

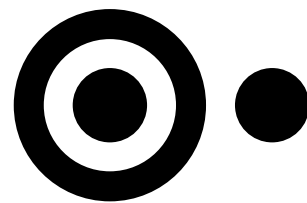
# Woe to the Conquered

A study of Roman treatment of defeated foes during the Early Republic, from Veii to Aquilonia



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## Abstrakt

Den här uppsatsen undersöker de olika sätt på vilka romarna beskrivs behandla sina fiender under den tidiga Romerska republiken (509–290 f.Kr). Med avstamp i Edward Saids postkoloniala teori om framställningen av den Andre, och Erich Gruens arbete om representation under antiken, analyseras beskrivningar av de öden Roms många fiender led som står att återfinnas i Livius, Diodorus Siculus, och Dionysios från Halikarnassos historiska verk om den unga Romerska republiken. I enlighet med uppsatsens hermeneutiska metod är analysen uppdelad i två delar, vilka behandlar uppror och krig mot utländska stater, respektive. De exempel som går att återfinna i källmaterialet förstås också som delar i en helhet, och de undersöks dels i sin egna kontext och jämförs med andra exempel i det stora sammanhanget. De romerska segrarna analyseras för att se hur källorna beskriver de erövrades öden, både materiellt och rent kroppsligt, och uppsatsen undersöker hur dessa framställs, och om källmaterialet representerar olika etniska gruppers behandling på olika sätt.

Undersökningen visar att källorna, varken för sig själva eller sedda som en helhet, inte framställer det som att romarna hade tydliga och konsekventa riktlinjer för hur besegrade folk behandlades, men att vissa mönster ändå kan urskönjas, särskilt när det kommer till hur folkgrupper som gjorde uppror mot om behandlades. Olika folkslags etniska härkomst framställs inte som avgörande för hur de behandlades av Rom, trots källornas stundtals nedsättande kommenterar om sådana folkslag. Undersökningen visar att latinare, efter större uppror, kunde visas viss barmhärtighet, men källorna beskriver även hur latinska städer vid tillfällen utplånades tillsammans med deras befolkning av romarna, och även hur andra folkslag kunde skonas, och det blir tydligt att källmaterialets representation inte framställer någon etnicitet, vare sig besläktad med romarna själva eller helt avlägsen, som en garant mot romersk brutalitet.

Nyckelord: Den Andre, representation, tidiga romerska republiken, Livius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysios från Halikarnassos.

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## I.I Introduction

The transaction was a foul disgrace in itself, but an insult was added thereto: the weights brought by the Gauls were dishonest, and on the tribune's objecting, the insolent Gaul added his sword to the weight, and a saying intolerable to Roman ears was heard – Woe to the conquered!<sup>1</sup>

The passage above comes to us from Livy's seminal history of Rome, and gives us the famous saying which he attributes to the Gallic chieftain Brennus during the 390 B.C. Sack of Rome, and from which the title of this essay is derived. Livy's words, that the Romans found the words "intolerable" are noteworthy, and despite this sentiment Livy's work suggest no great sympathy for those who found themselves conquered by the Romans on the other hand. Indeed, the same Romans who Livy describes resenting their submission to the Gauls had but half a dozen years prior utterly destroyed their great rival of the Early Republic, the Etruscan city of Veii, sacking the city and enslaving its population. Roman history is replete with examples of Rome meting out severe violence against their vanquished foes, up to and including the mass killing of an entire people, and the violent looting of a conquered city was commonplace. At the same time, during the Early Republic (509-290 B.C.) the most extreme measures were not always resorted to, and whilst suffering defeat to the Roman army would never be a pleasant experience it did not necessarily entail annihilation. Roman commanders and the Senate dealt with defeated enemies in a number of different ways, but it is not always clear why one people would be put to the sword, and one would be spared.

The Early Republic can, like other periods in Roman history, be interpreted as a time of transition. Whilst not as dramatic or grand a change as that seen during the Middle Republic, which saw Rome ascend to hegemony over the Mediterranean, or the transformation of the Republic into an empire under reign of Augustus, it did see Rome emerge as the premier power in central Italy, changing from a single city-state to a small empire. This was a transition achieved through blood, and during the roughly two centuries of this period Rome would wage uncountable wars against a variety of foes, from a number of different peoples. The Romans themselves were primarily a Latin people – this was how they viewed themselves, this was the language they spoke, and from early years they would be aligned with other Latin states. This would not last the entire Early Republican period, and as Rome

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<sup>1</sup> Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* V.48.9, trans. B. O. Foster.

grew in power strife would break out between them and the other Latins. Another significant people was the Etruscans, of which stock Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the hated last king of Rome, had come, and many wars would be fought against the various Etruscan states – most notably Veii. Other notable peoples were the Volscians and the Samnites, as well as numerous miscellaneous Italic peoples such as the Aequians and the Sabines, but despite this range of enemies the role ethnicity might have played in how they were treated by the victorious Romans remains unclear.

## **I.II Purpose**

The purpose of this essay to study how the treatment of defeated foes during the Early Republic (509-290 B.C.) is represented in ancient works of Roman history. To that end two research questions will be posed and answered:

- Are there differences in how different types of conflicts are represented? What differences are portrayed in the treatment of crushed rebels and conquered peoples?
- Are peoples of different cultures dealt with differently? Are Etruscans, Samnites, Latins etc. treated differently to one another?

## **I.III Theory**

Palestinian American postcolonialist Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism* was first published in 1978, and in this book Said describes the concept of the Orient as being essentially constructed by Europeans, and explains how the Orient in the role of the Other was used as an integral part in the construction and definition of its opposite, the West. Said divides what he calls Orientalism, the European approach and attitude towards the Orient (the Middle East and India) into three forms. In the third form, which is that of greatest relevance to this essay, Said uses Foucault to posit Orientalism as a discourse, which is used by the West to exercise power over the Orient.<sup>2</sup>

Said's work is one of the theoretical underpinnings used by Swedish historian Maria Nyman in her dissertation *Resandets gränser. Svenska resenärers skildringar av Ryssland under 1700-talet* (The Borders of Travelling. Russia in Swedish travel accounts from the 18<sup>th</sup> century). Nyman repeats Said's notion that the West, in this case embodied in the traveller,

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<sup>2</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, transl. Hans O. Sjöström (Stockholm: Ordfronts förlag, 1993), p. 3ff.

uses the Other to define the own civilisation, and to establish and advocate for the superiority of their that over the Other. To this Nyman adds the system of representation of British sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall, according to which someone's experiences and impressions are given meaning only when interpreted through the shared values and beliefs of the own civilisation. Nyman bases her research on the travel accounts of Swedish travellers in Russia, and explains that texts such as those make an implicit claim to credibility in explaining the world as encountered by the authors.<sup>3</sup> The material used by Nyman differs in many respects from that used in this essay, but this aspect remains the same, and like the travel accounts the ancient historical accounts claim to contain the truth of past events. Likewise, just as the travellers represent and translate their experiences of Russia to an audience back home the historians of antiquity can be seen to do the same, albeit from a spatial, not temporal, distance.

In his book *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* American classicist Erich S. Gruen, Wood professor emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, discusses the Othering of foreign populations throughout history, as well as how throughout antiquity such stereotyping has played a vital role in defining not only the Other, but the own identity. Embellishing on the latter, Gruen further details how many foundation myths alleged what he calls fictitious kinships between different peoples, whether these myths originated with that people itself, or was an outside creation. An example of the latter is that of Rome, and her mythical founding by the descendants of the Trojan prince Aeneas, the son of Venus who escaped the Sack of Troy (depicted on the cover<sup>4</sup>) and fled to Latium. This myth, Gruen explains, originated with the Greeks, who in this manner connected the Romans to their own world.<sup>5</sup> Gruen's work examines how Otherness was constructed and represented throughout antiquity by looking at various written and other sources. He explains that previous research into attitudes towards other populations have often drawn on disparaging remarks in works from antiquity, which Israeli historian Benjamin Isaac has identified as a form of proto-racism, which divided the world into, for example, Greeks and barbarians, a clear Us versus Them. Gruen however

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<sup>3</sup> Maria Nyman, *Resandets gränser. Svenska resenärers skildringar av Ryssland under 1700-talet*, dissertation (Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2013), p. 22ff.

<sup>4</sup> Louis de Caullery & Frans Francken, *Aeneas and his family fleeing the burning city of Troy*, c. 1600 (Netherlands Institute for Art History, [https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/record?filters\[kunstenaar\]=Caullery%2C+Louis+de&query=&start=41](https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/record?filters[kunstenaar]=Caullery%2C+Louis+de&query=&start=41)).

<sup>5</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 243.

argues that a more nuanced understanding of inter-cultural relations in antiquity is closer to the truth, and that whilst prejudicial remarks can certainly be found in many ancient sources these should not be seen as blanket statements fully encompassing one civilisation's view and understanding of another.<sup>6</sup>

Gruen looks at the Other in Antiquity as a whole, and whilst examples from Roman history are examined and used these are invariably from either the Middle Republic and forward, and the Early Republic goes unmentioned. Of course, such a wide study could not possibly look at every people and period, and as far as depictions and relations with the Other in Roman history are concerned later history would no doubt appear the more interesting, showing a Rome interacting with a wide array of ethnicities and cultures, compared to the Early Republic when Rome's influence was yet to grow beyond central Italy. This is understandable, but whilst the differences between Rome and their Italian neighbours might appear less stark than those between Rome and Phoenicians or Gauls these are no less interesting, and studying what the historical accounts have to say about such matters will allow us to better understand the Romans of the Late Republic (from which the sources come down to us), and their understanding of their own past.

#### **I.IV Source Material & Method**

Source material for studies of the ancient world is always limited, yet even with this in mind the paucity of possible sources, especially for the early years of the Republic, is notable, and what exists is often fragmentary, either in part or in whole. No primary sources for the Early Republic have survived through the long years, and instead all that is available comes from later writers, active centuries after the events depicted, whose works made use of those no longer extant sources. Three sources have been chosen for this study, one Roman and two Greek, all roughly contemporary, and removed by almost three hundred years from the final days of the Early Republic. Whilst far from identical to one another, as where both form and content is concerned, all three texts are chronological accounts of history. This separates them from a fourth possible, but discarded, source, namely the works of Plutarch. Plutarch's library of works is largely concerned with later history, but of the biographies in his *Parallel Lives* three deal with figures from the Early Republic; those of Marcus Furius Camillus, Publius Valerius Publicola (Poplicola, although he lived only for a few years beyond the overthrow of

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<sup>6</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 2f.

the Tarquins), and Gaius (or Gnaeus) Marcius Coriolanus. Whilst interesting works in themselves, they diverge heavily from the form of the other sources, and furthermore focus not on the history of Rome, but of particular individuals.

None of the sources utilised in this essay have survived entirely intact, but for the most part they form comprehensive accounts, with the surviving books largely undamaged. Other writings concerning the Early Republic are known, such as those of Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius or Valerius Antias, but as there is nothing of these preserved save fragments these have not been used.

The most important source for this essay is Livy and his *Ab urbe condita*. Livy (Titus Livius) was an Italian Roman who was born during the 1<sup>st</sup> Century B.C. and who lived through the fall of the Republic and the entirety of Augustus' reign, dying in his native Patavium in 17 A.D. Though somewhat associated with the Imperial family, and the future emperor Claudius in particular, he was not dependent on patronage, and so must have possessed some wealth to have remained independent, though to what degree is unknown. Livy's *magnum opus*, the *Ab urbe condita* (From the founding of the city), was written after Augustus had secured sole reign of the Roman state after Actium. Originally it depicted events from before Romulus' founding of Rome in 753 B.C. to the death of Drusus in 9 B.C., however much of the work has been lost, with only 35 out of 142 books surviving the passage of time. What remains details events up and including the Third Samnite War (290 B.C.), and from 201 B.C. to 167 B.C. Of the three historians analysed in this study Livy is certainly the most prominent, and more pertinently his account is the only one which covers the entirety of the Early Republic (save for the years 293-290, which are not depicted in either of the sources).<sup>7</sup>

Contemporary to Livy, and despite his foreign heritage a fellow resident of Rome, Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a Greek historian from western Anatolia. Beginning with the founding of Rome, his work, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* (*Rhōmaikē Arkhaiologia*, Roman antiquities) is less ambitious in scope than Livy's, covering Roman history up to the First Punic War, yet far more detailed in its account of the history of Rome, though this does not extend to its description of how Rome dealt with conquered foes. In its surviving form the *Arkhaiologia* gets no further than 443 B.C. except in fragments, and thus depicts only a century of the early Republic in full: its usability is therefore limited. This limits its usability, but still allows its

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Maxwell Ogilvie, "Livy", in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Livy> [accessed 2022-03-22].

usage for contrast and comparison with Livy's account.<sup>8</sup>

Another historian, contemporary to the previous two, is Sicilian Greek Diodorus Siculus and his work *Bibliotheca historica*. A universal history, and not specifically a Roman one, Diodorus extant work covers the period between 480 to 302 B.C., and thus largely picks up where Dionysius leaves off. Unlike Livy or Dionysius Diodorus takes only a passing interest in Roman history, and places the focus largely on Greek affairs, first with the Peloponnesian War, and subsequently the Macedonians – from Philip to the Diadochi – and Rome is largely restricted to a peripheral role, for the most part being mentioned once every year to report on the year's consuls (or military tribunes). There are exceptions, however, where Diodorus gives greater attention to Roman history, and these episodes will prove of interest to this study.<sup>9</sup>

Naturally, none of this material was originally written in English (or Swedish), and it has thus been necessary to utilise translations from the original Greek or Latin in all cases. This poses a problem, but not an insurmountable one. Of course, all ancient sources come us mediated numerous times, with manuscripts having been copied innumerable times over the long years. Even so, this mediation differs from earlier ones, and the texts' translated nature is something which will have to be taken into account at all times, limiting the possibility of comparing the specific words used, for example.

