When the Romans thus fell into discord, their adversaries took courage and came against them. And in the next year, when Marcus Genucius and Gaius Curtius were consuls, they turned against each other. For the popular leaders desired to be consuls, since the patricians were in the habit of becoming tribunes by transference to their order; but the patricians clung tenaciously to the consular office. And they indulged in many words and acts of violence against each other; so, in order to prevent the populace from proceeding to some greater extremity, the nobles yielded to them the substance of authority, though they did not let them share the name; in place of consuls they named them consular tribunes, in order that the honour of the former title might not be sullied by contact with the vulgar throng. It was agreed that three consular tribunes should be chosen from each of the classes in place of the two consuls. However, the name of consul was not lost entirely, but sometimes consuls were appointed and at other times consular tribunes. This, at all events, is the tradition that has come down regarding what took place. Yet not only did the consuls nominate dictators, though

1 The Greek word is the same as that for "military tribunes"; but, in order to avoid ambiguity, the term "consular tribunes" will be adopted in what follows.
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καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἔλαττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιάρχων τούτῳ πέποιηκότων ἐνοτέ
λέγεται δὲ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν χιλιάρχων, καὶ τοῦ πολλῶν πολλάκις μικησάτων, εἰποκρινεὶ ἐπεμφένεν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχοι οὗτος τότε ἔρεθοσαν, οἱ δὲ τιμήται τῷ ἐχθρίῳ ἔτει Βαρβάτου καὶ
Μάρκου Μακρίνου ὑπατευόντων κατεδέχθησαν καὶ ἤρεθον Λυκίων ἔτει Πατηρίων καὶ Λυκίων
Συμπρώνων. κεχειροτομήτω δὲ ὅτι οἱ ὑπατοί ἐδύνατο ἐπὶ πάντα \(^1\) διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαρκείων
ήσαν, τὰ γὰρ τόσο τιμήται αὐτονομιθέντα προ-
νάμα ἔκεινοι μέχρι τότε ἔποιον, δύο τε ἦσαν
οἱ τιμήται ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατριδῶν.
hipsterδι ὑπὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτο καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπὶ
πενταείαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τρεῖς
ἐξαρκές. καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν ὑπάτων μεῖζον,
καὶ τῶν μέρος τῆς ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἀρχῆς.
ἐξῆν
δὲ αὐτοῖς τε περισσῶς τὰς κοινὰς ἕκμισθοι,
καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποσύνων ὀικοδομημάτων ἐπι-
μελείται, καὶ τὰς ἀρρητὰς τῆς ἐκατοτοῦ ἑπα-
ρίας διατελεῖν, καὶ τῶν βίων τῶν πολιτῶν ἑπισκο-
πεῖν τε καὶ ἐξετάζειν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξίως ἐπαινῶν
εἰς τὸν φυλὸς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπάτα ἐν καὶ εἰς τὴν
γενεα-
λίαν ἑγγάμων, καθὼς ἑκάστους προσήκουν ἐνομί-
ζεται, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ εὐ διωντας ἀπανταχόθην ὁμοιῶς
ἀπαλείφειν. μείζον πάντων ἢ τῶν τῶν ὑπάτων
καταλειφθὲντων. πίστεις δὲ ἐνόρκος ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ
πεποιήμωτο ὡς οὖν πρὸς χάριν οὔτε πρὸς ἐξθαν
τὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅρθος γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα

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themselves far inferior to these, but even the
consular tribunes likewise did so sometimes. It is
further said that none of those tribunes, though
many of them won many victories, ever celebrated
a triumph.

It was in this way, then, that consular tribunes
came to be chosen at that time. Censors were
appointed in the following year, during the consul-
ship of Barbatus and Marcus Macerinus; those
chosen were Lucius Papirius and Lucius Sempronius.
The reason for their appointment was that the
consuls were unable to attend to all their duties,
on account of the vast number of these; for the
duties now assigned to the censors had until that
time been performed by the consuls. Two was the
original number of the censors, and they were
chosen from the patricians. They held office at first
and at the last for five-year periods, but in between
for a year and a half; and they came to be greater
than the consuls, though they had taken over only a
part of the authority of the latter. They had the
right to let the public revenues, to supervise roads
and public buildings, to make complete records
of each man’s wealth, and to note and investigate
the lives of the citizens, enrolling those deserving of
praise in the tribes, in the equestrian order, or in the
senate, as seemed to fit the case of each one, and
similarly erasing from any class the names of those
whose lives were evil; this power was greater than
any left to the consuls. They made declarations
attested by oath, in regard to every one of their acts,
that no such act was prompted by favour or by
enmity, but that their deliberations and acts were

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\(^1\) τάντα Bs., τάντας Mss.
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both the result of their unbiased opinion of what was advantageous for the commonwealth. They convened the people when laws were to be introduced and for other purposes, and employed all the insignia of the greater offices save lictors. Such was the office of the censors. If any persons did not have their property and themselves registered in the census lists, the censors sold the property and the consuls the men. This arrangement held for a time, but later it was determined that a man once enrolled in the senate should be a senator for life, and that his name should not be erased, unless he had been convicted of some crime and been deprived of his citizenship, or had been shown to be leading an evil life; the names of such persons were erased and others entered in their stead.

