This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world’s books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that’s often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book’s long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ **Make non-commercial use of the files** We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ **Refrain from automated querying** Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google’s system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ **Maintain attribution** The Google “watermark” you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ **Keep it legal** Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can’t offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book’s appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world’s books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at [http://books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
EDITED BY
T. E. PAGE, LITT.D. AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
I
Cassius Dio's Roman History

With an English Translation by Earnest Cary, Ph.D.

On the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D.

In Nine Volumes

London: William Heinemann
New York: The Macmillan Co.

MCMXIV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK II</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK III</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IV</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK V</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Cassius Dio Cocceianus was a near relative, perhaps a grandson, of the famous orator, Dio Chrysostom, after whom he took the names Dio and Cocceianus, and like him was a native of Bithynia. His father was Cassius Apronianus, a Roman senator, who served as governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia. It is now established that the correct order of Dio’s names, if we follow the normal Roman usage, is that just given, his praenomen being unknown. The common Greek order, however, was Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος, and this order has become so thoroughly familiar to English readers that it bids fair to remain the popular usage.

The few details known regarding Dio’s life are derived from casual statements occurring in his history. The date of his birth has been variously placed between 155 and 164 B.C., according to the time assumed for his admission to the senate. We learn that he was with his father during the latter’s governorship of Cilicia, and that after his father’s

---

1 Books LXIX, 1, 3; LXXII, 7, 2; XLIX, 36, 4.
2 See Proseopographia Imperii Romani, i. pp. 313 f.
3 LXXII, 7, 2.
INTRODUCTION

dearth he came to Rome, apparently about the year 180. In describing the behaviour of Commodus toward the senate and others at the beginning of his reign, he states that his account is henceforth the result of personal observation and not hearsay. It seems a reasonable inference, therefore, that he was already a member of the senate at this time, and therefore at least twenty-five years of age. Pertinax in 193 nominated him to the praetorship for the following year; but in the meantime both Pertinax and his successor Julianus were overthrown, and Dio thus assumed the office under Septimius Severus. The mild course of the new ruler at the outset of his reign, taken in connexion with his past record, was such as to win the enthusiastic admiration of Dio and to encourage in him the hope that a new era was now dawning.

It was at this point, apparently, that Dio's literary work began. He wrote and published a little book, as he tells us, containing an account of the dreams and portents which had foretold to Severus his future greatness. The details he had doubtless learned from the emperor himself, and he presumably had implicit faith in all these signs, to judge from his fondness for reporting omens and prodigies in general. Upon receiving a gracious letter from Severus in acknowledgment of a presentation copy, he seemed to be admonished by a dream the following night to

1 LXXIII, 12, 2. 2 LXXII, 23. 3 A brief list of these he later inserted in his history (LXXIV, 3).

viii
INTRODUCTION

write history. Accordingly he compiled an account of the events leading up to the accession of Severus.¹ This work also met with a cordial reception, both on the part of the emperor and of the public, and Dio soon formed the resolve to cover the whole period of Roman history. It has been conjectured that his original intention was to have the work find its fitting climax in the splendour of the new era inaugurated by Severus; if such was the case, his plan must have been changed very promptly. He presently withdrew largely from public affairs for the remainder of Severus' reign, and spent the greater part of his time in retirement at his country-seat in Capua.² During these years he gathered his material and wrote a considerable part of the history. In a certain vague passage³ he seems to imply that he had been consul (suffectus, naturally) under Severus; but this first consulship should probably be dated some years later (circa 222), shortly before his pro-consulship in Africa. Indeed, it seems altogether probable that his retirement from public life was the direct outcome of the changed policy of Severus, which could no longer command his support.

Caracalla, the successor of Severus, took Dio along as a member of his retinue on his Eastern expedition in 216, and the following winter was spent at Nicomedia;⁴ but Dio did not accompany the

¹ Later incorporated in his larger work, as he tells us.
² LXXVI, 2, 1. ³ LXXVI, 16, 4. ⁴ LXXVII, 17-18; LXXVIII, 8, 4.
INTRODUCTION

emperor to the Parthian war. By Macrinus he was placed over the cities of Pergamum and Smyrna as curator ad corrigendum statum civitatum,¹ and he was continued in this position by Elagabalus. Under Alexander Severus he became proconsul of Africa, and upon his return was sent out as governor successively of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia,² both imperial provinces. In 229 he became consul for the second time (consul ordinarius) with Alexander himself as colleague. But his disciplinary measures in Pannonia had made him unpopular with the praetorians, so that he found it advisable to remain away from Rome much of the time; and he soon obtained permission to retire to Nicaea, his native city, on the plea of an ailment of the foot.³ This is the last he tells us about himself, and we can only conjecture how many years of leisure he enjoyed in his native land; inasmuch, however, as he was presumably already past the age of seventy at the time of his retirement, it is probable that his death occurred soon afterwards.

The work for which Dio is known to the modern world is his Roman History (Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία or Ῥωμαϊκαῖ), originally in eighty books, covering the period from the landing of Aeneas down to the year of his own (second) consulship in 229 A.D. The last seven years, however, were treated very summarily, having been added, apparently, as an afterthought. He informs us that he spent ten years in gathering his

¹ LXXIX, 7, 4. ² XLIX, 36, 4; LXXX, 1, 3. ³ LXXX, 5.
INTRODUCTION

material for the period down to Severus’ death,¹ that he had read everything of importance on the subject,² and that twelve years was the time occupied in composing the work.³ The period of these labours may be roughly estimated as the years 200–222. The lexicographer Suidas attributes five other works to Dio; but it is practically certain that only one, or possibly two, of these shorter works can have been written by him. The Life of Arrian, who was a fellow-Bithynian as well as a fellow-historian, may actually have been the work of Dio. If he ever wrote an account of Hadrian’s reign, it was doubtless incorporated in his large work, as was the case with his first two treatises; but it is strange that he should have made no mention of it.

The whole period of nearly a thousand years covered by his history falls into three main divisions according to his own statements.⁴ The first is the period of the republic, when political action rested with the senate and the people; the facts were public property, and even if distorted from personal motives by some writers, could readily be ascertained from others or from the public records. The second period extends from the establishment of the monarchy to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Under the emperors action was no longer taken openly, and such versions as were given to the public were naturally received with suspicion. Dio must now

¹ LXXII, 23, 5. ² Frg. 1, 2; cf. LIII, 19, 6. ³ LXXII, 23, 5. ⁴ LIII, 19; LXXI, 36, 4; LXXII, 4, 2.
INTRODUCTION

ccontent himself in the main with giving the published reports of events, although he proposes now and then to express his own opinion based on what he has heard and read. The third period is that of his own day; he now writes of events of which he had first-hand knowledge, and, as might be expected, introduces more of detail into this portion of his work. Incidentally he states that with the accession of Commodus his history makes a sheer descent from the golden to the iron age. There are traces of a division of the work into decades. Book XLI begins the Civil War, LI the monarchy (if we accept Dio's view, here stated, that the battle of Actium marked the beginning of the reign of Augustus¹), and LXXI, apparently, the reign of Marcus Aurelius; while it is very probable that Book XI began the First Punic War, XXI the Third Punic War, and perhaps XXXI the First Mithridatic War.

Dio followed the annalistic order of treatment, so popular among the Romans, according to which all the events of a given year, in whatever part of the world they occurred, were grouped together. The eponymous consuls of each year are regularly named at the appropriate points in the text, and in addition there is prefixed to each book, even for the imperial age, a table of the consuls for the period covered.

¹ It must be admitted, however, that the introductory words of Book LII read much more like the transition to a new period.

xii
INTRODUCTION

When he comes to the empire, moreover, he is very careful to specify to a day the exact duration of each emperor's reign, and in certain other matters aims at equal exactness. Yet in spite of all his pains in this regard it would often be extremely difficult or impossible to extract a consistent chronology from his data. For it frequently happens that in his desire to trace the causes or results of a given series of events he is led to exceed the limits of a single year by a considerable margin; occasionally also this same motive is responsible for an inversion of the actual order of events.

Unfortunately the value of his history is greatly diminished for us as the result of his blind devotion to two theories governing historical writing in his day. On the one hand a sense of the dignity and true value of history demanded that mere details and personal anecdotes should give place to the larger aspects and significance of events. On the other hand the historian was never to forget that he was at the same time a rhetorician; if the bare facts were lacking in effectiveness, they could be adorned, modified, or variously combined in the interest of a more dramatic presentation. These two principles, as applied by Dio, have resulted all too frequently in a somewhat vague, impressionistic picture of events, in which precisely those data which the modern historian eagerly looks for are either largely wanting.

1 LXXII, 18, 3.
INTRODUCTION

or else blurred and confused. Thus names, numbers, and exact dates are often omitted; geographical details are scanty; and even the distinctive features of the various battles are passed over in great part in favour of rhetorical commonplaces, culled from Thucydides and other models, thus robbing the battles of all or much of their individuality. A good illustration of the transformation the facts could be made to undergo in the interest of these two theories is to be seen in his account of the conquest of Gaul. It is now generally recognized that there is nothing in this account which need imply an ultimate source other than Caesar's Commentaries; and yet, were it not for the familiar names, the reader might readily be excused for failing to recognize many of the events narrated, to such an extent has Dio shifted the emphasis on the facts and assigned new motives, while all the time striving to bring into bold relief the contrasts between the Gallic and the Roman character. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the speeches, which in Dio occupy a disproportionate amount of space (averaging one long speech or debate to the book), seem even farther removed from the realm of actual history than those of the ancient historians generally.

1 The most important exception is afforded by his account of the battle of Actium.
2 It is probable that his immediate source was Livy's version, to which he doubtless owed some of his variations from Caesar's account.

xiv
INTRODUCTION

The most famous of all these speeches, that of Maecenas to Augustus regarding the establishment of the monarchy, is in reality a political pamphlet setting forth Dio's own views of government, and parts of it are an anachronism in the mouth of Maecenas. Again, the speech which Dio makes Caesar deliver to his officers (not to his troops) before the battle with Ariovistus has almost nothing in common with the address reported by Caesar himself.

The problem of Dio's sources for the periods before his own day has been investigated by various scholars with widely divergent results. It is clear that he has much in common with Livy, but the tendency of early investigators was to overrate Livy's influence. Schwartz has shown that down to the end of the Second Punic war Dio holds an independent course between the various traditions known to us. After this there is apparent an increasing similarity between his account and that of Livy, which becomes most marked in the periods of the civil war, and the natural inference is that Livy was here used directly as a principal source. There are important agreements also with Polybius, but no conclusive evidence of direct dependence. Sallust was almost certainly not among Dio's sources, and it is not probable that Caesar's Commentaries were used, at least to any extent. For the period of the empire Tacitus has been confidently claimed by some as an important source, particularly for the reign and
INTRODUCTION

characterization of Tiberius; others, with less probability, have denied any such influence. A few isolated parallels between Dio and Sallust, also Pliny the Elder, have been pointed out; but they are not of sufficient importance to establish any direct influence. In a few instances Dio refers to the memoirs of emperors (Augustus, Hadrian, and Severus), as if he had consulted them. He excels the other historians of Rome in the attention paid to constitutional and administrative matters, and it has been argued that he must have consulted some of the public records, at least the lists of magistrates. In general it may be said that his history gives evidence of being based on various sources for a given period,¹ and he seems to have made an honest attempt to arrive at the truth. Unfortunately he was not always equal to the task of reconciling the discrepancies in his sources and thus manages to contradict himself at times.

Dio's point of view is thoroughly Roman. He writes from the standpoint of a senator who, while jealous of the prerogatives of his order, is at the same time a thorough believer in the monarchy; in fact he makes the relations of the emperors to the senate the central idea in his account of the empire. His impatience with all opposition to the monarchy is probably responsible for the almost

¹ Compare his own statements in Frg. 1, 2 and Book LIII, 19, 6.
INTRODUCTION

bitter hostility shown towards Cicero. He has a poor opinion of the common people, and he resents the great power and influence of the praetorian guard.

In style and diction the history is modelled on Thucydides. Not alone the long involved periods of the Athenian historian, but also a multitude of single words, constructions, and phrases either peculiar to him or shared with a few other writers, reappear in these pages. It would seem that Dio steeped himself in the vocabulary and thoughts of his great model until he could think almost unconsciously in the words of the other.

Dio exerted no appreciable influence on his immediate successors in the field of Roman history. But among the Byzantines he became the standard authority on the subject, a circumstance to which we doubtless owe the preservation of such a large portion of his work.

About one third of Dio's History has come down to us intact. The extant portions are: (a) Books XXXIV–LX (in large part), contained in eleven Mss.; (b) Book LXXVIII with part of LXXIX (or LXXX with part of LXXX according to Boissevain's division), preserved in a single Ms.; (c) the Paris fragments describing events of the years 207–200 B.C., recovered from the binding of a Strabo Ms.

xvii
INTRODUCTION

For our knowledge of the lost portions of Dio's work we have two kinds of sources: (1) Excerpts contained in various Byzantine collections, together with brief quotations made by lexicographers and grammarians; and (2) Epitomes by Zonaras and Xiphilinus, supplemented by occasional citations in other historical writers. The quotations of the first class may be supposed to give, as a rule, the very words of Dio, subject of course to necessary changes in phraseology at the beginning, and sometimes at the end, and to occasional omission elsewhere of portions unessential to the excerptor's purpose. These constitute the Fragments of our author in the strict sense of the term. The Epitomes, on the other hand, while they often repeat entire sentences of Dio verbatim, or nearly so (as may readily be seen by comparing extant portions of the histories with Zonaras or Xiphilinus), must, nevertheless, be regarded as essentially paraphrases. A brief description of these various sources follows:

(1) The Excerpts De Virtutibus et Vitiis (V) are found in a Ms. of the tenth century, the Codex Peirescianus, now in the library of Tours. It was first published in 1634 by Henri de Valois, whence the fragments are sometimes called Excerpta Valesiana, as well as Peiresciana. The collection consists (at present) of quotations from fourteen historians, extending from Herodotus to Malalas. From Dio
INTRODUCTION

alone there are 415 excerpts, and the Ms. originally contained still more.

The Excerpts *De Sententiis* (M) are contained in a Vatican palimpsest (Vaticanus Graecus 73) of the tenth or eleventh century. The Ms. is in very bad condition; numerous leaves were discarded and the others disarranged when the Ms. was used for the second writing. Angelo Mai, who first published the collection in 1826, employed chemical reagents to bring out the letters and even then had to despair of many passages. Since his use of the Ms. the letters have naturally faded still more, and parts of some leaves have been covered in the work of repair. The excerpts attributed to Dio are drawn from nearly all periods of Roman history, and fall into two groups, the first extending down to 216 B.C., the other from 40 B.C. to the reign of Constantine; between the two portions several leaves, and probably entire quaternions, have been lost from the Ms. That the former set of fragments is taken from Dio none will deny. The later collection, however, extends much beyond the reign of Alexander Severus, where Dio ended his history; furthermore, the style and diction are considerably different from Dio’s own. It is now generally agreed that all the excerpts of this second set were the work of one man, whom Boissevain, following Niebuhr, would identify with Petrus Patricius, a historian of the sixth century. Nevertheless, though not direct
INTRODUCTION

quotations from Dio, they are of value in filling out both his account and that of Xiphilinus.

The Excerpts De Legationibus—Embassies (a) of Foreign Nations to the Romans (U°), and (b) of the Romans to Foreign Nations (U*)—appear in nine Mss., all derived from a Spanish archetype (since destroyed by fire) owned by Juan Paez de Castro in the sixteenth century. First published by Fulvio Orsini in 1582, and hence called Excerpta Ursiniana.

The three collections thus far named are known collectively as the Excerpta Constantiniana. They formed a small part of a great encyclopedia of more than fifty subjects, compiled under the direction of Constantine VII. Porphyrogennetus (A.D. 912–59). They have recently been re-edited by Boissevain, de Boor, and Büttner-Wobst (Berlin, 1903–06).

The Florilegium (Flor.) of Maximus the Confessor contains excerpts from various authors, arranged under seventy-one categories, the first of which is Virtue and Vice. Mai first published a number of fragments of Dio from this collection (from a Vatican Ms.), but inserted several which have since been rejected. There are at least six Mss. of the Florilegium containing excerpts from Dio. From one of these (Parisinus 1169, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century) Boissevain adds to the previous fragments No. 55, 3a and 3b.1

1 The Excerpta Planudea, a collection made by the monk Maximus Planudes (1260–1310) and published by Mai, have been shown by Boissevain and others to have no place among the fragments of Dio. A unique exception is the fragment at the beginning of Book XXI (Vol. ii, p. 370).

xx
INTRODUCTION

The short syntactical lexicon (Περὶ Συνταγμάτων) published in Bekker's Anecdota Graeca (vol. i. pp. 117-180) contains nearly 140 brief citations from Dio, nearly all of which are assigned to their several books, though unfortunately many of the numbers have been corrupted. On the basis of these citations, compared with the epitomes, von Gutschmid and Boisdevain independently attempted to determine the points of division between the lost books of Dio, and reached essentially the same results. Yet in several places the evidence is insufficient to constitute more than a reasonable probability.

The lexicon of Suidas, the Etymologicum Magnum, and a few other compilations of like character are also useful in affording occasional citations from Dio, often by book-number.

(2) Zonaras was private secretary to the emperor Alexis I. Comnenus in the early part of the twelfth century; later he retired to a monastery on Mt. Athos and devoted himself to literary labours. Among various works which he left is his Ἐπιτομὴ Ἰστοριῶν, a history of the world, in eighteen books, extending from the creation down to the death of Alexis in 1118. It has been satisfactorily shown that for Books VII–IX, in which Roman history is carried down from the landing of Aeneas to 146 B.C., his chief source was Dio, supplemented by Plutarch and

1 There are so few fragments from Books XXX–XXXV that Boisdevain attempts no division within these limits. Between Books XI and XII the proper point of division is particularly uncertain; the present translator here differs from Boisdevain.
INTRODUCTION

a couple of quotations from Herodotus. We are justified, therefore, in recognizing as an epitome of Dio whatever remains after the exclusion of the portions that are derivable from the other two sources. After narrating the destruction of Corinth Zonaras laments that he could find no ancient authorities for the remainder of the republican period; hence it is inferred that Books XXII–XXXV had even then been lost from all the Mss. He resumes his narration with the time of Sulla, and after relying on various lives of Plutarch for a time, finally follows Dio’s account once more, beginning with Book XLIV, 3; but for the period subsequent to Domitian’s death he used Dio only indirectly, through the epitome of Xiphilinus. Zonaras is therefore of great importance for Books I–XXI, and to a lesser degree for Books XLIV–LXVII, where he occasionally supplements our Mss. of Dio or the epitome of Xiphilinus. There are numerous Mss. of Zonaras, five of which are cited by Boissevain; but for the present edition it has seemed sufficient merely to indicate such readings as have the support of no Ms.

For Books LXI–LXXX our chief authority is Xiphilinus, a monk of Constantinople, who made an abridgment of Books XXXVI–LXXX at the request of the emperor Michael VII. Ducas (1071–78). Even in his time Books LXX and LXXI (Boissevain’s division), containing the reign of Antoninus Pius

xxii
INTRODUCTION

and the first part of that of Marcus Aurelius, had already perished. He divided his epitome into sections each containing the life of one emperor, and thus is of no authority as regards Dio's divisions; furthermore his task was very carelessly performed. The epitome is found in at least sixteen Mss.; but all the rest are derived from one or the other of two fifteenth century Mss., Vaticanus 145 and Coislinianus 320. Besides these two (abbreviated V and C), we have readings from an unknown Xiphilinus Ms. entered in L' of Dio to fill various gaps; but the scribe of L' dealt very freely with such passages.

Ioannes Tzetzes (twelfth century) in his farrago of historical and mythological stories now entitled Chiliads, from the arbitrary division of the work into sections of one thousand verses each, occasionally cites Dio among his various authorities. But he dealt very freely with his material, and it is often difficult to determine exactly how much of Dio underlies his version. The present text omits a few passages printed with some hesitation by Boislevain. Tzetzes also cites Dio a few times in his commentary on Lycophron's Alexandra. Other writers who are similarly of use in supplementing the epitomes are Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica in the twelfth century, famous for his commentary on Homer; Ioannes Antiochenus, a historian of the seventh century; Ioannes Damascenus, an ecclesiastical writer of the eighth century; Ioannes Laurentius

xxiii
INTRODUCTION

Lydus, of the sixth century, who wrote of the Magistrates of the Roman Republic, and Cedrenus, a historian of the eleventh century.

The present text and division into books are based on Boissevain's edition, which has been courteously placed at the disposal of the Editors by Messrs. Weidmann of Berlin. The departures from his readings are relatively few, but are not always indicated in the critical notes, as it has seemed simpler to take the Ms. reading as the standard, and merely cite such emendations as are adopted in the text. For convenience of reference the traditional divisions of Books LXI–LXXX are given in the margin; and it is by these numbers that passages are cited.

The translation is based on that of H. B. Foster (Troy, N.Y., 1905–06), the first to appear in English. At the outset it was hoped that his translation would require few changes to bring it into conformity with the Greek text here adopted; but this hope was promptly disappointed, as soon as the task of careful comparison with the original was fairly under way, by the discovery of many errors of a more or less serious nature, as well as of frequent infelicities in the English. So far as has proved possible, his words have been retained; yet the changes found to be either necessary or desirable are so numerous that the editors have decided in favour of the present wording of the title page.
MANUSCRIPTS

(a) There are eleven Mss. containing the larger part of Books XXXVI–LX. The two of greatest importance are:—

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 8 (L), eleventh century, containing XXXVI, 18, 1—L, 6, 2.

Marcianus (or Venetus) 395 (M), eleventh century, containing XLIV, 35, 4—LX, 28, 3; but numerous leaves and even whole quaternions have been lost.

Of importance for parts of the text where these Mss. fail are also:—

Vaticanus Graecus 144 (V), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI–LIV.

Parisinus 1689 (P), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI–LX. Used by Stephanus in his edition of 1548.

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 10 (L'), fifteenth century, containing XLII–LX.

It has been conclusively shown by Boislevain that V is a copy of L, made, however, while L was in a completer state than at present; that L' is in the main a copy of M, but with additions from L; and that P is derived from L for the earlier books and from L' for the later. The other six Mss., not here specified, are derivatives of P (in one case of P and M) or of V. It is clear, therefore, that only L and M are of value except where passages now lost in one or both appear in the derived Mss. Thus V and P are our only Mss. for XXXVI, 1–17; V takes the place of L for the greater part of L–LIV; and similarly L' serves instead of M for LII, 5, 2–20, 4; LX, 17, 7–20, 2, and LX, 22, 2–26, 2, being the sole Ms. to give the last two passages. Unfortunately M has several extensive gaps in books LV–LX which cannot be filled out from the later Mss.

xxv
MANUSCRIPTS

(b) The oldest Dio Ms. is now reduced to a few leaves on which are contained LXXVIII, 2, 2-LXXXIX, 8, 3. This Ms. is:

Vaticanus Graecus 1288 (V'), vellum Ms. of fifth or sixth century, in uncial characters. It teems with errors, many of which, however, were corrected by a second hand, apparently with the aid of another Ms. V' belonged to Orsini, who published the contents in 1582 (Excerpta Ursiniana, pp. 416–47).

(c) The Paris fragments.

These are found on five parchment leaves which have been used in patching up a Strabo Ms. (Parisinus 1397 A). They evidently belonged to a Ms. of Dio written about the eleventh century, and describe events of the years 207–200 B.C. (Frqs. 57, 53–60, 63–71, 76, 81, 83–86; 58, 1–6). Haase first published them in the Rheinisches Museum for 1839, pp. 445–76.
EDITIONS

The more important editions of Dio are the following:—

1548 R. Stephanus. Editio princeps. Books XXXVI–LX. Based on a single Ms., P.
1551 R. Stephanus. Editio princeps of Xiphilinus.
1592 Leunclavius. Included Excerpta Ursiniana.
1750–52 Reimar. 2 vols. Based on new Mss., L and V. Notes of Reimar and various other scholars; historical notes especially valuable. Good life of Dio.
1824–25 Sturz. 8 vols. Based on Reimar’s edition. For the text L was again collated, also L’. Additional notes of Reimar and Reiske. In 1843 a ninth volume was added containing the Excerpts de Sententiis.
1849 Bekker. Superiority of L and M clearly recognized. Valuable for Bekker’s emendations.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


H. PETER: Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit (2 vols., 1897). ii. 84–101; and passim (see index).

A. VON GUTSCHMID : Kleine Schriften (1894), v. 547–62. First attempt to determine period covered by each of the lost books.


J. WILL: Quae ratio intercedat inter Dionis Cassi de Caesaris bellis Gallicis narrationem et commentarios Caesaris de bello Gallico. (1901)

P. MEYER: De Maecenatis oratione a Dione ficta. (1891)

J. BERGMANS: Die Quellen der Vita Tiberii des Cassius Dio. (1903)

H. JAEGGER: De Cassii Dionis librorum 57. et 58. fontibus. (1910)

R. FERWER: Die politischen Anschauungen des Cassius Dio. (1878)

E. LITSCH : De Cassio Dione imitatore Thucydidis. (1893)

E. KYHNITZSCH: De contionibus quas Cassius Dio historiae suae intexuit, cum Thucydeideis comparatis. (1894)

In addition to the symbols already given for the Mss. and collections of excerpts the following abbreviations are employed in the critical apparatus:—

Bk. = Bekker.
Bs. = Boissevain.
Dind. = Dindorf.
Leuncl. = Leunclavius.
Patr. = Petrus Patricius.
Rk. = Reiske.
St. = Sturz.
Urs. = Ursinus.
Val. = Valesius.
Xiph. = Xipophilinus.
Xyl. = Xylander.
Zon. = Zonaras.

xxviii
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK I

1, 2 'Ανέγνων μὲν ¹ πάντα ὡς εἴπειν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἄλλ' ὀσα ἔξεκρινα. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι κεκαλλιεπτημένοις, ἐς ὁσον γε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε, ² λόγοις κέχρημαι, ἐς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦτο τις ὑποπτεύση, ὁπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων τινῶν συμβέβηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμφότερα, ὡς ὁδὸν τε ἦν, ὅμοιως ἀκρι- ³ βῶσαι ἐσπούδασα. ἅρξομαι δὲ θεωτερ πὰ σαφε- στάτα τῶν περὶ τῇ νε τὴν γῆν, ἢν κατοικοῦμεν, συμβηνα λεγομένων παρελάβομεν.—Μ. 1 (p. 135).

Τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ἐν ἣ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄστιν πεπόλισται.—Μ. 2 (p. 135).

Zonaras 7, 1.

1. Αἰνείας μετὰ τὸν Τροικὸν πόλεμον ἀφίκτω πρὸς Ἀβορρίγωνας, οἳ προφὴν τὴν χώραν ἱκουν καθ' ἡν ἡ Ῥωμη πεπόλισται, Λατίνου τοῦ Φάυνου τότε τὴν

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Οὗτος ὁ Αἰνείας, μετὰ τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἁλωσιν, εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὡς ἐφημεν, καὶ Λατίνους παραγινεται.

1 ἀνέγνων μὲν supplied by Bk. ² ἐπέτρεψε Bk., ἐπετέρτη Bk. ³ ἐσπούδασα Bk.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK I

Although I have read pretty nearly everything about them that has been written by anybody, I have not included it all in my history, but only what I have seen fit to select. I trust, moreover, that if I have used a fine style, so far as the subject matter permitted, no one will on this account question the truthfulness of the narrative, as has happened in the case of some writers; for I have endeavoured to be equally exact in both these respects, so far as possible. I will begin at the point where I have obtained the clearest accounts of what is reported to have taken place in this land which we inhabit.

This land in which the city of Rome has been built.

Zonaras 7, 1.

1. Aeneas after the Trojan war came to the Aborigines, who were the former inhabitants of the land wherein Rome has been built and who

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

This Aeneas, after the capture of Troy, came, as we have remarked, to Italy and the Latins. He
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 1.

