαγω- γός, ὃς αἰτιάσεται με διστάναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπ’ ἄλληλων ἡ κατ’ ὅ τοῦ δήμου πράττειν ἐπιβουλὴν ἡ προδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἡ τυραννίδι, ὡσπερ καὶ Δέκιος ἡτιάσατο, ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ ἄλλο ἀδικεῖν, ὀτιδήποτε ἃν αὐτῶ φανὴ· οὐ γάρ 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
Τὸ μισοῦν αἰτίας. ἦξει τε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγκλημασι καὶ ταυτὶ φερόμενα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὅσα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέπρακται μοι τοῦτῳ, ὅτι χώραν ὑμῶν τέτμηκα καὶ λειαν ἀπελήλακα καὶ πόλεις ἀφήρημαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους τοὺς μὲν πεφόνευκα, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδέδωκα. ταῦτ' ἐὰν οἱ κατήγοροι λέγωσι, τί φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπολογούμενος ἢ τίνι βοηθείᾳ χρήσομαι;

XXXII. "Ἄρ' οὐ φανερὸν ὦτι καλλιλογεῖται καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθε, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργῳ περιθέντες ἀνοσίως; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάθοδον μοι δίδοτε, ἀλλὰ σφαγιόν με τῷ δῆμῳ κατάγετε, τάχα μὲν καὶ βεβουλευμένοι τούτῳ πράττειν. οὐθέν γὰρ ἔτι μοι 2 χρηστὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε—τίθημι γάρ—οὐδὲν δὲν πείσομαι προσφόρμενοι, τι οὖν ἐσται μοι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγνοίας ἢ μωρίας ὀφελος, κωλύειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν οἷοι ἢτε δυνησομένων,1 χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτῳ τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαζομένων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὦτι μὲν2 οὐ συνοίσει μοι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἢδε, ἢν υμεῖς μὲν κάθοδον καλεῖτε, ἐγώ δὲ ταχειάν ὅδον ἐπὶ τὸν ὀλέθρον, οὐ πολλῶν οἴομαι δεῖν ἐτὶ λόγων· ὦτι δ' οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἢ τιμήν ἢ πρὸς εὔσεβειαν—έπευθη καὶ σύ τούτων, ὦ Μηνύκιε, πρόνοιαν ἔχειν με ἡξίους, εὖ ποιῶν—ἀλλ' αἰσχυστὰ μοι καὶ ἀνοικτάτα πραγμηθήσεται πεισθέντι ὑμῖν, ἄκουσον ἐν 3 τῷ μέρει. ἐγὼ πολέμοις ἐγενόμην τούτοις3 καὶ πολλὰ ἡδύκησα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῇ πατρίδι

1 οὐδ' ἂν οἷοι ἢτε δυνησομένων Sintenis: οὖδ' ἂν οἷοι τε δυνησομένων B, οὐδ' ἂν βούλησθε οὐ δυνάμενοι Λ.
2 μὲν B: om. R.
3 τούτοις Kiessling, τούτοις Cobet: τούτοις οὐολούσκοις B, τοῖς οὐολούσκοις Λ.
BOOK VIII. 31, 5—32, 3

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
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πράττων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἰσχύν καὶ κλέος. οὐκοῦν προσήκε μοι τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεποιηθῶν, μυσεῖσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημέων; εἰ γοῦν τι τῶν εἰκότων ἐγένετο. ἀνέστρεψε δ’ ¹ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἣ τύχη, καὶ εἰς τὰναντία μετέθηκε τὰς ἀξιώσεις. ὑμείς μὲν γὰρ, ὑπὲρ ὃν τούτοις ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἀφ-εἴλεσθε με πάντα τάμα καὶ τὸ μηδέν πουήσαντες ἐρρώματε. οὕτω δ’ οἱ τὰ δεῦναι ὑπ’ ἐμοῖ παθόντες, τὸν ἀπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀπολν. ⁴ ὑπεδέξαντό με ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπ-έχρη αὐτοῖς τούτο ποιῆσαι μόνον οὕτω λαμπρόν καὶ μεγαλόμυχον ἔργον, ἄλλα καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωσάν μοι ἐν ἄπασις ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι καὶ ἄρχοις καὶ τιμάς αἱ μεγίσται παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐώς τάλλα: ἄλλα νυνι στρατηγὸν ἀποδεδείχασι με αὐτοκράτορα τής ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐπ’ ⁵ ἐμοὶ πεποιήκασι μόνω. φέρε δὴ, τίνα λαβῶν καρδίαν προδοχὴν ἂν ἔτι τούτους, ὅφ’ ὃν τηλικαυτῶς κεκόσμημαι τιμαίς, οὐθὲν οὕτε μείζον οὐτε ἐλαττὸν ἀδικηθείς; εἰ μὴ ἄρα αἱ χάριτες αὐτῶν ἀδικοῦσί με, ὡσπέρ ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐμαί. καλὴν γε δὸξαν οἴσει μοι παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις γνωσθείσα ἡ παλμυπροδοσία.³ τίς δ’ οὐκ⁴ ἂν ἐπαινέσει με ἀκοῦσας ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους, ύφ’ ὃν εὐ πάσχειν μοι προσήκε, πολεμίους εὐφῶν, τοὺς δ’ ἐχθρούς, ύφ’ ὃν ἐχρῆν με ἀπολωλέναι, φίλους, ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν μὲν τὰ μισοῦντα φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ φιλοῦντα, τήν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἐσχον;

XXXIII. "Ἰθί δὴ σκόπει καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν,

¹ ἀνέστρεψεν Ββ : καὶ ἀν ἐστρεφεν Λ, ἀλλ’ ἀνέστρεψεν Reiske, ἀντέστρεψε δ’ Cobet.
² τούτοις Β : om. R.
³ Sylburg : πάλιν προδοσία Ο.

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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

Μηνύκιε, οίδα μοι νῦν τε ἀπήντηται καί, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθῇς ὑμῖν προδῶ τὴν τούτων πίστιν, οίδα τὸν λοιπὸν ὑπάρξει μοι βίον. νῦν μὲν γε πάσης πράξεως ἐς ἂν ἄψωμαι καθ' ὑμῶν συλλαμβάνονός μοι, 2 καὶ οὐδεμιάς πείρας ἀποτυγχάνω. καὶ τούτῳ πηλίκον οἴεσθε εἰναὶ τεκμήριον εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ γάρ δὴ 1 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος οὐχ οἰσίν ἐγὼ πόλεμον ἐνεστησάμην, ἀπαντα χρῆν 2 ἐναντία μοι γίνεσθαι τὰ 3 παρὰ θεῶν· ὅποτε δ' οὐρίω πνεούση κέχρημαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους τύχῃ, καὶ ὀπόσοις ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι πράγμασι κατ' ὀρθὸν ἀπαντά μοι χωρεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι εὐσεβής εἰμι ἄνηρ καὶ πράξεις 3 προήρμημαι καλάς. τί οὖν, ἐὰν μεταβάλωμαι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα αὐξεῖν, τὰ δὲ τούτων ταπεινά ποιεῖν ζητῶ, γενήσεται μοι; ἢρ ὀυχὶ τάναντία, καὶ πονηρὰν νέμεσιν ἔξω παρὰ τοῦ δαμονίου τοῖς ἡδικημένοις τιμωρῶν, καὶ ὀσπρὸν ἐκ ταπεινοῦ μέγας διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγενόμην, οὕτως αὕθις ἐκ μεγάλου ταπεινός γενήσομαι, καὶ τάμα παθήματα παιδεύ- 4 ματα γενήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἐμοί μὲν ταῦτα παρίσταται περὶ τοῦ δαμονίου φρονεῖν, καὶ πείθομαι γε τὰς ἐρυνύσας ἑκείνας τὰς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀπαραίτη- τους τοῖς ἀνόσιον τι διαπραξαμένους, ὅν καὶ σὺ ἐμνήσθης, ὅ Μηνύκιε, τότε μοι παρακολούθη- σειν ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα αἰκίζομενα, ὅταν ἐγκατα- λίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς σώσαντάς με ἀπολωλότα υφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώσαι πολλάς καὶ καλὰς προσθέντας εὐεργεσίας, οἷς ἐγκνητᾶς ἐδωκα θεοὺς, ὥς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κακῷ τὴν ἀφίξων ποιησάμενος καὶ 1 δὴ Cobet : αὕτ O. 2 Jacoby : ἔχρῆν O. 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
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πυλάξων τὴν εἰς τόδε χρόνου καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμε-αντον συνούσαν μοι πίστιν.

XXXIV. "Ὅταν δὲ φίλους ἔτι καλῆς, ὁ Μηνύ-κιε, τοὺς ἐξελάσαντάς με καὶ πατρίδα τὴν ἀπαρνη-σαμένην, φύσεως τε νόμους ἄνακαλῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀσίων διαλέγη, φαίνῃ μοι τὰ κοινότατα καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγνοούμενα μόνον ἀγνοεῖν· ὅτι τὸ φίλιον ἥ πολέμιον οὔτε ὢψεως ὀρίζει χαρακτήρ οὔτε ῥνόματος θέσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χρείαις καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς δηλοῦται τούτων ἐκάτερον, φιλοῦμέν τε πάντες τὰ ὥφελοντα καὶ μισοῦμεν τὰ βλάπτοντα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ἡμῶν τόνδε θεμένων τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ ἀνελούντων ποτὲ αὐτόν, ἕαν τάναντια αὐτοῖς δοκῆ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς κοινής φύσεως ἀξίως ἄραντος τοῦ3 χρό-νου πάσι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως μετεληφόσι κείμενον καὶ 2 εἰς ἄεί διαμενοῦντα παραλαβόντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλους τε ἀπαρνούμεθα ὅταν ἀδικήσωσι, καὶ ἐχ-θροὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα4 ὅταν τις ἡμῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξῃ χάρις, πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην ἡμᾶς, ὅταν μὲν ὥφελη, στέργομεν, ὅταν δὲ βλάπτῃ, κατα-λείπομεν, οὗ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἄγαπώντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ 3 διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οὕτως5 ἐπέρχεται καθ' ἔνα φρονεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν ὀλαις καὶ ἐθνεσιν, ὡστε ὁ τάυτη τῇ γνώμῃ χρώμε-νος οὐδὲν ἐξώ τῶν θείων άξιοὶ νομίζων, οὐδὲ πορὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ δικαίωσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα6 πράττοντα ἐμαυτὸν τὰ τε δίκαια ἡγοῦμαι πράττει καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ καλὰ

1 φυλάξων ACmg : om. R.
2 ἀνελούντων B : ἀνελούντων R.
3 τοῦ B : om. R.
4 φίλους ποιούμεθα 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
καὶ ἁμα καὶ¹ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσιώτατα· καὶ οὐ δέομαι δικαστὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τοὺς εἰκασμὶ καὶ δόξη τεκμαίρομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους, ἔπειδὴ θεοὶς ἀρέσκοντα πράττω. οὐ γὰρ ἄδυνάτους ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω πράγμασι θεοὺς ἐχὼν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας, εἰγε δεὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἦδη τὰ μέλλοντα.

XXXV. "Περὶ δὲ τῆς μετριότητος, ἐφ' ἦν παρακαλεῖτε με, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν τὸ 'Ῥωμαίων γένος μηδ' ἐκ βάθρων ὅλην ἀναστήσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἴχον μὲν,² ὡς Μηνύκιε, λέγειν ὧτι οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτον κύριος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν³ στρατηγὸς εἰμι τῆς δυνάμεως, πολέμου δὲ⁴ καὶ εἰρήνης οὕτω κύριοι· ὥστε παρὰ τούτων αἰτεῖσθέ γε ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ δι- 2 ἀλλαγαῖς,⁵ ἄλλα μὴ παρ' ἐμοί. οὐ μὴν⁶ ἄλλα καὶ θεοὺς σέβων τοὺς πατρόων καὶ τάφους αιδούμενος προγόνων καὶ γῆν ἦξ ἢ ἐφυν, γυναίκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ὑμῶν ἔλεων, οἷς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως οὔσι τὰ πατέρων καὶ ἄνδρῶν ἦξει⁷ σφάλματα, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δὶ' ὑμᾶς, ὡς Μηνύκιε, τοὺς προ- χειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως,⁸ τάδε ἀποκρίνομαι· ἐδώ ἀποδώσοι⁹ 'Ῥωμαίοι Οὐνολόοκοις χώραν τε ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἀφήρηνται καὶ πόλεις ὅσας κατέχουσιν ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἐποίκους,¹⁰ φιλίαν τε ποιή- σωνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον καὶ ἱσοπολι-

¹ καὶ ἁμα καὶ Cary. καὶ ἁμα τάῦτα καὶ 0, Jacoby.
² μὲν B: οὖν AC, ἂν Sylburg.
³ μὲν added by Reiske. ⁴ δὲ B: om. R.
⁵ αἰτεῖσθε γε ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς B: αἰτεῖσθε εἰτε ἀνοχὰς εἰτε διαλλαγὰς R.
⁶ After οὖ μὴν the MSS. have τάῦτην γε δίδωμι τὴν ἀπόκρι- σων, which Reiske deleted.

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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,¹ 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."

₇ ἦξει BC : ἦξειν Cmg, ἦξεων A.
₈ πόλεως O : βουλής Kiessling.
₉ Jacoby : ἀποδιδῶσι O.
₁₀ ἐποίκους ABA : ἐποίκους Bb.
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τείας μεταδώσων¹ ὡσπερ Λατίνοις ὄρκους καὶ ἁρᾶσ κατὰ τῶν παραβιαινόντων τὰ συγκείμενα ποιησάμε-νοι, διαλύσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον, πρῶτον 3 δὲ οὐ.² ταῦτ' οὖν³ ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄνπερ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάνω ἐπιστρεφῶς τάυτα δια-λέγεσθε. καλὸν τοῖς ἱδίαις ἐκαστὸν ἔχοντα κτή-σεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ ζῆν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἄξιον τὸ μηθένα δεδουκέναι μὴ τ' ἔχθρον μήτε καίρον, αἰσχρὸν δὲ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων περιεχομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαίοισ πόλε-μον ὑπομένειν, ἐν ὧν καὶ⁴ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἀπάντων κινδυνεύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν· τὰ τε ἄθλα ἑπιδείκνυτε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἵσα⁵ κατορθοῦσι τε καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσι γνώμενα γῆς ἄλλοτρίας γλυκόμενοι· εἰ δὲ βου- λεσθε, προστίθετε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἡδικημένων προσλαβείν βουλομένους, ἐὰν μὴ κρατῶσι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ γυναίκας ἑπιδείν τα ἀνίχνιστα πασχούσας καὶ παίδας εἰς ὑβριν ἀγομένους καὶ γονεῖς δούλους 4 ἀντ' ἑλευθέρων ἐπὶ γῆρως ὅθω ἡμομένους. καὶ ἀμα διδάσκετε τὴν βουλήν ὅτι τοῦτων τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἄν ἔχοιεν αἰτιάσασθαι Μάρκιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ μηδὲν δεινῷ περιπεσεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἀναρρίσκονται μέχρι παντὸς φιλο-χωροῦντες τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις.

5 "Ἐχετε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· τοῦτων οὐθὲν ἄν εὑ-

1 μεταδώσων Α: μεταδιδώσων R.
2 οὖν 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.

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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 : εἰς ά O.
6 τὰ added by Grasberger.
7 Reiske: ὀδοῦ Α, ὀδοῦ B.
8 ἐν before τοῖς deleted by Jacoby.
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ροισθε παρ’ ἐμοῦ πλεόν, ἀλλ’ ἀπίτε καὶ σκόπειτε ὁ τι πρακτέον ὑμῖν: ἔως δὲ βουλεύσασθε,1 δίδωμι χρόνον ὑμῖν ἢμερῶν τριάκοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σήν τε χάριν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὑμῶν ἕνεκα τὴν στρατιάν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαξώ. μεγάλα γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοισθε μενούσης αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε. τῇ δὲ τριακοστῇ προσδέχεσθε με ἠμέρα τὰς ἀπο- κρίσεως ηλισμένον.

XXXVI. Ταύτ’ εἰπὼν ἀνέστη καὶ διέλυσε τὸν οὐλλογον. τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ περὶ τὴν τελευ- ταίαν φυλακήν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιάν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις, εἶτε κατ’ ἀλῆθειαν πεπυμένος ὅτι μέλλοι τις ἐκείθεν ἐπικούρια Ῥω- μαίους ἀφίξεσθαι,2 ὥς τότε δημηγορῶν ἐφησεν, εἶτε αὐτὸς πλασάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἵνα3 μὴ δοξεί χαρι- ζόμενος τοῖς ἑχθροῖς καταλελυπέναι τὸν πόλεμον.

2 ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῇ καλομενῇ Λογγόλα4 καὶ δίχα πόνου γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ τὰς ἐτέρας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος τε καὶ διαρπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Σατρυκανῶν ἠλανυ πόλιν. ἔλων δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὄλγον ἀντισχόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον, καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων5 ωφε- λείας μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἐχέτραν, τὴν λοιπῆν ἀναλαβῶν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἄλλην τὴν καλομενὴν 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 A, βουλεύσασθε CD.  
2 Naber : ἀφίκεσθαι O, Jacoby.  
3 ἵνα B : ἵνα R.  
4 Sylburg : λογγάδι O.  

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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.
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tou'tous ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξης ἐχώρει. Ἄλβιητας¹ μὲν οὖν καὶ Μογιλλανοῦ² ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἵρει, Χωριέλανοις³ δὲ καθ’ ὁμολογίας παραλαμβάνει. γενόμενος δ’ ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα πόλεων ἐπτὰ κύριος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγών πολὺ πλείω στρατιάν τῆς προτέρας καὶ σταδίους ἀποσχῶν τῆς πόλεως ὀλύγω πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Τυσκλανοῦς φέρουσαν ὅδον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

Ἐν ὧ δὲ τὰς Λατῖνων ἐξήρει τε καὶ προσήγετο πόλεις, Ῥωμαίους πρὸς τὰς ἐπιταγὰς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένους ἔδοξε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ἔαν μὲν ἀπέλθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας Οὐκολόουκου καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων⁴ καὶ⁵ καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον πρέσβεις ἀποστείλωσιν τοὺς διαλεξομένους περί φιλίας, προβουλεύσαι τὸ συνέδριον ἐφ’ οἷς ἔσονται δικαῖος φιλοί, καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐξενεγ-κεῖν· ἐως δ’ ἄν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένοντες αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐργα πράττωσι πολεμίων, μηθὲν αὐτοῖς ψηφίζονται ϕιλάνθρωποι, πολὺς γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἀεὶ λόγος τοῦ μηθὴν δρᾶσαι τοτε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος μηδὲ φόβῳ πολεμίων εὔξαντας, σπειρομένους δὲ τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ παρασχοῦσιν ἕαυτοις ὑπηκόους χαρίζοντα τε καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν

¹ Ἄλβιητας ΑΒ : Λαβινάτας Sylburg.
² Kiessling : μογιλλανοῦς ΒΣ, μοσεγιλλαύνους Α.
³ χωριέλανος Ο : Κοριελανοῦς Steph.
⁴ γῆς after ὑπηκόων deleted by Reudler.
⁵ καὶ added by Portus.

¹ At least two of these names are corrupt. For the strange form ΛΑΒΙΗΤΑΣ (Albietes or Albietae) Sylburg proposed to read ΛΑΒΙΝΙΑΤΑΣ (Lavinienses), an emendation that is 106
storm, and then proceeded against the others in order: the Albietes and the Mugillani he took by assault and the Chorielani by capitulation. 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 Tusculum.

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 Mugillan 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.
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ότου δέοιντο τῶν μετρίων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα ἐν1 πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κωδύνους φυλάττουσα ἡ πόλις κατά τε τοὺς ὄθνειοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνου διατετέλεκε.  

XXXVII. Ταῦτα ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἐτέρους ἐλομένης δέκα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας τὸν ἄνδρα μηθὲν ἐκφερεν ἐπίταγμα βαρὺ μηδ’ ἀνάξιον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀναστήσαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πειθοὶ καὶ διὰ λόγων συμβατηρίων ταῦτα πειράσθαι πράττεν, εἰ βούλεται βεβαιίους τε καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ διαμεμούσας ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τῶν πόλεων, ὡς τῶν γε ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἡ καρυοῦ συγχωρουμένων καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλειν ἁμα τῷ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς ἡ τὰς ἀνάγκας εὐθὺς διαλυομένων· οἱ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῆς πρέσβεις ἁμα τῷ πυθόσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Μαρκίου πορευθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐπαγγέλῃ διελέγοντο φυλάττοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις 2 τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς2 ἀπεκρίνατο, συνεβούλευε δὲ κρεῖττόν τι βουλευσαμένους ἣκειν τρὶῶν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν· ταύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι μόνας ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου. βουλομένων δὲ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχύστην ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀπειλῆσας, εἰ3 μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὡς κατασκόποις χρήσεσθαι4· κάκεινοι σωτῆ ἄπιοντες 3 εὐθὺς ὕχοντο. μαθόντες δ’ οἱ βουλευταὶ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων τὰς αὐθάδεις ἀποκρίσεις τε καὶ ἀπειλᾶς

1 ἐν B : ἐν τοῖς R.  
2 αὐτοῖς B : om. R.  
3 εἰ Cary : ὡς εἰ O, Jacoby, οὖτως εἰ Hertlein.  
4 Hertlein : χρήσεται O, Jacoby.
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,\(^1\) 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 Μάρκιον στρατιάν μὲν υπερόριον ἐξάγειν οὐδὲ τότε ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴτε τὸ ἀπειροπόλεμον τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν (νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν αὐτῶν) ευλαβηθέντες, εἴτε τὴν ἀτολμίαν τῶν ὑπάτων (ἡκιστὰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ δραστήριον ἦν) σφαλερὰν ἡγησάμενοι τηλικοῦτον ἀναφείσθαι ἀγώνα, εἴτε ἀρα καὶ τοῦ δαμούνων σφίσιν ἐναντιομένου πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον δὴ οἰωνῶν ἡ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων ἡ τῶν ὀστείας πατρίου, ὡν οὐκ ἦξιον οἱ τότε ἀνθρωποὶ καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ὑπερορᾶν. φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελεστέρα φυλακῆ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων τους ἐπίοντας ἀμύνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

XXXVIII. Ταῦτα δὲ πράπτοντες καὶ παρασκευάζομεν τῆς τε ἐλπίδος οὔπω ἀφιστάμενοι ὡς δυνατὸν ὑπάρχον ἐτὶ μεταπειθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ μείζονι καὶ τιμωτέρα προσβείᾳ δηθείεν αὐτοῦ, ψηφίζοντα τοὺς τε ἱεροφάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὥσιν τιμὴν τινὰ ἠρᾶν ἡ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δημοτελῆ λαβόντες ἐίχον (εἰς δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερεῖς καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεῶν πάνα πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω διαφανέστατοι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τε οἰκους πατέρων καὶ ἄρετης οἰκείας ἄξιωσι) ἔχοντας ἀν' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὄργιονομένων τε καὶ θεραπεομένων θεῶν τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς ἱερᾶς ἀμπεχομένους ἑσθήτας ἀθρόους ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων πορεύεσθαι 2 τοὺς αὐτοὺς φέροντας τοῖς προτέροις λόγοις. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐλέξαν ὡσα ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν, οὐδὲ τούτους ἐδωκεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπόκρισιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦξιον, ἀλλ' ἡ τα 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
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ποιεῖν συνεβούλευεν ἀπιόντας, εἰ θέλουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἢ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἤξοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπειπε μὴ διαλέγεσθαι

3 πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀπέτυχον τῆς πείρας οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαλαγῆς ἀπογυνόντες ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς μὲν ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις τάξαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀφειμένους ἠδὴ στρατείας, οἷς ἔτι τὰ σώματα ἱκανὰ ἦν κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν.

XXXIX. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἦδη τοῦ δεινοῦ, καταληπτοῦσα τῆς οὐκοὶ μονῆς τὸ εὔπρεπὲς ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ προκυκλούμεναι τῶν ξοάνων: καὶ ἦν ἀπας μὲν ἱερὸς τόπος οἰμωγής τε καὶ ἱκετείας γυναικῶν ἀνάπλεως, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τοῦ Καπιτω-2 λίου Διὸς ἱερὸν. ἔνθα δὴ τῆς αὐτῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχουσα καὶ ἱλικίας ἐν τῇ κρατίστῳ τότ’ οὖσα καὶ φρονήσα τὰ δέοντα ἰκανωτάτη, Οὐαλερία μὲν οὖν ομα, Ποπλικόλα δὲ τοῦ συνελευ-θερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν ἀδελφή, θείω τινὶ παραστήματι κυνηθείσα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτως κρησίδος ἔστη τοῦ νεῶ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἄλλας γυναίκας πρῶτον μὲν παρεμμυθήσατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἄξιούσα μὴ καταπεπλήχθαι τὸ δεινὸν· ἐπειτα ὑπέσχετο μίαν εἶναι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τῇ πόλει, ταύτην δ’ ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι μόναις καταλειπο-3 μένην, ἐὰν ἐθελήσωσι πράττειν ἄ δει. καὶ τις εἶπεν εὖ αὐτῶν: “Καὶ τί πράττουσι αὖ ἡμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες διασώσαι δυνηθεῖμεν τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρηκότων; τὸς ἡ τοσαύτη περὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς

1 Sintenis: ὑπὸ Ο, 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, 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 laments 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, biding 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 ἔστιν ἠσχύς;” “Οὐχὶ1 ὄπλων, ” ἐφήσεν ἡ Ὄμαλερια, “ καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη,2 τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ’ ἐνυοίας καὶ λόγου.” Βοής δ’ μετὰ τούτῳ γενομένης καὶ δεομένων ἀπασῶν φανερὸν3 ποιεῖν ἦτις ἐστὶν 4 ἡ ἐπικουρία, λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς: “Ταὐτὴν ἔχουσαι τὴν πιναράν τε καὶ ἄκοσμον ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παραλαβοῦσα γυναίκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπαγόμεναι βαδίζωμεν ἐπί τὴν Οὐδετουρίας τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς οἰκίαν· καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα θείσαι, δεόμεθα μετὰ δακρύων ἡμᾶς τε οἰκτείρασαι τὰς μηθενὸς κακοὶ αἰτίας καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτους κινδύνους οὐσαν πατρίδα προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων, ἄγουσαν τοὺς τε νύσσους καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας· ἀκολουθῶμεν γὰρ αὐτῆ τὰ παιδία ἐπαγόμεναι· ἐπειτα ἴκέτων γενομένην τοῦ τέκνου, ἄξιοιν καὶ δείσθαι μηδὲν 5 ἀνήκεστον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἔξεργάσασθαι. ὁλο- φυρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντιβολούσης οἰκτός τις εἰσελεύσεται τὸν ἄιδρα καὶ λογισμὸς ἦμερος. οὐχ οὖτω στερρᾶν καὶ ἀπρωτὸν ἔχει καρδίαν ὡστε ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ γόνασι κυλιομένην.”

XL. Ὡς δ’ ἐπήνεσαν αἱ παροῦσαι τὸν λόγον, εὐξαμένη τοὺς θεοὺς πειθὼ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν περι- θείναι τῇ δεήσει προήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, αἱ δ’ ἡκολούθουν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ παραλαβοῦσαι τὰς ἄλλας γυναίκας ἐσπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς ἀθρόαι. ἰδοῦσα δ’ αὐτὰς προσ- ιοῦσας ἡ τοῦ Μαρκίου γυνὴ Οὐδετουρία πλησίον καθημένη τῆς ἐκυρᾶς ἑθαύμασε τε καὶ εἶπε: “Τίνος 1 οὐχὶ Λ : οὐχ R.
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,
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δεόμεναι, γυναῖκες, ἐληλύθατε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς οἰκίαν δύστην καὶ ταπευνήν;" καὶ ἡ Ὀυαλερία

2 ἔλεξεν Ἐν ἔσχατοις οὖσαι κινδύνοις καὶ αὕται καὶ τὰ νῆπια ταῦτα καταπεφεύγαμεν ικέτιδες ἐπὶ σέ, ὦ Ὄυετούρια, τὴν μόνην καὶ μιᾶς βοήθειαν, ἄξιοῦσαί σε πρῶτον μὲν οἰκτείραι τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, ἣν οὐθενὶ πῶποτε γενομένην ὑποχειρίων μὴ περίδης ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ὅυολοῦσκων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἰ δὴ καὶ φείσονται αὐτῆς κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ’ οὐ πρόρρηζον ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἀνελείν· ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιβολοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δυστή- 

νων παιδίων τούτων, ἵνα μὴ πέσωμεν εἰς ἡχθρῶν ὑβριν οὐθενὸς οὖσαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑμῖν κα- 

3 κὼν αὕται. εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἐν σοὶ ψυχῆς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλανθρώπου καταλειπομένη μερίς, ἔλεγον, ὦ Ὄυε- 

tούρια, γυνὴ γυναῖκας κοινωνησάσας ἱερῶν ποτε καὶ οἴσων, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ σεαυτῆς Ὅυο- 

λουμνίαν τε τὴν ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παι- 

δας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ικέτιδας ἡμᾶς φεροῦσας τὰ νῆπια ταυτί, καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας, ἵθι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν καὶ πείθε καὶ λιπάρει καὶ μὴ ἀνῆς δεομένη, μιὰν ἀντὶ πολλῶν χάριν αὐτοῦσα παρ’ αὐτοῦ σπείσα- 

σθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας καὶ κατελθεῖν εἰς 

τὴν δεομένην ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν πατρίδα. πείσεις γάρ, εὗ ἵσθι, καὶ οὐ περιόμενται σε ἐρρυμένην 

4 παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶν ἁπὴν εὐσεβῆς. κατ- 

αγαγοῦσα δὲ τὸν υἱόν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῇ τε 

ἀθάνατον ἔξεις κλέος ὡσπερ ἐκικνουτόν κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ῥυσαμένη τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ 

ημῖν τιμῆς τινος αὕτα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐσῇ,

1 τὰ νῆπια ταυτὶ καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας Jacoby, τὰ νῆπια καὶ 

tαῦτα ικέτας γενναίουs Post; τὰ νῆπια καὶ ταυτὶ τὰs γενναίαs O. 

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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
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ο烫 τον ου δυνηθεντα υπ' εκεινων διασκεδασθηναι πολεμον αυται διελυσαμεν' εκεινων τε αληθως\(^1\) εγγονοι\(^2\) των γυναικων φανησομεθα αι τον συ-
σταντα \'Ρωμυλω προς Σαβινους πολεμον αυται προσβενομεναι διελυσαντο και συναγαγοναι 
τους τε ηγεμονας και τα έθνη μεγαλην εκ μικρας 

5 εποιησαν την πολιν. καλος ο κινδυνος, ο Ουε-
τουρια, τον υιον κομισασθαι, ελευθερωσαι την 
πατριδα, σωσαι τας έαυτης πολιτιδας, κλης 
αρετης αθανατον τοις\(^3\) εσομενους καταλιπειν. δος 
ημιν έκοισαι και μετα προθυμιας την χαριν και 
σπευσον, ο Ουετουρια· βουλην γαρ η χρονον ο 
κινδυνος δεις ουκ επιδεχεται.'

XLI. Η μεν \(\delta\) ταυτα ειποοσαι και πολλα προ-

eμενη δακρυα εσιγησεν· δυρομενων δε και των 
αλλων γυναικων και πολλας δεσσεις ποιουμενων 
μικρων επισχοουσα η Ουετουρια και δακρυσασα 
ειπεν·

"Εις άσθενη και λεπτην έλπιδα καταπεθευγατε, 
ω Ουαλερια, την εξ ήμων των άθλην γυναικων 
βοηθειαν, αλις η μεν ευνου η προς την πατριδα 
pαρεστι και το θελεν σωζεσθαι τους πολιτας, οιοι 
pοτε εισων, η δ' ισχυς και το δυνασθαι ποιειν α 
2 θελωμεν άπεστιν. άπεστραται γαρ ήμας, ω Ουα-

eleria, Μαρκιος, εξ ου την πυκραν έκεινην ο 
δημος αυτου κατεγυ δικην, και μεμισηκε την οι-
κιαν ολην αμα τη πατριδι· τουτο δ' ήμιν ου παρ' 
αλλου τυνος, αλλα παρ' αυτου Μαρκιου μαθουσαι 
λεγειν\(^4\) εχομεν. οτε γαρ άλους την δικην\(^5\) ήθεν 
εις την οικιαν προπεμπομενος υπο των εταιρων, 
katalabων ήμας καθημενας\(^6\) εν πενθιμοις τρυ-

1 αληθως 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.  

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,
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χεσι, ταπεινάς, κρατούσας ἐν τοῖς γόναις τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ στενούσας τε ἕκαστος καὶ ἀνακαλομένας
τὴν καθέξουσαν ἡμᾶς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκείνου, στὰς μικρὸν ἀπώθεν ἡμῶν ἀδακρυς ὄσπερ λίθος καὶ
3 ἀτενῆς. 'Ο Lexeretαί, φησιν, ὑμῖν Μάρκιος, ὁ μήτερ ἁμὰ καὶ σὺ, ὁ Οὐνολομνια, κρατίσθη γυναικῶν,
ἐξελάθεις ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι γενναίος ἦν καὶ
φιλότολος καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνας. ἀλλ' ὃς πρέπει γυναῖκι ἀγαθαίς, οὕτω
φέρετε τάς συμφοράς μηδὲν ἀσχημον ποιοῦσαι μηδὲ
ἀγεννές, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα παραμύθια τῆς ἐμῆς
ἐρημίας ἔχουσαι τρέφετε ἄξιως ἡμῶν; τε καὶ τοῦ
γένους: οἷς θεοὶ δοῦει εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσι τῆς πατρίδος
κρείσσονα τοῦ πατρός, ἀρετήν δὲ μή χειρονα καὶ
χαίρετε. ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ ἦδη καταλιπὼν τὴν ὁὐκ-
ἐτί χωροῦσαν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πόλιν. καὶ ὑμεῖς,
ὁ θεὸς κτήσει καὶ ἐστίνα πατρίδα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ
4 κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε. ὡς δὲ
tαὐτ' εἶπεν, ἡμεῖς μὲν αἱ δυστυχεῖς ἀς τὸ πάθος
ἀπῆτε φωνᾶς ἀναβοῶσαι καὶ παύουσαι τὰ στήθη
περιεχύθημεν αὐτῷ τους ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς κομ-
ούμεναι; τῶν δὲ παιδίων τούτων ἑγὼ μὲν τὸ
πρεσβύτερον ἤγον, ἢ δὲ μήτηρ τὸ νεώτερον εἶχεν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλης. ὁ δ' ἀποστραφεῖς καὶ παρωσά-
μενος ἡμᾶς εἶπεν. 'Ουτε σος υῖος ἔτι, μήτερ, ἔσται
tὸν ἀπὸ τοῦτος χρόνον Μάρκιος, ἄλλ' ἀφήνηται σε
tὸν γηροβοσκόν ἡ πατρίς, οὐτε σος ἀνήρ ἀπὸ ταύ-
tης, ἦ Οὐνολομνια, τῆς ἡμέρας, ἄλλ' εὐτυχοῖς
ἐτερον ἄνδρα λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐμοῦ, ὅθ' ὑμῶν, ὡ τέκνα φίλτατα, πατήρ, ἄλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ
ἐρημοὶ παρὰ ταύταις, εῶς εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθητε, τραφή-

1 Portus: ἀνακαλομένας 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.'
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5 σεσθε. ταύτ’ εἰπών, ἀλλ’ δ’ ὁ θεός ὑμών ὑπῆρξεν ὑπὸ διοικήσαμενος ὑπ’ ἐπιστειλας ὑπ’ ὅποιον πορεύεται φράσις ἀπήλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μονός, ὡ γυναῖκες, ἄδουλοι, ἀπορος, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐφήμερον ὁ δύστηνον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφήν ἔπαγόμενος. καὶ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἢδη τούτων, ἐξ οὗ φεύγει τὴν πατρίδα, πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίους ἑαυτὸν νενόμικεν, οὐ γράφων ὑπῆρξεν, οὐκ ἐπιστέλλων, οὐ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἑδέναι βουλόμενος. πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτην ψυχήν οὕτω σκληράν καὶ ἀτρωτον, ὡ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἴσχυν ἔξουσιν αἱ παρ’ ἡμῶν δεήσεις, αἷς οὕτε ἀσπασμῶν μετέδωκεν οὕτε φιλημάτων οὕτε ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης οὐδεμιᾶς τὴν τελευταίαν πορευόμενος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁδόν;

XLII. "Ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τούτων δεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, ὡ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντως θέλετε ἀσχημονοῦσας ἡμᾶς ἱδεῖν, ὑπολάβετε παρείναι πρὸς αὐτὸν καμὲ καὶ Οὐαλερίαν ἄγούσας τὰ παιδία; τίνας ἐρῶ πρῶτον ἡ μήτρη ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγους, καὶ τίνα δέσις ποιήσομαι τοῦ ύιοῦ; λέγετε καὶ διδάσκετέ με. φείσασθαι παρακαλῶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ὡφ’ ὃν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελήλυται καὶ μὴθὲν ἀδικῶν; οἰκτίρμονα δὲ καὶ συμπαθῆ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς γενέσθαι, παρ’ ὃν οὕτ’ ἐλέους μετέσχεν οὕτε συμπαθείας; ἐγκαταλυπεῖν δ’ ἄρα καὶ προδοῦν τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοῦ τὴν φυγήν, οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον, οὐ πολεμίων μίσος, ἀλλὰ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν εὐνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπεδείξαντο; τίνα ψυχήν λαβοῦσα ἀξίωσον τὸν ύιὸν τὰ μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φίλειν, τὰ δὲ σῶσαντα ἀδικεῖν; οὐκ εἰσὶν οὕτωι μητρὸς ὑγιαινούσης λόγοι πρὸς υἱὸν

1 ἀλλ’ δ’ Ο : ἀλλ’ Jacoby.
With these words and nothing else—without arranging 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

2 καὶ Ὁ : καὶ ταῦτα Reiske, om. Cobet.
3 εἰς αὐτῶν B : om. R.
οὐδὲ γυναῖκος ἡ δεῖ λογιζομένης πρὸς ἄνδρα· μηδ’ ὑμεῖς βιάζεσθε, γυναίκες, ἢ μὴτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων δίκαια ἐστι μὴτε πρὸς θεοὺς ὡσια, ταῦτα ἢμᾶς αἰτεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἀφετε τὰς ἐλευνάς, ὡς πεπτώκαμεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, κείσθαι ταπεινὰς μηθὲν ἐτι πλέον ἁσχημονοῦσας.”

