PROOEMIUM AUCTORIS

1 Diuturna mihi cogitatio fuit et saepe in alterutram partem sententia praeior faciundumse foret, ut res gestas florentinii populi fortissima et domi contentiones habitas et vel pace vel bello indicia facta mandare litteris aggerderer. Exuitabat que me ipsarum magnitudine rerum, quibus hic populus primo inter se civilii varioque discidio, deinde adversus finitosque egregie gestis, tandem nostra actae potentia immodice adactus et cum Mediolanisium potentiissimo duce et cum Ladislao bellicosissimo rege ita contendit, ut ab Alpibus in Apulum, quantum Italiae longitudo pretantitur, cuncta armorum strepitu quateret ac transalpinos insuper regis magnosque exercitus ex Gallia et Germania commoveret. Acce- dunt ad haec Pisae capita, quam ego urbem vel diversitate animorum vel aeruminatione potentiae vel exitu belli recite alteram Carthagen, ut nisi videro, appellari. Cuius extrema debelatio atque obsidio pari obstinacione apud victos victoresque agitatae, ita mul- ta memoriae digna continent, ut antiquis illis maxminus rebus, quas legentes admirari solemus, nulla ex parte inferiores appareant. Fiac mihi perdigna litteris et memoria videbantur ac earumdem cognitionem rerum utilissimam privatim et publice arbitrabatur. Nam cum prorectae atae homines eo sapientiores habeantur, quo plura viderunt in vita, quanto magis historia nobis, si accurate legerimus, hanc praestare poterit sapientiam, in qua multarum aetatum facta constitueque cernuntur, ut et quid sequare et quid vites faciliter ams excellentiurnque virorum gloria ad virtutem exciteret?

Ex adverso labor ingens ac partim obscura, partim interrumpta quorumdam temporum nostrit, nominum denique asperitas exiv cuiuscumque elegantiae patient, multis praeterea difficulitates vehementer avertabat. Tandem vero his inter se multum duique

PREFACE

It required long deliberation and many changes of mind before I decided to write about the deeds of the Florentine People, their struggles at home and abroad, their celebrated exploits in war and peace. What attracted me was the greatness of the actions this People performed: first its various internal struggles, then its admirable exploits against its immediate neighbors, and finally, in our own time, its struggle as a great power against the all-powerful duke of Milan and the aggressive King Ladislaus. Indeed, all Italy from the Alps to Apulia rang with the sound of Florentine arms, and even beyond Italy the People caused kings and vast armies to cross the Alps from France and Germany. In addition there is the conquest of Pisa, and if one considers the clash of characters, the rivalry for power, and the ultimate outcome, I think it fair to call that city another Carthage. In the final conquest and siege of Pisa, victors and vanquished alike displayed an equal tenacity, and deeds were performed that were every bit as memorable and important as those great events we read about and admire so much in antiquity. These actions seemed to me very much worthy of record and remembrance, and I thought that acquaintance with them would serve both public and private ends. For if we think men of advanced years are wiser because they have seen more of life, how much greater is the wisdom history can give us if we read it carefully! For there the deeds and decisions of many ages may be scrutinized; from its pages we may learn with ease what behavior we should imitate and avoid, while the glory won by great men, as therein recorded, inspires us to perform acts of virtue.

What held me back, however, was the labor involved in such an enterprise, and the gaps and obscurities in our knowledge of certain times, the harsh sounding names that would hardly allow of elegant treatment, and many other difficulties. Having weighed all
pensatis in hac potissimum sententia constiteri, ut censerem quantumcumque scribendi rationem torpenti silentio esse praeterendam. Itaque ea scribere aggreassum sum, non igitur quidem ipse mei nec quantum omnium nasipiam nescius. Sed coeperis spero autor deus aderit et, quando boni causa id ago, bene vereret. Quod si vivam autem non respondendum mei, adimum tamen conatumque invabit.

Atque utinam superioris actatis homines, usurcamque ardentis arque disertit, scribere potius sui quiesque temporis facta quam praeterire taciti maluisset. Erat enim doctorum, ni fallor, vel praecessum munus, ut suam quisque actatem celebrando, oblivionis et fato praepiper et immortalitati coniugare niteretur. Sed pueto alia alia faciendo causa fit; quondam enim labore deterritos, quondam facultate destitutos, ad alia potius scribendi genera quam ad historiam animum appulisse. Nam libellum quidem aut epistolam, si paulo coneris, faciit et transigas. Historiam vero, in qua tot simul rerum longa et continua ratio sit habenda causaque factorum omnium singulatim explicandae et de quacunque re judicium in medio praeterendam, eam quidem velut infinita mole colorem obtuent tam proficiet periculoque ut quam praestare difficile.

Iam, dum quiesque vel qui sui indubiet vel existimationis consili, publica utilitas neglecta est et praestantissimorum virorum rerumque maximarum memoria paene obliviorata.

3 Ego autem non actatis meae solum, verum etiam supra quantum habet memoria potest, repetitam huius civitatis historiam scribere constitui. Pertinere autem huius cognitio et ad italis res; nihil est enim iam diu per Italiam dignum memoria gestum in quo huius populi non interventerint partes. Legationibus quoque vel missis vel accepis explicandis magna ceterarum gentium notitiae perstringatur. Sed antequam ad ea tempora veniam, quae prorsus professionis nostrae, placuit exemplo quorumdam rerum

these matters long and carefully, I came to feel that, on the whole, any plan for writing was better than silence and idleness. In starting to write, therefore, I have been aware of my own limitations and of the burdens of my task. But I hope that God will favor my enterprise and make it turn out well, since I am acting in a good cause. For if my abilities are not equal to the undertaking, He will nevertheless aid hard work and effort. Would that the men of earlier times, whatever the extent of their learning and eloquence, had recorded the events of their own day, instead of letting them pass by in silence! For if I am not mistaken, the special duty of scholars has ever been to celebrate the deeds of their own time and so to rescue them from oblivion and the power of fate—indeed, to render them hallowed and immortal. Yet I suppose that each man had his reasons for remaining silent. Some shrank from heavy labor; some lacked the ability; some applied themselves to other genres of writing. It is not hard, with some effort, to write a slim volume or a letter. History, however, requires at once a long and connected narrative, causal explanation of each particular event, and the public expression of one’s judgment about every issue.

With the unending burden of the task overwhelming the pen, a history is as dangerous a thing to promise as it is hard to perform. Thus, while everyone has pursued his personal comfort or considered his reputation, the public good has been neglected and the memory of remarkable men and heroic actions has been almost wholly lost.

I have decided, therefore, to investigate and write the history of this city, not only in my own time but in earlier ages as far as memory has preserved it. The account will touch on the wider history of Italy as well, for nothing important has been done in Italy for a long time without the participation of at least some Florentines. To explain the various embassies sent out or received by this city, too, requires some notice of other nations. Before I come to the times that mainly concern me, however, I should like (following
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

scriptorum de primordio atque origine urbis vulgaribus fabulosisque opinionibus rejectis quam verissimam puto notitiam tradere, ut omnia in sequentibus clariora reddatur.

PREFACE

the example of certain annalists) to relate what I think is the most correct tradition concerning the city’s founding and its origins. This will involve rejecting some commonly held but mythical beliefs, and will shed light on what is to follow.
LIBER PRIMUS

1. Florentiam urbem Romani condidere a Lucio Sylla Faesulas deducti. Fuerunt autem hi Syllani milites, quibus ob egregiam cum in ceteris tum in civili bello navatam operam, pars Faesulani agris est attributa et Faesulae una cum veteribus incolis sedes traditae. Has civium deductiones consignationeque agrorum Romani colonias appellant, quod videlicet praeda qua coelest quibusque inhabitaret, sedes tradebantur. Quae autem occasio fuerit novos colonos in haec loca dedicansi, pro rei notitiae aperiebatur est.