τούτων ἄρχην ἔχοντος, καὶ προσέσχε Λαύρεντῷ κατὰ τῶν Νουμίκιον ποταμῶν, ἐνθα κατὰ τι δὴ θεοπροσεύχον λέγεται παρασκευάζεσθαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν κατοίκησιν. ὁ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων Λατῖνος ἀπείρητος τῷ Αἰνείᾳ τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καθίδρυσιν. καὶ συμβαλόν ὡτὶ τῇ ὀνειράτων φανέρων ἀμφοῖν καταλάττονται καὶ τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Λαοὺνιαν ἐκ γάμου ἐκδίδωσιν. ἐνθα πόλιν ὁ Αἰνείας οἰκοδομῆσαι ωνόμασε Λαοὺνιαν ἤ τε χώρᾳ Λατῖνων ἐπεκλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ ἐκεῖ Λατῖνοι προσηγορεύθησαν.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

περὶ Λαύρεντον δὲ προσώκειλε τὸ καὶ Τροίαν καλούμενον, περὶ Νουμίκιον ποταμῶν, ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἐκ Κρεούσης νίσχν αὐτοῦ Ἄσκανίων ἢ Ἰλούν ὅπου φαγόντων τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τάς τραπέζας σελυίνας οὕσας, ἢ ἐκ τῶν σκληροτέρων μερῶν τῶν ἀρτῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τραπέζας), ἔτι δὲ καὶ χοίρων λεικήσι ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευάσας ἑπὶ τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὠνόμασμένον Ἀλβανὸν ὅρος καὶ τρικοντάς τετοκυίας, ἀπερ ἐδήλουν ὅτι τριακοστῶ ἐτεὶ οἱ παίδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆν καὶ κράτος ἁμεινόν ἔξουσιν, ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τοῦτο προακηκοῦσι, θύσας δὲ καὶ τῆς χοίρων παρασκευάζεστο κτίσειν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Λατῖνος τούτων ὅν τοι ἔστιν ἡττηθείς δὲ πολέμῳ διδώσων Αἰνεία πρὸς γάμου Λαβινίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. Αἰνείας δὲ κτίσας πόλιν Λαβινίαν ὠνόμασε.
BOOK I

Zonaras 7, 1.

were at that time ruled by Latinus, the son of Faunus. He came ashore at Laurentum, by the mouth of the river Numicius, where in obedience to some oracle he is said to have made preparations to dwell. The ruler of the land, Latinus, tried to prevent his settling in the land, and joined in battle with him, but was defeated. Then, as the result of dreams that appeared to both leaders, they effected a reconciliation, and Latinus both granted the other a settlement there and gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Thereupon Aeneas founded a city, which he named Lavinium; and the country was called Latium, and the people there were termed Latins.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

landed near Laurentum, called also Troy, near the River Numicius, along with his son by Creusa—Ascanius or Ilus. There his followers ate their tables, which were of parsley or of the harder portions of bread loaves; for they had no real tables. Furthermore, a white sow leaped from his boat and running to the Alban mount, named after her, gave birth to a litter of thirty, which indicated that in the thirtieth year his children should get fuller possession of both land and sovereignty. Since he had heard of these portents beforehand from an oracle he ceased his wanderings, sacrificed the sow, and prepared to found a city. Latinus would not allow him to do this; but after being defeated in war, he gave Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Aeneas then founded a city and called it Lavinium.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2, 4 "Ότι περὶ Τυρσηνῶν φησιν ὁ Δίων "ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκεν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν γεγράφθαι· ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλο τι καὶ αὕτης αὖ ἕτερον, ὅτω ποτ' ἂν ἡ διέξοδος τῆς συγγραφῆς τὸ ἂei παρὸν
1 εὐτρεπίζουσα προστύχῃ, κατὰ καιρὸν εἰρήσεται. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων

Zonaras 7, 1.

'Ροντούλοι δὲ ὁμορούντες τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀρδέας ὁμῷμενοι, καὶ πρόσθεν δυσμενὸς ἔχοντες πρὸς Λατίνους, καὶ τότε πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἐπαρηγοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Τούρνου ἁυδρὸς ἐπιφανοὺς καὶ τῷ Λατίνῳ προσήκοντος, δὲ δὲ ὄργης τοῦ Λατίνου πεποίητο διὰ τὸν Λαουνίας γάμον· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἡ κόρη προωμολόγητο. μάχῃς οὖν ἑνομένης πέπτουσιν ὁ τε Τούρνος καὶ ὁ Λατίνος, τὴν δὲ νίκην ὁ Αἰνείας κεκόμιστο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ βασιλείαν. μετὰ δὲ τε τινὰ χρόνον συμμαχίας ἐκ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ 'Ροντούλοι τυχόντες ἐπήλθον τῷ Αἰνείᾳ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον νεκρίκασιν. ἀφανῆς δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Λατίνου δὲ καὶ Τύρνου τοῦ 'Ροντούλων βασιλέως πολέμῳ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀποθανόντων Αἰνείας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀνηρμένου δὲ καὶ Αἰνείου πολέμῳ ἐν Λαυρέντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν 'Ροντούλων καὶ Μαξεντίου τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ, ἑγκύου οὖσας τῆς Αἰνείου γυναικὸς Δαβίνίας τὸν Σιλβίον, Ἀσκάνιος ὁ ἐκ Κρεούσης

1 ἂei παρὸν Bk., λιπαρὸν Ms,
BOOK I

Concerning the Etruscans Dio says: "These facts about them have properly been recorded at this point in the story; elsewhere still other facts will be mentioned from time to time, in their proper places, whenever the course of the history, in setting forth the successive incidents, shall involve them. And this same principle must suffice also in

Zonaras 7, 1.

But the Rutuli, who occupied adjoining territory, had been previously hostile to the Latins, and now, setting out from the city of Ardea, they made war upon them. They had the support of Turnus, a distinguished man and a relative of Latinus, who had become angry with the latter because of Lavinia's marriage, for it was to him that the maiden had originally been promised. A battle took place, Turnus and Latinus both fell, and Aeneas gained the victory and his father-in-law's kingdom as well. After a time, however, the Rutuli secured the Etruscans as allies and marched against Aeneas; and in this war they won. But Aeneas

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Now Latinus and Turnus, king of the Rutuli, perished in war at each other's hands, whereupon Aeneas became king. And when Aeneas also had been killed in war at Laurentum by the same Rutuli and Mezentius the Etruscan, while Lavinia his wife was pregnant of Silvius, Ascanius the son of
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀρκοῦντος ἔχετο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντα κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέξειμι, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τὰ πρόσφορα αὐτοῖς μόνα γεγράψεται.”
—Μ. 3 (p. 136).

Zonaras 7, 1.

ὁ Αἰνείας γενόμενος, οὐτε γὰρ ζῶν ὁφθη ἐτὶ οὔτε μὴν τεθνεώς, ὡς θεὸς παρὰ Λατίνους τετίμητο.. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀρχηγῆτις νεαρόμαται καὶ Αἰνείαδαι καλείσθαι αὐχώρεσί. τὴν δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐκείνου υἱὸς Ἀσκάνιος διεδέξατο, δὲ οὐκοθεν συνειστετο τῷ πατρὶ οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λαουνίας παῖδα ἐγείνατο, ἤγκνου δ’ αὐτὴν καταλέλουπε. τὸν δὲ Ἀσκάνιον κατακλείσαντες οἱ πολέμωι ἐπολιόρκουν νυκτὸς δ’ οἱ Λατίνοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν τε πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

Χρόνου δὲ διεληλυθότος πληθυνθέντες οἱ Λατίνοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τὸ Λαουνίον οἱ πλείονες ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἐτέραν δ’ ἐν ἀμείνοι χώρῳ ἀντφοδόμησαν, τὰ φιλοτεχνημένα γενήματα ταῖς τήμεναι χαράς τῶν πολεμικῶν μισούτων. Ζωῆς ἀπότομα, δὲ καὶ τὸν Μαξέντιον πολέμῳ συμβαλόντα μικρὰ τελέως, μὴ δεχόμενον τὰς προσβείας ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Λατίνου πάντα εἰς ἐτήσιον δασμὸν ζητοῦντα. αὐξηθέντες δὲ οἱ Λατίνοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἐνέστη, Λαβινίας μὲν ὑπερφρόνησαν, "Ἀλβαν δὲ Δογγαν ἐτέραν πόλιν ἐκτισαν ἀπὸ τῆς χούρου, τούτεστι λευκήν μακρά ἑκέτω Βκ., ἔχοντες MS.
BOOK I

the case of other essential facts. For, while I shall recount the history of the Romans in full, to the best of my ability, outside of that only what has a bearing on their affairs will be recorded.

Zonaras 7, 1.

vanished from sight, being seen no more alive or dead, and he was honoured as a god among the Latins. Hence he was regarded by the Romans also as the founder of their race and they take pride in being called "Sons of Aeneas." The sovereignty over the Latins descended to his son Ascanius, who had accompanied his father from home; Aeneas had not yet had a child by Lavinia, though he left her pregnant. Ascanius was surrounded and besieged by the enemy, but by night the Latins attacked them and ended both the siege and the war.

As time went on the Latins multiplied and the majority of them abandoned Lavinium and built another town in a better location. To it they gave

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Creusa became king. He completely conquered Mezentius, who, after steadily refusing to receive his embassies and seeking to subject all of Latinus' dependencies to an annual tribute, had finally engaged him in battle. When the Latins had waxed strong and moreover the thirtieth year was now at hand, they scorned Lavinium and founded a second city, named from the sow Alba Longa (i.e.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 1.

ἡν Ἀλβαν ἐκ τῆς λευκότητος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆκους Δόγγαν ἐπωνύμασαν ἔποιεν ἄν Ἐλληνες λευκῆν καὶ μακράν. Ἁσκανίου δὲ τελευτησαντος οἱ Δατῖνοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δαυνινίας τεχθέντα τῷ Αἰνείᾳ νῦν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προετιμήσαντο τῷ Ἀσκανίῳ παινός, διὰ τὸν πᾶσπον τὸν Δατίνον τοῦτον προκρίναντες, Σίλβιον κεκλημένον. ἐκ Σιλβίου δὲ Αἰνείας ἔτεχθη, ἔξιν Αἰνείου δὲ Δατίνος ἔγένετο, Δατίνον δὲ διεδέξατο Πάστις. Τιβερίος δ' ἄρξας μετέπειτα ἐν ποταμῷ καλομένῳ Ἀλβοῦλῳ πεσὼν διεφθάρη. δὲ ἔπειτας Τιβερίος ἐξ ἐκείνου μετωνομάσθη, πέρι διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει πολυναρέστατος καὶ ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρησιμότατος. ἐκγονὸς δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου Ἀμούλιος ὢν ὑπερφυοίησας καὶ θεοῦ ἐαυτοῦ τομήσας, ὡς βροτάς τε ταῖς βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀντετέχεις καὶ ἀνταστράπτες ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐνσκήπτες τε κεραυνοὺς, διεφθάρη, τῆς λίμνης παρ' ᾧ τὰ ἄνω τοῦ βασίλεια Ἰδρυτο ἐπιρρέωντος αἰφνίδιον καὶ καταποντισάς κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Ἀλβανός δὲ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπέθανε.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

καὶ τὸ ἔκεισε ὁ ὁρὸς Ἀλβανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ὁμοίως. τὰ δὲ ἐκ Τροίας ἀγάλματα μόνα πρὸς τὸ Δαβίδον δεύτερον ὑπεστράφησαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀσκανίου τελευτησαν οὐχ οὗ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ἰούλιος ἐβασιλεύσεν ἀλλὰ ἐκ Δαβίδιας Αἰνείου νῦς Σίλβιος, ἢ κατὰ τίνας Ἀσκανίου νῦς Σίλβιος. Σίλβιον πάλιν Αἰνείας, οὗ Δατίνος, οὗ Κάπης, Κάπης 1 δὲ παῖς Τιβερίου. οὗ Ἀμούλιος, οὗ Ἀβεντίος.

1 Κάπης ΑΒβ, κάπους α.
BOOK I

Zonarae 7, 1.

the name of Alba from its whiteness and from its length they called it Longa. Upon the death of Ascanius they chose as king the son born to Aeneas by Lavinia rather than the son of Ascanius, the reason for their preference being that Latinus was the former's grandfather. The new king's name was Silvius. And Silvius begat Aeneas, from Aeneas sprang Latinus, and Latinus was succeeded by Pastis. Tiberinus, who next became ruler, lost his life by falling into a river called the Albula. It was this river that was renamed the Tiber after him. Flowing through Rome, it serves many purposes of the city and is in the highest degree useful to the Romans. Amulius, a descendant of Tiberinus, displayed an overweening pride and dared to make himself a god; he went so far as to match the thunder with artificial thunder, to answer lightning with lightning, and to hurl thunderbolts. He met his end by the sudden overflow of the lake beside which his palace was built; it submerged both him and his palace. But Aventinus his son perished in warfare.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

"long white"), and likewise called the mountain the Alban mount. But the images brought along from Troy twice returned to Lavinium all by themselves. After the death of Ascanius it was not his son Iulus who became king, but Silvius, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia—or, according to some, Ascanius' son Silvius. Silvius begat another Aeneas, whose son was Latinus, whose son was Capys; Capys had a son Tiberinus, whose son was Amulius, whose son was Aventinus.
5, 1 'Εδει δὲ¹ (οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν οὔτε προϊδέσθαι πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ ὁντὶ οὔτε ἀποτροπήν τῶν ἀναγκαίως ἐσομένων εὑρεῖν) τιμωροῦσι τινας τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κόρης ἐκείνης γεννηθήναι.—Μ. 4 (p. 136).

Zonaras 7, 1.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν περὶ Δαονιᾶον καὶ 'Ἀλβανῶν· τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχήκασι τὸν Νομίτορα τε καὶ τὸν Ἀμούλιον, οἱ Ἀυεντίνου μὲν ἐγένοντο νῦνοι, τοῦ δ' Αἰνείου ἀπόγονοι.

Tzetzes in Lyco phr. Alex. v. 1232.

Μέχρι τούτου τὰ περὶ 'Ἀλβης καὶ 'Ἀλβανῶν· τὰ δὲ περὶ Ῥώμης ἐντεύθεν. Ἀβεντίνος γεννᾷ Νομίτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἢ κατὰ τινας τοῦ Πρόκαι. τοῦ Πρόκαι δὲ τούτου λέγουσι παιδας τοῦ τοῦτον τὸν Νομίτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον. βασιλεύοντα δὲ τὸν Νομίτορα ο Ἀμούλιος ἐξῆλασε, καὶ Αἰγέστης τὸν Νομίτορος νιῶν ἐν κυιγεσίῳ ἀναιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν Αἰγέστου, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ προρηθέντος Νομίτορος, Σιλουίαν ἢ 'Ρεάν Ἡλίαν ἱέρειαν τῆς θεᾶς Εστίας ποιεῖ, ὅς ἄν παρθένος διαμείνῃ ἐδείξει γάρ τινα χρησμόν λέγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν Νομίτορος παιδῶν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθήναι. διὰ τοῦ τούτου τὸν μὲν Αἰγέστην ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ ἱέρειαν τῆς 'Εστίας ἐποίησεν, ὅπως παρθένοι καὶ ἀπαῖς διαμείνῃ. ἢ δὲ ἐν Ἀρεοῖς ἀλσεῖ υδρευμένῃ ἐγκυνῷ γίνεται, καὶ γεννᾷ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου. καὶ τὴν δὲ μὲν ἐξαιτεῖται μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τοῦ Ἀμου-

¹ Εδει δέ supplied by Bk.
BOOK I

It is impossible for mortal man either to foresee all that is to happen or to find a way of turning aside the inevitable: of this very maiden [Rhea Silvia] were to be born the avengers of his crime.

Zonaras 7, 1.

So much for Lavinium and the Albans. But the history of the Romans begins with Numitor and Amulius, who were grandsons of Aventinus and descendants of Aeneas.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

So much regarding Alba and the Albans; the story of Rome now begins. Aventinus begat Numitor and Amulius,—or Procas, according to some; and this man’s sons, they say, were the aforesaid Numitor and Amulius. Numitor while king was driven out by Amulius, who killed Numitor’s son Aegestes on a hunting party and made Silvia, or Rhea Ilia, the sister of Aegestes, and daughter of the aforesaid Numitor, a priestess of Vesta, so that she might remain a virgin. For he stood in dread of an oracle which declared that he should be slain by the children of Numitor. It was for this reason that he killed Aegestes and made his sister priestess of Vesta, that she might continue a virgin and childless. But she while drawing water in Mars’ grove conceived, and bore Romulus and Remus. The daughter of Amulius by her entreaties saved her from being put
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 3.

Ὁκτωκαίδεκα δ’ εἶναι ὁ Ὥμολος ἐνιαυτῶν ἀναγέγραται ὅτε τὴν Ὄμην συνόψιον. ἐκτεις δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τὴν τοῦ Φαυστούλου οἴκησιν ὄνωμαστο δ’ ὁ χώρος Παλάτιον.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

λίου θυγάτηρ, τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαυστύλω θημένι, Δαυερητίας ἄνδρι, ἔδωκεν ἐναίπτω σερὶ τῶν Τίβεριν ποταμῶν. ἄ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ λαβοῦσα ἀνέτρεφεν ἐτυχὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν τότε νεκρὸν βρέφος τεκείν. αὔξησες δὲ ὁ Ὅμολος καὶ ὁ Ὄμος ἐποίμαινον κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἄμουλίου ἄγροις, ἀνελόντες δὲ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ πάππου Νομήτωρος ποιμένων ἐπετηροῦντο. κατασχεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ὅμοιν δραμῶν ὁ Ὅμολος τῷ Φαυστύλῳ λέγει, καὶ δὲ δραμῶν τῷ Νομήτωρι πάντα διηγείται. τέλος ἔγραμεν Νομῆτωρ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ παίδας ὄντας αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ συναραμένωι πολλῶν ἀναίροοις τῶν Ἄμουλιον, τοῦ δὲ Νομήτωρι πάππῳ αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ἀλῆς παρασχόντες αὐτοῖ τῆς Ὅμην κτίζειν ἀπήρξαντο ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῳ ἐτεὶ τῆς Ὅμολον ἡλικίας . . . ἦν ἐκτεις Ὅμολος περὶ τὴν Φαυστύλου οἰκίαν ἐν ὅρει Παλατίῳ . . .


Ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ τῶν Ὅμοιων ἐξαρχοι κατὰ Δίωνα, Ὅμοιος δηλαδὴ καὶ Ὅμολος, οὐς ἐθῆλαςε λύκαινα, ἡ παρὰ Ἰταλιώταις λούπα. δὴ ὁ νόμος μετήκται ἀστείως εἰς ἐταιρίδων προσηγορίαιν.
BOOK I

Zonaras 7, 3.

Romulus has been described as eighteen years old when he joined in settling Rome. He founded it around the dwelling of Faustulus; the place had been named Palatium.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

to death, but the babes were given to Faustulus, a shepherd, husband of Laurentia, to be exposed beside the river Tiber. These the shepherd's wife took and reared; for it happened that she had at that time borne a dead child. When Romulus and Remus were grown they kept flocks in the fields of Amulius, but as they killed some of the shepherds of their grandfather Numitor a watch was set for them. When Remus was arrested, Romulus ran and told Faustulus, and he ran and related the whole story to Numitor. Finally Numitor recognized them as his own daughter's children. They with the assistance of many others killed Amulius, and after bestowing the kingdom of Alba on their grandfather Numitor made a beginning themselves of founding Rome in the eighteenth year of Romulus' life. [But prior to this great Rome,] which Romulus founded on the Palatine mount near the dwelling of Faustulus, [another Rome in the form of a square had been founded by a Romulus and Remus more ancient than these.]


Among these [i.e., children suckled by animals], according to Dio, were also the founders of Rome (that is to say, Remus and Romulus), who were suckled by a wolf, called by the Italians lupa; this name has been aptly applied as a term for courtesans.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 "Οτι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥέμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἐκδηλοῦν ἐποίησαν ὅτι τινὲς καὶ πάνεν ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς κινδύνους τῶν εὐτυχιῶν συν-
διαφέροντο.—Μ. 5 (p. 136).

4 Καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐξέμαθον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεδί-
δαξαν ὅτι οὐθ’ οἱ τιμωρούμενοι τινὰς κατορθοῦσι
πάντως, ὅτι προηδικηταί, οὐθ’ οὶ παρὰ τῶν
κρειττῶν ἀπαίτοντες τινὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν
αὐτά, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσαπολ-
λύσοντι.—Μ. 6 (p. 136).

5 "Οτι ἡ Ἐρσιλία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ ὀμόφυλοι
γυναῖκες τηρήσασαι ποτὲ ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους
σφᾶς κατεδραμον ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλατίου μετὰ τῶν

Zonaras 7, 3.

... περὶ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
diὰ μάχης ἐχώρησαν, ἐν γὰρ Ῥώμος ἀπέθανεν. . . .
ὀθεν καὶ ἐνομίσθη τὸν στρατοπέδου τάφρον τολμή-
saνta διελθεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνήθεις ὀδοὺς θανα-
toῦσθαι.

Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐφ’ ὑδωρ κατελθόντα συνελήφθη
καὶ ἡχθη πρὸς Τάτιον καὶ ἀνεπέσθη προδοῦναι
tὸ ἔρμυα.

Tzetzes, Chil. 5, 21, vs. 109 sq.

Δίων καὶ Διονύσιος γράφουσι τὰ τοῦ Κάκου |
ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε συγγραφεῖς, γράφοντες τὰ τῆς
Ῥώμης.

16
BOOK I

Romulus and Remus by their mutual strife made it plain that some go through dangers together with far less risk than through prosperity.

They themselves \(^1\) learned well and taught others the lesson that those who seek to avenge their wrongs are not invariably successful merely because they have first suffered injury, and that those who make demands on stronger men do not necessarily get what they demand, but often lose even what they had before.

Hersilia and the rest of the women of her kin, on discovering them one day drawn up in opposing ranks, ran down from the Palatine with their

---

**Zonaras 7, 3.**

[Romulus and Remus disputed] about the sovereignty and the city, and they got into a conflict in which Remus was killed. . . . . From this incident arose the custom of putting to death one who dared to cross the trench of a camp by any other than the regular passage-ways.

When she [Tarpeia] went down for water she was seized and brought to Tatius, and was induced to betray the citadel.

**Tzetzes, Chil. 5, 21, v. 109 f.**

Dio and Dionysius record the story of Cacus, and so do many other historians of Rome.

\(^1\) The Caeninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates. Cf. Livy 1, 10, 11.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παιδίων (ἡδη γάρ τινα ἐγεγένητο) καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔξαπίνης ἐσπευσοῦσαι πολλὰ καὶ οἰκτρὰ καὶ εἶπον καὶ ἐποίησαν· τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τούτοις τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους βλέπονταί "τί ταῦτα" ἔφασαν "ποιεῖτε, πατέρες; τί ταῦτα, ἄνδρες; μέχρι ποῦ μαχεῖσθε; μέχρι ποῦ μισῆστε ἄλληλους; καταλλάγητε τοῖς γαμβροῖς, καταλλάγητε τοῖς πενθεροῖς. φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Πανὸς τῶν τέκνων, φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἐλεήσατε τὰς θυγατέρας, ἐλεῆσατε τὰς γυναῖκας· ὥς εἰγε ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχετε καὶ τις ἰμὰς σκηπτὸς μανίας ἐσπευσὸν οἰστρεῖ, ἡμᾶς τε δι' ὑμᾶς μάχεσθε προαποκτεῖνατε, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἀ μισεῖτε προαποσφάξατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐν μήτ' ὄνομα μῆτε σύνδεσμον συγγενείας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουντες κερδάνητε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ τοὺς τε πάππους τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας τῶν ἐκγόνων φονεύειν." ταῦτα τε ἔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια καταρρηξάμενα, τοὺς τε μαστοὺς καὶ τὰς γαστέρας γυμνώσασαι, αἱ μὲν αὐταὶ τοῖς ξύφεσί σφών ἐνεχρίμπτοντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῖς προσερήπτουν, ὡστε ἐκείνους καὶ ἔξ ὃν ἦκονον καὶ ἔξ ὃν ἔωρον κλαύσαι καὶ τῆς τε μάχης ἐπισχεῖν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ὡστερ εἶχον, ἐν τῷ κομιτῷ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κληθέντι συνελθεῖν.—Μ. 7 (p. 137).

10 Πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκ κατηνήσ τινας κατασταθῆναι ἢ καὶ πρότερον οὕσας ἐπικληθῆναι.—Μ. 8 (p. 137).
BOOK I

children,—for some children had already been born,—and rushing suddenly into the space between the armies said and did many things to arouse pity. Looking now at the one side and now at the other they cried: "Why do you do this, fathers? Why do you do it, husbands? When will you cease fighting? When will you cease hating each other? Make peace with your sons-in-law! Make peace with your fathers-in-law! For Pan's sake spare your children! For Quirinus' sake spare your grandchildren! Pity your daughters, pity your wives! But if you are indeed irreconcilable and some bolt of madness has fallen upon your heads and drives you to frenzy, then first kill us on account of whom you are fighting, and first slay these children whom you hate, that with no longer any name or bond of kinship between you you may avoid the greatest of evils—the slaying of the grandsires of your children and the fathers of your grandchildren." With these words they tore open their garments and bared their breasts and bellies, while some pressed themselves against the men's swords and others threw their children against them. Moved by what they heard and saw the men began to weep, and they desisted from battle and came together for a conference there, just as they were, in the comitium, which received its name from this very event.

There is a great difference between establishing new ones¹ and renaming those already in existence.

¹ Perhaps a reference to the curiae; cf. Livy 1, 13.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

11 "Ὅτι ὁ Ρωμύλος πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν τραχύτερον
dιέκειτο καὶ τυραννικότερον αὐτή προσεφέρετο,
καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐημενταῖς ¹ ἀπέδωκε ² καθ' ἐαυτόν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης, ὡσπερ τὰ
pολλὰ ἐγίγνετο· ἀγανακτοῦντας τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ
αἰσθόμενος ἄλλα τε ἑπαρχή διελέχθη ³ καὶ τέλος
εἰπεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ ύμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, ἐξελεξάμην ὑμῖν
ίνα ύμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἀρχητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐγὼ ύμῖν ἐπιτάτ-
tοιμί."—Μ. 9 (p. 138).

Labbaeus, Veteres glossae verborum iuris, p. 123.

Τρισχίλλιοι γὰρ ὄντες ὁπλίται ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς
φησι Δίων ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰς
τρεῖς ἐνεμήθησαν ⁵ μοίρας κληθείσας τρίβους, τουτ' ἐστὶ τριττὰς, ὡς καὶ φυλᾶς ὁνόμασαν ἴναι ἀλλ' ἐκάστη δε τριττὸς εἰς δέκα διηρέθη κουρίας ήτοι
φροντιστήρια. κούρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ φροντίς λέγεται,
καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ κούριαν συνώντες οἱ εἰς αὐτὴν
tetagménoi ⁶ τινὰ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐξεφροντίζον.


Τῷ γε μὴν ὁ Ῥωμύλω καὶ στέφανος ἢν καὶ
σκήπτρον ἔστων ἐπὶ ἄκρον καὶ φαινόλης
λευκός ποδήρης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμῶν ἔπροσέθην μέχρι
ποδῶν πορφυροῖς ύφάσμασιν ρεραβδωμένοι . . . καὶ
ὕπόδημα φοινικοῦ . . . κατὰ τῶν Κοκκήνου.

Zonaras 7, 4.

Καὶ πεδίλως ἐκέχρησε ἐρυθρωις.

¹ Οὐημενταῖς Bs., βιένται Ms. ² ἀπέδωκε supplied by Mai.
³ διελέχθη supplied by Bs. ⁴ πρῶτῳ Val., προτέρῳ Labb.
⁵ ἐνεμήθησαν Val., ἐνεμήθη Labb.
⁶ τεταγμένοι Val., τεταλμένοι Labb.
BOOK I

Romulus assumed a rather harsh attitude toward the senate and behaved toward it much like a tyrant; he returned the hostages of the Veientes on his own responsibility and not by common consent, as was usually done. When he perceived that they were vexed as this he made a number of unpleasant remarks, and finally said: "I have chosen you, Fathers, not that you may rule me, but that I might have you to command."

Labbaeus, Veteres glossae verborum iuris, p. 123.

The heavy-armed troops of Romulus, three thousand in number, as Dio tells us in the first portion of his history, were divided into three bodies called tribus, i.e., trittyes [thirds], which the Greeks also termed phylai. Each trittys was divided into ten curiae, or "thinking bodies" (for cura means thought); and the men severally met by curiae, according as they had been assigned, and thought out the business in hand.


Romulus had a crown and a sceptre with an eagle on the top and a white cloak reaching to the feet and striped with purple breadth from the shoulders to the feet . . . and a scarlet shoe . . . according to Cocceius.

Zonaras 7, 4.

And he wore red shoes.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY


Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

"Ὅτι Ἦρωμύλος βασιλεύσας διετέλει εἰς: μὲν τοὺς πολέμους διαπρέποντως, εἰς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ὑπερφρονόντως καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέχοντας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατευομένους προσφίλησιν καὶ κράσος αὐτοῖς νέμων καὶ τῶν λαφύρων διδοὺς: πρὸς δὲ τὴν γερουσίαν οὐχ ὀμοίως διέκειτο ὅθεν μυσήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ περιέχοντες ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δημηγοροῦντα διεσπαραζόν τε καὶ διέφθειραν. Συνήρατο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν ξάλη μεγίστη τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἐκλειψὶς ἡλίου, ὅπερ ποι καὶ ὡς ἐγεννᾶτο γέγονεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἦρωμύλος αὐταρχήσας ζ' καὶ λ' ἐτη τοιούτων ἐσχέ τὸ τέλος. ἀφανισθέντος τε οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ στρατιώται μάλιστα ἐκεῖνον ἐξῆτον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ἀπόρφῳ ἤσαν μήτε ἐξειπεῖν τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχοντες μήτε βασιλεά καταστήσατε δυνάμενοι. παρασσομένων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ τι παρασκευαζομένων δρᾶσα τοὺς Πρόκλους, ἀνὴρ ἵππεύς, στειλάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ποθεν ἥκων, εἰσεπιδήσης ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἐφι ὡς λυπεῖσθε Ἴοτατι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἦρωμύλου εἰς τὸν οὕραιν ἀνώτατα εἶδον. καὶ 1

1 Cf. τὶς τῶν ἵππων ("one of the knights") in Zonaras' account, otherwise taken from Plutarch.

22
BOOK I

Dio, Book I. "So, no doubt, it is ordered by Nature that whatever is human shall not submit to be ruled by that which is like it and familiar to it, partly through jealousy, partly through contempt of it."