XLIII. Παυσαμένης δ’ αὐτῆς τοσοῦτος ὀδυρμὸς ἐκ τῶν παρουσῶν1 γυναίκῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τηλικαύτῃ κατέσχε τὸν οἰκον οἰμωγῆ, ὅστ’ ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος2 ἐξακουσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τὴν βοῆν καὶ μεστοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας στενωποὺς. ὄχλοι. 2 ἔπειτα ἡ τε Οὐαλερία πᾶλιν ἔτέρας ἐξέτεινε μακρᾶς καὶ συμπαθεῖς δεήσεις, αἱ τε ἄλλα γυναῖκες αἱ κατὰ φιλίαν ἡ συγγένειαν ἐκατέρα τῶν γυναικῶν προσήκουσαι3 παρέμενον λυπαροῦσαί τε καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμεναι, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχουσα ὁ τι πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δεήσεις, εἴξεν ἡ Οὐετούρια καὶ τελέσειν τὴν προσβείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο4 τὴν τε γυναίκα τοῦ Μαρκίου παραλαβόδισα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν τὰς Βουλομένας. αἱ μὲν ὅ’ περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμεναι συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήσαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ προσήγγισαν τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ὑπάτοις. οἱ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπαυνέσαντες συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλήν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ συγχωρητέον αὐταῖς, γνωμηδόν ἐπυνθάνοντο.5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγων, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐστέρας διετέλεσαν ὁ 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

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3 προσήκουσι Post: προσήκουσι καὶ O, Jacoby.
4 καὶ τελέσεων ... ὑπέσχετο B: καὶ τέλος ἀπῆε τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πουησομένη ἦν ὑπέσχετο Ῥ.
5 γνωμήδου ἐπινυθάνοντο O: γνώμας διεπινυθάνοντο Cobet.
4 λευόμενοι.  

5 ὃς τι χρη ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι ACh : ἄποροῦντες ὃτι χρη ποιεῖν Ῥ (?).
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 per-
ceived 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 Α, Jacoby.
προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, προελθόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν σκότους ὄντος ἦδη τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεσάφησαν καὶ προεῖπαν ἥκειν ἀπαντᾶς ἐωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προπέμψοντας ἐξιούσιας τὰς γυναίκας· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν κατεπειγόντων ἐλεγον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι.

XLIV. "Οτε δ’ ἦδη περὶ τὸν ὀρθρὸν ἦν, αἱ μὲν γυναίκες ἀγούσαι τὰ παιδία μετὰ λαμπάδων ήκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὴν Ὄφετοπριάν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ ζεύγη τε ὀρικὰ καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τὰλλα πορεία1 ὡς πλείστα παρασκευασόμενοι καθεξομένας αὐτάς προὔπεμπον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. παρηκολούθουν δ’ αὐταὶ οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συγχοι σὺν εὐχαίς καὶ ἑπαίνοις καὶ δεήσεις2 τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπι-2 φανεστέραι αὐταῖς ποιοῦντες. ὡς δ’ εὐσύνοπτοι πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιοῦσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ γυναίκες ἐγένοντο, πέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὁ Μάρκιος κελεύσας μαθεῖν τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσώπον ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τί παραγένοντο. μαθών δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναίκες ἥκουσιν ἐπαγόμεναι παιδία, προηγεῖται δ’ αὐτῶν ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα, πρὸτον μὲν ἐδαύμα-σε τῆς τόλμης τὰς γυναίκας, εἰ γνώμην ἔσχον εἰς χάρακα πολεμίων ἄτερ ανδρῶν φυλακής ἐλθεῖν ἀγοῦσαι τὰ τέκνα, οὔτε αίδοις ἐτὶ τῆς ἄμμουτούσης γυναίξιν ἐλευθέραις καὶ σώφροσι προνοούμεναι τὸ3 μὴ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπουρήσεις ὅρασθαι, οὔτε κυιδύνων λαβοῦσαι δέος οὔς ἀναρρίπτειν ἔμελλον, εἰ τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐλομένοις σφίσι

1 Cobet : φορεῖα O, Jacoby.
2 Reiske : δεήσει O.

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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 ό : τοῦ Sylburg. Naber would reject τὸ μὴ . . . ὀρᾶσθαι as a gloss.
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δόξειε κέρδος αὐτᾶς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὁφέλειαν. 3 ἐπεὶ δ' ἄγχον ἦσαν, ὑπαντάν τῇ μητρὶ προσελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐγνω σὺν ὅλιγοις, τοὺς τε πελέκεις, οὕς προηγεῖσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔδος ἦν, ἀποθέσθαι κελεύσας τοὺς ὑπηρέτας, καὶ τὰς βάδους, ὅταν ἐγγὺς τῆς μητρὸς γένηται, καταστεῖλαι. 4 ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἔδος ὅταν ὑπαντῶσι ταῖς μείξοις ἄρχαις οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἄρχας ἐχοντες, ὥς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται ἧν δὴ τότε συνήθειαν φυλάττων ὁ Μάρκιος, ὥς ἐξουσία μείξοι μέλλων εἰς ταῦτο ἦξεν, πάντα ἀπέθετο τὰ τῆς ἱδίας παράσημα ἄρχης. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν αἰδῶς καὶ πρόνοια τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας.

XLV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, πρώτη μὲν αὐτῷ δεξιωσομένη προσήλθεν ἡ μήτηρ πένθιμα τε ἡμιφισμένη τρύχη καὶ τὰς ὀράσεις ἐκτετηκυία ὑπὸ τῶν δικρύων, ἐλευθή σφόδρα. ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἰδῶν, ἀτεγκτος τέως καὶ στερρός, οἷς ἀπασι τοῖς ἀνιαροῖς ἀντέχειν, οὐθὲν ἐτὶ τῶν λελογισμένων φυλάττειν ἰκανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥστοι φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ περβαλῶν αὐτὴν ἡσπάζετο καὶ ταῖς ἱδίσταται φωναῖς ἀνεκάλει καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κλάινων τε καὶ περιέπων κατείχεν ἐκλελυμένην καὶ ἰέουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀλὺς εἰξε, τὴν γυναῖκα προσελθοῦσαν 2 δεξιωσάμενος ἀμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἰ-2 πεν. "Ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον ἐποίησας, ὡς Οὐσολομνία, μείνασα παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ μου καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλυποῦσα τὴν ἐρήμιαν αὐτῆς, ἐμοὶ τε 3 πασῶν ἱδίστην κεχάρισαι δωρεάν." μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν πα- 1 καὶ added by Reiske. 2 προσελθοῦσαν B : om. R. 3 ἐμοὶ τε Kiessling : ἐμοῦ ὧν, Jacoby.

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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 lictors 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 embrace 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
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dίων ἐκάτερον προσαγόμενος καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀσπασμοὺς ἀποδοὺς, ἐπέστρεψεν αὖθις πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τίνος δεσμένη πάρεστιν. ἢ δὲ πάντων ἄκοιντων ἐφήσεν ἐρεῖν, οὐθενὸς γὰρ ἄνοσίου δεήσεσθαι, παρεκάλει τε αὐτόν, ἐν ὦ καθεξόμενος εἰσώθει χωρίῳ δικαζεῖν τοῖς ὀχλοῖς, ἐν 3 τούτῳ καθίσαι. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἔδεξατο ὃς δὴ περιουσία τε πολλὴ¹ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς τὴν ἐντευξίων αὗτῆς χρησόμενοι καὶ ἐν καλῷ ποιησόμενος² τοῖς ὀχλοῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἔλθων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν δίφρον καὶ θείναι χαμάι, μητρὸς υψιλότερον οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν τότον ἔχειν οὐδ᾽ ἐξουσία χρησθαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνης οὐδεμιᾷ· ἐπείτα παρακαθισόμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔσσας παρεῖναι τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐκέλευσε τὴν μητέρα λέγειν.

XLVI. Καὶ ἡ Ὀυετουρία παραστησαμένη τὴν τε γυναίκα τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς ἐπι- 

fangestatas tōn εἰς Ἔρωμη γυναικῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκλαίειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὄρῳσα μέχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ πολὺν 

eilήσεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεον. ἐπείτα ἀνα-

2 λαβοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐλέξεν. "Αἱ γυναίκες, ὁ Μάρκιο 

tēknon,³ τὰς ὑβρεῖς ἐνθυμοῦμενα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας 

συμφορὰς τὰς συμβησομένας αὐταῖς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις 

ήμων ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίως γένηται, πάσαν ἄλλην 

ἀπογνώσαι βοήθειαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν 

ἀξιοῦσι διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐθάδεις καὶ

¹ πολλὴ 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: ποιούμενος Ο, Jacoby.
3 ὁ Μάρκιε τέκνον (or ὁ τέκνον) Kiessling: ὁ τέκνον Μάρκιε Ο.
σκληρὰς ἐδωκας ἀποκρίσεις, ἀγούσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοῖς πενθήμοις τούτοις ἰμφιεσµέναι τρύχει κατ- ἐφυγον ἐπ’ ἐμε, τὴν σὴν μητέρα, καὶ Οὐσιούµνιαν, τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα, δεόµεναι μὴ περιúdeιν αυτάς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ύπὸ σοῦ παθοῦ- σαι, οὔθεν μὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ’ ἐλαττον εἰς ἡµᾶς ἐξαµαρτοῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ, ὦτ’ εὐτυχούµεν, εὐνοιαν ἔτι παρασχόµεναι, καὶ ὄτ’ ἐπταίσαµεν, 3 συµπάθειαν. ἔχοµεν γὰρ αὐτὰς µαρτυρεῖν, ἐξ οὗ σὺ ἀπήρας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἴµεις δ’ ἔρηµοι καὶ τὸ µηθέν ἔτι οὐσαὶ κατελειπόµεθα, συνεχῶς τε παραγινοµέναις πρὸς ἡµᾶς καὶ παραµυθούµεναις τὰς συµφορὰς1 ἡµῶν καὶ συναλγούσαις.2 τούτων δὴ λαµβάνουσαι µυνήµην ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σὴ γυνὴ ἢ3 συνοικουροῦσα µετ’, ἐµού τὰς ίκεσίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπεστράφηµεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπεµείναµεν, ὡς ἡξίουν ἡµᾶς, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὰς ύπέρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιήσα- σθαι δεήσεις." 

XLVII. "Ἐτι δ’ αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὑπολαβῶν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν: " ‘Αδυνάτων δεοµένη, µήτερ, ἐλήλυθαι ἀξίοῦσα προδούναι µε τοὺς ἐκβαλούσιν τοὺς ὑποδεξαµένους, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντᾷ µε ἀφελο- µένους τὰ ἐµαυτοῦ τοὺς χαρισαµένους τὰ µέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν· οἷς ἐγὼ τὴν ἄρχην τήνδε παραλαµβάνων θεοῦς τε καὶ δαίµονας ἐγγυη- τάς ἕδωκα µήτε προδοῦσαι τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν µήτε προκαταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεµον ἐὰν µὴ Οὐσιούσκους 2 ἀπασὶ δοκῆ. θεοὺς τε δὴ σεβόµενοι οοὶς ὁµοσα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους αἴδούµενος οἰς τὰς πίστεις ἔδωκα, πολεµήσων ᾿Ρωµαίοις ἀχρὶ τέλους. ἐὰν δ’ ἀποδιδώσι

1 παραγινοµέναις πρὸς ἡµᾶς καὶ παραµυθοµέναις τὰς συµφο- ρὰς Λ: παραγινοµέναις ταῖς συµφοράις Β. 
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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

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2 καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν συναλγούσαις C, καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμῶν συναλγούσαις Cobet.  
3 ἢ added by Reiske.
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tην χώραν Ὀουλούσκους ἦν κατέχοντοι αὐτῶν βία, καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς¹ ποιήσωνται πάντων αὐτοῖς μεταδίδοντες τῶν ὦσων ὀσπερ Λατίνοις, διαλύσο-3 μαί τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦς πόλεμον, ἄλλως δ’ οὐ. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἀπίτε καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι
tαύτα καὶ πείθετε αὐτοὺς μὴ ψυχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀδίκως, ἄλλ’ ἀγαπᾶν ἐὰν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν τις αὐτοὺς² ἐὰ, μηδ’, ὅτι πολέμῳ λαβόντες ἔχουσι, τὰ Ὀουλούσκων, περιμένειν ἐως πολέμῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπο-
χρήσει τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κρατηθέντων ἵδια ἄξιωσοιν ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ περιεχόμενοι τῶν μηθὲν αὐτοῖς προσ-
ηκόντων πάν ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπομένωσι φυλά-
tοντες τὸ αὐθαίδε, ἐκεῖνοι αὐτιάσεσθε² τῶν κατα-
lηψιμένων κακῶν, οὐ Μάρκιον οὐδὲ Ὀουλούσκους

4 οὐδ’ ἄλλον³ ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα. οὐδ’ δὲ, ὦ μῆτερ,
ἐν μέρει πάλιν οὐδ’ ὑν ἐγὼ δέομαι μη’ με⁴ παρα-
kαλείν εἰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις καὶ ἀδίκους, μηδ’
μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρίστων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σεαυτῇ τεταγμένην
πολέμιον ἢγείσθαι τοὺς ἀναγκαστάτους³. ἄλλα
παρ’ ἐμοὶ γενομένην, ὦσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, πατρίδα
tε νέμειν ἢν ἐγὼ νέμω, καὶ οἶκον⁵ ὅν ἐγὼ κέκτημαι,
tιμᾶς τε καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ δόξης ἀπολαυέων
τῆς ἐμῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢγουμένην φίλους τε καὶ
πολεμίους⁶ οὖσπερ ἐγὼ· ἀποθέσθαι τε ὃδη τὸ
πένθος δ’ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ὑπέμενας, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,

¹ αὐτοὺς B : om. R.
² Cobet, Jacoby : αὐτιάσθε O.
³ οὐδ’ ἄλλον Ba : οὐδ’ ἄλλων ABB, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Cobet, Jacoby.
⁴ με added by Kiessling.
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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 kektʰoθai after oικον. Capps would read oικον oικείων.
6 καὶ πολεμίοις B : καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πολεμίους R.
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φυγάς, καὶ παύσασθαι τιμωρουμένην με τῷ σχῆμα, ματὶ τούτω. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὥς μῆτερ, ἁγαθὰ κρείττονα ἐλπίδων καὶ μείζονα εὐχής παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήντηται, ἢ δὲ περὶ σοῦ φροντίς, ἢ τάς γνησιοσκόμες οὐκ ἀπέδωκα χάριτας, ἐντετηκὼς τοῖς σπλάγχνοις πικρὸν πεποίηκε¹ καὶ ἀνόνητων ἀπάντων τῶν ἁγαθῶν τὸν βίον. εἰ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ τάξεις σεαυτὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμὸν κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσεις ἀπάντων, οὐθενὸς ἐτὶ μοι δεήσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁγαθῶν.’

XLVIII. Παυσαμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἡ Οὐκετουρία ἐπισχοῦσα χρόνον, ἐως ὅ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἔπαινος ἑπαύσατο πολὺς τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ γενόμενος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν:

‘‘Ἀλλ’ ἐγωγέ σε, ὥς Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε προ- δότην Ὑδολούσκων γενέσθαι ἀξίων, οὐ σε φεύγοντα ὑποδεξάμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐτίμησαν καὶ τὴν ἔαν- τῶν ἤγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν, οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ὁμο- λογίας καὶ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς οὓς ἐδωκας αὐτοῖς ὅτε τὰς δυνάμεις παρελάμβανες, ἀνευ κοινῆς γνώμης ἰδία καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἐχθραν βουλομαι. μηδ’ ὑπολάβης τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα τοσαύτης ἀναπτηλήσαθαι θεο- βλαβείας, ὥστε τὸν ἁγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον νιῶν εἰς 2 αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀνοσίους πράξεις παρακαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης ἀποστήναι σε ἀξίων τοῦ πολέ- μου, πείσαντα τοὺς Ὑδολούσκους μετρίασαι περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀμφο- τέροις τοῖς έθνεσι καλὴν καὶ πρέπουσαν. τούτο δὲ γένοιτ’ ἂν, εἰ νῦν μὲν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγάγοις ἐναισιούς ποιησάμενος ἀνοχᾶς, εἶ δὲ τῷ μεταξὶ 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 Volscians 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 Volscians, 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
DECHOMENOS ΑΛΗΘΗ ΦΙΛΙΑΝ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΛΛΑΓΑΣ
3 ΒΕΒΑΙΑΣ. ΚΑΙ ΕΥ ΉΣΘΙ. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΜΕΝ, ΟΣΑ ΜΗΤΕ ΤΟ ΑΘΥΝΑΤΟΝ ΜΗΤΕ ἈΛΛΗ ΤΙΣ ἈΔΟΞΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΟΘΙΑ ΚΩΛΥ΢ΕΙ, ΠΑΝΤΑ ΥΠΟΜΕΝΟ΢Ι ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗ΢ΕΙ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΙ, ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ δ', ΌΣΠΕΡ ΣΟΝ ΒΝΩΝ ΑΞΙΟΙΣ, ΟΥΘΕΝ ΑΝ ΠΩΠΟΤΕ ΧΑΡΙΣΑΙΝΤΟ ΥΜΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΪΖΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ, ΉΣ ΑΞ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΜΑΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑ ΉΣ ΩΝ ΛΑΤΙΝΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗ΢ΑΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΟΠΛΩΝ. ΟΥΚΟΛΟ΢ΚΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΥ ΤΟ ΑΥΒΑΔΕΣ ΕΧΟΝΟΝ, Ο ΣΥΜΒΑΙΝΕΙ
4 ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΕΥΤΥΧΗ΢ΑΙΝ. ΕΑΝ ΗΡΙ ΔΕ2 ΔΙΙΔΑ΢ΙΗΣ ΑΙΤΟΥ΢ ΟΤΙ ΠΑ΢Α ΜΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩΝ, ΣΥΜΒΑΙΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΚΟΪΣΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΩΠ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΣ ΣΥΓΧΩΡΗ΢ΕΝΤΩΝ ΒΕΒΑΙΩΤΕΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΟΤΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΔΟΚΏΣΙ, ΤΑΜΕΙΣΕῼΘΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΥΧΑΣ, ΟΤΑΝ δ' ΕΙΣ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΥΛΑΣ ΕΛΘΟ΢Ι, ΜΗΘΕΝ ΥΠΟΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΑΓΕΝΝΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΟΣΑ ΕΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΟΤΗΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΙΑΝ ΕΠΑΓΩΓΑ ΠΑΙΔΕ΢ΜΑΤΑ ΕΥΡΗΣΙΑ ΛΟΓΩΝ, ΟΥΣ ΥΜΕΙ΢ ΟΙ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤ' ΕΠΙΣΤΑ΢ΕΘΕ,3 ΕΥ ΉΣΘΙ4 ΟΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΑΥΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΦΙ ΟΒ ΒΝΩΝ ΕΙΣΩΝ ΕΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΟΒΗ΢ΟΝΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝΔΕΝ ΕΞΟΧΙΑΝ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΘΟ ΤΙ ΑΝ ΑΙΤΟΙΣ ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΙΣΕΙΝ. ΕΑΝ δ' ΑΝΤΙΠΡΑΤΤΟ΢Ι ΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΧΟΝΤΑΙ, ΤΑΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ

1 ΠΡΟΣΟΘΙΑ Β : ΠΡΟΣΠΕΣΟΘΙΑ ΛΑΣ.
2 δε added by Sylburg.
3 ΕΠΙΣΤΑΘΕ added by Jacoby, προχείρους εχετε by Reiske, εχετε διά στόμα by Capps, σπουδάζετε (ορ ασκείτε) by Sintenis.
4 ευ ἡσθι (ἡσθι) Reiske, ἡσθι Sintenis : ἡστε Ο, 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 Volsci, 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)."
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άγεμονίαν τὴν σὴν γενομέναις περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχαις ὡς ἀεὶ διαμενοῦσαι ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασο φανερῶς, καὶ μήτε προδότης γίνοι τῶν πεπιστευκότων μήτε πολέμοις τῶν ἀναγκαιο-
τάτων· ἀσεβεῖς γὰρ ἐκάτερον. ταῦτα ἦκω δεομένη
σού γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ σοῦ, Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε
ἀδύνατα, ὡς σὺ φής, πάσης τε ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνοσίου
συνειδήσεως καθαρά.

XLIX. "Φέρε, ἀλλὰ δόξαν αἰσχρὰν οἰσεσθαι
dέδωκας, ἐὰν ἂ παρακαλῶ σε πράττης, ὡς ἀχάρισ-
tος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργετάς ἐξελεγκθησόμενος, οinline image
σε πολέμοιν ὀντα ὑποδεξάμενοι πάντων μετέδωκαν ὑν
τοῖς φύσει πολιτάς μέστεστιν ἀγαθῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ
2 ἐστιν ἄ μεγάλα ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις ἂεί. οὐκ ἀπο-
δέδωκας ὅν εὐτοῖς πολλάς καὶ καλάς ἀμοιβᾶς καὶ
νενίκηκας ἄπειρω δὴ τινι μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει1 χαρί-
tων τὰς εξ ἐκείνων εὐεργεσίας; οὐς ἄγαπητὸν
ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν,2 ἐὰν
ἐλευθέρας ὁλκώσι τὰς πατρίδας, οὐ μόνον ἐαυτῶν
κυρίου εἶναι βεβαιῶς παρεσκεύακας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πεποίηκας ἡδὴ σκοπεῖν πότερα καταλῦσαι τὴν
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς3 ἀμεινὸν ἢ μετέχειν αὐτῆς
3 εξ ὕσου κοινῆν καταστησάμενος πολιτείαιν. ἐὼ
γὰρ λέγειν ὅσοις κεκόσμηκας ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
λαφύρους τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ πηλίκους κεχάρισαι
tοῖς συστατευσάμενοι πλούτοις. τοὺς δὴ τοσοῦ-
tους διὰ σὲ γενομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτης βεβη-

1 καὶ πλήθει B : om. R. 2 ἀγαθῶν B : ἀγαθῶν 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-
κότας εὐτυχίας οὐ δοκεῖς ἀγαπήσειν οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὀργεῖσθαι σοι καὶ ἀγανακτήσειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἴμα ταῖς χερῶν αὐτῶν ἐπισπείρησι: ἐγὼ μὲν ὦκ οἶομαι. εἰς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ἴσχυρὸς μὲν, ἐὰν λογισμῷ κρίνῃς αὐτόν, ἀσθενῆς δ', ἐὰν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὁ περὶ τῆς οὐ δικαίως μισοῦμένης ὑπὸ σοῦ πατρίδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ κόσμῳ πολιτευμένη τῇ οὐ δικαίᾳ κατὰ σοῦ κρίσιν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ νοσοῦσα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι σαλευμένη, οὔτε ἀπασα ταύτην τὴν γνώμην τότε ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος πονηροὶς προστάταις χρησάμενον. εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῖς κακίστοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασάν ἐδόκεις ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα πολιτευμένους ἀπηλάθης ὑπ' αὐ- τῶν, οὔτ' οὔτω σοι προσήκε μνησικακεῖν πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πολιτευμένων τὰ παραπλήσια συνέβη παθεῖν· καὶ σπάνιοι δὴ τινὲς εἰςοι οἰκ οὐκ ἀντέπνευσε πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀρετὴν φθόνος ἐκ τῶν συμπολιτευμένων ἄδικος. ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπινως, ὡς Μάρκιος, φέρουσι καὶ μετρίως ἀπαντεὶς οἱ γενιαῖοι τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ πόλεις μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν αἷς οὐκήσαντες οὕθεν λυπήσουσι τὰς πατρίδας· ὦσπερ καὶ Ταρκύνιος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κολλατίνος ἐπικαλού- μενος (ἰκανὸν ἐν παράδειγμα καὶ οἰκεῖον), ὀς συνελευθερώσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς πολίτας,

1 eis added by Kiessling.
2 ταυτήν τὴν Kiessling: τὴν αὐτὴν O, Jacoby.
3 ἄδικος B: ἄδικως R.
4 This parenthesis rejected by Cobet as spurious; καὶ omitted in B.

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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.
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έπειτα διαβληθεῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς συμπράττων πάλιν τοῖς τυράννοις τὴν κάθοδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελαθεῖς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκει πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας αὐτόν, οὐδ’ ἐπεστράτευε τῇ πόλει τοὺς τυράννους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ’ ἐποίει τεκμήρια τῶν διαβολῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν Λαοῦν ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἐβίω χρόνον εὐνοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ φίλοις.

L. "Εστώ δ’ οὖν ὦμως, καὶ δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ παθοῦσι μὴ διακρίνεις εἴτε φίλων εἴη τὸ κακῶς διδρακὸς εἶτε ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ’ ἵσην πρὸς ἄπαντας ὄργην ἔχειν. ἐπειτα οὐκ ἴκανας εἰσπεπραξαί παρὰ τῶν ύβρισάντων σε δίκας γῆν τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρίστην πεπονηκώς μηλόβοτον καὶ πόλεις διαπεπορθήκως συμμαχίδας, ἃς πολλοῖς πόνους κτησάμενοι κατέσχον, καὶ τρίτον ἦδη τοῦτ’ έτος εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων κατακεκλεικώς αὐτοὺς ἀπορίαν; ἀλλ’ καὶ μέχρι 3 ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν ἀγριαίνουσαν 2 καὶ μανομένην ὄργην προάγεις 4. καὶ οὔδε τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις φέροντάς σοι τῶν τε ἐγκλημάτων ἁφεσιν καὶ κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας ἐνετράπης, οὔδε τοὺς ἱερεῖς οὐς τὸ τελευταίον ἐπεμψεν ἢ πόλις, γηραιόν ἄνδρας 5 ἱερὰ στέμματα θεῶν προτείνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπήλασας, αὐθάδεις καὶ δεσποτικὰς ὡς κεκρατημένους ἀπο-

1 κτησάμενοι κατέσχον Sylburg : κτησαμένη κατέσχε Ο, Jacoby.
2 αὐτοὺς added by Schenkl.
3 μέχρι Reiske, πόρρω Jacoby : περὶ Ο.
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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

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4 προάγεις Ba: προσάγεις ABB.
5 γηραιούς ἄνδρας placed here by Portus: after ἠρὰ στέμματα θεῶν ἔχοντας by O; Jacoby deleted.
6 προτείνοντας Capps: ἔχοντας γηραιοῦς ἄνδρας προτείνοντας ABD, ἔχοντας καὶ προτείνοντας Portus, Jacoby.
3 kríseis doús. ἔγω μὲν οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω ταῦτα τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ὑπέραυχα καὶ τὴν θυητὴν φύσιν ἐκβεβηκότα δικαιώματα, ὁρῶσα καταφυγάς εὐρημένας ἀπας ἀνθρώποις καὶ παρατήσεις ὁν ἀν ἐξαμαρτάνοις περὶ ἀλλήλους ἱκτηρίας καὶ λιτάς, ὁφ' ὦν μαραίνεται πᾶσα ὀργή καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τὸν ἔχθρον ἐλεεῖ· τοὺς δ' αὐθαδεία χρη- σαμένους καὶ λιτὰς ἱκτῶν ὑβρίσαντας ἅπαντας νεμεσωμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ εἰς συμφορᾶς κατα- στρέφοντας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς. αὐτοὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ ταῦτα καταστησάμενοι καὶ παραδόντες ἱμίν θεοὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις εἰσὶν ἁμαρτήματι καὶ εὐδιάλλακτοι, καὶ πολλοί ἦδη μεγάλα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὸν χόλον ἐξ- ιλάσαντο· εἰ μὴ σύ, ὦ Μάρκιε, ἀξιοὶς τὰς μὲν τῶν θεῶν ὀργὰς θυητὰς εἰναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους. δίκαια μὲν οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σεαυτῷ πρέπονται καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ἄφεις αὐτῇ τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετανοοῦσῃ γε καὶ διαλλαττομένη καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἀφείλετο σοι νῦν ἀποδιδούσῃ.

LI. "Εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχεις, ἐμοί ταῦτην δόσ, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν τιμήν καὶ χάριν, παρ' ἦς οὗ τὰ ἐλαχιστον ἄξια ἔχεις οὐδ' ὅν ἀντι- ποιήσωτ' ἀν τις καὶ ἑτερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμωστάτα καὶ οἷς ἅπαντα τὰ λοιπὰ κέκτησαι, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. δανείσματα γὰρ ἔχεις ταῦτα

1 After λιτάς the MSS. all add: καὶ τὸ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἴδικημένους τὸ ἄδικον ταπεινῶν, θεῶν ἢμῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἔθη κατα- στησάμενον. Jacoby deleted.
2 Portus (and B, according to Jacoby): παραστησάμενοι R.

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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 every-thing else you possess—namely, your body and your soul. These are loans you have from me, and neither

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3 ἐξαμαρτάνοντες O : ἐξαμαρτώντες Portus, Jacoby.
4 ἀφεῖς αὐτῇ Kiessling : αὐτῇ, ἀφεῖς O, Jacoby.

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ἐμά, καὶ οὐκ ἄφαιρῆσεται με ταῦτα οὐθεὶς οὔτε τόπος οὔτε καιρὸς, οὐδὲ γε αἱ Ὄουλουσκων οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργείαι συμπάντων καὶ χάριτες τοσοῦτον ἵσχύσουσιν οὔτ' ἂν οὕρανομήκεις γένωνται, ὥστε τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔξαλεύῃς καὶ παρέλθειν δίκαια: ἀλλ' ἐμὸς ἀπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔσῃ καὶ πρώτῃ πάντων τὰς τοῦ βίου χάριτας ὀφειλήσεις ἐμοί, καὶ ὅπως ἄν ἰδόμα δίχα προφάσεως ὑπουργής.

2 θεία, καὶ οὐκ ὥρισεν ἀπασι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως καὶ λόγου μετειληφόσι τὸ δίκαιον, ὥς πιστεύονσα, Μάρκιε τέκνων, κἀγὼ δέομαι σου μὴ ἐπάγειν πόλεμον τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἵσταμαι σοι βιαζομένω. ἦν προτέραν οὖν ἔμε τὴν ἐναντιομένην σοι μητέρα ταῖς ἐρυνοὶ προθυσάμενος αὐτο- χειρία τότε τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπτοῦ πολέμου, ἦ τὸ μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος εἰξον τῇ σειαυτοῦ

3 μητρὶ καὶ δός, ὃ τέκνων, τὴν χάριν ἐκών. νόμον μὲν οὖν τόνδε, ἄν οὔθείς πώστε ἀνελεῖ χρόνος, τιμωρόν καὶ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα οὐκ ἄξιον, Μάρκιε, μόνη τιμῶν ἃς οὔτός μοι δίδωσιν ἄμοιρος ἐκ σοῦ γενέοντα. ἔργον δὲ χρηστῶν ὑπομνήσεις, ἢν ἀφὸ τῶν νόμων, σκόπει πάλιν ὡς πολλὰς καὶ μεγαλαζότητι ὃρφανον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σὲ παραλαβοῦσα νῆπιον διέμενα ἐπὶ σοὶ χήρα καὶ τούς ἐπὶ τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήμτησα πόνους, οὗ μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατήρ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ 4 ἀδελφῆ καὶ πάντα τὰ φίλτατά σοι γενομένην. ἑπειδή ὅ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἧλθες, εἴξον μοι τότε ἀπηλλάξαι τῶν φροντίδων ἐτέρω γημαμένην καὶ ἔτερα τέκνα ἐπιθρέψαι καὶ πολλὰς γηροβοσκοὺς ἐλπίδας ἐμαυτῇ

1 Steph. : ἵσχύσουν ΑΒ, Jacoby.
2 Kiessling : μοι Ο. , 3 οὖν added by Reiske.
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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: ἀνεῖλε O. 5 σε B: om. R. 6 πατήρ B: πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς R.
καταβαλεῖν,¹ οὖκ ἡβουλήθην, ἀλλ' ἐμεινα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔστιας καὶ τον αὐτὸν ἐστερέα βίον, ἐν σοὶ μόνῳ πάσας τιθείσα τὰς ἐμαυτῆς ἡδονᾶς τε καὶ ὦφελείας· ὁν ἐφευσάσας με τὰ μὲν ἄκων, τὰ δ' ἐκών, καὶ πασῶν ἀτυχεστάτην ἐποίησας μιτέρων. ποιον γὰρ χρόνον, ἀφ' οὐ σε εἰς ἄνδρας ἤγαγον, ἀνευ λύπης ἡ φόβου διετέλεσα, ἡ πότε ἠλαράν ἔσχον ἐπὶ σοι τὴν ψυχὴν πολέμους ἐπὶ πολέμους στέλλοντα ὀρῶσά σε καὶ μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τραύματα ἐπὶ τραύμασι λαμβάνοντα;

ΛΙ. "'Αλλ' ἐξ οὗ² ἐπολιτεύου καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπραττες, ἡδονὴν τινα ἐκαρπωσάμην ἡ μήτηρ ἐγὼ διά σὲ; τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ μάλιστα ἠτύχουν στάσεως πολιτικῆς μέσον ὀρῶσά σε κείμενον. εν οἷς γὰρ ἀνθεὶν ἐθόκεις πολιτεύμασι καὶ πολὺς ἐπτεις ἐναντιούμενος ύπερ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φόβου μεστὰ ἢν ἐνθυμομένη τοῦ ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὡς ἐπὶ μικρὰς αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῆς, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκοουσμάτων τε καὶ παθημάτων μαθοῦσι ὃτι τοῖς ἐπισήμοις ἀνδράσι θεία τις ἐναντιοῦται νε- μεισι ἡ φθόνος τις ἀνθρώπινος πολεμεῖ· καὶ ἡν ἅρα μάντις ἀλήθης, ὡς μήποτε ὦφελον,³ τῶν ἐκβησο- μένων. κατηγωνισάτο γε οὖν σε πολὺς ἐπιρράξας ὁ πολιτικὸς φθόνος καὶ ἀνήρπασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· ὦ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα μου βίος, εἰ δὴ καὶ βίον αὐτὸν δει καλεῖν, ἀφ' οὐ με καταλυτῶν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τοῖς παι- δίοις τούτοις ἀπῆλθες, ἐν τούτῳ δεδαπάνηται τῷ ῥῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθῆμοις τρύχεσι τούτοις. ἀνθ'

¹ Capps: καταλυτεῖν Ο, Jacoby.
² εξ οὗ Gelenius: εξ ὧν O.
³ Jacoby: ὦφελον O.

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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,
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δὲν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπαιτῶ σε χάριν, μηδέποτὲ σου βαρεία γενομένη μηδ’ εἰς τὸν λουπὸν ἔσομένη χρόνον, ἑώς ἂν ἃ’ ὑπῇ, διαλλαγήναι πρὸς τοὺς σειωτοὺς πολίτας ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ παύσασθαι τὸν ἀμείλικτον χόλον φυλάσσοντα κατὰ τὴς πατρίδος, κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀμφοτέρου ἡμῶν ἄξιοῦσα λαβεῖν καὶ οὐκ 3 ἐμαυτῆς ἴδιον μόνης. σοὶ τε γάρ, ἐὰν πεισθῆς καὶ μηθὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐξεργάσῃ, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἔχειν συμβῆσται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς χόλου καὶ ταράγματος δαμονίου. ἐμοὶ τε ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τε καὶ πολιτίδων τιμὴ ζώση τε παρακολουθοῦσα τὸν βίον εὐδαίμονα παίστει καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἀποδιδομένη καθάπερ εἰκὸς εὐκλειαν ἀθάνατον 4 οὔσει. καὶ εἰ τις ἁρὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς ἀπολυθεῖσας τοῦ σώματος ὑποδέξεται τόπος, οὐχ ὁ καταχθόνιος καὶ ἀφεγγὴς ὑποδέχεται τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐν Ὡ φασί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας οἰκεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Λήθης πεδίον, ἀλλ’ ὁ μετέωρος καὶ καθαρὸς ἀθήρ, ἐν Ὡ τοὺς ἐκ θεῶν φύντας οἰκεῖν λόγος εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἔχοντας βίον· οἷς διαγγέλλουσα τὸ σὸν εὐσέβες καὶ τὰς σὰς χάριτας, αἰς αὐτὴν ἐκόςμησας, αἰεὶ τινας αἰτήσεται σοι παρὰ θεῶν ἀμοιβὰς καλᾶς.

LIII. "Ἐὰν δὲ προπηλακίς τὴν σειωτοῦ μητέρα καὶ ἄτμιον ἀπολύσης, ὁ τι μὲν αὐτῷ σου συμβῆσεται διὰ ταῦτα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, μαντεύομαι δ’ οὐδὲν εὐτυχές. ὅτι δ’ ἐὰν καὶ τάλλα πάντα εὐδαίμονῆς, ἔστω γάρ, ἢ δι’ ἐμὲ καὶ τὰς ἑμᾶς συμφορᾶς παρακολουθήσουσα σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀνήσουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὅδυνῃ πάντων ἀγαθῶν 1 τὸν 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-
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2 σοι ἀνόνητον ποιήσει τὸν βίον, εὕ οἶδα. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται Ὀὐετουρία τῆν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὑβριν ἐν τοσούτοις μάρτυσιν ὑβρισθείσα τὸν ἐλάχιστον βιῶναι χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὀμμασι ἐμαυτὴν διαχρήσομαι, βαρείαν ἀρὰν καὶ δεινὰς ἐρινύας ἀντ’ ἐμαυτῆς καταλιποῦσά σοι τιμωροῦσ. ὡς μή δεήσειν, ὡς θεοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φύλακες ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ’ εὐ-σεβεῖς καὶ καλοὺς δοῦτε Μαρκίων λογίσμούς καὶ ὡσπέρ ἁρτί προσιόύσῃ μοι τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπ’ ἔθετο καὶ τὰς ράβδους ἐκλινε καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἔθηκε χαμαι καὶ τάντα τάλλα οἷς κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτοκράτορας ἄρχας νόμος, τὰ μέν ἐμείσωσ, τὰ δ’ ἐκποδῶν εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε, δὴ ἄπασι βουλόμενος ποιήσαι ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχειν αὐτῷ προσήκεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἄρχε-σθαι, οὔτω καὶ νῦν τιμίαν καὶ περίβλεπτόν με ποιήσει καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα ἀντὶ κακοδαιμονεστάτης εὐδαιμονεστάτην ἀποδείξεις με

4 πασῶν γυναικῶν. εἴ δὲ ὅσιον2 ἐστι καὶ θεμιτὸν νῦν γόνασι μητέρα προσκυλέσθαι, καὶ τούτο καὶ πάν ἄλλο ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ λειτούργημα ὑπο-μενῶ σωτηρίας ἐνεκα τῆς πατρίδος.’’