In carrying out this study, the research will follow a hermeneutic method, as detailed in Per-Johan Ödman's *Tolkning, förståelse, vetande. Hermeneutik i teori och praktik*. The source material will be examined and continually recontextualised in whole, and in parts, to win a more complete understanding of the material. This will be reflected in the reading of the texts, with an initial reading of the whole to pick-out and locate relevant passages, which will then be further studied, scrutinised, and compared.<sup>10</sup> It will also be reflected in the analysis, in which the examples – parts – will at first be brought together as a partial whole, a bisected half, before these also are combined into a complete whole. In the course of the research these

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<sup>8</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus", in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Dionysius-of-Halicarnassus> [accessed 2022-03-22].

<sup>9</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Diodorus Siculus", in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Diodorus-Siculus> [accessed 2022-03-22].

<sup>10</sup> Per-Johan Ödman, *Tolkning, förståelse, vetande. Hermeneutik i teori och praktik*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2017), p. 100–107, 238ff.

passages will be organised in a table, with columns for the ruling magistrates during a conflict, the year in the Gregorian calendar, the enemy in question and their ethno-cultural group, and a brief summary of Roman measures, to allow for swiftly finding similarities and divergences, which can then be explored in full by returning to the source material. This lengthy table, being a tool with which the research may be carried out, will not be included in the essay itself, but the information contained therein will instead be displayed and further expanded upon in the analysis.

Whilst the veracity of the accounts used in this essay is a matter of debate, whether they ought to be treated with scepticism or regarded as fiction altogether, for the sake of this study questions of believability will not be the focus, instead looking at how the sources *represent* this earlier history.

Throughout the entirety of the essay the various groups defeated by the Romans are described in terms of ethnicity, heritage, race, or culture, which are presented as sub-groups of larger peoples. This division draws *not* on later archaeological or linguistic, but on the source material itself. Italy in this period is presented as split into a number of city-states, belonging one to or another 'race' or 'nation' – such are the terms which appears in the source material. Rome is no exception to this, being portrayed as the greatest of the Latin cities, but at least initially still just one amongst numerous others. Aside from the Latins, other races of note are the Etruscans (called Tyrrhenians in Dionysius), neighbours of the Latins who dwelled north of the Tiber; Volscians, who resided in the territory south of Latium; the Samnites, who lived further south still, and would not come into direct contact with Rome until her rise to prominence. Other disparate peoples, such as the Aequians and the Campanians, have instead been categorised as Italic for the sake of practicality. Whilst groups such as Latins are in themselves Italic, in this essay that term will be used exclusively to refer to these other, smaller peoples.

For a small number of cases, where neither source material was able to identify the heritage of a conquered people, the *Geographica* of the Greek geographer Strabo, contemporary to the authors of the source material, has been consulted.

## I.V Previous Research

Studies into how Romans understood and represented other cultures are not in themselves new, and have been carried out by numerous researchers. One example, already mentioned, is classicist Erich S. Gruen with his *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, which is not limited to the Romans alone. The Roman examples used are all taken from later periods in Roman history, beginning with the Punic Wars of the Middle Republic. Gruen examines the concept of *Punica fides*, Phoenician perfidy, finding that the Greeks – from Homer and on – would portray the Phoenicians as excellent sailors and prominent traders. Occasionally aspersions would be cast upon the Phoenicians and their supposed duplicity, but Gruen concludes that this stereotype was not predominant in all depictions, nor was the charge of perfidiousness laid upon the Phoenicians as a whole. In the context of the Punic Wars meanwhile, Gruen finds that Roman characterisations of the Phoenician Carthaginians were negative, but that the stereotype of *Punica fides* was not generally invoked, nor does it seem to have been inherited by their Phoenician heritage.<sup>11</sup>

Of great relevance for this study, and the source material utilised, American historian Jonathan P. Roth's article "Siege Narrative in Livy: Representation and Reality" examines how Livy depicted the numerous sieges of his history. Roth discusses how Livy would have had access to many disparate sources since lost, necessary especially for the more distant events of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and also his tendency to transfer details of one historical siege to another. It is explained that Livy occasionally portrays sieges in anachronistic manners, but that it is also clear that Livy consciously sought to avoid such anachronisms when aware of them, for limiting mentions of siege towers and battering rams to the 4<sup>th</sup> century and forward. Roth concludes that "despite all the problems in separating representation from reality, the lack of reliable information about sieges in Livy ought not to be exaggerated."<sup>12</sup>, so that even if it cannot be considered the whole and complete truth, particularly not the more distant depictions, Livy's account is nevertheless a valuable resource. Roth's article covers the siege, but there is in it nothing about the aftermath, not even when the siege of Veii is discussed: nevertheless, his article serves to demonstrate that

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<sup>11</sup> Gruen 2011, p. 116-132.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan P. Roth, "Siege Narrative in Livy: Representation and Reality", in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, ed. Sheila Dillon & Katherine E. Welch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 61.

whilst Livy certainly misrepresents details, even when attempting to portray matters correctly, his work still merits consideration for understanding Roman siege warfare.<sup>13</sup>

An article which does discuss the eventual fates of cities is “*Urbs direpta*, or how Romans sacked cities” by Polish historian Adam Ziolkowski. Focusing on the Middle Republic and onwards, Ziolkowski looks at both written and archaeological sources, in particular Polybius’ account of the capture of New Carthage by Publius Cornelius Scipio (Scipio Africanus) in 209. Whilst Polybius describes both the sack of the city, and the destruction of its population, as highly regimented, and portrays it as following a set pattern, Ziolkowski demonstrates that this understanding of a sack does not hold up to scrutiny, and that such occasions were characterised rather by an absence of control, and freedom for the victorious soldiers to loot, rape, and kill to their desire.<sup>14</sup>

Applying a less military perspective than either Roth or Ziolkowski, American historian and genocide scholar Ben Kiernan in his article “The First Genocide: Carthage, 146 BC” examines the ancient accounts of the Sack of Carthage, and events leading up to it, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Punic War in 146 B.C. Drawing primarily on Polybius, Kiernan concludes that the destruction of Carthage constituted a genocide, applying the definition set out in the 1948 UN *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Furthermore, Kiernan argues that this was the first occasion on which the Roman state was guilty of such a crime.<sup>15</sup> This latter claim is challenged by historian David John Colwill in his dissertation ‘*Genocide’ and Rome, 343-146 BCE: state expansion and the social dynamics of annihilation*. Unlike Kiernan’s article, which concerns an event of the Middle Republic, that study overlaps partially with the chronological bounds of this essay, beginning with the first of the three Samnite Wars which dominated the later portion of the Early Republic. Colwill utilises a number of ancient sources to examine mass killings and other genocidal practices of the Roman Republic, demonstrating that, to the extent the concept of ‘genocide’ can even be applied to events this far back in history, such practices were clearly extant long before the Sack of Carthage.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Roth 2006, p. 59ff.

<sup>14</sup> Adam Ziolkowski, “*Urbs direpta*, or how Romans sacked cities”, in *War and Society in the Roman World*, ed. John Rich & Graham Shipley (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 87ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ben Kiernan, “The First Genocide: Carthage, 146 BC”, *Diogenes* 51:3 (2004), p. 27-33.

<sup>16</sup> David John Colwill, ‘*Genocide’ and Rome, 343-146 BCE: state expansion and the social dynamics of annihilation*, dissertation (Cardiff): Cardiff University, 2017), p. 38.

## **I.VI Disposition**

In line with the method chosen for the essay, the analysis is divided into two sections, Rebellions and Foreign Wars, to examine these two types of conflicts and their representation separately. In each section the relevant passages are briefly summarised and discussed, with a summary at the end of each section. The findings of each section are then brought together and analysed in the Concluding Discussion, after which follows the reflections on the essay itself, and the possibilities of future adjacent studies.

All dates are B.C., unless otherwise noted.

## **II.I Analysis**

“Robbery, butchery, rapine, these the liars call “empire”: they create desolation and call it peace.”<sup>17</sup>

Roman treatment of defeated peoples varied heavily, from one extreme to another. Livy describes instances of the entire population of a city being put to the sword by the victorious Roman soldiers, as well as massacres where it is not made clear to what degree the violence was inflicted during the taking and after its surrender. At other times the populace is enslaved, or else it is written that a certain amount of people were taken prisoner, and here the accounts are lacking in detail. There are also numerous instances where quarter is shown, and the population is spared, or – rarely – even granted citizenship, and in the case of rebellious cities punitive violence is customarily restricted to the leaders responsible for revolting against Rome, and such individuals are then taken to Rome and executed. This is described in Livy, but also in Dionysius. Diodorus is less descriptive in his accounts of Roman victory in general, and does not include any mention of the most heavy-handed treatment of defeated populations, “merely” writing that they are enslaved.

### **II.I.I Rebellions**

During the Early Republic Rome maintained a considerable number of allies, most prominently, but not exclusively, the other Latin states. Alliances would also be forged with previously hostile peoples during the course of the centuries, and there were also occasions,

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<sup>17</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola* 30.

such as with Capua, where a people might join with Rome to seek her protection. The word alliance should not be taken as a sign that the relationship between Rome and her allies was an equal one. Rome had emerged as the premier Latin city during the monarchy, and its status appears to have been less that of the *primus inter pares*, the first amongst equals, and more that of a hegemon. The allies of Rome were obliged to provide soldiers for the Eternal City, and in return Rome would provide protection. This state was not always to the liking of the junior partners, and the period would see numerous uprisings against Roman power, by disgruntled allies, foreign cities subjugated by Roman arms, and Roman colonies believing they would be better off independent from the mother city.

The first case of a rebellion being suppressed occurred merely half a decade after the expulsion of the Tarquins, with the Latin Fidenates, who reckoned that their alliance had been concluded with the kings, and that the end of the monarchy marked also the end of their alliance to Rome. Instead they had joined forces with one of the Tarquins, seeking to restore the monarchy, but Roman arms proved the mightier in the field, and Dionysius then writes that after a brief siege Fidenae was taken. Once in their hands the Romans plundered the city, chastised the Fidenates, and executed the leaders who had been responsible for the revolt against Rome, before leaving the city with a garrison. This treatment, Dionysius explains, was considered merciful, with the Fidenates largely spared because as Latins they were of one race with the Romans.<sup>18</sup> Such mercy was not extended to the equally Latin population of Suessa Pometia, which was captured after rebelling against Rome in 502. It surrendered, but only after the Romans had begun the assault, and for their revolt Rome executed the leaders, as in Fidenae, and plundered the town. Unlike the Fidenates the Pometians were not spared, but made slaves all, whilst their city was destroyed,<sup>19</sup> and the same year their fellow Latins in Cameria suffered the same fate as Suessa Pometia.<sup>20</sup> It is thus evident that Latin ethnicity was no sure protection from the harshest measures, but curiously the Fidenates would again be spared the complete destruction meted out to the Camerians and Pometians when they again rebelled, with Fidenae again falling to Roman arms in 498. Those responsible for rising against Rome were again executed, and a new garrison was installed in the city, but this time the consul in command of the Roman army, Titus Larcius Flavus, also stripped the Fidenates

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<sup>18</sup> Dionysius V.40.2-43.2.

<sup>19</sup> Livy II.16.8-17.7.

<sup>20</sup> Dionysius V.49.3-5.

of half their territory. One possible reason for this comparatively merciful treatment is provided by Dionysius' account, which states that the Fidenates surrendered to the consul before the city could be taken by assault.<sup>21</sup> This can be compared to the Pometians, who did not capitulate before the Romans were on their walls, and the Camerians, who were taken by surprise, and unable to surrender before the capture of their town. This would then seem to suggest that ethnicity was in fact no factor in the harshness of the treatment; however the description of the first capture of Fidenae, in 504, does not fit this explanation. That time Fidenae *was* captured by force, which raises the question why mercy was extended to the Fidenates, as shared Latin heritage clearly does not explain the harsher measures exacted against the Pometians and Camerians. In the case of the Fidenates, then, Dionysius does the opposite of Othering them, but for reasons unknown does not extend this treatment to the other Latins, nor does he see fit to repeat this statement shared heritage during their second rebellion of Fidenae. Of course, this one exception can easily be explained by the natural inclination of the consuls, Publius Valerius Publicola and Titus Lucretius, and so further examples will need to be examined.

