FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IV

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

Larta Porsenna, an Etruscan, or, perhaps, Klara Porsenna, was proceeding against Rome with a great army. But Mucius, a noble Roman soldier, after equipping himself in arms and dress of Etruscans, then set out to spy upon them, wishing to kill Porsenna. With the latter at that time was sitting his secretary, who in the Etruscan tongue was called Clusinus; and Mucius, doubtful which was the king, killed Clusinus instead of the king. He was arrested, and when Porsenna asked him, "Why in the world did you do this thing? What injury had you received from him?" the other cried out: "I am really not (an) Etruscan but Roman; and three hundred others of like mind with myself are now hunting you to slay you." This he had spoken falsely; and with his right hand thrust into the fire he gazed on Porsenna as though another were suffering; and when the prince inquired, "Why do you gaze fixedly upon us?" he said: "Reflecting how I erred and failed to slay you but in your stead killed one whom I thought Porsenna." And when Porsenna exclaimed, "You shall now become my friend!" Mucius rejoined, "If you become the Romans' friend." Porsenna, admiring
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Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

μάζας ὁ Πορσέννας δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν ἄνδρα | φίλος Ῥωμαῖοι γίνεται καὶ πάνιν τὰ τῆς μάχης.

Schol. Ioan. Tzetz., Epist., p. 8 (Pressel).

Κλουσώνος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ τοῦ Πορσέννα γραμ- 

Zonaras' account of Mucius (7, 12) is from Plutarch, except (1) Κόρδος [M.'s cognomen], (2) Σκαϊδάς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ὁ δηλοὶ τῶν μονόχειρα ἢ μὴ ἀρτίοχειρα, (3) τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ συγ- 

Zonaras 7, 12.

Kαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν 

Zonaras 7, 12.

BOOK IV

Dio, Book IV. "And he [Porsenna] presented to the maiden [Cloelia] not only arms, as some say, but also a horse."

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

the man for his valour, became a friend to the Romans and checked the tide of battle.


Clusinus was the name of Porsenna's secretary, according to Dio.

Zonaras' account of Mucius, based upon Plutarch, contains the following from Dio: (1) Cordus [cognomen of Mucius]; (2) nicknamed Scaevola, which means the One-handed, or Maimed; (3) his secretary, who was seated beside him and similarly dressed.

Zonaras 7, 12.

After this the Tarquins endeavoured on several occasions, by forming alliances with tribes bordering on Roman territory, to recover the kingdom; but they all perished in the battles save the sire, who was also called Superbus, that is, Proud. Subsequently he found his way to Cumae, among the Oscans, and there died.

Zonaras 7, 13.

13. And the management of the funds he [Publicola] assigned to others in order that the men holding the consulship might not possess the great influence that would spring from their having the revenues in their power. Now for the first time treasurers began to be appointed, and they called them quaestors. These in the first place tried capital cases, from which fact they have obtained this title

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15b Δίωνος δ' Βιβλίῳ "καὶ τὰ τὲ ἄλλα αὐτῶς πολὺ διαλλάττοντα ἄλληλον καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις διαφόρους παρέδειαν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 16.

15a Δίωνος εἰς τὸν δ' Βιβλίῳ "ἀλλὰ τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς κατέδραμον."—Ib. p. 152, 3.

Δίων δ' Βιβλίῳ "πάντα τὰ μέχρι τείχους ἐκακούργησαν."—Ib. p. 152, 1.

Zonaras 7, 13.

κρίσεις ἐσχύκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνακρίσεων ζήτησιν. ἔστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἐλαχῶς, καὶ ταμίαι προσωνομάζοντας. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐτέροι μὲν ἐπετράπη τὰ δικαστήρια, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστιν διοικήται.

Οἱ δὲ Σαβίνοι καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι πρόβασιν, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπήλασαν. οἷς τούς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἔντεταγμον καὶ στρατηγήσας ὂς ἀρίστα, μικροῖ πάντας ἀπόλεσε.

