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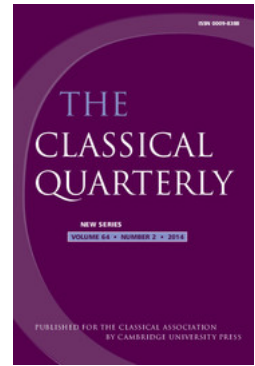
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## THE ETRUSCANS AND THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION OF 414-413 B.C.

It has usually been held, on the strength of several passages in Thucydides,<sup>1</sup> that the Athenian army which was besieging Syracuse in 414-413 B.C. contained a contingent of Etruscans desirous of retaliating upon the Syracusans for losses inflicted upon them in past days—e.g., in 474 at Cumae and in 453 at Elba.

This view, however, has been rejected by no less an authority than Ed. Meyer,<sup>2</sup> who would identify the Italian allies of Athens with a body of Campanian mercenaries whom Diodorus<sup>3</sup> mentions as having been hired for the war against Syracuse, and suggests that Thucydides simply substituted for 'Campanians' the more familiar name of 'Tyrrhenians.'

A further investigation of this point may serve to show that Meyer's view is supported by substantial evidence.

1. Greek writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. undoubtedly made *Τυρρηνία* stand for a very large district of Italy, and to Campania in particular they frequently applied this name. Sophocles<sup>4</sup> calls Lake Avernus 'Tyrrhenian.' Euripides<sup>5</sup> prolongs 'Tyrrhenia' to the Straits of Messina. In Philistus<sup>6</sup> the Campanian town of Nuceria is assigned to 'Tyrrhenia.' Stephanus of Byzantium, whose information is presumably drawn from authors not far distant from Thucydides in date, finds room for Puteoli, Surrentum, and Brettus (a Bruttian township) in 'Tyrrhenia.'<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, the expressions *Τυρσηνικὸς κόλπος*, *πόντος*, and *Τυρσηνικὸν πέλαγος*, as applied by Thucydides himself<sup>8</sup> to the waters bordering upon Sicily, point to a similar conception of the confines of Etruscan territory.

Accordingly, when Thucydides relates that the Athenians sent for help to 'Tyrrhenia,' it cannot be denied that he may be referring to Campania, and the 'Tyrrheni' whom he mentions may have been natives of that district.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. VI. 88, 103; VII. 53, 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV. p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XIII. 44: Καρχηδόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν τῶν Καμπάνων ὀκτακοσίους. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλκιδέων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν πρὸς Συρακοσίους πόλεμον μεμισθωμένοι.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota*. I. pp. 413-414: "Ἀορνος ἢ Τυρρηνία Λίμνη.

<sup>5</sup> *Medea*, 1342-3: τῆς Τυρρηνίδος Σκύλλης. Ib. 1359: Σκύλλαν ἢ Τυρρηνὸν ἕκκησεν πέδον (ed. Gilbert Murray).

<sup>6</sup> Fr. 41 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 1): Νουκρία πόλις Τυρρηνίας.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Westermann, p. 236: Πορτολοὶ πόλις Τυρρηνίας; p. 264: Συρρέντιον, πόλις Τυρρηνίας; p. 83 Βρέττος πόλις Τυρρηνῶν. The last of these passages is attributed by C. Müller to Antiochus (*op. cit.*, fr. 5). The affiliation is not proved, but it is certain that Stephanus quoted both from this author and from Hecataeus, Ephorus, and Philistus in dealing with Italian names.

<sup>8</sup> Thuc. VI. 62, VII. 58, IV. 24.

2. The general history of the Etruscans at the time of the Sicilian expedition shows that they were in no position to expend their energy in reviving an obsolete grudge against the Syracusans. At the end of the fifth century the northern section of the nation was being driven hard by the Gauls in Upper Italy, and was losing ground to the Romans along the Tiber. The Etruscans of Campania were simultaneously being swamped by an immigration of Sabellian tribes from the Apennines, and had recently been exterminated out of Capua, their chief stronghold.<sup>1</sup> It appears most unlikely that a people which could not even hold its home country should have wasted its strength on oversea expeditions in the interests of a third party.