Dionysius writes that 496 saw the eruption of a large-scale conflict, with Rome pitted against the Latins and the Volscians, fighting on behalf of the deposed king Tarquin. Despite numerical superiority this allied force was bested by the consul Aulus Postumius Albus, who had been appointed dictator, with the Romans supposedly aided by the Dioscuri, the legendary heroes Castor and Pollux. Afterwards the Latins sued for peace, with the Volscians returning home, and Dionysius writes that they appealed for mercy on the grounds of shared heritage, but that the Romans debated whether to spare the Latins entirely, and to renew the treaties between them, or whether to destroy the Latin cities entirely. The lenient approach won out in the Senate, and peace was made with the Latins because of their kinship, with no measures taken save the demand that they exile the Tarquins from their lands.<sup>22</sup> Livy's account of this conflict differs significantly to that of Dionysius, and he places it during the consulship of Titus Aebutius and Gaius Veturius, 499, albeit with Postumius still as dictator. He does however explain that some accounts place the events later, in 496, and aside from the absence of the Dioscuri his account does not contradict the Dionysian one. Livy, however,

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<sup>21</sup> Dionysius V.52.11, 60.1-4.

<sup>22</sup> Dionysius VI.2.1-21.2.

makes no mention of the subsequent peace, writing only that the Romans plundered the Latin camp after defeating them at Lake Regillus, before celebrating a triumph.<sup>23</sup>

The next occasion of a suppressed rebellion against Roman rule did not involve a Latin city, but a Volscian one. In 493, in the consulship of Spurius Cassius & Postumius Cominius, the city of Polusca was taken by storm, and afterwards the rebel leaders were executed, and the Poluscans were plundered and disarmed, while a Roman garrison was installed.<sup>24</sup> Another example of a Volscian rebellion being put down is described in 459, when Antium was taken. Livy writes only that the Antiates rose in rebellion that year, and was recaptured by the consul, but even this is presented with doubts as to the veracity of his sources: “I find in a good many writers that the Antiates revolted that same year: and that Lucius Cornelius the consul conducted the war and took the town. I should not venture to affirm it for a certainty, since there is no mention of the matter in the older historians.”<sup>25</sup> Dionysius has no such doubts, and his account is the more detailed, writing that the city was taken by force, and subsequently plundered. The leaders of the rebellion were then executed, after being beaten with rods, but there is no mention of any further punishment, nor of any garrison being installed.<sup>26</sup> While the measures exacted against the Volscian Antiates and Poluscans are not identical, in neither case is the population as a whole targeted as in earlier examples, being neither enslaved nor put to death, despite both cities being taken by storm, and not surrendered beforehand. It appears, thus far, that despite Dionysius’ assertion regarding the fate of the Fidenates in 504, heritage played little role in determining the fate of Rome’s defeated rebels. If anything, contrary to Dionysius, Latin heritage appears – across sources – to inspire not mercy, but instead even more severe measures.

Also in 459 the Aequi, an Italic people, saw their attempted rebellion crushed. Here neither Livy nor Dionysius provides a detailed account, with the former explaining only that a peace was struck with the Aequi,<sup>27</sup> whilst the latter writes that the Aequi were made subject to Rome.<sup>28</sup> This would suggest that the Aequi were not yet tied to Rome, in which case it could not be considered a rebellion, and indeed neither of these sources depict it in this manner,

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<sup>23</sup> Livy II.19.1-21.3.

<sup>24</sup> Dionysius VI.91.3-92.1.

<sup>25</sup> Livy III.23.7.

<sup>26</sup> Dionysius X.21.6-7.

<sup>27</sup> Livy III.24.10.

<sup>28</sup> Dionysius X.21.8.

however Dionysius himself previously details how earlier, in 468, the Aequi were subjugated.<sup>29</sup> Despite again being bested by Roman arms the Aequi would rebel again in 458, sacking the allied Latin city of Tusculum before finding themselves again at the mercy of the Romans. This time Rome would be more severe, and whilst the Aequian army was spared, they were forced to pass under a yoke of spears, a humiliating gesture of submission. Aside from this there is some slight disagreement between Livy and Dionysius. The Roman historians writes that the Aequian commander, Cloelius Gracchus, and his officers were taken captive, and these are later mentioned as being paraded through Rome during the triumph of the dictator Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, and whilst it is possible they were then executed this is not stated anywhere in the text.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, Livy writes that Cincinnatus ordered that “the [Aequian] town of Corbio be evacuated.”<sup>31</sup> What is meant by this is not entirely clear, whether it refers to the complete abandonment of the settlement by the Aequians, or merely that it was stripped of its native garrison is unclear, though events of the following year, to be discussed soon, suggest the latter interpretation. Dionysius does not differ greatly in his account of the events of 458, and likewise has Gracchus and Aequian leaders taken captive and displayed during Cincinnatus’ triumph. Regarding Corbio, it is here written that for the Aequians sacking of Tusculum it was to be given over to the same fate as punishment, to which the Aequians complied.<sup>32</sup>

Despite all this the Aequians would again rise in revolt in the year after, though again the sources differ in their depiction of this. Livy writes that the Aequians of Corbio murdered the Roman garrison of that city, which supports the earlier interpretation that not all Aequians were forced to abandon the city, only its garrison, which was then replaced by a Roman one. As punishment for this latest transgression Livy writes that Corbio was razed to the ground, though he makes no mention of what fate the population suffered.<sup>33</sup>

Dionysius for his part makes no mention of this massacre of the garrison, nor does he portray the conflict as a rebellion. He does agree that Corbio was utterly destroyed, and likewise omits any mention of the populace.<sup>34</sup> The case of Corbio demands further discussion, and it is

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<sup>29</sup> Dionysius IX.59.3-5.

<sup>30</sup> Livy III.28.8-11, 29.5.

<sup>31</sup> Livy III.28.10.

<sup>32</sup> Dionysius X.24.6-25.2.

<sup>33</sup> Livy III.30.2, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Dionysius X.30.8.

unclear in Dionysius account whether this is actually a new conflict, or if the destruction of the city is only the realisation of the dictator's orders from the year before, though it was there written that it was to be plundered, not razed. Still, this could explain the absence of any mention of the population's fate, for in that earlier passage the Aequians agreed to give up Corbio for the fate of Tusculum, but begged that its inhabitants might be spared. Taken together with Livy's account of 458, the evacuation could then instead be understood to refer not only to the garrison but to the entire population, leaving an empty city to be razed in the year after. At the same time, the murder of the garrison in Livy can be understood as a further justification for the destruction of Corbio, or it may be that this uprising resulted in a harsher measure than the plundering originally planned. Whichever version of the events cleaves most closely to the truth, if indeed either, after the destruction of Corbio the Aequians would become, for a time, more docile, which is not to say their rebellious tendencies disappeared completely.

The next example comes to us from Diodorus, who states that in 432 the Aequi rose in rebellion against Rome, but that they were forced back into submission.<sup>35</sup> This is contradicted by Livy, who describes the conflict taking place in the following year, 431, with Aulus Postumius Tubertus appointed as dictator to combat the Aequians and their allies the Volscians. Rome is victorious on the battlefield, but peace is not made until the year after, when Aequian representatives arrive in Rome. Livy writes that the Aequians sought peace, but that the Senate instead asked for a surrender. When this proved unacceptable for the Aequians, a truce was instead struck, but no permanent peace was agreed to. "The Aequi, through their envoys, sought a treaty from the senate. Instead of granting a treaty, the senate suggested that they surrender; but they asked and obtained a truce for eight years."<sup>36</sup> This account differs greatly from earlier examples, which has seen Rome simply impose its terms on a defeated foe. In this conflict, however, Livy depicts Rome as defeating the rebels and their allies on the field of battle, as stated, but there is no mention of any cities taken. That the Senate should ask for a surrender is also new, and that there was even a negotiation, suggests that the Aequians were not crushed, and that even if the Romans had had the better of them thus far they were still able to approach the Senate as almost equals, and also shows that Rome was willing in this case to – temporarily – relinquish their hold over the Aequians when unable to completely subjugate them. This example differs from previous occasions where a

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<sup>35</sup> Diodorus XII.64.2-3.

<sup>36</sup> Livy IV.30.1-2.

supreme Rome simply imposed whatever measures it wished on an inferior foe, and the representation elevates the Aequi as a sovereign, or at the least pseudo-sovereign, people in its own right. However, the Romans are still portrayed as the stronger of the two, and so there is nothing to suggest that Livy seeks to represent the Aequi as equal to the Romans, even if the strength of their arms is greater than that of previous foes.

Livy's account, apart from being the more detailed compared to Diodorus' – not that details are inherently more reliable – also fits better with what comes after. Livy writes that the truce was for eight years, but it is unclear when hostilities resumed between them. Livy writes of a war against the Aequians (and the Labicani, a Latin people) in 419, in a manner which suggests continual hostilities since at least the end of the truce: "The Aequi then began to prepare again for war; and word was brought to Rome on good authority that new enemies, the Labicani, were making common cause with the old ones. As for the Aequi, the citizens had by now grown accustomed to war with them, as to an annual occurrence;"<sup>37</sup> Diodorus also makes mention of this conflict, stating that the city of Labici was taken by siege in 418, but in neither account are the Aequians characterised as rebellious subjects, and so those conflicts will be covered in II.I.II Foreign Wars.

In the midst of these conflicts the Etruscan city of Fidenae, which only a few years before had been subjugated by Roman arms, rose in rebellion, murdering the Roman colonists in their lands. Despite allying with the Veientes the Fidenates were defeated in battle, and afterwards retreated to their city, but in their flight they were pursued by the vengeful Roman troops, who entered the city alongside the fleeing Fidenates. Livy's account describes the soldiers enacting a great slaughter inside the city, and that it was only when the Roman commander arrived the next day that the survivors could surrender. Even then the city was sacked, and the people enslaved.<sup>38</sup> The chaotic description of the capture of Fidenae, with the – in this case absent – commander unable to restrain his men, follows the general outline described by Adam Ziolkowski, with the sack less a planned endeavour and more an outburst of violence.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Livy has the Roman dictator Mamercus Aemilius exhorting his troops to take revenge on the Fidenates and destroy their city:

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<sup>37</sup> Livy IV.45.3-4.

<sup>38</sup> Livy IV.31.7, 32.11-12, 34.1-4.

<sup>39</sup> Ziolkowski 1993, p. 85f.

“Will you quit your post, subdued with smoke like a swarm of bees, and yield to an unarmed foe? Will you not extinguish fire with the sword? Will you not seize these self-same brands, and each for himself – if we must fight with fire, not with javelins – attack them with their own weapons? Come, call to mind the Roman name, your fathers’ valour and your own; turn this blaze upon the enemy’s city and destroy Fidenae with its own flames, since your kindness was powerless to gain its friendship! The blood of your envoys and your colonists and your devastated borders exhort you to do as I say.”<sup>40</sup>

Whilst the speech must be considered fabricated, the sentiment it contains echoes that already described by Livy, and that the Romans should wish to avenge the colonists killed by the Fidenates hardly contradicts Ziolkowski’s research. Livy’s account does suggest that the dictator was involved in urging the men to destroy Fidenae to a greater degree than Ziolkowski would lead us to believe, but given his absence during the initial capture of Fidenae Aemilius’ control is difficult to gauge. It must nevertheless be noted that the violence came to an end after the dictator reached the city and could accept the surrender, but that the city was still depopulated, in chains if not by the sword. It may then be conjectured, bringing both Livy’s account and Ziolkowski’s article into harmony, that the intent was to destroy the Fidenates as a nation, by enslaving and not killing the populace, but that the soldiers, flush with blood and hatred, ran amok, before Aemilius could bring them under rein. Livy’s account of the speech does not entirely make it clear if Mamercus Aemilius meant that the people ought to be destroyed alongside their city, nor the degree to which the dictator’s impassioned words to rouse his troops in the midst of a battle are meant to represent his actual intent. However that may be, Livy does not in his writing lament the fate of Fidenae or its people, and so the impression given is that whether the Fidenates were slain or enslaved is of little consequence, given that the annihilation of their state.