Οἱ μέντοι Σαβίνοι δὲ ὥρησιν ὅπως ἐπαυξῆσην οὐδὲ τὸν χειμώνα ἱέρμησαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ χώραν κατέδραμον, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμοιν ἐκάκωσαν τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντα καὶ ἐδούλω τοῖς αὐτῶν παισυδί, εἶ μὴ Μενήνος Ἀγρίππας ὁ συνάρχοις αὐτῶ ἐπεκούρησε. προσπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἐφθαίραν, ὡστε τοὺς λυόντος ἀναχωρήσατι. μετὰ

Book IV

Dio, Book IV. “And they not only assigned them [the quaestors?] very different duties [from those of the consuls], but also gave them distinct titles.”

Dio, Book IV. “But they overran the Roman territory.”

Dio, Book IV. “They ravaged everything up to the wall.”

Zonaras 7, 13.

—on account of their questionings and on account of their search for truth as the result of questionings. But later they acquired also management of the public funds and received the additional name of treasurers [lamiā] 2. After a time the courts were put in charge of others, while these officials continued to manage the funds.

But the Sabines, making this 3 also a pretext for war, advanced upon Rome with a large army. Publicola led out the Romans to meet them, and by his excellent generalship all but completely destroyed them.

The Sabines, however, because of wrath at their treatment, did not keep quiet even through the winter, but overran the Roman territory and discomfited Postumius when he was for the second time consul. And they would have captured him with his entire force, had not Menenius Agrippa, his colleague, come to his aid. Then the consuls assaulted them and killed a number, with the result

1 These two fragments were joined by Bekker, who supplied the connective “and.”

2 That is, they were called thus by the Greeks.

3 The reference is to the removal of Appius Claudins and his followers to Rome. Possibly Zonaras based these lines on Plutarch (Publ. 22), from whom he took his account of Appius.
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BOOK IV

To a large extent success is the result of planning secretly, acting at the opportune moment, following one's own counsel, and having no chance to fall that the rest withdrew. After this Spurius Cassius and Opiter Verginianus, as consuls, made peace with the Sabines. And capturing the city of Camerium, they slew most of the inhabitants; the remnant they took alive and sold, and razed the city to the ground.

Postumius Cominius and Titus Lartius arrested and put to death some slaves who were conspiring to seize the Capitoline. Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Tulius in their turn anticipated a second conspiracy composed of slaves and some others who had joined them; for it was reported to the consuls by certain men privy to the plot. They surrounded and hemmed in the conspirators and then cut them down. To the informants citizenship and other rewards were given.

When a new war was stirred up on the part of the Latins against Rome, the populace demanded that there should be a cancellation of debts, and refused to take up arms. Therefore the nobles then for the first time established a new office to have jurisdiction over both classes. Dictator was the name given to the man honoured with this position, and he possessed power equal in all respects to that of the kings. People hated the name of king on account of the Tarquins, but desiring the benefit to be derived from sole leadership, which seemed to exert a potent influence amid conditions of war and revolution, they chose it under another name. Hence the dictatorship was, as has been said, so far as its authority went, equivalent to the kingship, except that the dictator might not ride on horseback unless
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καὶ τῶν συμβαίνοντων αὐτῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὴν ἀιτίαν λαμβάνειν, μέγα μέρος ἐπὶ τὸ κατορθοθήματα πι συμβάλλειν.—M. 22 (p. 142).

17 Πρὸς στάσεις1 ἐτράπαντο. αὐτῶν ὡς ὅτι οἱ τε ἱσχύοντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐν πάσι τῶν καταδεικτέων ὡς καὶ βασιλεύοντες σφων προέχειν ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οἱ υπενεπερευσθοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄναθεν ὁμιλοῦσιν.

Zonaras 7, 13.

δικτάτωρ ἰδῶνα, εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύοντας ἔμελλεν, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀναλοῦσαν τι ἔξων αὐτῶ, εἰ μὴ ἐγκατέστησαν ἰδίας ἤδη καὶ ἀποκτείνων καὶ ὁδοιπορίας σφών προεχέον ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλον τοῦ ὄντων ὑπὸ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱσχύοντος καὶ εἶναὶ τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχθέσαι τις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐναντίον τις ἀπαράδεχεσθαι ἵκλεςειν, οὔτε οἱ διὸ προσέχοντες οὐκ ἔδεικνυσιν ἐγένετο αὐτῶν. οὔτε ἐπὶ πλέον ἤδη τῶν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἡ δικαστορία ἀρχή παρετέθευτο, ἵνα μὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ κράτει καὶ ἐξουσία ἀκάτω χρονίσας ὑπερφρονηθῇ καὶ πρὸς ἐρωτα μουρικας ἐκκυλισθῇ. ὁπερ ἐς ὅστερον καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ Ἰούλιος ἐπάθεθε, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὰ νενομοσεών τῆς δικαστορίας ἥξιονοτ.