2. Haud multos ante Syllae dictaturam annos, cuncti ferme Italiæ populi umum sub tempus a Romanis defecerë, indignatione commotæ quod ipse una cum Romanis per singulas expeditiones militantes, laborantque et pericula pro augendo imperio subeuntes, praemiiorem expertes anebantur. Quare saepius inter se conquissent, tandem legatis communis de re Romanis missis, quasi civitate membra, honores et magistratus concedi ait postularentur. Agitata ea res est per M. Drusi tribunatum, dubiaque aepiusiandia praebant. Sed cum tandem eorum postulata reicerantur, aperte quasi a ingratis rebellarunt bellumque gesserunt, quod quia a sociali gestum est, sociale bellum nuncupatur. In eo demum bello victor populus romanus, principes rebellandi provinciarum persecutus, multis illas clavidibus afflictus. Sed praecipue in Picentum Tuscanum saevitum, nam et Asculum, florentissimum Picentum urbem, hostilem in modum in Romania vastata est et in Tuscia Clusium a solo eversum; Arretinum et Faesulaniam, praeter belii damnas et caedes.

BOOK I

The founders of Florence were Romans sent by Lucius Sulla to Faesulae. They were his veterans who had given outstanding service in the civil war as well as in other wars, and he granted them part of the territory of Faesulae in addition to the town itself and its old inhabitants. Such a relocation of citizens and assignment of lands was called a colony by the Romans, because the estates cultivated and inhabited by the citizens were granted to them as homes. Why new colonists were sent to this area, however, must be explained.

Not many years before Sulla’s dictatorship, there was a general rebellion among the peoples of Italy against the Romans. They had been allied with the Romans on every campaign, had fought and labored by their side and shared the perils which attended their expansion, and yet, as they were distressed to find, they had not shared in the rewards. Hence their indignation. After much complaining among themselves, they finally sent a delegation to Rome to discuss their common problem, and to demand a share in honors and offices for themselves, as though they were themselves organic parts of the state. The question came up during the tribunate of Marcus Drusus, and for some time the petitioners were left in suspense. Their demands were ultimately rejected, however, and then the peoples involved rebelled openly and declared war on their ungrateful allies. Because the war was made by former allies of Rome, it is known as the Social War. The Roman people emerged victorious and severely punished the leading provinces involved in the rebellion. They dealt most harshly with Picenum and Tuscany. The flourishing city of Asculum in Picenum was razed like an enemy town, and in Tuscany, Clusium was likewise leveled to the ground. The people of Arretium and Faesulae also suffered heavy blows above and beyond the war dam-
magnae insuper calamitates inflectae per quas, publicatis multorum bonis multisque fugatis, civitates sunt paene habitatoribus inaniæ.


4 Meminserunt horum colonorum Tullius et Sallustius, duos præstansissimæ latiniæ linguae auctores. Tullius optimos fuisse cives Romanos et fortissimos viros affirmavit, sed inspexit ac repentinum divitias bello civili a Sylla locupletatos, modum in sumptoibus servare nescisse; dum aedificant tanquam beati, dum magnis familiaribus magnisque convivis et sumptuosissimis apparatis violentissimn utuntur, in tantum aeternum incidisse, ut si liberare se velit, turnus forest el Sylla ab inferis excitandus. Esequitum permagni facio quod latinæ parentis eloquentiæ aedificis scribit ac ex eo speciosa ab ipsis incaulis fundamenta huius urbis fuisse concoequo. Et extrema sane hoc dieque permanent vetustorum reliquiae operum vel in hac nostrì tempore magnificenti civitatis admirandæ: aequeductus, per quem de septimo lapide accepti fontes in urbem ducebantur, et

age itself, for many people's property was confiscated and many were forced to flee, so that these towns were almost emptied of inhabitants. 8

Such was the occasion—almost, in fact, the invitation—for Sulla's later action as dictator in granting his veterans these lands in particular. That is how Sulla's veterans came to Faesulae and divided the fields among themselves. Many of them decided, however, that amidst the security of the Roman empire it was unnecessary to inhabit an inaccessible hill town. So they left the mountain and began to form settlements along the banks of the Arno and the Mugnone in the plain below. The new city located between these two waterways was at first called Fluentia and its inhabitants Fluentini. The name lasted for some time, it seems, until the city grew and developed. Then, perhaps just through the ordinary process by which words are corrupted, or perhaps because of the wonderfully successful flowering of the city, Fluentia became Florentia.

Both Cicero and Sallust, two great Latin writers, record the existence of these settlers. Cicero tells us, moreover, that the veterans, though excellent Roman citizens and the toughest of men, did not know how to control their spending when they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly enriched by Sulla through civil war. They built grandly and created great households, gave large and luxurious banquets with abandon, and soon were buried in debt. To free them from this burden, Sulla himself would have had to return from the dead. What the father of Latin eloquence says of their buildings seems important to me, for it leads to the conclusion that the foundations of this city, from its very infancy, were magnificent. And there still exist today remains of ancient buildings that must command our admiration even amidst the present splendor of Florence. There is the aqueduct that brought water to the city from sources seven leagues away, and the great theaters, or that time placed outside the walls, for popular sports
theatrici ingenti ad ludos popularum tunc extra moenia positi, tunc intra urbem ipsam privatum aedificis occupati. Tempulum etiam, in quo nunc baptisterium est, vetustum sive ac egressum opus, Marti gentilis consecravit.

5 Videntur autem hi coloni, sive levandi desideri causa sive amore veteris patriae, pleraque Romaniae urbis loca aedificiisque aemuli voluisse. Nam et capitolium sibi fecerunt et forum iuxta positum eo situ iisdemque regionibus inter se conversa, quis romanum forum capitoliumque videamus. Addiderunt thermas publicas ad populi lavacra; theatrum ad spectacula ludorum. Ex eadem aemulacione templum Maris est, in quem videlicet deum Romani genus, fabulosae licet credulitatis, referrebat. Usque adeo vero aemulandi studio prorecti sunt, ut etiam minus necessaria opera maioris impensa non pigaeit imitari. Productis ad septimum usque millarium arcusbus, fontes accepti in urbe dacebantur, qui ut Romae opportunities, ubi omnis aqua gypsa corrupsa sola profun- tur, sic Florentiae superfluis, ubi purissimi laticos tota urbe scaturunt. Huic publicae magnificentiae privata quoque aedificia convenire crediderim, quamvis in privatis minus appareat. Nam publicis quidem, ut supra diximus, non continentiae religiisque attestatur.

6 In his igniti aedificationibus ac cetero vitae splendore, quem Tullius memorat, occupatos, dum nec futurum prospiciant nec parto parcunt, brevi, ut fit, tempore, pecuniae defecerunt, et simul unica largitionum spes, L. Sylla, non dictatura modo, verum etiam vita abierat. Itaque partim indignat, partim consuetudine prae- miorum adducti, novum aliquem motum exoriis opfabant. Vici militares et civili bello assueti, quietes* esse nullo pacto abiecerant; rursus novas dictatursa et nova bellis praemia mente volabant. Et

and spectacles. These theaters are now located within the city lim- ites and built over with private residences. Also, the temple where the baptistry is now located is an outstanding ancient structure which the pagans dedicated to Mars.