LIV. Ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαί καὶ περιπλέξασα ταῖς χερσίν ἀμφοτέραις τοῖς πόδας τοῦ Μαρκίου κατεφίλησε. πεσοῦσης δ’ αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνεβόησαν ἀμα πᾶσαι κωκυτὸν ὑξίν καὶ μακρόν, οἱ δ’ ἐν τοῦ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐο-

1 καὶ τάντα . . . εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε rejected as a gloss by Garrer, Jacoby.

2 Sylburg: αἰσιόν O.
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.
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λούσκων οὖκ ἤνεσχοντο τὴν ἀήθειαν¹ τῆς ὀψεως, ἀλλ’ ἀπεστράφησαν. αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀναλό-
μενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ περιπεσῶν τῇ μητρὶ ἀνίστησαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀλίγον ἐμπνέουσαν,
καὶ περιβαλῶν² καὶ πολλὰ ἐκχέας δάκρυα εἶπε·
"Νικάς, ὦ μῆτερ, οὖκ εὐτυχὴ νῖκην οὔτε σεαυτῇ
οὔτ’ ἐμοὶ· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ
tὸν εὔσεβῆ καὶ φιλόστοργον ύιόν ἀπολώλεκας."

² ταῦτα εἰσών ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆκε κελεύσας
ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰ
παιδία, ἔνθα τὸν λουπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοποῦ-
μενος σὺν αὐταῖς ὁ τι χρή πράττειν διετέλεσεν. ἢν
dὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοὺς τοιάδε· περὶ μὲν τῆς καθόδου
μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν
dήμων μήτε ἐκεῖνον ἐπιφήφιζεν, πρὸν ἃν τοῖς
Οὐσολούσκοις εὐτρεπῆ γένηται τὰ περὶ φιλίας καὶ
καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου· αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν
ἀναστήσαντα ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἀπάγειν· ὑπο-
ςχόντα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον καὶ τὰς εὐργεσίας
ἀποδειξάμενον ἁξιόν τοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτῷ τὴν
στρατιὰν, μάλιστα μὲν φιλία δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολε-
μίους καὶ συνθῆκας ποιήσασθαι δικαίας, αὐτῷ τὴν
ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ σφαλήναι περὶ τὰς ὀμολογίας

³ ἐπιτρέψαντας. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις σφί-
sιν αὐθαδείας ἀναπυμπλάμενοι μὴ δέχοντο τὰς
dιαλλαγάς, ἀφίστασαί τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς. ἡ γὰρ
οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ αἱρέσθαι στρατ-
ηγὸν δι’ ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἡ παρακενδυνεύ-
sαντας ὀτιωθήτωι παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν
μεγάλῃ διδαχθῆσεσθαι βλάβῃ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος

¹ ἀήθειαν B : ἀλήθειαν R.
² περιβαλῶν 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
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αὖρειςν. τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα
dίκαια τε καὶ ὄσια εἶναι, φήμης τε ἀγαθῆς, ἐφ’ ἣ
μάλιστα ὁ ἀνήρ ἑσπούδαζε, παρὰ πάσι τευξόμενα,
4 τοιάδε ἦν. ἔταραττε δὲ τις αὐτοὺς ὑποψία δέος
ἐχοῦσα, μὴ ποτε ἀλόγιστος ὀχλος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ
καταπεπολεμηκέναι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἡδὴ ὅν δι’ ὄργης
ἀκράτου λάβη τὴν ἀποτυχίαν κάπειτα ὡς προδότην
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ φθάσῃ δι-
ολέσας. ἔδοκει οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτο καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο
dεινότερον εἶναι κινδύνευμα σὺν ἄρετῇ σώζουσι τὴν
5 πίστιν ὑπομένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ δύσιν ἠλίου ἦν
ἡδη, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐξήσαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς·
ἐπειθ’ αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆσαν, ὧ
δὲ Μάρκιος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοὺς τοῖς
παροῦσι δι’ ἄς ἐμελλε λύειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν δεθεῖς συγγνώναι τε αὐτῷ καί,
ἐπειδὰν οἰκαδε ἀφίκωνται, μεμνημένους δὲν ἔπαθον
ἐν τοῦ μηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν
συναγωνιστᾶς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἐπ-
αγωγὰ διαλεξθεῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς
τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ νυκτὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύσοντας.

LV. ἩΡωμαίοι δ’ ὣς ἐμαθὼν ὅτι λέλυται σφῶν ὁ
κινδύνος (ἐφθασε γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν παρουσίαν
προλαβόσα ἡ φήμη), σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταλιπόντες
τὴν πόλιν ἑθεον ἑξῳ καὶ ὑπῆρτων ταῖς γυναιξίν
ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐκ μεγάλων
κινδύνων εῖς ἀδόκητον εὐτυχίαν ἄνθρωπο κατα-
stántes πράττουσί τε καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, τὰ
μὲν ἄθρόοι, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ἕνα ἐκαστον ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

1 ἦν Steph. : om. ΑΒ. 2 ἐν B : om. R.
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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
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2 ἐκεῖνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐν θαλείαις τε καὶ εὔπαθείας διετέλεσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συν-
αχθείσα, ύπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ θουλῆ περὶ μὲν τοῦ
Μαρκίου γνώμην ἀπεδείξαντο εἰς ἐτέρους ἀναβάλ-
λεσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους τὰς δοθησομένας
αὐτῷ τιμᾶς· ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν ἐπαυνόν ταῦτα ἀποδεδο-
σθαι τῆς προθυμίας ἑνεκὲν δημοσίᾳ γραφῇ μνήμην
οἴσοντα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγνωμένων αἰώνων, καὶ γέρας,
ὁ τι αὖ αὐταῖς λαβοῦσας ἰδιοστός τε καὶ τιμωτάτον
3 ἐσέσθαι μέλλῃ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα. 2 ταῖς
dὲ γυναῖξι βουλευσαμέναις εἰσῆλθεν 3 ἐπιφθόνον μὲν
dωρεάς μηδεμίας δείσθαι, ἄξιον δ' ἐπιτρέψαμεν σφύ
τὴν βουλὴν Τύχης 4 γυναικῶν ἴδρύσασθαι ἱερὸν ἐν
ἂν τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λυτὰς χωρίων,
θυσίας τε καὶ ἐκακοῦν ἔτος αὐτῇ συνισταμένη εἰπο-
tελείν ἐν ἂν τὸν πόλεμον ἐλύσαν ἡμέρα. ἡ μέντοι
βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιφύσαντο
χρημάτων τέμενός τε ὠνηθέν καθιερωθήναι τῇ θεῷ,
καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶν καὶ βωμῶν, ὡς ἄν οἱ ἱερο-
μνήμονες ἐξηγώνται, συντελεσθήναι, θυσίας τε

1 ἑνεκέν (or αὐτικά or αὐτικά μάλα) Cary; πάλαιν O, πάλη
Sintenis, παλαία Jacoby; Kiessling proposed στήλις δημοσίαις
ἐπιγραφῆ.
2 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα R (?): om. B.
3 εἰσῆλθεν B: εἰσελθεῖν C, εἴδοκεν 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. ἑνεκέν, 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
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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 αὐτικα or αὐτικα 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) εκ τῶν ἐπιγυμνόμενων, in place of εἰς τῶς ἐπιγυμνόμενως, is a surprising construction, if οἴσουτα 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.
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προσάγεσθαι δημοτελείς καταρχομένης τῶν ἵερῶν
gυναικός, ἢν ἂν ἀποδείξωσιν αὐταί ¹ λειτουργοὺν τῶν
4 ἵερῶν. ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμάτως ἔρεια μὲν
ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπεδείχθη τότε πρῶτον ἢ τῆς
γυνώμην αὐταῖς εἰσηγησαμένη περὶ τῆς προσβείας
Οὐαλερία καὶ τὴν μνήτερα τοῦ Μαρκίου πείσασα'
συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἕξοδον. θυσίαν δὲ πρῶτην
αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν ύπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καταρχομένης
tῶν ἵερῶν τῆς Οὐαλερίας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασκευασ-
θέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει βωμοῦ, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νεὼν καὶ
tὸ ξόανον ἀνασταθῆναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦ κατ-
όπιν ἐναυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνη, ἢν Ἐλληνες μὲν
νομηνίαν, 'Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καλάνδας καλοῦσιν· αὐτὴ
5 γὰρ ἢν ἡ λύσασα τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. ἐναυτῷ δ' ὅστερον δευτέρω ² μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην θυσίαν ὁ κατα-
σκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεὼς συν-
etελέσθη τε καὶ καθερώθη Κοιντιλίου μηνὸς ἐβδόμῃ
μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνη· αὐτὴ δὲ κατὰ 'Ῥωμαίους
ἐστὶν ἡ προηγομένη τῶν Κοιντιλίων νωνὼν ἡμέρα.
ὁ δὲ καθερώσας αὐτὸν ἢν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος
ἀτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

LVI. Ἐξ' ὅτι ἄρμόττου ἱστορίας σχήματι καὶ
ἐπανροβάσεως ἕνεκα τῶν οἰομένων μήτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς
τιμαῖς ταῖς παρ' ἄνθρώπων χαίρειν τοὺς θεοὺς μήτ',
ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁνοσίαις καὶ ἄδικως πράξεσιν ἀγανακτείν,
tὸ δηλώσαι τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ
κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὸς,
ὡς αἱ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν περιέχουσι γραφαί, ἴνα τοῖς

1 Sylburg: αὐταί O.
2 δευτέρω Kiessling: ἐτέρω O, Jacoby.

¹ Nomènia and calendae were the names given to the first
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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 noumēnia and the Romans calends¹; 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 Iulius). Glareanus proposed to read “sixth” in place of “seventh” just above.
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μὲν εὐλαβεστέροις περὶ τὸ συνέχειν ἃς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων δόξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρέλαβον ἀμεταμέλητος ἡ τοιαύτη προαίρεσις καὶ βεβαία διαμένῃ, τοῖς δ’ ὑπερορωσί τῶν πατρίων ἔθισμῶν καὶ μηθενὸς ποιοῦν τὸ δαιμόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν κύριον μάλιστα μὲν ἀναθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν,1 εἰ δ’ ἀνιάτως ἔχουσιν, ἐτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονεστέροις εἶναι. 2 ἦσοτερεταί τοῖνυν ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμαμένης ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πάσας ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὸν νεόν τε καὶ τὸ ξόανον δαπάνας, ἐτερον δ’ ἀγαλμα κατασκευασμένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀφ’ ὧν αὐταί3 συνήνεγκαν χρημάτων, ἀνατεθέντων τε αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἁμα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀνερώσεως ἡμέρᾳ, θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδρμάτων, δ’ κατεσκευάσαντο4 αἰ γυναίκες, ἐφθέγξατο πολλῶν παρουσῶν γλώττῃ Δατίνη φωνήν εὐσύνετον τε καὶ γεγωνὼν ἦς ἐστὶ φωνής ἐξερμηνευόμενος δ’ νοῦς εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα διάλεκτον τοιόσοδε. “Ὁσίω πόλεως νόμῳ, 3 γυναίκες γαμεται, δεδώκατε με.” οι δε φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς παραδόξους φωνάς τε καὶ ὁψεις, πολλῇ ταῖς παρούσαις ἐνεπιπτεν ἀπιστία, μὴ ποτ’ οὐ τὸ ξόανον εἰς τὸ φθεγξάμενον, ἀνθρωπίνῃ δὲ τὶς φωνῆ· μάλιστα δ’ ὅσι πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσι τηνικαύτα ἐτυχον, οὐκ ἱδοῦσαι τὸ φθεγγόμενον, δ’ τι ποτ’ ἤν, ταύτην εἶχον τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἱδούσας ἀπιστίαν. ἔπειτ’ αὐθις πληθύνοντο τού

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

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

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1 According to Valerius Maximus (i. 8, 4) the words uttered were: *Rite me, matronae, dedistis riteque dedicastis.*
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νεῶ καὶ σιωπῆς πλείστης κατὰ δαίμονα γενομένης ἐν μείζονι φωνῆ ταύτῳ ξόανον ἐφθέγξατο τῇν αὐτῆν 4 λέξιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐτὶ εἶναι τὸ ἀμβίλογον. ἦ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ ως ταῦτ᾽ ἐμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας ἀλλα καὶ σεβασμοὺς, οὐδὲν οὐ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγη-
tαὶ παραδώσι, καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ἐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν θείᾳ κατεστήσαντο, τῇ τῆς ἱερείας
χρησάμεναι γυνόμη, τῷ ξόανῳ τούτῳ μὴτε στεφά-
νους ἐπιτιθέναι μὴτε χεῖρας προσφέρειν γυναῖκας
ὅσαι δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τῇν δὲ τιμήν καὶ
θεραπεῖαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποδεδόσθαι ταῖς νεο-
γάμοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὔτε παρελθείν τῇν
ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν καλῶς εἶχεν οὔτε πλεῖον περὶ
αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. ἐπάνειμι δ᾽ οὖθεν εἰς
tούτων ἐξέβην τῶν λόγων.

LVII. Μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν
gυναικῶν ὁ Μάρκιος περὶ τὸν ορθὸν ἀναστήσας
tῆν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ
ἐν τῇ Οὐκολούσκων ἐγένετο, πάντα ὡς ἐκ τῶν
λαφύρων ἐλαβε δωρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιῶταις,
ἐαυτῷ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὅτιοῦν ὑπολιπόμενοι ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ
tὰ οἰκεῖα. ἦ μὲν ὡν κοινωνήσασα τῶν ἁγῶνων
αὐτῷ στρατιὰ πλούτῳ βαρεῖ ἀφυκομένη τὴν τε
ἀνάπαυλαν οὐκ ἄγδως ἐδέξατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δι᾽
eὐνοίας εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγνώμης τε ἄξιον ἤγεῖτο,
eἰ μὴ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ πολέμῳ μητρὸς οἶκτους
2 καὶ λιτὰς ἐντραπείς. ἦ δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπο-
μείνασα νέοτης θυσιουόσα μὲν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατόπεδο
γενομένοις τῶν πολλῶν ὑφελεῖν, διημαρτηκία ἡ ὁ
ἀν ἠλπισεν εἰ καθαρεθεὶ τὸ Ῥωμαιῶν φρόνημα

1 Hudson : ἐπιτεθήναι Ο. 2 Sylburg : ὑπολιπόμενος Ο. 3 Jacoby : βαρεῖ Ο, but one letter deleted in B after i.
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.
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tῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἑτραχύνετο πρὸς τὸν ἤγεμόνα καὶ πικρὰ σφόδρα ἕν· καὶ τελευτῶσα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μίσους ἤγεμόνας ἔλαβε τοὺς πλείστον ἐν τῷ ἔθνει δυναμένους, ἔξηγηρώθη τε καὶ ἔργον ἔδρασεν ἀν-3 ὅσιον. ἦν δὲ Τύλλος ὁ Ἀττιος ὁ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν παραθήξας ἐχὼν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταυρίαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, οὐκ ὀλίγην. τούτω δ' ἀρα ἐδεδοκτο παλαι-τερον ἐτὶ τῶν φθόνον οὐ δυναμένω κατέχειν, εἰ μὲν εὖ πράξας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν Ὀρωμαίων πόλιν διαφθείρας εἰς Οὐλολούσκον1 ἔλθοι, κρύφα καὶ σὺν δόλῳ αὐτὸν ἄνελείν, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτών τῆς πείρας ἀτελῆς τοῦ ἔργον ἀναστρέψειν, ὥς προδότην παρα-4 δόντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταυρία ἀποκτείναι· ὅπερ ἐποίει τότε, καὶ συναγαγὼν χείρα οὐκ ὀλίγην κατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πενήθη τεκμαιρόμενος ἀληθείας καὶ οὐ γενησόμενα εἰκάζων γεγενημένοις2. ἐκελεύει τε ἀποθέμενον αὐτὸν τὴν ἄρχην λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς στρατηγίας. ἦν δὲ τῆς ὑπομενούσης στρατιάς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἤγεμών,3 ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταὶ μοι, κύριος τοῦ τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῦ καλεῖν ὑπὸ βούλοιτο ἐπὶ δίκην.

LVIII. 'Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγει μὲν πρὸς οὖν-δέτερον τούτων ἐδικαίον, περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν διεφέρετο ἠγίων ἀποδοῦναι πρότερον τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον; ἔπειτα, ἐὰν ἀπασὶ δόξῃ Ὀουλοούσκοις, ἀποθήσεσθαι τὴν ἄρχην. τούτων δ' οὐ μίαν ἔστω πόλων δεῖν, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου διέφθαρτο μέρος, γενέ-

1 διαφθείρας εἰς οὐλολούσκον B: διαφθείρας εἰς οὐλολούσκον ύποτάξας R.
2 γεγενημένοις (or γενομένοις) Steph.2: γεγενομένοις O.
3 ἠγεμών B: om. R.

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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.
σθαί κυρίαν, άλλα τὸ ἔθνος ἀπαύ εἰς τὴν ἐννομον ἁγοράν συναχθέν, εἰς ἂν ἔθος ἂν αὐτοῖς ὅτε περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι μέλλουεν, εὖ ἀπάσης
2 πόλεως προβούλουσ ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδῶς ὅτι δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἀνήρ ¹ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων λόγων ἀποδίδουσ ἐν ἡγεμονικῷ ἀξιώματι μέγων πείσει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοσοῦτον δεῖσει τιμωρίαν προδοτῶν ὑποσχέων ὡστε καὶ λαμπρότερος ἔτι καὶ τιμιώτερος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔσται, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὅπως ἂν βοῦληται καταλύσασθαι συγχωρησάντων ἀπάντων γενήσεται
3 κύριος. καὶ ἂν μέχρι πολλοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ἀντιμαχήσεων τῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις γινομένων καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἁγοράν πολὺς ἁγῶν· ἔργῳ γὰρ οὐχ οἶδον τε ἂν οὐδ- ετέρῳ βιάσασθαι τὸν ἐτερον τῆς ἱσοτίμου ἀρχῆς
4 ἀξιώσει κρατυνόμενον. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς φιλονεκίας ἐγίνετο πέρας, ἤμεραν προειποῦ ὁ Τύλλος ἐν ἂ τοῦ Μάρκιον ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν τὴν ἁρχῆν ἀποδησάμενον καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς προδοσίας, θραυστάτους τε ἄνδρας εὐεργεσίων ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἀρχηγοὺς ἀν- οσίου ἔργου γενέσθαι, παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθείσαν ἁγοράν καὶ προελθὼν ² ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλῆς κατ- ηγορία ἐχρήσατο τοῦ Μαρκίου, καὶ, εἰ μὴ βουλοῦτο ἀποθέσαθαι τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐκὼν, τῷ δήμῳ παρεκκελεύετο παύειν ³ αὐτῶν ἀπάσῃ δύναμει.

LIX. Ἄναβαντος δὲ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπο- λογίαν βοή τε πολλῆς κωλύουσα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρίας τῆς περὶ τοῦ Τύλλον ἐγίνετο. καὶ μετὰ

¹ ἀνήρ Kiessling, ὁ ἀνήρ Christian : ἀνήρ Ο.
² προελθὼν Ο : 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;
ταῦτα "Παίε" καὶ "Βάλλε" φωνοῦντες περιστάνται αὐτὸν οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ συναράττοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἀποκτινώσουσιν. ἔρριμμένου δ' αὐτοῦ χαμαί¹ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τῷ πάθει καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη νεκροῦ οὖντος ἀφικόμενοι τὸν τε ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης ὁδύροντο ώς οὐ καλὰς εἰληφότα παρὰ σφῶν ἁμοιβάς, ἐπιλεγόμενοι πάντα ὁσα τὸ κοινὸν ὑφέλησε, καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας τὸν φόνον ἐπόθουν λαβεῖν ὡς ἀνόμου ἔργον καὶ ἀσυμφόρου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀρξαντας, ἀνευ δύκης ἐν χειρῶν 2 νόμῳ τινὰ ἀποκτείναι καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμόνα. μάλιστα δ' ἡγανάκτων οἱ ταῖς στρατείαις αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξόντι αὐτῶν οὐχ ἰκανοί ἐγένοντο κωλυταὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ὀφειλομένας ἐγνωσαν ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας, συμφέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅσων ἔδει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς 3 ἄνδράσιν εἰς τὴν ἄναγκαιν τιμήν. ἐπειδῆ δὲ πάντα εὐτρέπιστο, θέντες ἐπὶ στρωμηνὴς ἐκπρεπεστάτῳ² ἡσκημένης κόσμῳ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἔχοντα ἔσθήτα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι κελεύσαντες λάφυρὰ τε καὶ σκόλα καὶ στεφάνους καὶ μνήμας ὅν εἰλε πόλεων, ἦραντο τὴν κλίνην οἱ λαμπρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους ἔργοις· καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον δ' μάλιστα ἦν ἐπιφανές, ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεσκευασμένην πυράν, συμπροσπεμπούσης τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως 4 ὀλης μετ' οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ δακρύων. ἔπειτα κατασφάξαντες τ' αὐτῶ πολλα² θοσκήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαρξάμενοι πάντων ὅσων ἀνθρωποί βασιλεύσαι ἦ στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἐπὶ πυραῖς ἀπάρχονται, παρέμειναν οἱ μάλιστα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀσπαζόμενοι

¹ χαμαὶ B : om. R.  ² Steph. : ἐκπρεπεστάτης ΑΒC.
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 πολλὰ B : om. R.
μέχρι τοῦ μαρανθῆναι τῆς φλόγας, κατείτα συναγαγόντες τὰ λείψανα έθαψαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ χώματι ύψηλῷ διὰ πολυχειρίας χωσθέντι1 μνῆμα ἐπίσημον ἐργασάμενοι.

LX. Μάρκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἐτυχεν, ἀνήρ καὶ2 τὰ πολέμια ἄριστος τῶν καθ’ ἡλικίαν καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ἡδονὰς ὅσαι ἄρχουσι νέων ἐγκρατής, τὰ τε δίκαια οὐκ ἀπὸ νόμου μᾶλλον ἀνάγκης διὰ τιμωρῶν δέος ἀκούσιοι ἀποδίδουσι, ἀλλ’ ἐκών τε καὶ πεφυκὼς πρὸς αὐτὰ εὑ, καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν ἀρετῆς μοῖρα τὸ μηθὲν ἄδικεῖν τιθέμενος, οὐ μόνον τε αὐτὸς ἀγνεύειν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας προθυμούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζειν3 δικαίων· μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ δωρηματικός καὶ εἰς ἐπαγόρθωσιν όν ἐκάστῳ δέοι τῶν φίλων, ὅποτε γνοί, προχειρότατος, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς χεῖρον τῶν ἄριστοκρατικῶν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ στασιάζον τῆς πόλεως ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιτευμασιν ἐγένετο, μεγίστην ἂν ἦ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πολιτευμάτων ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἐν δυνατῷ ἂν ἄμα4 πάσας τᾶς ἁρετάς ἐν ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι φύσει, οὐδὲ φύσεται τις ἀπὸ θνητῶν καὶ ἐπικήρων σπερμάτων περὶ πάντα ἀγαθός.

LXI. 'Εκείνῳ γε οὖν ταύτας δ’ δαίμων τὰς ἁρετᾶς χαρισάμενος ἑτέρας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κήρας τε καὶ ἄτας προσήψε. τὸ γὰρ πραύ5 καὶ φαιδρὸν οὐκ ἐνή6 αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρόποις, οὐδὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν πέλας ἐν τὲ ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύσεσιν, οὐδὲ

1 χωσθέντι Cary : ἐργασθέντι O, Jacoby.
2 καὶ B : om. R.
3 ἄμα 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

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4 \(\pi\rho\alpha\nu\) O : \(\pi\rho\alpha\nu\) Cobet.
5 Kiessling : \(\varepsilon\nu\nu\) O, Jacoby.
6 \(\pi\rho\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\) Α : \(\pi\rho\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\) R.
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dή το ευδιάλλακτον καὶ μετριοπαθές, ὅποτε δι' ὅργης τῷ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἢ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἕπικοσμοῦσα χάρις· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν. ταύτα τε δῆ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ἑβλαψε, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἢ περὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρατός τε καὶ ἀπαράπειστος καὶ οὐθέν τῷ ἐπιεικεὶ διδοῦσα ἀποτομία· έοικε τε ἄληθες εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσοτητεῖς εἰσὶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκρότητες οἱ τῶν ἤθων ἁρεταί, μάλιστα δ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη. οὗ γὰρ μόνον ἐλλείπουσα τοῦ μετρίου πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα, αὐτοῖς τε οὐ λυσιτελής, ἀλλ' ἔστων ὅτε αὐτία μεγάλων συμφορῶν, καὶ εἰς θανάτους οἰκτροῖς καὶ λύμας ἀνηκέστους καταστρέφουσα.

3 Μάρκιών γε οὐδὲν ἦν ἑτερον ἁρα δ' τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁγαθῶν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀκρὸν δίκαιον. τοῖς τε γὰρ δημόταις εἶκεν τὰ μέτρια δέον καὶ ἔφιεν τι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπαντὰ τὰ μὴ δίκαια ἀντιλέγων μίσος ἡγειρε καὶ ἐξηλάθη πρὸς αὐτῶν· τῆς τε Οὐσολούσκων στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἀμα τῷ διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαλλαγὴν παρὸν καὶ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἰκησιν ἑτέρωσε ποι., ἔως ἣν τῇ κάθοδος αὐτῶ δοθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐπιβουλαίς καὶ ὅχλων ἀμαθίαις σκοπόν, οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ὑπευθυνὸν οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ σῶμα

1 πολλοῖς B : πολλοῖς πολέμοις ΑC.  2 γε B : δἐ R.  3 ἔως R : τέως Ba (?), Cod. Peirescianus, Jacoby.  4 δοθῇ Cod. Peiresc., Kiessling : δοθεὶ 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,\textsuperscript{1} particularly in the case of justice.\textsuperscript{2} 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

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Nic. Eth.} 1106 b 27.  
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. 1133 b 32.
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παρασχεῖν τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦσι δόν ἐπραξὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰ τι φαῖνοτο ἀδικών, τὴν κατὰ νόμους υποσχεῖν δίκην, τῆς ἀκρας δικαιοσύνης οὐ καλοὺς ἀπέλαβε μυσθοὺς.

LXII. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄμα τοῖς σώμασι διαλυμένοις καὶ τὸ τῆς ὕψης, ὀτιδήποτ’ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο, συνδιαλύεται, καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὔθεν ἐτὶ ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως μακαρίως ὑπολάβω τοὺς μὴθὲν μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθῶν, δι’ αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτην ἀπολυμένους. εἰ δὲ ἀφθαρτοὶ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἱ ψυχαὶ τυγχάνονσιν ἡμῶν οὖσαι, καθάπερ οἶονται τινες, ἡ χρόνον τινὰ 1 μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλαγὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδιαμένουσι, 2 μήκιστον μὲν οἱ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἁνδρῶν, ἑλάχιστον δ’ αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἀποχρώσα τιμὴ φαίνοιτ’ ἀν, οἷς ἀρετῆς ἀσκούσιν ἡναντιώθη τὰ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἡ παρὰ τῶν ξώντων εὐλογία καὶ μνήμη μέχρι πλείστου παραμείνασα χρόνου. δ’ καὶ τῷ 2 ἀνδρί ἐκείνῳ συνεβή. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Οὐολοῦσκοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπένθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς τῶν ἀρίστων γενόμενον ἐν τιμῇ ἐχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ, ἑπειδὴ τὸ πάθος ἐγνώσηθ, μεγάλην συμφορὰν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, πένθος ἐποίησαντο ἰδία καὶ δημοσία: καὶ αἱ 3 γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, δ’ νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖοις ποιεῖν κήδεσιν, ἀποθέμεναι χρυσόν τε καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπαντα κόσμον μελαιν ἁμφισμοῖς 3 χρώμεναι τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον. ἑτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὦμοι τι πεντακοσίων ἥδη διαγεγονότων εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος

1 τινὰ placed here by Sylburg: after ἀπαλαγην by O.
2 ἐπιδιαμένουσι Cobet, ἐτὶ διαμένουσι Sintenis, Jacoby: ἐνδιαμένουσι O.
3 αἱ added by Reiske.

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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-
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η τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ἀδεται καὶ ὑμεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβής καὶ δίκαιος ἄνήρ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχῶν Ὁρμαιόν κύδυνος ἐκ τῆς Ὁὐδολοῦσκων τε καὶ Ἀικανῶν ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβοῦσις ἧγεμόνα, μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ μικρῶν ἀποσχὼν τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀνελείν ἐκ βάθρων, τοιούτου τέλους ἐτυχεῖ.

LXIII. 'Ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὅστερον ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρὸν Ὁρμαιοὶ πολλῇ στρατῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ προελθόντες ἀχρὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς σφετέρας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφους δυσών, ἵδιον ἐκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων στρατο-πεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμυντάτοις καταστησαμένου.1 οὐ μὴν ἐδρασάν γε οὔδεν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἐλαττον,2 ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεφαν ἀπρακτοί, καίτοι καλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων δρᾶσαι τι γενναίον.

2 πρότεροι γὰρ ἐτί τούτων Ὁὐδολοῦσκοί τε καὶ Ἀικανοὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὁρμαιῶν γῆν ἡγαγον γνώμῃν ποιησάμενοι μὴ ἀνείναι τὸν καίρον, ἀλλ', ἕως ἐτί καταπεπλήκθαι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐδόκουν, χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸ, ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιον διὰ δέος παραστησόμενον. στασιάσαντες δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὀπλα ἠρπασαν καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔμαχοντο, οὔτε κατὰ τάξιν οὔτε ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ ἀναμίξε, ὡστε πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι φόνον καὶ εἰ μὴ δύσ ο ἦλιος ἐφθασεν, ἀπασαι ἃν αὐτῶν αἰ δυνάμεις διεφθάρησαν. τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ λυοῦσθ' τὸ νεῖκος ἀκοւσίοι εἴξαντες διεκρίθη-

1 καταστησαμένου added by Kiessling. Reiske added ἐξοντος before ίδιον.
2 οὔδεν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἐλαττον Sylburg: οὔδεν μεῖζον ΑϹ, μεῖζον οὔδεν B.

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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.
σάν τε ἂπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν· ἐσθεν δ’ ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπήγεισαν ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ παρὰ τε αὐτομόλων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδρασαν, ἀκούσαντες οία κατέσχε λύσας καὶ θεοβλάβεια τὰ πολέμια, οὕτε συνεπ- ἐθεντο τῷ κατ’ εὐχήν δοθέντι καὶρῷ τριάκοντα σταδίων οὐ πλείον ἀπέχοντες, οὕτε ἀπιόντας ἐδίω- ξαν, ἐν ὧ κεκμηκότας καὶ τραυματίας καὶ ὅλιγους ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀτάκτους χωροῦντας ἀκραφνεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἔπομενοι ῥαδίως ἂν διεφθειραν 4 πασοῦδι. λύσαντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπήγεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε ἀρκούμενοι τῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθέντι ἀγαθῷ, εἴτε οὐ πιστεύοντες ἀνασκήτῳ στρατιᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ, εἴτε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι τὸ μηδ’ ὅλιγους τῶν σφετέρων ἀπο- βαλεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δ’ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ πολλῇ ἢςαν δειλίας δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φερόμενοι· καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἐτί ποιησάμενοι παρέδοσαν τοὺς μεθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτους τὴν ἀρχήν.

LXIV. Τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος μὲν Ἄκυλλιος καὶ Τίτος Σίκκιος, ἄνδρες ἐμπευροὶ πολέμων, τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελήφησαν. ἢ δὲ βουλὴ προθέντων λόγον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὑπάτων πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο προσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς Ἐρνικας αὐτῆ- σουσαν ὅσ παρὰ φίλων τε καὶ ἐνσπόνδων δίκας νομίμους· ἱδίκητο γάρ ἢ πόλις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Ἀἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ληστεί-

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 deserters 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,¹ 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.
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αἰς τε καὶ καταδρομαῖς τῆς ὀμορούσης αὐτοῖς γῆς· ἔως δὲ ἄν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσιν ἀποκρίσεις, στρατιαν ὅσην δύνανται πλείστην καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πρεσβειῶν ἀποστολαίς παρακαλεῖν σιτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τάλλα ὅσων ἐδει τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ

2 πολυχειρίας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐν τάχει. ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέψαντες οἱ πρέσβεις ὁπ' παρὰ τῶν Ἐρνίκων ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, ὅτι συνθήκας μὲν οὖν φασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Ὄρωμαίων κοινῆ γενομένας οὐδέποτε, τάς δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ὁμολογίας αἰτιώνται λελύσθαι τήν τε ἄρχην ἀφαιρεθέντος ἑκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπὶ τῆς ἕξεσι· εἰ δὲ τινὲς ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς χώρας ἑγένοντο διὰ ληστηρίων, οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἱδιωτῶν ἀδικήματα μετιόντων τὰ ὑδία, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ταύτα δρᾶσαντας παρέχειν οἷοὶ ὑπὰ τε ἐἰσιν ἐπὶ δίκην, ἑτέρα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτα πεποιθέναι λέγοντες καὶ ἀντεγκαλοῦντες, ἀσμενοὶ τε δέχονται τὸν πόλεμον—

3 ταύτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐγηφίσατο νείμασθαι τὴν καταγραφείσαν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων στρατιῶν τριχῇ τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄγοντα Γάιον Ἥκυλλιον τὸν ὑπατὸν ὀμόσε τῇ Ἐρνίκων στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἤδη ἤσαν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς), τὴν δ' ἐτέραν Τίτον Σίκκιον ἐπὶ Οὐολοῦσκους ἄγειν, τὸν ἑτέρον τῶν ὑπατῶν, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τρίτην μερίδα παραλαβόντα Σπόριον Λάρκιον, ὅσ ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπατῶν ἐπαρχὸς τῆς ἐγγύστα τῆς πόλεως

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

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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: τούς δ’ υπέρ τον στρατιωτικόν κατάλογον, ὅσοι δύναμιν εἶχον ἐτί βαστάζειν ὅπλα, ὑπερθέντας ὑπὸ σημείας τάς τε ἀκρας φρουρεῖν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, μὴ τις αἱφνίδιος πολεμίων γένηται ἐφοδὸς ἐξεστρατευμένης τῆς νεότητος ἀθρόας· ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Αὐλον Σεμπρόνιον Ἀτρατῖνον, ἀνδρα τῶν ὕπατικῶν. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐ διὰ μακροῦ.

LXV. Ἀκύλλιος μὲν οὖν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῇ Πραινεστίων χώρα τῶν Ἐρνίκων στρατὸν ὑπομένοντα καταλαβὼν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἀγχοτάτῳ σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁώμης ἀποσχῶν ὀλίγων πλείους διακοσίων· τρίτη δ’ ἀφ’ ἢς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἥμερα προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἐρνίκων εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν τάξει καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράντων τῆς μάχης, ἀντεξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ κατὰ τέλη.

2 ἐπει δ’ ἄγχοι ἐγένοντο ἀλλήλων ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψιλοὶ σαυνίων τε βολαῖς καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ σφειδόνης μαχόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις· ἐπειτα ἑπεῖς ἑπεῖς ἑπεῖς ὑπεύθυνοι κατα τ’ ὅλα ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τὸ πεξὸν τῷ πεξῷ κατὰ σπείρας μαχόμενον. ἐνθα δὴ καλὸς ἄγων ἃν ἐκθύμως ἀμφιτέρων ἄγωνιζομένων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον οὐδέτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ὃ ἐτάχθησαν οἰκοντες. ἐπειτα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἱρξατό κάμινειν φάλαγξ, οἵα διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξύ χρόνου τὸτε πρῶτον ἢναγκασμένη ὀμίλειν πολέμῳ. τούτῳ συνιδὼν Ἀκύλλιος ἐκελεύσε τοὺς ἀκμητάς ἔτι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλάττειν.