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

Romulus, after assuming the royal power over the Romans, distinguished himself uniformly in warfare, but was ever haughty toward the citizens and particularly toward the leaders of the senate. Toward the soldiers who shared in his expeditions he was kindly disposed, assigning them lands and also giving them a part of the spoils; but toward the senate his attitude was very different. As a result the latter hated him, and surrounding him as he was delivering a speech in the senate-house they rent him limb from limb and so slew him. They were favoured in their desire for concealment by a violent wind storm and an eclipse of the sun,—the same sort of phenomenon that had attended his birth. Such was the end of Romulus, after he had held absolute sway for thirty-seven years. Now when he had thus disappeared, the multitude and the soldiery made diligent search for him; but his slayers were in a dilemma, unable either to declare their deed or to appoint another king. While the people were thus excited and were planning to take some action, a certain Julius Proclus, a knight, having arrayed himself as if he were just returning from somewhere, rushed into their midst and cried: "Grieve not, Quirites! I have myself beheld Romulus ascending to the sky."
 Dio's Roman History


6, 2 Ὅτι ο Νουμᾶς ὄμει ἐν κολωνῷ τῷ Κυριακῷ ὄνομασμένω ἀτε καὶ Σαβίνος ὄν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ εἰχε, καὶ τὰς τε διατριβὰς πλησίων τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐμενεν.— V. 1 (p. 569).

1, 1 Ὅ δὴ Δίων φησίν ὅτι σπουδὴν ἐχὼ συγγράψαι πάνθ' οσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εἰρημοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι ἄξιως μνήμης ἐπράχθη, ὡστε μηδὲν τῶν

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

μοι ἠφ' εἰπεῖν τε ύμῶν ὅτι θεὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι Κυρίων ὄνομαζεται καὶ προσπαραίνεσαι ύμῶν βασιλέα τε πάντως εὐθὺς ἐλέσθαι τινὰ καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύματι κεχρήσθαι." λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἀπαντεῖ ἑπίστευσαν καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀπεπαύσαντο· εὐθέως τε ναὸν Κυρίων ὕκοδόμησαν καὶ πάσι μὲν ἐδόκει βασιλεύσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὀμοφόρουν· οὗ τε γὰρ κατ' ἄρχας Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Σαβίνων προσουκισθέντες ἐκάτεροι ἐξ ἐαυτῶν βασιλέα γενέσθαι ἤξιον· ἐκ τούτῳ τε ἀναρχία συνέβαινεν. ἐνιαυτὸν γοῦν ὄλον ἡ σύγκλητος τὸ κύρος τῶν κοινῶν εἰχὲ πραγμάτων, πενθήμερον ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατανέμουσα, οὕς μεσοβασιλεῖς ὤνόμασεν.

24
BOOK I

Dio, Book I. "When, at the risk not only of his safety but even of his life, he encountered danger in your behalf." 1

Numa dwelt on the hill called Quirinal, because was he a Sabine, but he had his official residence on the Sacred Way; he used to spend his time near the temple of Vesta, although occasionally he would remain in the country.

Dio says: "It is my desire to write a history of all the memorable achievements of the Romans, as well in time of peace as in war, so that no one, whether

---

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

He bade me tell you that he has become a god and is called Quirinus and also bade me admonish you by all means to choose someone as king without delay, and to continue to live under this form of government." At this announcement all believed and were relieved of their disquietude. They straightway built a temple to Quirinus, and unanimously decided to continue to be ruled by a king; but here their accord ended. The original Roman element and the Sabines who had settled among them each demanded that the king be chosen from their own ranks, with the result that the state was left without a ruler. For a whole year, accordingly, the senate exercised the supreme power, assigning the command for five days at a time to the most distinguished senators in rotation; these were called interreges.

1 von Gutschmid believes this may have been said of Romulus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀναγκαίων μήτε ἐκείνων τινὰ μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ποθήσαται.—V. 2 (p. 569).

6, 3 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐ ᾑπώστατο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν ὁμοφυές σφισι καὶ σύννομον ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ ὡς μηδὲν βέλτιον ἑαυτῶν ἐν ποιομένοις, τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄλλοιον ὡς καὶ κρείσσον πίστει τοῦ θείου θεραπεύουντας, χωρίον τὲ τι ταῖς Μούσαις ἱέρωσεν . . .—M. 10 (p. 138).


Suidas, s.v. Νομάς.

Καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ποιτίφικας καὶ φλαμικοὺς τοὺς ἱερεύσων ἐπέστησε, Σαλίους τοὺς τὴν ὥρχησιν ἀσκήσουτας: 2 τὰς τε Ἑστιάδας παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν, αἱ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τιμὴν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔχουν, διὰ βίου δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον καὶ τὶς αὐτῶν ἠμφόθεν κατεχώμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μύρῳ οὐκ ἀνθέσιν οὐχ ἰματίῳ χρήσατι συνεχωροῦντο πλὴν λευκοῦ.

Cedrenus I, p. 259 f. (Bekk.).

Καὶ τὰς Ἑστιάδας παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν αἱ διὰ τοῦ βίου τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον· εἷ δὲ μή, λίθῳς κατεχώμενον. . . .

1 ἑαυτῶν Mai, ἑαυτὸν Ms.
2 ἀσκήσωντας Bernhardy, ἀσκήσαντας Ms.
BOOK I

Roman or non-Roman, shall look in vain for any of the essential facts."

For since he understood well that the majority of mankind hold in contempt what is of like nature with themselves and in daily association with them, through a feeling that it is no better than themselves, but, as a result of their belief in the divine, worship that which is unseen and different, as being superior, he dedicated a certain piece of ground to the Muses...

Dio, Book I. "These, then, are the rites which Numa established."

________________________

Suidas, s.v. Novmâs.

And he placed over the priests the pontifícés and flámínes as they were called; and he appointed the Salii who should practise the dance. The Vestal virgins he likewise appointed to have charge of the fire and water. They enjoyed the highest honour among the Romans, and kept their chastity for life; if one of them was known by a man she was buried. Accordingly they were not permitted to use perfumes, flowers, or any robe other than a white one.

Cedrenus I, p. 259 f.

And he appointed the Vestal virgins to have charge of the fire and water; these kept their chastity for life, or in case they failed to do so, were buried beneath a shower of stones.
"Οτι δι' ἐαυτῶν τότε κατέστησαν πίστιν τοῦ θείου λαβόντες, κακὸς τούτων αὐτὸς τε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Νουμᾶ ἀρχὴν διεγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἦθελεν σφιξεῖ ἐξ ἴσου τῷ Ῥωμήλῳ ὑπάρχαι ἐδοξεῖν. ταὐτὸν οί τὰ σαφεῖστατα Σαβίωνοι εἰδότες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἧ ἦ Ῥώμη 6 ἐκτίσθη γεγεννηθαί. οὔτω μὲν δὴ δὶ ἀμφότεροις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ταχὺ καὶ εὐκοσμος ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίως ἀτε καὶ νεόκτιστον οὗσαν ἀσκήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ τὰ εἰρηνικὰ προσεκδιδάξαντος, ὡστε αὐτὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὁμοίως διαπρέψαι. —V. 3 (p. 569).

Cadreuns I, p. 259 f. (Bekk.).

Οὕτως μὲν οὖν εξ ἀμφότερων καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ταχεός καὶ εὐκοσμος ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ εἰρηνικὰ ἐκτυπώσαντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμίλου τὰ πολεμικὰ.

Cedrenus I, p. 295 (Bekk.).

Διὸν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἀρχαιόν τινα ἦρωα Ἰανὸν λέγει διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου ξένισιν λαβεὶν 2 τὴν γνώσιν τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διστρόφον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πλάττεσθαι. ἐξ οὐ τὸν τε μὴν κληθῆναι Ἰανοῦαριον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς γίνεσθαι.

1 ἐπειτὰ καὶ, prefixed to δι' in the Ms., due to the excerptor.
2 λαβεὶν Bs., λαβόντα Ms.
BOOK I

They settled down at that time to an orderly life through their own efforts, when once they had gained faith in the divine; after which they continued at peace both with one another and with the outside tribes throughout the entire reign of Numa. He, no less than Romulus, seemed to have been provided for them by divine guidance; indeed, men who know Sabine history best declare that he was born on the same day that Rome was founded. In this way because of both of them the city quickly became strong and well ordered; for the one gave it practice in the arts of warfare,—of necessity, since it was but newly founded,—and the other taught it, in addition, the arts of peace, so that it became equally distinguished in each.

Cadrenus I, p. 259 f.

Thus, then, through both of them the city quickly became strong and well ordered; for Numa shaped its political and peaceable institutions, even as Romulus determined its military career.

Cedrenus I, p. 295.

Dio the Roman says that Janus, an ancient hero, because of his entertainment of Saturn, received the knowledge of the future and of the past, and that on this account he was represented with two faces by the Romans. From him the month of January was named, and the year takes its beginning from this same month.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7


Zonaras 7, 5.

Καὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον δὲ Νομᾶς εἰς ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀπένειμεν.

... βασιλεύσας ἐτή ἐπὶ τρισὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

1 ἀκούσιως Βς., ἀκουσίους Μς.
BOOK I

Dio, Book I. "For in the beginning of some undertakings, when we are eagerly seeking certain ends, we gladly submit even to the expense involved."

Zonaras 7, 5.

Numa placed January at the beginning of the year.

[He died] after reigning forty-three years.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK II

7 Δίωνος β' βιβλίω "δόξαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπίπροσθέν σφισὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἔσεσθαι." —Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 12.

2 "Ὅτι ὁ τε Τούλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος οὐδὲτεροι συνεχώρουν τὴν μετανάστασιν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα περιέστελλον· ὁ τε γὰρ Τούλλος πρὸς τε τὴν φήμην τὴν περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παροῦσαν, καὶ ὁ Φουφήτιος πρὸς τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς Ἀλβης καὶ ὁτὶ καὶ μητρόπολις ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦν, ἐπαιρόμενοι μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐφρόνουν. δὶ' οὖν

Zonaras 7, 6.

6. Τοῦ δὲ Νομᾶ τελευτήσαντος καὶ μηδένα καταλιπόντος διάδοχον, Ὀστίλλιος Τούλλος ἦρέθη παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς. δὲ [τὰ πλείστα τῶν τοῦ Νομᾶ χλευάσας ἦθων Plutarch, Nepa 22, 7] τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐξήλωσε καὶ πρὸς μάχας αὐτὸς τε ὁμα καὶ τὸν δήμον ἤρεθιζεν. ἀραπαγὴς γοῦν γενομένης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ Ἀλβανῶν ὀρμήσαν πρὸς μάχην ἐκάτεροι πρὸ δὲ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατηλλάγησαν καὶ ἐς μίαν πόλιν ἀμφοῖν ἐδόκει συνοικῆσαι τοῖς γένεσιν.

1 δ το Τούλλος καὶ δ Μέττιος is an addition of the excerptor.
BOOK II

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "[The Romans, realizing] that their [the Albans'] reputation would stand in the way of their own growth."

Neither of the two Tullus or Mettius sanctioned the removal [of his people to the other city], but both championed their own pretensions. For Tullus felt emboldened in view of the fame of Romulus and of the power the Romans now possessed, and so did Fufetius in view of the antiquity of Alba and because it was the mother city not only of the Romans themselves but of many others; and both felt no little pride. For these reasons they gave up

Zonaras 7, 6.

6. When Numa died leaving no successor, Tullus Hostilius was chosen by the people and the senate. He [sneered at most of Numa's practices] and followed in the footsteps of Romulus; and he was not only himself eager for battle but also provoked the same spirit in his people. Thus when the territory of the Albans had been raided by the Romans, both sides rushed to battle; but before fighting they effected a reconciliation and both races decided to dwell together in one city. When, however, each clung to its own city and insisted that the other should

VOL. I.
Dio's Roman History

ταῦτα τής ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐκείνης ἀπέστησαν, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διηγέχθησαν ἀστασιαστὸς 1 γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσως ἀσφαλῶς συμβῆναι σφας ἀδύνατον ἐόρων ὑν, 2 ἐκ τῆς ἐμφύτου τοῖς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον φιλονεικίας 3 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἐτέρων ἐπιθυμίας. πολλάς τε καὶ περὶ τοῦτοῦ δικαιώσεις ἀλλήλους προσήνεγκον, εἰ πως ἐκείνης γε οἱ ἐτεροὶ ὁπετεροισὶν ἐθελούσιοι τοῖς ἐτέροις παραχωρήσειαν. οὕδεν δὲ ἐπέραναν, ἀλλ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνίσασθαι συνέδεντο.—M. 11 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 6.

ἐκάστου δὲ τῆς οἰκείας ἐγχυμένου καὶ τὸ ἐτερον εἰς ταύτην ἁξιοῦντος μεταναστεῦσαι ἀπέστησαν τοῦ σκοποῦ. έιτα περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διηγέχθησαν. ὡς ὑδ εὖδεις τῷ ἐτέρῳ παρεχώρει αὐτῆς, ἀγωνίσασθαι συνέδεντο περὶ τῆς ἀρχής. οὕτε δὲ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὄλοις ἑδοκεὶ μαχέσασθαι οὕτε μὴν μονομαχία κριθήσεται. ᾦσαν δὲ παρ' ἀμφοῖν τρίδυμοι ἀδελφοί, ἐκ μητέρων γεγονότες διδύμων, ἰσήλικες τε καὶ ἰσοπαλεῖς τήν ἰσχύν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ρωμαίων Ποντιοράτων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀλβανίων Κουριάται. τούτοις εἰς μάχην προεβάλοντο παρ' οὕδεν τήν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν συγγένειαν θεμελίων. οἱ δὲ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταχείρῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀντιπαραταξάμενοι θεούς τε ὁμο-

1 ἀστασιαστὸς Schenkl = Ms. ? (now illegible).
2 ἀδύνατων ἐόρων ὑν v. Herw., . . . ρωνίον Ms.
3 φιλονεικίας Bk., φιλανίας (= φιλανθρωπίας) Ms.
4 δ' supplied by Bk.

34
BOOK II

that contention but disputed about the leadership. They saw that it was impossible, on the basis of equal sovereignty, for the two peoples to form an alliance that would be safe and free from strife, owing to the inherent disposition of men to quarrel with their equals and to desire to rule others. On this subject also they made many representations to each other, to see if by any means either would voluntarily concede the sovereignty to the other. However, they accomplished nothing, but agreed to fight for the leadership.

Zonaras 7, 6.

move to it, they gave up this intention. Next they disputed about the leadership; and when neither would yield to the other, they arranged to have a contest for the sovereignty. They did not, however, care to fight with entire armies nor yet to let the issue be decided by single combat. Now there were on both sides brothers born three at a birth, the offspring of twin mothers, of like age and matched in prowess; the Roman brothers were called Publihoratii and the Albans Curiatii. These they put forward as their champions for battle, paying no heed to the relationship between them. So the six took up their arms, arrayed themselves opposite each other in the space between the armies, called upon
γνάους ἀνεκαλοῦντο καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. συμβαλόντες δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀθρόου, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἕνα ἐμάχοντο. τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῶν δύο πεσόντων, τῶν δὲ Ἀλ-
βανῶν ἀπάντων πρωτεύς, ὁ Ὀράτιος δ’ κατά-
λοιπος, ὁτι τοῖς τρισὶν ἁμα, εἰ καὶ ἀτρατος ἦν, οὐκ ἦδύνατο ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐνέκλινεν, ὡς ἄν
dιώκοντες αὐτὸν σκεδασθῶσι: καίπερ δ’ ἐν τῆ
dίοξει διεσπάρθησαν, ἐκάστῳ ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀπαν-
tας διεχρήσατο. καντεύθεν πετάμητο: ὅτι δὲ καὶ
tὴν ἀδελφὴν προσπάκτειν, ἀλφυρόμενη ἐπεὶ
tὰ τῶν ἀνεφίδων σκύλα ἑώρα φεροῦτα τὸν
Ὀράτιον, φόνον ἐκρίθη: ἔστε δὲ τὸν δήμον ἔκκλητον
αἰτήσας ἀφείθη.
Οἱ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ τότε μὲν ὕπηκοι τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἐγένοντο, ύστερον δὲ τὰς συνθήκας ἀθετή-
sαντες καὶ ὡς ἕνοποι πρὸς συμμαχίαν κληθέντες,
μεταθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ καρφ
τῆς μάχης ἐπιχειρήσαντες καὶ συνεπιθεῖσαν
Ῥωμαίοις, γνωσθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἐκτάνθησαν καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν ἔξηγούμενος Μεττίος,
οἱ ἀλλοι δὲ μετανάστασιν ἔπαθον, καὶ ἡ πόλις
αὐτῶν Ἀλβα κατεσκάφη, πεντακόσια ποὺ ἔτη
Ῥωμαίοις νομισθεῖσα μητρόπολις.
Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Τούλλος κρά-
tιστος ἔδοξε, τοῦ θείου δὲ παρημέλει. νόσου δ’
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "And he [Horatius], attacking them when they expected no further danger."

Tullus was regarded as a most valiant man against the

Zonaras 7, 6.

the same family gods and continually glanced upward at the sun. Then they joined battle, now in groups, and now by pairs. Finally, when two of the Romans had fallen and all of the Albans had been wounded, the surviving Horatius, because he could not contend with the three at once, even though he was unwounded, gave way in order that in pursuing him they might be scattered. And when they had become separated in the pursuit, he attacked each one by himself and slew them all. For this he was honoured; but because he furthermore killed his sister, when she lamented on seeing Horatius carrying the spoils of her cousins, he was tried for murder. However, he appealed to the people and was acquitted.

The Albans now became subjects of the Romans, but later they disregarded the compact. When summoned, as subjects, to serve as allies, they attempted at the crisis of the battle to desert to the enemy and to join in the attack upon the Romans; but they were detected and punished. Many, including their leader, Mettius, were put to death, while the rest suffered deportation; and their city, Alba, was razed to the ground, although for some five hundred years it had been honoured by the Romans as their mother city.

While Tullus was accounted a most valiant man against the enemy, he neglected the worship of the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ένομίζετο, τού δὲ δὴ θείου πάνυ καταφρονήσας
παρημέλει, μέχρις οὐ νόσου λοιμώδους γενομένης
καὶ αὐτὸς ἡρωϊστήσε· τότε γὰρ τῶν τε ἄλλων θεῶν
di' ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη; καὶ τοὺς Σαλίους τοὺς
Κολλίνους προσκατέστησε.—V. 4 (p. 569).

8 Ὁτι συνελι Μάρκιος ὁς τοῖς βουλομένοις
eἱρηνεῖν οὐκ ἔξαρκεῖ τὸ μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν, οὔτε ἐστὶ
τὸ ἀπραγμὸν ἄνευ τοῦ δραστηρίου σωτηρίου; ἀλλ' ὁ
ὅσφ' τις αὐτὸς ὀρινάται, εὐπειθετωτερος τοῖς
πολλοῖς γίγνεται, μετεβάλετο. οὕτε γὰρ τὸ ἐπι-
thυμοῦν ἡσυχίας ἱσχυρὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἄνευ τῶν
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἑώρα ὃν, καὶ τὸ

Zonaras 7, 6.

ἐνσκηψάσης λοιμώδους καὶ αὐτὸς νοσῆσας [εἰς
deisidaimonían ἀπέκλινεν Plut., Numa 22, 7].
ἐσχηκέναι μέντοι τοῦ βίου λέγεται τέλος [kata-
φλεχθεῖς ὑπὸ κεραιών, ἡ ibid.] ἐπιθολευθεῖς
ὑπὸ Μάρκιον Ἀγκοῦ, δς θυγατριδοὺς ἠτύχακεν,
ὡς εἰρηταί, τοῦ Νομᾶ. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ῥωμαῖον
ἔτη δύο ἐπὶ τριάκοντα.

Zonaras 7, 7.

7. Διεξάγατο δὲ αὐτὸν Μάρκιος παρ' ἐκόντων
tῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν λαβών. ἢν δὲ τὴν
χειρά οὐκ ἄρτιος: τὴν γὰρ ἀγκύλην πεπήρωτο,
οθὲν καὶ Ἀγκοῦ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχηκεν. ἐπιτεικῆς
dὲ ὃν ἡγακάσθη μεταβαλέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς στρα-

1 καταφρονήσας Bk., καταφρονῆσει Ms.
2 ἐπεμελήθη Val., ἐπεμελήθησαν Ms.
3 δραστηρίου σωτηρίου Eggert, σωτηρίου δραστηρίου Ms.
4 πρὸς φυλακὴν Bk., προφυλακῆς Ms.
enemy, but he absolutely despised and neglected the worship of the gods, until, during the occurrence of a pestilence, he himself fell sick. Then, indeed, he paid the strictest regard to all the gods, and in particular established the Salii Collini.

Marcius came to realize that it is not enough for men who desire peace to refrain from injuring others, and that inoffensiveness without aggressiveness is not a means of safety, but the more one strives after peace the more vulnerable does one become to the mass of mankind; and he accordingly changed his policy. He saw that the desire for quiet is not effective as a safeguard unless accompanied by equip-

Zonaras 7, 6.

gods. But when a pestilence visited the Romans and he himself fell sick, [he turned aside to superstition]. He is said to have met his end [by being consumed by lightning, or else] as the result of a plot formed by Ancus Marcius, who was, as we have stated, a son of Numa's daughter. He was king of the Romans thirty-two years.

Zonaras 7, 7.

7. Marcius succeeded Hostilius, receiving the kingdom as a voluntary gift from the Romans. He was not perfect in his arm, for he was maimed at the joint [ankylé], whence he got the nickname Ancus. Though naturally mild, he was compelled to change his policy, and so turned his attention to campaigns.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

terptwv tis apragmosynhs tachista kai rastta tois1 pera tou kairopou spoudazousin authn apol-
2 lymenon hsthantoi. kai die tauta kai kalliw kai
asphalestera kai paraskewen kai frountida tis
eirhnh twn politeon nomisa einai, pant' osa
par ekontow twn Latinow xhdein sfaa adikon
on ydunbth koumiasathai, para akontow stratenv-
sas apelabes.—M. 12 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 7.
teias etrapeto. ois gar loipol Latinow dia te
ton tis *Albhs olethron, kai peri eautois dedoi-
kotes my ti padoxen omoion, de' orhghs men eichon
'Romaious, eous de perih o Toylllos, dediotes
ekhion ws makhmon, synestellontoi. ton de
Marxion evnptidetow yghsameno dii to eirhnaiw
th gnomhs, th te xwra etphlbo kai auth
elhsanto. suveis de' ekeiwn eirhnh einai
ton politeon aitwv, etpitidetai tois etethemewn kai
antheunato, kai politeis ellen autwn, oon miav kai
kateksawe, kai polloyd twn alontov ws aichma-
loitou ekrhsato, kai es thn 'Romyhn de suxhous
etprous metakisein. auzanomewn de twn 'Rom-
maiow kai ths xwras sfisi prostithemwn oi
plaidiaxoroi yxthunto kai eautous 'Romaiow
exepolemosan oden autwn Phidnatas men pol-
lorikia ekraphtas, Sabinous de' ekakwsw, autois
teprospeontes eskedasmenous kai to sfwn
eldonstratopedon, etprous de' ekphobsantos

1 tois Mai, tois Ms.
BOOK II

ment for war; he perceived also that the satisfactions of a policy of inoffensiveness very quickly and easily ruin those who carry it too far. For this reason he concluded that war afforded at once a more honourable and secure guaranty of peace, both materially and morally; and so whatever he was unable to obtain from the Latins with their consent, and without injuring them, he took away against their will by force of arms.

Zonaras 7, 7.

For the rest of the Latins, on account of the destruction of Alba and in fear that they themselves might suffer some similar disaster, were angry at the Romans. As long as Tullus survived, they had restrained themselves, fearing him as a mighty warrior; but thinking that Marcius was easy to attack because of his peaceful disposition, they assailed his territory and pillaged it. He, realizing that war is the means of peace, assailed his assailants, and avenged himself; he captured some of their cities, one of which he razed to the ground, and disposed of many of the prisoners as captives, while he settled many others in Rome. As the Romans multiplied and land was added to their domain, the neighbouring peoples became displeased and set themselves at odds with them. Hence the Romans overcame the Fidenates by siege, discomfited the Sabines by falling upon them while they were scattered and seizing their camp, and so terrified the rest that they caused
"Ότι Ταρκύνιος πλούτω καὶ συνέσει καὶ εὐτρα-
πελά ὑπὸ πολλὴ πανταχοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν χρώμενος
οὔτω τὸν Μάρκιον διέθηκεν ὅστε καὶ ἐς τοὺς

Zonaras 7, 7.
eἰρηνεῖν καὶ ἀκοντας παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῦτος Μαρκίω ἐπέλυπ τὸ βιώσιμον, εἰκοσι
ἐναντοὺς καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρξαντι, καὶ πολλὴν τοῦ
θείου κατὰ τὸν πάππον Ἅρμαν ποιουμένῳ τῆς
ἐτιμέλειαν.

Zonaras 7, 8.
8. Λούκιος δὲ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔκειώσατο,
ὅς Δημαράτου μὲν ἦν παῖς Κορινθίου, φυγόντος
δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλιν Τυρσηνίδα Ταρκυνίαν ἐγκατουκή-
σαντος ἐξ αὐθιγενοὺς γυναικὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐτέχθη,
Δουκούμων ὄνομασθέναι. πολλὰ μέντοι πατρόθεν
diadekámeneis, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πρωτείων παρὰ τῶν
Ταρκυνυησίων ὡς ἐπηλζυς κατηξιάτο, πρὸς τὴν
Ῥώμην μεταναστεύει, τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν κλήσιν
συμπαθόμενος, καὶ μετονομάζεθαι Λούκιος Ταρ-
κύνιος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ παρόκει. λέγεται δὲ
μετουκιζομένου ἄετος καταπτας ἀρπάζαι τὸν
πῖλον ὅν εἰρχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ μετεωρισθέις
cαὶ κλάγξας ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕθει αὐτῶν ἐφαρμόζαι
tῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἐντεύθεν μηδὲν ἐλπίσαι
μικρὸν καὶ προθύμος τῇ Ῥώμη ἐγκατουκήσαι·
ὁθεν τῶν πρώτων οὐ μετὰ πολὺ συνηρίθμητο.
tῷ τε γὰρ πλούτῳ χρώμενος ἀφειδέστερον, συν-
έσει τε καὶ εὐτραπελά τοὺς δυνατοὺς οἰκειο-
μενος, ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
42
BOOK II

Tarquinius, by using his great wealth, intelligence, and versatility everywhere, as occasion offered, impressed Marcius so favourably that he was enrolled

Zonaras 7, 7.

them to remain at peace even against their will. After this Marcius' span of life came to its close, when he had ruled for twenty-four years; he was a man who paid strict attention to religion after the manner of his grandfather Numa.

Zonaras 7, 8.

8. The sovereignty was now appropriated by Lucius Tarquinius, who was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian. Driven into exile, the latter had taken up his abode in Tarquinii, an Etruscan city; and a son, named Lucumo, had been born to him there of a native Etruscan woman. This son, though he inherited much wealth from his father, yet, because as an immigrant he was not thought worthy of the highest offices by the people of Tarquinii, moved to Rome, changing his name along with his city; for he was now called Lucius Tarquinius, after the city in which he had sojourned. It is said that as he was journeying to his new home an eagle swooped down and snatched off the cap he had on his head, and after soaring aloft and screaming for some time, fitted it again to his head; hence he conceived no slight hope and eagerly took up his residence in Rome. And thus not long afterward he was numbered among the foremost men. For, as the result of using his wealth quite unstintingly and of winning over the influential men through his intelligence and versatility,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐσ τὴν βουλὴν ὑπ' αὑτοῦ κατα-
λεχθῆναι, στρατηγὸς τε πολλάκις ἀποδειχθῆναι,
καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπεῖαν τῶν παίδων αὑτοῦ καὶ τῆς
βασιλείας πιστευθῆναι καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἅλλοις προσ-
φιλῆς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκόντων
2 αὐτῶν ἐπρώτευσεν. αὐτικὸν δὲ ὅτι πάντα ἀφ' ὧν
ἰσχύειν ἔμελλε πράττων οὐκ ἔξεφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἐν
toῖς πρώτοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα
καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ὑπέμενεν, τῶν
de δὲ ἡ ἡδέων τοῖς τε ἅλλοις ἐθελοῦντος παρεχῶρει
καὶ 2 αὐτὸς ἢ οὐδὲν ἢ ὁλίγα, καὶ ταῦτα λανθάνων,
ἐκαρποῦτο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἁμεινών τὴν τε αἰτίαν
ἐς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς αὐτὸν ἁγιάζε, καὶ τὴν ἁπό-
λαυσίν ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δεομένῳ κατέτθει, τὰ δὲ
ἀτοπώτερα οὕτ' ἀνέφερεν ἐς τινα οὕτε ἐκοινοῦτό
3 τινι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἔχαριζε τοὺς ἁμφὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ
τοῖς λόγοις τῶν τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀφείδοις ἄνη-
λίσκε, καὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς, εἰ τίς τι αὐτοῦ δειηθείη,

Zonaras 7, 8.