Out of nostalgia or love for their old home, the colonizers seem to have consciously imitated Rome in their planning of the city and in the construction of buildings. They built themselves a capitol and a forum, in the same configuration as was found in Rome, and they had baths for public cleanliness and an arena for watching games and spectacles. The temple of Mars was built in the same spirit of emulation, for it was to this god that the Romans, superstitiously, traced their ancestry. They were so eager to affirm their relationship to Rome, in fact, that they liked to copy less important structures as well, even at tremendous ex- pense. They brought water in by aqueduct, which was reasonable in Rome where all the local water was chalky, but superfluous in Florence where perfectly pure water springs up in abundance. It seems likely, moreover, that their private houses matched their public buildings in magnificence, though the evidence that this was the case is less abundant. The above-mentioned ruins of the public buildings prove how ample those, at least, were.

Absorbed in their luxurious way of life and surrounded by 6 buildings such as these, the colonists lived, as Cicero tells us,4 without thought of the future and without saving any part of their wealth, and, as usually happens in such cases, it was quickly spent. Meanwhile Sulla, their one source of largesse, not only left the dic- tatorship but passed out of this world. So, partly because of their poverty and partly because they were accustomed to getting re- wards, they looked forward with eagerness to some new disturb- ance. Soldiers and men used to civil war, they had no idea how to live in peace time. Their thoughts ran ever to new dictatorships and new booty. And (decem) was an added incentive to draw the
accedebat aen alienum, aera quidem stimulus et qui timidis etiam animos facere solet ad eum perturbandum.

7 Forte per id tempus Romae L. Catilina res novae aegerus, magnam adversus rem publicam coniurationem insinerat, in qua multe equestris, multi senatorii ordinis, quidam item patrictii genetrix fuerant. Terigitque suspicio C. Caesarum, eum qui postea dictator fuit; tunc autem non privatus tantum sed et alio aere onustus, res novas cupere putabatur. Multa ignis prius Romae efficiere consatus, ubi tentata parum prospere succedebant, parte coniuratorum intra urbem ad patranda illa quae praescripsisset recta, ipse cum reliquis extre ac foris bellum concitare decevit. Et primo quidem Praeneste nocturno impetu occupare, ibique sedem bellum constituisse cogitaret; mox vero, ut diligentius eam urbem custodiri sensit, mutato consilio pro Praeneste Faesulam delegit. Egressus itaque Roma et ad haec ipsa loca profectus, regionem totam bello armisque involvit.

8 Hoc primum periculum et utlimum paene discrimen tenerse adinac urbi et modo conditae fuit, quod tamen ita evasit, ut commodius equidem posuerint accidisse. Nam Lentulus et Cethegus atque coniurationis principes quos Romae Catilina reliquerat, dum partes secum in societatem faciendam adsciscere conantur, proditi a legatis Allobrogerum et in senatu convicti, ultimo tandem suplicio affecta periere. Catilina vero, ut haec audita, quando spestiam fractae et consarcius cumse ad bellum convocatum, in Galliam fugere consatus est, sed ab exercitibus romanis circumventus, et fortunam pugniae experti coactus, una cum suis in pistoruis agro occiduntur. Haec ego, quamquam pervulgata harum rerum historia sit, tamen quia in hanc regionem et primordia huius urbis incideitur, praeclaris commemoranda putavi.

9 Enim vero hic motus rerum ac bellici vicinitates, ut non nihil determini novae urbi incutis, sic velut quando salutarem disciplinae sword, for debt is a sharp spur that drives even timid persons to make trouble.

At this very time, as it happened, Catiline in Rome was fermenting a revolt. He had embarked upon a vast conspiracy against the commonwealth, involving many knights, many senators, and even some persons of patrician ancestry. Suspicion fell also on Catius Caesar, the one who later became dictator, although at this time he not only held no public office but was burdened with debt and was thought to be thirsting for revolution. Catiline had already made various attempts in Rome without much success. He now left some conspirators in the city to carry out his instructions and decided to go forth himself with the rest and start a war from the outside. His first choice was to take Praeneste by a night attack and to establish a base there; but when he learned that that city was well guarded, he changed his mind and opted for Fiesole. He came to this region from Rome and involved the whole of it in armed conflict.

The young city thus experienced its first danger and almost its earliest crisis, but considering the happy outcome, I should say it was a good experience. This was because Lentulus and Cethegus and the other leaders of the conspiracy whom Catiline had left in Rome, while trying to organise a larger revolt, were turned in by the Gaulish ambassadors they had contacted. They were convicted in the senate, were given the death penalty, and perished. When Catiline heard this news, he saw that his hopes were dashed and that his efforts would be to no avail. He gave up hope and tried to escape to Gaul, but he was surrounded by Roman armies and was forced to try his fortune in battle, with the result that he and his followers were killed on the fields outside Pistorium. The story is familiar, of course, but I wanted briefly to retell it because it happened here and affected the beginnings of this city.

The disturbance and the proximity of war seem in fact to have done some harm to the new city but also to have forced the people

Crescere tamen civitatis potentiam ac maiorem in modum attollit, romanae magnitudinis vicissitatem prohibebat. Ut enim ingentes arbores novelliis plantis iuxta augmentibus officere solent nec ut alii crescant permittere, sic romanae urbis moles suae magnitudinum vicissitatem premeres, nullam Italie civitatem maiorem in modum cresceri patiatur. Quin inamo et quae ante fuerant magnae, ob eius urbis gravem nimum propropinquatatem, exhaustae porro diminutaeque sunt. Quamadmodum enim tunc creacerat civitatis potentias? Neque sane fines aegere bello poterat sub imperio constituta nec omnino bella exercere nec magistratus satis magnifici, quippe eorum iurisdiction intra breves limites claudebatur, et haec ipsa romanis magistratibus erat oboedicia.

Mercaturae quoque, si quis forte eam partem ad incrementum civitatis attinere quidquidam existimaret, non alibi per id tempus quam Rome commodius exercerentur. Ibi frequenta hominum et venundandi facultas, eorum portus, eorum insulae, eorum portoria, ibi gratia, ibi publicanorum favor; alibi neque gratia neque potentias par. Iraque sicubi quaequam per propinquas loca nasciatur ingerio validus, is, quia doni habebat difficulitates obtinebat, Romanam continuo demigrabant. Ina quidquid egregium per Italiis nasciatur ad se trabens, alias civitates exaurirebat. Quo god to learn a good lesson. From the perils of others, they learned to give up their own overpowering desire for new dictatorships and new boons. For the first time they realized that they must build on what they already had, and that placing their hopes in political disturbances was both vain and dangerous. So all at once they changed, not only their ideas, but their way of life. They began to practice new mores themselves and trained their children in them. Now they feared debt, carefully watched and counted their possessions and cultivated thrift and frugal ways; they were sober, limited their spending, and saw luxury and prodigality as the road to ruin. Having mended its ways, the city became prosperous and immigrants crowded in, attracted by the beauty and charm of the region. New buildings arose and the fertility of the populace increased.

Only the nearness of Rome in her grandeur limited Florentia's rise to power. As mighty trees overshadow young seedlings that grow nearby and keep them stunted, so did Rome overwhelm her neighbors with her sheer size, allowing no greater city to arise in Italy. Other cities that had once been great were oppressed by their neighbor Rome, ceased to grow, and even became smaller. How then, might Florentia's power increase? Being under imperial rule she could not augment her borders by war, nor indeed wage war at all; nor could she boast splendid magistrates, since their jurisdiction was narrowly circumscribed and subject to Roman officials.

