
THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

IN the eighty third Olympiad, at which Criso of Himera won the prize of the stadium, Philiscus being archon at Athens, the Romans abolished the decemvirate, after it had governed the commonwealth three years. I shall now endeavour to relate from the beginning in what manner they attempted to extirpate a domination, by this time, deeply rooted; who the leaders were in the cause of liberty; and what reasons, and motives induced them to undertake it. I look upon it that knowledge of this kind is necessary, and does honor indeed to all men, but particularly to those, who are employed either in philosophical speculations, or the administration of civil affairs: For the generality of mankind are not satisfied with learning this alone from history,

history, that, in 'the Persian war (for example) the Athenians, in conjunction with the Lacedaemonians, overcame the Barbarian, whose forces amounted to three millions, in two battles at sea, and in one at land, when the army of the former, with their allies, did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand: But they require, also, to be informed of the places, where those battles were fought; of the causes, that enabled them to perform such wonderful, and astonishing exploits; who were the commanders of the Greek, and Barbarian armies, and to be unacquainted with no one circumstance, as I may say, that happened in those engagements: For the minds of all men are pleased with being conducted by narrations to facts, and not only with hearing what is related, but, also, with seeing what is acted. In the same manner, when they read an account of civil transactions, they are not satisfied with knowing only the prin-

ANNOTATIONS on the Eleventh Book.

¹ Τον Περσικον πολεμον. See the twenty fourth annotation on the sixth book. The reader, by this time, may not be surpris'd to find that the two French translators did not know how many τριακοσαι μυριαδες amounted to; but he may be surpris'd to find they have rendered, *tricies centena millia*, in the Latin translators, *trois cents mille hommes*. Τριακοσαι μυριαδες, or ten thousand, multiplied by three hundred, make three millions; and *tricies centena millia*, or one hundred thousand, multiplied by thirty, make the same

sum. They had both the ill luck to translate *tricies*, *three times*, not *thirty times*, as they ought to have rendered it. Our author seems to have taken the number of which the Persian army consisted, from the epitaph, which ^a Herodotus says was inscribed on the monument of the four thousand Peloponnesians, who lost their lives so gloriously at Thermopylae in defending that pass against the Persians:

ΜΥΡΙΑΣΙΝ ὡς τε τῆδε ΤΡΗΚΟΣΙΑΙΣ ἐμαχούσῳ
 Ἐκ Πελοποννασῶν χιλιάδες τέλορες.

^a In Polym. c. 228.

cipal points, and the events of those transactions, as, for instance, that the ² Athenians suffered the Lacedaemonians

² Οτι συνεχωρησαν Αθηναίοι Λακεδαιμονίοις, etc. After Lyfander had destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegopotamos, he sailed to the port of Piraeus, and blocked up Athens by sea, with one hundred and fifty ships, while the ^b Lacedaemonians, with all the forces of Peloponnesus except Those of the Argivi, invested the city by land, incamping in the gymnasium of the academy. This blockade lasting a considerable time, the Athenians, being oppressed with famine, of which many had died, sent to Agis, one of the Lacedaemonian kings, who commanded a body of forces at Decelia, to treat of a peace: The terms they offered, were to enter into an alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and to preserve the port of Piraeus, and the walls that lead to that port from the city of Athens, called by them, μακροί τεῖχος. But Agis alledged that he had no power to treat with their embassadors, and sent them to Sparta. While they were on their way thither, and before they entered the territories of the Lacedaemonians, the ephori, hearing they had brought no other proposals than Those they had offered to Agis, ordered them to depart; and, if they desired peace, to consider better, and return. Upon this, the Athenians sent Theramenes to Lyfander to sound his intentions concerning their fate. Theramenes staid above three months with Lyfander in expectation that the Athenians, when all their provisions

were spent, would hear reason. In the fourth month he returned, and told the Athenians that Lyfander had detained him so long, and ordered him to go to Sparta, since the Ephori, not he, had the power to grant what was desired. The Athenians then sent him, and nine others to Sparta, with full power to conclude a peace. The Ephori, being informed of their arrival with these powers, called an assembly of the Lacedaemonians, and their allies: Of these the Corinthians, and Thebans, with several others, pressed, with great vehemence, that Athens might be totally destroyed; but the Lacedaemonians generously said they would not enslave a people, who had done so great service to Greece in the greatest dangers. They made peace, therefore, with the Athenians upon these terms; that the latter should demolish the long walls, together with the port of Piraeus; deliver up all their ships except twelve; restore their exiles; have the same friends, and enemies with the Lacedaemonians, and follow them by sea, and land, whithersoever they should lead them. These are the dreadful conditions our author alludes to; and this is the peace, which put an end to the Peloponnesian war. In consequence of this peace, the Athenians delivered up to ^c Lyfander all their ships except twelve, and the long walls, on the sixteenth of the month ^d Munychion, about the eighteenth of April.

^b Xenoph. Ελληνικ. Β. ii. p. 458. Edit. of Leunclav.

^c Plutarch, Life of Lyfand.