κατελέχθη παρὰ Μαρκίου, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπε-
deίχθη, καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἐκεῖνων ἐπιτροπεῖαν
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πεπίστευτο. ἐδείκνυε γὰρ
ἐαυτὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, χρημάτων τε τοὺς δεομένους
μεταδίδοντας καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐτοιμον παρέχοντας εἰ τίς
dέοιτο αὐτοῦ εἰς βοήθειαν· φαύλον δὲ τι οὐτ'
by the latter among the patricians and senators, was often appointed general and was entrusted with the supervision of the king's children and of the kingdom. He was no less agreeable to the rest, and consequently they welcomed his leadership. The reason was that while he took all measures from which he might derive strength he did not lose his head, but though among the foremost, humbled himself. Any laborious tasks he would undertake in the place of others, and that openly; but pleasures he willingly resigned to others, while he himself obtained either nothing or but little, and then unnoticed. The responsibility for what went well he ascribed to any one sooner than to himself, and he placed the resulting advantages within the reach of the public for whoever desired them; but disagreeable issues he never laid to the charge of any one else, nor attempted to divide the blame. Besides, he favoured all the friends of Marcius individually both in word and deed. Money he spent unstintingly, and he was ready to offer his services to any who needed aught.

Zonaras 7, 8.

he was enrolled among the patricians and senators by Marcius, was appointed general, and was entrusted with the supervision of the king's children and of the kingdom. He showed himself an excellent man, sharing his money with those in need and offering himself readily to any one who required his assistance; he
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έτοίμως ἐχρήτοι φαύλου δε τι 1 ες οὐδένα οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔπραττεν, οὔδε ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ καθιστατο. καὶ προσέτι, ἀ μὲν εὗ ὑπὸ τινων ἔπασχεν, ἐπὶ 2 τὸ μεῖζον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν, 3 τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστερα ήτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔδε προσεποιεῖτο ἢ καὶ φαυλίσας παρ’ ἐλάχιστον ἦγε, καὶ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡμύνετο τινα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐηργέτει, μέχριτε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐξενίκησεν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων σοφίας τινὰ 4 δόξαν, ἀτε καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας χειρωσάμενος, ἐκτήσατο, 4 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑπείτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν ὡς ἦτοι δολεροὺς φύσει ὄντας ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοιουμένους.—V. 5 (p. 570).

Zonaras 7, 8.

ἐπραττεν οὔτ’ ἔλεγεν οὐδενί. καὶ εἰ τι πρὸς τινων εὗ ἔπασχεν, ἐξῆρε τὸ γινόμενον, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον αὐτῷ γένοιτο, ἡ οὖδ’ ἐλογίζετο τὸ λυποῦν ἢ καὶ φαυλίσας παρελογίζετο, οὐ μόνον τε οὐκ ἡμύνετο τὸν λελυπηκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐηρ- γέτει. τούτους αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀνδρός ἐκτή- σατο σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ.

'Αλλ' οὖ προσέμεινε μέχρι τέλους αὐτὸ ἡ ὑπό- ληψις. τοῦ Μαρκίου γὰρ τελευτήσατος κακῶς τε περὶ τοὺς ἑκείνον διετέθη δύο νίεις καὶ τὴν

1 ti inserted by Gros.  
2 ἐπὶ Salmasius, ὑπὸ Ms.  
3 ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν Bk., διελάμβανεν Ms.  
4 τίνα Bk., τίνας Ms.

46
BOOK II

of him. He neither said nor did anything mean to anybody, and did not willingly become anybody's enemy. Furthermore, whatever favours he received from others he always exaggerated, but unpleasant treatment he either did not notice at all or minimized it and regarded it as of very slight importance; and he not only refused to retaliate in such cases, but actually conferred kindnesses until he won even the offender over completely. From this course, accordingly, he gained a certain reputation for cleverness, because he had come to dominate Marcius and his whole circle; but by his subsequent behaviour he caused the majority of men to be distrusted, either as being deceitful by nature or as changing their disposition according to their power and fortunes.

Zonaras 7, 8.

neither did nor said anything mean to any one. And if he received a favour at the hands of anybody, he magnified it, whereas if any offence was offered him, he either disregarded the injury or minimized it and made light of it, and far from retaliating upon the man who had done the injury, he would even confer kindnesses upon him. Thus he came to dominate both Marcius himself and his circle, and acquired the reputation of being a sensible and upright man.

But the aforesaid estimate of him did not continue permanently. For upon the death of Marcius he behaved in a knavish way to the latter's two sons

47
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 8.

βασιλείαν ἑσφετερίσατο. τῆς τε γὰρ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοῦ Μαρκίου παιὰς χειροτονεῖν μελλόντων, ἐκεῖνος τῶν βουλευτῶν τε μετῆλθε τὸ δυνατώτατον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρφανους πόρρω ποι ὡς ἐς θηρὰν προπέμψας, οἷς τε εἰπε καὶ οἷς ἔπραξεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ψηφίσασθαι παρεσκευάσεν, ὡς ἀνδρωθεὶσιν αὐτὴν δήθεν τοῖς παισίν ἀποδώ- σοντι. ἐγκρατῆς τε καταστάς τῶν πραγμάτων, οὕτω τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέθετο ὡστε μηδέποτε ἔθελησειν ἀνθελέσθαι τοὺς παιὰς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὰ μειράκια δὲ πρὸς ῥαστῶννυ ἐθίζων τὰς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα σὺν χάριτι δὴ τινὶ ἐφθειρε. δεδώσι δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχων ἰσχύν ἐαυτῷ ἐν τῷ συνδρῶ ὑπερποιῆσατο. τοὺς γὰρ φιλῶς αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου διακειμένους περὶ διακοσίους ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐνέγραψε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε γερουσίαν υφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑποιῆσατο. καὶ τὴν στολὴν πρὸς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἤμειλησεν· η δὲ ἦν ἰμάτιον καὶ χιτῶν ὁλοπόρφυρα καὶ χρυσόπαστα, στέφανος τε λίθων χρυσοδέτων καὶ σκήπτρων δίφρος τε ἔλε- φάντων, οἷς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁι τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἑχοὺς ἡγεμονίαν ἐχρῆσαντο. καὶ τεθρίπτηρ ἐν τοῖς ἑπινικίως ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους διὰ βίου δώδεκα ἔσχε.

Πάντως δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω ἐκαίνιοτόμησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τῷ Ἀττος Νάονιος τὸς φυλᾶς αὐτῶν βουλη- θέντα μετακοσμησαι κεκώλυκεν, δὲ οἰωνιστῆς ἦν οἷς οὖχ ἔτερος γέγονε. τούτον ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὀργισθεῖς διὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ὑβρίσαι καὶ τὴν
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 8.

and got the kingdom for himself. For when the senate and the people were intending to elect the sons of Marcius, Tarquinius made advances to the most influential element among the senators, after having first sent the fatherless boys to some distant point, as if on a hunting expedition; and then by his words and by his efforts he secured the voting of the kingdom to himself, on the understanding, of course, that he would restore it to the boys when they reached manhood. But after assuming control of affairs he so managed the Romans that they would never wish to choose the boys in his stead. He accustomed the lads to indolence and ruined them soul and body by a sort of kindness. But still feeling anxious in spite of these arrangements, he strengthened himself in the senate. Those of the populace who were friendly towards him he enrolled, to the number of about two hundred, among the patricians and senators, and thus he brought both the senate and the people under his control. He also altered his raiment and insignia to a more magnificent style. These consisted of toga and tunic, purple all over and shot with gold, a crown of precious stones set in gold, and an ivory sceptre and chair; they were later used not only by his successors but also by those who held sway as emperors. He also on the occasion of a triumph paraded with a four-horse chariot and kept twelve lictors for life.

He would certainly have made many other innovations as well, had not Attus Navius withstood him when he desired to rearrange the tribes; this man was an augur whose equal has never been seen. Tarquinius, angry at his opposition, devised a plan to
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 8.


Μαχεσάμενος δὲ Δατίνως ἀποστατήσασιν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαβίνως ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαΐδα ἐμβαλοῦσι, συμμαχουμένοις καὶ ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν, ἀπάντων ἐκράτησε. τῶν δὲ τῆς Ὑστίας ἰερείων, ἀς παρθένεσιν διὰ βίου νεώμοντων, φωράσας τινὰ συμ-φθαρέσασιν ἀνδρὶ, υπὸγεων τινὰ κατάσκευας ὑποδρομὴν προμήκη, κλίνῃ τε θεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λύχνῳ καὶ τράπεζαν σεῖνων ὑπόπλεων, ἐκεῖ τὴν φθαρεῖσαν προπεμπτομένην ἐκόμισε, καὶ ξύσαν εἰσαγαγὼν ἑγκατφικοδόμησε. καὶ οὕτω τὰς τὴν 50
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 8.

abase him and to bring his art into contempt. So, putting into his bosom a whetstone and a razor, and having in mind the thought of the whetstone being cut by the razor,—a thing that is impossible,—he came before the assembly. After he had said all that he wished, and when Attus very stoutly opposed him, he exclaimed, still without yielding in the least: “If you are not opposing me out of quarrelsomeness, but are speaking the truth, answer me in the presence of all these witnesses, whether what I have in mind to do shall be performed.” Attus, after taking an augury on almost the very spot, replied immediately: “Verily, O King, what you intend shall be accomplished.” “Well, then,” said the other, “take this whetstone and cut it through with this razor; this is what I have had in mind should come to pass.” Attus at once took the stone and cut it through. Tarquinius, marvelling, heaped various honours upon him, accorded him the distinction of a bronze statue, and did not again make any change in the established order of the State, but employed Attus as a counsellor in all matters.

He fought against the Latins who had revolted, and afterwards against the Sabines, who, aided by the Etruscans as allies, had invaded the Roman territory; and he conquered them all. When he discovered that one of the priestesses of Vesta, who are required by custom to remain virgins for life, had been seduced by a man, he arranged a kind of oblong underground chamber, and after placing in it a bed, a lamp, and a table well filled with food, he brought thither the unchaste woman, escorted by a procession, and after placing her alive in the room, walled it up. From that time this plan of punishing
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 8.

παρθενίαν μὴ τηρησάσας τῶν ἱερεῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τιμωρεῖσθαι κεκράτηκεν· οἱ δὲ ταύτας αἰσχύνου·
tες εἰς ξύλον τὸν αὐχένα δίκρουν ἐμβάλλονται ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὶ αἰκιζόμενοι ἀποφύγουσιν.

Ἐπέθεντο μέντοι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῆς ἁρχῆς αὐτῶς παρεχόμεθε, ἀλλὰ τινα Τούλλιον τεχθέντα οἱ ἐξ αἰχμαλωτικῶν προῆγε πάντων· ὁ δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἔλυπε. ὅν τινας προσεταιρισάμενοι αὐτῷ ἐπεβούλευσαν, δύο τινὰς χοριτικῶς ἐσταλμένους, ἄξινας καὶ δρεπάνους ὀπλισμένους, αὐτῷ ἐπιθέσθαι παρασκευάσαντες. οἱ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἁγορᾶζοντι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐνέτυχον, ἔπει τὰς θύρας τῶν βασιλείων ἦκον, ἀλλήλοις δὴθεν διαμαχόμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐς ὧν ἔλθεῖν ἐδέωντο. καὶ τυχόντες τούτον εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ἀντικατέστησαν, καὶ δικαιολογομένως τῷ ἐνὶ προσέχοντα τὸν Ταρκυνίον ὁ ἔτερος κατειργάσατο.

Zonaras 7, 9.

9. 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος, τριάκοντα καὶ ὅκτω βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτοῦς. οὐ μὴν τῆς βασιλείας οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες ἔδραξαν, ἀλλ' ο Τούλλιος ταύτην ἔσχε συνεργία τῆς τοῦ Ταρκύνιον γυναικὸς Τανακυλίδος. ὅν γυνή της Ὀκρισία καλουμένη, Σπουρίου¹ Τούλλιοι ἄνδροι Δατίνου εὐνετείρα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλούσα καὶ τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐξαιρεθεῖσα, τέτοκεν ἡ ἐγκύμων οὐκοθεν οὖσα ἡ συλλαβοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἀλωσιν· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερα. οὔτος ἐς παῖδας ἦδη

¹ Σπουρίου Βα., ἐπουρίου ΒCrLf, ἐπερίου Δ.
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 8.

the priestesses who do not keep their chastity has continued to prevail. The men who dishonour them have their necks inserted in a forked pole in the Forum, and then are scourged naked until they perish.

However, an attack was made upon Tarquinius by the sons of Marcius because he would not yield the sovereignty to them, but instead placed a certain Tullius, born to him by a slave woman, at the head of them all. This more than anything else displeased the patricians. The young men interested some of these in their cause, and then they formed a plot against the king. They arrayed two men like rustics, equipped with axes and sickles, and made them ready to attack him. So these two, since they did not find Tarquinius in the Forum, came to the gates of the palace, pretending to have a dispute with each other, and asked for admission to his presence. Upon gaining their request they began to make opposing arguments, and while Tarquinius was giving his attention to one of them as he pleaded his cause, the other slew him.

Zonaras 7, 9.

9. Such was the end that befell Tarquinius after he had ruled for thirty-eight years. Nevertheless, the sons of Marcius did not possess themselves of the royal power, but Tullius gained it, through the cooperation of Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius. Tullius was the son of a certain woman named Ocrisia, who had been the wife of Spurius¹ Tullius, a Latin, and had been captured in the war and set apart for Tarquinius; she had either become pregnant at home or conceived after her capture (both stories are current). When Tullius had at length reached

¹ For the name Spurious cf. Festus, s.v. Notrun (p. 174 M).
τελῶν ἐπὶ δύφοιν μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν κατέδαρθε, καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς πολὺ ἐδόκει ἐξάλλεσθαι. ὅπερ Ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος διὰ σπουδῆς ἤγε τὸν παῖδα, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀφιγμένον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις καὶ τῇ γεροντικῇ συνέταξε.

Συναφθέντων οὖν τῶν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου φονέων, μαθοῦσα ἡ ἐκείνου γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Τουλλιος τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐ φανερῶν αὐτίκα τὸν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου θάνατον ἔθευτο, ἀλλὰ ἀνελόμενοι αὐτὸν ὡς ἐτί ἐμπνεόντα ἐθεράπευον δήθεν, κἂν τούτῳ πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν ὡστε τὸν Τουλλιο τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφότα τοῖς παισίν αὐτῆς ἀνδρωθείσαι εὐστήκαν ταύτης. ἔπει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος συνεργαὶ ἔθορόβει, προκύψασα ἐκ τῶν ὑπερφών ἡ Τανακυλίς "μὴ φοβεῖσθε" ἔφη. "ο γὰρ ἀνήρ μου καὶ ξῆ καὶ ὑμῖν μετ' ὀλίγον ὁφθήσεται. ἵνα δὲ αὐτός τε σχολάζων ὑγιασθῇ καὶ μὴ τὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας εἴῃ ἐμπόδιον, Τουλλίῳ κατὰ γε τὸ παρόν τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπει διοίκησιν." εἶπεν ἐκείνη ταύτα. οἱ δὲ τὸν Τουλλίου οὔκ ἀκοισίως ἔδέχαντο. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ ἐδόκει.

'Εγχειρισθέντας οὖν ἐκείνος τὴν τῶν κοινῶν οἰκονομίαν, τὰ πλείων κατ' ἐντολὰς δήθεν διώκει τοῦ Ταρκυνίου. ὡς δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐώρα μεθαρχιζόμενος αὐτῷ, τοὺς αὐτοχειρας τοῦ Ταρκυνίου
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "But when they yielded him obedience in everything."

Zonaras 7, 9.

boyhood he went to sleep on a chair once in the daytime and a quantity of fire seemed to leap forth from his head. Tarquinius, seeing it, took a lively interest in the boy and when he arrived at maturity had him enrolled among the patricians and senators.

The murderers of Tarquinius were arrested, and his wife and Tullius learned the plan of the plot; but instead of making the king's death known at once, they took him up and pretended to care for him, as if he were still alive, and meanwhile exchanged mutual pledges that Tullius should take the sove-

reignty but surrender it to Tanaquil's sons when they became men. And when the multitude ran together and raised an outcry, Tanaquil, leaning out of an upper story, said: "Be not afraid. My hus-

band both lives and shall be seen by you shortly. But in order that he may regain health at leisure and that no hindrance to business may arise from his being incapacitated, he entrusts the management of the public weal for the present to Tullius." These were her words, and the people not unwillingly accepted Tullius; for he appeared to be an upright man.

When he had thus been granted the administration of public affairs, he managed them for the most part according to orders supposed to come from Tarquinius. And when he saw the people yielding him obedience in all points, he brought the assassins of Tarquinius before the senate, though only because

55
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 9.

πρὸς τὴν γερούσιαν παρῆγαγε διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλῆν τάχα· ἔτι γὰρ ἤτιν ἐκεῖνον προσποιείτο. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταψηφισθέντες ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου νῦν φοβηθέντες εἰς Οὐολούσκους κατέφυγον. κάκεινος τότε τὸν τε θάνατον τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ἐξέφηνε καὶ φανερὸς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπείληπτο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδας προβάλλετο ὡς αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, εἶτα πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ δήμου ἐτράπετο, ὡς ράστα μᾶλλον τὸν ὀμιλοῦ ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑποποιησόμενος, χρήματα τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γῆν ἐκάστῳ προσένειμε καὶ τοὺς δουλοὺς ἐλευθεροῦσαί καὶ φυλετεύσαθαι παρεσκεύασεν. ἀχθομένων δ' ἐπὶ τούτως τῶν δυνάτων, ἔταξε τινα τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας τοῖς ἐλευθερώσασι σφᾶς ἀνθυπουργεῖν. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ εὐπατρίδαι αὐτῷ, καὶ διεθρόνου ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἐλομένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει, συναγαγὼν τὸν δήμον ἐδημηγόρησε· καὶ πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διάλεχθεις αὐτῷ οὕτω διέθετο, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμειβόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐφιλοτιμήσατο καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τινας αὐτῶν ἐνέγραψεν οἱ πάλαι μὲν ἐν πλεῖστοις ἦττον ἐφερον τῶν εὐπατρίδων, τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προίόντος, πλὴν τῆς μεσοβασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἱερωσύνων, τῶν ἰσων μετείχον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις, καὶ διεφερον ἀνευ τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὐδὲν. τοὺς γὰρ εὐπατρίδας τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ·¹ ἀστικὰ τῇ² τε

¹ τὰ supplied by Cary. ² τῇ Pinder, καὶ τῇ Ms.
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 9.

of their plot, as he styled it; for he still pretended that the king was alive. They were sentenced and put to death, and the sons of Marcius through fear took refuge among the Volsci. Then Tullius not only revealed the death of Tarquinius but openly took possession of the kingdom. At first he put forward the sons of Tarquinius as his excuse, claiming that he was the guardian of their royal office, but afterward he proceeded to pay court to the people, believing that he could secure control of the multitude very much more easily than of the patricians. He gave them money, assigned land to each individual, and made preparations to free the slaves and adopt them into tribes. As the leaders were irritated at this, he gave instructions that those liberated should perform some services, in requital, for the men who had liberated them. But when the patricians became incensed against him, and circulated, among other charges, one to the effect that he was holding the sovereignty without anybody's sanction, he gathered the people together and addressed them. And by the use of many alluring statements he so disposed them toward himself that they at once voted the kingdom to him outright. He in return bestowed many gifts upon them and enrolled some of them in the senate. These were originally at a disadvantage in most matters as compared with the patricians, but as time went on they shared equally with the patricians in everything except the office of interrex and certain priesthoods, and were distinguished from them in no respect except by their shoes. For the shoes worn by the patricians in the city were ornamented with
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐπαλλαγῇ τῶν ἰμάντων καὶ τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκεκόσμητο, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἔδοκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἕκατον ἀνδρῶν τῶν καὶ ἀρχὰς βουλευσάντων κατιέναι. τὸ γράμμα δὲ ὅρῳ φασὶν εἶναι, ὥς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑκείνων ἀνδρῶν δηλωτικὸν ὡς τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατάρχου ὁνόματος.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἰμιλὸν οὔτως ὁ Τούλλιος ἤκεισατο, δεῖσας δὲ μὴ τις στάσεις συμβῇ, τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἱσχυρότατα τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ οὕτως σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς συνεφρόνησαν καὶ τὸ δημόσιον διήγαγον ἀρίστα. καὶ πολέμους δὲ τινὰς πρὸς τέ τοῖς Οὐιέντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας τῶν Τυρσηνοὺς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπράξθη συγχράμματος ἄξιον. τοὺς Δατίνους δ’ ἐπὶ μάλλον Ῥωμαίοις βουληθέλεις οἰκειώσασθαι, νεών τινὰ ἐκ χρημάτων κοινῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσας πέπεικε. καὶ τούτων ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. περὶ δὲ τῆς νεωκορίας αὐτοῦ διεφεροντο. καὶ τούτῳ Σαβίνοις ἀνήρ βοῶν ἤγε περικαλλὴ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς ἐκ τινὸς χρησμοῦ θύσων αὐτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὃ δὲ χρησμὸς τὸν ἑκεῖνην θύσαντα ἔλεγε τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανυξῆσειν. τούτῳ δὲ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαθῶν προσήλθειν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον εἰπε δεῖν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀγνισθῆναι, καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπείσε, καὶ πεῖσας ἔλαβε τὴν βοῶν ὡς φυλάξων, καὶ λαβὼν ἔθυσεν. ἐκφήμαντος δὲ τοῦ Σαβίνου τὸ λόγιον οἱ Δατίνοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστασίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

1 τούτων ΒΔ, τούτων C.
2 This sentence is doubtless an addition of Zonaras.

58
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 9.
laced straps and the design of the letter, to signify that they were descended from the original hundred men that had been senators. [This, they say, was the letter R,¹ either as indicating the number of the hundred men referred to or else as the initial of the name of the Romans.]

In this way Tullius gained control of the populace; but fearing that some rebellion might take place, he entrusted the greater part and the most important of the public business to the care of the more influential citizens. Thus they became harmonious among themselves and transacted the public business in the best manner. He also conducted a few wars against the Veientes and against all the Etruscans, in the course of which nothing was done worthy of record. Wishing to affiliate the Latins still more closely with the Romans, he persuaded them to construct a temple in Rome out of common funds. This they dedicated to Diana. But differences arose in regard to its superintendence. Meantime a Sabine brought to Rome an exceedingly fine cow, intending to sacrifice her to Diana in accordance with an oracle. The oracle declared that he who sacrificed her should exalt his country. One of the Romans, learning of this, went to the man and told him it was necessary that he first be purified in the river, and by his words he persuaded him. After persuading him, he took the cow under the pretence of keeping her safe; and having taken her, he sacrificed her. When the Sabine made known the oracle, the Latins both yielded the presidency of the shrine to the

¹ An obvious error for C. The Greek letter Rho had the same numerical value. Dio may have stated this fact, and Zonaras, after misinterpreting his source, has then indulged in a little theorizing of his own.
 Dio's Roman History

11 Ἐστησαν καὶ ἐς ταῦτα ὡς κρείττονας σφῶν ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ο Τουλλίος δὲ τοῖς Ταρκυνίοις τὰς θυγατέρας συνώκυιε, καὶ τὴν Βασιλελαιαν αὐτοὺς ἀπόδωσεν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἄλλοτε ἀλλο τὶ προφασεῖόμενος ἀνεβάλλετο. ὦ δὲ οὕδεν ὑγιεὶς ἑφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ ἔκθοντο. ὦ δὲ ἐν ὑδείνι λόγῳ τούτους πεποίητο, καὶ τοὺς Ἠρωμαίους πρὸς τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ἐνῆγε καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτος ἡ σχάλλον οἱ Ταρκύνιοι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν νεώτερος, καὶ ἐχαλέπαινεν, ἔφερε, τῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ προήκοντι ὑπὲκτι τοῦ Τουλλίου ἔδοκει ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ συνειδοκούσαν εὐρίσκε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ὁμαίμονα, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν δ' ἄλλον διὰ τῆς γυναίκος ἐκείνου φαρμάκος διεφθείρε, καὶ συναφθεῖς τῇ συνεύρῳ τοῦ ἄλεφθοῦ τῷ Τουλλίῳ σὺν αὐτῇ ἐπεβοῦλεν. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἰτίαις ἔχοντας κατὰ τοῦ Τουλλίου πείσας συνάρασθαι οἱ, ἐξαπιναῖος μὲτ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραγέγονεν, ἐπομένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναίκος Τουλλίας καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξίας τοὺς παρόντας ἀναμμυνήσκουν, πολλὰ δ' ἀπέσκωψε πρὸς τὸν Τουλλίον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνος ταῦτα μαθὼν ἐπέστη σπουδή, καὶ τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐφθέγξατο, συνήρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ 60
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "And because his brother did not coöperate with him, he secretly put him out of the way by means of poison administered by his wife."

Zonaras 7, 9.

Romans and in other ways honoured them as superior to themselves.

This was the course these matters took. Now Tullius joined his daughters in marriage with the Tarquins, and though he announced that he was going to restore the kingdom to them, he kept putting it off, on one pretext after another. And they were in no amiable frame of mind, but were indignant. The king paid no heed to them and urged the Romans to democracy and freedom. At this the Tarquins were all the more vexed. But the younger brother, angry as he was, still endured it, while the older one decided he could bear Tullius no longer. And when he found that his wife did not approve his attitude, any more than did his brother, he put his wife to death himself and compassed his brother’s death by means of poison administered by the latter’s wife. Then joining himself to his brother’s wife, he plotted with her against Tullius. After persuading many of the senators and patricians who had grievances against Tullius to coöperate with him, he unexpectedly repaired with them to the senate, his wife Tullia also following him. And he spoke at considerable length, reminding those present of his father’s worth and uttering many jests at the expense of Tullius. When the latter, on hearing of it, hastily made his appearance and even spoke a few words,
"Οτι ὁ Ῥάκυνιος, ἐπεὶ ἰκανῶς ὡς καὶ ἄκοντων τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτοι μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπείτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων, πολλοὺς μὲν φανερῶς, οἷς γε αἰτίαν τινὰ εὐπρεπῆ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐδύνατο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐξάρας ὡς κατὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀναβαθμῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταραξθεὶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τόλμαν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησεν, οὔτε εἶπεν ἐτι οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐποίησε· Ταρκύνιος δὲ τὴν τε βασίλειαν εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ πέμψας τινὰς τὸν Τούλλιον κομιζόμενον οἰκάδε διεχρήσατο. ἢ δὲ θυγάτηρ ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῶν ἄνδρα καταφιλήσασα καὶ βασίλεια προσάγορεύσασα καὶ ἀποφώσα πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τὸ ὁχήμα κατὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς εἰχεν ἐπήλασεν.

Zonaras 7, 10.

10. Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Τούλλιος ἦρξε καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανε, βασίλευσας τέσσαρας ἐναντίους ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὁ Ταρκυνίος δὲ τὴν βασίλειαν παρειληφὼς δορυφόρους κατὰ Ῥωμύλου ἐαυτῷ περιέστησε, καὶ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἤμεραν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκουρῶν καὶ ἀγοράξον ἐκέχρηστο. ἔξ ὃν γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κηδεσθὴν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐδείςσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων ἐκτίνυσεν, οἷς μὲν αἰτίαν εἰχεν
BOOK II

Tarquiniius, when he had made sufficient preparations to rule over them even against their will, first proceeded to arrest the most influential of the senators and next some of the other citizens, putting many to death publicly, when he could bring some

Zonaras 7, 9.

Tarquin seized him, and carrying him forth, cast him down the steps in front of the senate-house. So the king, bewildered by the audacity of Tarquin and surprised that no one came to his assistance, did not say or do anything more. Tarquin at once obtained the kingdom from the senate, and sent some men who slew Tullius while he was on his way home. The latter's daughter, after embracing her husband in the senate-house and saluting him as king, departed for the palace, driving her chariot over the dead body of her father as he lay there.

Zonaras 7, 10.

10. Thus ruled Tullius and thus he died, after a reign of forty-four years. Tarquin, who succeeded to the kingdom, surrounded himself with body-guards after the manner of Romulus, and used them both night and day, at home and about the Forum. For, as a result of what he had done to his father-in-law, and his wife to her father, they in turn were afraid of other people. And when he had made his preparations to rule over them, he proceeded to arrest and put to death the most influential of the senators and other citizens, executing publicly those
3 λάθρα ἀπεκτίννυε, καὶ τινὰς ὑπερῴριζεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸν Τουλλίων τινὲς αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνων ἡγάτησαν, οὗδ' ὅτι γένη καὶ πλούτους ἢ καὶ φρόνημα εἶχον, ἀνδρεία τε ἐπιφανεῖ ἢ καὶ σοφία διαπρεπεῖ ἔχετων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς δὲ προκαταλαμβάνων, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἁμα μίσους ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίους ἐφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάντας φίλους πρὸς τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν οἱ σπου- δάσαντας οὔδὲν ἤτοι τῶν ἐτέρων ἀπόλλυνεν, νομίζων σφάς ὑπὸ τῇς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νεωτεροποίας, ύφ' ἣς ἐαυτῷ τῇν ἀρχὴν συγ- 4 κατέπραξαν, κἀν ἀλλῷ τινὶ αὐτῷ δοῦναι. κἀκ τούτου τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἰππάδος ἀπανάλωσεν, οὐδ' ἀντικαθίστη τὸ παράπαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα· μεσεῖσθαί τε ἀ γὰρ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευνε, καὶ τὰ

Zonaras 7, 10.