On the other hand, one may hesitate to assume that Thucydides knew nothing of the Sabellian nations of the Italian hinterland. It is certain that Philistus was not, as Meyer suggests, the first Greek writer to recognize the Italian stocks which competed with the Etruscans for the possession of Campania. Hecataeus mentions a settlement of Ausones at Nola.<sup>2</sup> Antiochus, who is generally regarded as Thucydides' authority for the general history of the West, clearly distinguishes between the Etruscans and the native stocks, whom he correctly describes as Oscans.<sup>3</sup> Thucydides himself in one passage proves that he was acquainted with the Oscan element of population in Campania.<sup>4</sup>

The easiest way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that the Etruscans of Thucydides and the Campanians of Diodorus were two different forces, hailing, perhaps, from the same district, but under separate commands. But Thucydides does not mention the Campanians in a list of Athens' Italian allies which purports to be exhaustive,<sup>5</sup> and in view of the size of their contingent this omission would be worse than a confusion of Campanians and Etruscans.

Perhaps the best solution is to mediate between the traditional view and that of Meyer by supposing that both Etruscans and Campanians took part at the siege of Syracuse in a combined force, of which the Campanians provided the rank and file, while the Etruscans supplied the leaders.

This hypothesis accords well with the composite character of Etruscan armies in general,<sup>6</sup> and especially those of Campania, where the Etruscans still maintained themselves at isolated points until the third century B.C.,<sup>7</sup> but were compelled to admit into their cities increasing quantities of Sabellian immigrants.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, the participation of the Etruscans in the Sicilian Expedition presents fewer difficulties if their contingent was only a skeleton corps, supplemented by Campanians. The Etruscans, though numerous enough to

<sup>1</sup> Livy IV. 37. The date given by the author is 424 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. C. Müller, fr. 28: Νῶλα πόλις Αἰσώνων.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo V. p. 242: Ἀντίλοχος μὲν οὖν φησὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην (sc. Καμπανίαν) Ὀπικκοὺς οἰκῆσαι, τοῦτους δὲ καὶ Αἰσῶνας καλεῖσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> VI. 4: ἀπὸ Κόμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Körte in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI. p. 754.

<sup>7</sup> Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup> Livy IV. 37.

give their name to the whole force, were too few to reduce perceptibly the fighting strength of their own nation in Campania. Indeed, by drafting large numbers of Campanians into their expeditionary army, they diverted the energies of their restless neighbours into a suitable channel, and correspondingly diminished the pressure of the Sabellian stocks upon their own nation.

Lastly, this explanation, while upholding the authority of Diodorus, restores the shaken credit of Thucydides. Diodorus could well represent the brigade as a Campanian one, for, regarded from the standpoint of numbers, it was essentially Campanian. And, again, Thucydides was sufficiently justified in calling it Etruscan, for the Athenian officers no doubt had no direct intercourse with the troopers, but only knew the force through its Etruscan officers. If a modern historian can fairly describe the Hanoverians and Hessians who fought at the Brandywine or at Waterloo as an English force, Thucydides might well be allowed to call the composite Etrusco-Campanian army Etruscan for short. Certainly this would be no more misleading than others of his brachylogies.

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## ON THE ROGATIO LIVIA DE LATINIS.

WAS the above-named bill, which was brought forward in 122 B.C. by the tribune M. Liuius Drusus, and provided that the Latins should under all circumstances be exempt from the penalty of scourging,<sup>1</sup> duly passed by the Roman Assembly and entered upon the statute-book?

This question has not yet received any conclusive answer in histories of Rome. Ihne<sup>2</sup> and Peter<sup>3</sup> refrain altogether from discussing it; Mommsen,<sup>4</sup> Greenidge,<sup>5</sup> and Heitland<sup>6</sup> assert or imply that Drusus' measure was made law, but do not argue the point; Lange,<sup>7</sup> Zumpt,<sup>8</sup> and Long<sup>9</sup> take the opposite view, and adduce some evidence in its favour, but can hardly be said to establish their case beyond dispute.

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *C. Gracchus*, ch. 9: ὅπως μηδὲ ἐπὶ στρατείαις ἐξῆ τινα Λατίνων ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Rome* (Engl. Transl.), IV, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte Roms* (ed. 1870), II, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Rome* (Engl. Transl., ed. 1894), p. 365.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Rome*, p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> *The Roman Republic*, II, 310.

<sup>7</sup> *Römische Altertümer*, III, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> *Das Kriminalrecht der römischen Republik*, bk. II, p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> *The Decline of the Roman Republic*, I, p. 276.