^d Petav. part. prim. Β. iii.

to demolish the walls of their city ; to destroy their ships ; to garrison their citadel, and, instead of a democracy, which was their established form of government, to vest the administration in an oligarchy, without so much as fighting a battle with them : But they will, presently, want to be informed of the necessity, that reduced them to submit to such dreadful, and miserable calamities ; what the reasons were, that persuaded them to it ; and by whom those reasons were urged ; and of every circumstance, with which those transactions were attended. Men, who are engaged in the management of civil affairs, among whom I place even those philosophers, who look upon philosophy to consist in the exercise of fine actions, rather than in That of fine discourses, have this in common with the rest of mankind, that they

The year, in which this peace was made, is surely ascertained, because ^e Xenophon says that the Olympiad was celebrated the year after, in which year Pythodorus was archon at Athens, though not named by the Athenians, because he was chosen during the oligarchy, they calling that year an anarchy : In that year also, he says, there happened an eclipse of the sun. All these characters coincide with the first year of the ninety fourth Olympiad, when Pythodorus, as appears by the succession of the Athenian archons, was archon at Athens ; and the eclipse of the ^f sun he mentions fell out, that year, on the third day of September in the morning. In the same year, the Athenians, at the desire, or rather by the command, of the Lacedaemonians,

changed their form of government in the manner related by our author, that is, they transformed their constitution from a democracy to an oligarchy, consisting of thirty tyrants, as they soon appeared. Xenophon, by setting down all their names, has condemned them to perpetual infamy. Not long after, these tyrants desired the Lacedaemonians to send them troops to garrison their citadel, which troops they engaged to pay. It may be easily supposed they found no sort of difficulty in obtaining this request. These troops arrived ; and they were, as our author says, introduced into the citadel, and made use of by the oligarchy to secure every man, who had virtue, and spirit enough to oppose their unwarrantable proceedings.

^e Xenophon *Ελληνικ.* B. ii. p. 461.

^f Usher, p. 123.

are pleased with the intire view of all the particulars, that accompany every action: But, besides that pleasure, they have this advantage, that the experience they have acquired by such means, enables them to do great service to their countries in times of difficulty, and to lead them to their interests through choice, by the power of their eloquence: For all men are easiest convinced both of their advantages, and disadvantages, when they discover them through the medium of many examples; and those, who advise them to make use of these, are applauded by them for their prudence, and great wisdom. For these reasons, therefore, I have determined to enter into an accurate detail of all the circumstances worthy of notice, that attended the subversion of the oligarchy. I shall not begin this relation from the last incident, which many people look upon as the sole cause of the reestablishment of liberty, I mean, the excess committed by Appius in regard to the virgin he was in love with: For this was an accession, and served to fill up the measure of the people's resentment, which a thousand other indignities had provoked: But I shall begin with an account of the first insults offered by the decemvirate to the Romans, and relate, successively, all the enormities committed under that administration.

II. The first cause of the hatred conceived against the oligarchy seems to have been this, that the members of it had connected their second magistracy with the first, in contempt both of the senate, and people. Another was, that, by false and heinous accusations, they banished some

of the worthiest men, who were dissatisfied with their proceedings, and put others to death: And, to effect this, they suborned some of their own faction to accuse them, and they themselves tried these causes. But nothing drew upon them so much hatred, as the licence they gave to the most audacious of the young men, with whom each of them was always attended, to plunder and pillage the fortunes of all, who opposed their administration. These men, as if the city of Rome had been taken by force of arms, not only stripped the legal possessors of their effects, but even ravished their wives, when inflamed by their beauty; abused such of their daughters, as were marriageable; and, when the others resented their brutality, they beat them like slaves. And, by this usage, they forced those, who were unable to bear it, to leave their country with their wives, and children, and take refuge in the neighbouring cities, where they were received by the Latines, on account of their affinity, and by the Hernici, in acknowledgement for the concession lately made to them by the Romans of the rights of citizens. So that, at last, as might be expected, there were none left at Rome but the friends to tyranny, and such, as had no concern for the public good: For neither the patricians, who were equally incapable of flattering the decemvirs, and of opposing their proceedings, continued there; nor the senators, whose presence was necessary to the magistrates; but the greatest part also of these had removed with their whole families; and, leaving their houses empty, lived in the country. The oligarchical faction were pleased with the flight of the most

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considerable men for many reasons, but particularly, because it increased the arrogance of the licentious youth not to have before their eyes those persons whose presence would have made them blush at their enormities.

III. Rome being, thus, deserted by her best citizens, and absolutely deprived of her liberty, the nations, who had been conquered by her, looked upon this as the most favourable opportunity both to revenge the insults they had received, and to repair the losses they had sustained, while the commonwealth was weakened by the government of the oligarchy, and unable, from henceforth, to assemble its forces, to unite, or resume the administration of affairs: And, to this end, they prepared every thing, that was necessary for the war, and marched towards Rome with numerous armies: The Sabines, at the same time, making an irruption into that part of the Roman territories, that lay next to them, possessed themselves of a large booty; and, having killed great numbers of the husbandmen, incamped at ³ Eretum, a city situated near the river Tiber, at the distance of one hundred and seven stadia from Rome. On the other side,

³ Ἐρετιῶν. So must we read the name of this town, notwithstanding the authority of Stephens, and even of the Vatican manuscript, both which have ἐν Πηγῶν, as Hudson has observed: For ² Livy says, in speaking of this incursion of the Sabines, *recepto ad Eretum quod passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant*. But here is a difficulty: Dionysius told us in the third book, chapter 32, that Eretum was

only 107 stadia from Rome, and here he says it is 140. ^h Cluver, I find, thinks the last number is corrupted, because *Eretum*, now ⁱ *Monte Ritondo*, is 13 Roman miles from Rome, or 107 stadia, which make only 375 paces more than 13 miles. Upon the authority, therefore, of Cluver, I have made this passage correspond with the other.

² B. iii. c. 38. ^h Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 668. ⁱ See the twenty seventh annot. on the third book.

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