As to commerce—in case anyone thinks that this activity is somewhat relevant to the growth of the city—in those days it could most profitably be carried on in Rome. That was the place where men gathered and where there were markets. Rome had ports, islands, tolls, privileges, official protection. Nowhere else was there so much privilege and power. If a man of solid worth was occasionally born elsewhere within the general region, he would see the difficulties that stood in his way at home and inevitably move to Rome. Thus Rome drew to herself everything won-
derful that was engendered in Italy and drained all other cities. The proof lies in any comparison of pre-Roman and Roman times. Before the Romans took over, many cities and peoples flourished magnificently in Italy, and under the Roman empire all of them declined. After the fall of Rome, on the other hand, the other cities immediately began to raise their heads and flourish. What her growth had taken away, her decline restored.

Since we shall be speaking at length about the cities of Tuscany, it seems appropriate to summarize briefly the history of that whole region from its most ancient beginnings. We shall observe what Tuscany was like both before and after the period of Roman domination, and in the latter period, which of its cities flourished, which capitals became prominent, and what sort of power they exercised. We shall thus arrive at our own times with a knowledge and understanding of Tuscany derived from the facts of history.

Before the Roman empire, the greatest wealth and power in Italy and the greatest fame in war and peace belonged to the Etruscans—such is the clear message of all the most ancient sources. The original home of this people was Maonia, whence the Lydians, with a large populace and a famous band of warriors, sailed to Italy and settled in the region now called Tuscany. They expelled the Pelagians and other previous inhabitants, and called the region Tyrrhenia after their king, Tyrhenus. Their prosperity increased and their power grew daily with their numbers, until they had extended their borders and controlled all the lands from the western shore to the Apennines, and from the Tiber to the Maora River. Later they received the Greek name, Etruscans, which referred either to their sacrificial rites or to their contemplation of clear skies. The region itself acquired the name Etruria. According to ancient sources, the Etruscans consisted of twelve tribes. Originally, however, they all obeyed one king. Eventually, as royal power seemed burdensome to them, each tribe began to elect a separate Lucumon, as they called the magistrate who, with the help
vocabant qui comuni consilio totam regerent gentem) creare coequunt. Eorum unus certe tempore alius praeeatar, ita tamen ut auctoritatibus et honore, non potentia princeps esset. Sub hinc igitur magistratu per longa tempora pari voluntate auctoritateque duodecim populorum Etruriae gubernatis, quibus concordiae fructus esse solet, in tantas opes potentiamque accrecit, ut non solum urbis passim opportunitatis locis per eam conditionis virisque et divitis intra fines florenter, verum etiam extra longe latrque dominaretur.

Testes eius potentiae sunt duo maris, quibus Italia modo insulae cingitur; utraque sane non ab alis populis quam ab Etruscis nominata. Inferius Tuscanum, idemque Tyrhenium, vetusto gentis nomine, quae appellat, ut quibusdam Graecis placet, ab Sardinia in Siciliam obinuet. Superius Adriaticum ab Atria, oppido quondam maritimis rebus maxime indito, quod Etrusci per ea tempora, ipsis locis dominantes, iuxta ilium superi maris non longe a Padi ostiosi condidero. Eteneis Apenninum transgressi, omnia primo cis Padum loco, mautque et transpadam regionem totam usque ad Alpes praeeat extremum Venetorum angulum, bello et armis suavile, Etrusci possedentur. Inde per tractum adiacentia mariis descendentis, magnam eius litoris tenuerunt partem, pulsa Umbrior, gente per eam tempus maximae et potentissimae, quorum supera recente oppida ab Etruscis debellatae fuisset veteres tradant historiae. Cis Apenninum vero per interiorem Italiam partem ad fretum usque siculum eorum potestia propecat et. Hac autem per loca frequentibus missis coloniis, multae quidem urbibus ab eis conditae, multae etiam veteribus exactis possessoribus novo colonio relying memorabilitat, quorum veluti indices eorum potestiae adhuc existunt. Ab inferiori quidem Italiam parte Capua inter inditas quondam urbem perpanas nominata; a superiori vero of a communal council, ruled the whole tribe. One such Lucumo came to be supreme over the others, but in prestige only, not in actual power. Under this magistracy, Etruria was ruled for a long time by the equal will and authority of all its twelve peoples; and internal concord, as it usually does, gave them wealth and power. The various cities founded in suitable places within the borders of Etruria became large and prosperous, and eventually the Etruscans held sway over lands far beyond their own borders.

The two seas that nearly encircle Italy bear witness to the power of the Etruscans, for both are named after them and no others. The lower sea was named the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea after the old name of the people, and according to certain Greek sources, this name applied to it from Sardinia to Sicily. The upper sea was called the Adriatic, named after Atria, a famous port founded by the Etruscans on the coast not far from the mouth of the Po—for they ruled that area. Indeed, once the Etruscans had crossed the Apennines, they subdued in war and occupied, first of all, every place on their side of the Po, and later the whole region on the other side up to the Alps, except for the farthest promontory held by the Venetians. Moving down the sweep of the shore, they controlled the greater part of that coast and expelled the Umbrians, a people who were then numerous and powerful enough, as the ancient sources tell us, to lose over three hundred towns to the Etruscans. On our side of the Apennines they extended their power through the southern part of Italy down to the straits of Sicily. And wherever they went, they colonized. Historians preserve the memory of numerous towns which they founded, as well as numerous towns whose previous inhabitants they drove out and replaced with their own people. Some of those towns still exist, a continuing monument to their former power. Capua is mentioned among the very few once-famous cities of this kind in the south, while in the north there is Mannus, which started as an Etruscan colony. It is known that the Etruscans
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Mantua et ipsa quoque Etruscorum colonia. Nam ex singulis Etruriae populis, quos duodecim suisse supra duocentos, singulas colonias trans Apenninum missas constat, quorum praecipua fuerunt urbes: Atria, ex qua Adriatico nomen est marit; item Mantua, quae ex transpadanis sola nunc extat.

Videtur autem hujus gentis potestatis versatilissimum quidem initium habuisse, utque quae ante troiani belii temporae non aucta modo, verum etiam pollens florentiam fuerit. Aeneae denique Troiae profugum cum a Latinis et Rutulis bello premeretur, ad florentes Etruscorum opes consulisse sese ac exinde auxilia petisse Virgilius facit. Evandro enim, cum Aeneae roganti opem consulisse daret ac ab nequaquam tantus esse vides ut Latini Rutulisque resistere quiete docuisset, ad Etruscos illum destinans, sic inquit:

ast tibi ego13 ingentis populos, opulentaque regnis iungere castra para.

Et paulo post id ipsum explanans:

haud procul hinc saxo colitur11 fundata vertuto urbis Aquilinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam gens, bello praebetur, ignis concedidit Etruscis, hanc multos florentem annos rex delide superbus imperio et saevis tentuit Mezentius armis.

Quamquam ut alienior a poetae figuris, sic intermixtior ac purior historia tradit non Aeneam, sed Turnum bello superatum ad Mezentius et florentes Etruscorum opes confugiisse atque inde adversus adventum ducem exercituque auxilia supplicem implorasse. Sed urbis opinio praestiterit, triumphum ante bellum floruisse etruscam rem fatamar necesse est. Duravit autem incolumis domique et fortis usque ad transitum Gallorum in

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(who, as we have said, consisted of twelve peoples) sent colonies from each separate people across the Apennines. Their principal cities were Atria, which gave her name to the Adriatic, and Mantua, which is the only one still extant of the Etruscan plantations beyond the Po.

It seems that the power of the Etruscans had an extremely ancient origin, that they were not merely an emerging force before the Trojan War, but already powerful and prosperous. Hence Aeneas, a refugee from Troy, turned to the Etruscan state for help in his war against the Latins and Rutulians, as Virgil says. For Evander, when he was giving counsel in answer to Aeneas' plea for help, began by telling him that he himself did not have enough power to resist the Latins and the Rutuli, and then directed him to the Etruscans, saying:

And then I plan for a vast people and well furnished armies
To join you.