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\(^1\) 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.
μένος ὑπὸ τὰ κάμνοντα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπελθεῖν μέρη, τοὺς δὲ τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ὁπίσω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπίειν. οἱ δὲ Ἑρνίκες ὡς ἐμαθον κινομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς λόχους, φυγῆς τε ἄρχειν τοὺς Ὀωμαίους ὑπέλαβον, καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐμβάλλουσι πυκνοῖς τοῖς λόχοις εἰς τὰ κινούμενα τῶν πολεμίων μέρη, καὶ οἱ ἀκραφνεῖς τῶν Ὀωμαίων ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς δέχονται· καὶ ἦν αὕτις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων μάχη καρτερά· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἐξεπληροῦντο λόχοι τοῖς ἀκμήσι νῦποπεμπομένοι εἰς τὰ κάμνοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἠγεμόνων. 4 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ δειλῆν ὑφίσταν ἦν ἥδη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὁ ὑπατος νυνὶ γ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς ἥγουμενος τῆς ἰλης. οἱ δὲ ὀλίγον τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐγκλίνουσι, καὶ γίνεται φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς· τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῶν Ἑρνίκων κέρας ἐπονεί τῇ ἦδη καὶ ἐξέλευσε τὴν τάξιν, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμου ἐτι ἀντεἰχε καὶ περιήν τοῦ Ὀωμαίων δεξιοῦ· μετ' ὀλίγον μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνέδωκεν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκύλλιος τοὺς ἀριστοὺς τῶν νέων ἐπαγόμενος παρεβοθῆει κάκει παραθαρρύνων τε καὶ εξ ὀνόματος ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς εἰσθότας ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἀριστεύσιν μάχαις, τὰ τε σημεῖα τῶν λόχων ὅσοι μὴ ἐρρωμένως ἐδόκουν ἀμύνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν σημειοφόρων ἀρτάξων εἰς μέσους ἐξέγερτε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τὸ δέος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννόμου τιμωρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀνασώσαντο τὰς σημείας, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἀναγκάσῃ τῷ τε κάμνοντι αὐτὸς

1 καὶ γὰρ O : καὶ γὰρ καὶ Reiske, Jacoby.
2 ye 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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\[8\] Sylburg: 'Ψωματον O.
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παρεβοήθει μέρει ἕως ἑξέωσε τῆς στάσεως καὶ θάτερον κέρας. ὁ λιθόθεντον δὲ τῶν ἄκρων 6 οὐδὲ τὰ μέσα παρέμεινε. μυγῇ δὴ τῶν Ἑρνίκων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα τεταραγμένη τε καὶ ἄκοσμος, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες ἄκολούθουν. τοσαῦτη δ’ ἄρα προθυμία παρὰ τὸν τότε ἀγώνα τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιά ἐνέπεσεν ὡστε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων πειρᾶσθαι τινας ἐπιβαίνειν ὡς ἔξ ἔφοδου χειρωσομένους· ὃν οὖν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδ’ ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι γυγνομένην ὅρων ὁ ὑπατος, σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἀκοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, δείσας μὴ ἔξ ὑπερ- δεξίων βαλλόμενωι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης βλάβης ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποχωρεῖν, ἔπευτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης εὐκλειαν ἀφαινό- σωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν—ὦ θῇ γὰρ οἱ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου—χαίροντες τε καὶ παιανίζοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατ- εστρατοπέδευσαν.

LXVI. Τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ψόφος τε ἕκουστο πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων καὶ βοῆ, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφαίνετο σέλα λαμπάδων. ἀπογνώτες γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθέξειν ἐτέρα μάχη καταλείπειν τὸν χάρακα ἐγνωσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι· καὶ τὸ ποιήσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ βοὴν τοῦτο ἦν. ὃς γὰρ ἔκαστοι δυνάμεως εἰχον καὶ τάχους ἐφευγον ἐπιβοῶσι περὶ τὰ ἄλλας καὶ ἐπιβοῶσι, τῶν δ’ ὑπολειπομένων διὰ τραύματα ἡ νόσους οἰμωγάς καὶ λιτανείας εἰν 2 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. τούτῳ ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πεπυσμένοι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀιχμαλώτων

1 ἑως R: τέως Ba, Jacoby.
2 κέρας Sylburg: μέρος O.
3 γὰρ Reiske: καὶ γὰρ O.
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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
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πρότερον ὃτι δύναμις 'Ερνίκων ἐτέρα μέλλοι βοη-θος ἢξειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀφιξεί γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, τὰ τε ὀπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περιστεφανώσαντες, μή τις ἐφόδος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο νύκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὀπλων κτύπουν ἐποίουν ἀθρόου, τοτε δ’ ὠσπερ εἰς μάχην ὁρμῶμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηλάλαζον. τοῖς δ’ Ἑρνίξι καὶ ταῦτα δέος μέγα παρείχε, καὶ ὃς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων 3 σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ’ ἄλλας ὀδοὺς ἔθεον.1 ἤμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐππεις ὡς οὔτε δύναμις ἐτέρα παρῆι2 σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ τῇ προτέρα παραταξάμενοι μάχη πεφεύγασιν, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ 'Ακύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων αἱρεὶ μεστὸν ὄντα ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ ἀγοράς καὶ ὀπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεθευγότων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε ἐππον ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς υλὰς πολλὰς γίνεται σωμάτων ἐγκρατής· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη τὴν 'Ερνίκων γῆν ἐπῆει λεγάτων ἁδεῶς, οὐδενὸς ἐτι ὑπομένοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἴέναι. ταῦτα μὲν 'Ακύλλιος ἔδρασεν.

LXVII. 'Ο δ’ ἐτερός τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Σίκκιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους, ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος ἀναλαβὼν3 εἰς τὴν Οὐελιτραγῶν χώραν εἰσέβαλεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν Τύλλος Ἀττιος ὁ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἥγεμὼν τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην συσκυευασάμενος στρατιάν, γνώμην ἔχων τὰ

1 ἔθεον B : om. R.
2 παρῆι B : παρῆν A, παρεῖ̂ Reiske.
3 ἀναλαβὼν B (?) : λαβὼν Cb, om. R.

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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 Velitrapae. For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was there with the most vigorous part of the army, which he had assembled with the intention of
ДИОНИСИЙ ОФ ХАЛИКАРНАССУС

ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΑ 'Ρωμαίων κακώσαι πρῶτον, ἀστερὸν Μάρκιος ἔδρασεν ὅτι ἦρχετο τοῦ πολέμου, δόξας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φόβῳ 'Ρωμαίους ἔτι διαμένειν καὶ μηδεμίαν τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύουσι πέμψειν ἐπικουρίᾳ. ὡς δ' ὠφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλας αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν ἐτι ἀναβαλόμεναι συνήσαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ. ἦν δ' ὁ χῶρος ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπεδών, ἐν ὧν τὴν μάχην ἐδει γενέσθαι, λόφος πετρώδης πολλαχῇ περικατεσχή, ἐνθα οὐδέσποτος ἢ ἰππός ἐμελλέν ἐςεθαι χρησίμη. μαθόντες δὲ τούτῳ οἱ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἰππεῖς καὶ ἐν αὐχύνῃ θέμενοι εἴ παρόντες τῷ ἁγώνι μηδὲν προσωφηλήσουσιν, ἔδειν τοῦ ὑπάτου προσελθόντες ἀθρόοι ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν μάχεσθαι πεζοῦς, εἰ 3 τούτῳ αὐτῷ δοκεὶ κράτιστον εἶναι. κάκεινος πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοῦς καταβιβάζει τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν, καὶ σὺν ἐαυτῷ τεταγμένους εἴχει ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ ἔπανορθώτας τοῦ κάμνοντος ἐσομένους· καὶ ἔγενοντο τῆς τότε νίκης λαμπρὰς σφόδρα γενομένης οὕτω 'Ρωμαίως αὐτίοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν ἀρμοτέρων πλῆθε τε ἀνθρώπων ὡς μάλιστα ἦν καὶ ὀπλαμοῦς ὀμοίοτρων, τάξεως τε κόσμω καὶ μάχης ἐμπειρία κατὰ τε ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ὑποχωρήσεως πληγάς τε αὕ καὶ φυλακὰς παραπλῆσιον.

4 μετέμαθον γὰρ οἱ Ὀὐσοιοῦσκοι πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἔσχον ἤγεμόνα, καὶ εἰς τὰ 'Ρωμαίων προσεχώρησαν ἐθη.

Διέμενον οὖν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχωμάλως αἱ φάλαγγες ἀγωνιζόμεναι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἀνώμαλος οὕτα ἑκάτεροι πολλὰ εἰς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρείχετο. οἱ δ' 

1 γενομένης ΑμγC : ἐσομένης ΑΒ.
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

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2 ἀνθρώπων ἑσάριθμον Reiske.
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ἰππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διχῇ νείμαντες εαυτούς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ πλαγία τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρας ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες διὰ τοῦ 5 λόφου τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιρράττουσιν. ἑπεὶ οἱ μὲν εἰσακοντίζοντες τᾶς λόγχας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ξίφεσι μακροτέροις οὐ δια κατὰ βραχίόνων παῖόντες καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταφέροντες, πολλῶν μὲν τὰς ἀχῖρας αὐτοῖς σκεπάσμασι τε καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις ἀπέκοπτον, πολλοὺς δὲ γονάτων τε καὶ ἀστραγάλων πληγαίς βαθείας 6 ἀπὸ κρατίστης βάσεως ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθανεῖς. περιεστήκει τε πάντοθεν τοῖς Οὐνολούσκοις τὸ δεινὸν ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἑνέκειντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων τε καὶ τῶν κατόπων οἱ ἱππεῖς, ὡστε ὑπέρ δύναμιν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τόλμης τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀποδειξάμενοι, μικροῦ δὲν πάντες οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τε τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένοι καὶ ἔπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου κέρας ἐπειδῇ τὸ δεξιὸν τε παρερρηγμένον εἰδὸν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπίοντας σφίσι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς, ἐξελίξαντες τοὺς λόχους βάδην ἀπεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐν 3 τάξει ἤκολοθοῦσιν.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐρύματι ἦσαν, ἐτέρα γίνεται μάχη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιβασιλότων τοῖς περισταυρώμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ χάρακος ὀξεία καὶ παλιντροπος. πονομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ ὑπατος κελεύσας τοὺς πεζοῖς  ὑλὴν προσενέγκας ἀποχώσαι τὰς τάφρους, πρῶτος ἔχωρει κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβατὸν ἔχων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων 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 ἀμυνομένας ἦ σκεπούσας τὰ σώματα after τὰς deleted by Reiske.  
3 ἐν added by Steph.
8 Τύλλος δ' Ἀττιος ἔχων τούς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ εὐτολμοτάτους Ὀὐολούσκων ὀμόσε αὐτῷ χωρεὶ καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα γενναία ἀποδειξάμενος (ἢ γὰρ ἀγωνιστὴς μὲν πολέμων σφόδρα ἄλκμος, στρατηγήσαι δ' οὐχ ἰκανός) ὑπὸ κόπου τε καὶ πλήθους τραυμάτων καταπονηθεῖς ἀποθνῄσκει. τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ὀὐολούσκων, ἐπειδή ὁ χάραξ ἥλισκετο, οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίβαντες πρὸς ἱκεσίας τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐτράποντο, ὅλγοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἀπεσωθήσαν.

9 Ἀφικομένων δ' εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἀγγέλων, οὓς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ, μεγύστη χαρὰ τὸν δήμον κατέσχε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς μὲν θεοὶς χαροστηρίους ἐμηφίσαντο θυσίας, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους τὴν τῶν θρι-άμβων τιμὴν προσέθεσαν, οὐ μὲντοι τὴν αὐτὴν γε ἀμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ Σικκίω μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φόβον μείζο-νος ἥλενθερκεναι ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὀὐολού-σκων ὑβριστὴν καθελὼν στρατόν καὶ τὸν ἠγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μείζονα πομπὴν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ εἰσῆλασεν ὁ ἀνήρ ἄγων τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἴχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν συναγωνισμένην δύναμιν ἀρματὶ παρεμβεβηκὼς χρυσοχαλίνων ἱππῶν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμιφεσμένος ἔσθητα, ὡς περὶ τούς μείζονως θριάμβους νόμος. Ἀκυλλῷ δὲ τὸν ἐλάτ-τονα θρίαμβον ἀπέδοσαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐασ-τὴν. δεδήλωται δὲ μοι διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἤ̄ν ἔχει

1 ὡς περὶ Reiske: ὦσπερ O.
2 Casaubon: εὐάστην Λ, ὦ σπ 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 \(^1\) shown the difference between this and the

\(^1\) v. 47.
διαφοράν οὐτός πρὸς τὸν μείζονα· καὶ εἰσήλθεν ὁ ἀνήρ πεζός τὰ λουτά τῆς πομπῆς ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τούτο ἐτελεῦτα.

LXVIII. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ὑπατείαν παραλαβόντες Πρόκλος οὐρεγύνιος καὶ Σπόριος Κάσσιος τρῖτον τότε ἀποδειχθεῖς ὑπατος, τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀναλαβόντες δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον εἰς τὴν ὑπαθρόν, Οὐρεγύνιος μὲν ἔπι τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Κάσσιος δὲ ἔπι τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Ὁυολούσκων, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἐξόδους. Αἰκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁχυρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πλείστον αξία ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὴν τε γῆν περιεύρων δησομένην καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἐμπυριμαμένας, ὅστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειον ὁ Οὐρεγύνιος ὅσην ἐδύνατο πλείστην αὐτῶν γῆν κείρας τε καὶ λωβησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδείς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐξῆγε μαχούμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. Ὁυολούσκοι δὲ καὶ Ἠρνικες ἐφ' οὐς ούὶς Κάσσιος ἐστρατευσε, γνώμην μὲν ἐπούσαντο δησομένης τῆς χώρας περιοράν καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις. οὐ μὴν ἐμεινάν γε ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσίμενοις, χώρας τα ἀγαθῆς κειρομένης, ἴπτερ ὁ βασιλικὸς ἀνακτῆσεσθαι ἐτι ἥλπισαν, οὐκτω ὑπαχθέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι, οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυρώσεις οὖν, εἰς ἄ κατεπεφυγέσας ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρόσβιεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου δεσομένου. Οὐολούσκοι μὲν πρότεροι, καὶ θάττων οὕτω τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον ἀργυρίον τε δόντες ὅσον αὐτοῖς

1 Sigonius : τὸ πόλιος Ο. 2 τὸ τρίτον Reiske.
3 μαχούμενος B : μαχόμενος R.
4 τὰς πόλεις Portus : τὴν πόλιν Ο.
5 Sylburg : ἀνακτήσασθαι Ο.

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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 Procclus 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.
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ο ὑπατος ἔταξε, καὶ τάλλα ὄσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ὑπηρετήσαντες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπήκοι Ἦμωμαίους ἔσεσθαι ὁμολόγησαν οὕθενδος ἐτι μετα-3 ποιούμενοι τῶν ὅσων· Ἐρνίκεσ δ’ ὑστεροι, ἐπειδὴ μεμονωμένους ἕαυτοις εἶδον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. ὃ δὲ Κάσσιος πολλὴν κατηγορίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις κατ’ αὐτῶν διαθέμενος πρῶτον ἔφη δείν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν κε-κρατημένων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων ποιήσαντας, τότε διαλέγεσθαι περὶ φιλίας· τῶν δὲ προσβευτῶν ὁμολο-γούντων1 ποιήσεω τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μέτρια ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀργυρίον τε ὁ κατ’ ἄνδρα τοῖς στρατιώ-
tais εἰς ὁψωνισμὸν ἔθος ἢν ἔξ2 μηνῶν δίδοσθαι 4 καὶ δημήνου3 τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν. ἔως δ’ ἂν ταῦτα εὑπορήσωσι,4 τάξας τυν ἁρόνον ἡμερῶν ἀνοχάς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τοῦ πολέμου. ὑπηρετησάντων δ’ αὐτοῖς ἄπαντα τῶν Ἐρνίκων διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς5 φιλίας διαλεξομένους ἀποστειλάντων αὐθίς, ἐπανέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κάσσιος ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν. τοῖς δ’ ἐκ τοῦ συν-
εδρίου πολλὰ βουλευσαμένους ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν, ἐφ’ οἷς δὲ γενόσονται δικαί-
οις αἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκαι, Κάσσιον τὸν ὑπατον νυνῶν τε καὶ καταστήσασθαι,6 ὃ τι δ’ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, τοῦτ’ εἶναι σφίσι κύριον.

LXIX. Ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀνα-
στρέψας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον κατάγει

1 ὁμολογούντων Cary, εἰπόντων Cobet, Jacoby: χάριν Λ, om. R (but D has λεγόντων after μέτρια).
2 ἔξ added by Sylburg.
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 Her- nicans, 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 con- quered 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 Hernicans, 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
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dικαίω λαμβάνων, ὅσ οὖτε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐκ τευχομαχίας οὕτ' ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μάχῃ στρα-
τιῶν πολεμίων τρεφάμενοι αἰχμάλωτα καὶ σκύλα, ὁ ὥς κοσμεῖται θρίαμβος, ἐμελλε κατάγειν. τοιγάρ-
τοι δόξαν αὐθαδείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονεῖν τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον¹

2 ἣνεγκε. διαπραξάμενος δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ δοθήναι τὰς πρὸς Ἐρνικας ἐξήνεγκεν ὁμολογίας· ἀδεῖα δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γενο-
μένων, ἐφ' αἷς πάνυ ἤχθοντο οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τε καὶ τμιωτατοὶ καὶ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῆς ὕστης τιμής τοῖς συγγενέσι Λατίνοις
toὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς Ἐρνικας τυγχάνειν, οὔδ' τοῖς πολλα

3 αὐτῶ ἐδόκει γράφας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς ὁμολογίας. ἦν τε ἄρα τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐτυχεῖν σφαλερὸν ἀνθρώπω
χρῆμα καὶ ἀσύμφορον· αὐχήματος τε γὰρ ἀνοίῃ τοῦ

πολλοῖς αὐτίων γενόμενον λανθάνει καὶ ἐπίθυμων ἄρχηγον ἐκβανουσών τὴν ἄνθρωπίνην φύσιν· δ' καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐκεῖνῳ συνέβη. τρισὶ γὰρ ὑπατείας καὶ
dυσὶ θριάμβους μόνος τῶν τότε ἄνθρωπων ὑπὸ τῆς

πόλεως τετμημένος σεμνότερον ἑαυτὸν ἦγε καὶ μον-

αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐλάμβανε πόθον· ἐνθυμούμενος
d' ὃτι τοῖς βασιλείας ἢ τυραννίδος ἐφεμένοις

ράστη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη πασῶν ἑστὶν ὁδὸς ἡ

¹ ὕθωνον after πρῶτον deleted by Kiessling.
² τῇ τε ύπεροψία Cb, Reiske: τῆς τε ύπεροψίας Ο.
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. Accordingly, 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 senseless 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 consulships 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
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to plēthos euergešiās tisōn upagomēnē kai εκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ didōntos tâ kouâ suiteîthai éthìzousa, taûthn ētrápeto kai autíka outhevi proεiπwôn, ἢν γάρ τις χώρα δημοσία πολλή parēmelēmēn te kai ύπο τῶν euporwotatwv katekoumēn, taûthn égnw 4 τῶi δῆμωi diavēmein. kai eî mêv ἄχρι toûde ἐλθōn ἠρκέσθη, τάχ' ἂν autō kата νοûν τό ἔργωn ἐχώρησε; νῦν δὲ πλειόνων ὅρεγόμενοι στάσωn ou mikran' ἠγερεν, εξ Ἡς οὐκ ευτυχές τό τέλος autō suνέβη. Λατίνους te γάρ ἥξιου τῆ kataγrapή tῆs χώρas suμperilamβάνωn kai tōus nevostί pros-

LXX. Taûta diavouthei tê metâ tôn thriambôv ἡμέρα suνeκάλεσε tò plēthos eîs ἐκκλησίαν kai parēlwôn épê tò βῆμα, ωσ ἔθos êstî poiēn tōs tebriambeukósi, prwton mên apêdîwke 2 tòn ὑπὲρ tōn praxhêntwv autōv lógon, ou kefâlaiâ ἦn 2 taûta. óti tῆs mêv prôtês upateiâs tuxwv tò Σαβίνων ἔθνοs antupouûmènon tῆs ἡγεμονίαs máxh

1 suμperilamβάνωn . . . paraσkevnâsai Sintenis, suμperilam-

1 Cf. Aristotle, Athen. Pol. 27, 4, didônai toîs polloîs tâ autwv, the demagogic principle which Pericles is said to have adopted in introducing pay for jury duty.

2 Sintenis : apôdîwke O.
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; 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, and had caused the Latins, who, though kinsmen of the Romans, had always enviéd them their supremacy

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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 αὐτῆ φθονοῦντας, εἰς φιλότητα συνήγαγε τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδούσ, ὥστε μηκέτι
3 ἀντίπαλον ἀλλὰ πατρίδα τὴν 'Ῥώμην νομίζειν· τρίτον¹ δὲ καταστάσει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχήν Οὐολούσκους
te ἡνάγκασε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ Ἐρνίκων ἔθνος μέγα τε καὶ ἀλκίμων καὶ πλησίων
σφῶν κείμενον βλάπτειν τε καὶ ὕφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα
4 ἰκανώτατον ἐκούσιον ὑπηγάγετο. ταῦτα τε δὴ καὶ
tὰ ὁμοιὰ τούτως διεξέλθων ἥξιον τὸν δήμον ἐαυτῷ
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους
πρόνοιαν ἔχοντι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν
ἐξοντι χρόνον. τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοσαῦτα
ἐφή καὶ τηλικάυτα ἁγαθὰ ποιήσειν τὸν δήμον ὥστε
ἲπαντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπαινομένους ἐπὶ τῷ
φιλεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὸ δημοτικόν· καὶ ταῦτα ἐφή
5 ποιήσεων οὐκ εἰς μακράν. διαλύσας δὲ τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀκαριαίον διαλυτῶν τῇ κατ-
όπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλει τὴν βουλήν εἰς τὸ συνεδριον,
ὀρθὴν καὶ περίφοβον οὖσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ῥήθεις ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ λόγοις· καὶ πρὶν ἐτέρου τινὸς ἄρξασθαι λόγον
τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ φυλαχθείσαν γνώμην
eἰς μέσον ἐφερεν, ἄξιῶν τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἑπειδὴ
πολλὰ νῦν δήμος τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος γέγονε τὰ μὲν
eἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐτέρων ἄρχειν
συλλαβόμενοι, πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσασθαι, τὴν τε
χώραν αὐτῷ νειμαντας ὅση πολέμως κρατηθείσα
λόγῳ μὲν ἢν δημοσία, ἐργῷ δὲ τῶν ἁναδεστά-
tων τε καὶ σὺν οὔδενι δικαίῳ κατεσχηκότων πατρι-
kίων, καὶ τῆς υπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου

¹ τὸ τρῖτον 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
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πεμφθείσης σφίσι δωρεάς συτικῆς, ἣν προϊκα δέον ἄπαντας διανείμασθαι τοὺς πολῖτας ὑνητήν ἐλάμβανον οἱ πένητες, ἀποδοθήναι τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ὁνήσαμένους ἕξ ὅν εἶχε τὸ κοινὸν χρημάτων.

LXXI. Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἤν πολύς, ἀχθομένων ἄπαντων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαύσατο ὁ τε συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ὀὐεργίνος πολλὴν ἐπούσατο κατηγορίαν ὡς στάσιν εἰσάγοντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ τιμωτάτοι, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος· καὶ μέχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἤγριωμένοι τε καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα κατὰ ἀλλήλων ὁνείδη λέγοντες οὗτοι διετέλεσαν. ταῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐκκλησίας συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἐξεδημαγώγη τὸ πλήθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας λόγους εἰσέφερε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων. δὲ Ὀὐεργίνος τὴν βουλὴν ὅσημέραι συνάγων μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικῶν ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο φυλακᾶς τε καὶ 3 κωλύσεις νομίμους. καὶ ἦν στῇφος ἐκατέρω τῶν παρακολουθοῦντων τε καὶ φυλακῆς τῷ σώματι παρεχόντων πολύ, τὸ μὲν ἀποροῦν καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ πάντα τολμᾶν πρόχειρον ὕπο τῷ Κάσσιῳ τεταγμένον, τὸ δ' εὐγενεστάτον τε καὶ καθαρῶτατον ὕπο 4 τῷ Ὀὐεργίνῳ. τέως μὲν οὖν τὸ χεῖρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεκράτει μακρῷ θαυμῷ προὐχον, ἐπειτα ἱσόρροπον ἐγένετο προσνειμάτων ἑαυτοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τῇ κρείττονι μοίρᾳ, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ μή δοκεῖν ἄμενον εἴναι τῇ πόλει δεκασμοῖς

1 ἔσχατα Ο : αἴσχυσα Sylburg, Jacoby.
2 Ὀυεργίνῳ B : Ὀυεργίνῳ 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.
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τε ἀργυρίου καὶ διανομαῖς τῶν δημοσίων διαφθειρό-
μενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀργὸν καὶ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τάχα
dὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον, ὅτι τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτης
οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἦρξαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότες, ἀλλ’
ἐτερος. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ ὁ πρὸς
tὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἑλάμβανον μείζονα γενο-
μένην ἡ τῇ πόλει συνεφερεν. ἀντέλεγον γοῦν ἡ ἤδη
κατὰ κράτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὕτοι πρὸς τοὺς
eἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου νόμους, διδάσκον-
tες τὸν δήμον ὡς οὐκ εἶχαν δίκαιον, ἀ διὰ πολλῶν
ἐκτῆσατο πολέμων, ταῦτα μὴ Ὀρμαίους νείμαι-
σθαι μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατίνους αὐτοῖς ἱσομοιρεῖν
tοὺς μὴ παραγενομένους τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοὺς
νεωτί προσελθόντας πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν Ὁρνικας, οἷς
ἀγαπητὸν ἢν πολέμω προσαχθεῖσι τὸ μὴ τήν ἐαυ-
τῶν ἀφαιρεθήναι χώραν. ὁ δὲ δήμος ἀκούων τοτὲ
μὲν τοῖς τῶν δημάρχων προσετίθετο λόγοις, ἐνθυμοῦ-
μενος ὅτι μικρὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσται λόγον
τὸ ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἐσόμενον ἐκάστῳ λάχος,
eἰ μεθ’ Ὁρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων αὐτήν νεμόσονται,
tοτε δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου μετεπείθετο δημαγωγοῦν-
tος ὡς προδιδόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρικίοις τῶν
dημάρχων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιομένων τῆς κωλύσεως
εὐπρεπῆ τὴν Ὁρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἱσομοιρίαιν,

1 καὶ added by Reiske.
2 τὸ δέος Reiske : τοῦτο τὸ δέος O, Jacoby.
3 Kiessling : γενομένην B, γενέσθαι A.
4 Capps : οὖν O, μὲν οὖν G garner.
5 πολέμων O : πόνων Cobet.

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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 wars¹ 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.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΟΥ ΧΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΥΣ

Ην αυτός ἐφη νόμων περιλαβεῖν ἵσχυσι τῶν πενήτων ἐνεκα καὶ, εἰ τις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ποτε αὐτοὺς ἄξιῶσαι τὰ δοθέντα, κωλύσεως,¹ κρείττον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πολλοῖς μικρὰ λαβοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἡ πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχεῖν.

LXXII. Τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Κασσίου θαμινα μεταπείθοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὸν ὀχλον παρελθὼς εἰς τῶν δημάρχων, Γάιος 'Ραβολής, ἀνήρ οὐκ ἄφρων, τὴν τε διχοστασίαν τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπέσχετο παύσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσεις φανερὸν ὡ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπισημασίας δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ μεγάλης καὶ μετὰ τούτο σωτηρίς, "Οὐχὶ ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὁ Κάσσιος, καὶ οὐ Ὄυεργύνη, τα κεφαλαία ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἐν μὲν, εἰ χρὴ τῇ δημοσίᾳ γῇ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα διανεμηθῆναι, ἐτεροῦ δ', εἰ χρὴ καὶ Ῥατίνους καὶ "Ερνίκας μέρος αὐτῆς 2 λαβεῖν";" ὁμολογησάντων δ' αὐτῶν. "Εἴεν δὴ· οὐ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Κάσσιος, ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀξίοις τὸν δήμον, οὐ δὲ δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ὁ Ὄυεργύνη, λέξον ἡμῖν, πότερα θάτερον ἀκυροῦς τῆς Κασσίου γνώμης μέρος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἰσομοίρους ἡμῖν "Ερνίκας τε καὶ Ῥατίνους ποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ θάτερον ἀκυροῖς ἀξίων οὐδὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν τὰ κοινά; ταὐτὶ γὰρ 3 ἀπόκριναι μοι μηθὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος." εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὄυεργυνίου τῇ Λατίνων τε καὶ 'Ερνίκων

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.

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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
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ἀντιλέγειν ἰσομοιρία, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ πάνι δοξείε, διανέμεσθαι συγχωρεῖν, ἐπιστρέψας ὅ δήμαρχος εἰς τὸν ὁχλὸν εἶπεν. Ὁ Ἕπει τούν τὸ μὲν ἔτερον τῆς γνώμης μέρος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνδοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἔτερον ἀντιλέγεται πρὸς θατέρου, ἴσοτιμοι δ' ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὐχ οἶδον τε βιάσασθαι θατέρω τὸν ἔτερον, δ' μὲν δίδοται παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἥδη λάβωμεν, ὑπέρ οὖ δ' ἀμφισβητοῦ-4 σων, ἀναβαλώμεθα." ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένως καὶ καταλύει ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ ποιοῦν διχοστασίαν μέρος ἄξιοντος, ἀπορῶν ὡς τις χρὴ πράττειν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ οὐτε ἀναθέσαι τὴν γνώμην προαιρούμενος οὐτε μένειν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀντιπραττόντων τῶν δημάρχων δυνά-μενως, τότε μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταῖς δ' ἔξης ἡμέραις ἀρρωστίαν σκηπτόμενος οὐκέτι κατ-έβαινε εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένων έυδον ἐπραγ-ματεύετο βία καὶ χειροκρασία κυρώσαι τὸν νόμον· καὶ μετεπέμπτε Λατύνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκους ὅσον 
5 ἐδύνατο πλείστοις ἐπὶ τὴν ψυφοφορίαν. οἱ δὲ συνήσαν αὕροι, καὶ δ' ὀλίγον μεσθῇ ξένων ἦν ἡ πόλις. τάστα μαθῶν ὁ Ὑπεργίνιος κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσε κατὰ τοὺς· στενωποὺς ἀπιέναι τοὺς μὴ κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ὀρῶς οὐ πολύν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τάναντι αἱ ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν παρα-μένειν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἐως ἃν ἐπικυρωθῇ ὁ νόμος.

LXXIII. Ὡς δ' οὖδὲν ἐγίνετο πέρας, δείσαντες οἱ πατρίκιοι μὴ ψήφων τε ἀρπαγαί καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολοὶ γένωται καὶ τὰλλα1 ὡσα φιλεὶ βίαια συμβαίνειν ἐν ταῖς στασιαζόσασις ἐκκλησίαις εἰσ-

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
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feroménon toû nòmou, svynhûthou eîs to svnédromon
2 òs úpér ápántwv ápax Bouleuvsomenv. Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν πρῶτος èrwstheis gnwsmh òuk eîa svng-
χwreîn tò δήμω tìn dianomh, didaskewn òs xale-
pòs ëstai kai álusiteîhs svnukos óxhlo s árghs
eðisi eis ta dèmòsia likhvneîn, kai ouðèn ëásei pote
tòn kouvòn outhe kttmàtow outhe xrhmàtow ëti koi-
nòn ménev. àioskhýnhs te, àxwv prágyma èvna légywn, eî
Kassôn kathgoróvntes òs povpà kai ásumfopa
poluteuomenv kai toû dèmwn díafhthérontos, ëpewt'
avtòl kouvì gnwsmh taût' èpikyuvwsouvs òs díkai a
kai svmféronta: ènhvmeïthei te autòus àxwv, òs
ouâ ò chrísì parà tòw pvenhtwv, eî tà kouvà
dianevìmtos, toûs svngxwrrhssas kai èpýpsiﬁsas-
mévou vüparxh,1 ìll' ènì2 tòv pròdhnti tìn gnw-
mmh Kassòn kai dòxhnti ënagkakénv tìn boulhnh
3 åkousan èpikyuvwsai. pròeivnòn ðì tâûta kai
paraplësia toûtois èterâ tåleuvtwv tàde svnebouv-
leusen: åndras èk tòw èntrìmòtats wv boulvstwv
èlesthai dèkà3 oûtînes. èpélhówntes tìn dèmòsian ghù
àfóromùsi, kai eî tìa ðì autìs klëpptontes ë
bíaxómenv òtwv ìdíwta katavèmuwsù ë èperagjzov-
tai diaghvntes àpodôsmou s tòw dèmòsw. tìn
d' dhìssthèsan ùp' èkeívwnn gùnì dìaìrethèsan eîs
klhros ðòsuvs dhì tìnas kai sthlaís evkòsmou
diagráfeisn tìn mèn èpemppolhtìhnì parhnh kai
málysta perì ësì àmfìlogon ti pròs ìdïwta ñì,

1 Sylburg : ùparxei O. 2 ènì Reiske : èpì O. 3 dèkà added by Cobet.

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

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ὥστε τοὺς ὄνησαμένους εἶναι¹ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιησομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς² κρίσεις, τὴν δὲ³ πενταετὴ μισθοῦν χρόνον· τὸ δὲ προσιόν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων ἀργύριον εἰς τοὺς ὁψωνιασμοὺς τῶν στρατευομένων ἀναλούσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰς μισθώσεις δὲν οἱ πόλεμοι
χορηγιῶν δέονται. "ândv mēn γάρ," ἔφη,⁴ "ὁ φθόνος τῶν πενήτων ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅσοι σφετερισάμενοι τὰ κοινὰ διακατέχουσι, δίκαιος ἐστὶ· καὶ οὐθὲν χαυμαστὸν εἰ τὰ κοινὰ πάντας διανείμασθαι μᾶλλον ἄξιον ἢ τοὺς ἀναίδεστάτους τε καὶ ὅλγους κατέχειν· ἐὰν δ' ἀφισταμένους αὐτῶν⁵ ὀρῶσι τοὺς νῦν καρπουμένους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὄντως κοινὰ γινώμενα, παύσονται φθονοῦντες ἢμῖν, τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διανομῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπανήσουσι, μαθόντες ὅτι λυσιτελεστέρα τῆς μικρᾶς ἐκάστῳ μερίδος ἡ κοινὴ μετὰ τὸν πάντων ἔσται κτήσις. διδάσκωμεν⁶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς, "ἐλεγεν, "ὅσον τὸ διάφορον, καὶ ὅπερ εἰς μὲν ἐκαστος τῶν πενήτων γῆδιν οὐ μέγα λαβῶν καὶ εἰ τύχοι γείτονας ὀχληροὺς ἔχων οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἵκαιος ἔσται τοῦτο γεωργεῖν δι' ἀπορίαν, οὔτε τὸν μισθωσομένον ὅτι μὴ τὸν γείτονα εὑρήσει· εἰ δὲ μεγάλοι κληροὶ ποικίλας τε καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἔχοντες γεωργοὺς ἐργασίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μισθοῦντο, πολλὰς οἰσοῦσι προςόδους· καὶ ὅτι κρείττον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ὅταν ἐξίσωσι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμιείου τῶν ἐπιστησιμῶν τε καὶ ὁψωνιασμὸν λαμβάνειν ἡ ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων οἰκῶν εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον

¹ εἶναι O : οὐκ εἶναι Reiske, μὴ εἶναι Kayser, Jacoby.
² Reiske : αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.
³ τὴν δὲ Kiessling, after Gelenius : καὶ A, om. B.
⁴ ἔφη O : ἔφησεν Jacoby.
⁵ Reudler : αὐτῆς O, Jacoby.

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.
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ἐκάστοτε ἐισφέρειν τεθλιμμένων ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν βίων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ συμπορίζειν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπιβαρησομένων.

LXXIV. Ταύτην εἰσηγήσαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου καὶ σφόδρα δόξαντος εὐδοκιμεῖν δεύτερος ἐρωτήθηκες Ἀδλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος ἔλεξεν:

"Ἀππίου μεν οὐ νῦν ἐχω πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν, ὡς φρονήσαϊ τε ἱκανότατον πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ γνώμας τὰς καλλίστας τε καὶ ωφελιμωτάτας ἀποδεικνύμενον βέβαιον τε καὶ ἀμετακίνητον ἐν τοῖς κρίθεισι καὶ οὔτε φόβῳ εἶκοντα οὔτε χάρισιν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. ἀει γὰρ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάξων διατελὼ τοῦ τε φρονίμου καὶ τῆς γενναιότητος ἡν παρὰ τὰ δεῖνα ἔχεϊ. γνώμην τε οὐχ ἐτέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδεικνύμαι, μικρὰ ἐτι προσθείς αὐτῇ, ᾧ μοι παραλυπεῖν Ἀππίου 2 ἐδόκει. Ἐρνικας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λατίνους, οἷς νεωστὶ δεδώκαμεν τὴν ἴσοπολιτείαν, οὔδ' αὐτὸς οἴμαι δεῖν κληρουχεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ οὐδ' ἐρωτηθοῦν ἐὰς τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν γῆν κτησάμενοι ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παλαίτερον ἔτι τοῖς εὐτάχως κακόνως οὕθεν οὖν πρὸς ὑποφελήσαντος ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. ἀποκρυνώμεθα τε αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰς μὲν πρότερον ὑπαρχοῦσας ἡμῶν κτήσεις, ὅσα ἐκάστοι εἴχομεν ὅτε τὴν φιλίαν συνεπιθέμεθα, ἱδίας τε καὶ ἀναφαίρέτους ἐκάστοις δεὶ μένειν, ὅσων δ' ἄν ἂφ' οὔ τὰς συνθήκας ἐποιησάμεθα κοινῇ στρατεύσαντες ἐκ πολέμου κύριοι γενόμεθα, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ 3 ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις λάχος. ταύτα γὰρ οὔτε τοῖς

1 ἐκάστοτε Post, ἐκάστον Reiske, Jacoby : ἐκάστου Ο.
2 εἰσφέρειν added by Sylburg.
3 τὴν αὐτὴν Reiske : ταύτην Ο, Jacoby.

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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

\[4 \, \text{o} \, \text{o} \, \text{k} \, \text{r} \, \text{i} \, \text{v} \, \text{v} \, \text{e} \, \text{b} \, \text{a} \, : \, \text{o} \, \text{p} \, \text{k} \, \text{r} \, \text{i} \, \text{v} \, \text{v} \, \text{e} \, \text{b} \, \text{a} \, \text{R.} \]
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συμμάχους ὡς ἄδικουμένους ὅργης παρέξει δικαίας προφάσεις, οὗτε τῷ δήμῳ δέως μὴ δόξῃ τὰ κερδαλεώτερα πρὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων οἱ αἱρεῖσθαι. τῇ τε αἱρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐς "Ἀππιός ἦξιον ὄριστάς γενέσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς πάνυ εὐδοκῶ. πολλὴν γὰρ ἠμίν τοῦτο οὐσὶ παρρησίαν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἦν ἀξιόθενται κατ' ἀμφότερα, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐθὲν ἀπολαύσοις κτημάτων, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἠμῶν τινες οὐ δικαίως αὐτὰ καρποῦνται. ἐὰν δὲ δημοσιωθέντα ἰδοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσόδους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαία δαπανομένας, οὐδὲν ὑπολήψονται οφίσι διαφέρειν τῆς γῆς ἡ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καρπῶν μετέχειν. εὖ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐνίους μᾶλλον εὐφραίνουσιν αἱ ἀλλότριαι βλάβαι τῶν ἱδίων ὑφελεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῆν γε οἴσοι τούτων ἐκάτερον ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γραφεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἄλλης τινὸς οἴσοι δεῖν θεραπείας μετρίας τὸν δήμον οἰκειώσασθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν· ἢν μετὰ μικρὸν ἔρω, τῆς αὐτίαν πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἀποδειξάμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἦν καὶ τοῦτο πρακτέον ἠμῖν.