ἐπενεγκείνων φανερῶς ἀναιρῶν, οὐς δὲ λάθρα· ἐνίοις δὲ γε καὶ ὑπερῴριζεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς τῷ Τουλλίῳ προσκειμένους μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὴν μοναρχίαν συναρμόμενους αὐτῷ προσ- ἀπώλυσεν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἰππάδους ἀνώλωσε· μεσεῖσθαι τι ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευνε· διὸ οὔδὲ ἀντικαθίστη τὸ παράπαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τινάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ

64

1 τὲ added by Val.
BOOK II

plausible charge against them, and many others secretly, while some he banished. Not merely because some of them loved Tullius more than they did him, nor because they had family, wealth, or spirit, and displayed conspicuous bravery and extraordinary wisdom did he destroy them,—by way of defending himself against some and anticipating the attack of others,—out of jealousy and a suspicion likewise that their dissimilarity of character must force them to hate him, but he even slew all his bosom friends who had exerted themselves to help him get the royal power, no less than the rest; for he thought that impelled by the audacity and fondness for revolution through which they had helped him to obtain dominion they might likewise give it to some one else. So he made away with the most powerful element among the senators and the knights and did not appoint to those orders any one whatever in place of the men who were being destroyed; for he believed that he was hated by the entire populace

Zonaras 7, 10.

against whom he was able to bring a charge, and others secretly; some also he banished. He destroyed not merely the followers of Tullius, but in addition those who had coöperated with himself in securing the royal power, and thus he made away with the most powerful element among the senators and the knights. He believed that he was hated by the entire populace; hence he did not appoint any persons whatever in place of the men who were

VOL. I.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tέλη ἐκεῖνα ἀσθενέστατα ἐκ τῆς ὀλυγανθρωπίας ποιήσαι ἐπεθύμει. καὶ τὴν γε γερουσίαν καὶ καταλύσαι παντελῶς ἐπεχείρησεν, πάν ἄθροισμα ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰς τὲ καὶ ἐπιλέκτων καὶ πρόσχημα προστατείας τινὸς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐχόντων, πολεμώτατον τυράννῳ 1 νομίζου ἐίναι. δείσας δὲ μὴ πώς οἱ τὸ πλῆθος ἢ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δορυφόροι, οἱ ποι πολίται δυντες, ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας σφῶν μεθίστασθαι ἐπαναστώσι, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐποίησε τούτο, ἐν τρόπῳ δὲ των ἐπιτηδείῳ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸ 2 κατέτριξεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀντεισῆγεν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδένα, οὔτε τοῖς καταλοίπους λόγου τι ἀξίου ἐπεκοίνου. συνεκάλει μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὅστε καὶ συνδιοικεῖν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ πρὸς τε τῶν ἔλεγχων τῆς ὀλυγότητος σφῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ καταφρόσυνοι ἔξεπτητηδες ἐποίει.

Zonaras 7, 10.

τὴν γερουσίαν καταλύσαι παντελῶς ἐπιχειρήσας, οὔτε ἀντεισῆγεν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδένα οὔτε τοῖς οὕσων ἐπεκοίνου τι λόγου ἄξιον. συνεκάλει μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὅστε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων συνδιοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα δήλη αὐτῶν ἢ βραχύτητος γύρωτο ἀπασι, καντεύθεν καταφρονοῦντο τα δὲ πλείστα

1 τυράννῳ Val., τύραννον Ms.   2 αὐτὸ Val., αὐτῷ Ms.

66
BOOK II

and he was anxious to render the classes mentioned utterly powerless through lack of numbers. In fact, he even undertook to abolish the senate altogether, since he believed that every gathering of men, particularly of chosen persons who possessed some semblance of authority from antiquity, was most hostile to a tyrant. But since he was afraid that the multitude or even his body-guards themselves, in their capacity as citizens, might revolt by reason of vexation at the change in government, he refrained from doing this openly, but effectively gained his object in a convenient manner. He not only introduced no new member into the senate to make up the loss, but even to those who were left he communicated nothing of importance. He used to call the senators together, to be sure, yet it was not to gain their assistance in the conduct of any important business; nay, this very act was designed to furnish a proof of their small numbers and thereby to bring

Zonaras 7, 10.

being destroyed, but undertaking to abolish the senate altogether, he not only introduced no new member into it to make up the loss, but even communicated nothing of importance to those who were members. He used to call the senators together, to be sure; yet it was not to gain their assistance in the administration of any important business, but in order that their fewness might be made evident to all and that they might con-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείστα καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν νιέων, τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν δύνατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατοκυνῶν δημοσιεύειν ἐν οἷς ἐκακούργει, ἔπραττεν. δυσπρόσοδος τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ᾗν, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ τῇ τε ὁμότητι τοσαύτη πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἔχρητο ὡστε καὶ Ἠπερήφανος ἃπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικληθήναι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτός καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τυραννικῶτερον ἔπραττον, καὶ ποτε τῶν\(^1\) πολιτῶν τινὰς ἐν τε τῇ ἅγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ὄμμασι σταυροῖς τε γυμνοὺς προσέδησεν καὶ ράβδοις αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τότε ἐξευρεθέν καὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο.—V. 6 (p. 573).

Zonaras 7, 10.

καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν νιέων ἔπραττε. δυσπρόσιτός τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ᾗν, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμότητι ὁμοίως ἔχρητο πρὸς ἀπαντας, καὶ τυραννικῶτερον αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ προσεφέροντο ἀπασι. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ύπόπτους ἔχων, ἐκ τῶν Λατίνων προσηταιρίσατο δορυφορικόν, καὶ ἐς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάξεις Λατίνους ἀνέμιξεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν Λατίνοι ἱσομοιρίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τυχόντες εὐνοοιν αὐτῷ ἐντεῦθεν ὀφείλωσιν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἴττουν ἐκφοβώσωσιν αὐτῶν, μηκέτι κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες, ἄλλα τοῖς Λατίνοις συνοπλητεύοντες.

\(^1\) τῶν added by Bk.

68
humiliation and contempt upon them. Most of the business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons, partly in order that no one else should have any power, and partly for the reason that he shrank from publishing matters involving his own wrong-doing. He was difficult of access and hard to accost, and showed such great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike that he received as a result the nickname of Proud. Among other decidedly tyrannical deeds of himself and his sons, he once bound some citizens naked to stakes in the very Forum and before the eyes of the citizens, and scourged them to death with rods. This punishment, invented by him at that time, has often been inflicted.

Zonaras 7, 10.

sequently become objects of contempt. Most of the business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons. He was hard to approach and hard to accost, and showed great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike, and he as well as his sons adopted a decidedly tyrannical bearing toward everybody. Hence he looked with suspicion even upon the members of his body-guard and secured a new guard from the Latin nation, intermingling the Latins with Romans in the ranks. He intended that the Latins as the result of obtaining equal privileges with the Romans should owe him gratitude, and that the Romans should cause him less dread, since they would no longer be by themselves but would bear arms only in association with the Latins.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 Δίων ἐν β' βιβλίῳ "τὸν γὰρ πατέρα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτομα ὡς καὶ τυραννοῦντα καὶ παραστον- δοῦντα φανερῶς ἐκ συνθήκης λοιδορήσας."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 155, 1.

Zonaras 7, 10.

Γαούνοις δὲ μάχην συνήψε, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἠγοινίσατο, δόλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχειρόσατο. αὐτο- μολήσας γὰρ αὐτοῖς Σέξτῳ ὑπέθετο τῷ νίψι ἵνα δ' εὐπρόσωπος αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτομολίας πρόφασις γένηται, ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν πατέρα φανερῶς ὡς τύραννον καὶ παράσπονδον ἐλοιδορήσεν, ὡς δὲ τὸν νιὸν ἐμαστίγωσε τε καὶ ἀντημύσατο. ἔτα κατὰ συνθήκας πρὸς Γαούνοις ἐφευσομολόησε, χρήματά τε καὶ ἑταίρους παρειληφός. οἷς δὲ πιστεύσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ διά τε τὴν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ῥμότητα καὶ ὅτι καὶ τότε πολλὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν πατέρα ἐκακηγόρει καντεῖθεν ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἐδέξαντό τε αὐτῶν ἁσμενέστατα καὶ τινὰς ἐπελεύσεις κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς χώρας σὺν αὐτῷ ἐτοιχίσαντο καὶ οὐ μετρίως αὐτῇ ἐλυμήναντο. διὰ ταύτα γοῦν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ χρήματα ἅδε τέ τις παρεῖχα καὶ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλυσε δαψιλῶς, ἡρέθη παρ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων ἐπετράπη διοίκησιν. ἐπὶ τούν- τοις λάθρᾳ πέμψας τινὰ τὰ συμβάντα τε ἐγνώρισε τῷ πατρί καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον γνώμην ἦττησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ εἶπε μὲν τῷ πεμφθέντι οὐδὲν, ἵνα μὴ ἵσως γνωσθεὶς ἐκών τι ἦ ἄκων ἐξείποι, εἰς δὲ 70
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "Uttering many strange reproaches publicly, as had been agreed upon, against his father, whom he charged with being a tyrant and a breaker of treaties."

Zonaras 7, 10.

He also joined battle with the people of Gabii and fared ill in the conflict, but overcame them by a ruse; for he suggested to his son Sextus that he desert to their side. And that there might be some plausible pretext for his desertion, Sextus reproached his father publicly as a tyrant and a breaker of treaties, and the latter flogged his son and put himself on the defensive. Then, according to arrangement, the son made his pretended desertion to the people of Gabii, taking along with him money and companions. The enemy believed the trick both on account of the cruelty of Tarquin and because at this time also the son spoke many words of truth in abusing his father and by his conduct seemed to have become thoroughly estranged from him. So they were very glad to receive him, and in his company made many incursions into Roman territory and did it no slight damage. For this reason, and because he privately gave some of them money and also spent it lavishly for public purposes, he was chosen general by them and was entrusted with the management of their government. Thereupon, sending a man secretly, he acquainted his father with what had occurred, and asked him for a plan regarding the future. The king made no answer to the emissary, in order that he might not, in case he were recognized, either willingly

Zonaras 7, 10.
κήπῳν εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτόν, ἐν φ' μήκωνες ἦσαν, τὰς κωδύας αὐτῶν τὰς υπερεχούσας βάβδοις κατέκλασε καὶ εἰς γῆν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ οὕτω τῷ ἁγγελια-φόρον ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ ο μὲν τὸ πραξθὲν τῷ Σέξτῳ ἀπῆγγελεν, ἀσυνετῶς ἔχων τῆς πράξεως, ὁ δὲ τὸν νοῦν συνῆκε τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογώτεροὺς τῶν Γαούινον τοὺς μὲν λάθρα φαρμάκοις διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τινῶν δήθεν ληστῶν, ἄλλοις δὲ καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων ἀπέκτεινε, συκοφαντίας κατ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προδοσίας πλαττόμενος.
Καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οὖν οὕτω τοὺς Γαούινονς μετῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρείττους ἀπώλευε, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τὰ σφῶν διένεμε χρήματα. καὶ μετὰ τούτο, τῶν μὲν διαφθαρέντων ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἦπαρχον καὶ πάντα πιστεύόντων αὐτῷ, μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ὀρωμαίων καὶ τῶν αὐτομολῶν, οὓς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸν Σιβύλλης χρησμοῦς Ὀρωμαίως

Zonaras 7, 11.
11. Τοὺς δὲ τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοῦς Ὀρωμαίως
Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.
Περὶ ὡς δὲ Σιβύλλης νῦν ὁ Δυκόφρων λέγει,
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "When, therefore, he had learned this, he came to them the following day." ¹

Zonaras 7, 10.

or unwillingly reveal something; but leading him into a garden where there were poppies, he struck off with his staff the heads that were most conspicuous and strewed the ground with them; hereupon he dismissed the message-bearer. The latter, without comprehending the affair, repeated the king's actions to Sextus, and he understood the meaning of the suggestion. And Sextus destroyed the more prominent men of Gabii, some secretly by poison, others by the hands of certain alleged robbers, and still others he put to death after judicial trial by concocting against them false accusations of traitorous dealings with his father. Thus did Sextus deal with the men of Gabii; he destroyed the more influential citizens and distributed their wealth among the populace. Later when some had already perished and the rest had been cozened and thoroughly believed in him, assisted by the Roman captives and the deserters whom he had gathered in large numbers for the purpose, he seized the city and handed it over to his father. The king bestowed it upon his son, and himself made war upon other nations.

Zonaras 7, 11.

11. The oracles of the Sibyl Tarquin obtained for Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

The Sibyl about whom Lycophron is now speaking

¹ Macchiario (Klio 10, 347 ff.) holds that this refers to the plot against Turnus Herdonius; cf. Livy 1, 51, 3.
καὶ ἄκων προσεπουήσατο... γυνῆ γάρ τις θεόματις, ἥν ΢ιβύλλαν ὑνόμαζεν, ἐς τὴν Ὁρμην ἐλήλυθε βιβλία τρία ἡ ἐννέα φέρουσα, καὶ ταῦτα πρίασθαι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἔδίδον καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν βιβλίων ὄρισσα. ἐκεῖνον δὲ μὴ προσεσχηκότος αὐτῇ, τὸ ἐν ἡ τὰ τρία τῶν βιβλίων κατέκαυσαν. ὡς δ’ αὖθις ὕλιγώρει αὐτής ὁ Ταρκύνιος, κακὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοίως διέφθειρε. μελλοῦσης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐτὶ λοιπὰ καταφλέξειν, ἤγαγκασαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰωνισταὶ τὰ γούν σωζόμενα πρίασθαι. καὶ ὁμήσατο ταῦτα ὅσον τὰ πάντα κτήσασθαι ἕμελλε, καὶ δύο βουλευταῖς ἀνδράσι φυλάσσειν παρέδωκεν. ὡς δ’ οὐ πάντων τῶν γεγραμμένων συνίσαν, εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα στείλαντες δύο ἄνδρας ἐκεῖθεν μισθοῦ ἦγαγον τοὺς ἀναγγυσσόμενους ταῦτα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσοντας. οἱ δὲ περιοίκοι μαθεῖν ἐθελήσαντες ὁ τι ποτὲ τὸ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων εἰς δηλούμενον, τὸν ἔτερον τῶν φυλασσόντων αὐτὰ Μάρκου Ἀκίλλιον χρήμασιν ἀναπείθαντες μετεγράψαντο τινα. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ Μάρκος βύρσαις δύο

Τzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

Κυμαία ἢν, ἢτις τέθηκεν ἐν χρόνοις Ταρκυνίου τοῦ Τπερηφάνου βιβλίου προφητικὰς αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἡ ἐννέα καταλυτοῦσα. διὸ ἡ μίαν ἡ τρεῖς ἔξωνήσαντο οἱ Ὁρμαιῶν, ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ἐκείνης θεραπαίνης ἀναλωσάσας πυρί, ὅτι μὴ ἔδίδον ἐκεῖνη ὅσον ἐξῆτε χρυσὸν. ὁ ὕστερον ποιήσαντες ἔξωνήσαντο ἡ μίαν τὴν καταλείψεισαν ἡ τρεῖς καὶ ἐδούντο Μάρκῳ Ἀκιλίῳ φυλάσσειν. ζῶντα δὲ τούτων εἰς δέρμα βοὸς ἐμβαλόντες ἀνεῖλον, ὅτι 74
BOOK II

Zonaras 7, 11.

the Romans quite against his will. A woman whom they called Sibyl, gifted with divine inspiration, came to Rome bringing three or nine books, and offered these to Tarquin for purchase, stating the price of the books. As he paid no attention to her, she burned one or three of the books. When again Tarquin scorned her, she destroyed part of the rest in a similar way. And she was about to burn up the others also when the augurs compelled him to purchase the few that were intact anyhow. He bought these for the price for which he might have secured them all, and delivered them to two senators to keep. Since they did not entirely understand the contents, they sent to Greece and hired two men to come from there to read and interpret these books. The people of the neighbourhood, desiring to learn just what it was that was revealed by the books, bribed Marcus Acilius, one of the custodians, and had some parts copied out. When this affair became known, Marcus was thrust between two hides sewn together and

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

was the Cumaean, who died in the time of Tarquin the Proud, leaving behind three or nine of her prophetic books. Of these the Romans bought either one or three, since her servant had destroyed the rest by fire because they would not give her as much gold as she asked. This they later did, and bought either one that was left, or else three, and gave them to Marcus Acilius to keep. But because he lent them to be copied, they put him to death by enclosing him alive in the skin of an ox;
συρραφεύσας ἐμβληθεῖς κατεποντώθη, ὃ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετέπειτα κατὰ τὸν πατροκτόνων ἐπεκράτησε γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ γῆ μήτε τὸ ὕδωρ μήτε ὁ ἕλιος μιανθῇ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίασκοντος.

Τὸν δὲ νεὼν τὸν ἐν τῷ Ταρπείῳ ὤρει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχὴν ὕκοδόμει. τῆς δὲ γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν θεμελίων καταβολὴν ἀναρρηγνυμένης, ἀνδρὸς νεοθυτήτος κεφαλῆς ἀνεφάνη ἐναίμος ἕτο. ἐπεμψαν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἄνδρα Τυρσηνὸν τερατοσκόπον ἑρωτώντες τὸ διὰ τοῦ φανέντος δηλούμενον. ὁ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον εἰς τὴν Τυρσηνίδα μεταθείναι μηχανησάμενος, διάγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης θέσιν ἐντείνας καὶ τὸ Ταρπείων ὅρος, ἔμελλε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀνερέσθαι "ἡ Ῥώμη αὐτὴ ἐστί; τὸ ὄρος τούτῳ ἐστὶν; ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐνταῦθα εἰρέθη;" ἦν ἐκείνων μηδὲν ύποτοπησάμενος καὶ συμφησάμενος ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σημείου εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧ διεγέραττο μετασταίη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐτεχνάσατο, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ υἱῶν ἐκείνου μαθόντες τὸ τέχνασμα, ἐρωτώμενοι "οὐκ ἐνταῦθα," εἶπον, "οὐκεῖται ἡ Ῥώμη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Δατίῳ, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ η κεφαλὴ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ εἰρέθη." οὕτω δὲ τῷ τερατοσκόπῳ διακρούσθεντος τοῦ μηχανηματος πᾶσαν ἐκείνοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

πρὸς μεταγραφὴν ἐδοτο, τὴν δὲ βίβλον ἡ τὰς βιβλους ὄρυξαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ λάρνακος κατέχωσαν.
drowned, in order that neither earth nor water nor sun might be defiled by his death; and beginning with him, this punishment has ever since prevailed in the case of parricides.

The temple on the Tarpeian mount he constructed in accordance with the vow of his father. And as the earth was being excavated for the laying of the foundations, there appeared the head of a man but lately dead, still with blood in it. Accordingly the Romans sent to a soothsayer of Etruria to ask what was signified by the phenomenon. Now he, with the design of making the portent apply to Etruria, made a sketch upon the ground and in it laid out the plan of Rome and the Tarpeian mount. He intended to ask the envoys: "Is this Rome? Is this the mount? Was the head found here?" They would suspect nothing and would assent, and so the efficacy of the portent would be transferred to the place where it had been shown in the diagram. This was his design, but the envoys learned of it from his son, and when the question was put to them, they answered: "The settlement of Rome is not here, but in Latium, and the mount is in the country of the Romans, and the head was found on that mount." Thus the design of the soothsayer was thwarted and they learned the whole truth and

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

and for the book or books they dug a hole in the midst of the Forum and buried them along with a chest.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

11, 10 "Οτι Δούκιος Ιουώιος, ἀδελφῆς Ταρκυνίου παῖς, φοβηθεὶς ἐπειδή τὸν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνει καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀφήρητο, μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, εἰ πως αὐτός ἦν περιγένειτο· καὶ γὰρ εὗ ἡπίστατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐμφρούν, ἄλλως τε

Zonaras 7, 11.

ἔμαθον καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἀνήγγειλαν ὅτι κράτιστοι ἔσονται καὶ πλείστων ἄρξονται. ἔλπις οὖν κἂν τοῦτον αὐτοὺς προσεγένετο, καντεύθεν τὸ ὄρος μετωνομάσθη παρ’ αὐτῶν Καπιτώλιον· καπίτα γὰρ τῇ Ρωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἡ κεφαλὴ ὄνομαζεται.

Δειθεὶς δὲ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὁ Ταρκύνιος Ἀρδέαταις ἐπήγαγε πόλεμον· ὅθεν οὔτε χρήματα προσεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔξεπεσε. γεγόνασι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σημεῖα των δηλωτικα τῆς ἐκπτώσεως. ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ κήπου αὐτοῦ γύπες νεοσσοῦς ἐξῆλασαν ἀετῶν, καὶ ἔξ ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δ' συνειστίατο φίλοις, ὁφις μέγας ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς συσσίτους ἐξέβαλε. διὰ τοῦ ταύτα ἐς Δελφοὺς Τίτων τε καὶ Ἀρροῦντα τοὺς ἱώους ἔπεμψε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος τὸτε τῆς ἄρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὅτε κύων ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ χρήσατο, ἀγαθαῖς ἐπίσων ἡώρητο, μὴ οἴθεσες ποτὲ γενέσθαι τὸ μάντευμα.

Ἡν δὲ Δούκιος Ιουώιος ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου νιός, οὗ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐκτείνειν. οὗτος οὖν καὶ περὶ ἐαυτῷ δεδοικώς

78
BOOK II

Lucius Junius, a son of Tarquin’s sister, in terror after the king had killed his father [and brother] and had also seized their property, feigned stupidity, in the hope that he might possibly survive. For he well understood that every person possessed of his wits, reported it to their fellow-citizens, to the effect that they should be very powerful and rule a vast multitude. This, then, was another event that inspired them with hope, and they accordingly renamed the mount Capitolium; for capita in the Roman tongue means the “head.”

Needing money for the building of the temple, Tarquin waged war upon the inhabitants of Ardea; but from this he not only gained no money, but was actually driven out of the kingdom. Signs also came in his way that indicated his expulsion. Out of his garden vultures drove the young of eagles, and in the men’s hall, where he was having a banquet with his friends, a huge serpent appeared and drove him and his companions from the table. In consequence of these portents he sent his sons Titus and Arruns to Delphi. But as Apollo declared that he should be driven from his domain only when a dog should use human speech, he was inspired with confident hope, thinking that the oracle could never be fulfilled.

Now Lucius Junius was a son of Tarquin’s sister; his father and brother Tarquin had killed. So he, fearing now for his own person, feigned stupidity,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ ὅταν ἐν λαμπρότητι γένοις ἦ, δι' ὑποψίας τοῖς τυραννοῦσι γίγνεται. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἀπαξ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁρμησεν, ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν ὑπεκρίνετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρούτος ἐκλήθη τοὺς γὰρ εὐήθεις οὕτω πῶς οἱ Δατίνοι προσηγόρευον. τῷ τε Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀρροῦτι ὅσπερ τι ἄθυρα συμπεμφθείς βακτυρίαν τινὰ ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ φέρειν ἔλεγεν, μηδὲν μέγα ὅσα 1 γε ἰδεῖν ἔχουσαν.—Μ. 13 (p. 139).


12 Ὅτι τού Βρούτου τὸ τε δῶρον 2 ἔσκωπτον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς θεωροῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς

Zonaras 7, 11.

μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, ταύτην ἕαυτοῦ προστησάμενος σώτειραν διὸ καὶ Βρούτος ἐπεκλήθη· τοὺς γὰρ εὐήθεις οὕτω τοῖς Δατίνοις ἔθος καλεῖν. πλαττόμενος οὖν τὸν μωραίνοντα τοῖς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παισίν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπευώσει συμπαρελήφθη ὡς ἄθυρα. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀνάθημα φέρειν ἔλεγε τῷ θεῷ· τὸ δ' ἦν βάκτρων τι μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἔχον χρηστόν, θεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁφλίσκαν γέλωτα. τὸ δ' ἦν οἷον εἰκὼν τῆς τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν προσποιήσεως· κοιλάνας γὰρ αὐτὸ λάθρα χρυσόν ἐνέχεεν, ἐνδεικτύμενος δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς μωρίας ἀτύμω σῶον καὶ ἐντίμου κατακρύπτεται. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν Ταρκυνίου νῦν

1 δσα Bs., δσ Ms.
2 After δῶρον the Ms. has the words τοῦτ’ ἐστι τὴν βακτυρίαν ("i.e. the staff"), due to the excerptor.

80
especially when he is of a distinguished family, becomes an object of suspicion to tyrants. And when once he had set out on this course, he acted his part with the greatest precision, and for that reason was also called Brutus; for this was the name that the Latins gave to idiots. When sent along with Titus and Arruns as a butt, he carried a kind of staff as a votive offering, he said, to the god, though it had no great value so far as one could see.

Dio, Book II. "After that he was found in the Pythian god's temple."

They made sport of Brutus, not only for his gift, but also because, when the oracle replied to the

Zonaras 7, 11.

employing this means of safety as a screen for his life. Hence he was nicknamed Brutus, for the Latins were accustomed to give this name to idiots. While acting the fool he was taken along by the sons of Tarquin as a butt, when they journeyed to Delphi. And he said that he was carrying a votive offering to the god; this was a kind of staff, apparently possessing no point of excellence, so that he became a laughing-stock for it all the more. It furnished a sort of image of the affliction that he feigned. For he had hollowed it out and had secretly poured in gold, indicating thereby that there was likewise concealed behind the disesteem which he suffered for his stupidity a sound and estimable intelligence. Now when the sons of Tarquin inquired

VOL. 1.

81
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

βασιλείας, ὡστὶς αὐτὴν διαδέξεται, ἑπερωτήσασι θεσπίσαντος τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔξειν, τὴν γῆν ὡς καὶ καταπεσῶν ἄλλως κατεφίλησε, νομίζασι αὐτὴν μητέρα ἀπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι.—Μ. 14 (p. 140).

13 "Οτι ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ἐκ τοιᾶσδε αἰτίας κατέλυσε. συνδεἴπνουντές ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν πολυρκία οἱ τε τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παιδες καὶ Κολλατίνως καὶ Βροῦτος, ἀτε καὶ ἡλικιῶταί καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐς λόγον τινὰ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν γυναικῶν σφων, κὰκ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς ἐριν, τῇ ἐαντοῦ γαμετὴν ἐκάστου προκρίνοντος, ἡλθον. καὶ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ 1 πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποῦσαι) ἐδοξεῖς αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα τῆς νυκτὸς, πρὶν καταγγέλτους σφᾶς γενέσθαι, πρὸς πᾶσας ἀμα αὐταῖς ἀφιππεῦσαι. ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐν πότῳ 2 τινὶ εὗρον, Λουκρη-

Zonaras 7, 11.

τῆς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδέξεται, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος ἔξειν. ὁ συνεῖς ὁ Βροῦτος ὡς τυχαῖως καταπεσῶν τὴν γῆν κατεφίλησεν, αὐτὴν μητέρα πάντων ὑπάρχειν κρίνας ὁρθῶς.

Οὕτος ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους κατέλυσεν, αἰτίαν τὸ περὶ τὴν Δουκριτίαν συμβεβηκός προστησάμενος, καὶ ἄλλως μισουμένους παρὰ πάντων

1 γὰρ added by Val.  2 πότῳ Rk., λόγῳ Ms.
BOOK II

ambassadors, upon their inquiring which should succeed to their father's kingdom, that the first to kiss his mother should obtain the power over the Romans, he kissed the earth, pretending to have fallen down accidentally; for he regarded her as the mother of all mankind.

Brutus overthrew the Tarquins for the following reason. During the siege of Ardea the sons of Tarquin were one day dining with Brutus and Collatinus, since these two were of their own age and relatives; and they fell into a discussion and finally into a dispute about the virtue of their wives, each one giving the preference to his own spouse. And, as all the women happened to be absent from the camp, they decided straightway that night, before they could be announced, to take horse and ride away to all of them simultaneously. This they did, and found all engaged in revelry except Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus,

Zonaras 7, 11.

who should succeed to their father's kingdom, the god replied that the first who kissed his mother should obtain the power. Then Brutus, comprehending, fell down as if by chance and kissed the earth, rightly deeming her to be the mother of all.

This Brutus overthrew the Tarquins, taking as his justification the fate of Lucretia, though these princes were, quite apart from that, hated by all for their
15 τίαν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κολλατίνου γυναίκα ἐριουργοῦσαν κατέλαβον. περιβόητον οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην ὁ Σέξτος αἰσχύνατε ἐπεθύμησεν· τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ἔσχε ύπερκαλλοὺς οὐσῆς, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὁμος τὴν δόξαν μᾶλλον ἤ τὸ σῶμα διαφθείραι ἥθελησε. καὶ ποτε τηρήσασ τὸν Κολλατίνον πρὸς τοῖς Ρουτούλοις ὄντα ἥπειροθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Κολλατίαν, καὶ νυκτὸς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρὸς οἰκείαν γυναίκα ἔλθων καὶ σίτου καὶ καταλύσεως ἔτυχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀναπείθειεν αὐτὴν ἐπειράτο συγγενέσθαι οἶ, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ἐβιάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ προεχόρει, καίνου δὴ τινα τρόπον ἔξειρεν, ὡφ'
BOOK II

whom they discovered at work on her wool. When this fact about her became noised abroad, Sextus conceived a desire to outrage her. Perchance he even felt some love for her, since she was of surpassing beauty; still, it was rather her reputation than her body that he desired to ruin. He watched for an occasion when Collatinus was among the Rutuli, hurried to Collatia, and coming to her by night as to a kinswoman, obtained both food and lodging. At first he tried to persuade her to grant her favours to him, but meeting with no success, he attempted force. When he found he could make no progress by this means either, he devised a novel plan by which, strangely
despotic and violent ways. Lucretia was the daughter of Lucretius Spurius, a member of the senate, and she was wife of the distinguished Tarquinius Collatinus, and was renowned for her beauty and chastity. Sextus, the son of Tarquin, set his heart upon outraging her, not so much because he was inspired with passion by her beauty as because he chose to plot against her chaste reputation. So, having waited for Collatinus to be away from home, he came by night to her, as to the wife of a relative, and lodged at her house. And first he tried by persuasion to secure illicit pleasure from her and then he resorted to violence. When he could not succeed, he threatened to slay her. But inasmuch as she scorned

Zonaras 7, 11.