A little later he explains:

Not far hence, founded upon an ancient rock,
Rises the site of the Agilian city, where once Lydia,
A nation famous for war, settled on the Etruscan hills.
This old and flourishing city, King Mezentius
Has yoked by cruel arms under his proud rule.14

Another account, somewhat more removed from the inventions of the poets and therefore truer and less corrupt,15 tells us that it was Turnus, not Aeneas, who turned to Mezentius after suffering defeat and who asked for help from the wealthy Etruscans against an invading chief and his army. Whichever account we accept, however, we must admit that the Etruscan nation flourished before the Trojan War. And it lasted intact at home and abroad until the invasion of Italy by the Gauls, about six hundred years after the Tro- 616 B.C.
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Italian, anno post triumnum bellum circiter sexcentos; post conditam vero urbern Romam centum fours et septuaginta.

18 Quod quidem tempore Galli maximis pedemus equitumque copiis duce Belloveco Alpes transgressi, aliqua inde super aliam multitudine per prionum vestigia ex Gallis Germanique con-
fluente, cùm omnem Italiam partem, quae nunc Gallia Cisalpina dicitur, Tusci ademerunt. Novissimi vero omnium Gallorum Se-
nones tractum maritimae orae, in quo Sena Gallia urbs est, occupa-
<start of extra text>

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ian War, and about one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Rome.

The Gauls, led by Belloveco, had massive forces of infantry and cavalry. They crossed the Alps and were followed by other populations migrating from Gaul and Germany. Together these peoples took from the Tuscans all that part of Italy which is still known as Cisalpine Gaul. The last of the Gauls were the Se-
<start of extra text>

19 Etrusci ab urbe incipit 

20 Declarant imitantes studia, quae nemo ab invisib despectisque assumit. Constat autem Romanos praetextam et trabea phale-
rasque et annulos, togas quoque pictas et palmarum tunicas, currus inaeque aureos triumpho decoros, fasces denique et lictores et tu-
bas et sellam curulem ac cetera omnia regum magistriunumque in-
signia ab Etruscis sumptisse. Nam quod duodecim lictores appa-
rebant regibus consulibusque romanis, id quoque inde sumptum tra-
<start of extra text>

21 Rome's desire to imitate them proves this, for no people ini-

22 Declarant imitantes studia, quae nemo ab invisib <end of extra text>
nus met nobis blandiri existimem, græci romanesque vetustissimi scriptores tradidere. Nec imperii tanti insignia ceterumque augu-
stiorum habitum sumpsurunt ab Etruscis, versum etiam litteras
disciplinamque. Auctores habere se Livius scribit, ut postea Ro-
manos pueros graecos, ita prius etruscos letteris vulgo erudiri soli-
tos. Nam caerimonias quidem ac religionem et cultum deorum,
qua in arte Etrusci prae ceteris gentibus excelsiusse traditur, Ro-
mani sic ab illis susceperunt, ut tamen priores partes relictas penes
auctores ipsos faterentur. Simul atque gravias quidem rei pu-
blicae imminebant, in quo deum numina placandum censerent, va-
tes et haruspices ex Etruria vocabantur. Denique omnis harum re-
sum cognitio etrusca disciplina apud Romanos vocitata est. Haece
et huiusmodi\textsuperscript{18} inde aempra probare mihi videntur, Romanos
etruscan genera cum observatione quaedam admiraturos, a qua et or-
namenta imperii et deorum cultum ac disciplinam litterarum, tria
maxima ac praestantissima, sibi publice privatiusque imitanda re-
ceperint. Nec pacis quidem atribus admirati sunt genitum, bello
autem contempserunt. Probant obsidio urbem Romam et obsides
Porsennae traditi, quod post transitum Gallorum in Italiam suisse
admirabilius est. Nec ob ullam magis quam ob\textsuperscript{19} etruscum hostem
Romae trepidatum reperies, neque dictatores saepius dictos. Pri-
mus Romanorum Etruscus bello atigit Romulius ipse, Romae\textsuperscript{18}
urbia conditor; mox et ali fere\textsuperscript{19} omnes romaní reges, præter Numa
Pompilium et Tarquinium Superbum, id bellum susce-
perunt.

\textsuperscript{21} Fuit autem inter Etruscos Romanosque prima belii origo ex
huiusmodi causa. Fidenæ Tuscorum colonia trans Tyberim fuit
inter cratum etiam romanumque agrum. Qui eas incolabant

\textsuperscript{21} ply flattering ourselves, moreover, we may note that all this infor-
mation comes from the oldest Greek and Roman sources. The
Romans did not take from the Etruscans imperial insignia and
other dignified forms of dress only, but also their letters and learn-
ing. Livy says that he has sources to show that Roman boys, before
the period when they were given instruction in Greek literature,
were commonly taught Etruscan literature.\textsuperscript{22} The Romans also
adopted their religious ceremonial and cultic practices from the
Etruscans — and in these arts the Tuscans are reported to have ex-
celled all other nations — doing this in such a way that they left the
older rites in the charge of their Etruscan inventors. As soon as
a serious crisis would threaten the commonwealth and the Romans
decided that the spirits of the gods needed placating, priests and
soothsayers would be summoned from Etruria. All such knowl-
edge of religious matters was referred to by the Romans as ‘Etrus-
can learning’. It seems to me that the Roman willingness to bor-
row these things shows that they had a certain respect for the
Etruscans. Imperial insignia, religious ceremonies, and literary
studies are excellent and important matters, things that relate to
private as well as public life. Nor did the Romans admire Tuscany
for the peaceful arts but despise her in war. The Etruscan at-
tempts to besiege Rome and the hostages turned over to Porsenna
in particular are recorded, which are all the more impressive be-
cause by that time the Gauls had arrived in Italy. Nor will you find
that any enemies frightened the Romans more than the Etruscans,
or forced them to adopt dictators more often. The first war of
Rome against Tuscany was started by Romulus himself, the city’s
founder, and from then on almost all the kings of Rome took up
this same war again, excepting only Numa Pompilius and Tar-
quinius the Proud.

The cause of the first war between the Etruscans and Romans
was as follows. Fidenae was an Etruscan colony located across the
Tiber, between the lands of Crustumatum and Rome. The Etrus-

\textsuperscript{c. 750 B.C.}
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Etrusc, urbem novam sibi finitimam inmodice crescre suis ini
mitum commodis rati, priusquam ad sumnum plane robust, quod
iam inde cernebatur, evaderet, praevente festinantes, et suis ipsi
viribus et proprinquis Etruriae opibus fusi, bellum Romanis, nulla
pries accepta iniuria, intruderet. Populato itaque romano agro in-
gentisque abacta praedia, cum fuga agrariam urbem quaque metu
ac tumultu complessor, Fidenas enusti redire. At Romulus, ut has
iniurias ultam iret, legionibus raptim educis infesto agmine Fide-
nas contendit. Eo cum pervenisisset, nec moram nec spatium Fide-
natisbus praebet auxilium ex Etruria arcassendi, sed ipsi adequi-
tando portis, mox et fugam simulando, ira et indignatione ad
pugnam excivit, tantusque fuit ardor milium et praetentia duce
ut cum Fidenates in insidias praecepit effuso cursu urbem reper-
teret, victi victoresque uno impliciti agmine Fidenas intrarent.
Capit miles per hunc modum Fidenis et praedidio milium ab ro-
mano rege imposito, Vientes, qui propinquiores ex Etruriae po-
pulis Fidenatisbus erant, cum indigno constigniremum causi per-
moeti, tum etiam quod propinquitatem Romanorum infamati sibi
iniquitatemque putabant fore, arma iuvendent emissa, discurs-
ionem in agrum romanum praebuvabi fecerit. Adversum hos
quoque Romulus resistendi ululantiique gratia legiones educit.
Haec prima Romanis Etruscisque origo fuit bella; quod tunc levi-
ter coepit,22 leviter etiam terminatur est, mututus dumaxat po-
pulationibus, vastatis agris, parvaque admodum magna tumultuo-
rrio magis quam iusto proelio commissa. Induriae in centum annos
secutae.