After the Aequian revolts the Early Republic is characterised to a large degree by foreign wars, and for many years there were no new uprisings, until the Latins again began to grow restless beneath the Roman yoke. In 381 the Tusculans, who had suffered against the Aequians but remained loyal, were discovered to have lent their aid to the Volscians in their war against Rome, and thus a Roman army under the command of military tribune Marcus Furius Camillus, the famous conqueror of Veii. Yet at their approach no signs were seen of war or hostilities, and Camillus was welcomed into Tusculum’s open gates, and because of

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<sup>40</sup> Livy IV.33.4-5.

their submission no punitive measures were taken by the Roman commander, and Livy writes that Camillus explicitly attributes his mercy to their lack of hostility, but also explains that their final fate is not his to determine:

Overcome therefore by the enemy's submissiveness, he commanded their senate to be called. "Men of Tusculum," he said, "until now you alone have discovered the right weapons and the right resources with which to defend your possessions from the resentment of the Romans. Go to Rome, to the senate; the Fathers [the senators] will determine whether you have deserved more punishment hitherto or pardon now. I will not forestall them by accepting your gratitude for a favour that must be granted by the state; from me you shall have an opportunity to solicit mercy; the answer to your suit must be such as the senate sees fit to make."<sup>41</sup>

Later the Senate was moved by the attitude of the Tusculan delegation, and not only were no punitive measures enacted, but peace was agreed, and the Tusculans granted citizenship.<sup>42</sup> This represents an extraordinary resolution, not seen in the aftermath of any previous rebellion, yet it also comes after a decidedly non-standard conflict, with the Tusculans never putting up any armed resistance.

Further rebellions are reported as being put down in the year after. Velitrae was taken by an assault, as were eight minor towns of the Italic Praenestini, before the main city of Praeneste surrendered. Curiously, Livy makes no mention of any measures against either the Praenestini or the Veliterni, though he does write that the image of Jupiter Imperator was taken from Praeneste and brought to Rome.<sup>43</sup>

Livy describes briefly a revolt of the Volscian Privernates in 341, which the Romans easily put down. The aftermath is somewhat puzzling, for aside for installing a garrison, and stripping two thirds of their land, he notes that the consul Gaius Plautius "restored it to the inhabitants"<sup>44</sup>, which would seem to suggest that the city had been overtaken by another people, though no mention of such is made during the brief description of their revolt. Neither does Livy write anything about the leaders of the Privernates, so that it is altogether unclear whether to even classify the conflict as a rebellion, or whether it had come under the

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<sup>41</sup> Livy VI.26.1-2.

<sup>42</sup> Livy VI.25.1-26.8.

<sup>43</sup> Livy VI.29.3-10.

<sup>44</sup> Livy VIII.1.3.

domination of some foreign state: either way, Livy's account must be considered unsatisfactory.

The (possible) revolt of the Privernates was followed up in the year after with the outbreak of the Latin War. Diodorus writes that, in 340, Roman forces did battle against the Latins and the Italic Campanians, and that after victory annexed some of their territory.<sup>45</sup> Livy, thankfully, gives a fuller account of the events of that year, writing that in the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus, the Latins rose in rebellion after the Romans, suspicious of just that, had called the ten leaders of the Latin cities to Rome. The Latins made common cause with the Roman colonies of Signia and Velitrae, as well as the Volscians.<sup>46</sup> After defeating these near a place called Trifanum, Livy writes that the Latins and Campanians both surrendered, and that parts of their territory, except that of the Latin Laurentes and the Campanian equites<sup>47</sup> who had not joined in the revolt, was distributed to the Roman plebeians. The Campanians were also forced to pay each equite a yearly sum of 450 denarii, and these equites were additionally granted Roman citizenship for remaining steadfast in their loyalty.<sup>48</sup>

Roman severity would not produce a lasting peace, and Livy writes that the Latins rebelled again the next year, as did Volscian Antium.<sup>49</sup> This war would not be brought to conclusion until the next year, 338, when the Roman armies stormed or captured through surrender, every Latin city, which were garrisoned by Roman troops until the Senate could decide on which measured to take. Livy makes no mention in this passage of any plundering or killings carried out in the capture of the cities, however this phase of the war is almost entirely limited to a single sentence.<sup>50</sup> Returning to Rome in triumph Livy has the consul Lucius Furius Camillus giving a speech before the Senate, in which the completeness of the victory and the ability of the senators to make whatever peace they wish is emphasised, but in which he makes the case for mercy and reconciliation:

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<sup>45</sup> Diodorus XVI.90.2.

<sup>46</sup> Livy VIII.3.6-

<sup>47</sup> Or knights: essentially the lower nobility.

<sup>48</sup> Livy VIII.11.11-16.

<sup>49</sup> Livy VIII.12.5.

<sup>50</sup> Livy VIII.13.7-9.

“Conscript Fathers, what was needful to be done in Latium in the way of war and arms has now by Heaven’s favour and the valour of our troops been brought to a conclusion. The armies of our enemies have been cut to pieces at Pedum and on the Astura; all the Latin towns, and Antium in the land of the Volsci, have either been carried by storm or have made submission, and are in the keeping of your garrisons. It remains to consider, since they so often occasion us anxiety by a renewal of hostilities, how we may hold them to a lasting peace. The immortal gods have given you such absolute control of the situation as to leave the decision in your hands whether Latium is henceforward to exist or not. You are therefore able to assure yourselves of a permanent peace, in so far as the Latins are concerned, by the exercise of either cruelty or forgiveness, at your discretion. Would you adopt stern measures against those who have surrendered or been vanquished? You may blot out all Latium, and make vast solitudes of those places where you have often raised a splendid army of allies and used it through many a momentous war. Would you follow the example of your fathers, and augment the Roman state by receiving your conquered enemies as citizens? You have at hand the means of waxing great and supremely glorious. That government is certainly by far the strongest to which its subjects yield obedience gladly. But whatever it pleases you to do, you must determine promptly; you are holding so many peoples in suspense betwixt hope and fear, that it behoves you both to resolve your own anxiety regarding them as soon as may be, and to be beforehand with them, whether in the way of punishment or kindness, while they are waiting in dull amazement. Our task has been to give you the power to decide regarding everything; it is yours to determine what is best for yourselves and for the state.”<sup>51</sup>

After this speech the Senate deliberated, but chose not to deal with all their enemies in like manner. The Lanuvini, Aricini, Nomentani, and Pedani were spared, and given citizenship. The Tusculans were allowed to retain the rights given to them in 381, with blame for their revolt placed on the leaders of Tusculum, though whether these were then punished is not stated. The people of Velitrae suffered worse, according to Livy because of frequent rebellions: their walls were torn down, their senate exiled north of the Tiber, and a Roman colony was dispatched to Velitrae. Antium, the one Volscian state here, was also punished, with their ships taken from them, and the Antiates forbidden from going to sea. A colony was sent to them as well, but the Antiates were also granted citizenship, for unclear reasons. Citizenship was also granted, albeit without voting rights, to the Campanians, for the continued loyalty of their equites, and this also was afforded to the Fundani and Formiani. The rest of the Latins meanwhile lost the right to trade and marry amongst each other, and

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<sup>51</sup> Livy VIII.13.11-18.

were forbidden from coming together in council.<sup>52</sup> Most noteworthy, Livy writes that the Tiburtes and Praenestini lost some of their territory “not only because of the fresh charge of rebellion brought against them in common with the other Latins, but because they had once, in disgust at the power of Rome, united in arms with the Gauls, a race of savages.”<sup>53</sup> This is an exceptional line, and whilst before there has been reason to examine how the ethnicity of the conquered peoples effected the harshness of measures inflicted, this one occasion that even a shared Latin heritage might count as nothing in the face of collaborating with a particular race, with the Gauls represented as the great Other.

As ever, it is difficult to gauge the veracity of the sentiment expressed in a speech such as this. It is possible that Livy here accurately translates the antipathy towards the Gallic peoples found in his sources, given that this rebellion takes place mere five decades after the Sack of Rome. At the same time, it may be an invention of Livy’s, mirroring Roth’s findings about his attempts to authentically portray older sieges by injecting anachronistic elements which had become archaic at the point of his lifetime,<sup>54</sup> added to the narrative to demonstrate how he believed the Romans at that time viewed the Gauls. Whatever his reasons, the effect is clear, portraying the Gauls as a uniquely foreign and dangerous force in Italy. Disregarding the unique case of the Tiburtes and the Praenestini, the peace granted to the Latins shows that Rome was willing to refrain from harsher measures in case of rebellion, when advantageous to themselves, though by rewarding those loyal the value of remaining true to Rome is still demonstrated, whereas the punishments which are handed out all serve to prevent further uprisings, limiting the strength and interconnectedness of their allies, but without approaching the more severe measures such as enslavement or even mass killings.

After the matter with the Latins had been resolved they never again – in during the Early Republic – rose again, but nearly a decade after another revolt – albeit on a lesser scale – erupted.

In 329 the Volscian city of Privernum was captured by the consul Gaius Plautius. Livy tells us that it is unclear if the city was taken by an assault, or whether it surrendered before, but casts no such doubts on the fate of the city. The walls of Privernum were torn down, and a garrison installed. Additionally, the commander of the Privernates, Vitruvius Vaccus, was not of that people, but came of the Latin Fundani, and even owned a residence in Rome, on the Palatine

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<sup>52</sup> Livy VIII.14.1-12.

<sup>53</sup> Livy VIII.14.9.

<sup>54</sup> Roth 2006, p. 61.

Hill. His punishment strongly resembles that of rebel leaders, in that he was scourged – presumably by rods, as in many previous examples, but the text does not specify – and then put to death, as were the other leaders of the revolt. Furthermore, his Roman house was demolished. The fate of the Privernates was then debated in the Senate, and – with the support of the consul – it was decided that they should be granted citizenship.<sup>55</sup>

320 saw the Volscian Satricans betraying Rome during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Samnite War, and in the year after was returned to the Roman fold. The rebel leaders were scourged and executed, and a Roman garrison was installed.<sup>56</sup> In 314

Livy writes that the Romans made an attack on the Italic Ausones, which was suspected of conspiring against Rome. Livy does not clarify whether this suspicion was merited, and presents the charge as doubtful. Their fate, however, is presented as certain, and he writes that all three of their cities – Ausona, Minturnae, and Vescia – were taken simultaneously by Roman troops, and despite the lack of Ausonian resistance the soldiers slew everyone within.

These latter fell upon the watchmen, at the same time making a signal to their fellows in armour to rush in from their ambuscade, Thus the gates were captured, and three towns were taken in one hour and by one device. But because the leaders were not present when the attack was made, there was no limit to the slaughter, and the Ausonian nation was wiped out – though it was not quite clear that it was guilty of defection – exactly as if it had contended in an internecine war.<sup>57</sup>

This passage is a most remarkable one. Livy both casts doubt upon the righteousness of the destruction of the Ausones, but the onus of the deed is placed on no one in particular. It is unclear why there were no leaders to either restrain the soldiers or accept the Ausonian surrender. Both consuls – Marcus Poetelius and Gaius Sulpicius – are described as being involved in the conflict, and from Livy’s account it would seem as though at least two of the cities ought to have been possible to save. Drawing on Ziolkowski’s research, a possible explanation might be that the Roman commanders were simply unable to prevent the soldiers from slaughtering the Ausones, and that either Livy or his sources chose to portray this not as a matter of failed discipline, but instead as the result of absent leaders. It is also noteworthy

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<sup>55</sup> Livy VIII.19.3-4, 20.6-21.10.

<sup>56</sup> Livy IX.12.5, 16.9-10.

<sup>57</sup> Livy IX.25.8-9.

that Livy suggests that the destruction of a people was either the correct, or at least customary, punishment inflicted in the aftermath of civil wars and revolts: whilst examples of such can be found in the source material, it is nowhere as common as Livy's words would suggest.

That same year Livy writes that the Volscian city of Sora was captured because of a traitor within. Sora had betrayed Rome and defected to the Samnites, and murdered all Roman colonists in their city. Vengeance for this crime was thus planned, and when the city fell with the consuls having yet to reach it many were cut down by the Roman troops. The townspeople were able to surrender early in the next morning (it had been taken in the night), and after this the general population suffered no further destruction. The leaders of Sora however were bound and taken to Rome, where they were executed for the murder of the colonists, whilst Sora had to accept the installation of a Roman garrison.<sup>58</sup> In 314 yet another traitorous city, the Italic city of Luceria, similarly defected to the Samnites, and in the process betrayed the Roman garrison already present to the Samnites. The city was taken by force, and both the Samnites within and the Lucerini were killed, apparently to a man. Livy writes that there were considerations to destroy the city as well, but finally it was decided to send a Roman colony to the now depopulated city.<sup>59</sup> Diodorus agrees that Sora switched sides, and betrayed the Roman garrison, but writes nothing of its fate save that the Romans took it by siege.<sup>60</sup> Also in 314, Diodorus writes that Capua and the rest of the Campanians rebelled against Rome, but after a Samnite army was defeated in the field surrendered to the Romans. The leaders of the revolt was to be handed over to the Romans, but committed suicide before any trial or punishment, and the cities were then accepted back as allies.<sup>61</sup> This is contradicted by Livy, who writes only that leaders in Capua plotted a rebellion, but that these took their own lives after a Roman investigation was begun: this account saw no uprising.<sup>62</sup>

Looking at both the individual sources and all the texts as a whole, no group emerges as particularly rebellious. Most uprisings are made by either other Latin states or Volscians, with various Italic people – notably the Aequi and the Campanians – making up the remaining rough third of examples. Only once does the writer himself invoke the ethnicity of the rebels

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<sup>58</sup> Livy IX.23.1-2, 24.3-15.