Of the occasional magistrates dictators were given first rank, censors second, while masters of horse had third place. This same principle was followed, whether they were still in office or had retired; for if one descended from a higher office to a lower one, he still retained the rank of his former position undiminished. There was, however, one man, styled princeps of the senate (he would be called prokritos by the Greeks), who was superior to all for the time that he was thus honoured (a person was not chosen to this position for life) and surpassed the rest in rank, without, however, wielding any power.

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20. Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα εἰρήνην πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιόκους ἤγαγον εἴτε λιμῷ ἐπικρατήσαντος, ὡστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐαυτ. 182

20. For a time they maintained peace with each other and with the neighbouring tribes; but then a famine overwhelmed them, so severe that some, unable to endure the pangs of hunger, threw themselves into
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the river, and they fell to quarrelling. The one class charged the prosperous with unfairness in the handling of the grain, and the other class charged the poor men with unwillingness to till the soil. Spurius Maelius, a wealthy knight, observing this, attempted to set up a tyranny, and buying corn from the neighbouring region he lowered the price of it for many and gave it free to many others. In this way he won the friendship of a great many, and procured arms and a bodyguard. And he would have gained control of the city, had not Minucius Augurinus, a patrician, appointed to have charge of the grain-distribution and censured for the dearth of grain, reported the proceeding to the senate. That body, on receiving the information, nominated at once and at that very meeting Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, though past his prime,—he was eighty years old,—to be dictator. But they spent the whole day sitting there, as if engaged in some discussion, to prevent news of their action from getting abroad. At night the dictator made the knights occupy the Capitol and the remaining points of vantage, and then at dawn he sent Gaius Servilius, master of the horse, to Maelius pretending to summon him for some other purpose. But as Maelius suspected something and delayed, Servilius, fearing that he might be rescued by the populace, who were already running together, killed the man, either on his own responsibility or because ordered to do so by the dictator. At this the populace broke into a riot, but Quinctius addressed them and by providing them with grain and refraining from punishing or accusing any one else he stopped the riot.

1 The name is similarly corrupted in the Mss. of Dionysius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

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24, 1 "Ετι πρὸς Φαλείςκους οἱ Ρωμαίοι πολλὰς μάχας μαχεσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες καὶ δράσατες, τῶν μὲν πατρίων ἱερῶν ὁλιγάρχησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἥξινα ὅποι καὶ ἐπαρκέσσατά σφιεῖς ὦρμισαν. φιλεῖ γάρ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπεον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν συνήθους, κἂν θείον ἦ, καταφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον θαυμάζειν. παρ' ἐκείνου μὲν γάρ ἄτε μὴν ἔστε τοῖς παρόν ὀφθαλμοῖς νομίζουτε οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα χρηστῶν οὐδέν προσέχονται, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἥξιον πᾶν ὅσον ἕν υἱὸν ἔθελομεν ὑπὸ τῆς καινοτομίας ἐλπίζουσιν.—Μ. 43 (p. 153).

23, 4 Ἥδε γὰρ τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τούτου καὶ φιλονεκίας ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ὡστε μηκέτι καθ' ἐν πάντας, ὡσπερ εἰόθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἤδη ἐκαστῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἄφ' οὗ οὐδὲν χρηστῶν ἐγένετο· τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖ, οὐ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν σκοπόντως, καὶ βλαβῆραι τῇ τὸ δημόσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν συνάρχοντα εὐδοκιμῆσαι εἴδολον, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερὴ συνέβαινε.—Μ. 44 (p. 153).

24, 5 "Ὅτι δημοκρατία ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ πάντα τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τὰ κατ' ἄξιαν ἐκαστῶν φέρεσθαι.—Μ. 45 (p. 154).

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Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς Ρωμαίοις ἔκ διαφόρων ἑβδῶν ἐπεννειγμένοις, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ὠλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπικινήσαν, τοὺς δὲ Τυρσηνοὺς ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐπολέμησαν.

1 ἐν St., οὖν Ms. 2 τα added by Bk.

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The Romans, after meeting with many reverses as well as successes in the course of the numerous battles they fought with the Faliscans, came to despise their ancestral rites and turned eagerly to foreign ones with the idea that these would help them. Human nature is for some reason accustomed in trouble to scorn what is familiar, even though it be divine, and to admire the untried. For, believing that they are not helped by the former in their present difficulty, men expect no benefit from it in the future either; but from what is strange they hope to accomplish whatever they may desire, by reason of its novelty.

For they [the consular tribunes] reached such a pitch of emulation and next of jealous rivalry with one another that they no longer all held office as one body, as had been the custom, but each of them individually in turn; and the consequence was by no means beneficial. Since each one of them had in view his own profit, and not the public weal, and was more willing that the state should be injured, if it so happened, than that his colleagues should obtain credit, many unfortunate occurrences took place.

Democracy consists not in all winning absolutely the same prizes, but in every man obtaining his deserts.