85
 Dio's Roman History

οὐ τὸ παραδοξότατον ἡμάγκασεν αὐτὴν ἐκούσαν ὑβρισθῆναι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εἶπε, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα προσκαταχρῆσθαι ἡκούσεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι παρακατακλινεῖν τε αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ δοῦλου σῶμα καὶ λόγον ώς καὶ συγκαθεύδουτάς σφας εὐρῶν ἀποκτείνει διαδώσειν ἐπηπείλησεν, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ' οὕτω γεγονέναι, εἰλετο μιχθεῖσα αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐξειπούσα ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ παραχρήμα τελευτήσασα ἀδοξήσαι. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' οὐκ ἠκούσα δὴ ἐμοιχεύθη, παρασκευάσασα δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον μετεπέμψατο τὸν τε ἀνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἦλθον, κατεδάκτυα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀναστενάξασα, "πάτερ,"

Zonaras 7, 11.

καὶ τοῦ θανάτου κατωλιγώρει, δοῦλον παρακατακλινεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ἄμφω κτανεῖν καὶ λόγον διαδώσειν ώς εὐρῶν αὐτοῦς συγκαθεύδουτας ἔκτεινε. τοῦτο τὴν Δουκριτίαν ἑταραξε, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ πιστευθῇ ταῦθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι, ἐνδωκε. καὶ μισθεθεῖσα ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἔθετο, καὶ μεταπεμψαμένη τὸν τε ἀνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, συνεπομένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ Ποπλίου Οὐαλλερίου, κατεδάκτυα καὶ στενάξασα

1 προσκαταχρῆσθαι Rk., προσκαταστήσασθαι Ms.
2 καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ' οὕτω Bk., comparing Zon., καταπιστευθῇ οὕτω Ms.

86
enough, he compelled her to submit voluntarily to be outraged. To his declaration that he would slay her she paid no attention, and to his statement that he would make away also with one of the servants she listened in contempt. But when he further threatened to lay the body of the servant beside her and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and killed them, she could no longer endure it, but, fearing it might really be believed that this had so happened, chose to yield to him and die after giving an account of the affair rather than lose her good name in perishing at once. For this reason she did not refuse to commit adultery, but afterward she made ready a dagger beneath the pillow and sent for her husband and her father. As soon as they had come she wept bitterly and sighed, then said:

Zonaras 7, 11.

even death, he threatened furthermore to lay a slave beside her and to kill them both and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and had killed them. This rendered Lucretia distraught, and, fearing that it might be believed to have so happened, she surrendered. And after the act of adultery she placed a dagger beneath the pillow, and sent for her husband and her father. When they came, accompanied by Brutus and Publius Valerius, she wept bitterly and sighed, then related the whole
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἰπε, "(τὸν γὰρ ἀνδρὰ μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ αἰσχύνομαι) οὐδέν μοι χρηστὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ πέπρακται. ἀλλὰ με Σέξιτος ἤβισαστο ἀπειλήσας δούλῳ τινὶ συναποκτενεῖν ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ καθεύδουσαν λαβὼν. αὐτὴ γὰρ με ἢ ἀπειλή ἀμαρτεῖν ἤναγκασεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πιστεύσητε τοῦθ' οὕτω γεγονέναι. 19 καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν (γυνὴ γὰρ εἰμὶ) τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω· ύμεῖς δ' εἶπερ ἄνδρες ἐστε καὶ τῶν γαμετῶν τῶν τε παιδῶν ύμῶν προορᾶσθε, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ ξενοῦσα, καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἷς ἁρὰ ύμῶν οὕτων οἷῶν γυναῖκα ὑβρισαν." τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰπόνσα οὐκ ἀνέμειν ἀντακοῦσαν τι, ἀλλ' εὐθέως τὸ ξιφίδιον υφελκύσασα αὐτῇ ἐαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.—V. 7 (p. 574).

Zonaras 7, 11.

τὸ δράμα πᾶν διηγήσατο· εἶτα ἐπήγαγε "καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω, ύμεῖς δὲ εἰπερ ἄνδρες ἐστε, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώθητε δὲ αὐτοί, καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἷς ύμῶν οὕτων οἷῶν γυναῖκα ὑβρισαν." τοιαῦτα εἰπόνσα εὐθὺς ξιφίδιον υφελκύσασα κατέκτεινεν ἐαυτὴν.

'Ακούσαντες δέ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα καὶ θεασάμενοι ὑπερήλθασαν. καὶ τῷ Ποπλῷ συμβούλῳ καὶ προθύμῳ πρὸς τοῦργον ὁ Βρούτος χρησάμενος τὴν τε γυναίκα πολλοῖς τῶν τοῦ δήμου κειμένην ὑπέδειξε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς δημηγορήσας τὸ πρῶς

1 ξενοῦσα Bs., αὐτοί Ms.
BOOK II

"Father,—I can confess it to you with less shame than to my husband,—it was no honourable deed I did last night, but Sextus forced me, threatening to kill me and a slave together and to pretend he had found me sleeping with the man. It was this threat that compelled me to sin, to prevent you from really believing that such a thing had taken place. Now I, because I am a woman, will treat my case as becomes me; but do you, if you are men and care for your wives and for your children, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of men you are and what manner of woman of yours they have outraged." When she had spoken to this effect, she did not wait for any reply, but immediately drew the dagger from its hiding-place and slew herself.

Zonaras 7, 11.

story. Thereupon she added: "Now I will treat my case as becomes me; but do you, if you are men, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of men you are and what manner of woman of yours they have outraged." When she had spoken thus, she immediately drew the dagger from its hiding-place and killed herself.

When the men had heard and beheld these things, they were greatly grieved. But Brutus, availing himself of the advice and zeal of Publius in the emergency, showed the woman to many of the people as she lay there, and he addressed the others, causing them to manifest their hatred
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY


Zonaras 7, 11.

τοὺς τυράννους μίσος ἐκφήναι πεποίηκε· καὶ μηκέτι δέξασθαι συνέδεντο τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξυππάσατο, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ δῆμῳ συνέπεισε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψηφίσασθαι. ὁ δὲ γε Ταρκύνιος τὰ συμβεβηκότα μαθὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπειχθείς ἀπεώσθη, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ταρκυνισίους μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφρόνων κατέφυγε, μόνης τῆς Τουλλίας, ὡς λόγος, ἐαυτὴν ἀνελούσης.
BOOK II

Dio, Book II. "And departing from Roman territory, he [Tarquin] sounded the neighbouring peoples on many occasions."

Zonaras 7, 11.

openly against the tyrants; and they made a compact not to receive Tarquin again. After accomplishing thus much and entrusting the city to the others, Brutus himself rode off to the camp, where he persuaded the soldiers to adopt the same course as the people had chosen. And when Tarquin learned of what had occurred and hastened toward the city, he was repulsed and fled to Tarquinii, accompanied by his children and the rest of his followers, with the single exception of Tullia; she, as the story goes, destroyed herself.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK III

12, 1 "Οτι οἱ ὧμιλοι πάντες τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς μεταχειρίζοντας αὐτὰ κρίνουσιν, καὶ ὅποιοις ἀν τούτους αἰσθάνωνται οὖν τα, τοιαύτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα νομίζουσιν εἶναι.—Μ. 15 (p. 140).

2 Πᾶς ἡ γὰρ τις τὸ ἀπείρατον ἐπὶ τὸν κατεγνωσμένον προαιρεῖται, μεγάλην ἥς τὸ ἄδηλον ἔλπιδα παρὰ τὸ μεμισθημένον ἥδη ποιούμενον.—Μ. 16 (ib.).

3a Πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ μεταβολαὶ σφαλεροταταὶ εἰς, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πλείστα δὴ καὶ μέγιστα καὶ ἰδιωτὰς καὶ πόλεις βλάπτουσιν. διὸ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεί, καὶ μὴ βέλτιστα ἦ, ἀξιόων ἐμένεν ἡ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ἀεὶ πλανάσθαι.—Μ. 17 (ib.).

Zonaras 7, 12.

12. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τυραννήσας ἐνιαυτοὺς οὕτως ἔξετετε τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ Ἄρωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βροὐτόν ἀπέκλιναν καὶ αὐτῶν εἴλοντο ἄρχοντα. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμορραγία βασιλεία δοκῆ, καὶ συνάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἐνήφισαν τὸν τῆς Δουκρίτιας ἐκείνης ἄνδρα τὸν Κολλατίνον Ταρκύνιον, ὡς ἀπεκάθωσ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πιστεύόμενον ἔχειν διὰ τὴν βίαν τῆς

1 πᾶς St., πᾶν Ms.  2 ἀπεύρατον Bk., ἀπειρότατον Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK III

All crowds judge measures by the men who direct them, and of whatever sort they perceive the men to be, they believe that the measures are of the same sort.¹

Every one prefers the untried to the well known, attaching great hope to the uncertain in comparison with what has already gained his hatred.

All changes are very dangerous, and especially do those in governments work the greatest and most numerous evils to both individuals and states. Sensible men, therefore, choose to remain under the same forms continually, even if they be not the best, rather than by changing, now to one, now to another, to be continually unsettled.

Zonaras 7, 12.

12. Thus Tarquin was deprived of his power, after ruling twenty-five years; and the Romans turned to Brutus and chose him ruler. In order, however, that the rule of one man might not suggest the kingly power, they elected also, as joint-ruler with him, the husband of Lucretia, Tarquinius Collatinus. He was believed to be hostile to the tyrants because of the outrage done his wife. Now from Tarquin

¹ Boissevain believes the first six of these fragments (1, 2, 3a, 8, 9, 11) are from Dio's comments on the change in the form of government, or possibly from various speeches supposed to be delivered at that time; 4, 5a, 5b from the speeches of Tarquin's envoys to the Romans, and 6, 7, 10 from Brutus' replies. Macchioro (Klio 10, 349 ff.) holds that 4, 5a, 5b, 6, 7, 10, 11, are from the arguments urged in private by the
"Οτι καὶ τὰ βουλήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰς τύχας ἔκαστοι κτῶνται, καὶ ὅποια ἄν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ἦ, τοιαύτα καὶ τὰ οἰήματα λαμβάνουσιν.—M. 18 (p. 141).

"Οτι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ συννηθείας, εἰπὲρ τι ἄλλο, πολλῆς δεῖται, καὶ οὐχ οἶον τὲ ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἑκεῖνων ἀγάμενον τινα σωφρονῆσαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὁσπέρ ἐς ψυχος τι μέγα παρὰ λόγον ἀρθέντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν τὴν μετεώρισιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε κατα- πεσόντες ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἔπταισαν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων πάντα συνηλότησαν.—M. 19 (ib.).

'Ἤ Δίωνος βιβλίῳ "οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλευόντων σφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν παρα- δυναστεύόντων αὐτοῖς γίνεται;"—Bekk. Anecd. p. 130, 23 and 164, 32.

'Ἐν γ᾽ βιβλίῳ Δίωνος "οὐ γε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀμεμπτῶς υμῶν ἤρξεν."—Ib. p. 120, 24.

Δίωνος γ᾽ βιβλίῳ "ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν μεῖζον τεκμήριον λάβοιτε ἢ ὅτι τοῦ τε βίου τοῦ παρ᾽ υμῖν ἐφίεται."—Ib. p. 139, 26.

Zonaras 7, 12.

γυναικός. ἐκ δὲ γε Ταρκυνίου πρέσβεις εἰς Ὑπο- μην ἦκον περὶ καθόδου διαλεγόμενοι· ὡς δὲ οὔδὲν ἦμυνον . . . . . .

94
BOOK III

Every person comes to possess wishes and desires according to his fortunes, and whatever his circumstances be, of like nature are also the opinions he acquires.

The business of kingship, more than any other, demands not merely excellence of character, but also great understanding and experience, and it is not possible without these qualities for the man who takes hold of it to show moderation. Many, for example, as if raised unexpectedly to some great height, have not endured their elevation, but being overcome with giddiness, have fallen and not only brought disaster to themselves but at the same time shattered all the interests of their subjects.

Dio, Book III. "It is done not merely by the actual men who rule them, but also by those who share the power with those rulers."

Dio, Book III. "Whose father also ruled you blamelessly."

Dio, Book III. "Of the fact that he loves you, you could obtain no better proof than his eagerness to live among you."

Zonaras 7, 12.
there came envoys to Rome to discuss his restoration; but when they found they were making no progress, . . .

envoys of Tarquin upon the young aristocrats, while 1, 2, 3, 8, 9 are Dio's own comments on the conspiracy; but this arrangement contravenes the order of frgs. 9, 10 in Mai's Ms., and is otherwise less probable.

95
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY


6 Δίων βιβλίῳ γ' "πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ λυσιτελήσεις τινι τοῦτο πράξαι;"—Ib. p. 155, 14.

7 Δίωνος γ' βιβλίον "ἀστέρ που καὶ Ρωμύλος ἦμιν ἐπέσκηψεν."—Ib. p. 139, 29.

10 Καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐξ ὧν ἐπραξάν τεκμήρασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν πλάττονται ἱκετεύοντες ἀπατηθῆτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀπὸ γνώμης ἅλθοῦσι ἐκάστῳ γίγνεται, συλλαβᾶς δ' ἂν τις εὐπρεπεῖς συμπλάσεις καὶ διὰ τούτ' ἄφ' ὧν ἐποίησε τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄφ' ὧν φησὶ ποιήσειν, κρίνετε.¹—M. 20 (p. 141).


2 "Ὅτι Οὐαλλέριον, τὸν συνάρχοντα ³ Βρούτον,

Zonaras 7, 12.

*Ἡσαν δὲ τούτων τινὲς τῷ Κολλατίνῳ προσήκοντες· δι' οὕς καὶ ὁργίζετο. οθεν ὁ Βροῦτος οὕτω κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄκουσαν παράξενων ὡς μικροῦ καὶ αὐτοχείρια αὐτῶν ἀνέλειν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τὴν δ' ἄρχην ἦνάγκασαν αὐτὸν ἀπειπείν. εἴλοντο δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνου συνάρχοντα Πόπλιον Οὐαλλέριον, ὃς Ποπλικόλας προσωνομάθην. δηλοὶ δ' ἡ κλῆσις ἐξελληνιζομένη δημοκρητῇ ἡ δημοτικώτατον.

¹ κρίνετε v. Herw., κρίνεται Ms.
² Δίων γ' βιβλίῳ supplied by Bs., following de Boer.
³ συνάρχοντα Mai, ἄρχοντα Ms.
BOOK III

Dio, Book III. "And he is particularly anxious to recover the property that was originally his."

Dio, Book III. "But how would it pay anybody to do this?"

Dio, Book III. "Even as Romulus also enjoined upon us."

And with regard to the future, base your judgment upon what they have done, but do not be deceived by the false professions they make when suppliants. For unholy deeds proceed in every case from a man's real purpose, yet any one may concoct creditable phrases. Judge, accordingly, by what a man has done, not by what he says he will do.

Dio, Book III. "The women made lamentation for a whole year." ¹

Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, although he had

Zonaras 7, 12.

Some of these [conspirators put to death by Brutus] were relatives of Collatinus, who was angry on their account. Accordingly, Brutus so aroused the people against Collatinus that they all but slew him with their own hands; however, they did not do this, but forced him to resign his office. In his place they elected as Brutus' colleague Publius Valerius, whose cognomen was Publicola; this appellation, translated, means Friend of the People, or Most Democratic.

¹ Probably a reference to the death of Brutus.
καίπερ δημοτικώτατον ἀνδρῶν γενόμενον, ὅμως αὐτοευτία μικροῦ ὁ ὁμίλος κατεχήσατο· ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ὑπετόπησαν. καὶ ἐφόνευσαν ἂν, εἰ μή σφας διὰ ταχέων φθάσας ἑθώπευσεν. ἐσελθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰς τε ράβδους ἐκλινεν, ὀρθαὶς πρότερον ταῦτας χρώμενος, καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις τοὺς συνδεδεμένους σφίσι περιείλε· σχηματίσας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ταπεινότατον, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐσκυθρώπασε καὶ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐφθέγξατό ποτε, σμικρὰ καὶ δεδυνά τῇ φωνῇ ὑποτρέμων εἰπεν.—Μ. 21 (p. 141).


3 "Ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν ἔθειώσεν ἀπὸ κλήρου ὁ Ὄρατιος, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τὸν τε ὑίὸν αὐτοῦ τεθνηκέναι φήσαντος, καὶ τούτο παρ' αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀγγελθήναι παρακευάσαντος, ἵν' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὡς οὖν ἄλλως ὁσιῶν ἢν ἐν πένθει τινὰ ὑπεροποιεῖν, παραχωρήσεϊν οἱ τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἱερώσεως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστησε μὲν τῷ ῥηθέντι (καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἄξιοπίστων ἐθριμλήθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέστη, ἀλλ' ἀταφοῦ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς καὶ ἀλλότριον, ὅπως μηδὲν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὀσία προσήκειν δόξην, κελεύσας τις ἐνάντια, πάνθ' οὕτω τὰ καθήκοντα διετέλεσεν.—V. 8 (p. 577).

98 1 ἱερώσεως Reim., ἱδρύσεως Ms.
proved himself the most democratic of men, came near being murdered by the multitude with their own hands; for they suspected him of being eager to become sole sovereign. And they would indeed have slain him, had he not quickly anticipated their action by courting their favour. For upon entering the assembly he lowered the fasces, which he had formerly carried upright, and took away the axes that were bound up with them. After he had in this way assumed an attitude of the deepest humility, he kept a sad countenance for some time, and wept bitterly; and when he at last managed to utter a sound, he spoke in a low, fearful voice, with the suggestion of a quaver.

For to Marcus, when he had proceeded up to the Capitol and was offering vows to the gods in view of the present state of affairs . . .

The temple of Jupiter was dedicated by Horatius, as determined by lot, although Valerius made the declaration that his son was dead, and arranged to have this news brought to him during the very performance of his sacred office, in order that Horatius, under the blow of the misfortune and because in general it was impious for any one in grief to fulfil the duties of priest, should yield to him the dedication of the structure. Horatius, although he did not doubt the report,—for it was noised abroad by many trustworthy persons,—did not, however, surrender his ministry; on the contrary, after bidding them leave unburied the body of his son, as if it were a stranger's, in order that it might not seem to concern his sacred office, he then performed all the necessary ceremonies.
Λάρτας Πορσέννας Τυρρηνός ἢ Κλάρας γε Πορσέννας | κατὰ τῆς Ἄρώμης ἡν χωρῶν στρατεύματι μεγάλῳ. | Μώκιος δὲ Ρωμαῖος τις γενναῖος στρατιώτης | ὅπλα καὶ σχῆμα Τυρρηνῶν ἡμιφυελημένος τότε | χωρεῖ κατόπτης κατ’ αὐτῶν κτεῖναι Πορσένναν θέλων. | συγκαθημένου στούτῳ δὲ τότε τοῦ γραμματέως, | ὃς ἦν τῇ γλώσσῃ Τυρρηνῶν Κλουσίως κεκλημένος, | ἀμφιγυρωῦ ὁ Μώκιος, τῖς βασιλείας τυγχάνει, | ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Κλουσίων ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. | ὡς συνεχέθεντα στούτῳ δὲ ἀνεκρίνε Πορσέννας: | “τί ποτε τούτο δέδρακας; τί προπαθῶν ἐκ τούτου;” | “οὐ Τυρρηνός,” ἐβόησε, | “Ρωμαῖος δὲ τυγχάνω, ἂλλοι τε τριακόσιοι ὁμοῖοι μοι τὴν γνώμην | σὲ νῦν θηρῶσιν ἀνελέιν.” | τοῦτο ψευδῶς δ’ εἴρηκει, | τῆς δὲ χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰς πῦρ ἐμβεβλημένης | ἀντός ὡς ἄλλοι πάσχοντος ἐβλεπε πρὸς Πορσένναν | τοῦτοι δ’ εἰπόντος | “πρὸς ἡμᾶς τί ἀτενῶς προσβλέπεις;” | ἔφη “τὸ πῶς πεπλάνημαι καὶ σὲ μὲν ὦκ ἀνεῖλον, | ἂντι δὲ σοῦ ἀπέκτεινα, δῦν ἐδοξά Πορσένναν.” | εἰπόντος | τοῦ Πορσέννας δὲ “γενήσθη νῦν μου φίλος,” | ὁ Μώκιος ἀντέλεξεν “εἰ γένη σὺ Ῥωμαιῶν.” | θαυμασμός
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IV

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

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


Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.
μάσας ὁ Πορσέννας δὲ τής ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἄνδρα | φίλος Ῥωμαίοις γίνεται καὶ παύει τὰ τῆς μάχης.


Κλοουσίνος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ τοῦ Πορσέννα γραμματέως, καθά φησι Δίων.

Zonaras' account of Mucius (7, 12) is from Plutarch, except (1) Κόρδος [M.'s cognomen], (2) Σκαιώλας τὴν ἐπίκλησιν δ ἰηλοὶ τὸν μονόχειρα ἢ μὴ ἀρτιόχειρα, (3) τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ συγκαθήμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοίως ἔχοντα τῆς στολῆς.

Zonaras 7, 12.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ Ταρκύννοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, τοῖς ὁμοροῦσι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθνεσι συμμαχοῦμενοι, πάντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐφθάρησαν, πλὴν τοῦ γέροντος, ὃς καὶ Σοῦπερβος ἐκαλεῖτο· εἴποι ἄν τις Ἐλλην ἀνὴρ Ἰππείφανος. κάκεινος δὲ μετέπειτα εἰς Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικία γενόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν.

Zonaras 7, 13.

13. Καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἄλλοις ἀπένειμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτων ἐγκρατεῖσι ἄντες οἱ ὑπατεύοντες μέγα δύνασθαι· ὅτε πρῶτον οἱ ταμίαι γίνονται ἡρξαντο· κοινάστωρας δ' ἐκάλουν αὐτοὺς. οἱ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς θανασίμους δίκας ἐδίκαζον, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην διὰ τὰς ἀνα.
BOOK IV

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

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201–23.

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


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

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

Zonaras 7, 12.

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

Zonaras 7, 13.

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

15b Δίωνος δ' βιβλίφ "καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς πολὺ διαλλάττοντα ἄλληλων καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις διαφόρους παρέθεσαν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 16.

15a Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ δ' βιβλίου "ἄλλα τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκής κατέδραμον."—Ib. p. 152, 3.

Δίων δ' βιβλίφ "πάντα τὰ μέχρι τείχους ἐκακούργουν."—Ib. p. 152, 1.

Zonaras 7, 13.

κρίσεις ἐσχήκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνακρίσεων ἥττησιν ὅστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἔλαχον, καὶ ταμίαν προσωνομάσθησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐτέρως μὲν ἐπετράπη τὰ δικαστήρια, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἔσαν διοικηταῖ.

Οἱ δὲ Σαβῖνοι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι προφασίν, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπήλασαν. οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἀντεπαγαγὼν, καὶ στρατηγῆςας ὡς ἀριστα, μικρῶν πάντας ἀπώλεσε.

Οἱ μὲντοι Σαβῖνοι δὴ ὄργην ὅν ἔπαθον οὐδὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ἠρέμησαν, ἄλλα τὴν Ῥωμαϊδα χώραν κατέδραμον, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμον ἐκάκωσαν τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντα· καὶ εἶλον ἂν αὐτὸν πανσυδί, εἰ μὴ Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας ὁ συνάρχος αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησε. προσπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἐφθείραν, ὡστε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι. μετὰ
BOOK IV

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

Dio, Book IV. "But they overran the Roman territory." ¹

Dio, Book IV. "They ravaged everything up to the wall." ¹

---

Zonaras 7, 13.

—on account of their questionings and on account of their search for truth as the result of questionings. But later they acquired also management of the public funds and received the additional name of treasurers [tamiai²]. After a time the courts were put in charge of others, while these officials continued to manage the funds.

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

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

¹ These two fragments were joined by Bekker, who supplied the connective "and."
² That is, they were called thus by the Greeks.
³ The reference is to the removal of Appius Claudius and his followers to Rome. Possibly Zonaras based these lines on Plutarch (Publ, 22), from whom he took his account of Appius.
"Ὅτι τὸ κρύφιον τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ τὸ κατάρχιον τῶν πράξεων, τὸ τε ἰδιοβουλείων τινα καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀναχώρησιν ἐσὶ μηδένα ἄλλον μηδεμίαν ἔχειν

Zonaras 7, 13.

δὲ ταύτα Σπούριος τε Κάσσιος καὶ Όπιτώριος Όυεργίνιος ὑπατεύοιτο τοῖς Σαβίνωις ἐσπείραστο. Καμέριον δὲ τὸ ἄστυ ἐλώντες τοὺς μὲν πλείονς ἀπεκτείναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐζωρήσαντες ἀπέδωσαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.

Ποστούμιος δὲ Κομίνιος καὶ Τίτος Δάρκιος δοῦλοι τινὰς ἐπὶ καταλήψει τοῦ Καπιτωλίου συνωμοσίαν θεμένους συλλαβόντες ἐφθειραν. Σέρουσος τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ Μάρκος Τυλλίως ἐτέραν αὐθίς συνωμοσίαν δοῦλων καὶ ἄλλων δὴ τιῶν συστάντων αὐτοῖς προκατέλαβον, ἀγγελθείσαι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τινῶν τὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετεχόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ συσχόντες περισταθῶν κατέκοψαν. τοὺς δὲ μηνυταῖς ἄλλα τε καὶ πολιτεία ἔδοθη.

Αὐθίς δὲ πολέμου παρὰ Δατίνων κατὰ Ρώμης κεκινημένου, οὐκ ἦθελον οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ὁπλα λαβεῖν, ἀποκοπὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ καὶ τον ἄρχην ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶτον οἱ δυνατοὶ κατεστάσαντο, δικτάτωρ ὁ ταύτης ἥξιωμένως ὁνόμαστο, ἠδύνατο δὲ πάντα ἔξ ἴσων τοῖς βασιλεύσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμιάν διὰ τοὺς Ταρκύνίους ἐμίσησαν, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ὑφέλειαν θέλοντες, ὡς πολυ ἰσχυοῦσης ἐσὶ τὰς τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν στάσεων περιστάσεις, ἐν ἀλλῳ ταύτῃ ὁνόματι εἵλοντο. ἤν μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰρηται, ἡ δικτατορία κατὰ γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας ἰσόρροπος, πλὴν ὅτι μὴ ἐφ' ἵππῳ ἀναβήναι ὁ

1 Κομίνιος Wolf, καμίνιος Μss.
BOOK IV

To a large extent success is the result of planning secretly, acting at the opportune moment, following one's own counsel, and having no chance to fall

Zonaras 7, 13.

that the rest withdrew. After this Spurius Cassius and Opiter Verginius, as consuls, made peace with the Sabines. And capturing the city of Camerium, they slew most of the inhabitants; the remnant they took alive and sold, and razed the city to the ground.

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

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

17 Πρὸς στάσεις ἐτράπτοντο. αὐτῶν δ’ ὅτι οἱ τε ἱσχύντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐν πάσι τῶν καταδεστέρων ὡς καὶ βασιλεύσοντες σφῶν προέχειν ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενότεροι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ

Zonaras 7, 13.

δικτάτωρ ἡδύνατο, εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλεν, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀναλώσατι τι εξῆν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἐγκρίσθη. δικάζειν δὲ καὶ ἀποκτείνειν καὶ οἶκοι καὶ ἐν στρατείαις ἡδύνατο, καὶ οὐ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππεῶν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ οὔτ’ ἐγκαλέσαι τις αὐτῷ οὔτ’ ἐναντίον τι διαπράξασθαι ἴσχυεν, οὔδὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, οὔτε δίκη ἐφέσιμος ἐγίνετο ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. οὐκ ἔπι πλέον δὲ τῶν ἔξοδρων ἢ τῆς δικτατορίας ἁρχὴ παρετείνετο, ἵνα μὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐν τοσοῦτο κράτει καὶ ἐξουσία ἀκράτῳ χρονίσας ὑπερφρονήσῃ καὶ πρὸς έρωτα μοναρχίας ἐκκυλισθῇ. ὁπερ ἐς ὠστερον καὶ ὁ Καὶσαρ Ἰουλίος ἐπαθεν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὰ νεομμεμένα τῆς δικτατορίας ἥξιοτο.

Zonaras 7, 14.

14. Τὸτε μὲν οὖν δικτάτορος γενομένου Δαρκίου οὐδὲν ὁ δήμος ἐνεστήρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐγένετο. τῶν δὲ Δατίνων ἡσυχίαν ἁγόντων ἐπὶ συνθῆκαις, οἱ δανεισται τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μετεχειρίζοντο βιαότερον, καὶ ὁ δήμος αὐθίς

1 στάσεις Mai, τάσεις Ms, 2 αὐτοῖς St., αὐτῶν Ms

108
BOOK IV

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

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

Zonaras 7, 13.