<sup>59</sup> Livy IX.26.1-5.

<sup>60</sup> Diodorus XIX.72.3-4.

<sup>61</sup> Diodorus XIX.76.3-5.

<sup>62</sup> Livy IX.26.5-7.

as a reason for the treatment of a city, Fidenae in 504, and despite Dionysius' words the suggestion that Latin heritage spared the population the full wrath of Rome he later contradicts this statement. The fate of Fidenae in fact matched that he himself ascribed to Polusca, a Volscian city, in 493. One measure common not only to these but to all the Latin rebels of the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries is the execution of enemy leaders, though slight differences can be seen. Livy writes of Suessa Pometia that the leaders were beheaded;<sup>63</sup> whereas Dionysius repeatedly describes the Latin leaders as being beaten with rods and then put to death,<sup>64</sup> but for the Poluscans the scourging before the execution is omitted.<sup>65</sup> The execution of rebel leaders is found also in the Dionysian account of Volscian Antium in 459, with the scourging beforehand,<sup>66</sup> but wholly absent in that of the Italic Aequians that same year. This discrepancy can however be explained by the circumstances: the Aequi had not been fully crushed, but had sent envoys to negotiate a peace,<sup>67</sup> and for practical reasons it is easy to see why the death of their leaders would have been an unacceptable condition to the Aequians. This is not the case for the accounts of the Aequian revolt in the following year, where Rome achieves complete victory, and subsequently takes their leaders captive: Dionysius does not detail their final fate, but writes that the dictator Quintius "would treat them as enemies",<sup>68</sup> and Livy elaborates only to the degree that he has these displayed during Quintius' triumph. No mention is made of rebel leaders in the case of Corbio the following year, but as has already been discussed it is unclear whether any actual revolt occurred during this year, or if the destruction of Corbio was simply the punishment from the year before. Lastly, regarding the Aequi, Diodorus makes no mention of any executed leaders after their rebellion in 432. This might be explained by the briefness of this account, and the largely peripheral role Roma plays in his history, but as he does include such details for later conflicts the omission here cannot be dismissed out of hand. Indeed, if looked at together with the sources on the Aequi it becomes evident that, despite repeated conflicts with Rome, they appear to have been spared the otherwise customary execution of rebel leaders. The leniency cannot be explained simply by a changing of Roman policy from the early days of the young

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<sup>63</sup> Livy II.17.6.

<sup>64</sup> Dionysius V.43.2, 49.5, 60.3.

<sup>65</sup> Dionysius VI.91.4.

<sup>66</sup> Dionysius X.21.7.

<sup>67</sup> Dionysius X.21.8.

<sup>68</sup> Dionysius X.24.6.

Republic, for though mercy would be shown in the next example of rebellion, Tusculum in 381, later occasions demonstrate that Rome was still quite willing to put ‘troublemakers’ to death. No leaders were executed in Tusculum nor did the Latin War of 340-338 feature any such measure taken, neither against the many Latin cities nor the Antiates: the closest punishment is the exile of the senate of Velitrae, but that is a far cry from the scourging and beheading which had seemed standard earlier during the period.

Such measures, however, were not a thing of the past, and with the Volscian peoples of first Satricum and then Sora, in 319 and 314, respectively, Rome again treated the defeated rebels harshly, executing their leaders. 314 saw many put to death, including the entire population of Luceria, of varying ethnicity, and there is no clear link which can be drawn here between heritage and treatment. Instead it seems as though the pattern established in the beginning of the Early Republic, towards their mostly Latin rebels, is largely maintained throughout the period. The only exceptions are Tusculum, where the leniency is explained by the swiftness of their submission, and of course the two occasions of large-scale Latin rebellion, in 496 and 340-338. No punishment meted out in the aftermath of those conflicts even approached the measures previously inflicted on rebels in severity.

We have already seen that Latin heritage is not generally a shield against Roman severity, but at least with the war in 496 kinship is explicitly invoked, first by the Latins themselves and then by the Romans, as a reason for leniency. Excepting Tusculum, there is no other clear reason why such leniency should have been shown: in 496 the Latins only sued for peace after being bested in the field – albeit without the need for the Romans to conquer their cities – and in the later rebellion Livy *does* write that some of the cities were taken by surrender, but does not explain which or how many, nor at which stage of a siege they capitulated, whether in a similar manner to the Tusculans in 381 or only just before Roman forces could storm the walls. However, looking at these two great rebellions in the context of the entirety of the period, a marked difference in both cases is the scope of the rebellions, far greater than in any other revolts. It may thus be the case that it simply was not feasible for the Romans to inflict the harsh measures a single city might have incurred on such an amount of peoples at once, and that what punishment was meted out represented the extent of what they were capable of inflicting. The debates about how to deal with the rebels in the Senate bear great resemblance to one another, and with speeches in ancient sources ever suspicious, and extrapolating Roth’s findings about Livy’s propensity for transferring details of one siege to another unto these discussions in the Senate the similarities become suspicious. It cannot be said for certain from where Livy borrowed this discussion, if at all, and even if the recorded debate is lifted from

another source about another event, be it the war in 496 or another, but even if such is the case it need to not taint the depiction of the war, and subsequent peace, completely, for whilst the *debates* resemble one another greatly, the actual decisions taken by the Senate are not at all identical, sparing the Latins entirely in 496 but with a far more nuanced, if still lenient, peace in 338.

That the only two rebellions of this case concerned the Latins makes it impossible to discern clearly whether mercy was shown for pragmatic reasons, or out of a sense of shared heritage. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that mercy seems only to have been extended to Latin peoples, if not consistently, and so it has to be concluded that whilst Latin heritage was not in itself a guarantee for Roman leniency, it appears to have been a factor. It is unclear how the leniency against the Veliterni and Praenestini in 380 should be understood. It may be that Velitrae, a Volscian city which had been forced to accept a Roman colony, was by this point essentially a Latin city – the source material hardly provides detailed demographic information – and Praeneste is later counted one of the Latin cities, so it would not be counter to our findings if they were also treated with less severity than other rebels. However, in previous cases of such mercy this has always been remarked, whereas any such comments are absent in this case. Their treatment in 380 thus cannot be said conclusively to lend support to the notion that Latins were treated more leniently, but also does not contradict that finding.

### **II.I.II Foreign Wars**

Quite aside from their troubles with their allies and subjects, Rome would be involved in a number of wars against foreign peoples throughout the Early Republic. Many of these conflicts are not well defined in the source material, and it is not always clear when wars begin or end, or when a people is merely launching a raid. Many times the sources will describe a battle between Roman and enemy forces, at the conclusion of which one side will retreat, and the other plunder their camp, with no mention of a peace concluded at the end. Such conflicts have been omitted from this study, being both too numerous to examine, and possessing no merit for this essay's purpose.

Dionysius writes that in 502 the Italic Sabines, who the year before had invaded Roman territory, were granted peace by the Senate after a crushing defeat in the field, but were forced

both to furnish the Roman army with unclear amounts of grain and money, and to surrender 10,000 acres of land (40 km<sup>2</sup>) to the Romans.<sup>69</sup>

This demand, that the conquered people pay the Romans, is a unique feature of Dionysius' account, found in neither of the other sources. The details of these examples vary, but commonly the defeated people is forced to pay the wages of the Roman army for a certain period. This is a puzzling notion, and Dionysius appears to project the form of Roman legions in his own age back in time. The Roman army did not become professionalised until the 1<sup>st</sup> Century B.C., during the reforms of Gaius Marius, and had before that been in essence a citizen militia.<sup>70</sup> Both Livy and Diodorus allege that during the lengthy siege of Veii, an event which will be discussed later, and which occurred almost fifty years after the end of Dionysius' history, Rome for the first time paid its soldiers, allowing them to remain in the field throughout the year, maintaining the leaguer of that city, but that is presented as an unprecedented move.<sup>71</sup>

While the peace with the Sabines was a negotiated one, albeit with Rome as the stronger party, the year 495 would see a more decisive Roman victory during the consulship of Appius Claudius Sabinus and Publius Servilius Priscus, when the Volscian city of Suessa Pometia was captured and sacked, according to Livy.<sup>72</sup> Dionysius gives a more detailed, and severe, account, writing that it was taken through siege, and that after its capture the Romans put all the adult men to death, and plundered the city.<sup>73</sup> Adam Ziolkowski has demonstrated the level of violence which a sack could entail, and the two accounts are thus not necessarily to be seen as contradictory. In his article Ziolkowski examines the Polybian portrayal of the sack of New Carthage,<sup>74</sup> and it is not inconceivable that Livy's mention of a sack should be understood as the destruction, through enslavement and murder, of the Pometians, similar to what Dionysius writes. Livy is known to have not only read Polybius but to have used him as a source for his

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<sup>69</sup> Dionysius V.44.1, 49.1-2.

<sup>70</sup> Brian Todd Carey & Joshua B. Allfree & John Cairns, *Warfare in the Ancient World* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword Military, 2005), p. 106ff; Victor Davis Hanson, "The Roman Way of War", in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare. The Triumph of the West*, ed. Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 53ff.

<sup>71</sup> Livy IV.59.11-60.9, V.2.1-8; Diodorus XIV.16.5.

<sup>72</sup> Livy II.25.5.

<sup>73</sup> Dionysius VI.29.5.

<sup>74</sup> Ziolkowski 2006, p. 74ff.

later books, and it would be in line with Roth's article for Livy to project this later understanding of a Roman sack back to the earlier history.

The next year would see another Volscian city, Velitrae, fall to the Romans, and this time Livy's account is the more detailed. Whilst Dionysius writes that the city was taken by siege, and later that parts of the Volscian territory was given over to Roman colonists,<sup>75</sup> Livy writes that it was taken after a nearby battle, and that many were massacred in a great slaughter, with no distinction between the populace and the Volscian soldiers.

The Romans on the contrary, having stood at ease at the beginning of the fight, were fresh and strong; they readily caught up with the exhausted Volsci, and having taken their camp with a rush, pursued their enemies beyond it to Velitrae, where vanquished and victors burst into the city in one body. More blood was shed there, in the promiscuous slaughter of all sorts of people, than had been in the battle itself. A very few were granted quarter, having come without arms and given themselves up.<sup>76</sup>

Afterwards Velitrae was annexed to the Roman state, and colonised by Roman settlers.<sup>77</sup> The two accounts thus resemble one another considerably, at least on the surface, but whereas Dionysius represents the war, and the fate of Velitrae, in an unspectacular manner, Livy's representation of the battle outside and then the massacre inside more remarkable. No remarks about the Romans harbouring any considerable animus against the Veliternians are made, nor is any explanation for the great violence of the Roman troops provided. Indeed, the bloodshed inside Velitrae is represented not as a separate measure inflicted after the battle, but instead Livy draws no distinction between the pursuit of the fleeing Volscian soldiers and the massacre within Velitrae.

Also that year, Dionysius writes that the Sabines were defeated, and that their country and some of their towns were looted, but that is the extent of his details.<sup>78</sup>

The following year saw further hostilities against the Volscians, and Dionysius writes that their city of Longula was taken by an assault, and that the Romans plundered the city and

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<sup>75</sup> Dionysius VI.42.2, 43.1.

<sup>76</sup> Livy II.30.14-15.

<sup>77</sup> Livy II.31.4.

<sup>78</sup> Dionysius VI.42.3.

installed a garrison, before departing.<sup>79</sup> A similar fate was suffered by the Corioli, whose town was captured only by great difficulty, but here the Romans left no garrison behind.<sup>80</sup> War would break out with the Volscians again in 487, with Dionysius portraying the Romans as the aggressors after they had suffered Volscian (and Aequian) raids.<sup>81</sup> In the following year the Romans ravaged the lands of the Volscians and Hernicians, and when they could endure this no longer they sued for peace. The Volscians were required to give the Roman army supplies and money, and further agreed to become Roman subjects.<sup>82</sup>

Unlike his account of Suessa Pometia, Dionysius here does not at all depict the Romans as treating their foes in a particularly harsh manner. Instead, despite the resistance of the Volscians forcing the Romans to take their cities by storm, Dionysius presents the Romans as contenting themselves with the plunder and conquest of the cities. Earlier no explanation for the destruction of the Pometians was provided, and in the same manner Dionysius fails to explain why these Volscians, who likewise would not surrender before the Romans were forced to resort to the assault, were spared such harshness.