Zonaras 7, 14.

14. Τότε μὲν οὖν δικτάτωρ χρεομένου Λαρκίου οὐδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐνεσώρευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπολογίων ἐγένετο. τῶν δὲ Λατίνων ἦσυχοι άργοντών ἐπὶ συνήκασαν, οἱ δανειστὰς τοὺς σφῶν ὀφειλέταις μετεχείρισαν βιαιότερον, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐθίνις

BOOK IV

back upon any one else, but being obliged to take upon one's self the responsibility for the outcome, whatever it be.1

They had recourse to civil strife; and the reason was this. Those whose money gave them influence desired to surpass their inferiors in all respects as though they were their sovereigns, and the weaker

Zonaras 7, 13.

he were about to set out on a campaign, and was not permitted to make any expenditure from the public funds unless the right were specially voted. He might try men and put them to death at home as well as on campaigns, and not merely such as belonged to the populace, but also men from the knights and from the senate itself. No one, not even the tribunes, had the power to make any complaint against him or to take any action hostile to him, and no appeal could be taken from him. The office of dictator extended for a period of not more than six months, in which no such official by lingering on in the midst of so great power and unhampered authority should become haughty and be carried away by a passion for sole leadership. This was what happened later to Julius Caesar, when, contrary to lawful precedent, he had been adjudged worthy of the dictatorship.

Zonaras 7, 14.

14. At this time, then, when Lartius became dictator, the populace made no uprising, but presented themselves under arms. But when the Latins had come to terms and were now quiet, the lenders proceeded to treat the debtors somewhat harshly;

1 Perhaps a comment on the dictatorship.
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citizens, sure of their own equal rights, were unwilling to obey them even in the smallest particular. The one class, insatiate of freedom, sought to enjoy also the possessions of the other; and this other class, uncontrolled in its desire for public honours, was bent also on subjecting the persons of the former class. So it was that they sundered their former relations, wherein they had been wont harmoniously to assist each other with mutual profit, and no longer made distinctions between the citizen and the foreigner. Indeed, both classes disdained moderation, the one setting its heart upon an extreme of authority, the other upon an extreme of resistance to servitude; and, as a result, they not only failed of these objects but at the same time inflicted upon each other many grievous injuries, partly in requital for wrongs received and partly by way of anticipating others. Hence

Zonaras 7, 14.

and the populace for this reason again rebelled and even came running in a throng into the senate. And all the senators would then and there have perished at the hands of the inrushing mob, had not some persons reported that the Volsci had already invaded the country. In the face of such news the populace became calm—not, however, out of leniency toward the senate, but because they expected that body to be destroyed forthwith by the enemy. Hence they did not man the walls or render any assistance until Servilius released the prisoners held for default of payment and decreed a suspension of taxes for as long a period as the campaign should last and promised to reduce the debts. Then, in consequence

1 ekelin, Krebs, ekelvou Ma.
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more than all the rest of mankind they were at variance save in the midst of the gravest dangers incurred in the course of the successive wars that were due chiefly to their own dissensions; hence, for the sake of the respite, many of the foremost men on numerous occasions brought on these conflicts purposely. From this beginning, then, they suffered far more harm from each other than from outside nations. And in view of these circumstances I am led to prophesy that they cannot possibly be deprived of either their power or their sway, unless they shall be brought low by their own contentions.

Furthermore they were indignant because the senators were not of the same mind after obtaining something from them as they were while requesting it, but after making them many fine promises while in the midst of danger, failed to perform the slightest one of them when safety had been secured.

Zonaras 7, 14.

of these concessions, they proceeded against the enemy and won the day. Inasmuch, however, as they were not relieved of their debts and in general met with no decent treatment, they again raised a clamour and grew full of wrath and made an uprising against both the senate and the praetors.

But upon the outbreak of another war the praetors decreed a cancelling of debts, though others opposed this measure; and so Marcus Valerius was named dictator. He was of the family of Publicola

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