LXXV. ""Ἰστε δήποτοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου λόγους, ὅτε ἤρετο τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἐτερον τοῦτον Οὐεργύιον ἤντινα γνώμην ἔχει περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας, πότερα τοῖς μὲν πολῖταις συγχωρεῖ διανέμειν τὰ δημόσια, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχους οὐκ ἐὰ, ἡ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν ἁμετέρων οὐδ' ἠμῶν συγχωρεῖ μέρος λαγχάνειν. καὶ οὕτως ὡμολογήσει τὸ καθ' ἠμᾶς μέρος οὐ κωλύειν τῆς

1 Sylburg : εὐπρεπεστέρων Ο.
2 γραφεῖν O : γραφεῖν Cobet, Jacoby. For this somewhat rare use of the participle cf. i. 6, 3; ix. 32, 1; 43, 1.
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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
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κληρονομίας, εάν ἀπασι1 ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι δοκῇ· καὶ ἡ συγχώρησις ἦδε τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν συναγωνιστὰς καὶ τὸν δὴμον ἐπιεικέστερον.

2 τι οὖν μαθόντες,2 ἀ τότε συνεχώρησαμεν, νῦν ἀναθησόμεθα; ἕ τι πλέον ἡμῶν ἔσται τὰ γενναία καὶ τὰ καλὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ ἄξια τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολιτευμένοις, εὰν μὴ πείθωμεν τοὺς χρησμούμενοις; οὐ πείσομεν δὲ, καὶ τοῦτο οὕτει ὑμῶν ἁγνοεῖ. χαλεπώτερα3 γὰρ ἂν, τῶν μὴ τυγχανόντων, ἀποργιασθεὶν4 οἱ ψευθέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα μὴ κομιζόμενοι. οἰκήσεται δὴ πάλιν φέρον αὐτοῦ ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονήν πολιτευμένους, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν δημ-3 ἀρχῶν τις ἐτὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν στήσεται. τι οὖν ὑμῖν πράττειν παρανό καὶ τι προστίθημι τῇ 'Αππίου γνώμη, μάθετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προεξαναστήτε μηδὲ θορυβήσετε πρὶν ἀπαντα ἀκούσητε ἀ λέγω. τοῖς αἱρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς χώρας καὶ περιορισμὸν, εἴτε δέκα ἀνδράσιν εἰθ᾽ ὀσοιοδήποτε, ἐπιτρέψατε διαγνώναι τίνα τε αὐτῆς δεῖ καὶ ὀπόσην κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων καὶ κατὰ πενταετίαν μισθομείνην αὐξεῖν τὰς τοῦ ταμείου προσόδους· ὀπόσην τ᾽ αὖ καὶ ἤντινα τοῖς δημόταις ἡμῶν διαρεθήναι ἦν δ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κληρονόμοι ἀποδείξωσι γῆν, ὑμᾶς διαγνόντας εἰθ᾽ ἀπασιν εἰθ᾽ οίς δὴ οὐκέτ᾽ ἐστι κλῆρος εἴτε τοῖς ἐλάχιστον ἔχουσι τίμημα εἰθ᾽

1 Jacoby: πάσι Ο. 2 μαθόντες R: παθόντες C.
3 χαλεπώτερα Bb: χαλεπώτεροι R.
4 Post: ἀποτίσειαν Ο, Jacoby.

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 emendment 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.
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οπως ἂν βουλησθε κατανεῖμαι τοὺς δ’ ὀριστὰς αὐτῆς ἀνδρας καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ψήφισμα, δ’ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐξοίσετε, καὶ τάλα ὃσα δεὶ γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνοις, τοὺς εἰσίοντας ὑπάτους, ὥς ἂν

4 αὐτοῖς κράτιστα δοκῇ ἔξειν, ἐπιτελέσαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὅλιγων τηλικαίᾳ πράγματα δεῖται χρόνων, οὔτε ἡ νῦν στασιάξουσα ἀρχῇ φρονιμώτερον ἂν καταμάθοι τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς μετ’ αὐτήν ἀποδεικθῆσιν, εἰς ἔκεινη γε, ὥσπερ ἑλπίζουμεν, ὅμοιοὶ. χρῆσιμον δὲ πράγμα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἦκιστα σφαλερὸν ἀναβολή, καὶ πολλὰ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετατίθηκε καὶ τὸ μή στασιάζον ἐν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αἵτων. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀποφαίνομαι γνώμην· εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλος κρείττον εἰσηγεῖται, λεγέτω.""""

LXXVI. Παυσαμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕθεις τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνου ἐρωτηθέντων ἐτέραν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται· γράφεται δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τοιόνδε· ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν αἱρεθήναι δὲκα τοὺς προσβυτάτους, οὕτως ὀρίσαντες τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν ἀποδείξουσιν ὃσην τε δεὶ μισθοῦσαν καὶ ὃσην τῷ 2 δήμῳ διαιρεθήναι· τοῖς δ’ ἱσοπολίταις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, εάν τινα ύστερον ἐπικτήσωσιν κοινῇ στρατευσάμενοι, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ὑπάρχειν μέρος· τὴν δ’ αἱρεσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν διανομήν τῶν κληρῶν καὶ τάλα ὃσα δεὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς εἰσίοντας ἐπιτελέσου ὑπάτους.

1 μετ’ αὐτὴν Kiessling : μεθ’ ἐαυτὴν Α, μετὰ ταύτην Β. 2 Jacoby : ἀποδεικθῆαι R(?), om. ΑΒ.
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
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tότε το δόγμα εἰς τὸν δήμον εἰσενεχθέν τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἔπαυσε τῆς δημαγωγίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναρρυπιζομένην ἐκ τῶν πενήτων στάσιν οὐκ ἔιασε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν.

LXXVII. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνεστώσης, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον "Ἀστυλος Συρακούσιος, Ἀθήνης δ' ἀρχων ἦν Δεωστρατος, Κοίντου Φάβιον καὶ Σερουίου Κορνήλιον τὴν ὑπατείαν παρεληφότων, ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων νέοι μὲν ἐτὶ τὴν ἥλικίαν, ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ τῶν άλλων κατὰ γ' ἄξιοσεις προγόνων, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐταιρίας τε καὶ πλούτους μέγα δυνάμενοι, καὶ ὡς νέοι τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ χείροις, Καϊσων Φάβιος, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος, καὶ Δεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ καταλύσαντος τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὴν ταμμευτικὴν ἐχοντες ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκκλησίαι συνάγειν οὐντες κύριοι, τὸν ὑπατεύοντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ Σπόριον Κάσσιον καὶ τολμῆσαντα τόσο περὶ τῆς διανομῆς εἰσηγηθασθαί νόμοις εἰς ἡγγειλαν εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ τυραννίδος αὐτίας καὶ προευπόντες ἥμεραν ῥητὴν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν δύκην ἀπολογησόμενον. ὁχλοῦ δὲ πλείστου συναχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἥμεραν συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τά τε ἐμφάνι τοῦ ἄνδρος ἔργα ὡς ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ γενόμενα διεξήγεσαν. ὅτι Λατίνοις μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς ἀπέχρη πολυτείας κοινῆς ἄξιωσίθηκαι, μέγα εὐτύχημα ἱγουμένους εἴ καὶ ταύτης

1 γε Steph, 2 οδ ἀδελφῳδοὺς or ἀδελφόπας Glarcanus.
BOOK VIII. 76, 2—77, 2

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 Leostratus 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

¹ 483 B.C. For chaps. 77-79 cf. Livy ii. 41, 10-12.
² Or, more probably, nephew, as Glareanus preferred.
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tύχοιεν, οὐ μόνον ἦν ἦτον πολιτείαν ὡς ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λα-φύρων, ἐὰν κοινὴ γένηται στρατεία, τὴν τρίτην ἐψηφίσατο δίδοσθαι. ἔπειτα Ἔρνικας, οὗς πολέμῳ χειρωθέντας ἀγαπᾶν ἐχρήν εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας αὐτοθεοῦ τωι ζημιωθεῖν, φίλους μὲν ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ἐποίησε, πολίτας δ' ἀνθ' ὑποτελῶν, γῆς τε καὶ λείας ἦν ἄν ἐκ παντὸς κτῆσων τινήν ἐτέραν 3 ἔταξε λαμβάνειν τρίτην μερίδα. ὥστε μεριζομέ-νων εἰς τρεῖς κλήρους τῶν λαφύρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους τε καὶ ἐπήλυδας δυμορίας λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' αὔθιγενεῖς καὶ ἤγεμόνας τρίτην μερίδα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυεῖν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων θάτερον ἔπεδείκνυ-σαν αὐτοῖς συμβησόμενον, εάν τινας ἐτέρους διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας προέλαυν οὐτις αὐταῖς τιμῆσαι δωρεάς αἰς Λατίνους τε ἐτίμη-σαν καὶ τοὺς μηδ’ ὅτιον ἄγαθὸν ἀποδειξαμένοις Ἔρνικας. μιᾶς γὰρ καταλείπομένης αὐτοῖς τρίτης μερίδος, ἦν ὦν ἔξειν ὅ τι δόσον σίν ἐκεῖνοι μέρος, ἦ τὰ ὀμοία ψηφισαμένους μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς κατα-λεύσειν.

LXXVIII. Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι διεξῆσαν ὅτι δημεύ-σαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλόμενος, 3 οὔτε τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτε τῷ συνυπάτῳ δοκοῦν, βίᾳ κυροῦν ἐμέλλησε τὸν νόμον, ὅς οὐ καθ’ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ἦν ἀσύμφορος τε καὶ ἄδικος, ὅτι προβουλεύ-

1 πολιτείαν BCmag : ὑπατείαν AC, ἑσπολιτείαν 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,
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σαι δέον τὸ συνέδριον καὶ, εἰ δόξειεν ἐκεῖνως, κοινὴν ἀπαντών εἶναι τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆν φιλανθρωπίαν,

2 ένος ἀνδρὸς ἐποίει τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πάντων σχετικῶτατον, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν δόσις ἢν τοὺς πολίτας τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀφαίρεσις, Ρωμαίων μὲν τῶν κτησιμένων αὐτῆς μίαν μοίραν ληφθομένων, Ἕρνικων δὲ καὶ Λατίνων, ὅς οὗθεν αὐτῆς μετῆν, τὰς δύο καὶ ὡς οὗθε τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐναντιωθείσι καὶ παραλύειν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου θάτερον ἄξιοῦσι μέρος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἱσομοιρίαν τῶν ἐπηλύσων ἑπείσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημάρχους καὶ συνυπάτῳ καὶ βουλή καὶ πάσι τοῖς ύπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένους τάναν-

3 τία πρᾶττων διετέλεσε. διεξελθόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μάρτυρας αὐτῶν ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς πολίτας ποιησάμενοι, μετὰ τοῦτο ἢδη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῆς τυραννίδος παρείχοντο πίστεις, ὡς χρήματα τε συνενέγκαιεν αὐτῷ Λατίνοι καὶ Ἕρνικες καὶ ὑπλα παρασκευάσαντο καὶ συμπορεύοντο ὡς αὐτὸν οἱ θρασύτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέων ἀπόρρητα τε ποιούμενοι βουλευτήρια καὶ πολλά πρὸς τούτοις ἑτερα ὑπηρετούντες καὶ παρείχοντο τοὺς τούτων μάρτυρας πολλοὺς μὲν ἁστοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων συμμαχίων πόλεων, οὕτε φαύλους οὕτε

4 ἀφανεῖς. οἷς ἐπιστευσεν ὁ δήμος, καὶ οὗτε λόγοι ἐτι ὑπαχθεῖς οὗς ὁ ἀνήρ ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς συγκειμένους διέθετο, οὕτε οἴκτω ἐνδοὺς τριῶν μὲν

1 οἷς οὗθεν αὐτῆς Kiessling: ὃς οὗθεν αὐτοῖς O, Jacoby.

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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\(^1\) 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).
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αὐτῷ παιδών μεγάλην παρεχόντων εἰς ἐλεον ἐπικουρίαν, πολλῶν δ' ἄλλων συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἑταίρων συνολοφυρομένων, οὖτε τῶν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργων, δι' οὐς ἐπὶ μῆκιστὸν ἥθε τιμῆς, φείδω λαβών τινα, καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην. οὖτως τε ἄρα ἦν πικρὸς πρὸς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὅνομα ὡστε οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τιμῆμα τῆς δίκης μετρία ὀργὴ ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου ἐτίμησεν. εἰσήει γὰρ αὐτὸν δέος μὴ φυγὰς ἐλαθείς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνήρ στρατηγῆσαι πολέμους τῶν τότε δεινοτάτος ὁμοία δράση Μαρκίων τά τε φίλια διαβάλλων καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ συνιστᾶσα καὶ πόλεμον ἀσπευστὸν ἐπι-αγάγη τῇ πατρίδι. τούτῳ τὸ τέλος τῆς δίκης λαβούσης ἀγαγόντες οἱ ταμίαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρήμνον, ἀπάντων ὀρών-των ἔρριψαν κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτω ἀλόντων ἡ κόλασις.

LXXIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτερος τῶν παραδεδο-μένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁνδρὸς λόγων τοῦσδε ἑστίν: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡσσον πιθανόν, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινος πεπίστευται ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀξιοχρέοις φέρεται, μὴ παρελθεῖν. λέγεται δὴ τισιν ὡς, ἀδήλου πᾶσιν οὖσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσκευαζομένης τυραν-νίδος, πρῶτος ὑποππεύσας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης βασάνου τὸ πράγμα ἐξετάσας ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν. ἐπειτα κελεύσας ἔλθειν τὸν υἱὸν μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο: καταγγεῖν τις δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀγαγὼν 2 αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκτεινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πικρὸν

1 πολλῶν Cmg: πολλῶν ABC.
2 δι' οὖς O: δι' ἀ' Kiessling.
3 λαβών ACmg: om. BC.
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: διαβαλὼν O.
5 ἐπαγάγῃ A: ἐπάγοι B.
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καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς εἰς νῦνς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τότε 'Ῥωμαίως οὐδε ταύτην ἀπωθεῖται τῇν ἀπόφασιν. ἔπει καὶ πρότερον Βρούτος ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς νῦν ἐδικαίωσε κατὰ τὸν τῶν κακούργων νόμον ἀποθανείν, καὶ πελέκεσι τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, ὅτι συμπράττειν τοὺς βασιλεύουν ἐδόκουν τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν τὸν νῦν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας ἐνεκα τοὺς ἀριστείους στεφάνοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἀπείθειαν δ' ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ὧν ἐτάχθη φρουρῶν ἐμενεν ἄλλα παρὰ τῆν ἐπιταγήν τοῦ ἥγεμόνος ἐξῆλθεν ἀγωνιούμενος, ὥς λυποτάκτην ἀπέκτευεν. 3 καὶ ἀλλοι πολλοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μείζονις αὐτίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ἐλάττοσιν, οὔτε φειδὼ τῶν παῖδων οὔτε ἔλεον ἔσχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούτ' οὐκ ἄξιον, ὥσπερ ἐφην, προβεβλήσθαι τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀπίθανον ἐκεῖνα δὲ με ἀνθέλκει τεκμηρίων οὔτα οὔτ' ἐλάχιστα οὔτ' ἀπίθανα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀγεί συγκατάθεσιν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου ἡ τε οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦτε ἀνέτατο ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αὐθροι ἐξω τοῦ νεώ τῆς Γῆς, διὸ υἱότεροι ἡ πόλις κατεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τινι αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὅδον, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέλαβεν ἐξ ὧν ἀπαρχᾶς ἐν ἄλλους τε ἱεροίς ἀνέθηκε καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι

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

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

2 See v. 8.
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toûs χαλκέους ἀνδριάντας ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντας
4 ἅφ᾽ ὄν εἰσὶ χρημάτων ἀπαρχαῖ. εἰ δὲ γε ὁ πατὴρ
μηνυτὴς τε καὶ κατήγορος καὶ κολαστὴς αὐτοῦ
ἐγένετο, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη οὔτε ἡ
οὐσία ἐδημεύθη. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ οὔθέν ἔστιν κτήμα
ζώντων ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ
σώματα τῶν παῖδων ὁ τι βούλονται
dιατιθέναι τοῖς πατράσιν ἀποδέδοται. ὥστε οὐκ
ἂν δήποτε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν τοῦ μηνύσαντος
tὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ παῖδος ἀδικήμασιν ἀφ-
αρείσθαι καὶ δημεύειν ἢ πόλις ἥξιον. διὰ μὲν δὴ
tάτα τῷ προτέρῳ συγκατατίθεμαι τῶν λόγων
μᾶλλον ἕθηκα δ᾽ ἀμφότερους, ἵνα ἐξῆς τοῖς ἀναγνω-
σομένοις ὅποτέρῳ βούλονται τῶν λόγων προσέχειν.

LXXX. Ἐπιβαλλομένων δὲ τινῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖ-
δας ἀποκτείνας τοῦ Κασσίου δεινὸν τὸ ἔθος ἔδοξεν
εἶναι τῇ βολῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορον καὶ συνελθοῦσα
ἐγκυφύσατο ἀφεῖσθαι τὰ μειράκια τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ
ἐπὶ πάση ἀδείᾳ ζῆν, μήτε φυγῇ μήτε ἀτιμίᾳ μήτε
ἀλλῆς συμφορᾶς ζημιωθέντα. καὶ εἶ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔθος
τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ἑπικύριον γέγονεν ἐως τῆς καθ'
ἡμᾶς διατηροῦμεν ἥλικιάς, ἀφεῖσθαι τιμωρίας
ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας ἄν ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἀδικήσωσιν,
εὰν τε τυράννων ὄντες νῦι τύχωσιν, εάν τε πατρο-
κτόνων, εάν τε προδοτῶν, ὁ μέγιστον ἐστίν παρ'
ἐκείνοις ἀδίκημα. οὐ τε καταλῦσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο
ἐπιβαλλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ
tὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ· τε καὶ ἐμφυλίον

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
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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 Marsicum (orItalicum) by Roman writers of the following two centuries.
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πολέμου, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἐπὶ Σύλλα πατέρων ἀφελόμενοι τὸ μετείναι τὰς πατρίους ἀρχὰς καὶ βουλής μετέχειν καθ’ ὅν ἐδυνάστευον αὐτοὶ χρόνον, ἐπίφθονον τε ἄνθρώποις καὶ νεμεσθοῦν θεοῖς ἔργον ἔδοξαν ἀποδείξασθαι. τοι-γάρτοι δίκη μὲν ἐκεῖνοι σὺν χρόνῳ τιμωρῶς οὐ μεμπηκ παρηκολούθησε, δι’ ἣν ἐκ μεγίστου τέως¹ αὐχήματος εἰς ταπεινότατον πτώμα κατήχθησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γυναῖκας ἐτι λείπεται· τὸ δ’ έθος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ὁ τούτους καθελὼν ἀνὴρ ἀποκατέστησε. παρ’ Ἔλληνι δ’ οὐχ οὖτως ἐνίοις ο νόμος ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ τυράννων γενομένους οἱ μὲν συναποκτίνυσθαι τοῖς πατράσι δικαιοῦσιν, οἱ δ’ ἀειφυγία κολάζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῆς φύσεως χρηστούς παίδας ἐκ ποιηρῶν πατέρων ἢ κακοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων εἶτε ὁ παρ’ Ἔλληνιν ἀμείνων νόμος εἶτε τὸ ‘Ῥωμαίων ἔθος

¹ Reiske : τε Ο.
² Reiske : χθησαν Ο.

¹ It was Julius Caesar (Dio Cassius xli. 18; Suetonius, Iul. 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; 244.
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.¹ 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.
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κρείττον, ἀφίημι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν· ἐπάνεμι δ᾽ ἔπι τὰ ἔξης.

LXXXI. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου θάνατον οἱ μὲν αὐξάνοντες τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν θρασύτεροι τε καὶ ὑπεροπτικότεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν· οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς δόξης1 φερόμενοι καὶ βίους2 εἰς ταπεινὰ συνεστάλησαν, καὶ ὡς ἄριστον ἀπολωλε-κότες φύλακα τῆς δημοτικῆς μερίδος πολλὴν ἀνοιαν ἐαυτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ κατηγόροις.3 τούτοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ὅτι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας οὐκ ἐπράττον οἱ ὑπάτοι, δέον αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας τε ἀποδείξαι δέκα τοὺς ὀριοῦντας τῆς γῆς καὶ γνώμην εἰσηγήσασθαι πόσην τε αὐτῆς καὶ τίσι 2 δεήσει νεμηθήναι. συνήθεσάν τε πολλοὶ κατὰ συ-στροφὰς περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ἑκάστοτε διαλεγόμενοι, καὶ ἐν αὐτία τοὺς προτέρους εἶχον δημάρχους ὡς προδεδώκοντος τὸ κοινὸν ἐκκλησία τε συνεχεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δημάρχων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. ταῦτα συνιδόντες οἱ ὑπάτοι γνώμην ἐπούςαντο πολέμου προφάσει τὸ παρακινοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος καὶ ταραττόμενον καταστείλατε.4 ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ λῃστηρίως τε ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ καταδρομαῖς τισιν ἡ 3 γῆ βλαπτομένη. τιμωρίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων ἐνεκα προθέσαν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου σημεῖα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς πόλεως κατέγραφον· οὐ προσιόντων δὲ τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀδύνατο ὑποτε τῆν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκην τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι προσφέρειν (προειστήκεσαν γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ δήμαρχοι καὶ

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

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

LXXXI. After the death of Cassius\(^1\) 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 σῶματα τῶν ἐκλειστῶν τὴν στρατεύειν ἀγενήν ἢ τὰ χρήματα φέρειν), ἀπειλαῖς χρησάμενοι πολλαῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντες τοῖς ἀνασείουσι τὸ πλῆθος, λεληθοῦν ὑποψίαν κατέλυσον ὡς δικτάτορα ἀποδείξοντες, ὡς ἐμελλε καταλῦσας τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὴν τυραννικὴν 4 καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον μόνον ἔξεων ἐξουσίαν. ὡς δὲ ταύτην ἐλαβον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν οἱ δημοτικοὶ, δείσαντες μὴ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀποδείξοι πικρὸν ὄντα καὶ χαλεπον, πάντα πρὸ τούτου πᾶσχειν ὑπέμενον.

LXXXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεγράφη τὰ στρατεύματα, παραλαβόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Κορνῆλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ὑουεντανῶν χώραν ἐμβάλαν τὴν ἐγκαταληφθείσαν λείαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπήλασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσβεβησμένων τῶν Ὑουεντανῶν τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ἀπελυσε χρημάτων καὶ ἄνοχᾶς τοῦ πολέμου συνέθετο ἐνιαυσίους. Φάβιος δὲ τὴν ἔτεραν δύναμιν ἔχον εἰς τὴν Ἀικανῶν γῆν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπείτε έκείθεν εἰς τὴν 2 Ὑουελοῦσκων. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὐ πολὺν ἡμεσχοντο οἱ Ὑουελοῦσκοι διαρπαζόμενων αὐτοῖς καὶ κειρομένων τῶν ἀγρῶν· ἐπείτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ὑωμαίων ὡς οὐ πολλῇ δυνάμει παρόντων ἐξεβοήθουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας τὰ ὑπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἄθροοι, ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἡ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφθασαν ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ὑωμαίοις ἐπιφανεῖτες ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, μεγάλην ἄν αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο τροπὴν· νῦν δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἐφοδιῶν αὐτῶν ὡ ὑπατος διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπὶ τὰς κατασκοπάς, ἀνακλήσει ταχεία τοὺς ἐν ταῖς προνοµαὶς ἐσκεδασμένους.
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-
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ἀναλαβὼν, τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε τὴν εἰς πόλεμον 3 ἁρμόττουσαν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐκολούσκοις σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ θάρσει χωροῦσιν, ὡς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη συνεστώσα εν κόσμῳ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις, δέος ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον ὤψιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας οὐδεμία φροντίς, τῆς δ' ἰδίας ἐκάστωσι σωτηρίας πρόνοια. ὑποστρέψαντες δὴ ὡς εἶχον ἐκαστοί τάχους ἐφενγον ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεσώκησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγον δὲ τις στῖφος, ὦ μάλιστα ἧν συντεταγμένον, εἰς ὄρους τινὰ κορυφὴν ἀναδραμοῦν καὶ θέμενον ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὁπλα τὴν ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα διέμενε· ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἤμεραις φουράν περιστῆσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τῷ λόφῳ καὶ πάσας διακλείσαντος ὁπλοὺς τὰς ἐξόδους, οὕνως βιασθὲν ὑποχείριον

4 γίνεται καὶ παραδίδωσι τὰ ὁπλα. ὦ δ' ὑπατος τὴν τε λείαν ὅση ἐπέτυχε καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσαθαι κελεύσας τοὺς ταμίας, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον. καὶ μετ' οὗ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας ἀπήγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους.

'Επιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιεσίων ἔδοξε τοῖς πατρικίωσ ἡρεθισμένον ὄρῳ σὺν τὸν ὅμοιον καὶ μεταμελόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Κασσίου καταδίκη, διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἔχεω, μὴ τι παρακινήσειε πάλιν εἰς δεκασιόν ἐλπίδα καὶ κλήρων διανομῆς ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημαγωγῆσαι δυνατοῦ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας λαβόντος ἀξίωμα. ἐφαίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς ῥώστα κωλυθήσεσθαι

1 οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ ἔτ' ἦν φροντίς Reiske.
2 τι B : om. R.
3 Reiske : διανομῆν 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.
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toútwv tivós óregóménos, eí génoito úpátos ánhr
5 ἥκιστα δημοτικός. Βουλευσάμενοι δή τούτο κελεύ-
ουσι μετίναι τῆν ὑπατείαν τὸν ἐτερον τῶν κατ-
ηγορησάντων τοῦ Κασσίου, Καίσωνα Φάβιον
ἀδελφὸν ὃντα τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος Κοῦντον, καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικῶν Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄνδρα
ἀριστοκρατικόν. τούτων δὲ μετίων τῆν ἀρχήν
κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοί, κατα-
λιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ψάχνοντι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.

6 τὸ γὰρ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας κύρος ἐν ταῖς
ψηφοφορίαις περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἦν καὶ τὰ
πρώτα τιμήματα ἐξοντας, καὶ σπάνιον τι ἦν ὁ
ἐπεκύρουν οἱ διὰ μέσοϋ ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος λόχος, ἐν
ὁ τὸ πλείστον τε καὶ ἀπορῶτατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ
μέρος ἐψηφοφόρει, μιᾶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήται
μοι, τῆς ἐσοχάτης ψήφου κύριος ἦν.

LXXXIII. Παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ τῆν ὑπατείαν
κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν τε καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς 'Ρώμης Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος
Μαμέρκου νῦς καὶ Καίσων Φάβιος Καίσωνος νῦς,
ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Νικοδήμου. οἰς κατ' εὐχὴν
συνέβη μηδὲν ύπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιταραχθῆναι
dιχοστασίας πολέμων τῆς πόλιν περιστάντων ἄλλο-
2 εθνῶν. ἐν ἀπασὶ μὲν οὐν ἔθνει καὶ τόποις Ἑλλή-

νων τε καὶ βαρβάρων φιλούσιν αἱ τῶν ἐξωθεῖ
κακῶν ἀνάπαιλε ἐμφυλίους τε καὶ ἐνδήμους ἐγεί-

ρεως πολέμους, μάλιστα δὲ τούτο πάσχουσιν ὅσοι
πολεμιστὴν καὶ κακόπαθον αἰροῦνται βίον ἐλευ-

θερίας τε καὶ ἤγεμονίας πόθω. χαλεπά γὰρ αἱ
μαθοῦσι τοῦ πλείονος ἐφίεσθαι φύσεις ἐξειργό-

1 The Campus Martius.

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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. For in the centuriate 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, which was always the last to be called for.

LXXXIII. Accordingly, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamereus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, succeeded to the consulship in the two hundred and seventieth year 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, respites 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

^ See iv. 20, 5; vii. 59, 8.  
^ 482 B.C.
μεναι τών συνήθων ἔργων καρτερείν· καὶ διὰ τούτο
οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν ἁγεμόνων ἀεὶ τινας ἐκ τῶν
ἀλλοεθνῶν ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἔχθρας, κρείττονας ἣγού-
μενοι τῶν ἐντοπίων πολέμων τοὺς ἀλλοδαποὺς.
3 τότε δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ Δαίμονα τοῖς ὑπά-
τοις συνέπεσον αἱ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπαναστάσεις.
Οὐρολούσκοι γάρ, εἶτε τῇ πολιτικῇ Ὁρμαίων κινή-
σει πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἑκτεπολεμωμένου1 τοῦ δημο-
τικοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει, εἶτε τῆς προτέρας
ήττης ἀμαχητῇ γενομένης αἰσχύνη παροξυνθέντες,
εἴτ' ἐπὶ2 ταῖς έαυτῶν δυνάμεις πολλαῖς οὐσαῖς
μέγα φρονήσαντες, εἶτε διὰ ταῦτα πάντα, πολεμεῖν
4 Ὁρμαίως διέγνωσαν, καὶ συναγαγόντες εξ ἀπάσης
πόλεως τὴν νεότητα, μέρει μὲν τίνι τῆς δυνάμεως
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἔρνικων τε καὶ Λατίνων πόλεις ἐστρατεύ-
σαν, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, ἡ πλείοστι τῇ ἦν καὶ κρατίστῃ,
τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἤξοντας δεχεσθαὶ ήμελ-
λον. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι Ὁρμαίως ἐδοξὲ διχῇ νέμειν
τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρᾳ τῆν Ἔρνικων τε
καὶ Λατίνων διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, τῇ δ' ἐτέρᾳ τὴν
Οὐρολούσκων λεγλατεῖν.

LXXXIV. Διακληρωσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων
τὰς δυνάμεις, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τὸ μὲν ἐπι-
κυρεῖν μέλλον τοῖς συμμάχοις στράτευμα Καῖσων
Φάβιος παρέλαβε, θάτερον δὲ Λεύκιος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀντιατῶν ἤγε πόλιν. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν
ὁρίων καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς τῶν πολεμιῶν δυνάμεις, τότε
μὲν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ λόφου, ταῖς δ'
ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξιόντων εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῶν πολεμιῶν
θαμμα καὶ προκαλομέμενων εἰς μάχην, ἢνίκα τὸν

1 Kiessling: ἑκτεπολεμωμένου ΑΒΓ.
2 εἰτ' ἐπὶ added by Sylburg.
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
οίκειον ἔχειν καρόν ὑπελάμβανευν, ἔξηγε τὰς δυνά-μεις· καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν παρακλῆσει τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπικελεύσει χρησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν· καὶ οἱ στρατιώται τὸ σύν-θες ἀλαλάζαντες ἀδρόει κατὰ σπείρας τε καὶ κατὰ 2 λόχους συνέβαλλον. ὡς δὲ τὰς λόγχας καὶ τὰ σαυνίᾳ καὶ ὅσα εἴχον ἐκηβόλα ἐξανάλωσαν, σπασά-μενοι τὰ ἐξήψει συγκέκρισαν ἄλληλοι ἱσθή τόλμη τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐκάτεροι χρώμενοι· ἵν τε, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, παραπλήσιος αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἀγώνος τρόπος, καὶ οὔτε ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὰς μάχας, ἢ χρώμενοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκράτουν, οὔτε τὸ καρτικὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἐν τοῖς πόνοις διὰ πολλῶν ἡσκημένον ἀγώνων ἐπ-εκράτει· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤν, εἴ οὗ Μάρκιον ἤγειρον Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν ἀρφανε-στατὸν στρατηγάτην ἔσχον· ἀλλ’ ἀντεἶχον ἐκάτεροι, τῆς χώρας ἐν ἦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστησαν οὐχ ὑφιέμενοι. 3 ἐπεῖτα κατὰ μικρὸν οἶς Οὐσολοῦσκοι ὑπεχώρουν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει δεχόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. στρατήγημα δὲ τοῦτ’ ἦν, ἵνα διασπάσωσι τε αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδέξιον γένωνται χωρίον.

LXXXV. Οἱ δ’ ὑπολαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀρχεῖν φυ-γῆς ἠκολούθουν βάδην μὲν ἀπιούσι καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δρόμῳ χωροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἐθέασαντο, ταχείᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ διώξει καὶ ἀσυντάκτῳ χρώμενοι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τελευταῖοι τε καὶ ὀπισθοφιλάκοντες λόχοι νεκροὶ τε ἐσκύλευον,

1 γένωνται Ο : ἐπιγένωνται or ἀγωνίσωνται Sylburg.

1 In chap. 67, 3.
2 The final verb of this sentence is uncertain; the syntax
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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 Volsciants 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."
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ός κεκρατηκότες ἣδη τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐφ’
2 ἀρπαγὴν τῆς χώρας ἐτράποντο. μαθόντες δ’ οἱ Ὀὐδολούκοι ταῦτα οἱ τε δόξαν παρασκόντες φυγής,
ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐρύμαισι τοῦ χάρακος ἐπλησίασαν, ὑπο-
στραφέντες ἔστησαν, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες ἑξέδραμον
ἀθρόοι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη· γίνεται τε αὐτῶν παλί-
τροπος ἢ μάχη· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διώκοντες ἐφευγοῦν,
οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἔδίωκον. ἔνθα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄγαθοὶ
Ῥωμαίῶν θησάμονων οία εἰκὸς ὁθοῦμενοι κατὰ
πρανοῦς χωρίου καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὄλγοι κυκλω-
3 θέντες. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτων ἐπασχὼν ὅσοι πρὸς¹
σκῦλα τε καὶ ἀρπαγὰς τραπόμενοι τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τε
καὶ τάξει ὑποχωρεῖν² ἀφηρέθησαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ³ οὕτω
καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγη-
σαν, οἳ δ’ αἰχμάλωτοι ἔλληφθησαν. ὅσοι δὲ τούτων
τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους ἀπαραχθέντων διεσώ-
θησαν, ὡς τῆς ὁρᾶς τῶν ἱππεῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοθη-
σάντων, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς
συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ μὴ πασσοῦ διαφθαρήναι χειμῶ
πολὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρραγεῖς καὶ σκότος, οἶον ἐν
ταῖς βαθείαις ὁμίχλαις γίνεται, ὃ τῶν πολεμίων
ἀκνον τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως παρέσχεν οὐ δυνα-
4 μένοις τὰ πόρρω καθορᾶν. τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ
ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ ὑπατος ἀπῆγε συγῆ καὶ
ἐν κόσμῳ, λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους προνοούμενοι· καὶ
κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ πόλει λεγομένη Λογγόλα
περὶ δείλην ὁμίαν, γηλοφον ἰκανὸν ἑρύκειν τους
ἐπιόντας ἐκλεξάμενοι. ἔνθα υπομένων τοὺς τε ὑπὸ

1 Sylburg: περὶ ὂ.
2 υποχωρεῖν Ἁ Ὁ: ἀποχωρεῖν Ὅ.
3 καὶ added by Sylburg.

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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
τραυμάτων κάμνοντας ἀνεκτάτο θεραπείας, καὶ
tou ἄδημονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους
αἰσχύνη παραμυθούμενος ἀνελάμβανε.

LXXXVI. Ὁ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν.
Οὐδενόςκοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐγνω-
sαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκλελοιπότας τὸν χάρακα,
προσελθόντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. σκυλεύσαντες
dὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθυμητὰς
ὁς σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπὶς ἦν ἀνελόμενοι ταφάς τε
ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐγγυ-
tάτων πόλιν "Ἀντιον ἀνέζευξαν. ἔνθα παιανίζοντες
ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ θύντες ἐν ἀπασω ἱεροῖς εἰς εὐ-
παθείας καὶ ἡδονάς ταῖς ἔξης ἡμέρας ἔτραπτοντο.

2 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε νίκης διέμειναν καὶ μηδὲν
ἐπεξειργάσαντο, καλὸν ἂν αὐτοῖς εἰλήφει τέλος ὁ
ἀγών. Ὁ Ῥωμαίοι γὰρ οὖκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν ἔτι προ-
eλθεὶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἀγαπητῶς δ′ ἃν
ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, κρείττονα τοῦ προδήλου
θανάτου τὴν ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενοι φυγῆν. νῦν δὲ τοῦ
πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης
3 δόξαν ἀπέβαλον. ἀκούοντες γὰρ παρά τε κατα-
sκόπους καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀποδιδρασκόντων,
ὅτι κομιδὴ τ′ εἰσὶν οἱ σωθέντες Ῥωμαίων ὀλγοὺ
cαὶ τούτων οἱ πλείοις τραυματίας, πολλὴν αὐτῶν
ἐπούσαντο καταφρόνησιν, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα
ἀρπάσαντες ἔθεον ἐπ′ αὐτοὺς. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ
ἀνοπλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπετο κατὰ θέαν
τοῦ ἀγώνος καὶ ἁμα ἐφ′ ἀρπαγῆν τε καὶ ὅφελειαν.

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ λόφῳ τὸν τε χάρακα

1 προσελθόντες Ba : προσέλθόντες R.
2 ἀγαπητῶς δ′ ἃν Kiessling : ἀγαπητῶν δ′ ἃν e (ei om. Ba) Ο, ἀγαπητῶν δ′ ἃν ἢν e Sylburg, Jacoby.
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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 Cobe.t.
καὶ τὰ περιστατικὰ διασπᾶν ἐπιστήμων, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπειτος πεζοὶ μαχόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξεδραμοῦν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς, ἔπειτα τούτων κατόπιν οἱ καλούμενοι τριάριοι πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· οὔτω δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατευομένων, οἷς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐπιτρέπουσι φυλάττειν ὅταν ἔξωσιν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καὶ ἔφ' οὓς τελευταῖους, ὅταν ἀδρόα γένηται τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ φθορά, σπανίζοντες έτέρας ἐπικουρίας 5 καταφεύγουσιν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. οἱ δὲ Οὐνολούσκοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἐφοδίων αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον, ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν μειονεκτοῦντες ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τέλος ὀλίγα μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ἐργασάμενοι, πλεῖων 1 δ' αὐτοὶ παθόντες κακὰ ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταῖς ἐξής ἡμέραις ἐξ-έταττον τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προύκαλοῦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν.