Of the Hernicians, a neighbouring Italic tribe, Livy writes that they were conquered in 487, and in 486 that  $\frac{2}{3}$  of their territory was annexed by Rome.<sup>83</sup> Dionysius, however, claims that the Hernici surrendered after the Volscians made their peace with Rome, and that they were forced to furnish the Roman soldiers with money and supplies to obtain a truce. Afterwards the Hernici were granted citizenship by the presiding consul, Spurius Cassius. This angered the Senate, and Dionysius explains this outrage by reference to the Hernicians foreign, non-Latin, heritage. The Hernici are thus presented as being clearly Other, or rather Dionysius depicts the Romans of that period as believing such.

Despite the Senate's disapproval, these were the terms of the peace with the Hernici.<sup>84</sup> In 478 and 474 Dionysius recounts that two wars against Veii were concluded, with the Veientes required to furnish the Romans with money and supplies on both occasions. For the first peace, Dionysius notes that it was easier than it could have been, and that the consul, Lucius Aemilius, could have taken land or hostages from the Veientes also, and also that the Senate

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<sup>79</sup> Dionysius VI.91.2-3.

<sup>80</sup> Dionysius VI.92.1-6.

<sup>81</sup> Dionysius VIII.64.1.

<sup>82</sup> Dionysius VIII.68.2.

<sup>83</sup> Livy II.40.14-41.2.

<sup>84</sup> Dionysius VIII.68.3-69.4.

was dismayed with his actions, blaming him for concluding a peace unilaterally, though they themselves had previously authorised him to do just this.<sup>85</sup> The consuls of 474 suffered no such censure after the besieged Veientes sued for peace.<sup>86</sup>

Dionysius describes another war against the Volscians in 469, during the consulship of Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Numicius Priscus, which saw the Antiates retreat to their city as the Romans ravaged the countryside, plundering and enslaving any they encountered, as well as burning buildings and destroying completely a fortress.<sup>87</sup> The following year the Antiates surrendered to Rome before they could launch an attack on their city, and they were made subjects to Rome, with a garrison installed in Antium,<sup>88</sup> and in the next year the Aequi followed suit. They were forced to furnish the Roman troops with food, clothes, and money, and were then made subject to Rome, though they did not have to accept a Roman garrison.<sup>89</sup> Though the extensive plunder the Antiates had suffered in year before can explain why they did not have to offer up the money and supplies as did the Aequi, Dionysius fails to elaborate on why Antium alone was garrisoned. Aside from not having endured the ravages of the Roman army, there is nothing to separate the circumstances under which these peoples were forced to submit to Rome. It would be tempting to explain this variation in their treatment to their differing ethnicity, however the material does not support such an interpretation. Other extratextual, more mundane reasons for this disparity can be imagined, such as a lack of manpower for these additional garrisons, but such would be only conjecture.

More conflicts with the Aequi and the Volscian Antiates would follow, as has already been discussed, as well as other revolts.

In the year 435 Livy writes that the Etruscan city of Fidenae was taken through mining, however he does not clearly describe its fate. He does later write of the Veientes' fear "that Veii was threatened with the same destruction as had overtaken Fidenae."<sup>90</sup>, but this destruction cannot have been too complete, for within the decade the Fidenates would rebel, as has already been discussed above. We can also know that the Romans dispatched a colony to Fidenae, as in the process of that rebellion these colonists were killed by the Fidenates, and

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<sup>85</sup> Dionysius IX.17.1-4.

<sup>86</sup> Dionysius IX.36.1-3.

<sup>87</sup> Dionysius IX.56.5-6.

<sup>88</sup> Dionysius IX.58.7-8.

<sup>89</sup> Dionysius IX.59.4-5

<sup>90</sup> Livy IV.25.8.

of course the very fact that they rebelled means they were made subjects to Rome upon their capture.<sup>91</sup>

War against the Aequians is again recorded, by Diodorus, in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century. Seemingly they were by now an independent people again, for the conflict is not framed as a rebellion. Information of this is scant, and Diodorus writes only that the cities of Labici and Bolae were taken by siege in 418 and 414, respectively.<sup>92</sup> Livy, however, writes that it was considered to send a colony to Bolae, though whether this won favour in the Senate or no is left unexplained.<sup>93</sup>

After this war against the Volscians followed, who also were no longer under the Roman yoke. In 413 Livy writes that the city of Ferentinum, which had belonged to the allied Hernicians, was recaptured by Roman arms, and after plundering the city it was restored to its original owners.<sup>94</sup> The Romans also recaptured their city of Verrugo from the Volscians, in 409, though the text fails to make clear if the city was plundered, or if the army which took it plundered the lands of the Aequi and the Volsci: “[...] that the Romans, after a long and futile siege, retired from the citadel of Carventum and recaptured Verrugo, in the Volscian country, with the same army, which spread great devastation both among the Aequi and in the territory of the Volsci, and gathered enormous spoils.”<sup>95</sup> Later, in 406, both Livy and Diodorus has the city of Anxur (Anxor in Diodorus) captured, with Livy writing that the rich city was sacked after a bloody assault,<sup>96</sup> and Diodorus merely mentioning that the city was captured.<sup>97</sup> One last Volscian town fell to Roman arms before they could turn their gaze on their greatest rival, Veii. Artena was captured in 404, Livy recounts, with the town taken in stages. Most of the town was taken when an attempt to sally out against the Roman besiegers backfired, allowing the Romans into the town, with many slain or enslaved. Finally, the citadel which yet held out was betrayed to the Romans by a slave, and the Artenans were forced to surrender. The fate of these last defenders is not given, but both Artena and its citadel were torn down and

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<sup>91</sup> Livy IV.21.6, 22.1-6, 23.4, 25.8, 31.7.

<sup>92</sup> Diodorus XIII.6.8, 42.6.

<sup>93</sup> Livy IV.49.11.

<sup>94</sup> Livy IV.51.7-8.

<sup>95</sup> Livy IV.55.8.

<sup>96</sup> Livy IV.59.4-10.

<sup>97</sup> Diodorus XIV.16.5.

destroyed.<sup>98</sup>

The greatest victory of the Early Republic was achieved during the tribunate of Publius Licinius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Maenius, Gnaeus Genucius, and Lucius Atilius, in 396, when, after – supposedly – eleven years of siege, the Etruscan city of Veii was captured by the Roman army, under the command of the dictator Marcus Furius Camillus, the legendary second founder of Rome.<sup>99</sup> Livy depicts the conquest of the city as a bloody affair, with many slain and those who surrendered sold into slavery. The city itself was given over to the sack, and rich plunder was taken by the victorious Romans.

A part of the Romans poured through them in a body, others scaled the deserted walls; the city was overrun with enemies; the battle raged in every quarter; then, when there had already been a great carnage, the fighting began to flag, and the dictator bade the heralds proclaim that those without arms should be spared. This ended the slaughter. The unarmed began to give themselves up, and the Romans scattered, with the dictator's permission, in quest of booty. [...] So that day was spent in the slaughter of enemies and the sack of a most opulent city.<sup>100</sup>

Not only was Veii robbed of its people and wealth, but also one of its gods, with Livy recounting that Juno was brought from her temple to Rome.<sup>101</sup> Diodorus, although his account is less extensive, generally agrees with Livy, though he makes no mention of Juno.<sup>102</sup> Even if the words of Livy were to fail in depicting the momentous victory that the sack of Veii represented, the scope of his account of the siege, far beyond anything previously portrayed in his history, further presents the conquest as a pivotal event. Yet Livy's account is not merely a triumphal expression of Roman might, and makes a remark which adds a sour note to the proceedings, mentioning that the dictator slipping whilst giving a prayer of thanks to the gods for his victory, and that this has been seen as an omen for the Sack of Rome some years later. Livy does not comment on whether he himself believes this tradition, but his inclusion of it

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<sup>98</sup> Livy IV.61.5-10.

<sup>99</sup> Livy V.49.7.

<sup>100</sup> Livy V.21.12-14, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Livy V.21.10-22.8.

<sup>102</sup> Diodorus XIV.93.2-3.

nevertheless serves to present the destruction of Veii in the calamity Rome was soon to suffer.<sup>103</sup>

The destruction of Veii, Rome's foremost rival since even before the beginning of the Republic, did not mark an end to war, and already a year after this the city of the Falisci, an Italic tribe, was taken. Diodorus writes only that it was plundered,<sup>104</sup> but in Livy is found another, less believable, story, in which a traitorous tutor delivered to Camillus (this year serving as one of the tribunes), who was laying siege to their city of Falerii, the sons of the foremost Faliscan men. Camillus refused this unworthy betrayal, and returned both the children and their renegade teacher to the Faliscans. For this magnanimous display Falerii surrendered, and they were made subjects to Rome, and gave to the Romans a sum of money, as well as hostages.<sup>105</sup> The Livian account stretches credulity, and seems designed to praise Camillus not only for his military acumen (as demonstrated at Veii) but for the strength of his character. However, that they submitted to Roman overlordship is corroborated by Livy's later remark of them revolting.<sup>106</sup> The uncertainty lies then in whether the Faliscans paid the Romans, or whether their city was plundered, and to that question no sure answer can be given, as previous history shows both as possible.

War with the Aequians then followed, though the details are unclear. Diodorus writes that, in 393, the Romans took the city of Liphlus by storm, though he gives no details of its subsequent fate.<sup>107</sup> He also mentions, in the year that followed, that the Romans held games to Zeus to celebrate the capture of the Aequian city of Liphocuea<sup>108</sup>. It is unclear if these are different cities or the same, with the names not dissimilar. Livy makes no mention of this, though he does recount a war against the Aequi, and nowhere before or after does Diodorus mention either city.

Similar to the account of Ferentinum, which was returned to the Hernici after its loss to the Volscians, in 390 Diodorus writes that the city of Sutrium, which had been taken by the Etruscans, was returned by the Romans to the Sutrians, though here there is no mention of the

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<sup>103</sup> Livy V.21.15-16.

<sup>104</sup> Diodorus XIV.96.5.

<sup>105</sup> Livy V.27.1-14.

<sup>106</sup> Livy VII.16.2.

<sup>107</sup> Diodorus XIV.102.4.

<sup>108</sup> Diodorus XIV.106.4.

Romans plundering the city first.<sup>109</sup> Echoing Livy, Dionysius thus demonstrates that whilst the Sutrians and Hernicians were both subservient to Roman suzerainty, they are nevertheless represented as autonomous peoples. Autonomous peoples who depended on the strength of Rome, for sure, but autonomous nonetheless.

That same year Rome infamously suffered a sack by the Gallic Senones, after which it was forced to suppress a number of revolts, however this dramatic setback after the triumph at Veii would not see an end to Roman belligerence.

Continuing the action against the Etruscans, Livy writes that in 388 Cortuosa was taken through a sudden assault, which faced no resistance, and that it was then sacked and destroyed by fire. Contenebra was taken that same year, after several days of fighting, but though it was plundered, it was not burned. It is not clear why the one city should be spared the flame and not the other, seeing as they were both Etruscan, and the same men and commanders took both cities. Though neither city surrendered, in the case of Cortuosa no such opportunity even existed, nor did they put up any armed resistance. It might then be expected that, if any of these cities ought to be the more severely treated, it ought to be Contenebra, but it would appear as though their stiff resistance earned them an easier conquest.<sup>110</sup>

After the conflicts against the Etruscans (and Gauls), the next Roman conquest occurred in 357. That year Livy writes that the Volscian city of Privernum was taken, surrendering with the assault already in progress. No mention of its fate after this capture is given, however just before the assault the consul Gaius Marcius promised the troops that they would be allowed to plunder the city, if they first fought properly.<sup>111</sup>

More certain was the treatment of the Etruscan Tarquinii who had previously, in 358, put over three hundred Roman soldiers to death as a sacrifice.<sup>112</sup> Both Livy and Diodorus agree that they were defeated by Rome in 354, but whilst Diodorus writes only that 260 of the Tarquinii were executed in Rome, with no mention of the events of 358,<sup>113</sup> Livy describes more severe measures.

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<sup>109</sup> Diodorus XIV.117.4.

<sup>110</sup> Livy VI.4.8-10.

<sup>111</sup> Livy VII.15.11, 16.3-6.

<sup>112</sup> Livy VII.15.10

<sup>113</sup> Diodorus XVI.45.8.