Ceterum ex hoc ferme initio cetera post hoc bella inter Tuscum
Romaramque orientur, quod vel exerat indutiariam tempus vel

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cans who had colonized Fidenae thought that their new neighbor,
the city of Rome, was growing inmodicately and would become a
threat to their own well-being. Gathering their own forces and
those of their Etruscan neighbors in the region, they hastened to
start a preemptive war against Rome before the latter gained what
they already anticipated would be her full strength, and they at-
tacked her without provocation. The men of Fidenae laid waste to
Roman territory and took a lot of booty before returning home
laden with spoils, while country people fleeing to Rome filled the
city with fear and turmoil. Romulus quickly called out his legions
to avenge these injuries and headed off to Fidenae with an attack
force. He arrived so rapidly that he gave the men of Fidenae no
time to summon help from Etruria. Romulus rode his men to the
very gates of Fidenae, then feigned flight, which provoked the
Etruscans to fight out of anger and indignation. Such was the Ro-
man soldiers’ ardor and their leaders’ excellence that when the
army of Fidenae had been lured into the trap and had fled back to
their city in a disordered rout, a confused throng containing both
vanquished and victors entered Fidenae.20 The town was thus
taken and a garrison imposed by the king of the Romans. The
people of Veii, the nearest Etruscan city to Fidenae, were troubled
by the humiliation of their kinsmen, and now they feared that they
would have no more peace with the hostile Romans so near; so
they sent out their young warriors to raid the Roman countryside
and plunder the farms. Romulus led his legions to fight and take
revenge on this people, too.21 Such was the beginning of the first
war between the Romans and the Etruscans. As it was rather
lightly started, it was easily ended, with both sides merely suffer-
ing some plundering and destruction of farms, but with fights
more like brawls than proper battles. A truce lasting one hundred
years followed.

From this beginning, however, other wars arose later between
the Etruscans and the Romans, either because the truce ran out or
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because the agreed-on conditions were not being observed. The peace held, however, under Romulus and Numa Pompilius industriæ valuerunt, nullo ab alterius motu exorto. Tullio mox regnante Hostiliio rursus exarit bellum ob Fidenatum rebellionem. Defecerant enim Fidenates a Romanis. Veienses consulii participes impiger tuenterunt opem et asicerant in occultam bellum societatem Metius Fufetius Albanorum dictorem. Hie enim principatum romani populi, cui post Horatiorum pugnam se ex fœderes subdiderat, indignè ferebat, clam cum Etruscis convenit ut commissu proelio Romanos, quibus per speciem auxilii legiones albanas continuerat, versis signis adoriret. Infirni tamen vir animi, nec hostibus nec sua promissa servavit. Neque enim cum Romanis quibuscum in arma venerat Etruscos invasit, nec rursus ut promiserat Etruscos Romanos adortu est, sed inter spem et metuum fluctuante consilio, securum educit suos, quoqueque victoriam inclinavit vidisset et ipse eodem momento indicatus. In anticipi proelio victr populi romani fortuna ex bellacissimi Tullii regis audacia. Fuisse destique pugna ingenti hostibus, Fidenas recepit ac mox affecto poena Metio Albam Longam exerit.

Ancus inde Martius et Priscus Tarquiniius romani reges bellum deinseps etruscum ambo susceperunt. Sed de Martio quidem haud ambiguis content; de Tarquinio autem varia apud scriptores traditio est. Sunt qui non cum Veltius modo, sed cum tota penis etrusca gente bellum per novem annos gestum a Tarquinio regis tradant. Sunt et qui rebus eius regis enarrandis, quasi nihil fuerit cum Etruscis negotii, tamem tacitam intactamque praetereunt. Sed ut de Tarquinio ambiguus, sic de Servio Tullio certissim.
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...sinum est eum maiori quam quum quosque superiorum regum apparatu, cum tota etrusca gente gravissimo et longissimo contendisse. Viginti annos continuatos a Servio id bellum quidam auctores ferunt. Me quoque propensiorem ad credendum bellii diuturnitatem facit, quod per annos quattuor et quadranta (in quorum regnium Servius nullum alium bellum quam etruscum ab eo rege susceptum memoratur. Quod tanta laude gestis, ut cum prius iniussu populi regnasset, vel eius bellis a se gesti fiducia, de se referi ad populum et incerto multitudinis suffragio nomen regium committere non abueritis. In eo tamen bello nec victi Etrusi nec aliquae eorum urbes captae traduntur; multis ducentaxat ulteri circuisset clauditus, illud modo effectum ut videretur superior Romanus fuisse. Haece regio dominatu Romae durante cum Etruscis gesta.


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...authors tell us that his war with Tuscany lasted continuously for twenty years. I am disposed to believe that the war lasted so long because in the forty-four years of Servius' reign, he is not known to have waged any other war. He gained such a reputation for his conduct of this war that, although he had ruled at first without popular sanction, later, on the strength of his victories, he did not refuse to submit his rule to the people's approval and to expose the name of king to the unpredictable votes of the multitude. We are not told that the Etruscans were conquered in this war, however, or that they lost even one of their cities. It seems simply that over a long period each side inflicted great damage on the other, and that the ultimate result was a strengthening of Rome's position. These are the events relating to the Etruscans that occurred in Rome during the monarchical period.

When the monarchy ended and Tarquinii was driven out, he fled as a suppliant to the Etruscans. He was counting on family loyalty, since he had sprung from them, and he managed to incite to arms two Etruscan peoples, the Veii and the Tarquinii. They sent a vast army to invade Roman territory and fought against Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Valerius, who was later known as Publicola (for these were the consuls in those first years of the republic). The battle was ferocious and cruel as no previous conflict had been. The right wing of both armies outflanked its opponents, but in the mutual slaughter, according to one source, the Etruscans lost many more men than the Romans. The greater loss, however, was inflicted on the Romans, for Lucius Brutus, the leader of the movement to expel the king, was killed in that battle. The outcome was certainly such that each side considered itself defeated. Finally the Romans, bereaved by the death of one of their consuls, were horrified by the enormous casualties among their men and prepared to retreat at dawn; the Etruscans left the field before daylight.
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Porsenna, king of Clusium, renewed the war to restore Tarquinius with greater forces at his disposal. Under this leader, the Etruscans beat the Roman army, surrounded and besieged Rome, and almost took the city. The only thing that saved Rome was the order of Horatius Codex to destroy the Pons subliciorum, which was at that time the only bridge to span the Tiber. How grave the danger had been is apparent from the honor the Roman people granted him, not for conquering and subduing an enemy province, but merely for giving his own people the time and means to destroy a bridge. It would have been more appropriate (if it is not irreverent to speak the truth) to honor the Tiber itself, for it was the river's swirling waters that saved the city when Roman valor could not. The Etruscans, who controlled the Janiculum and held all the areas on the north side of the Tiber, long held the other parts of the city in the grip of a siege. The besieged formed a plan to attack the person of the king. This was their sole remaining hope as they were unequal to open warfare. So they resorted to cunning tricks to lure him hurriedly away from the main body of his troops. Hence the murder of the secretary and story of how Mucius Scaevola put his hand in the fire.