6 Ὁσ δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Οὐνολούσκοι συμεκάλουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δυνάμεις καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐξελέγουντες πολυχειρία τὸ φρούριον· ῥαδίως τε ἄν ἐξεργάσαντο μέγα ἔργον ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκής δυνάμεως ἡ βία κρατή-σαντες ἡ καὶ ὁμολογίαις 2 (οὔδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐτὶ εὐπόρει τὸ χωρίον), ἔφθη δὲ πρότερον ἐπικουρία Ῥωμαίοις ἐλθοῦσα, ὑφ' ἂς ἐκκωλύθησαν οἱ Οὐνολού-7 σκοί τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. δ' γὰρ ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Καίσων Φάβιος μαθὼν ἐν αἰσ ἤν τύχαις ἡ παραταξαμένη Οὐνολούσκους δύναμις

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

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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 dis-advantage 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
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εβούλετο μὲν ὃς εἰχε τάχους ἀπασαν ἅγων τὴν δύναμιν ευθὺς ἐπιέαν τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ φρούριον. ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ θυμόμενῳ τε καὶ οἶωνοις χρωμένῳ τὰ ἱερὰ καλά, ἀλλὰ ἤναντιοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμενε, τὰς δὲ κρατίστας ἐπιλεξάμενος σπείρας ἀπέστειλε 8 τῷ συνάρχοντι. αἱ δὲ δία τε ὀρῶν ἄφανῶς¹ καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ ποιησάμεναι τὰς ὅδους εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς πολεμίους λαθοῦσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αἰμίλιος θρασύτερος ἐγεγόνει τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τῶν τε πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ εἰκῆ² πίσυνοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπεξείναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην ἐπαρθέντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρος πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ παρέντες αὐτοὺς³ ἀναβήναι καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν καὶ πολλὰ πονεῖν περὶ τῶν σταυρώματι ἐάσαντες, ἐπειδή τὰ σημεῖα ἣρθη τῆς μάχης διασπάσαντες κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸν χάρακα ἐμπτύττουσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς χείρας καταστάντες τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων λίθοις τε καὶ σαυνίοις καὶ λόγχαις τοὺς ἐπιώντας ἐβάλλον, βέλος τε⁴ οὐδὲν ἀσκοπῶν ἦν πεπιλημένων γε⁵ ἐν βραχεὶ χωρίῳ πολλῶν. ἀπαράττονται δὴ τοῦ λόφου πολλοὺς οὐμοὶ ἀποβαλόντες οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὀμησάντες μόνος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποσώζονται χάρακα. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ ὃς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τέλος⁶ ὄντες ἤδη κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν· εξ ὦν ἐπιστιςμοῦς καὶ τάλλα ὅσων σπάνις ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι ἐλάμβανον.

LXXXVII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθήκεν ὁ τῶν ἄρχο

¹ ορῶν ἄφανῶς Sintenis, ὀρῶν ἄφανεῖς Reudler: ὀδῶν ἄφανόν O.

² Sylburg: ἐκεῖ O.

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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: αὐτοῖς O. 4 τε O: δ’ Reiske, Jacoby.
5 γε Reiske: τε O.
6 τέλος Kiessling: τέως O, Jacoby.
αιρεσιῶν καυρός, ὁ μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐμείνεν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δι᾽ αἰσχύνης ἔχων ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐσχήμοσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν τὸ κράτιστον ἀπολωλεκὼς τῆς στρατιάς. ὁ δὲ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὕφ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄχετο· καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν ὀχλον ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οἰς μὲν ὁ δήμος ἔβουλετο δοθήναι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οὗ προῆκε τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὗτοί αὐτοὶ μετήσαν τὴν ἀρχήν ἐκόντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μετίστων τοὺς τε λόχους ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰς 2 ψήφους ἀνέδωκεν. οὕτω δ᾽ ἦσαν οὓς ἡ βουλῆ προείλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ σφόδρα τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένοι. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐπίσταν ζωντανὸν ὑπατοὶ ὁ τε νεώτερος ἄδελφός τοῦ προϑέντος τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὑπάτου, Μάρκος Φάβιος Καίσωνος οὗς, καὶ Λευκίως Οὐαλέριος Μάρκου οὗς, ὁ τὸν τρίς ὑπατεύσαντα Κάσσιον κρίνας ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ ἀποκτείνας.

3 Οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄντιάτας πολέμων στρατιωτῶν ἡξίον ἐτέρους καταγράφειν, ἵνα τὸ ἐλλιπές ἀναπληρωθῆ τῶν λόχων. καὶ δόγμα ποιησάμενοι βουλῆς 2 προὔγραφαν ἥμεραν ἐν ἡ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἑχόντας ἡλικίαν στρατεύσιμοι ἐδει. 3 μετὰ τούτῳ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην 4 καὶ λόχοι τῶν πενεστάτων στασιώδεις οὐκ ἄξιοντων οὐτε βουλῆς δόγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν οὐτε ὑπάτων ἐξουσία πειθαρχεῖν, ὅτι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ὑποσχέσεις

1 Sylburg : οὐκ Ὅ.
2 δόγμα ποιησάμενης τῆς βουλῆς Kiessling.
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 levy- ing 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 ἐν ἧ... ἐδει B : ἐν ἦ τοὺς ἐχοντας ἡλικιαν στρατεύσιμον ἦκεν ἐδει R.

⁴ οἴδην B : om. R.
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ἐξεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτούς· συνιόντες τε κατὰ πλήθος ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὦνειδίζουν αὐτοῖς προδοσίαν καὶ κατεβόων ἐπικαλούμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἑκείνων συμμαχίαν.

4 τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οὐκ ἔδόκει καιρὸς ἀρμόττων εἶναι πολέμου συνεστῶτος ὑπεροφίοι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας ἀναξιωτυρεῖν, εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος Μαίνως οὐκ ἔφη προδώσει τοὺς δημοτικοὺς, ὡδ᾽ ἐπιτρέψει τοῖς ὑπάτοις στρατιάν καταγράφειν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας γῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα γράφαντες εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐξενέγκωσιν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιομένων τοῦ μηθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν ὃν ἥξιον τὸν ἐν χερσὶ ὄντα πόλεμον, οὐκ ἔφη προσέειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ

5 κωλύσει ἀπάση δυνάμει τὴν καταγραφὴν. καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα· οὐ μὴν ἱσχύσει γε μέχρι τέλους. οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες ἦσαν τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ παρακεμένῳ πεδίῳ τῶν στρατηγικοῦ δίφρους ἔθηκαν· ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἑποίουντο κατάλογον, καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας τοὺς νόμους, ἔπειθε αὐτοὺς ἀγενοῦς οὐχ οἴοι τ᾽ ἦσαν, εἰς χρήματα ἔξημίων, ὅσοι μὲν χωρία ὑπήρχεν, ἐκκοπτοῦντες ταῦτα καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καθαίρουντες, ὅσον δὲ γεωργικὸς ὁ βίος ἦν ἐν ἀλλοτρίως κτήμασι, τούτων ἄγοντες τε καὶ φέρουντες τὰ παρεκκενασμένα πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ζεῦγη τε βοϊκὰ καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ σκεῦη παντοῖα οἷς γὴ

6 τ᾽ ἐξεργάζεται καὶ καρποὶ συγκομίζονται. ὁ δὲ κωλύσων τὴν καταγραφὴν δήμαρχος οὐθὲν ἐτὶ ποιεῖν ἢν δυνατός. οὐδενὸς γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως οἰ 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.
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γέγραπται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπαυλισθήναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς θέμις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἑνα καὶρόν, ἐν ὃ πᾶσαι θύουσιν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαὶ κοινὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους τῷ Διὶ θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν ὁρὸς ἀναβαίνουσαι.

7 τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τὸ ἔθος, τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐξ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημάρχους κυρίους· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ἑρω- μαίων πόλεμον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας, ὃς μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ἐγένετο, ἡ κινή- σασα πρὸφασις ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀλλαὶς δόξασα μείζων εἶναι καὶ ἀποχράωσα διαστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἦδε ἢν, ὧτὶ τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἐξεληλάσθαι τῆς πόλεως αὐτώμενοι βία πρὸς τοῦ τότε κατέχοντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑταλίαν ἡγεμόνος, ἢν μηθενὸς ἦν ἐπὶ κύριοι,

8 ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι τράπωνται, κατέφυγον. ὁ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη χρησάμενος, ὡς ἀρχὴ δῆμου παναγεῖ τὸ κράτος ἀφαιρεθεῖσι παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τῶν προγόνων αὐτὸς ὀδίως καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βοηθῶν αὐτὸς τε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἤθενε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγε.

LXXXVIII. Τότε δὲ οὖν οἱ δημόται τῆς δημ- αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲν ἀπολαύοντες ὑφείπτο τοῦ θράσους καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας τεταγμένοις τὸν ἱερὸν ὄρκον ὄμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς

1 'Ἀλβανῶν Kiessling.
2 τὸν added by Steph.
3 μείζων ACmg : om. R.
4 καὶ ἀποχράωσα O : καὶ μόνη ἀποχράωσα 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.
σημείας 1 κατεγράφοντο. ἔπει δὲ τὸ ἑλληνικὸν τῶν λόγων ἐξεπληρώθην, διεκληρώσαντο τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ ὑπάτοι καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσταλέσαν δύναμιν παρελάμβανεν, ὁ δὲ Ὅιαλέριος τὴν ἐν Ὅιολούσκωι στρατοπεδεύουσαν ἁγών τοὺς νεωστὶ 2 καταγραφέντας. μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦς πολέμιοι ἔδόκει στρατιάν τε ἐτέραν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἱσχυρότερῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιῆσασθαι χωρίῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν ἐτὶ προστεθὲς κινδύνευμα ὡς πρότερον ὑπομένειν. ἐγενόνει ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων, ἀμφότεροις τε παρέστη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη, τα ἑαυτῶν φυλάττειν ἔρυματα, ἐάν τις ἐπίτη, τοῖς δὲ τῶν πολέμιῶν ως βία κρατή- 3 θησομένους μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεως τριβομενος· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς τέλος γε διαμείνειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἐδυννήθησαν. ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπιστισμοῦ χάρῳ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων των ὡς ἄμφοτεροις ἔδει 2 μοῦτρα τις ἀποσταλείς τῆς στρατιᾶς, συμβολαί τε αὐτῶν ἐγὼντο καὶ πληγαί, καὶ τὸ νικῶν οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμενεί πολλάκις δὲ συμπλεκομένων ἀνάλληλος ἀπέδηνηκόν τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ 4 τραυματία πλείους ἐγὼντο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἀρωμαῖος τὸ ἀπαναλούμεν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδέμια ποθὲν 3 ἐπικουρίαν ἐξεπλήρου, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ὅιολούσκων στρατόπεδον ἁγών ἐπ᾽ ἁλλού ἦκόντων πολλῆν αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανε· καὶ τούτῳ ἐπαρθένες

1 σημείας AB: σημείας Portus, Jacoby.
2 ἔδει Reiske: ἔδοκει O.
3 ποθὲν O: οὐκοθέν Kiessling.
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."

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1 Kiessling proposed "from home."

4 ἐπικουρία Ambrosch, Kiessling, ἐπιοῦσα ἐπικουρία Sin
tenis: ἐπιοῦσα O.
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οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν δύναμιν ὡς εἰς máχην.

LXXXIX. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραταξαμένων ἠσχυρὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ ἵπ-πέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ὅση πάντων χρωμένων προθυμία τε καὶ ἐμπειρία, καὶ τὸ νικάν ἐκάστου

2 παρ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον τιθεμένου· ὃς δὲ νεκροὶ τε αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ὃ ἐτάχθησαν χωρίως πεσόντες ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ἡμιθνήτες ἐτί πλείως τῶν νεκρῶν, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐτί διαμένοντες ὁλυγο ἦσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀραν τὰ πολέμου ἑργα δυνάμενοι, βαρυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων τὰς εὐωνύμους χείρας διὰ πλήθος τῶν ἐμπεπηγγότων βελῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐώντων ὑπομένειν τὰς προσβολὰς, τετραμμένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχειρίδιῶν τὰς ἄκμας, ἔστι δ' δὲν καὶ κατεγότων ὁλων, οἷς οὐθὲν ἐτί ἦν χρήσθαι, τοῦ τε κόπου, ὅσ δ' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀγωνιζομένους αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, παραλύοντος τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἄσθενεῖς ποιοῦντος, ἴδρυτος δὲ καὶ δύσης καὶ ἀσθματος, οἷα ἐν πυγηρᾷ ὥρας ἐτους τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνιζομένους συμπίπτειν φιλεί, παρ' ἀμφότερος γυμνών, τέλος οὐδὲν ἐλαβεν ἀξιόλογον ἥ μάχη, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἀμφότεροι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνακαλουμένων ἀπήλθουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας· καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτ' ἑξῆσαν eis máχην οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι3 παρεφύλαττον ἀλλήλων τὰς

3 ένεκα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων γυμνών αὐτοῖς ἐξόδους. ἐδοξε μέντοι, ὡς λόγος ἦν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμη πολύς, δυναμενή4

1 τῶν νεκρῶν deleted by Reudler, Jacoby.
2 ἐν πυγηρᾷ ὥρα Bb: ἐμπνίγει ὥρα Α.
3 ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι Α: ἀλλά καθήμενοι Β.

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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 ως Naber: καὶ O, Jacoby.
5 δυναμένη Naber: ως δυναμένη O, Jacoby.

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tότε νικάν ἡ Ἑρωμαῖν δύναμις ἐκουσία μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι1 λαμπρὸν διὰ μίσος τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ ὀργῆν ἦν εἰχὲ πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ τῆς κληρουχίας. αὐτοὶ δ’ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν ὑπατον ὡς ὅν εἰκανόν στρατηγεῖν ἤτιόντο, γράμματα πέμποντες ὡς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γινόμενα τοιαῦτ’ ἢν ἐν ἀυτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ δαιμόνια σημεῖα ἐφαίνετο δηλωτικὰ θείου χόλου κατὰ τε φωνᾶς καὶ 4 οἴσεις ἁγίεις. πάντα δ’ εἰς τοῦτο συνέτενεν, ὡς οἱ τε μάντεις καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ συνενεγκαντες τὰς ἐμπειρίας ἀπέφαμον, τὸ2 θεῶν χολοῦσθαι3 τινας4 ὅτι οὐ κομίζονται τὰς νομίμους τιμάς, οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ ὅσιως ἐπιτελουμένων αὐτοίς τῶν ἱερῶν. ζήτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλῇ ἐκ πάντων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μὴν συσκέπασται τοῖς ἱεροφάνταις ὅτι τῶν παρθένων μία τῶν φυλαττοσῶν τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, Ὅπιμία ὅνομα αὐτῆ, τὴν παρθενίναι ἀφαιρεθείσα μιαίνε τὰ ἱερά. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ βασάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξεων μαθόντες ὅτι τὸ μηνύομεν ἦν ἀδίκημα6 ἀληθές, αὐτὴν μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀφελόμενοι τὰ στέμματα καὶ πομπεύσαντες δι’ ἀγορᾶς ἐντὸς τείχους ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν. δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξελεγχθέντας διαπράξασθαι τὴν φθορὰν

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

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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

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").

6 ἀδίκημα deleted by Kiessling; Kayser proposed to read ἀσέβημα or ἀμάρτημα.
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μαστιγώσαντες ἐν φανερῶ παραχρῆμα¹ ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ὡς ἀφεικότων αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν τὸν χόλον, ἐγένετο.

Χ. 'Ως δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων χρόνος, ἐλθόντων τῶν ὑπάτων πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους περὶ τῶν παραληφθομένων τὴν ἱγεμονίαν ἄνδρῶν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐβούλοντο τοὺς δραστηρίους τε καὶ ἡκιστά δημοσιοκος ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προ- αγαγεῖν· καὶ μετήριε τὴν ἁρχήν κελευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ύιὸς 'Ἀπίπου Κλαυδίου τοῦ πολεμωτάτου τῶν δήμων δοκοῦντο εἶναι, μεστὸς αὐθαδείας ἄνηρ καὶ θράσους, ἐταίρους τε καὶ πελάταις ἁπάντων πλεί- στον τῶν καθ’ ἠλικίαν δυνάμενος· ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ τῶν πέραν ἡδὸν δεδωκότων τῆς ἐπιεικείας τοὺς προνοησομένους τοῦ κοινῆ συμ- φέροντος ὀνομάζων ἥξιον ποιεῖν ὑπάτους. αἱ τε ἁρχαί διειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀνέλυον ἐξου- 2 σίας. ὅποτε μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καλοῖεν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποδείξοντες τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἁρχὴν ὑπάτους, οἱ δὴμαρχοὶ τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι διέλυν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια, ὀπότε δ’ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνοι καλοῖεν ὡς ἁρχαιρεσάσοντα τὸν δήμον, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐχοντες τοῦ συγκαλέσαν τοὺς λόχους καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδίδοναι. κατηγορίας τε ἀλλήλως ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀφιμαχίαι καθ’ ἐταιρίας συνισταμένων, ὥστε καὶ πληγῶς ἀλλήλους διδόναι τινὰς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς, καὶ οὐ μακράν ἀποσχεῖν 3 τὴν στάσιν τῶν ὀπλῶν. ταύτα μαθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ

¹ parαχρῆμα placed before μετὰ τοῦτο by Reiske.

¹ For chaps. 90 f. cf. Livy ii. 43, 1 f.
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 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.
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πολὺν ἐσκόπει χρόνον ὃ τι χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυναμένη τὸν δήμον οὔτε εἰξαί θουλομένη. ἦν δ’ ἡ μὲν αὐθαδεστέρα γνώμη δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι τῶν ἀρχαιοσιῶν ἔνεκα, ὥν ἂν ἡγώντας κράτιστον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοὺς τοις νοσοποιούς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελείν, καὶ εἰ τὶ ἡμάρτητα ταῖς πρότερον ἁρχαίς ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὅν βούλεται καταστησάμενον ἀνδράς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποδοῦναι

4 τὰς ἁρχὰς. ἦ δ’ ἐπιεικεστέρα μεσοβασιλείς ἐλέσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ τιμωτάτους ἄνδρας, οἷς ἐπιμέλεις ἔσται τὰ περὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς, ὅπως κράτισται γενήσονται, προνοηθήναι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐκλιπόντων ἐγίνοντο. ταῦτῃ προσθεμένῳ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πλειόνων ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν μεσοβασιλείς Ἀύλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος αἰ δ’ ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν

5 ἁρχαί. οὗτος ἐπιτροπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἀστασίαστον ὅσα εἶχεν ἡμέρας ἐτερον ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἄσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, Σπόριον Λάρκιον. κάκεινος συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτων ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ψήφους κατὰ τὰ τιμήματα ἀναδούσι, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εὐδοκήσεως ἀποδείκνυσιν ὕπατος Γάιον Ἰουλίου, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰουλίον, ἐκ τῶν φιλοδήμων, καὶ Κόιντον Φάβιον Καίσωνος υἱὸν τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ 6 τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δήμος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ πεπονθὼς εἶπεν

1 ἀποδείκνυται ... μεσοβασιλεῖς Σινγ : ἀποδείκνυται ... μεσοβασιλεῖς ΛΒΣ. 2 κατὰ Συλβοῦρ : καὶ Ο. 3 Jacoby : φιλοδημοτικῶν Ο, δημοτικῶν Cobet. 4 μὲν added by Reiske.

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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 centuriate 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.
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tυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ δεύτερον, μισῶν τὸν Ἀππιον καὶ ὅτι έκείνος ἀτιμασθήναι εἶδόκει
σφόδρα ἢδόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τέλει διαπεπραγμένους
δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ οὐθέν ἐνδώσσοντα τῷ δήμῳ
μαλακόν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελθεῖν, κατὰ γνώμην
εἴδόκει κεχωρηκέναι τὰ τῆς διχοστασίας.

XCI. Ἕπι τὴς τούτων ἀρχῆς Αἰκανοὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν
Λατίνων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπήλασαν ἄνδράποδα
καὶ βοσκήματα πολλὰ ληστρικῇ ἐφόδῳ χρησάμενοι·
Τυρρηνῶν δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς 'Ρω-
μαίσις γῆς πολλὴν ἣδίκησαν προνομαίς. τῆς δὲ
βουλῆς τὸν μὲν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον εἰς ἐτέρον
ἀναβαλμένης χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν δίκας
αἰτεῖν ψηφισμένης,1 Αἰκανοὶ μὲν ἐπειδῆ τὰ πρῶτα
αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἔχωρησε, καὶ οὔθεσι οἱ κωλύσων
τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφαίνετο, θράσει ἐπαρθέντες ἀλογίστῳ
ληστρικῆς μὲν οὐκέτι στρατεύειν ἐγνωσαν ποιεῖοθαί,
δυνάμει δὲ βαρεία ἐλάσσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν 'Ορτῶνα2
κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσι· καὶ διαρπάσαντες τὰ τε ἐκ
τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν εὐπορίαν
2 πολλὴν ἀγόμενοι. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ
tῆς 'Ρώμης ἄκοντας ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι οὐκ εἰς
αὐτῶν εἴησαν οἱ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὕθεν
τῶν δικαίων πονήσαντες· καὶ οἱ πρόσβεις ἐπι-
tυγχάνουσι τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς λείαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν
χώρας ἄγουσι. ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα
πολεμεῖν τε ἐψηφίσατο Οὐιεντανοῖς καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-
3 τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ἐγένετο

1 δίκας αἰτεῖν ψηφισμένης B : αἰτεῖν ψηφισμένης ἀπολογιάν R.
2 Sylburg : ὀρῶνα Ο.

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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 τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἔωντες ἐκφέρειν τῆς τε κληρουχίας ὑπομμηνήσκοντες τοὺς δημοτικοὺς, ἦς γε πέμπτον ἔτος ἐψηφισμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κενὴ πιστεύσαντες ἐλπίδι ἐξηπάτηντο, καὶ κοινὸν¹ ἀποφαίνοντες πόλεμον, εἰ κοινὴ χρήσεται γνώμη 4 πάσα Τυρρηνία τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖσι βοηθοῦσα. οὐ μὴν ἵσχυσάν γε οἱ τῶν στασιαστῶν² λόγοι, ἀλλ’ ἐκύρωσε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τῇ Σπορίου Λαρκίου γνώμη τε καὶ παρακλῆσει χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπάτοι· στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ³ τῆς πόλεως καὶ μεῖναντες ἕμέρας συχνάς, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀντεξῆγον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς δυνάμεις, προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ὅσην ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἀπῆγον ἐπ’ οἰκοῦ τὴν στρατιάν. ἄλλο δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας λόγου αξίων οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη.

¹ κοινὸν O : δεινὸν Post.
² Portus, Sylburg : στρατωτῶν O.
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.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΑΤΟΣ

I. Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἐτει διαφοράς γενομένης τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν περὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθησομένων ὑπάτων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ήξίουν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν προαγαγεῖν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτῶ κεχαρισμένων) γνωσιμαχήσαντες1 τέλος2 συνέπεισαν ἀλλήλους ἢ ἕκαστης μερίδος ὑπατον αἱρεθήναι καὶ ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων μὲν Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνης Καλλιάδου, καθ’ ὅν χρόνον ἑστράτευσε3 Ἐρέξης ἐπὶ 2 τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀρτί δὲ παρειληφότων αὐτῶν τὴν

1 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος after γνωσιμαχήσαντες deleted by Cobet. 2 τέλος Portus : τέως ACmg, ἐως BC. 3 Portus : ἑστρατοπέδευσε Ο.

1 For chaps. 1-4 cf. Livy ii. 43.
2 479 B.C. Dionysius synchronized each Roman consul-

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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

¹ See vol. i. pp. xxx f.
² The Greek year in the course of which it began came at about the time he assumed office.
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άρχήν Λατίνων τε πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν
dεόμενοι πέμψαι σφίσι τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετὰ
dυνάμεως, δὲ οὐκ ἔασει προσωτέρω χωρεῖν τὴν
Αἰκανῶν καταφρόνησιν, καὶ Τυρρηνία πᾶσα ἦγελ-
λετο κεκινημένη καὶ οὐ διὰ μακρὸν χωρήσουσα εἰς
πόλεμον. συνήχθη γὰρ εἰς κουνήν ἐκκλησιάν τὸ
ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ Οὐιεντανῶν δεθέντων συνάρα-
σθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ἡρωμαίων πολέμου, τέλος
εξήνεγκεν ἰξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Τυρρηνῶν μετ-
εχεῖν τῆς στρατείας· καὶ ἐγένετο χείρ ἀξιόμαχος ἦ
τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐκουσώς τοῦ πολέμου συναραμένη.
ταῦτα μαθοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τέλει Ἡρωμαίων ἐδοξε στρα-
τιάς τε καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἰξεῖναι, τὸν μὲν Αἰκανοῖς τε πολεμήσοντα καὶ
Λατίνοις τιμωροῦν ἐσόμενον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν

3 ἄξοντα τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραττε δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα
Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος τῶν δημάρχων εἰς· καὶ συνάγων
εἰς ἐκκλησιάν τὸν δήμον ὁσμέραι τὰς περὶ τῆς
κληρονομίας ὑποσχέσεις ἀπῆτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἐγχωρήσειν οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλε-
μον οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ψηφιζομένων
ἐπιτελεσθήναι, ἕαν μὴ τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας ἀποδεί-
ξωσι πρῶτον ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, καὶ
τῶν γῆν, ὡς ὑπέσχοντο, τῶν δήμων. ἀπορού-
μένη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀμηχανούσῃ τὶ χρὴ ποιεῖν,
"Ἀππιος Κλαύδιος ὑποτίθεται σκοπεῖν ὅπως δια-
stήσεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων πρὸς αὐτόν,
διδάσκων ὅτι τὸν κωλύσοντα καὶ ἐμποδοῦν γινόμενον
tοῖς δόγμαις τῆς βουλῆς ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ νόμῳ τὴν

1 Naber: τυρρηνίας O, Jacoby.
2 Sylburg: ικίλιος O (and so in later chapters).
3 οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον Sintenis: ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων O.
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 Tyrrhenia 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 Tyrrhenians 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 Tyrrhenia. 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.
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εξουσίαν ἐχοντα ταύτην ἄλλως οὐκ ἐστὶ παῦσαι τῆς δυναστείας, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἔτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων τάναντια πράττῃ ¹ καὶ, οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐμποδῶν γίνηται, ² ⁵ ταῦτα κελεύῃ. ³ συνεβούλευε τε-τοῖς ἄθις παραληψιμένοις τὴν ἄρχην ὑπάτως τούτῳ πράττειν καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐξουσία τινας ἀεὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκείους σφίσι καὶ φίλους, μέν ἐναί λέγων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀρχείου κατάλυσιν, ἐὰν στασιάζωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες.

II. Ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἄππιον δόξαντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν οἱ τε ὑπάτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατῶτατοι πολλῆς θεραπείας ⁴ διεπράξαντο τοὺς τέτταρας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκείους τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν λόγῳ μεταπείθειν τὸν Ἰκίλιον ἐπεχείρουν ἀποστῆναι τῶν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολιτευμάτων ἑως οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι τέλος· ὡς δ' ἡγαντιοῦ παί διώμυντο, λόγον τε τιν' ⁵ αὐθαδέστερον ⁶ εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε τοὺς δήμου παρόντος, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν βούλιοτο Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους κρατήσαντας τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδειν ἢ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν τὴν δημοσίαν ἀφείναι, δόξαντες ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι καλὴν πρὸς αὐθάδειαν τοσαύτην τοῦ τάναντια λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἢδεως δεξαμένου, κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἔφησαν, καὶ φανερῶς ἐπρατήτων ὅσα τῇ βουλῇ τε καὶ ⁷ τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοκοῦν.

¹ πράττῃ B : πράττειν R.
² γίνηται AB : γένηται Jacoby.

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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-

4 θεραπεία B: δυναστεία R.  
6 αὐθαδεστατον Sylburg.  
5 των Post: τῶν O, Jacoby.  
7 τε καί B: ἦ R.
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3 μονωθεὶς δ’ Ἰκίλιος οὐδενὸς ἐτὶ κύριος ἦν. μετὰ τούτο ἡ στρατιὰ κατεγράφετο, καὶ ὅσον ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων, ἀπάση προδυμία: καὶ διὰ τάχους οἱ ὑπάτοι διακληρωσάμενοι τὰ στρατεύματα εξήραν, Σπόριος μὲν Φούριος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Καίσων δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς.

4 Σπορίῳ μὲν οὖν ἄπαντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχωρήσεν οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐξεγένετο χρήματα τε καὶ σώματα λαβεῖν. ἐπῆλθε γὰρ ὁ λίγον δεῖν πάσαν ὅσην οἱ πολέμιοι χώραν κατείχον, ἀγων καὶ φέρων, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄπαντα ἐχαρίσατο.

5 δοκῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον εἶναι φιλόδήμος, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας ἐθεράπευσε τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ ἔπειθε παρῆλθεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς στρατείας, ἀγων ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὀλόκληρον τε καὶ ἄπαθῃ χρήμασιν εὔπορον κατέστησε τὴν πατρίδα.

III. Καίσων δὲ Φάβιος ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, οὐδενὸς χείρον στρατηγήσας, ἀφηρέθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπαίνον παρ’ οὐδὲν ἀμάρτημα ἴδιον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ ἐξε κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὑπατον Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας ἀπέ- 2 κτεινεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὅσα δέοι σὺν τάχει στρατηγῷ κελεύσαντι τοὺς ὑπηκόους πειθαρχεῖν, οὔθ’ ὅσα τῷ προθύμῳ καὶ πρέποντι χρησιμένους βίᾳ κατασχεῖν, οὔθ’ ὅσα λάθρα τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων χωρία εἰς

1 ἀγων Ο : ἀπάγον Kiessling.
2 κεχαρισμένον Ο : μένον R, εὐνοῦν Sintenis.
3 κρίνας B : προσαγγελλὰς A, Jacoby, εἰσαγγελλὰς C.
4 καὶ πρέποντι Ο : ἐν πρέποντι Reiske, ἐν πρέποντι καιρῷ Kayser, ἐπιτρέποντας καὶ Kiessling.
5 Reiske : ἀντιπολεμίων Ο.

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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 Tyrrhenians. 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 πράττεν οὐδὲν ἔτομοι ἦσαν ἐξ οὗ τιμῆν τινα ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν ἐξοίσεσθαι ἐμελλε. καὶ τάλλα μὲν ἅυτῶν, ὃσα ὑβρίζοντες τὸν ἁγεμόνα διετέλουν, ἐκεῖνῳ τε ἦττον λυπηρὰ ἦν καὶ τῇ πόλει βλάβης οὐ μεγάλης αἰτία, ὁ δὲ τελευτώντες ἐξειργάσαντο κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἤγεγκα καὶ πολλὰν 3 αἰσχύνην ἀμφοῖν. γενομένης γὰρ παρατάξεως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων ἐφ' οἷς ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἀμφότεροι πάση τῇ παρ' ἐκατέρων δυνάμει, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσαντες ἄρξαι φυγῆς, οὔτ' ἥκολούθησαν ἀπιούσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ ἐπικελεύοντος οὔτε παραμείναντες ἐκπολιορκήσαι τὸν χάρακα ἡθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ἔσαντες ἀτελὲς ἔργων καλὸν ἀπῆσαν 4 εἰς τὴν ἄυτῶν στρατοπεδείαν. ἐπιχειρησάντων δ' αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ὑπατον ἀναγορεύσας τινῶν μέγα ἐμβοηθόντες 4 ἀθρόου κακιζούσῃ τῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἁγεμόνα ἑλοῦσέρον, ὡς πολλοὺς σφῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπολωλεκότα δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ στρατηγείν καὶ ἀλλή πολλὴ βλασφημία καὶ ἀγανακτῆσε χρησάμενοι λύειν τὸν χάρακα καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥξιουν, ὡς οὐχ ἰκανοὺς ἐσομένους, ἐὰν ἐπὶ 5 ἴσων οἱ πολέμιοι, δευτέραν ὑπομείνα χάχην. καὶ οὔτε μεταδιδάσκοντος ἐπείθοντο τοῦ ἁγεμόνος, οὔτε ὀλοφυρομένου καὶ ἴκετεύοντος ἐπασχόν τι πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις, οὔτε ἀπειλᾶς καὶ ἀνατάσεις, ὄποτε καὶ ταύτας χρήσαιτο, δι' εὐλαβείας ἐλάμ-

1 Steph. : om. ABC.
2 Reiske : ὑ O.
3 aitia Sylburg : ἀξία Ο, Jacoby.
4 Sylburg : ἐμβοηθόντων ΑΒ.
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
βανον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπαντα τραχυνόμενοι ταύτα διέμενον. τοσαύτη δ’ ἀναρχία καὶ καταφρόνησις τοῦ ἑγεμόνος τισὶν εξ αυτῶν 1 παρέστη ὥστε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξαναστάντες ταῖς τε σκηνῶς ἔλυν καὶ τὰ ὀτρα ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐβάσταζον οὐδενὸς κελεύσαντος.

IV. Ταύτα τὸ στρατηγὸς μαθῶν ἡγαγκάσθη πάσι δοῦναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῆς ἔξοδου δείσας τὴν ἀναρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ θράσος. οἱ δ’ ἀσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς ἀνασωζόμενοι τάχει πολλῷ συνάπτονοι τῇ πόλει περὶ τοῦ οἶρον. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγνοῆσαντες ὅτι φίλιον ἦν στράτευμα, ὅπλα τ’ ἐνεδύνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνεκάλουν, ἦ τ’, ἀλλ’ πόλις, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, ταραχῆς ἐγεγόνει μεστῇ καὶ θορύβου καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσωσαν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας οἱ φύλακες ἦ 2 λαμπράν τε ἡμέραν γενέσθαι καὶ γνωσθήναι τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα. ὡστε πρὸς τῇ αἰσχύνη ἦν ἐκ τοῦ καταλιπέων τὸν χάρακα ἡνέγκαντο καὶ κύνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον αὐτοὺς ἀναρρίθαι σκότους ἀπίοντας διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἀτάκτως. εἰ γοῦν τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ πουδος 3 ἀπιόουσιν αὐτοῖς ἥκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἀν ἐκώλυσεν ἀπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τῆς στρατιάς. τῆς δ’ ἀλόγου ταύτης ἀπάρσεως ἡ φυγῆ τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μίσος, ἀσπερ ἐφη, αἰτιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς, ἵνα μὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῆ κοσμηθῆς ἐπίφανεστατος γένη- 3 ταῖ. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπαρσών τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς τ’ αὐτῶν ἐσκύλευ-

1 τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν Post (cf. chap. 9, 4) : πᾶσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν O, Jacoby.
2 ἦ B : ἔως AC.
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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 ποδῶς Sylburg : ἐκ παρῶς O.
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...καὶ τραυματίας ἀράμενοι ἀπήνεγκαν τάς τε καταλειψθεὶς ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρασκευάσας (πολλαὶ δ’ ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χρόνιον παρεσκευασμέναι1 πόλεμον) διεφόρησαν, καὶ ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες2 τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων τὴν εὐγυνάτω λεξιληπτάντες ἀπῆγον τὴν στρατιὰν.

V. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδιευθέντες ὑπατοῦ, Γνώιος Μάλλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχεῖν αἱρεθεῖς, ψῆφισα μὴν βοηθεῖσι ποιήσα-μένης στρατὸν ἔξαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀὐσεντανὶν πόλιν, ὡσον ἂν πλείστον δυνηθῶσι, προὔθηκαν ἡμέραν ἐν ἔτω τὸν κατάλογον ἐμελλὼν ποιήσεσθαι τῆς στρα-τιᾶς. γυνομένου δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμποδών ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, Τιμερίου Ποντοφικίου, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισ-μα ἀνακαλομένου, θεραπεύσαστες τῶν συναρχόν-των αὐτοῦ τινας, ὡσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑπατοῦ, διέστησαν τὸ ἄρχειν· καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἔπραττον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ δόεαντα τῇ βουλῇ. γενομένης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐν ὅλιγας ἡμέραις ἔξησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόλεμοις, δύο μὲν ἐκάτερος ἄγοις Ῥωμαίων τάγματα τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καταγραφέντων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ ταύτης χεῖρα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων τε καὶ υπηκόων ἀπο- σταλεῖσαν. ἀφίκετο δ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἐρικίων ἔθους διπλάσιον τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπικουρικόν.3 οὐ μὴν ἔχρησαντό γε παντὶ4· πολλὴν δὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσαντες τῆς προθυμίας ἀπέλυσαν τῆς ἀποσταλείσθης δυνάμεως τῆς ἡμίσειαν. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως

1 ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι Steph. ὡς εἰς χ. παρεσκευασμέναι ΑΒC.

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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, 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 Pontificius, 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,
τρίτον ἐκ δυνῆν ταγμάτων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατῶν, 
φύλακα τῆς χώρας ἐσόμενον, εἰ τις ἔτερα δύναμις 
pολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκήτου φανείᾳ τούς δ’ ὑπὲρ 
tῶν στρατιωτικῶν κατάλογον οἷς ἐτὶ δύναμις ἢν 
ὅπλων χρήσεως ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπον ἄκρας τε 
καὶ τείχη φυλάξοντας.