The men of Tarquinii were shown no ruth; many were slain in the field of battle, and out of the vast number taken prisoners three hundred and fifty-eight were selected – the noblest of them all – to be sent to Rome, and the rest of the populace were put to the sword. Neither were the people less stern towards those who had been sent to Rome, but scourged them all with rods in the middle of the Forum and struck off their heads. Such was the vengeance they exacted of their enemies for the Romans sacrificed in the market-place of Tarquinii.<sup>114</sup>

The Livian account is remarkable for the extreme punishment of the Tarquinii. Whilst the total destruction of an enemy population is not unprecedented in this study, it is rare. Dionysius describes the Pometians as suffering a similar fate in 495, but there we are told that it is only the adults who are killed<sup>115</sup> – whether the Romans were this discriminating in the case of the Tarquinii is left unclear. If course, Livy does not mention the Pometians as suffering such harshness, and this case is the first time in which an entire population is put to the sword in his account. Livy would later portray the Lucerians as suffering a like fate to the Tarquinii, but that was a suppressed rebellion, which had seen the Lucerians defecting to the Samnites, and betraying the Roman garrison to their new allies. The treatment of the Tarquinii, it must be noted, does resemble more the punishment of a rebellion than a foreign conquest, with the execution of their leaders a common measure enacted against rebel cities. Murdered Romans were avenged also in Sora in 314, after its revolt, but here the punishment was not quite so severe, and the Romans were content ‘merely’ to execute those responsible for this bloodshed. Taking together (and ignoring the Dionysian account of Suessa Pometia as an outlier), the Livian accounts indicate that whilst the murder of Romans had to be avenged through blood, only the murder of soldiers merited the complete destruction of an entire people.

The Tiburtes, a Latin people, also surrendered to Rome that year, after a few years of conflict, and of these Livy writes that one of their cities, Sassula, “was taken”<sup>116</sup>, but that they were otherwise spared because of their submission. It is unclear what the taking of Sassula actually entails, but the Tiburtes would later be counted amongst the rebels of the Latin War, and so it is clear that the Tiburtes themselves were either subjected to Rome or joined to them by alliance, but more cannot be ascertained.

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<sup>114</sup> Livy VII.19.2-3.

<sup>115</sup> Dionysius VI.29.5.

<sup>116</sup> Livy VII.19.1.

More certain is the fate of Satricum, which was taken in 346. The town had been colonised by Volscians after being destroyed earlier, and after the Volscian soldiers within surrendered to the Roman before the walls could be taken – Livy notes disparagingly that the Volscians were “a race more spirited in beginning than in prosecuting war”<sup>117</sup>. Satricum was again destroyed, after being plundered by the soldiers. Livy writes that the captured soldiers were paraded through Rome during the commanding consul’s – he does not note which of Marcus Valerius Corvus and Gaius Poetelius led the attack on Satricum – triumph, and then sold as slaves. However, he casts some doubt upon this, explaining that some think those sold were actually the slaves of the Satricans, and he finds that more plausible.<sup>118</sup>

The consulship of Marcus Valerius Corvus and Marcus Atilius Regulus, in 336, saw the conquest of Cales, populated by the Italic Ausones. Livy attributes the easy victory of the Romans to an unguarded Roman prisoner within the city who helped the army take the city, a claim which invites some doubt, but more importantly he writes that the city was plundered, and that Marcus Valerius Corvus installed a garrison in the city.<sup>119</sup>

In 326, in the first year of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Samnite War, three Samnite cities – Allifae, Callifae, and Rufrium – were taken by the Romans, but Livy gives no details as to their fates.<sup>120</sup> Somewhat more extensive is his account on the war with the Vestini, an Italic tribe in the following year. Their cities of Cutina and Cingilia were both taken by storm, and then plundered.<sup>121</sup>

Less harsh was the treatment of another Italic people, the Ferentani, who in 319 surrendered after their army was defeated outside their city. Unlike the Vestinini, Livy writes that the Ferentani had to give up hostages to the Romans, but that was the extent of the measures inflicted on them.<sup>122</sup>

Hostages were taken also, Diodorus writes, from the Canusians in 318. Practically no information on the Canusians is to be found in Diodorus, but according to the Greek geographer Strabo (64 B.C. to at least 21 A.D.) it was at one time a Greek city of *Magna Graecia*, but he also writes of it and another city “but now they are fallen off.”<sup>123</sup>, the

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<sup>117</sup> Livy VII.27.7.

<sup>118</sup> Livy VII.27.5-9.

<sup>119</sup> Livy VIII.16.7-10.

<sup>120</sup> Livy VIII.25.4.

<sup>121</sup> Livy VIII.29.13-14.

<sup>122</sup> Livy IX.16.1-2.

<sup>123</sup> Strabo *Geographica* VI.III.9.

meaning of which is unclear. However, as no indication of their ethnicity contrary to this can be found, the Canusians will have to be considered as Greek. Returning to Diodorus, he writes “In Apulia also they plundered all Daunia and won back the Canusians, from whom they took hostages.”<sup>124</sup> This would seem to imply that Canusium had been lost for the Romans at some point, either to rebellion or foreign arms, but in none of the sources is there any mention of this. Aside from this inexplicable comment, Diodorus version coincides with that of Livy, except that he writes that the Teanenses, an Italic people, submitted also.<sup>125</sup>

Further uncertainty is found in Diodorus account of the year 316, in which he writes that the city of Ferentum was captured through assault. Ferentum presumably belonged to the aforementioned Ferentani, but Diodorus makes no mention of any previous accord with the Romans, nor does he provide an explanation of the city’s fate.<sup>126</sup> This is at odds with Livy’s account, who makes no mention of such a conflict, but places a war against the Ferentani in 319. It is still possible that the two refer to the same events, and that Diodorus simply attributes the event to the wrong year (or that Livy does, or for that matter both), and that Livy’s description of a battle outside the city, and subsequent surrender, is interpreted by Diodorus as an assault on the city. Such is merely conjecture, and the uncertainty of whether the events depicted are meant to be the same means that little can be inferred from the differences in how they are portrayed.

Multiple cities are conquered in 313. Of the city of Nola Livy tells us nothing more than that it was captured,<sup>127</sup> but Diodorus writes that Nola and Calatia, both Italic cities of Campania, were taken by siege, and that much of the land was given by the dictator Quintus Fabius to his soldiers.<sup>128</sup> More noteworthy is the Latin city of Fregellae, about which the sources disagree. Livy writes that it was captured by the Samnites, who fled on the approach of a Roman army which retook the city without any fighting. No measures were enacted against the Fregellani, who are depicted as blameless, but a Roman garrison is installed in the city.<sup>129</sup> Diodorus makes no mention of the Samnite capture, and after its capture by Quintus Fabius it was treated like a rebel city, with the same execution of rebel leaders as has been seen so often.

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<sup>124</sup> Diodorus XIX.10.2.

<sup>125</sup> Livy IX.20.4.

<sup>126</sup> Diodorus XIX.65.7.

<sup>127</sup> Livy IX.28.4-6.

<sup>128</sup> Diodorus XIX.101.3.

<sup>129</sup> Livy IX.28.3.

With the rest of the army Quintus Fabius, who had been chosen dictator, captured the city of the Fregellani and made prisoners the chief men among those who were hostile to the Romans. These to the number of more than two hundred he took to Rome; and, bringing them into the Forum, he beat them with rods and beheaded them according to the ancestral custom.<sup>130</sup>

Whilst it might be hyperbolic to describe the two accounts as diametrically opposed, there is clearly a stark difference between the version of events described by either source. By rights, the Diodoran account should be placed in the section for Rebellions, but for the sake of comparison they have been placed together here. That said, Diodorus' version is generally in line with what has been seen in that section. Examples of an allied city being lost and then retaken are few, but Livy does describe how Ferentinum in 413 was reconquered, and restored to the Hernici. In that case Ferentinum was plundered first, before being returned to the Italic Hernici, something which Livy omits from the account of Latin Fregellae. Whatever the reason, Livy certainly represents the Fregellani in a different, more victimised, manner than does Diodorus.

The consulship of Gaius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula in 311 saw the Romans conquer numerous Samnite cities as the 2<sup>nd</sup> War between the two peoples raged on, and reconquer another. An example is provided of how the Samnites treated their enemies, as the garrison at Cluviae was taken through starvation, after which they were treated similar to rebel leaders against the Romans: "The Samnites, having scourged their prisoners in a brutal fashion, put them to death, although they had surrendered."<sup>131</sup> As with previous cases of murdered Roman soldiers – which is clearly how Livy represents this act, and not a lawful execution – Rome's response was severe. Livy writes that it was taken by assault in a single day, and that all the adult men were put to death. It is, in the account, unclear if these are only the men who attacked, or whether the population of Cluviae was thus punished also. If the latter, it would imply that the inhabitants were in some way responsible for the fall of the city, and being a Samnite city it would not be inconceivable that they might welcome the possible liberation of their city, but such is not how the Samnite attack is represented.<sup>132</sup> Vengeance was not the motivation for the capture of Bovanium. Livy does not explain how it was taken –

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<sup>130</sup> Diodorus XIX.101.3.

<sup>131</sup> Livy IX.31.3.

<sup>132</sup> Livy IX.31.2-3.

though he describes it as a strong city – but only that it was afterwards sacked.<sup>133</sup> Diodorus meanwhile makes no mention of either of those cities, but writes instead that the cities of Cataracta and Ceraunilia were captured by siege. The only measures enacted there are the installations of Roman garrisons: Diodorus writes nothing of plunder or executions. No mention of even garrisons is made for other, unnamed cities which apparently went over the Romans without any fight “but some of the other cities they won over by persuasion.”<sup>134</sup> Whilst Cliviae is obviously a different case from the others, the difference in how Bovanium is represented compared to Cataracta and Ceraunilia is less easily explained. It may be that Bovanium was taken by storm, whereas the other two were besieged, but surrendered before an assault was necessary, and so was spared the harshness of a sack. This is supported by events of the following few years, until the War came to an end in 304.

In 310 Livy writes that the Etruscan city of Perusia surrendered to the Romans, and consequently there is no mention of any plundering, but as with Diodorus’ two Samnite cities a garrison is installed.<sup>135</sup> Diodorus on the other hand mentions a battle near Perusia, but writes nothing about the Romans taking it. He also claims that the city of Allifae was captured by assault, but writes nothing of its fate.<sup>136</sup> This in turn is inconsistent with Livy, who writes that a battle was fought outside of Allifae, but makes no mention of the city being hostile or taken, and he in turn places this in 307.<sup>137</sup> Warfare is oft a chaotic affair, and in this case so are accounts of war.

Diodorus mentions two further conquests, Castola, in 310, and Caerium, in 308, but writes only how they were taken – by assault and by siege, respectively, and nothing of the aftermath.<sup>138</sup> Of greater value for this study are the events described in 306, when he recounts how the city of Silvium was taken and treated. Whilst Diodorus writes that the city possessed a Samnite garrison, the ethnicity of the population itself is not made clear. It may have been Greek, for Strabo describes how the land in which it lay had been colonised by Arcadians,<sup>139</sup> but Diodorus portrays it as located within Iapygia, in Apulia, and so the impression is rather

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<sup>133</sup> Livy IX.31.4-5.

<sup>134</sup> Diodorus XX.26.4.

<sup>135</sup> Livy IX.40.18-21.

<sup>136</sup> Diodorus XX.35.2-5.

<sup>137</sup> Livy IX.42.6-7.

<sup>138</sup> Diodorus XX.35.5, 44.9.

<sup>139</sup> Strabo VI.III.8.

that it was a Iapygian city. The Iapygians, thus far unmentioned, were not Italic, but rather a distinct people which seems to have migrated from Illyria, across the Adriatic Sea. Whilst Strabo also places the territory within Iapygia, the fact that Diodorus names Iapygia alone, and makes no mention of any Greek heritage – despite being himself Greek, and writing in their tongue, lends credence to the notion that we are intended to understand the people of Silvium as Iapygians. The city itself is described as being conquered by assault after a lengthy siege, after which it was looted by the Romans, who took a number – 5000 – as prisoners also.<sup>140</sup>

One last example is provided by Diodorus, after which Livy will remain as our only source. In 304 he writes that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Samnite War came to an end, with no details as to the peace, and also that the consul Publius Sempronius in 50 days captured 40 cities of the Aecli, after which they submitted, however there is no information on what this submission entailed.<sup>141</sup> Livy explains that the people against whom Sempronius fought was in fact the Aequi, and claims that it was ‘merely’ 31 cities. These cities were all stormed, and Livy means that the majority were destroyed, as were almost all the Aequians:

Afterwards they found out through their scouts what the enemy designed to do; and attacking his cities in succession, one after another, they captured thirty-one of them within fifty days, in every instance by assault. Of these the greater number were dismantled and burnt, and the Aequian name was almost blotted out.<sup>142</sup>

Before hostilities with the Samnites resumed, Livy details how the Italic city of Nequinum was captured by a night attack through a mine. Nequinum was plundered, as common with cities taken by storm, but also colonised, and renamed Narnia.<sup>143</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Samnite War erupted in 298, and in that same year the cities of Bovanium and Aufidena were captured, with no details provided.<sup>144</sup> Little more is written about the capture

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<sup>140</sup> Diodorus XX.80.1-2.