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

Zonaras 7, 14.

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

¹ Perhaps a comment on the dictatorship.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σμικρόν ὡς καὶ ἰσονομοῦμενοι πειθαρχεῖν ήθελον,
ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπληστοὶ τῆς ἔλευθερίας ὄντες καὶ
tαις οὐσίαις ταῖς ἐκείνων, οἱ δὲ ἀκρατῶς τῆς
τιμῆσεως ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς τούτων
2 ἐχρῶντο· καὶ οὔτως εξ ὧν πρότερον τὰ πρόσφορα
ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλους συνεφρόνουν καταλύ-
σαντες, οὐκέτι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅθεν οἴκρινον,
ἀλλὰ τὸ τε μέτριον ἀμφότεροι ὑπερορώντες, καὶ τὸ
ἀκρον οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιτάξεως οἱ δὲ τῆς οὐκ ἔθελο-
dουλείας προτιμώντες, οὔτε ἐκεῖνα κατειργάσαντο
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα τὰ μὲν ἀμνυόμενοι τὰ δὲ
3 καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ὡστ'
BOOK IV

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

Zonaras 7, 14.

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

αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνω κινδύνοις, οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἅπειρομένων δι' αὐτὰ ταύτα μάλιστα ἔσχον, διχοστάτησαν οὖνπερ σύχνοι τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες σφας πολλάκις παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενοι πολὺ πλεῖον κακὰ πρὸς ἄλληλων ὅ τῶν ἀλλοφύλῶν ἐπάθοι. καὶ μοι καὶ καταμαντεύσασθαι ἔξι αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεται ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂλλως ἐντ' οὖν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐντ' οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερηθεῖεν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἄλληλων σφαλεῖεν.—M. 23 (p. 142).

4 Ἀλλὰς τε γὰρ ἐδυσχέραιμον ὅτι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ δεόμενοι σφών οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ τυχόντες ἐφρόνουν, ἄλλῳ ἐν μὲν τῷ κινδύνῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο, σωθέντες δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησαν.—M. 24 (p. 143).

Zonaras 7, 14.

ταύτα τὸὺς πολεμίους ἐπεξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν· μήτε δὲ τῶν χρεῶν κοινοσθέντες μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενῶς τυχόντες ἐπιεικοῦς, καὶ πάλιν ἔθορύβουν τε καὶ ὁργίζοντο, καὶ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐστασίαζον.

Πολέμου δὲ αὐθις ἐπενεχθέντος οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ἐψηφίζοντο, ἡναντιώθησαν δ' ἐπεροῦ. διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἑρρήθη Οὐαλλέριος Μάρκος, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ποπλικολα συγγενείας γενό—

1 εἰτ' οὖν—εἰτ' οὖν Dind., δταν—δταν Ms. acc. to Bs., εἰτ' ἄν—εἰτ' ἄν Mai.

112
BOOK IV

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

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

Zonaras 7, 14.

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

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

5 "Ia gaρ δη μη καθ' εν μαχόμενοι ἀλλ' ύπερ τῆς οἴκειας χώρις έκαστοι ἄγωνιζόμενοι εὐχειρωτότεροι σφισί γένωται, διείλον τήν στρατιάν.—Μ. 25 (p. 143).

6 "Οτι ο δήμος ἰδιωτεύσαντος τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου τοῦ δικτάτορος1 χαλεπώτατα ἐστασάσεως, ἀπειροὶ καὶ τήν πολιτείαν νεοχμῶσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιούσιας ὄντες τοῦ πάνω ἀκριβοῦς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν αὐτοῦ παρεέντες, καὶ ἐκεῖνον διήμαρτον καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἦ τε πενία ἦ

Zonaras 7, 14.

μενο, καὶ τῷ πλήθει φιλούμενος ἐνθεν τοι τοσοῦτοι καὶ οὕτω προθύμως, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄθλα ὑπέσχετο, συνελέγησαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων κρατήσαι καὶ τῶν συμμαχικῶν αὐτοῖς Οὐνολύσκων καὶ Αἰκονών. ἔτι τούτως ἄλλας τε τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ ο δήμος τιμᾶς ἐγερθέτατο καὶ Μάξιμον ἐπωνόμασεν ἐξελληνιζόμενον δὲ μέγιστον σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ο δὲ θέλων τῷ δήμῳ χαρίσασθαι πολλὰ διελέχθη τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσχε ταύτῃ πειθήνων. διὸ σὺν ὁργῇ ἐκπέμψας τοῦ συνεδρίου δημηγορήσας τε πρὸς τοὺς δήμον τινα κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἡγεμονίαν ἀπείπατο.

Καὶ ο δήμος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον εἰς στάσιν ἠρέθιστο. οἱ γὰρ δανεισταί, τῆς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενοι καὶ μὴ τι τοῖς ὀφλοῦσιν ἐνδι-

1 δικτάτορος Mai, δικάτωρ Ms., and so elsewhere.

114
BOOK IV

So, in order that they\(^1\) might not fight as a single army but that each nation should have to struggle separately in defence of its own territory and so become easier to conquer, they divided the army.

The populace, as soon as Valerius, the dictator, became a private citizen, began a most bitter contest, going so far even as to make changes in the government. The well-to-do classes insisted, in the case of debts, upon the very letter of the agreement, refusing to abate one iota of it, and so they both failed to secure its fulfilment and were deprived of many other advantages; they had failed to recognize the

\[\text{Zonaras 7, 14.}\]

and was beloved by the people. Then, indeed, so many gathered, and they were animated with such zeal (for he had promised them prizes, too) that they conquered not only the Sabines, but also the Volsci and Aequi who were allied with them. As a result, the populace voted many honours to Valerius, among them the title of Maximus; this name, translated, means Greatest. And he, wishing to show the populace some favour, addressed the senate at great length, but could not get it to follow his guidance. Consequently he rushed out of the senate-house in a rage, and after delivering to the populace a tirade against the senate, resigned his command.

And the populace was all the more provoked to revolt. As for the money-lenders, by insisting in the case of debts upon the very letter of the agreement and refusing to make any concession to the

\(^1\) The Sabines, Volsci, and Aequi. Cf. Livy 2, 30.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

άκρατος βιαιώτατον κακόν, ἦ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπό
νοια, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλήθος προσλαβούσα, δυσμα-
χώτατον ἦστι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὄλγοι τῶν τὰ
πολιτικὰ πρασσόντων ἑθελοῦτι τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πρὸ
tοῦ σφόδρα δικαίων προαιροῦνται τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
τῆς τε ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως πολλάκις ἱττᾶται καὶ
ἐστιν ὅτε 1 καὶ παντελῶς καταλύεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ
σμικρὸν τι αὐτοῦ παραβραύσαν τὸ γοῦν λοιπὸν
μείζον ὑπὸ σώζει. πλείστων γοῦν δεινῶν τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἢ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου ἐς τοὺς ὑπο-
δεστέρους ἀκρίβεια ἐγένετο· ἄλλα τε γὰρ πολλὰ
κατὰ τῶν ὑπερημέρων αὐτοῖς ἐδέδοτο, καὶ εἰ δὴ
τινὶ 2 πλείους δεδανεικότες ἔτυχον, κρεουργηθῶν
αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὃν ὥφειλεν ἐξον-
σίαν εἰχον κατανέμεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰ καὶ τὰ

Zonaras 7, 14.

δύνατες, τού ἀκριβοῦς τε διήμαρτον καὶ πολλῶν
ἔτερων ἀπέτυχον. ἡ γὰρ πενία καὶ ἡ ἐκ ταύτης
ἀπόνοια κακόν ἦστι βίαιον, εἰ δὲ καὶ πλήθος
προσλάβοι, καὶ δυσμαχώτατον. πλείστων γοῦν
δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἢ τότε τῶν δυνατω-
tέρων πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους ἀκρίβεια γέγονεν.
ὡς γὰρ ταῖς στρατείαις τε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιείξετο
καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐξπίσαν σάφος ἔξηπατητο,
καὶ παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν οἱ ὥφειλέται ύβρίζοντο
καὶ ἡκίζοντο, ἐς τοσοῦτον ὄργησ ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς

1 ἦστιν δη Κρέβς, δη Μα. 2 τινι ν. Ηρω., τινες Μα.
BOOK IV

fact that extreme poverty is a most grievous curse, and that the desperation which results from it, especially if shared by a large number of people, is very difficult to combat. This is why not a few politicians voluntarily choose the course which is expedient in preference to that which is absolutely just. Justice is often worsted in an encounter with human nature and sometimes suffers total extinction, whereas expediency, by parting with a mere fragment of justice, preserves the greater portion of it intact. Thus the uncompromising attitude of the rich class toward the poor was responsible for very many ills that befell the Romans. Indeed, among the many remedies afforded them against delays in the payment of debts, was one to the effect that in case several persons had been lending to one man, they had authority to divide his body piecemeal according to the proportionate amounts that he was owing. And yet, however

Zonaras 7, 14.

debtors, they both failed to secure the full amount and also lost many other advantages. For poverty with the resulting desperation is a grievous curse, and is, if shared by a large number of people, very difficult to combat. Thus the uncompromising attitude at this time of the rich toward the poor was responsible for very many ills that befell the Romans. For as the soldiery came to be hard pressed by dint of campaigns and was baffled out and out in frequent hopes frequently entertained, and the debtors were repeatedly abused and maltreated by the money-lenders, they became inflamed to such
 Dio's Roman History

μάλιστα ἐνενόμιστο, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἑργὰς ποτέ ἐγεγόνει, πῶς γὰρ ἀν πρὸς τοσαύτην ὁμότητα προεχώρησαν οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀδικήματι τῶν ἀλούσι ἀδίφευξιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πολλάκις δόντες τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πετρῶν τοῦ Καπίτωλίου ὥσθείς ἡ̄ γε, εἰ περιγένοντο, ἐπιτρέποντες.—Μ. 26 (p. 143).

9 Ὅτι οἱ χρεωστοῦντες τὰ δάνεια κολωνῶν τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Γάϊον τινα προστησάμενοι τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὡσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἐλάμβανον, κἀκε τούτου τούς τε νόμους τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀπονοίας σφῶν ἀθενεστέρα ἀπέφηναν. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τούτους τε φοβηθέντες μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον πολεμωθῶσι καὶ τοὺς περίοικους μὴ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνεπίθεονται σφίσι, διεκρινεύσαντο αὐτοῖς πάνθ' ὡσα καθ' ἠδονὴν ἠλπίζου ἔσεσθαι προτείνοντες. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν

1 ἀλούσι supplied by v. Herw. 2 τούτους τε added by Bk. 3 πολεμωθῶσι Dindl., πολεμηθῶσι Ms. 4 μὴ added by Bk. 5 τὸ μὲν Bk., τὸ (?) Ms. 6 μᾶλλον Polak, μάλιστα Ms. 118
well this principle may have been recognized, it surely had never been put into practice. For how could a nation have proceeded to such lengths of cruelty when it frequently granted to those convicted of some crime a refuge for their safety and allowed such as were thrust from the cliffs of the Capitoline to live in case they survived the experience?

Those who were owing debts took possession of a certain hill, and after placing one Gaius at their head, proceeded to secure their food from the country as from hostile territory, thereby demonstrating that laws were weaker than arms, and justice weaker than their desperation. The senators, fearing both that these men might become more estranged and that the neighbouring tribes might, in view of the crisis, attack them simultaneously, proposed terms to the seceders, offering everything that they hoped might please them. The latter at first maintained

Zonaras 7, 14.

a pitch of fury that many of the destitute abandoned the city or withdrew from the camp, and like enemies lived on the country.

When this situation had been brought about, since numbers came flocking to the side of the seceders, the senators, dreading both that the latter might become more estranged and that the neighbouring tribes might take advantage of the sedition and attack them simultaneously, proposed terms, in which they promised to do everything for them that they desired. But when the others displayed a
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρῶτον ἑθρασύνοντο, θαυμασίω δὲ δὴ τινὶ τρόπῳ κατέστησαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀτάκτως διεβόω, Ἀγρίππας εἰς τῶν πρέσβεων μῦθον τινὸς ἐπακούσαί σφας ἥξισε, καὶ τυχὼν ἐίπεν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ποτὲ τάλλα μέλη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἑστασίασε, λέγοντα αὐτὰ μὲν καὶ ἀσιτα καὶ ἀποτα πονεῖν καὶ ταλαυπώρειν ἀτε καὶ ἀπαντα αὐτῇ διακονοῦμεν. ἐκείνῃ δὲ δὴ μὴτε τινὰ πόνον ἔχειν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς μόνην ἐμπίπτισασθαί. καὶ τέλος ἐξηφίσαιμο τοῦτο μηκέτι μήτε τὰς χειρὰς τῷ στόματι προσ-

Zonaras 7, 14.

ἐθρασύνοντο καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἐδέχοντο, εἰς τῶν πρέσβεων Ἀγρίππας Μενήμιος μῦθον τινὸς σφας ἀκούσαί ἥξισε· καὶ τυχὼν εἴπε στασίασαι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα τὰ μέλη πάντα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ φάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἡμεῖς τὰς τε χειρὰς ἐνεργοῖς εἰς ἐργα καὶ τοὺς πόδας πρὸς πορείαν τιθέαμεν, τὴν γλώσσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ χεῖλη ὅτι δὲ ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς καρδίας θυμήματα διαγγέλλονται, ταύτα δὲ αὖ ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν οἱ ἑτέρων λόγοι τῷ νοτί παραπέμπονται, τὰς δὲ χειρὰς ὅτι ἐργάτιδες οὐσαι ἡμεῖς περιποιούμεθα πορισμοῦ, τοὺς πόδας δὲ αὖθις ὅτι ἀπαν ἡμεῖς τὸ σῶμα φέροντες κοπιῶμεν κἀ ταῖς πορείαις κἀ ταῖς ἐργασίαις κἀ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἡμῶν δὲ ἐνεργοῦντον οὕτω σὺ μόνη ἁσυντελής οὐσα καὶ ἀεργὸς ὑπὸ πάντων ἡμῶν ὡς δέσποινα τις ὑπηρετή

1 δὲ δὴ Bs., δὴ Ms.
2 αὐτῇ διακονοῦμενa Mai, αὐτ𨱽 διακονομένοις Ms.
BOOK IV

a bold front, but were brought to reason in a remarkable way. When they kept up a series of disorderly shouts, Agrippa, one of the envoys, begged them to hearken to a fable, and having obtained their consent, spoke as follows: "Once all the Members of Man began a contention against the Belly, declaring that they worked and toiled without food or drink, being at the beck and call of the Belly in everything, whereas it endured no labour and alone got its fill of nourishment. And finally they voted that the Hands should no longer convey aught to the Mouth nor the latter receive anything,

Zonaras 7, 14.

bolder front than ever and would accept no offer, one of the envoys, Menenius Agrippa, begged them to hearken to a fable. After obtaining their consent he spoke as follows: "Once all the Members of the Body began a contention against the Belly. And the Eyes said: 'We give the Hands the power to work and the Feet the power to walk.' And the Tongue and the Lips: 'Through us the counsels of the Heart are made known.' And then the Ears: 'Through us the words of others are conveyed to the Mind.' And the Hands: 'We are the workers and lay up stores of wealth.' And again the Feet: 'We tire ourselves out carrying the whole body in its journeying and working and standing.' [And all in a chorus]: 'While we labour so, thou alone, free from contribution and labour, like a mistress art
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

φέρειν μήτε ἐκεῖνο λαμβάνειν, ὅπως ὦτι μύλιστα ἡ γαστήρ ἐνδεχὴς καὶ σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ γενομένη φθαρείη. ὡς δὲ ἐδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔξισχυάνθη τὸ σῶμα σύμπαν, ἐπείτα ὑπέδωκε καὶ ἔξεκαμε. πονήρως οὐν τὰ μέλη σφῶν ἂ ἔχουντα συνέγνω τε ἐν ἐκείνῃ 1 καὶ τὴν σφετέραν σωτηρίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν 12 τροφὴν. ἀκοῦσαν δὲ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος συνήκεν

Zonaras 7, 14.

καὶ τῶν ἐκ καμάτου πάντων ἰμῶν πορισμῶν ἀπολαύεις αὑτῇ. ἡ δὲ γαστήρ συνέθετο καὶ αὐτῇ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχειν, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐφ' ἀρχηγητῶν με εάσατε, μηδὲν μοι προσφέροντες. ἐδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ μή τι τοῦ λοιποῦ χωρηγεῖσθαι τῇ γαστρὶ κοινῶς ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μέλεσι. τροφῆς δὲ μὴ προσφερομένης αὐτῇ οὕθ' ἄι χεῖρες πρὸς ἔργον ἦσαν εὐκίνητοι διὰ τὴν ἐνδειαν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀτονήσασαι, οὐθ' οἱ πόδες ἐρρωντο, οὔτε τι ἔτερον τῶν μελῶν τὴν οὐκείαν ἐνέργειαν παρεῖχεν ἀπρόσκοπον, ἀλλ' ἀπρακτὰ πάντα δυσκίνητα τε ἡ καὶ τέλεον ἦσαν ἀκίνητα. καὶ τὸτε συνήκαν ὅτι τὰ τῇ γαστρὶ προσφέρομενα οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκείνη, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κεχορήγηται, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκαστῷ τῶν ἐκείνη προσαγομένων παραπλαίει.

Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις τὸ πλῆθος συνῆκεν ὡς αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων οὔσια καὶ τοῖς πένησιν εἰσιν εἰς ὁφελείαν, καὶ εἰ κἀκεῖνοι ὦφελοῦντο ἐκ δανεισμάτων καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐξουσιν, οὐκ εἰς βλάβην τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν ἀποβαίνει, ὡς εἰ γε μὴ ἔχοιεν

1 ἐν ἐκείνῃ Bs., ἐκεῖνοι Ms.

122
BOOK IV

to the end that the Belly might so far as possible come to lack both food and drink and so perish. Now when this decision had been reached and put into execution, at first the entire body began to wither away and next it gave out and collapsed. Accordingly, the Members through their own desperate state grew conscious that in the Belly lay their own salvation and restored to it its nourishment." On hearing this the multitude comprehended that

Zonaras 7, 14.

served by us all and the fruit of all our labours thou thyself alone dost enjoy.' The Belly herself admitted that this was so, and added: 'If you like, furnish me nothing and leave me unsupplied.' This proposition was accepted; and the Members voted unanimously nevermore to supply the Belly by their common effort. When no food was presented to her, the Hands were not nimble to work, being relaxed on account of the Belly's need, nor were the Feet possessed of strength, nor did any other of the Members show its proper activity unimpaired, but all were inefficient, slow, or completely motionless. And then they comprehended that the offerings made to the Belly had been supplied no more to her than to themselves and that each one of them incidentally enjoyed the benefit conferred upon her."

Through these words the multitude comprehended that the abundance of the prosperous tends also to the advantage of the poor, and that even though the former be advantaged by their loans and though they increase their abundance, the outcome of this is not hurtful to the interests of the many; since, if it
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οτί καὶ τὰ τῶν πενήτων αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων περιουσίαν ἀνέχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἦπιωτεροί ἐγένοντο καὶ κατηλλάγησαν ἀφεσιν τῶν τε δανεισμάτων καὶ τῶν ὑπερημερίων εὑρόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐψηφίσθη.—Μ. 27 (p. 144).

14 Καὶ ἔδοκει μήτ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου εἶναι, καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀλλοίς,1 τοῖς μὲν ἐκούσι τοῖς δὲ ἀκούσιν . . .—Μ. 28 (p. 145).

"Οτι οὗτας πολλοί καθ’ ἐν γενόμενοι πλεονεκτήσωσι βιασάμενοι, παραχρῆμα μὲν ὀμολογία τινὶ ἐπιεικεὶ θρασύνονται, διαλυθέντες δὲ ἄλλος κατ’ ἄλλην πρόφασιν δικαιοῦνται.—Μ. 29 (p. 146).

Zonaras 7, 14.

οἱ πλουτοῦντες, οὐδ’ οἱ πένητες ἂν ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἔξουσι τοὺς δανείσοντας, καὶ ἀπολούνται χρείας κατεπευγοῦσις. ἐντεύθεν ἦπιωτεροί γενόμενοι κατηλλάγησαν, κοῦφισμον τῶν ὀφειλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπερημερίων ἀφεσιν τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης αὐτοῖς.

Zonaras 7, 15.

15. Φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ σκεδασθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς συστάσεως ἢ τᾶς συνθῆκας οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖς ἔξουσιν ἢ κακωθώσι διαλυθέντες καὶ ἄλλος κατ’ ἄλλην πρόφασιν κολάξιοτο συνεχόμενοι, συνέθεντο ἐπαρήγειν ἄλληλος, ἂν τις τι ἄδικοῖτο, καὶ ὀρκοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὕπεσχον, καὶ προστάτας αὐτίκα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν δύο προεχειρίσαντο, εἶτα καὶ πλείους, ἵν’ εἶεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ συμμορίαν

1 ἄλλοις Mai, ἄλλωs (?) Ms.
the abundance of the prosperous also supports the cause of the poor; therefore they became milder and were reconciled on being granted a release from their debts and from seizures therefor. These terms, then, were voted by the senate.

And it did not seem to be inconsistent with human nature, and to many others also, some willingly, some unwillingly . . .

Whenever a large number of men band together and seek their own advantage by violence, they have for the time being some equitable agreement and display boldness, but later they become divided and are punished on various pretexts.

Zonaras 7, 14.

were not for the wealth possessed by the rich, the poor would not have in times of need persons to lend to them and would perish under the pressure of want. Thereupon they became milder and were reconciled, after the senate had voted a lightening of their debts and release from seizures therefor.

Zonaras 7, 15.

15. They feared, however, that when their league had been disbanded they might either find their agreements ineffectual or might be harmed through their separation, being arrested and punished one after another on various pretexts. So they formed a compact to lend aid to one another in case any one of them should be wronged in any particular; and they took oaths to this effect and forthwith elected from their own number two representatives,—and afterward still more,—in order that each class \(^1\) might

\(^1\) The reference is to the classes of Servius Tullius.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 15.

βοηθοί τε καὶ τιμωροί. καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄπαξ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτοτε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀρξάμενον οὕτω προέβαινε, καὶ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς προστάτας ὡς ἠρχὴν τινα ἀπεδεικνυσαν, τῇ μὲν τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσῃ καλουμένους τριβούνους (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ χιλιάρχοι κέκληται), δημάρχους δὲ προσαγω- ρευομένους τῇ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ. ἵνα δὲ διαστέλ- ληται ἢ τῶν τριβούνων προσηγορία, τοῖς μὲν τὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ τοῦ πλήθους προσέθεντο πρόσρημα. οὐτοὶ δὴ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ τριβούνοι ἡ δήμαρχοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιοι τῇ Ἡρώμη γεγόνασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄνομα οὐκ ἔσχον εὐθὺς, ἵσχυν δὲ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκτήσαντο, ἥμνυον τε δεομένῳ παντί, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιβοσάμενον σφᾶς ἀφήροῦντο οὐκ ἐκ μόνων ἰδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων, πλὴν τῶν δικτατόρων. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἀπόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο, κἀκεῖνος ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάττετο καὶ ἢ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰσῆγετο ἢ καὶ ἀπελύετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τί που ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ γενέσθαι, ἐκώλυν, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἢν ὁ ποιῶν κἀν ἀρχων κἀν ὁ δήμος κἀν ἡ βουλή πράττει ἐμελλέ τι κἀν ψηφίζεσθαι, εἰς δὲ τις ἡναντίωτος δήμαρχος, ἀπρακτὸς καὶ ἡ πράξεις καὶ ἡ ψήφος ἐγίνετο. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος καὶ τὴν γερού- σιαν ἄθροιζεν καὶ ἦσημοῦ τὸν μὴ πειθαρχοῦντα καὶ μαντεία χρῆσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ἐπετράπησαν ἢ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὁ γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς
BOOK IV

Zonaras 7, 15.

have a helper and avenger. And this they did not once only, but the idea now conceived in this form kept growing, and they appointed their representative for a year, as to some office. The men were called in the tongue of the Latins tribuni,—the same name that was given to the commanders of a thousand,¹—but were styled démarchoi [leaders of the people] in the Greek language. In order, however, to distinguish between the titles of the tribunes, they added in the one case the phrase "of the soldiers," and in the other the phrase "of the people." Now these tribunes of the people (or démarchoi) became responsible for great evils that befell Rome. For though they did not immediately secure the title of magistrates, they gained power beyond all the others, defending every one who begged protection and rescuing every one who called upon them not only from private individuals, but from the very magistrates, except the dictators. If any one ever invoked them when absent, he, too, was released from the person holding him prisoner and was either brought before the populace by them or was set free. And if ever they saw fit that anything should not be done, they prevented it, whether the person acting were a private citizen or a magistrate; and if the populace or the senate was about to do or vote anything and a single tribune opposed it, the action or the vote became null and void. As time went on, they were allowed, or allowed themselves, to summon the senate, to punish anybody who disobeyed them, to practise divination, and to hold court. And in the case of anything

¹ The word χιλαρχὸς literally means the "leader of a thousand," but is regularly used for the Roman military tribunes (and consular tribunes).
Κατὰ τὸ φύσει τοὺς πλείστους πρὸς τοὺς συνάρχοντας διάφορον (χαλεπόν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ συμφρονησάι) πᾶσα

Zonaras 7, 15.

οὐκ ἔξην, κατώρθουν ἐκ τῆς ἀνανταγωνίστου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ πραττόμενον ὡς ἐτέρων ἐναντιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νόμους εἰσήγαγον ἵνα ὀστίς αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ ἡ λόγῳ προσκρούσῃ, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκαὶ καὶ ἄρχων, ἰερὸς τε ἢ καὶ τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχθαι. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι ἀπολολέναι ἢν ὀὔτω γὰρ πᾶν ὀπερ ἄν ὡσπερ τι θύμα εἰς σφαγὴν καθιερώθη ὀνόμαστο. καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς δημάρχους τὸ πλῆθος σακροσάγκτους ὠνόμασαν, οἴον τείχη ἁγία εἰς φρούραν τῶν σφᾶς ἐπικαλομένων τυγχάνοντας. σάκρα γὰρ παρὰ Ρωμαίοις τὰ τείχη καὶ σάγκτα τὰ ἁγία. ἔδρων οὖν πολλὰ ἀτοπαν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπάτους ἐβαλλόν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ ἔθαβαν τοὺς τινὰς μηδὲ λόγον τυγχάνοντας. καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐναντιωθήναι ἐτόλμα· εἰ δὲ μῆ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἱερὸς ἐγίνετο. εἰ μέντοι τινὲς μη παρὰ πάντων τῶν δημάρχων κατεδιάκοντο, τοὺς μή ὁμογομονοῦντας ἐπεκαλοῦντο εἰς ἀρωγήν, καὶ οὕτως εἰς δίκην καθίσταντο ἡ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἡ παρὰ τις δικασταῖς ἡ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει, καὶ τῆς νυκώσης ἐγίνοντο. εἰς δέκα δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου οἱ δημάρχοι κατέστησαν θὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἱσχύος κατεβέβλητο. φύσει γὰρ ὡσπερ, φθόνῳ δὲ μάλλον, ἀλλήλοις οἱ συνάρχοντες διαφέρονται. καὶ χαλεπὸν πολλοὺς ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα ἐντα ὑμφρονησάι. ἀμα δὲ

1 συμφρονησάι Mai, σωφρονησάι Ms.
BOOK IV

Through the tendency, natural to most persons, to differ with their fellow officials,—since it is always difficult for a number of men to attain harmony, espe-

Zonaras 7, 15.

that was unlawful for them to do, they gained their point by their incontestable opposition to every project undertaken by others. For they introduced laws to the effect that whoever should obstruct them by deed or word, be he private citizen or magistrate, should be "devoted" and under a curse. This being "devoted" meant destruction; for this was the term applied to everything that was consecrated, like a victim, for slaughter. The tribunes themselves were termed by the multitude sacrosanct, since they served as sacred walls, so to speak, for the shelter of such as invoked them; for sacra among the Romans means "walls," and sancta "sacred." 1 Many of their actions were unwarrantable, for they threw even consuls into prison and put men to death without granting them a hearing. Nobody ventured to oppose them; or, in case anyone did, he himself became "devoted." If, however, persons were not condemned by all the tribunes, they would call to their help those who had not concurred in the verdict, and so were given a regular trial before the tribunes themselves or before a jury or before the populace, and were subject to the deciding vote. In the course of time the number of the tribunes was fixed at ten, and as a result of this most of their power was overthrown. For as if by very nature, yet more by reason of jealousy, fellow-officials invariably quarrel; and it is difficult for a number of men,

1 This last statement is doubtless an addition of Zonaras, who did not fully understand Dio's reference to the peculiar sacredness attached by the Romans to their walls.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτῶν ἡ ἱσχύς διεσπάτω καὶ κατετέμνετο· οὖδὲν γὰρ ὀφελος ὡν ἐγένετο  ἢ, εἰ καὶ εἰς σφῶν ἀντείπεν· τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ 2 τοῖς βιαξομένοις τινὰς ἐναντιοῦσθαι λαμβάνειν, ἵσχυρότερος ὁ κωλύων τι πραχθήναι τῶν σπουδαζόντων αὐτὸ ἐγέρνετο.—Μ. 30 (p. 146).