But all these stratagems did not cause the Etruscan king to lift the siege, and when he did go he insisted on taking both male and female hostages from the besieged. Men of the noblest birth were given, and high-born maidens. Among the latter was Valeria, daughter of Publilia the consul, as well as many others from patrician families. This was a triumph for the Etruscans unequalled by any other people. To no other ruler or people had the Romans ever given hostages in order to sue for peace. They themselves, indeed, when they conquered others, demanded almost nothing but hostages, for this to them meant not only a guarantee of future peace but an admission of defeat. The treaty that was signed with Porsenna was further stabilized by benefits which accrued to both Etruscans and Romans. For the Etruscans were received with
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manorumque beneficia secuta stabilium fecerunt. Nam et excepti amici hospitallerique Etrusciae Romae, qui ad oppugnandam Ari- 
tiam cum Arunte regis filio post romanum foedus profecti, mox 
amissus duce redierunt, hisque vicis in celeberrima parte urbis 
datus, qui Tuscius propertia dictus est, ac Romanus post aliquot an-
nos benigna a Porserna obsides remisit. Tarquinius, qui ad cem 
diem in Etruria fuerat, aliunde sibi quaterere auxilia iussit, ad Ma-
nilium Tusculanum generum transit.

Firma hinc pax quiesque romano populo et Etruriae fuit, quam 
ad extremum Veientiae turbantur. Haec enim civitas agrum Roma-
niae finitimum habens, ex communione, ut saepè fit, discordiis 
haustis, post varias querelas aliquotiens ulter citroque iactatas, 
tandem aperto certamine cum Romanis contendit. In eo bello, 
prima quidem pugna, Romanos Veii superant. Secunda autem 
pugna atrociissima fere omnium quae unquam memorantur fuit, in 
quae Romani, primo proelio ab Etruscis vicisti, milites inurare coeg-
unt se nisi victores nunquam rediturae. Itaque haec religione ob-
strictis animis, obtinuissent quam ante pugnatum est, non sine 
urbrisque partis maxima clade. Interfecti sunt in eo proelio Ca. 
Manlius consul et Q. Fabius alterius consulis frater. Capta 
etiam romana castra atque direpta ab Etruscis, sed mox fortuna 
mutata pugnae, a Romanis victoribus recuperata. Nec quicquam 
magis ad victoriam obfulsae videtur Etruscis quam nimirum feste 
castris oppugnandis, ad quae dum proprerant quasi victores, eo-
rum acies plus iustro exhausta a Romanis superatur. Raro tamen 
unquam incertior atque mobilior fortuna quam ea die fuit. Victi 
procul dubio, Romani vicierunt. Tanto denique sanguine victoria 
constitit ut, cum postea triumphus consulti offeretur, lugendum

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friendship and hospitality at Rome when they, after the alliance 
with the Romans, went on an expedition against Aricia under 
Aruns, the son of Porserna, and returned after his death in battle. 
They were given houses in a beautiful section of Rome, known 
thereafter as the Tuscan Quarter,27 and Porserna after some years 
kindly gave back the hostages to the Romans. Tarquinius, who 
was still living in Tuscany, was bidden to seek help elsewhere and 
got to Mamilus Tusculanus, his son-in-law.28

Afterwards peace and tranquillity reigned between Rome and 
Etruria until it was finally broken by Veii. Veii was a city border-
ing on Roman territory, and, as often happens, friction arose 
through contact. After various quarrels initiated at intervals by 
one side or the other, Veii finally started an open conflict with 
Rome. In the first battle of the war, the men of Veii overcame the 
Romans. The second battle, however, was perhaps the most horri-
ble ever recorded. The Romans, after their first defeat, had made 
the soldiers swear that they would never return except as victors. 
The soldiers felt bound by this oath, and they fought with much 
greater tenacity than before, and there were extremely heavy losses 
on both sides. Killed in the battle were the consul Gnaeus Manlius 
and Quintus Fabius, the brother of the other consul. The Roman 
camp was seized and plundered by the Etruscans, then the tide of 
battle turned and the Romans recovered it. Nothing seems to have 
contributed more to the Roman victory than the excessive haste of 
the Etruscans in sacking the Roman camp. For when the Etrus-
cans, believing themselves victorious, made a rush for it, they re-
laxed their own battle-order more than they should have and so 
were beaten by the Romans. Hardly ever has fortune been so 
treachorous and so fickle as it was that day. It appeared certain 
that the Romans had been beaten, but they still won. The victory 
was so bloody that later, when the consul was offered a triumph, 
he would state that it was an occasion for weeping rather than for
petias esse dicere\textsuperscript{28} quam triumphantum. Non minori tamen dolore huius pugnae causas Veienses quam prioris Romanos affecerat.

Iraque acriter reliqua\textsuperscript{28} Etruriae auxiliis (nam primo quidem ipse per se soli pugnasset), vindicabundi in hostem nueras, trecentos et sex Fabios, ex una omniae familia, qui apud Cremeram praesidium contra Veios munierant, cum magna clientium manu ad quinque millia hominum fuisse ea traduntur, ad unam interfecerunt. Inde legiones romanatas, quae cum L. Menerio consule non procul a Cremera castra habebant, eodem impetu aggressi, non solum vertertur in fugam exercitum consulemque, verum etiam castris exuerunt. Moa fugientes palatoque non absque magna caede Romam usque pericetti, Ianculum montem, qui eis Tyberim contra capitolium maxime imminet, occupaverunt tentuuntque aliquot mensae veluti obsessam urbem. Tyberi etiam trajectum et ad Portam Gallinam et ad alia diversissima a Tyberi loca sub ipsa romanis moenibus pugnas conservarentur. Tandumque ut ante Portensus cunctum locum tenente, ad extrema digitationi remedia versum est. Sic tunc iterum legionibus etruscis Ianculum occupantebus, premente urbem fames, necessitas Romanis expressa ut duos consules duces consulares exercitus cum universa inuentura romanis in ipso Ianculo monte ancipiti periculosaque certamine cum Etruscis confligent. Nec ita prosper fuit eventus pugnae, quin alter ex consulibus capitis reus ad populum feret quod male pugnasset.

Denique, ne singula proelia consecuter, haec una Etruriae civitas, nunc ipse per se, nunc et aliarius civitatum viribus adiuta, supra trecentesimum et quinquagesimum romanae urbis annun bellum extraxit. Victra interdum proelis et ipsa saepe victrix. Extremum triumphal celebration. And the outcome of the battle caused Veii as much sorrow as Rome.

Veii had fought alone before, but now they called for help from the rest of Etruria. They avenged themselves by attacking the enemy and killing, it is reported, all 306 members of the Fabii family (who had been fortifying a stronghold near the Cremera river against the men of Veii), together with a large band of their followers, in all some five thousand men. The Veian forces then directed a similar blow at the Roman legions posted near Cremera under the consul Lucius Menenius. Not only were army and consuls forced to flee, but the whole camp was thoroughly plundered.\textsuperscript{29} The retreating army and stragglers were pursued and cut down with great loss of life until they reached Rome. There the Etruscans again occupied the Janiculum Hill, which overlooks the north side of the Tiber across the river from the Capitoline Hill. For some months they occupied and held it as though they were besieging Rome. They would even cross the Tiber and engage in battles both by the Porta Collina and at various other places by the Tiber beneath the very walls of Rome. As when Portensus threatened Rome from the same place, it came down in the end to sword-fighting at close quarters. As on that occasion, once again Etruscan legions held the Janiculum and threatened to starve the rest of the city. Rome was forced by extreme need to call out both consuls and two consular armies and the entire youth of Rome. They attacked the Janiculum in a dangerous struggle where the forces were evenly matched. Nor was the outcome favorable to the Romans. One of the two consuls was afterward arraigned before the people for military incompetence.