<sup>141</sup> Diodorus XX.101.5.

<sup>142</sup> Livy IX.45.17-18.

<sup>143</sup> Livy X.9.8, 10.1-5. The name Narnia, Livy writes, came from the nearby river Nar, and seems unlikely to have been inspired by C. S. Lewis novel series.

<sup>144</sup> Livy X.12.1-3, 9.

of Cimetra in 297, save that almost three thousand prisoners were taken.<sup>145</sup> Richer is the account of the 296 taking of Murgantia and Romulea, both cities being taken by assault, with plunder and prisoners taken in both cases, and Livy here explicitly reports that the lure of rich booty was used to motivate the soldiers. The city of Ferentinum is also taken, albeit with more difficulty, and its fate is similar, save that Livy writes nothing of any prisoners taken there. Similar results, plunder and captured prisoners, are depicted in the conquest of Milonia, in 294, which did not surrender even after the Romans had captured the walls.<sup>146</sup>

In the following year the cities of Amiternum and Duronia were taken by storm, by the consuls Spurius Carvilius and Lucius Papirius Cursor, respectively. The events are portrayed similarly, with prisoners captured and plunder taken, though Livy remarks that the conquest of the latter was by far the more bloody, with fewer captives, though it is left unclear whether any were slain afterwards or if the Samnite resistance was simply greater there than at Amiternum.<sup>147</sup> Later that same year the consuls captured through assault the two cities of Cominium and Aquilonia simultaneously, and the cities were first sacked, and then set ablaze.<sup>148</sup> The cities of Velia, Palumbinium and Herculaneum were also taken by assault, and Livy writes that “in these three places ten thousand or so of the enemy were taken or put to death, with the prisoners very slightly outnumbering the slain.”<sup>149</sup> It is unclear whether those “put to death” were slain in the course of the assaults, or afterwards. Also in that bloody year, Livy describes the capture of Saepinium, which was taken by storm after considerable resistance. It was sacked by the soldiers, with many slain or taken captive.<sup>150</sup> Finally, Livy writes that the Etruscan city of Troilum was captured through assault. The fate of that city is not mentioned, but – uniquely – Livy notes that the wealthy of that city had already, before the attack, purchased their safety for a sum of money.<sup>151</sup>

With the eventful year of 293 Livy’s account of the Early Republic comes to an end. Many were the cities he depicted as being captured that year, and there is little variety in how the Romans are depicted as treating their defeated enemies. Of the many Samnite cities the only

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<sup>145</sup> Livy X.15.5-6.

<sup>146</sup> Livy X.34.1-3.

<sup>147</sup> Livy X.39.1-4.

<sup>148</sup> Livy X.41.12-44.2.

<sup>149</sup> Livy X.45.11.

<sup>150</sup> Livy X.45.12-14.

<sup>151</sup> Livy X.46.10-11.

ones who stand out are Cominium and Aquilonia, which alone in that year are portrayed as being not only sacked by destroyed, for no apparent reason that the source can provide. The example of Troilum – the lone Etruscan city taken that year – is also noteworthy, and stands as the only example in either source in which a Roman commander is – essentially – bribed to show mercy to a portion of a population. Human nature being what it is, one would have expected such offers to have been proffered innumerable times, but nowhere else is it even mentioned that the rich people of any settlement tried to buy their own security.

As one would expect, the Romans are rarely presented as punishing their conquered enemies, as in the previous section. Though one might expect this to result in the Romans exhibiting less animosity towards their foes, such is not how it is represented in the source material. Whilst there are no depictions of enemy leaders being executed, numerous examples are provided – from all sources – of enemy cities being either plundered or sacked, and there are in addition plenty of examples of cities being entirely destroyed, generally through fire. Whilst being at the mercy of the Roman army would never be an inviting prospect, the Roman soldiers are represented as more brutal in this form of conflict, and the killings which would otherwise be limited to enemy leaders are in this section meted out less discriminately. A more certain appraisal of the Romans massacring conquered populations is prohibited by the sources tendency not to delineate between the assault on a city and any potential subsequent violence. The question of ethnicity is difficult to answer, as the sources do not themselves name it as a reason for severity or leniency, but it cannot be avoided that the Samnites are seemingly treated more harshly. This is especially true for Livy, and in particular those cities captured during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Samnite War, though there it is also clear that cities who surrendered were treated less severely, with the bloodiest violence reserved for those cities which resisted until the Roman assault. Samnite cities captured during the 2<sup>nd</sup> War are however treated with greater restraint, though the here Diodorus is the main source, and he does not always provide any detail for the fate of captured cities beyond the means by which they were taken. He does, however, represent the violence as being tied not intrinsically to ethnicity, but rather towards resistance towards Rome, describing how unnamed Samnite towns which went over to the Roman side suffered no harshness whatsoever.

### III.I Concluding Discussion

“Then at last  
I saw it all, all Ilium settling into her embers,  
Neptune’s Troy, toppling over now from her roots  
like a proud, veteran ash on its mountain summit,  
chopped by stroke after stroke of the iron axe as  
woodsmen fight to bring it down, and over and  
over it threatens to fall, its boughs shudder,  
its leafy crown quakes and back and forth it sways  
till overwhelmed by its wounds, with a long last groan  
it goes—torn up from its heights it crashes down  
in ruins its ridge...<sup>152</sup>

Works of history from Antiquity do not reliably provide an internally consistent account of events, and when several such texts are brought together the result can easily appear, to put it bluntly, as a jumbled mess. The accounts of war seem at times to be inspired by the conflicts they describe, mirroring the chaos of war. Despite this apparent disorder, however, through the application of the hermeneutic method it has been possible to locate and isolate relevant examples, and this has enabled the study of these passages both in isolation and as part of the whole, as the previous section has by now demonstrated. It is evident that the fate of a defeated population could vary greatly, and that there was no set doctrine or policy for what measures should be enacted by the victorious Romans. At the same time, whether viewed individually or all together the source material certainly shows some patterns, which whilst not slavishly followed are continuously repeated in all the sources. One pattern which has emerged during the analysis, and which has been made more apparent by its disposition, is the difference between rebellions and wars against foreign foes. In the former, the execution of rebel leaders, or at times a singular commander, is a common measure depicted by all the sources, but where foreign wars are concerned there is no mention of enemy leaders being put to death. Of the three sources, Diodorus features such a punishment the least, depicting it only once, in an example which Livy contradicts, not even portraying it as a rebellion. Such is also described as the intended fate for the rebellious leaders of Capua, who took their own lives before being handed over to the Romans. In Dionysius, on the other hand, it is nearly always

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<sup>152</sup> Virgil, *The Aeneid*, transl. Robert Fagles (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 2.769-781.

mentioned in the aftermath of suppressed rebellions, whilst in Livy it is depicted as common, but not at all ubiquitous.

Whilst the killing of enemy leadership is depicted as being reserved for cases of rebellion, this is not so for examples where the entirety of the population is put to the sword. Examples of such are not to be found in Diodorus, but Livy gives us three accounts of this sort, and Dionysius one, though in two of the examples found only the adult population suffers this extreme violence. Livy in all cases either excuses, or at the least explains, the heavy-handed destruction of an entire people, be it with the crimes of that people against Rome or with the aggression of the Roman troops, but no such need is apparent in Dionysius' account, and he writes of the Volscian Pometians being put to death as though were it an unremarkable affair. Whether treated as such or no, the destruction of a defeated population is not the norm in either of the sources. Far more common is the enslavement of such a people. In Diodorus such is rare, and never occurs after a rebellion. Dionysius portrays such as occurring occasionally, with both rebels and foreign populations the victims, but in Livy enslavement of an entire people is presented as a rarity. This does not extend to the taking of surrendered soldiers as captives (and slaves), which is common, nor to the taking of enemy slaves (i.e. already enslaved people), which falls under the taking of plunder alongside other goods (no matter how morally distasteful such a classification might occur today, slaves were considered property).

Common to all the sources is the plundering of captured cities, and this is found both in cases of rebellion and in war against foreign peoples. Not only are numerous cities depicted being sacked, but Livy in particular writes repeatedly that the prospect of plunder was used by consuls and other commanders to motivate their soldiers.

Whilst the defeated populations are often depicted as suffering harm in various ways, being deprived of their material possessions, their leadership, their freedom, or even their very lives, similar measures are but seldomly inflicted on their cities themselves. Even so, such occasions are not unheard of. Only once, rebellious Privernum in 329, is it written that a people was deprived of its walls, which were knocked down by the Romans, but greater – though not great – in number is the amount of cities which are described as being completely destroyed. Dionysius and Livy both describe a Latin city suffering such a fate after rebelling in the early years of the Republic, but a few Volscian cities are also destroyed, and towards the end of Book X Livy described Samnite Cominium and Aquilonia being set ablaze. Whilst exceptional when viewed in context of the entirety of the source material, the historical writers do not represent these events as particularly noteworthy, and unlike the destruction of

the population, which at least Livy chose – or felt compelled – to explain, the razing of a city is portrayed as unremarkable, merely one of many possible fates. The exception is the Aequian city of Corbio, which was razed in 457, though the reason differs amongst the sources. Dionysius appoints it this fate as the punishment of the Aequians for their attack on the Hernici, but Livy writes that the city's Roman garrison was slain, and thus it was destroyed. This would be consistent with Livy's portrayal of the annihilation of enemy populations for murdering Roman soldiers, were Corbio the rule, and not the exception.

Gruen's work on representation of foreign cultures during Antiquity suggests that whilst derogatory stereotypes certainly existed, and examples of disdainful remarks in ancient works can be found – including in this essay's source material – the notion of the ancient Mediterranean as a world of conflict between various peoples and cultures, with one-sided disdain for the Other, is not supported by our sources.<sup>153</sup> The findings of this study largely aligns with this, with some outliers. Whilst little differentiation can be seen in the treatment of defeated populations, be they Samnite or Etruscan, Livy clearly represents the Gauls as being outsiders and different in a negative manner, Othering them to the degree that in his depiction of the final peace after the Latin War contact and cooperation with the Gauls alone is presented as cause enough for harsher treatment. Additionally, whilst the sources describe numerous occasions where the Latins, the closest kin as it were to the Romans, are treated just as severely as any other people, it cannot be ignored that demonstrations of leniency – in the case of rebellions, in particular – are near-uniformly made against other Latin states or peoples. It is thus evident that whilst the Romans were certainly capable of great brutality, as represented in the sources such violence was not ethnically motivated, and indeed the inconsistency with which the heritage of enemy peoples is even relayed points to such matters being thought of as of less than paramount importance.

Ben Kiernan, specialist on genocide studies, and not a scholar of ancient history, has described Rome's later destruction, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Punic War, of Carthage in 146 B.C. as her "First Genocide", arguing that the destruction of the city, enslavement of its people and obliteration of its culture constituted a genocide. Whilst the application of a label such as 'genocide' on ancient history is not necessarily without controversy, the question of whether such is to be understood as an anachronism is one this essay will leave to others, whilst it is

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<sup>153</sup> Gruen 2011, p. 1ff, 352ff.

also happy to leave the thorny question of defining genocide to a specialist in the field such as Kiernan. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Kiernan to a large part relies on ancient historiography, notably Polybius and Plutarch, for his evidence. Whether Polybius' history itself would support the appellation of 'First' or no, it has in the course of this study become more than plain that such treatment as the Carthaginians suffered in 146 was not in itself remarkable, save perhaps for the scale of it. To a large degree the fate of Carthage was that of Veii, as it is represented by Livy. Whilst Livy ought not to be considered entirely reliable, as Roth argues the case of Veii in particular ought to be seen as less unreliable than others, and the fall of that city preceded Carthage by more than two centuries. However, Kiernan bases his claim not solely on the fate of Carthage and its inhabitants, but also on events preceding the conflict, most notably the efforts of Cato the Elder, as described by Plutarch, to propagate for the destruction of Rome's great rival. Whilst the treatment of Carthage was not unique, and does not represent the first occasion of such extreme violence, the element of planning and dehumanisation beforehand described by Kiernan differs from either of this essay's sources. On occasions the Senate is depicted as deliberating the annihilation of a foreign state, but there the merciful argument always wins out.

The application of Gruen's work on these ancient texts has proven itself fruitful, both supporting and nuancing his theory on the role of Othering in Antiquity. At the same time, the limitations of this format cannot be denied. The scope of this essay has been both wide – in the number of sources utilised – and narrow – in the sort of depictions analysed – and in accordance with its chosen method this invites further studies. Viewing this essay as essentially part of the whole, future analyses which similarly use a broad-and-narrow focus and look at, for example, only a single writer, but utilising a greater portion of the text, ought to prove fruitful, whether one chooses to restrict such a study as narrowly as this one, and look at only a single epoch of Roman history, or elects to take a broader view.

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