4 Ἀγαγόντες δὲ πλησίον τῆς Οὐκεντανῶν πόλεως 
tὰς δυνάμεις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσῶν 
οὐ μακρὰν ἀφεστικόσιν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ καὶ 
ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ἐξεστρατευμένη πρὸ τῆς 
pόλεως πολλῆ τε καὶ ἀγαθῆ. συνεληφθένσαν γὰρ 
ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἐαυτῶν 
pενέστασι ἐπαγόμενοι, καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ἀρωμαϊκοῦ 
5 στρατοῦ μεῖζον τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν οὐκ ὅλιγῳ. τοῖς 
δ’ ὑπάτοις τὸ τε πλῆθος ὀρῶσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ 
tὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων πολὺ δέος ἐνέπεσε μὴ 
ποτ’ οὐχ ἰκανοὶ γένονται στασιαζοῦσῃ δυνάμει τῇ 
σφετέρᾳ πρὸς ὁμοούσιον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀντι-
tαξάμενου ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς ὄχυρω-
σαμένοι τὰ στρατόπεδα τρίβειν τῶν πόλεμον, 
ἐκδεχομένοι εἰ τινα δῶσει πλεονεξία ἀφορμὴν 
αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων θράσος ἀλογίστω κατα-
φρονῆσει ἑταρθέν. ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο 
συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαὶ βραχεῖαι, 
μέγα δ’ ἡ λαμπρὸν ἐργὸν οὐδέν.

VI. Οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ τριβῆ τοῦ 
pολέμου διελίαι τε ὠνειδίζον τοῖς Ἀρωμαῖοι, 
ἐπειδή οὐκ ἐξήσπασαν εἰς μάχην, καὶ ὡς παρακεχωρη-
kότων αὐτῶν σφίσι τῆς ὑπαίθρου μέγα ἐφρόνουν. 
καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐπήρθησαν εἰς ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ ἀντι-
pάλου στρατοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν τῶν ὑπάτων 
2 δόξαντες καὶ τὸ θείον αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. τοῦ γὰρ 
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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 O.
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έτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Γναῖου Μαλλίου κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐμπεσὼν τὴν τε σκηνὴν διέσπασε καὶ τὴν ἑστίαν ἀνέτρεψε¹ καὶ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὁπλῶν τὰ μὲν ἐσπίλωσε, τὰ δὲ περιέκαυσε, τὰ δ’ εἰς τέλος ἡφάνισεν· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν λαμπρότατον αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑππων, ὁ παρὰ τοὺς ἀγώνας

3 ἤχρητο, καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τινάς. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων τοῦ τε χάρακος ἀλωσιν προσημαίνειν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπώλειαν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάλλιος ἀπήγε περὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτερον χάρακα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ συναρχόντος κατεστρατοπέδευσε. μαθόντες οὖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπανάστασιν² τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δ’ ὡς αἰτίας ἐγένετο παρὰ τινῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἐπήρθησαν τε ταῖς γνώμαις ἐτὶ μάλλον, ὡς πολεμοῦντος τοῖς Ἦρωμαίοις τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ πολλὴν εἰχον ἐλπίδα κρατήσειν αὐτῶν· οἱ τε μάντεις ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοθι που δοκοῦντες ἔξητακέναι τὰ μετάρρυσι, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται βολαὶ καὶ τῖνες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πληγαῖς ἀπόλυτας τόπουι, θεῶν τε οἷς ἐκαστοί ἀποδίδονται καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ κακῶν μηνυται, χωρεῖν ὁμός τοῖς πολεμίοις παρήκνυν διαριθμοῦμεν τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς Ἦρωμαίοις σημείον κατὰ τάδε·

4 ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέλος εἰς υπάτου σκηνήν κατέσκηψεν, ἐν ἢ τὸ στρατήγιον ἐνήη, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀχρὶ τῆς ἑστίας ἡφάνισεν, ὅλη προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ χάρακος ἐκλεψιν βίᾳ κρατηθέντος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὀλέθρον. „Εἰ μὲν οὖν," ἐφασαν, „ἔμειναν ἐν αὐτὸ κατέσκηψε χωρίῳ τὸ βέλος οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ μετηνέγκαντο τὰ σημεία

⁶ Sylburg : ἀνέστρεψε ΑΒ.
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

2 ἀπανάστασιν B : ἀπόστασιν R.
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ός τούς ἑτέρους, μιᾶς τε παρεμβολῆς ἀλώσει καὶ ἔνος ὀλέθρω στρατοῦ τὸ νεμεσῶν αὐτοῖς δαμόνιον ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἀν τὸν χόλον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ σοφῶτεροι τῶν θεῶν εἶναι ξητοῦντες εἰς τὸν ἑτέρον χάρακα μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο,¹ καταλιπόντες ἔρημον τὸν τόπον, ὡς οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ προδηλοῦντος τὰς συμφορὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τόποις, κοινὸς ἀπασων αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἤξει χόλος, τοῖς τε 7 ἀπαναστάσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀλώναι σφῶν τὸν ἑτέρον χάρακα βίᾳ θείας ἐπιθεσπιζούσης ἀνάγκης οὐ περιέμεναν τὸ χρεῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐκείνοις ὁ χάραξ ὁ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑποδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀλώσεται βίᾳ κρατηθεὶς.

VII. Ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀκούσαντες μέρει τινὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν στρατιὰς τὴν ἐρημωθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν καταλαμβάνονται στρατοπεδεύειαν ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ποιησόμενοι τῆς ἑτέρας· ἦν δὲ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἴσοι καλύσεως ἐν καλῷ κείμενον. πραγματευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὰλλα ἐξ ὧν πλεονεκτήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλον, ἐξῆγον 2 εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὰς δυνάμεις. μενόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας προσιππεύοντες ἐξ² αὐτῶν οἱ τολμηρότατοι καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος ἱστάμενοι, γυναίκας τε ἀπεκάλουν ἀπαντᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν τοῖς δειλοτάτοις τῶν ἔως ἐοικε- ναι λέγοντες ἐκάκιζον, καὶ δυεῖν θάτερον ἡξίουν· εἴ μὲν ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς,

¹ μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο B : μετεστρατοπεδεύσαν R.
² ἐξ B : πρὸς R.

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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 μιᾶ τὸν ἀγώνα κρίναι μάχης, εἰ δ’ ὀμολογούσιν εἶναι κακοί, παραδόντας τὰ ὀπλα τοὺς κρείττοσι καὶ δίκας ὑποσχόντας ὧν ἔδρασαν μηδενὸς ἐτί τῶν μεγάλων ἔαυτος ἥξιον.
3 τούτ’ ἐποίουν ὁσιμέραι καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνωσαν ὡς λιμῷ προσαναγκάσοντες παραστήναι. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα μέχρι πολλοῦ, δι’ ἀνανδρίας μὲν ἡ μαλακίαν οὐδεμίαν (ἀμφότεροι γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμοι ἦσαν), τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑθελοκακὸν τε καὶ ἀπρόθυμον, διαμένων εἰς τοὺς δημοτικοῖς ἐξ οὗ περὶ τῆς κληροχίας διεσταίσαν, ύφορώμενοι ἐτί γάρ αὐτοῖς ἔναυλα καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἢν ἀ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔγκοτον τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον τιμῆς αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσαντο, παραχωρήσαντες τῆς νίκης τοῖς ἡπτηθείσι καὶ φυγῆς ὁνείδος οὐκ ἄλθες ὑπομείναντες, ἡνα μὴ καταγάγη τὸν ἐπινίκιον θρίαμβον ὁ ἄνηρ.

VIII. Βουλόμενοι δὴ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς στρατιάς ἐξελεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ καταστήσαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμόνοιαν ἀπαν τὸ πλήθος, καὶ εἰς ἐν τούτῳ πάσαν εἰσφερόμενοι βουλήν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κολάσει μέρους τινὸς σωφρονέστερον ἀποδοῦναι τὸ λουπὸν ἢν, πολὺ καὶ αὐθάδες ὑπάρχον καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἐν ταῖς χειρὶν ἔχον, οὔτε πειθοὶ προσαγαγέθαι λόγων τοὺς οὐδὲ πεισθῆναι βουλομένους, δύο ταῦτα ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι τῶν στασιαζόντων αὐτίς τῆς διαλλαγῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἐπι-

1 πρὸς O : περὶ Reiske.
2 Reiske : οὔτε O.
3 ἔσεσθαι B : om. R.
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
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εἰκεστέρας μετειληφώσι φύσεως (ἐννὶ γάρ τι καὶ τοιούτον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ) τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐνειδισμοῖς τῶν πολεμίων αἰσχύνην, τοῖς δὲ δυσαγώγους ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἣν ἀπασά δέδοικεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀνάγκην.

2 ἵνα δὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο ἀμφότερα, ἐφήκαν τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγῳ τε αἰσχύνειν κακίζοντας σφῶν ὡς ἀνανδρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἔργοις ὑπεροφίας τε καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολλοῖς γινομένοις ἀναγκάζειν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐκουσίως εἶναι μὴ βουλομένους. γινομένων γὰρ τούτων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἢξειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀπαντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ καταβοῦντας καὶ κελεύοντας ἡγεῖσθαι

3 σφῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὡς γὰρ ἠρξαντο τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ χάρακος ἀποταφρεύειν τε καὶ ἀποσταυρῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, δυσαναχετήσαντες οἱ Ἱωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, τέως μὲν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἔπειτ' ἀθρόου συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκεκράγεσαν τε καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτῶς ἐνεκάλουν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἡγῆσεται σφῶ τῆς ἐξόδου, δίχα ἐκεῖνων αὐτῶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς

4 πολεμίους ἔλεγον ἐξελεύσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνετο τοῦτο, παρεῖναι τὸν χρόνον ὅν περιέμενον οἱ στρατηγοὶ νομίζαντες ἐκέλευνο τοῖς ὑπηρέτας συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ προελθὼν Φάβιος τούτῳ ἐπι·

IX. “Βραδεῖα μὲν ἡ ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν γίνεται περὶ ὅν ὑβρίζεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀνδρὲς στρα-

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

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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."
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τιώταί τε καὶ ἡγεμόνες· καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐκάστου χωρεῖν ὡμόσε τοὺς ἐναντίοις πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὑπέρον φαινόμενον ἀωρὸν ἑστι. παλαιτερον γὰρ ἑτὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐδει πράττειν, ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἶδετε καταβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καὶ μάχης ἄρχειν βουλομένους. τότε γὰρ δῆπον καλὸς ὁ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐν ἀγών καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμαιῶν φρονή-ματος ἀξίους νῦν δ' ἀναγκαῖος ἦδη γίνεται, καὶ οὐδ' ἀν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ τέλος, ὡμοίως καλὸς.

2 εὖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖτε ὡμός ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν βραδυτήτα βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ πολλῆς χάρις ὑμῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὁρμῆς, εἰτ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γίνεται (κρείττον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡθε ἀρξασθαὶ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἡ μηδέποτε), εἰτ' οὖν ἀπαντεῖς ὡμοίους ἔχετε περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμούς, καὶ ἡ προθυμία τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα 3 ὁρμῆς ἀπαντᾶς ἢ αὐτὴ κατείληφε. νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμεθα μὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς κληρονίας προσκρούσαμα τῶν δημοτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει μεγάλης αὐτία τῶν κοινῶν γένηται βλάβης. ὑποφία τε ἡμᾶς κατ-εἴληφεν ὅς ἡ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καταβοῆ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως παρὰ πάντων γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμεῖσθη τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ 4 δ' ὡς ἀποδρασώμενοι. εὖ δὲν δὲ παρέστηκεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ὑποπτεύειν οὐ μαντεῖαι εἰσὶν οὐδὲ στοχασμοί, ἀλλ' ἐργα ἐμφανῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα παλαιά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐναυτῷ γενόμενα, ὡς ἀπαντεῖ ἵστε, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους τούτους πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐξελθουσὶς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πρώτης μάχης

1 Reiske : εἲ γε Ὑ, Jacoby.
2 Sylburg : δὴ ἈΒΓ.
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: μάντεις O.
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tὸ κράτιστον ἡμῖν λαβούσης τέλος, δυνηθέντος ἂν τοῦ τότε ἀγοντος ὑμᾶς ὑπάτου Καῖσωνος, ἀδελφοῦ δ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ, καὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξελεύν καὶ νίκην τῇ πατρίδι καταγαγείν λαμπρο-τάτην, φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ δόξης τινὲς, ὥστιν δημοτι-κὸς οὐκ ἢν οὐδὲ τὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς πένησι διετέλει πολυτευμένος, τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτί μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς ἀνευ παραγγέλμα-τος ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, οὔτε τὸν κίνδυνον ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν καταληψόμενον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως καὶ χωρίς ἥγεμόνος ἀπόφθαντα ἐκ πολεμίας γῆς καὶ ταυτά ἐν νυκτί, οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ὅση καθέξειν αὐτοὺς ἐμελλεν ὑπολογισμένων, ὅτι παρεχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίους τῆς ἥγεμονίας, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοῖς μέρος, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νικήσαντες τοῖς κεκρατημένοις. 5 τούτοις δὴ τοὺς ἀνδρας ὀρρωδοῦντες, ὁ ταξιαρχοὶ τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατῶται, τοὺς οὔτ᾽ ἄρχειν δυναμένους οὔτ᾽ ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένους πολλοὺς καὶ αὐθάδεις ὄντας καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ἐχοντας ἐν χειρίν, οὔτε πρότερον ἐβουλομέθα μάχην συνάπτεν οὔτε νῦν ἔτι βαρσοῦμεν ἐπὶ τοιούτως συμμάχους τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγώνα ἄρασθαι, μὴ κωλύματα καὶ βλάβαι γένωνται τοῖς ἀπαντα τὰ καθ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς 6 πρόθυμα παρεχόμενοι. εἰ μέντοι κάκεινων ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τῶν νοῦν ἄγει νυνὶ καὶ 2 κατα-βαλόντες τὸ στασιάζον, ὅποις οὐ 3 πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα βλάπτεται τὸ κοινὸν, ἣ γε δὴ 4 εἰς τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναβαλόμενοι καιροὺς, ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλοῦνται τὰ παρελθόντα οὐνεὶδη 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 disgraces by their present valour, let there be no further hindrance to your advancing

4 ἦ γε ᾧ Sintenis : εἰ γε ᾧ B, om. R.
κωλύσων ἐστὶν χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδας.
7 "Εἴομεν δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτας ἃς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἁπότον ἡμῖν παρέχει, οὐ γε πλήθει στρατιάς μακρῷ προὐχοντες ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ δυνηθέντες ἃν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας τόλμας τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀντέχειν, ἀπεστερήκασι τῆς μόνης ὁφειλείας ἐαυτοὺς ἀπαναλώσαντες τὸ πλεῖον τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος εἰς τὰς τῶν φρουρίων φυλακάς. ἔπειτα δέον αὐτούς σὺν εὐλαβεία καὶ λογισμῷ σῶφρονι πράττειν ἕκαστα, ἐνθυμομένους πρὸς οἶους ἄνδρας καὶ πολὺ ἄλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν ὁ κίνδυνος ἐσται, θρασεύως καὶ ἄπερσκέπτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγῶνα χωροῦν, ὃς ἀμαχόν δὴ τίνες καὶ ὃς ἠμῶν καταπεληγότων αὐτοὺς. αἱ γοῦν ἀποταφεύσεις καὶ αἱ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἡμῶν καθιστεύσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίσματα τούτω δύναται. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐνθυμομένου καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἁγώνων μεμνημένοι, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν οἷς αὐτούς ἐνικάτε, χωρεῖτε μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν ἁγῶνα· καὶ ἐν ὧν ὡς ἠμῶν ἐκαστὸς χωρῶ ταχθῇ, τούτῳ ὑπολαβέτω καὶ οἶκον εἶναι καὶ κλήρον καὶ πατρίδα· καὶ ὁ τε σῶζων τὸν παραστάτην ἐαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβέτω, καὶ ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν πέλας ἐαυτὸν ἡγεῖσθω τοῖς πολεμίοις προδιδόναι. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνο μεμνησθαι προσήκειν, ὧτι μενὸντων μὲν ἄνδρῶν καὶ μαχομένων ἄλγον τὸ ἀπολλύμενον ἐστιν, ἐγκλινάντων δὲ καὶ φευγόντων κομίδῃ βραχὺ τὸ σωζόμενον."

1 καὶ πολὺ B : om. C, καὶ R. Garrer and Jacoby reject καὶ πολὺ ἄλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν as a gloss.
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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,¹ 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 δὴ τινες Ῥ.: τινες Β., Jacoby. ³ προσήκεν Α.: προσήκει Ρ.
X. "Ετι δ' αυτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐκχέοντος δάκρυα, λοχαγῶν τε καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστὸν ὃ συνηδεῖ τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐν μάχαις ἀποδειξαμένῳ κατ' ὄνομα ἀνακαλοῦντος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασι κατὰ τὴν μάχην φιλάνθρωπα δῶσειν ὑποχνουμένου πρὸς τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος, τιμᾶς τε καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς βοηθείας, ἀναβοήσεις ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευνόμενον καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ 2 τὸν ἁγώνα ἄξιοις τῶν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο, προ- ἔρχεται τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήσος ὄνομα, ἀνήρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἑπαυσωμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος, καὶ δι' ἀμφό οὕτα ἔνοι τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἁρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἢ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἐκατονταρχίας ἐπέ- σθαι τε καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει δ' νό- μος. τούτους 'Ρωμαίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ 
3 γλώστῃ προμοσίλους καλοῦσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ (ἢν 
δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν) στὰς 
ὀθὲν ἀπασών ἐμελλεν ἐσεθαί φανερός, "Ἐπει 
τοῦτο,2" ἐφησεν, "ὡ ὑπατοι, δεδοίκατε, μὴ τὰ 
ἔργα ἧμῶν οὐχ ὁμοία γένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ 
πρώτος ἦμαι ύπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ὑπο-
σχέσεως ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης πίστεως παρέξομαι· καὶ 
ὕμεις δ', ὡ πολῖταί τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινώνοι 
τύχης, ὅσοι διεγνώκατε3 εἰς ἴσον καταστήσατε τὰ 
ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιτε τὸ αὐτὸ ποι-
4 οὕντες ἐμοί." ταύτ' εἴπων καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνας

1 ὁ added by Kiessling.
2 ἐπεὶ τοῦτο Sintenis : ἐπὶ τοῦτο Α, ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ Β.
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, 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 O : δὴ ἐγνώκατε Reiske.
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"μοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριον τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὅρκον, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλως δ’ οὖ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληίου τὸν ὅρκον πολὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ ἀμφότεροι τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρων καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλιαρχοὶ τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ, 5 τελευτῶσα δ’ ἡ πληθὺς. ἔπει δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πάσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τε αὐτ καὶ μένος· καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις χαλυνοὺς ἐνέβαλ- λον, οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπασ- τήρια τῶν ὄπλων ἐξέματτον· καὶ δι’ ὅλιγον3 πᾶσα 6 ἡν ἔτοιμοι εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα ἡ στρατιά. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαίς τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἐπι- καλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου σφίζει γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνας, ἐξήγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἓδοντες ἐθαύμασάν τε καὶ ἀντεπεξ- ἰέσαν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει.

XI. Ὁς δ’ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἀμφότεροι κατέστησαν καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλους ἵππεῖς τε4 ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγίνετο φόνος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξίον ἔχοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρας, οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰχεν ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μάλλιος, ἐξ- έωσαν τὸ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς μέρος, καὶ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ἐμάχοντο πεζοί. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι ταχθέντες ύπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων

1 ἵπποις B : ἵππεῖς 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

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3 δι' ὄλιγου Α: ὄλιγου B, Jacoby.
4 τε B: om. R.
2 ἐκυκλοῦντο. ἢν γὰρ Ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φαλαγξ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρὸν ὑπερπετῆς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων μεῖζων τῆς ἐτέρας. παρερρήγνυτο δὴ ταύτῃ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐλάμβανεν. ἤγειτο δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ κέρως Κώντως Φάβιος, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ὡν, δ ὅσ τὰ ποταμεῖα καὶ τῷ εἰς τὰ στέρνα μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ἠλθοῦσας τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐξαιμος

3 γενόμενος πίπτει. ὡς δὲ τούτ’ ἥκουσεν ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, Μάρκος Φάβιος (ἡν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τῆν φαλαγγα τεταγμένοις) τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν λόχων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ἄδελφων Καίσωνα Φάβιον ἀνακαλεσάμενος, παρῆλαυνεν τὴν ἐσιτοὶ φαλαγγα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλλαξεν τῶν δεξιών τῶν πολεμίων κέρας, ἦλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κυκλομένους. ἐμπεσὼν δ’ αὐ- 

4 τοῖς φόνον τε τοῖς ἐν χερσὶ ποιεῖ πολὺν καὶ φυγήν τῶν πρόσων, τὸν τε ἄδελφον ἐτι ἐμπνέοντα κατα- 

λαβὼν αἴρεται. ἂκείνους μὲν οὖν οὐ πολὺν ἐτι χρόνον ἐπιβίους ἀποθνῄσκει· τοῖς δὲ τιμωροῦσιν ἀυτῶθι θυμός ἔτι πλεῖων παρέστη καὶ μείζων πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτι τῆς ἱδίας ψυχῆς προ- 

νοοῦμενοι σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς μέσους ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς μάλιστα συνεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, σωροὺς ἐξ- 

5 ἐπλήρουν νεκρῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ τὸ μέρος

1 ἐπὶ before τὴν deleted by Gelenius.
2 Portus : παρῆλλαξαν Ο.
3 πλεῖων παρέστη καὶ μείζων Α : μείζων παρέστη Β.
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 Caesar 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 "propraetor," 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.
ἐκαμεν ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ, καὶ οἱ πρότερον ὀσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων ἀνεκόπησαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐχοντες κέρας, ἐνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν, 1 κάμυντες ἡδη καὶ φυγής ἀρχοντες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς. παλτῷ γάρ τις βαλὼν τὸν Μάλλιον διὰ τοῦ γόνατος ἀχρι τῆς ἱγνύας διήρεισε τὴν λόγχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ πέριξ ἀραντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὸν ἕγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν τεθνηκέναι δόξαντες ἐπερρώθησαν, καὶ παραβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἕγεμόνα. ἡμαγκάσθησαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φάβιοι καταλιπόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας 2 τῷ δεξιῷ βοηθείν· καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσωντας αὐτοὺς στήφει καρτερῷ μαθόντες τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀποτρέπονται, πυκνώσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόχους ἐμαχοντο ἐν τάξει, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπεκτείναν.

XII. 'Ἐν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου καταλαβόμενοι Τυρρηνοὶ συνήθιματος ἀρθέντος ἀπὸ 3 τοῦ στρατηγίου 4 σὺν τάχει πολλῷ καὶ προθυμία μεγάλη χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτερον ἥπειρον τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν χάρακα, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοχρέως δυνάμει φυλαττόμενον. καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀληθῆς. ἔξω γὰρ τῶν τριωρίων καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐμπόρὼν τε καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ· γίνεται τε πολλῶν εἰς ὀλίγουν συνελαθέντων χωρίον (περὶ γὰρ ταῖς πύλαις ὁ ἄγων ἦν) ὀξείᾳ καὶ

1 ἐνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν placed here by Kiessling, after ἀρχοντες by O; deleted by Jacoby.

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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.

2 κέρας A : μέρος B. 3 ἀπὸ B : ὑπὸ R. 4 Reiske : στρατηγοῦ O.
χαλεπῇ μάχῃ, καὶ νεκροὶ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων πολλοί.

2 εὖ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ὦ τε ὑπατος Μάλλιος ἐκβοηθῶν ἀμα τοῖς ἐπιπέδων, ἔπειδὴ ὦ ὑπόπος ἐπεσε, συγκατ- 

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3 τά μαντεύματα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐταμειωσάντο τῇ 

παροῦς εὔτυχιόν, καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἰχὸν τὸν 

χάρακα, τόσ τε ἀποσκευᾶς τῶν Ἔρωμαίων κατέσχον 

ἀν καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀπελθεῖν ἣνάγκασαν. νῦν 

δὲ πρὸς ἁρπαγήν τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων τραπόμενοι καὶ 

ἀναψύχοντες τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ πλείους καλὴν ἄγραν 

ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφηρέθησαν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπηγγέλθη 

θατέρω τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ τοῦ χάρακος ἀλώσις, 

[Unit text continues...]

1 ο τε ὑπατος μάλλιος B : ο τε μάλλιος ὑπατος R. Kiessling 

2 εἰχὸν Ο : ἐσχόν Steph.2, Jacoby. 

3 ἀν added by Cobet. 

4 Sylburg : ἡνάγκαζον Ο. 

5 τό λοιπὸν B : om. R. 

6 τε χωρίων Reiske : τὸ χωρίον Ο.

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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,\(^1\) after communicating his plan to the consul, ordered that a retreat should be sounded and

\(^1\) See note on chap. 11, 2.

\(^7\) ή μάχη Sylburg : τή μάχη O.
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γενομένους μιᾶ προσβάλλειν πλευρά τοῦ χάρακος, καθ’ ὅ ταῦτα τὸ χωρίον ἦν ἑπιμαχωτάτου. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας εἶσε ὑπέρ τὰ τινα εἰκότα λογισμόν, ὅσον ἐξεύσατο αὐτὸν, ὅτι σωθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐξπίσαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μεθῆσονται τοῦ χάρακος, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὲ τοῦτον γενόμενοι κυκλώσεις τε πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης καὶ οὐδεμίας ὑπαρχούσης ἔξοδον ἀναγκαίον ἔξουσι τὸ ἐντολμὸν. γενομένης δὲ καθ’ ἐν χωρίον τῆς προσβολῆς οὐκέτι πρὸς ἀλκήν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐτράποντο, ἀλλ’ ἀνοίχαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐαυτῶν ἀνεσώζοντο χάρακα.

XIII. Ὅ δ’ ὡπατός ὑπειδὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπεώσατο, παρεβοήθη καὶ πάλιν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. ἀὐτὴ μεγάλη λέγεται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι Ἐρωμαῖοις μάχη, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ τῷ ἀγχιστρόφῳ τῆς τύχης. ἀὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ρωμαίων ἡ κρατίστη τε καὶ ἐπίλεκτος ἀκμὴ δισμυρίων μάλιστα πεζῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων τοῖς τέτταροι τάγμασι ἰππεῶν ὀμοῦ τι χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, ἀποίκων δὲ καὶ 2 συμμάχων ἐτέρα τοσαυτῇ. χρόνος δ’ ἐμηκύνθη τοῦ ἁγῶνος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς μεσημβρίας ἀρξάμενος μέχρι δύσεως ἥλιου. τὰ δὲ τῆς τύχης μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς καὶ τῆς νίκαις τε καὶ ἄτταις ταλαντεύομεν διέμειν. ὡπάτου δὲ θάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ πρεσβευτὸς δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἁγεμόνων καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, ὡσὶν οὐδέπω πρότερον. τὸ μέντοι κράτος τοῦ ἁγῶνος

1 Possibly an error for ἐπίμαχον.
2 οἱ τυρρηνοὶ B : om. R.
3 ῥωμαῖοι B : ῥωμαῖοι R.
4 δὲ B : τε R.
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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

\[ vικας \ τε \ καὶ \ ήττας \ Bb : \ νίκας \ τε \ καὶ \ ήττας \ ΑΒαC. \]

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ἐδόκει περὶ τοὺς Ἱερολόγους γεγονεῖναὶ κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὖθεν, ὅτι δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ καταλυόντες τὸν χάρακα οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀνέζευξαν. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἀρπαγάς τῆς ἐκλεφθείσης ύπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν παρεμβολῆς οἱ Ἱερολόγοι τραπόμενοι καὶ ταφάς πουησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν ἀπήλθον εἰς τὸν έαυτῶν χάρακα. ἐκεί δ’ ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς ἀγωνισμένοις λαμπρῶς τὰς ἀριστείους ἀπέδοσαν τιμὰς, πρῶτῳ μὲν Καϊσωνι Φαβίῳ τῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀδελφῷ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένω, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Σικκίῳ, τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ τὸν χάρακα ἀνασώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ Φλαβοληίῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ τάγματος, τοῦ θ’ ὀρκον χάριν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ρώμης.  

4 διαπραξαμένοι δὲ ταύτα καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐπί τοῦ χάρακος, ὡς οὕδεις ἀντεπεξῆγε τῶν πολεμίων μαχησόμενος, ἀπήσαν ἐπὶ οἷκον. πάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ ἀγῶνι κάλλιστον τέλος εἶληφότι, τὴν ἐπινίκιον τιμὴν τοῦ θριάμβου τῷ περιόντι ὑπάτῳ προσθείναι βουλομένων, ἤρνησατο τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπατος, οὐτε ὅσον εἶναι λέγων οὔτε θεμυτὸν ἐπὶ ἀδελφοῦ θανάτῳ καὶ συνάρχοντος ἀποβολῆ πομπεῶν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν ἀποθείς δὲ τὰς σημείας καὶ τοῦς στρατιώτας ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀπωμόσατο, δυεῖν ἐτὶ μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον λειπομένων, ἀδύνατος ὡν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐτι

1 διαπαξαμένῳ B : διαταξαμένῳ C, διαφρασμένῳ ACmg.
2 ρώμης O : τόλμης Kiessling, ὀρμῆς Grasberger.
3 σημεῖας O : σημεῖας 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.

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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\(^1\) of the legion, on account of both the oath he had taken and the prowess\(^2\) 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.
πράττειν. ἐταλαιπώρει γάρ ὑπὸ τραύματος ἐξαισίου καὶ ἰν κλινοπετῆς.

XIV. Ἑλομένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μεσοβασιλεῖς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐνεκα, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μεσοβασιλέως συγκαλέσαντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοὺς λόχους, ἀποδείκνυται Καῖσων Φάβιος ὁ τὰ ἀριστεία λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένου, τὸ τρίτον ὑπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Οὐρεγίνιος. οὕτω διαλαχώντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήσαν εἰς τὴν ὑπαμθρον, Φάβιος μὲν Αἰκάνως πολεμήσων προνομεύουσι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς,

2 Οὐρεγίνιος δὲ Οὐιεντανώς. Αἰκάνω μὲν οὖν ἑπειδὴ στρατὸν ἑλευσόμενον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας διὰ τὰχους ἀπήλθον εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λεηλατουμένης τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἦνείχοντο, ὥστε πολλῶν κρατήσαι χρημάτων τὸν ὑπατον καὶ σωμάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας ἐξ ἐφόδου. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρχᾶς ἐντὸς τείχους μένοντες, ἑπειδὴ καὶρὸν ἔχειν ἔδοξαν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπέθεντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγήν τετραμμένους

3 τῆς λείας. ἑχοντες δὲ πολλὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην δύναμιν ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς ὁμός χωροῦντες οὕς μὲν ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὕς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπουσιν· καὶ εἰ μὴ Τίτος Σίκκιος προσβενητῆς τότε ὡν στίφει συντεταγμένῳ πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων παραβοηθήσας ἐπέσχεν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύον ἣν ἀπασαν ἀπολέσθαι τὴν στρατιάν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐμποδῶν

1 λόχους Schwegler: ὄχλους Ο.
2 τῆς ἄλλης λείας Reiske, ἄλλης λείας Sintenis: τῆς λείας Ο, πολλῆς λείας Cmg.
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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.
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4 καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐν τούτῳ ἔμειναν. ἐπαρθέντες δὲ Οὐινεντανοὶ τῶν καταρθώματι πλησίον τοῦ λόφου τίθενται τὰ ὀπλα, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλουν ὡς κατακεκλεικότες τοὺς Ρωμαίους εἰς χωρίον ἐνθα οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμελλον ἔξειν, καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παραδοῦναι σφίς τὰ ὀπλα. γίνεται τε αὐτῶν συχνοῦ ἐλθόντος ὄχλου δύο στρατεύματα περὶ τὰς ἐπιμάχους λαγό-γας τοῦ λόφου, πολλὰ τ' ἀλλα φρούρια βραχύτερα κατὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰν ἐπικαίρους τόπους· καὶ πάντα ἤν μεστὰ ὀπλων.

5 Ὅ δ' ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Φάβιος γραμμάτων παρὰ τοῦ συγαρχοντος ἀφικομένων ἐπιγνοντι ώς ἐν ἐσχάτοις εἰςν οἱ κατακλεισθέντες ἐν τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ κινονεύσουσιν, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς βοηθήσει, λιμῷ ἀλώναι, ἀναστήσας τον στρατόν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐινεντανοὺς σὺν τάχει· καὶ εἰ μᾶ βραδύτερον ἠμέρα διήνυσε τὴν ὅδον, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔνησεν, ἀλλὰ διεφθαρμένη τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιῶν κατέλαβε. πιεζό-μενοι γὰρ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατέχοντες τον λόφον ἐξῆλθον ώς τὸν εὐπρεπέστατον αἰρησο-μενοι τῶν θανάτων, καὶ συμβαλόντες τοὺς πολεμί-νους ἐμάχοντο κεκμηκότες οἱ πλείους τὰ σώματα λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ τῇ ἄλῃ κακώ-6 σει. μετ' οὖν πολὺ δ' ώς τὸ τοῦ Φαβίου στράτευμα προσιόν ὥφθη πολὺ τε καὶ συντεταγμένον, θάρσος μὲν ἐφέρε τοῖς σφετέροις, δέος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις·

1 τε Reiske : δὲ Ο.
2 ώς Post : ὃς ὑπὶ R, ὑπὶ B, Jacoby.
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 οὐκέτι ἄξιόμαχοι εἶναι νομίσαντες πρὸς ἀγαθήν τε καὶ ἄκμητα δύναμιν εἰς ἀγώνα χωρεῖν, ὥστε ἔκλυπόντες τοὺς χάρακας. ώς δ' εἰς ταῦτο συνῆλθον αἱ τῶν Ἄρωμαῖων δυνάμεις ἀμφότεροι, στρατόπεδον τε πουοῦνται μέγα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐχυρῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἥμερας αὐτοθεί διατρύπαντες καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν Ὀυιέντανῶν χώραν λειλατήσαντες ἀπῆγγον ἐπὶ οὖκ οἷς τὴν στρατιὰν. ώς δ' ἐγνώσαν οἱ Ὀυιέντανοι τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ἄρωμαίων ἀφειμένας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, τὴν εὐξίων ἀναλαβόντες νεότητα, ἦν τε αὐτοὶ συντεταγμένη εἰχον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων παροῦσαν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰ προσκείμενα τῇ σφητέρα χώρα πεδία, καὶ διαρπάζουσι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑντα μεστά. κατέβησαν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ γεωργοὶ χίλιον τε τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐνεκα καὶ ἐργασίας τῶν ἀγρῶν πιστεύοντες τῇ σφητέρᾳ στρατιᾷ προκαθημένη καὶ οὐ φθάσαντες ἀπελθοούσης ἀνασκεύασθαι πάλιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίδαντες τοσαῦτα κεκακωμένους τοὺς Ὀυιέντανοὺς ταχείαν οὕτως ἀντεπιχείρησιν κατὰ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ποιήσασθαι. 3 αὕτη χρόνου μὲν μήκει βραχεία ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ὀυιέντανῶν εἰς τὴν Ἄρωμαίων γῆν ἐμβολή, πλήθει δὲ χώρας ἣν ἐπηλθον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μεγάλη, καὶ ἀχθηδόνα σὺν αἰσχύνῃ Ἄρωμαίως ἀθῆν παρέσχεν ἄχρι Τεθερίους τε ποταμοὺ καὶ ὁροὺς Ἰανίκλου στάδια τῆς Ἄρωμος οὐδ' εἰκοσιν ἀφεστῶτος ἀφικομένη. ἦν κωλύσουσα

1 ἀνασκεύασθαι BCmg : ἀνασκεύασται AC.
2 οὖκ ἂν ἐλπίδαντες B : οὖκ ἐλπίδαντες L, Jacoby, οὖν' ἐλπίδαντες Kiessling.
3 ποιήσασθαί ABC : ποιήσασθαί Steph., Jacoby.

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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. For there was no force

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

4 Kiessling: ταῖς O.
5 ἧ Α: om. B, but three letters deleted before κωλύσουσα.
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γάρ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλειον χωρεῖν τὰ πολέμια οὐκ ἢν ὑπὸ ἰ σημείαις. ἔφθασε γοῦν τὸ τῶν Οὐιεντανών στράτευμα πρὶν συνελθεῖν τε καὶ λοχισθήναι τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἀπελθόν.

XV. Συναχθείσης δὲ μετὰ τούτο τῆς βουλῆς ύπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ σκέψεως γενομένης τίνα χρῆ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Οὐιεντανώι τρόπον, ἡ νυκώσα ἢν γνώμη στράτευμα συνεστήκος ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις, ὅ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξει τὴν χώραν θυρασικὴν καὶ αἰεὶ μένον ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς. ἐλύπει δ’ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε εἰς τοὺς φρουροὺς δαπάνη πολλὴ σφόδρα ἐσομένη, τοῦ τε κοινοῦ ταμείου διὰ τάς συνεχεῖς στρατεύας ἐξαναλωμένου καὶ τῶν ἱδίων βίων ἀπειρηκότων ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ἐτι μάλλον ἢ τῶν ἀποσταλησμένων φρουρῶν καταγραφὴ τίνα τρόπον ἢν γένοιτο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκονσάων γε τινων προκαθήμενων ἀπάντων καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωρεῖν ὑποστηρισμένων. ἄδημονούσης δ’ αὐτῆς ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρως τούτους συγκαλέσαντες οἱ δύο. Φάβιοι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ’ αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο τῇ βουλῇ τοῦτο τὸ κινδύνεμα αὐτοὶ περὶ πάντων ἐκόντες ὑπομενεῖν, πελάτας τε τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ φίλους καὶ τέλειοι τοὺς ἱδίους, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον δ’ στρατεύομενοι. ἀγαθεύετών δ’ αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων τοῦ γενναίου τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρ’ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον τιθεμένων, κλεινοὶ

1 Portus : ἐπὶ O. 2 τρὶς O : πρὶν ἦν Jacoby.
3 τίς added by Sylburg.
4 ἐξαναλωμένον Ba : ἐξαναλωμένον R.
5 After τινῶν Kayser proposed to add ὀλγάνως.
6 Kiessling : προκειμένων Α, Jacoby, προκειμένον B, προκειμένου Köstlin.
7 δύο B : om. R.