To summarize a great many battles, this one Etruscan city carried on the war against Rome down to 403 B.C. and beyond. Sometimes she had the help of other cities, sometimes she fought alone. Sometimes she was beaten in battle, sometimes she won. Her final overthrow, however, came when she decided on her own,
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

autem in quo subacta est, nullo communis tuscæ gentis decreto sed privato consilio, ipsa intulerat bellum. Itaque, mox prementibus Romanis, denegatam sibi ceterorum populi auxilia fuerunt, indignantisæ allis quod cetera commune gentis decretum sua ipsi auctoritate bellum movissent, et metu insuper Gallorum ad sua quoque tuenda retinent. Responsum denique in communem tuscæ gentis conventu Veii auxilia flagitantibus datum: ipsi per se, quando ita placerebit, adversus Romanam vim resistere curarent, nec in eo bello sociorum periculi quaerent in quo speratae ab initio praedae socii habere nullum voluisse. Haec Romanis obiundendi Veii occasionem facultatemque dedere. Sustinuit tamen, quamvis deserta, suo proprium ac domestici robore aliquandui bellum, nec nisi post decem aestates decemque hiemis continuas circumfassa, nec tunc quidem vi, sed improvisa cumulorum fraude, expugnata est.

30 Praedae tamen ex ea una urbe Romani cepere quantum ex omnibus superiorem bellis ad eam diem nuncupat accepserant. Deinde cum supra exercitum fortunae eius urbibus putarentur, universus populus Romanus publico edicto, quod nuncupam alias factum est, ad praedam vocatus. Fuit enim urbæ opulentissima atque maxima, ea situs laude eaque opportunitate ut saepe a victoribus cogitatum sit de reliquenda urbe Roma et Veii, tanquam in praestantiorum urbebus, populariter commingendo.

31 Veii capti, veluti clausura sibi Romanus pattecerat ad reliques Etruriae populos subgenderos. Itaque mox adversus Faliscos et Capenates, quos propinquitas Veientini bellis haud intactos reliquerat, exercitus duxit, eorum urbem sine longo nimitum certamine in potestatem Romani populi dedere compulerunt. Quod tamen diversa rationibus factum est. Nam Capenatis quidem per vastitatem agrorum via expressa dedendi. Faliscos vero admirandae virtutis specimen in Furio Camillo praestantissimo Romanorum

not by agreement among the Etruscan peoples, to resume the war. Thus, when Rome pressed her hard, she was refused help by the other Etruscan peoples. They were angry because Veii had started a war on her own authority without seeking a general resolution of the Etruscan peoples, and they were also, in some cases, fearful of the Gauls and anxious not to leave their own territories unprotected. Their answer, when Veii sought their help, was given by a general council of the Tuscan peoples: "Resist the Romans yourselves, since that is your wish, but do not ask for allies to share the danger in a war where you originally had no desire to share booty with allies." This gave Rome the chance and the means to besiege Veii. Though abandoned by her allies, the city sustained the war a long time by her own strength alone. Only after ten successive summers and winters of siege was it taken, and then not by force but by a ruse or surprise attack through underground tunnels.

394 B.C.

30 The Romans took as much plunder from this one city as they had gained in all their previous wars put together. Since the wealth of the city seemed too much for the army alone, the whole Roman people was summoned, by a special edict, to come and take part in the plunder. This had never been done anywhere else. Indeed, Veii was a most opulent and impressive city, and its site was so fine and had such possibilities that the victors considered many times abandoning Rome and emigrating en masse to Veii, as to the more excellent city.

Now the capture of Veii seemed to open the way for Rome to subdue all of Etruria. The Romans attacked the Faliscans and the Capenates, peoples whom the war with nearby Veii had not left unscathed. They were both compelled to surrender their cities without a very long struggle. The collapse, however, occurred for different reasons in the two cases. The Capenates were forced to give up because of the devastation to their lands. The Faliscians, on the other hand, were so impressed with the admirable virtue of the great Roman leader, Furias Camillus, that they surrendered to
duce conspectum, ut se sponte dederent, subegit. Et quos non
ignis, non ferrum, non obsidio, non vastitas agrorum fecere po-
tuerat, justitiae et honestatis splendor inflexit. Gesta est autem res
in hunc maxime modum.

Cum populo agro non longe a Falerii castra Romanorum po-
sita esset, magister quidam iudici, improbae fraudis mercede
ep-
rens, principum filios sibi in disciplinam tradit, per diversam ab
hoste portam quasi spatiiandi gratia secum eduxit. Max alio ex alio
conserto sermone, diversis ab urbe transitibus stationibus Romanor-
num quae inter castra et urbem posita erat, se cum discipulis obie-
cit. Captus itaque sponte sua et ad imperatorem perdutus, "Fale-
rios," inquit, "imperator, tibi hodie tradidi, quando hos pueros,
quorum parentes principes sunt civitatis, in manus tuas adduxi.
Tu hucus tanti beneficii memori gratiasque erga me esti. Quae ubi
Camillus audierit, facinus improbit hominis despicas tur, "Tu,
inquit, 'secerste, ad tu simul semel te venias putas, cui turpia non so-
lum cordi sint, verum etiam praemio digna videantur? Mihi vero
populique Romano longe diversa mens est. Colimus enim bellis si-
cut et pacis hora, armaque adversus hostes, non adversus
imbellis pueros gerimus. Ina desine Faliscorum hostes sumus, ut
humana tamen societate cum eisdem nos esse coniunctos memine-
rimus. Ego armis, patientia, virtute, quae romanae sunt artes, non
improbando sedere Falerios vincam." Nudatum inde hominem et
manibus post erta vincum, discipulis verberandum reducu-
dumque in urbem tradidit. Ex hoc tanta mutatio Faliscorum ani-

THE ROMANS

The Romans had pitched their camp in a devastated area near
Falerii, and a certain Faliscan grammar teacher, hoping for gain
from an act of wicked fraud, took some of the sons of the leading
citizens who had been entrusted to him for their education and
led them to the enemy camp. He started them off on a supposed
walk through a gate facing away from the enemy, then, distracting
them with his ceaseless chatter, brought them by various paths
away from the city to a Roman outpost located between the Ro-
man camp and the city. He was thus by his own intent captured
and brought before the commander. "General," he said, "today I
have given the Faliscus into your hands by giving you these children,
whose parents are the leaders of the city. No doubt you will re-
member to be grateful to me and reward my services." When
Camillus heard these words, he showed contempt for the crime of
this unscrupulous person. "Do you think, you rascal," he replied,
"that you have come to criminals like yourself, who will not only
embrace your act of wickedness but reward it? My attitude and
that of the Roman people is quite different. We maintain the laws
of war as we do those of peace, and fight our wars against armed
enemies, not against harmless children. Though we are the ene-
emies of the Faliscus, we do remember that we are bound together
with them by our common humanity. I shall conquer the Faliscus
with arms, with persistence, and with virtue. These are Roman
qualities. I shall not conquer them by some racially crime." Stripping
the man naked and tying his hands behind his back, he then
turned him over to his students to be beaten and brought back to
the city. The result of this act was a great change of heart on the
part of the Faliscans. While they had burned till then with incred-
ible hatred for the enemy and had preferred ruin to a Roman