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Wars were now waged against them by various nations, in some of which the Romans were victorious within a few days; but with the Etruscans they waged a long-continued contest. Postumius had

1 Faliscans may be an error for Tifarnates or Velentes (cf. Livy 4, 32); but Boisseyne believes we may retain the reading of the Ms. and refer this statement to the year 428 (cf. Livy 4, 80, 9).
conquered the Aequi and captured a large city of theirs, but the soldiers neither had had it turned over to them for pillage nor were awarded a share of the plunder when they requested it. Therefore they surrounded and slew the quaestor who was disposing of it, and when Postumius reprimanded them for this and strove to find the assassins, they killed him also. And they assigned to their own use not only the captive territory but all that at the time happened to belong to the public treasury. The uprising would have lasted a very long time but for the fact that war against the Romans was renewed by the Aequi. Alarmed by this situation, they became quiet, endured the punishment for the murders, which touched only a few, and took the field against their opponents, whom they engaged and conquered. For this achievement the nobles distributed the plunder among them, and voted pay first to the infantry and later also to the cavalry. Up to that time they were used to undertaking campaigns without pay and lived at their own expense; now for the first time they began to draw pay.

In a war which arose with the Veientes the Romans won frequent victories and reduced the foe to a state of siege so long as the latter fought merely with their own contingent; but when allies had been added to their force, they came out against the Romans and defeated them. Meanwhile the lake situated close to the Alban Mount, which was shut in by the surrounding hills and had no outlet, overflowed its banks during the siege of Veii to such an extent that it actually poured over the crests of the hills and went rushing down to the sea. The Romans, judging that something supernatural was
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diā toútoν theióν σημαίνεσθαι, ἐπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ toútoν χρησάμενοι. ἢν δὲ τις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Οὐνένταις Τυρσηνὸς ἄνδρα μαντικός, ἐς ταῦταν ὅν γὰρ τῇ Πυθίᾳ καὶ ἢ ἕκεινον μαντείαν συνέδραμον καὶ ἄμμον ἡρ ἀλώσσεθαι τῇ πόλις εἰπὼν ὅταν τὸ υδάτος τὸ πλημμυρίζατον μὴ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐμπέση, ἀλλὰ ἀναλυθῆ ἐξέρθη, καὶ τινὰς ἰερουργίας διὰ τούτο γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσαν. ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲν Πύθιος ὅπετε τίς θεὸν ὅπως αὐτῶν ποιήσουσι διεσάφησεν, ὁ δὲ Τυρσηνὸς ἀνέκει μὲν εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὸν τεῖχος, ὅθεν ἔκεινος ὅμηλε, τεταγμένοι Ὁρμαῖοι, φιλίαν πρὸς ἐκείνου ὑποκρίθηντες, τὰ τῇ ἄλλᾳ θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνέδίδονται καὶ ἀδεός ἐπέτρεπτον ἐκφοίτησιν καὶ οὕτω συκλαβάζοντες αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ καθάκκαν ἡμάγκασαν ἐξεπείναμεν. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην ἐκείνου τέσσερα τῇ θυσίᾳ ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν λύσθη καὶ τὸ πλευνάξαν ὅπως τὸ τεῖχος κρυπτῇ διάφορα μεταχέτευσαν, ὅσθ' ἀπαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ καταρρέσει εἰς θάλασσαν.

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21. Ἀρτι μὲν οὖν τούτῳ ἐγένετο καὶ δικτᾶτος ἡρέθη Μάρκος Φούριος Κάμιλλος. διὸ προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ οὔδεν ἦν, ὑπόγειον ὀρύξατο ὁδὸς πόρον χαλαρὰν αἰραξέμενος ἐς τὴν ἄκραπολιν φέροντας. παρεσκευαζόμενοι δὲ ἦδη τοῦ ὑπονόμου, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῷ προσεγερήσαν ἐθελοντες, παραλαβὼν κἀκεῖνος προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ τεῖχος ἐκύκλωσε: τῶν 190

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surely signified by this event, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about the matter. There was also among the inhabitants of Veii an Etruscan soothsayer whose prophecy coincided with that of the Pythia. Both declared that the city would be captured when the overflowing water should not fall into the sea, but should be used elsewhere; and they also ordered sacrifices to be performed because of the occurrence. But the Pythian god did not specify to which of the divinities nor in what way these should be performed, while the Etruscan appeared to have the knowledge but would explain nothing. So the Romans who were stationed about the wall from which he was wont to converse with them pretended friendliness toward him, encouraged him to feel thoroughly at ease, and allowed him to walk abroad in security. Thus they succeeded in seizing him and forced him to give all the requisite information. And in accordance with his advice they offered sacrifices, tunnelled the hill, and conducted the superfluous water by an underground channel into the plain, so that all of it was used up there and none ran down into the sea.

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21. As soon as this had been accomplished, Marcus Furius Camillus was chosen dictator. He attacked the city [Veii], but, meeting with no success, began at a point remote from the walls and constructed a tunnel leading to the citadel. When at length the mine was completed, and many volunteers had joined him, coming even from Rome, he attacked the city with his combined forces and surrounded the wall on all sides; and while the inhabitants were scattered
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