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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.

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καὶ περιβόητων καθ' ὁλην τὴν πόλιν οṁτες ἐξῆςαν ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὀπλα σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις. ἤγειτο δ' αὐτῶν Μάρκος Φάβιος ὁ τῶ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἐτει καὶ νικῆσας¹ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς τῇ μάχῃ, τετρακασικίους μάλιστα ἐπαγόμενος, ὥν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πελατῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Φάβιων γένους ἓξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἀνδρεῖς. εἰπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετ' ὦ πολὺ καὶ ἦ 'Ῥωμαὶων δύναμις, ἦς ἤγειτο Καίσων Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

4 Γενόμενοι δὲ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρας² πλησίον, ὦς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει τῆς Οὐσεντανῶν πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ὅχθου τυόσ ἀποτόμου καὶ περιπρώγοις ἐπετείχιζον αὐτοῖς φρούριον ίκανόν φυλάττεσθαι τοσαύτη στρατιῶτα τάφρους τε ὄρυξάμενοι περὶ αὐτὸ διπλὰς καὶ πύργους ἐγείραντες πυκνοῖς· καὶ ἀνομάσθη τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρα. οἶα δὲ πολυχειρίας τε ἐργαζομένης καὶ ὑπάτοι συλλαμβανοντος θάττων ἦ κατὰ δόξαι ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον.

5 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξαγαγόν τὴν δύναμιν παρῆλασεν ἐπὶ θάτερα³ μέρη τῆς Οὐσεντανῶν χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἅλην ἐστραμμένα Τυρρηνίαν, ἐνθα ἦν τοῖς Οὐσεντανόις τὰ βοσκήματα, οὐδὲποτε στρατῶν ἦξειν 'Ῥωμαίων ἐκεί προσδεχομένους. περιβάλομενος δὲ πολλὴν λείαν ἀπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεόκτιστον φρούριον, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγρα κατ' ἀμφότερα, τῆς τε οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πολεμίων τιμωρίας ἐνεκα, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν ἐμελλὴ παρέξειν εὐπορίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' 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 Tyrrhenians 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 Tyrrhenia, 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
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ἀνήγεγκεν, 1 οὕτε τοῖς στρατιώταισι2 ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ὑποξύγια καὶ ξένης βοεικὰ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τάλλα ὡσα εἰς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια ὑπὸ τοῖς περιπόλοις τῆς χώρας ἐχαρίσσετο. ταύτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου τῆς στρατιᾶς. τοὺς δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἐπίτειχισμὸν τοῦ χωρίου κακῶς πάνυ τὰ πράγματ᾽ εἰχεν, οὕτε τῆν γῆν ἐτὶ δυνάμενος ἀσφαλῶς γεωργεῖν οὕτε τὰς 7 ἕξωθεν εἰσαγομένας ἁγορὰς δέχεσθαι.3 νείμαντες γὰρ εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τῆν στρατιὰν οἱ Φάβιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐνὶ διεφύλαττον τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς δὲ τριῶν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἁγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν· καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων4 χειρὶ οὐκ ὅλυνη καὶ εἰς χωρία ἐνέδρας κατεχόμενα ὑπαγομένων, περιῆμαν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ πολλοὺς νεκροὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆγαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον· ὡστε οὕτω ὡμοσε χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τειχήρεις μένοντες τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κλέπτοντες τὰς ἔξοδους διετέλουν· καὶ ο μὲν χειμῶν εἰκεῖνος ἐτελεύτα.5

XVI. Τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου τε Αἰμιλίου καὶ Γαίου Σερουιλίου6 τῆς ὑπατείας παρειληφότων ἀπηγγέλη Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι Οὐιολοῦσκοι καὶ Αἰκανοὶ7 συνθήκας πεποίηματι στρατιὰς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀμα ἐξάγειν καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλοῦσι· καὶ ἥν ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα. θάττων γοῦν ἡ προσ-

1 Tegge : ἀπήγεγκεν Ο.
2 στρατιώταισ Kiessling, στρατευομένωι Kayser : στρατευο-
3 δέχεσθαι BbCmg : om. R.
4 Cary : ἐπιθεμένων O, Jacoby.

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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 Σερονιλιον Sigonius : σεργίου Ο (and similarly below).
⁷ αἰκανοὶ Bb : λευκανοὶ ΑΒα.
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eδόκα τις ἀμφότεροι τᾶς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἐδήμουν τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐκαστοί χώραν, ὡς σὺν ἰκανῶν ἐσομένων Ῥωμαίων τῷ τε Τυρρηνικῷ πολέμῳ 2 ἀντέχεων καὶ σφὰς ἐπιόντας δέχεσθαι. καὶ ἔτεροι αὐθεῖς ἠκοντες ἐκπεπολεμώθσαθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τυρρηνίαν ἀπήγγελλον ὅλην καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι Οὐιεντανοῖς κοινῆν ἀποστέλλειν συμμαχίαν. κατέφυγον γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον ὄντες ἐξελεῖν δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν τὸ φρούριον Οὐιεντανοὶ, συγγενείας τε ὑπομμηνησκοντες καὶ φιλίας καὶ ὀσιοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἤραντο πολέμους διεξόντες· ἀντὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων ἄξιοντες συνάρασθαι σφῖν τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, ὡς σφῶν τε προκαθήμενων Τυρρηνίας ὅλης καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνακωχεύοντων τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ρέοντα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὀμοεθνῶν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν αὐτοῖς ὅσην ἥξιόν συμμαχίαν.

3 Ταῦτα ἡ βουλή μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο τρισάς ἐκπέμψατο τρισάς ἐκτραπισμὸν Λεύκιος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐπέμψει: συνήρατο δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξόδου Καίσων Φάβιος, οὐ νεώτερο τὴν ἄρχην ἀποθέμενος, δεηθεῖς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψα ταυτῷ τοῖς ἐν Κρεμέρα συγγενεῖσιν, οὕτω δ’ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρούρισθαι τὸ χωρίον ἔξηγαγε, συνειναὶ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγώνων μετέχειν καὶ ἔξηλθε σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτῷ 4 ἔξουσία κοσμηθεῖσά ἀνθυπάτω. Γάλιος δὲ Σερούλιος ὅ ἐτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ Οὐδολύσκος ἐστράτευσε, Σερούλιος δὲ Φούριος ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀικανῶν ἔθνους. ἐκάστῳ δ’ αὐτῶν δύο μὲν τάγματα Ῥωμαίων εἶπετο, Λατίνων δὲ καὶ Ερνίκων καὶ τῶν

1 Cobet: ἐκπέμψειν O, 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
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... άλλων συμμάχων ούκ ἔλαττω τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερονίῳ κατὰ νῦν οἱ πόλεμοι ἐχώρησε καὶ σὺν τάχει. μιὰ γὰρ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς Ἀἰκανοὺς μάχῃ καὶ ταύτῃ δίχα πόνου, τῇ πρώτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλήξας ἐφόδῳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδήμου τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καταπεφευγό-5 τῶν εἰς τὰ ἔρυματα. Σερονίλιῳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ αὐθαδείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα χωρήσαντι πολὺ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησε, καρτέρῳς πάνυ τῶν Ὀὐδονυσκὼν ἀντισεξάμενον, ὥστε ἡμιγάσθη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἀπολέσας μηκέτι χωρεὶν ὡμὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑπομένων ἀκροβολίσμοι καὶ ψυλῶν συμπλοκαὶς διαφέρειν1 τὸν πόλεμον.

6 Λεύκιος δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, εὐρών εἴσεστρατευμένοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τούς Ὀὐεντανοὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐπικουρικόν, οὕτων ἐτὸς μελλήσας ἐργοῦ εἰκετο. ἤμεραν δὲ μίαν2 ἀφ' ἃς τὸν χάρακα ἐδετο διαλειτὼν ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς μάχην, θρασεῖς πάνυ τῶν Ὀὐεντανῶν ὠμός χωροῦντων. ἱσορρόπου δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος γνωμένου τοὺς ἔπιείς ἀναλαβὼν ἔνσειε τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, καὶ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διεσάλευσεν, ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐχώρει, ὃποι μὲν ἑπόπασιμον εἰς χωρίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτῶν μαχόμενος, ὃποι δ' ἀνίππων ἀποκαταβαίνων τε καὶ πεζὸς ἀγωνιζόμενος. πονοῦντων δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ μέσον εἰς ἀντείχον, ἀλλ' ἐξεώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντες 7 ἐφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ὃ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἡκολούθει

1 ἐγὼν after διαφέρειν deleted by Cobet.
2 μίαν added here by Capps, after ἐθετο 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
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toîs feûgousi sunntetagmênéni tîn dúnamin êxôn kai polloîs dieôfheire. genômenos de plèagou toû xarákos kai proswbalôn ék diadochîs ékeînîn te parêmeue tîn ëmêran kai tîn êpioûsan vûkta, tî d' êxeîs ëmêra kópou te kai trau'masî tîn polêmîôn kai ãgrupnîa âpeirikôtôn ëgkrateîs ëvînetai toû xarákos. oî de Tûrrhînoi, òs eîdon êpibâyontas ëfðh toûs 'Rwmaîous toîs peristaufrâmâsou, êk- lîpontes to otratôpedon êfeugon, oî ìn eis tîn 8 pólon, oî d' eîs tâ plêgîon òrè. taûtîn mèn ouîn tîn ëmêran ev tîw xaráki tîn polêmîôn êmeînen o ùpatos, tî d' êxeîs ëmêra steťfanòssas toûs âriosteuântas ev tî mákhî taîs êkpr êstataîs1 dôrêasîs, pânta tâ ëgkatâleuîfênta2 ev tîw xaráki ùpòzûgíâ te kai ândrâpoda kai skhîas polllôn ãgathôn ãerûûssas toîs otratîâtaîs ëxarîsato. kai êgênêto ev polllî ëuporîa tò tôw 'Rwmaîwv otratêuîma òs êz ou'deîmâs êteras pòîpote mákhês. ãbrôdîaîton gâr dh kai polûtelês tò tôw Tûrrhînôn ëðhn, oûkoi te kai êpî otratôpedon periaqômenou3 êxeîw tôw ãanaganîwn plôútôn te kai têkhnîs êruga pântoîa pròs ëðdonas meîcîanêména kai trupáîs.

XVII. Taîs d' êxeîs ëmêrâs ãpeirîkôttes ëfðh toîs kakoiûs oî Oûîenûnoi toûs prosebûtátous tôw polûtôn ûkêtîrîas féronntas âpêsteîlvan òs tônon ùpaton ùpèr tîs eîrîhîs diâlejômenous. kai oî ândrês ôlôfûrômënoi te kai ântiôlûôntes kai tôlî ûsâ âpagnwâ ëhn eîs ëleoun metà polllôn dakrûwn dieîîôntes peîbousî toûn ùpaton êpitrepîsai

1 ev tî mákhî taîs êkpr êstataîs Reiske : ev taîs mákhais êkpr êstataîs O, ev taîs mákhais taîs êkpr êstataîs Jacoby.

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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 Ο : ἐγκαταληψθέντα Reiske, Jacoby.
3 Gellenius : ὑπεραγόμενον Ο, ὑπεραγάμενον Reiske.
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σφίσι πρεσβευτᾶς¹ εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀποστείλας² τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν διαλεξομένους, ἐως δὲ ἀν ὁ πρέσβεις ἄφικονται φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, μηδὲν αὐτῶν κακουργεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγγέννηται ταῦτα πράττειν, σιτόν τε ὁμολόγησαν τῇ 'Ῥωμαίοισι στρατιᾷ διμήνυον παρέξειν καὶ χρῆματα εἰς ὁφυνισμὸν ἐξ

2 μηνῶν, ὡς ὁ κράτων ἔταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπατὸς ὕπατος λαβὼν τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ διαδοῦς τῇ στρατιᾷ ποιεῖται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνοχὰς. ἡ δὲ βουλή τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκούσασα καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὑπατοῦ γράμματα δεξαμένη³ πολλὴν ποιομένου παράκλησιν καὶ παραιτοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα καταθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πολέμον, δόγμα ἐξήνεγκε διδόναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ἠτόπτο ὁ πολέμοιο. ἐφ' οἷς δὲ δυκάιος αὐτῇ γενήσεται,⁴ τοῦ ὑπατον καταστήσασθαι Δεύκιοι Αἰμίλιοι, ὡς ἀν αὐτῷ φανῆ κράτιστα ἐξεν. 3 ταῦτας λαβὼν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὁ ὑπατος σπένδεται πρὸς τοὺς Οὐεντανοῦς, ἐπιεικεστέραν μᾶλλον ἦ συμφορωτέραν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι ποιησάμενοι εἰρήνην, οὔτε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος οὔτε χρημάτων ἀλλῶν ἐπιθέεις ζημίαν, οὔτε ὁμήρων δόσει τὸ 4 πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς συγκεκιμένοις βεβαιωσάμενοι. τοῦτο αὐτῷ μέγαν ἔγεγκε φθόνον, καὶ τοῦ μή λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθομένοις χάριτας αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. ἐνέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτομένῳ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν συνθηκῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης αὕτης ἐπραξεν. ἦν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὑβριν ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν λάβη

¹ πρεσβευτᾶς Reiske: τοὺς πρεσβευτᾶς ΛΒ, Jacoby.
² ἀποστείλας placed here by Sylburg, Jacoby, after πολέμου by O.

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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,

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3 δεξαμένη O: ἀναδεξαμένη Cobet, Jacoby.
4 Baumann: γένηται O.
5 ἐν O: om. Reiske.
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tò πράγμα, ἐπὶ Οὐδολούσκους αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνεκα, εἰ δύνατο κατορθώσας τὸν ἐκεί πόλεμον (ἢν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ἄνδρεῖον) ἀφαινότας ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀργάς. οὗ ἄνηρ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ πολλὴν ἐπούσατο τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορίαν, ὡς ἄχθομένης ἐπὶ τῷ λελύσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ἐφη δὲ τούτ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐπίβουλης καὶ ὑπεροφίας τῶν πενήτων ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων ἀπαλαγέντες πολέμων ἀπαιτᾶσι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις, πολλοστὸν ἔτος ἦδη ὁ φενακιζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταύτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὀμοία δι’ ὀργῆς ἀκράτου τῶν πατρικῶν ὀνείδης κατασκεδάσας, τὴν τε συντρατευσμένην αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων καὶ τὴν μετὰ Φουρίου τοῦ ἄνθυπατον διατρίβουσαν ἐν Αἰκανοῖς μεταπεμψάμενος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. ἐξ ὧν πολλὴν πάλιν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς δημάρχοις κατηγορεῖν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ διοικῶν τοὺς πένητας ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων.

XVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Γάιος Ὁράτιος καὶ Τίτος Μενήμιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἐκτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναίος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνηνοι Φαίδωνος. τούτους κατὰ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὁ πολιτικὸς θόρυβος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο πράττειν τὰ κοινά, ἤρεθισμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ οὐδὲν ἐὼντος ἐτερον

1 ὡς B : om. R.
2 δι’ Kiessling : καὶ δι’ O. Retaining καὶ, Reiske supplied εἰπὼν, Jacoby εἰπὼν, after ὀμοία.
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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 in the seventy-sixth Olympiad (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.
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ἐπιτελείσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἔως ἂν μερίσηται τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἴξε τὰ παρακανοῦντα καὶ ταραττόμενα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συγχωρῆσαντα 2 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐκουσία ἤλθε. Τυρρηνῶν γὰρ αἱ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνδεκα πόλεις ἀγορὰν ποιησάμεναι κοινὴν κατηγόροιν τοῦ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔθνους ὧτι τὸν πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους πόλεμον οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης κατελύσαντο, καὶ δυνεῖν θάτερον αὐτοὺς ἥξιον πράττειν, ἡ λύειν τὰ πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους 3 ὀμολογηθέντα ἣ πολέμειν σφίσι μετ' ἐκεῖνων. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης τὴν ἀνάγκην ἠτίωντο, ὅπως δ' ἄν αὐτὴν καταλύσαντο εὐπρεπῶς εἰς κοινὸν ἐτίθεσαν σκοπεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑποτίθεται τις αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμα ποιησάμενοι τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τῆς Κρεμέρας καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπανιστασθαι τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπ' αὐτῆς, λόγῳ μὲν πρῶτον 1 ἄξιον αὐτοὺς ἐκλυπείν τὸ χωρίον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι, πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρουρίον, καὶ ταῦτην ἄρχῃν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου. 4 ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἀπηλλάττοντο ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ὀιεντανοὶ μὲν ἀποστείλαντες προσβείαν ὡς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀπήτουν παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον, Τυρρηνία δὲ πάσα ἤν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ταῦτα Ἡρωμαίοι αἰσθόμενοι Φαβίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστειλάντων ἐγνωσαν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν τε ἄτο Τυρ- ρηνίας ἐπαγόμενον σφίσι καὶ τὸν ἐτὶ πρὸς Οὐ- 5 λούσκους συνεστώτα. Ὅρατιος μὲν οὖν ἄγων δύο τάγματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς ἰκανοὺς ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους,

1 πρῶτον B : om. R.
2 ἐπιστειλάντων C, by correction, Reiske : ἀποστειλάντων ABC.
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
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Μενὲς δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιάν ἐτέραν ἄγων ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐμελλε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. παρα
σκευαζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τρίβοντος τῶν χρόνων ἐφθη τὸ ἐν Κρεμέρα φρούριον ἐξαρθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων καὶ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἅπαν ἀπολόμενον. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασχούσις τοὺς ἄνδρας συμφορᾶς
διττός φέρεται λόγος, ὅ μὲν ἦττον πιθανός, ὅ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενος. θήσω δ' αὐτοὺς
ἀμφοτέρους, ὡς παρέλαβον.

XIX. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν ὅτι θυσίας ἐπιστάσης
πατρίου, ἢν ἔδει τὸ Φαβίων ἐπιτελέσαι γένος, οἱ
μὲν ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ὅλιγους ἐπαγόμενοι πελάταις
ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ προήσασαν οὔτε διερευνώμενοι τὰς
ὅδους οὔτε ὑπὸ σημείας τεταγμένοι κατὰ λόχους,
ῥαθύμως δὲ¹ καὶ ἄφυλάκτως ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ διὰ

2 φιλίας γῆς πορεύμενοι. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ προεγνω-
κότες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐλόχησαν τῆς ὀδοῦ χωρίων
μέρει τῆς στρατιάς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν συν-
tεταγμένην ἔχοντες οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἥκολούθουν.
ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν οἱ Φάβιοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις, ἐξ-
αναστάντες τοῦ λόχου οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσπίπτουσιν
αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων,
καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν δύναμις
προσέβαλεν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν· καὶ περιστάντες αὐ-
tοῖς πανταχόθεν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ τόξοις,
οἱ δὲ σαυνίοις τε καὶ λόγχαις στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ

3 πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀπαντᾶς κατειργάσαντο. οὕτως
μὲν οὖν ἦττον ἐμοιγε πιθανός φαίνεται εἶναι λόγος.
οὔτε γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου θυσίας ἕνεκα τοὺς
ὑπὸ ταῖς σημείας τοσοῦτοι ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἀναστρέφειν ἀνευ ψηφίσματος 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
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τῶν ἱερουργῶν καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων ἐπιτελεσθήναι τῶν μετεχόντων μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, προβεβηκότων δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις· οὐτ’ εἰ πάντες ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδεμία μοῦρα τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐν τοῖς ἐφεστίων ὑπελείπετο, πάντας εἰκὸς ἂν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακήν· ἥρκουν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τρεῖς ή τέτταρες ἀφικόμενοι συντελέσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους· ὅλου τὰ ἱερά. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἔδοξε μοι πιστὸς εἶναι δ’ λόγος.

XX. Ὅ δ’ ἔτερος, ὃν ἀληθέστερον εἶναι νομίζω περὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἀλώσεως τοῦ φρουρίου, τοιόσοι τὰς ἔστιν. ἔξιόντων ἕπι τὰς προνομὰς τῶν ἄνδρῶν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τὸ κατορθοῦν ἐν ταῖς πείραις συνεχῶς προσωτέρω προ- χωροῦντων ὁ Τυρρηνὸς παρέσκευσαμένοι στρατιάν συχνὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐγχιστα χωρίοις λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἑπειτ’ ἀποστελ- λοντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων πούμνας τε καὶ βουκόλια καὶ φορβάδων ἀγέλας ἔππων ἑπὶ νομῆν τῷ λόγῳ, προῦκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας ἕπε ταύτα· οἱ δ’ ἔξιόντες τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους συνήρταζον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα 2 περιήλαυνον. τοῦτο συνεχῶς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ποιοῦντες καὶ προαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ προσωτέρῳ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔπειδὴ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν τὸ προ- νοτικὸν τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ταῖς συνεχῶς ὡφελείαις δελεάσαντες, ἐγκαθίζουσι λόχους ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τῶν χωρίων νύκτωρ, καὶ ἔτεροι τὰς ὑπερδεξίους τῶν πεδίων καταλαμβάνονται σκοπιάς. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προπέμψαντες ὅλους τινὰς ἐνόπλους ὡς δὴ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν νομέων, ἀφήκαν ἐκ τῶν

1 ὁ Β : ὃς ὁ Ῥ.

2 Suidas : σκοπάς 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\(^1\) 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 ὁτι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπερβαλόντες λόφους ἐν ὀλύγῳ δὴ τινὶ χρόνῳ μεστὸν εὐρήσουσι τὸ πεδίον παντοίων βοτῶν καὶ τὴν φυλάττουσαν αὐτὰ² χείρα οὐχ ἱκανὴν, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακῆν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες· καὶ διανύσαντες σπονδὴ καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν ὄδὸν ἐπιφαινόντας τοὺς φύλαξι τῶν βοσκημάτων συντεταγμένοι· κακεῖνοι οὐ δεξάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Φάβιοι, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ δὴ ὄντες, τοὺς τε νομείς συν-⁴ ελάμβανον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα περήλαυνον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες κατὰ πολλὰ χωρία προσπίπτουσι αὐτοῖς παντα-χόθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσκεδασ-μένοι καὶ ἄλληλοις ἀμύνεν, οὐχ οἴοι τε ὄντες, ἐνταῦθα ἀπόλλυνται. ὁσοὶ δ᾿ αὐτῶν συνεστηκό-τες ἦσαν προθυμούμενοι τι καταλαβέσθαι χωρίων ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅρη σπεύδοντες εἰς ἐτερον ἐμπίπτουσι λόχον ἐν ὦλαις καὶ νάπαις ὑποκαθήμενον. καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτέρα καὶ φόνος εξ ἐκατέρων πολύς. ἀπεωόσαντο δ᾿ οἶνι καὶ τούτους ὀμως,³ καὶ πληρώσαντες τὴν φάραγγα⁴ νεκρῶν ἀνέδραμον ἐπὶ λόφον οὐ βάδιον ἀλώνων· ἐν ὦ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἀποροὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἦλίσαντο.

XXI. Ἡ δ᾿ εξῆς ὁμέρα μαθόντες τὴν κατασχού-σαν τοὺς σφετέρους τύχην οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ φρού-ριον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἀπόλωλε τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον ἐν ὦρει πολιορκεῖται κατακεκλεισμένον ἐρήμω, καὶ εἰ μὴ

¹ χωρίων Cmg, Sintenis : φρουρίων O.
² Steph. : αὐτῶν Ba, αὐτὸ ΛΒb.
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 Tyrrhenians, 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 ὁμος Ba (?), Portus : ὁμόσε ABb.
4 Sylburg : φαλαγγα O.
ταχεία τις αυτοῖς ἦξει¹ βοήθεια, σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων φθάσουσιν ἐξαιρεθέντες, ἐξήγεσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὀλίγους πάνυ καταλιπότοις ἐν τῷ φρουρὼς φύλακας. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Τυρρηνοί, πρὶν ἡ συμμίξαν τοῖς ἐτέροις, ἐπικαταδραμότοις ἐκ τῶν χωρίων κυκλούνται τε καὶ πολλὰ γενναία ἔργα ἀποδείξα-2 μένους διαφθείρουσιν ἀπαντας σὺν χρόνῳ. μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν λόφον καταλαβόμενοι λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ πιεόμενοι ὀμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίωσ ἐγνώσαν: καὶ συμπεσόντες ὀλίγου πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐωθεὶν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο καὶ τοσ-οῦτον ἐποίησαν τῶν πολεμίων φῶν ὡστε τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμποδοῦν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς μάχης πολλαχῆ κεχυμένους. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ πλείον ἢ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείσαντες, μικρὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰ ὅπλα διὰ τῶν ἀνακλητικῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπειρακούμενοι καὶ δίοδον ἑὰν 3 τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθῶνται καὶ τὸ φρουρόν ἐκλίπωσιν. οὗ προσδεξάμενων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον αἰρουμένων, ἐπήγαγαν αὐ-τοῖς αὕτης ἐκ διαδοχῆς, συντάξαν μὲν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκέτι μαχόμενοι, πρόσωθεν δὲ βάλλοντες ἄθροι λόγχαις καὶ χερμάσι, καὶ ἦν νυφτῷ παραπλήσιος ἡ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἄρμαίοι συστρεφό-μενοι κατὰ λόχους προσέτρεχον αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑφιστα-μένους καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν 4 πέριξ ὑπέμενον. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔξοδα πολλοὺς ἀχρηστα ἦν, τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμὰς, τὰ δὲ κατ-εαγότα, καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ πέριξ ὑτοὺς ἔχομενα

¹ ἦξει ΑCmg: ἦσται B, om. C.
² φρουρῶς Cmg: χωρίω O.
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 Tyrrenians, 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 Tyrrenians 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 Tyrrenians 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
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διεσέρχομαι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ καταβελεῖσκαὶ παράλυτοι τὰ μέλη διὰ πλήθος τραυμάτων ἦσαν, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ χωροῦσιν ὁμόσε. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσπίπτοντες οὔσερθηρία δόρατα τε αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων, καὶ ξίφη δραττόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἀκμὰς ἀπέσπων, καὶ περικυλώντες εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα συνεφύροντο θυμῶ τὸ πλεῖον ἡ δυνάμει διαγωνισμένοι.

5 ὡστε οὐκέτι συνήσαν αὐτοῖς εἰς χείρας οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ τε καρτερικὸν ἐκπληττόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆν ἀπόνοιαν ἧν προσελήφθεσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ ζῆν δεδιότες. ἂλλ' ἀποστάντες αὕτις ἔβαλλον ἀθρόοι καὶ ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ ὅτω ἄλλω ἐντύχον, καὶ τελευτώντες ἐγκατέχωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ πλῆθει τῶν βελῶν. διαφθείραντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κεφαλάς, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοὺς ἐκεῖ

6 παραληψόμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἔχωρησε γε αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἕλπιδα τὸ ἔργον· οἱ γὰρ καταλειφθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἤγιλθαντες τὸ εὐγενὲς τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τε ἐταῖρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξήλθον ὅλιγοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, καὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον τοῦ αὐτῶν τρόπον τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀπάντησε διεφθάρησαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔρημοι οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρέλαβον. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πιστότερος ἐφαύνετο πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου. φέρονται δ' ἐν γραφαῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀξιοχρέους ἀμφότεροι.

XXII. Τὸ δὲ συναπτόμενον τούτως ὑπὸ τινῶν οὗτ' ἀλήθες ὂν οὔτε πιθανόν, ἐκ παρακούσματος

1 κατὰ τὴν O : κατ’ Jacoby. 2 τῶν added by Sylburg.
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
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δὲ τίνος πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἂξιον μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεξέταστον. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τίνες, τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων Φαβίων ἀπολομένων, ὅτι ἐν μόνον ἐλείφθη τοῦ γένους παῖδιον, πράγμα οὐ μόνον ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰσάγοντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἀτέκνους τε καὶ ἀγάμους ἀπανταὶ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς ἐξελθόντας εἰς τὸ φρούριον Φαβίων. ὁ γὰρ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν νόμος γαμεῖν τε ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐπάναγκες τρέφειν· οὐκ οὖν ἂν δὴ ποιήσας οἱ Φάβιοι μόνοι πεφυλαγμένον ἄχρι τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο θείη της, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνὸ γε οὐκ ἂν ἦτi συγχωρήσει, τὸ μηδ’ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι τισῶν ἡλικίαιν ἐτὶ παῖδων ἔχοντας. μύθοις γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα γε καὶ πλάσμασιν ἐσόκε θεατρικῶς. οἱ δὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι παῖδας ἐτὶ ποιεῖν εἶχον ἡλικίαν, τοσαύτης κατασχούσης τὸ γένος ἐρήμιας οὐκ ἄν ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπέρους παῖδας ἐποιήσαντο, ἵνα μήτε ἕρᾳ ἐκλειφθῇ πατρῷα μήτε δόξα τηλικότη Διαφθαρθῇ γένους;

εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν τισῶν ἐλείποντο, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς ταύτῳ συνήλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων τα ἀδύνατα—μὴ παῖδας αὐτοῖς καταλειφθῆναι νηπίους, μὴ γυναῖκας ἐγκύους, μὴ ἀδελφοὺς ἀνήβους· μὴ πατέρας ἐν ἀκμῇ.

ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῶν λόγων ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἀληθῆ νενόμικα, ἐκείνων δ’ ἀληθῆ· τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, Καίσωνός πε καὶ Κοίντου καὶ Μάρκου τῶν ὑπατευ-

1 Reiske : ἀπὸ Ο.
2 πλήθους B : ἀληθοῦς 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
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σάντων τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπτὰ ὑπατείας, ἐγκαταλειφθήναι πείθομαι Μάρκω παιδίον, καὶ τούτ’ εἶναι τὸ 6 λεγόμενον¹ ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων οὐκον λοιπόν. οὔδὲν δὲ² κωλύει τῷ μηκέτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ τινα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς τούδε ἀνδρωθέντος γενέσθαι ταύτην παραστήναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆν δόξαν ὁτι μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἑστὶ λοιπὸς —οὐχ ὡς μηδενὸς ἄλλου οὐντος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μηδενὸς ἐκείνους ὑμοίοις—ἀρετὴ τεκμαιρομένους τὸ συγγενές, οὐ φύσει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταὐθ’ ἰκανά.

XXIII. Οἱ δ’ οὖν³ Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς τε ἀνδρας διαφθείραντες καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Κρεμέρα φρούριον παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ἡγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτυχε δ’ οὐ μακρὰν κατεστρατοπεδευκὼς ὁ ἐτερος τῶν υπάτων Μενήνοις οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ χωρίῳ καὶ οἴτε ἦ Φαβίων συγγένεια καὶ τὸ πελατικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τριάκοντα ποὺ σταδίους ἀπείχεν ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τόπου, δόξαν τε οὐκ ὦλγους παρέσχε, γνων ὡς κακοῖς ἦσαν οἱ Φάβιοι, μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσανταὶ φροντίδα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ δοξῆς τοῖς ἀνδράσι 2 φθονών. τοιγαροῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς δίκην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἐάλω. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπένθησεν ἦ Ἡρωμαῖων πόλις ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιοῦτων ἀρετὰς ἀποκειρμένη, καὶ πρὸς ἄπαν τὸ δόξαν αὐτωίς αἰτιων γεγονέναι τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως εἰχεν τῆν δ’ ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην ἐν ἦ τὸ

¹ λεγόμενον O : λεγόμενον μόνον Kiessling.
² δέ 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 μελαινάν τε καὶ ἀποφράδα τίθεται καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄν ἔργου ἐν ταύτῃ χρηστοῦ ἄρξαιτο, 3 τήν τότε συμβάσαν αὐτῇ τύχην ὀπτευμένη. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, συνιδόντες αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἤν δ᾿ ὑπὸ λαγόνι κείμενον ὅρους) τῆς τε ἀπειρίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατεφρόνησαν καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πλεονἐκτήμα1 ἀγαπητῶς ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τήν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ λόφου οὐδενὸς κωλύνοντο ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τήν κορυφήν. καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς2 τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν κόρυμβον ἔθεντο ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὀπλα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς ἀναβιβάσαντες ύψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ βαθείᾳ τάφρῳ τὴν παρεμβολήν ὑχυρώ-4 σαντο. εἰ μὲν οὖν συνιδῶν ὁ Μενήνιος οἶον ἔδωκε πλεονἐκτήμα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετέγγω τε τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ εἰς ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπήγαγε3 χωρίον τῆς στρατιάν, σοφὸς ἄν ἤν, νῦν δὲ δι΄ αἰσχύνης λαμβάνων τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸ αὔθαδες πρὸς τοὺς μεταδιδάσκοντας φιλάττων, μετα4 αἰσχύν-5 νῆς ἁξίου πτῶμα ἔπεσεν. οὐα γὰρ ἔξ ὑπερθείσων αὐτοῦ τόπων οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκάστοτε ποιοῦμενοι πολλὰ ἐπλεονέκτησαν, ἄγοράς τ᾿ αὐτῶν ἀγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀρπαζόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ ύδωρ ἐκπορευομένους ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ περειστήκει τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ μήτε καιρῷ εἶναι κυρίῳ ἐν ὧ τὸν ἁγώνα ἐμελλε ποιεῖσθαι μήτε τόπον ἀλά δοκεῖ μεγάλα εἶναι κατηγορήματα ἡγεμόνων στρατηγίας ἀπείρων—τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀμφότερα 6 ὡς ἐβούλοντο εἴχε ταύτα. καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀπανα-

1 πλεονἐκτήμα R : om. B.
2 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς B : ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς R.
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 inexperience 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 opposition. 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, he 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 advised 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

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3 Sintenis: ἀπηγέ O.
στῆσαι1 τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Μενήνιος ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξαγαγὼν παρέταξεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, καταφρονήσας τῶν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑποτιθεμένων. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενοι 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 τἀξεὶ μένεν. ἐξεώθουν3 γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχον καὶ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων κατόπιν (ἐτάξαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ βάθος) ἐμπτώσει πολλῇ συν-εργούμενοι. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν4 ἐπιφανεστάτων λοχ-αγῶν η λοιπή τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐγκλίνασα ἐφευγεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακα· οἱ δ’ ἦκολούθουν, καὶ τὰς τε σημείας αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς τραυμα-τίας συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν γίνονται 8 κύριοι. καὶ κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πολυρκίαν καὶ δι’ ὅλης τῆς λοιπῆς ἡμέρας προσβολάς ποιησά-μενοι πολλὰς καὶ οὔδ’ τὴν νῦκτα ἀφέντες αἱροῦσι τὸν χάρακα ἐκλιπτόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἐνδον, καὶ γίνονται πολλῶν σωμάτων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγ-κρατεῖς· οὔδ’ γὰρ ἀποσκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἔσχον οἱ φεύγοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα διέσωσαν, οὔδ’ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες.

XXIV. Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ τὴν τε ἀπώλειαν τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὴν ἀλώσιν τοῦ χάρακος μαθόντες (ἡκον γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς πολλῆς5 ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ύστης) εἰς μέγαν θόρυβον ὠσπερ εἰκὸς κατέστησαν· καὶ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλια τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλευσομένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ

1 Gelenius: ἀπαναστήναι Ο. 2 ἐγίγνετο Β: ἐγένετο Λ. 3 Prou: ἐξώθουν Ο.
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

---

4 δὲ τῶν R : δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ACmg.
5 τροπῆς πολλῆς Kiessling : πολλῆς τροπῆς O.
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὅπλα, οἱ μὲν τὰ τείχη περιεστεφάνουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔταξαντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως 2 κατελαμβάνοντο. ἦν δὲ δρόμος ἀστακοῦ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην1 καὶ βοὴ συμμυγῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι2 τῶν οἰκῶν εἰς ἀλκῆν καὶ ἀγώνα εὐτρεπῆς ὁ κατοικίδιος ὀχλος, πυρσοὶ τε συνεχεῖς, οί δὴ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ, διά τε ὑπολαμπάδων3 καὶ ἀπὸ τεγῶν τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦθοντο4 ὡστε συναφὲς εἰναι δοκεῖν τοῖς πρόσωποι ὀρῶσι τὸ σέλας καὶ δόξαν 3 ἐμπιμπραμένης πόλεως παρασχεῖν. καὶ εἰ τότε οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ωφελεῖ ὑπεριδόντες ἐκ ποδὸς τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἡκολούθησαν, ἄπασα ἂν διέφθαρτο ἡ στρατεύσασα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς δύναμις νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἄρπαγάς τε τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἐν τῷ χάρακι τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὰ σώματα δόντες μεγάλου αὐχήματος ἐαυτῶς ἐστέρησαν. τῇ δ᾽ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην καὶ σταδίους ἀμφι τοὺς ἐκκακίδεικα ἀποσχόντες ὀρος ἐξ οὗ σύνοπτος ἐστιν ἡ Ἱ.Ρώμη, τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἰάνικλον, καταλαμβάνοντα, ὅθεν ὄρμωμεν τὴν Ἱ.Ρωμαίων χώραν ἦγον τε καὶ


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 ὑπολαμπάς in extant literature is in a quotation from Phylarchus found in Athenaeus (536 e). But in an inscription (Inscript. Graec. xi. 366 a, 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

ἐφερον ἀκώλυτοι κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν ἐνδον ὑπεροψίαν, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν έτερον τῶν ὑπάτων
4 Ὁράτιον ἄγοντα τὴν ἐν Ὑολούσκοις δύναμιν. τότε
dή ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί Ἐρωμαῖοι νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ
tὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητα καθοπλίσαντες ἐξῆλθον
eἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον. ὡς δὲ τὴν τε πρώτην μάχην
ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι παρὰ τὸ
tῆς Ἐλπίδος ἱερὸν ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ ἀπεώσαντο
tους ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην αὕτης ἐτέρα
πλείον δυνάμει τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐπελθόντων παρὰ
tαῖς Κολλίναις καλομέναις πύλαις 2 λαμπρῶς ἡγω
νίσαντο, ἀνέπνευσαν 3 ἐκ τοῦ δέοις· καὶ τὸ ἔτος
τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

1 ἐτέρα ABC: ἐτέρον 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 kai before ἀνέπνευσαν deleted by Sylburg.
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