Zonaras 7, 15.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διασπάν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν μηχανώμενοι, ὥστε ἀσθενεστεροί διχογνωμονοῦντες ὡσιν, ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοίσδε, οἱ δὲ τοίσδε προσέτηντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς σφῶν ἀντείπε, τὰς τῶν ἄλλων διαγνώσεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέφαινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὔκ εἰσήσαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τὰ ποιούμενα παρετήρουν, καὶ εἰ τι μὴ αὐτοῦς ἤρεσκε, παραχρῆμα ἀνθίσταντο· εἰτὰ καὶ εἰσεκαλοῦντο ἐντός· εἰσέπειτα μέντοι καὶ μετέλαβον τῆς βουλείας οἱ δημαρχήσαντες, καὶ τέλος καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινες ἥξισαν δημαρχεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις εὐπατρίδης ἑτύχανεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδέχετο τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὁ ὁμίλος. κατὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐπατρίδων ἑλόμενοι τοὺς δημάρχους, καὶ πρὸς τοσαῦτην προαγωγόντες ἱσχύν, ἐδεδοκίσασαν μὴ τις αὐτῶν τῇ ἱσχὺς ἐς τοὐναντίον κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσται. εἰ δὲ τις τὸ τοῦ γένους ἀξίωμα ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους μετέστη νόμισιν, ἀσμένως αὐτῶν

1 ὡν Bk., ὡς Ms. acc. to Mai.
2 τὸ supplied by v. Herw.
BOOK IV

...ually in a position of any influence,—all their power was being dissipated and torn to shreds; for none of their resolutions was valid in case even one of them opposed it. They had originally received their office for no other purpose than to resist such as were oppressing anybody, and thus he who tried to prevent any measure from being carried into effect was sure to prove stronger than those who supported it.

Zonaras 7, 15.

...ually in a position of influence, to attain harmony. No sooner did others, planning to shatter their influence, go to intriguing, in order that dissension might make them weaker, than the tribunes actually attached themselves some to the one party and some to the other. If even one of them opposed a measure, he rendered the decisions of the rest null and void. Now at first they did not enter the senate-house, but sat at the entrance and watched proceedings, and in case anything failed to please them, they would then and there oppose it. Next they were invited inside. Later, however, the ex-tribunes became members of the senate, and finally some of the senators even sought to be tribunes—unless one chanced to be a patrician. Patricians the people would not accept; for after choosing the tribunes to defend them against the patricians, and advancing them to so great power, they feared that a patrician might turn this power to contrary purposes and use it against them. But if a man abjured the rank given him by birth and changed his status to that of a common citizen, they received him gladly. And a
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 15.

προσεδέχοντο. καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν σφόδρα εὐπα
tridá̂ν ἀπείπαντο τὴν εὐγένειαν ἔρωτι τοῦ μέγα
dυνηθῆναι, καὶ ἐδημάρχησαν.

Οὐτω μὲν ὡς ἡ τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία
συνέστη, οἷς καὶ ἀγορανόμους δύο προσείλοντο,
οἶν ὑπηρέτας σφίσιν ἐσομένους πρὸς γράμματα.
pάντα γὰρ τὰ τε παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει καὶ τὰ παρὰ
tῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γραφόμενα λαμβάνοντες,
ὡστε μηδὲν σφᾶς τῶν πραττομένων λανθάνειν,
ἐφύλασσον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄρχαιον ἐπὶ τούτῳ
ηροῦντο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικάξειν, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ
ἀλλ’ ἀττα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀφνίων ἀγοράν ἔπετρά-
πησαν, οἴκεν καὶ ἀγορανόμου τοῖς ἐλληνίζουσιν
ἀνομάσθησαν.
number of the most prominent patricians actually did renounce their nobility, through desire for the immense influence possible, and so became tribunes. Such was the origin of the power of the tribunes. In addition to them the people chose two aediles to be their assistants in the matter of documents. These took charge of everything that was submitted in writing to the plebs, to the populace, and to the senate, and kept it, so that nothing that was done escaped their notice. This and the trying of cases were the objects for which they were chosen anciently, but later they were charged, among other duties, with the supervision of the provision market, whence they came to be called *agoranomoi* [market-overseers] by the Greeks.
Zonaras 7, 16.

16. Ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις ἡ πρώτη οὕτω τοῖς Ἑρω-μαίοις κατέπαυσεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιοίκων σφίσι διὰ τὴν στάσιν πολλῶν κατ' αὐτῶν κινηθέντων, μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν ὁμονοήσαντες ἐρρωμένοις τούς ἔξ ἐκεῖνων πολέμους διήνεγκαν καὶ πάντας ἐνίκησαν. ὅτε καὶ Κοριόλοους πολιορκοῦντες ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μικροῦ ἐκκινῆσαν, ἐπὶ μῆς Γυναῖος Μάρκιου εὐπατρίδης ἀνὴρ ἡρίστευσε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπώσατο· δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἀλλος τε ἐδοξάσθη καὶ Κοριολάνος ἐκ τοῦ έθνους οὐ ἐτρέψατο ἐπεκλήθη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 532-42.

'Ῥωμαῖοι Κοριόλανον τὴν πόλιν πολεμοῦντες, ὥς προσ φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν οἱ πάντες ἀνὰ κράτος. ἀυτὸς δ’ εἰς τὴν πολέμου πόλιν στραφεῖς καὶ μόνος ἡνεφρεμένου ἐφευρόν ἐνέτρησεν ἐκεῖνην, λαμπρῶς δ’ ἀρθέσας τῆς φλωροῦ ἐπανάβας τὸν ὑπὸ τροπὴν ὑμὴ πολικῇ κατοπίσθεν ἐμπιέτει τῶν βαρβάρων, οἱ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διωγμόν τὸν ἀστρεπτον ἐπολοῦν, ὁπερ στραφεῖτε καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλέγον ἅδοντες πόλιν καὶ πορθηθήναι δόξαντες ἐφευγον ἀλλαχόσε. ἀυτὸς Ῥωμαίοις σώσας δ’ πορθήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν ἡπερ

1 φυγὴν Kiessling, αὐτὴν Mss.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK V

Dio, Book V. "This was the honour which [the people] bestowed upon him." ¹

Zonaras 7, 16.

16. The first secession of the Romans, then, terminated as described. Now many of the neighbouring tribes had taken advantage of the secession to begin hostilities against them; but the Romans after their reconciliation conducted vigorously and harmoniously the wars brought by their enemies and conquered them all. It was at this time that in the siege of Corioli they came within an ace of being driven from their very camp; but a patrician, Gnaeus Marcius, showed his prowess and repelled the assailants. For this he received various marks of distinction and was given the title of Coriolanus from the people which

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 532-42.

When the Romans were warring against the city of Coriolanum,² and had all turned to flight at full speed, he [Coriolanus] turned toward the hostile city, and finding it open, set fire to it all alone. As the flames rose brilliantly, he mounted his horse and fell with great violence upon the rear of the barbarians, who were causing headlong flight to the Romans. They wheeled about, and when they saw the fire consuming the city, thinking it was sacked, they fled in another direction. And he, as a result of saving the Romans and sacking

¹ Reference to Cn. Marcius after the capture of Corioli?
² Tzetzes has confused the name of the city and that of the people, calling the former Coriolanum (or Coriolanus?) and the other Corioli; see pp. 137, 151.
18,2 Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ βάρδιον οὕτω ἐν πᾶσι τίνα ἰσχύειν οὕτω ἐν ἐκατέρω σὰ μά τοις τε πολεμικοῖς καὶ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἁρετήν ἔχειν οὐ τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυριζόμενοι ἀνοηταίνουσιν ὡς πλήθει, καὶ τὰ ἄθρως εὐτυχήσαντ᾿ οὐκ ἔπι πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀνθεὶ. δι’ οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ποθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρθεῖς, ἔπειτα πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἔξεπεσεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Οὐόλσκων τῇ πατρίδι δουλώσας τὴν οἰκείαν αὖ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐς πᾶν κινδύνον κατέστησεν.—Μ. 31 (p. 146).

3 "Οτι δ’ αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι  
θελήσας καὶ μὴ 
τελεσθείς ἡγανόκτησε 
τῷ ὀμίλῳ, καὶ ἐκ 
τούτου καὶ 
ἐκ τοῦ τοῖς πολὺ 
δυσμένοις βαρύνεσθαι,

Zonaras 7, 16.

καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἡρθη, οὐ πολλῷ δ’ ύστερον 
στρατηγῆσαι σπεύδων καὶ μὴ 
τυχών, ἡγανόκτησε 
κατὰ τοῦ ὀμίλου καὶ τοὺς 
δημάρχους ἐβαρύνεσθαι.

Tsatzzes, Chil. 6, 542–50.

Κοριόλανον εἰρήκαμεν καλεῖσθαι, | πρὸς τῷ κα- 
λεῖσθαι πρότερον Μάρκος καὶ Γναῖος ἀμα | ἔσχε 
καὶ Κοριόλανος ἐκ τοῦ τροπαίου κλῆσιν. | οἷα δ’ ὁ 
φθόνος εἰσθεν ποιεῖν τοῖς εὐφράγεταις, | μετὰ μικρῶν 
ἐν λογισμοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα ξημιούσιν. | ὑπερπαθήσας 
δ’ ὁ ἄνηρ θυμῶ δικαιοτάτῳ | ἄφεις γυναικα τὴν 
αὐτοῦ, μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα | πρὸς Κοριόλους 
ἐρχεται, καὶ δέχονται τὸν ἄνδρα. | καὶ δὴ καὶ 
παρετάξαντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων.

1 ἰσχυριζόμενοι Bk., ἐγχειριζόμενοι Ms.
2 τὰ ἄθρως εὐτυχήσαντ’ Bk. (and so perhaps Ms.), τῷ ἄθρω 
εὐτυχήσαντα Mai.
3 αὖ Bk., αὖ Kiss.
4 στρατηγῆσαι Mai (from Zon.), στρατηγὸς Ms.
BOOK V

For it is not easy for a man either to be strong at all points or to possess excellence in the arts both of war and of peace at the same time. Those who are physically strong are, as a rule, weak-minded, and success that has come in unstinted measure generally does not flourish equally well everywhere. This explains why, after having once been exalted by the citizens to the foremost rank, he was not long afterward exiled by them, and how it was that after making the city of the Volsci a slave to his country he with the aid of that people brought his own land in turn into the very extreme of danger.

The same man wished to be made praetor, and upon failing to secure the office became angry at the populace; because of this and also because of his displeasure at the great influence of the tribunes he

Zonaras 7, 16.

he had routed. For the time he was thus exalted, but not long afterward he was anxious to be made praetor and failed, and therefore became angry with the populace and evinced displeasure toward the

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 542–50.

the city, which we have already said was called Coriolanus, received, in addition to his former names, Marcus and Gnaeus, the title of Coriolanus, from his victory. But—such is the treatment that jealousy accords to benefactors—after a little in the course of their reflections they fined the man. And he, grievously smarting with most just wrath, left his wife, his mother, and his country, and went to the Corioli, who received him. And they arrayed themselves against the Romans.

1 See note on p. 135.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρρησίᾳ πλείον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὁμοίους οἱ ἐκ τῶν κατεργασμέων ἔχοντο. 4 καὶ λιμῷ γενομένου ἱσχυροῦ καὶ Νώμης πόλεως ἀποικίζονται βουλομένης, τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρως αὐτοῖς τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἕττασατο, ὡς καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῆς τροφῆς στερεωμένοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ προ感人 ἐκδιδόμενοι: ὅταν γὰρ ἐς ὑποφήν τινές ἄλληλων ἐλθοῦσι, πάντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ σφῶν γιγνόμενα ἄλλοις κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικὸν λαμβάνουσι. καὶ ὁ Κοριολάνδος ἄλλως τε ἐν ὀλυγορίᾳ αὐτοῖς ἑποίησατο, καὶ σίτου πολλαχόθεν κομμουθότος, καὶ τοῦ γε πλείστου προῖκα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικελία βασιλέων πεμφθέντος, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε σφισὶ διαλαχεῖν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἶτουν. οἱ οὖν δημαρχοὶ, ὅσπερ ποὺ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καταλῦσαι ἐγλίχετο, τυραννίδος αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος ῥαγαώντες ἐξῆλασαν, καὶ τῶν πάντων τῶν βουλευτῶν ῥαώντων καὶ δεινῶν ποιομένων ὅτι καὶ περὶ σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν ἔτολμοι. ἐκπεσῶν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐσολοκους

Zonaras 7, 16.

οἱ οὖν δημαρχοὶ, οὓς καταλῦσαι ἐγλίχετο, αἰτίας τινάς καὶ αὐτοῦ συμφορήσαντες τυραννίδος αὐτῷ προσήφαν αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς 'Ρώμης ἐξῆλασαν. ἐκπεσῶν οὖν τοῖς Οὐσολούσκους εὐθὺς προσεχώρησεν.

1 ὅπω τὸ πλῆθος Κρέμπ, τοῦ πλῆθους Μ. 2 τῶν βουλευτῶν supplied by Polak.
BOOK V

employed greater frankness in speaking to the people than was attempted by others whose deeds entitled them to the same rank as himself. When a severe famine had broken out and the town of Norba called for a colony, the multitude blamed the nobles on both these scores, maintaining that through them they were being deprived of food and were being purposely delivered into the hands of their enemies for manifest destruction. For whenever persons come to suspect each other, they take amiss everything even that is done in their behalf, judging it all in a spirit of party hatred. Coriolanus had invariably shown contempt for the people, and after grain had been brought in from many sources, most of it sent as a gift from princes in Sicily, he would not allow them to receive allotments of it as they were demanding. Accordingly, the tribunes, whose office he was especially eager to abolish, brought him to trial before the populace on a charge of aiming at tyranny and exiled him. It availed naught that all the senators cried out and expressed their indignation at the fact that the tribunes dared to pass such sentence upon their order. So on being expelled he betook himself, raging at his treatment, to the Volsci, though they

Zonaras 7, 16.

tribunes. Accordingly, the latter, whose office he was especially eager to abolish, heaped up accusations against him, fixed upon him a charge of aiming at tyranny, and exiled him from Rome. So, on being expelled, he forthwith went over to the Volsci.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καίπερ ἐχθίστους ὄντας ὅργῃ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας ὅς ἐπεπείραντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀσμένως δέξεθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἀντίπαλα ἢ καὶ μείζω δι’ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἡρωμάιους δὲν ἔπαθον δράσειν ἀντελπίσαντας. ἵπ’ ὁ γὰρ ἀν τις σφόδρα κακοπάθῃ, πρὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ εὐ πείσεσθαι, βουλομένων γε καὶ δυναμένων εὗ ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἠλάχιστα πιστεύει.—M. 32 (p. 147).

Zonaras 7, 16.

*Ὅν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ οὐ ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἔχαριν τε αὐτῷ καὶ αὐθείας πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀττίῳ Τουλλίῳ πρὸς τούτων ἐρεθίζοντο ἀπαντας· οὐ δὲ ὁμιλὸς ἀπρόθυμος ἦν. ὡς οὖν οὔτε παρανώντες οὔτ’ ἐκφοβοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δυνατοὶ κίνησαι πρὸς ὀπλῶν ἄρσεν ἡδύναντο, τοιὸνε τι ἐμχανήσαντο. ἱπποδρομίαν τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλοι τε τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐκολούσκοι πλήθει πολλῷ κατὰ θέα νυκήλθοσαν. οὐ δὲ Τούλλιος τοὺς τῶν Ἡρωμαίων στρατηγοὺς ἐπείσεθε, ὡς εὐνοοῦν δήθεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Οὐκολούσκους φυλάσσεσθαι, παρεσκευασμένους ἐπιθέσει σφίσιν ἀνελπίστως ἐν τῇ ἱπποδρομίᾳ. οὐ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ μήνυμα κοινωσάμενοι, τοὺς Οὐκολούσκους αὐτίκα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγώνος ἀπαντας ἐξεκήρυξαν. οὐ δὲ δυσανασχετήσαντες ὅτι μόνοι ἐκ πάντων ἐξελήλυτο, ἐτοιμοὶ πρὸς μάχην ἐγένοντο. καὶ προστησόμενοι τὸν Κοριο-

1 ὅς supplied by Krebs. 2 αὐτὸν Bs., αὐτὸ Ms. 3 ἀντελπίσαντας Bk., ἀντελπίσας Ms. 4 τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων v. Herw., τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν Ms. 5 εὗ Bk., τι Ms.

140
BOOK V

had been his bitterest foes. He expected that because of his valour, of which they had had a taste, and because of the wrath that he cherished toward his fellow-citizens they would receive him gladly, since they might hope by his aid to inflict upon the Romans injuries equal to those they had received, or even greater. For when one has suffered severe injuries at the hands of any persons, one is strongly inclined to expect benefits as well from these same people in case they are willing and also able to confer favours.

Zonaras 7, 16.

The chief men there and the magistrates were delighted and again made ready for war. Attius Tullius was urging this course upon them all, but the multitude was lacking in enthusiasm. So when the leaders could prevail upon them neither by exhortation nor by intimidation to take up arms, they concocted the following scheme. The Romans were conducting a horse-race, and the Volsci among other neighbouring peoples had gathered in a large body to behold the spectacle. Tullius, as a pretended friend of the Romans, persuaded the Roman praetors that they should keep watch on the Volsci, since the latter had made ready to attack them unexpectedly in the midst of the horse-race. The praetors, after communicating the information to the others, made proclamation at once, before the contest, that all the Volsci must depart. The Volsci, indignant because they alone of all the spectators had been expelled, put themselves in readiness for battle. Placing at
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

7 Πανύ γὰρ περιθύμως ἔφετεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας κινδυνεύοντες μηδ’ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἀφίσταντο. ὡς οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνηγγέλθη σφίσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινήθησαν· οὕτω πως κακῶς ἑστασίαζον ὡστε μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλαμᾶναι· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἡ τε γαμετὴ τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ Οὐολομνία· καὶ ἡ μῆτηρ Οὐετοῦρια.

Zonaras 7, 16.

λάνον τε καὶ τὸν Τούλλιον ἐπὶ τῆν Ῥώμην, καὶ τοὺς Δατίνους προσειληφότες, πλήθει ἐχόρσησαν πλεῖον. ὦ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὀπλα μὲν οὐκ ἑρρόσθησαν, ἐν αὐτίας δὲ ἄλληλος πεποίητο, οἱ μὲν τοῦ ὀμίλου τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Κοριολάνος τυχχάνων μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα στρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ τὸν ὀμίλον ὅτι μὴ ἐνδίκως αὐτὸν ἐξελάσαντες πολέμιον πεποίηκασιν. οὕτω δὲ στασιάζοντες ἐς μέγα τι κακὸν ἐνέπεσον ἅν, εἰ μὴ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησαν. ὡς γὰρ ἡ γερουσία κάθοδον τῷ Κοριολάνῳ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἑστάλησαν, ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις ἀποδοθῆναι ἀπῆτει ἢς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν πολέμιοι ἑστέρητο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς χώρας οὐ μεθίετο. πάλιν οὖν ἔτέρα πρεσβεία.

Ὁ δὲ περιθύμως ἔφετεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύοντες οὐδ’ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἀφίστανται. καὶ τούτων δὲ ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς οὔτ’ ἔτι κεκίνητο οὔθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ στασιάζειν ἐξίσταντο. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἡ τε γαμετὴ

1 Οὐολομνία Βκ., οὐλομνία Μς. 2 Οὐετοῦρια Βκ., βετοῦρια Μς. 3 οὔτ’—οθ’ Διδ., οὐδ’—οὐδ’ Μς.

142
BOOK V

For he was exceedingly angry because they would not, even when in danger of losing their own country, withdraw from the possessions of others. When, now, this news was brought back to them, the men, for their part, were no more moved than before; they were, indeed, so bitterly at variance that not even dangers could reconcile them. But the women, Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus,

Zonaras 7, 16.

their head Coriolanus and Tullius, and with numbers swollen by the accession of the Latins, they advanced against Rome. The Romans, when informed of it, instead of making a vigorous use of arms, fell into mutual recriminations, the popular party censuring the patricians because Coriolanus, who was marching with the enemy against his country, belonged to their number, and the other party the populace because they had been unjust in expelling him and making him an enemy. Because of this contention they would have incurred some great disaster, had not the women come to their aid. For when the senate voted to recall Coriolanus and envoys had been despatched to him to this end, he demanded that the land of which the Volseis had been deprived in the previous wars be given back to them. But the people would not relinquish the land. The result was a second embassy.

He was very angry because they would not, even when in danger of losing their own country, withdraw from the possessions of others. Now when this news was brought back to them, the men were still unmoved, and would not, even in the presence of dangers, desist from quarrelling. But the women, Volumnia,
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

παράλαβοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἀγούσαι, καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλα¹ μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ καταλύσασθαι.

8 προσήκατο γὰρ αὐτῶς εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παροῦντα ἦσθετο, καὶ λόγου σφίσι μετέδωκεν, ἐπράξθη τε ὅδε· αὐτὸ μὲν ἄλλαί σιωπῶσαι ἔκλαον, ἡ δὲ Ὁυετούρια² “τί θαυμάζεις,” ἔφη, “τέκνων; τί δὲ ἐκπέπληξαι; οὐκ ἡπτομολήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πατρίς ἐπεμψε σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ 9 νῦν ἔτι ὀργίζῃ, πρῶτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. τί δακρύεις; τί δ' ἀποστρέφῃ; ἡ ἀγνοεῖς ὅπως τὰν τῇ πόλει ἡμεῖς τοι ἄρτι ὁδυρόμεναι ἐπαυσάμεθα, ἦνα σε ἰδωμεν; καταλλάγηθι τε ὡν ἡμῖν καὶ μηκέτι

Zonaras 7, 16.

τοῦ Κοριολάνου Οὐολομνία καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ὁυετούρια, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας παραλαβοῦσαι, ἦλθον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμεναι. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἔδακρυν, ἡ δὲ Ὁυετούρια “οὐκ ἡπτομολήκαμεν,” ἔφη, “τέκνων, ἀλλ' ἡ πατρίς ἡμᾶς ἐπεμψε σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα. καὶ εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὀργίζῃ, πρῶτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. καταλλ

1 ἄλλα supplied by Gros. ² Ὁυετούρια Bk., Ὁυετούρια Ms. 144
and Veturia, his mother, gathering a company of all the most distinguished matrons, came to him in camp, bringing his children with them; and they caused him to end the war not only without requiring the surrender of the conquered territory, but without even demanding his own restoration. For he admitted them at once, as soon as he learned they were there, and granted them an interview, the course of which was as follows. While the rest wept in silence, Veturia began: "Why are you surprised, my son? Why are you startled? We are not deserters, but in us the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, but otherwise your spoil. Hence, if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Why do you weep? Why do you turn away? Or do you not know that we have just ceased lamenting the state of affairs in the city, in order that we might see you? Be reconciled with us, then, and harbour no longer

Zonaras 7, 16.

the wife of Coriolanus, and Veturina, his mother, gathering a company of all the most distinguished matrons, came to him in camp, bringing his children along with them. And while the rest wept in silence, Veturina began: "We are not deserters, my son, but in us the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, but otherwise your spoil. And if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Be reconciled and harbour no longer
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὁργίζου τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδὲ ἐπεσπέσης ἐς τὸ ἀστυ θυμῷ πολεμίῳ, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήσῃς τὴν πατρίδα ἐν ἥ καὶ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἀνετράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολάνδος ἐγένειν. πείσθητί μοι, παιδίον, μηδὲ με ἀπρακτὸν ἀποπέμψῃς, ἣν μὴ καὶ νεκράν με ὑπ’ αὐτοχειρίας ἴδης." ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τὴν τε ἔσθητα καταρρηξαμένη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδέξασα τῆς τε γαστρὸς ἀψαμένη, "?idού," ἔφη, "τέκνον, αὐτῇ σε ἔτεκεν, οὕτωι σε ἔξεθρεψαν." εἰποῦσης δὲ αὐτῆς ταῦτα καὶ ἡ γαμετῇ αὐτοῦ τά τε παιδία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες

Zonaras 7, 16.

λάγηθι καὶ μηκέτι ὀργίζου τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήσῃς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐν ἥ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἔτραφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολάνδος ἐγένειν. μὴ με ἀπρακτὸν ἀποπέμψῃς, ἣν μὴ καὶ νεκράν με αὐτοχειρία θεάσῃ." ἐπὶ τούτου ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδέξασα τῆς τε γαστρὸς ἀψαμένη, "αὐτῇ σε ἔτεκεν," ἔφη, "τέκνον, οὕτωι σε ἔξεθρεψαν. " ἢ μὲν εἰπε ταῦτα, ἡ γαμετῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες συνεθρήσασαν,

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 551–555.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ μετὰ συρραγῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου | δραμοῦσαι κατεσχίσαντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χιτῶνας | γυμναὶ τε περιέστησαν ἡ σύζυγος καὶ μήτηρ, | ἡ Βετουρνία τε αὐτῇ καὶ Βολουμνία κλήσιν, | καὶ 146
your anger against your countrymen, your friends, your temples, your tombs; and do not burst into the city with hostile rage nor take by storm your native place, in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Yield to me, my child, and send me not hence without result, unless you would see me dead by my own hand.” At the end of this speech she burst into tears, and tearing open her clothing, bared her breasts, and touching her belly, exclaimed: “See, my child, this brought you forth, these reared you up.” When she had thus spoken, his wife and children and the rest of the women joined in the

Zonaras 7, 16.

your anger against your countrymen, your friends, your temples, your tombs; do not take by storm your native place, in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Send me not hence without result, unless you would behold me dead by my own hand.” Thereupon she burst into tears, and baring her breasts and touching her belly, exclaimed: “This brought you forth, my child, these reared you up.” She, then, spoke thus; and his wife and children and the rest of the women joined in the

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 551–55.

And had not his wife and mother (Veturinia and Volumnia were their names) at the breaking out of that war run and rent their tunics and stood about him naked and checked him, with difficulty, from the

147

L 2
συνεθρήσασαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πένθος ἐμ·
βαλεῖν. μόλις τέ ποτε ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπτυξε τὴν
μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἁμα αὐτῆν, “ἰδοῦ,” ἔφη,
“μήτερ, πειθομαί σοι· σὺ γὰρ με νικᾶς, καὶ σοὶ
dὴ 2 ταύτην τὴν χάριν καὶ ὁ ἀλλοι πάντες ἐχέτω-
σαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω, οὔτε
τηλικαύτα ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ εὐθεγηθεύνετε τοιαύτα με
ἐδρασαν. οὖκοιν οὐδ’ ἀφίξομαι ποτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν·
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ἐπειδὴ
tούτο ἡθέλησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκποδῶν ὑμῖν
12 ἀπαλλαγήσομαι.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπανέστη τῷ τε
gὰρ δέει τῷ τοῦ ὀμίλου καὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τῶν
ὀμοίων, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεστρα-
tευσέν, οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον διδομένην οἱ ἐδέξατο,

· Zonaras 7, 16.

ὡστε κάκεινον εἰς πένθος κινῆσαι. μόλις δ’
ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπλεξε τὴν μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἁμα,
“ἰδε,” ἔφη, “μήτερ, πειθομαί σοι· σὺ γὰρ με
νικᾶς. καὶ σοὶ ταύτην τὴν χάριν πάντες ἐχέ-
tωσαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω οἱ
τηλικαύτα παρ’ ἐμοῦ εὐθεγηθεύνετε τοιαύτα μοι
ἀνταπέδωκαν, οὐδ’ ἀφίξομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ
σὺ μὲν ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ὅτι τούτο
ἡθέλησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπαλλαγήσομαι.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν
ἀπανέστη καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον κατεδέξατο,
Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 555–558.

τούτων μόλις ἐπαυσαν τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμης μάχης, |
ἡ Ῥώμη ἄν ἐπέγνωκε τιμᾶν τοὺς εὐθεγέτας. | ἀλλὰ
λυταῖς ταῖς τῆς μυτρὸς παυσθεῖς καὶ τῆς συζύγου |
πόλεμον μὲν κατέπαυσε τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν, |

1. ἰδοῦ Bk.. τὸ Ms. 2. ἡ Bk., ἡ Ms.
BOOK V

lament, so that he, too, was overcome with grief. Recovering himself at length with difficulty, he embraced his mother, and kissing her the while, replied: "See, mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and to you let all the others ascribe this favour. For I cannot endure even to see those men, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have treated me in such a way. Hence I will never even enter the city. But do you keep your country instead of me, since you have so wished it; and I will depart out of the way of you all." With these words he withdrew. For, through fear of the multitude and shame before his peers, in that he had ever undertaken an expedition against them, he would not accept even the restoration offered him,

Zonaras 7, 16.

lament, so that he, too, was moved to grief. Recovering himself with difficulty, he enfolded his mother in his arms, and kissing her the while, replied: "See, mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and to you let all ascribe this favour. For I cannot endure even to see those men, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have given me such a recompense, nor will I enter the city. Do you keep your country instead of me, because you have so wished it, and I will depart." With these words he withdrew. And he would not even accept his

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 555–58.

battle against the Romans, Rome would have formed the resolve to honour benefactors. But brought to a halt by the prayers of his mother and of his wife, he stopped the war against the Romans, and leaving
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΝ HISTORY

ἀλλ’ ἐσ τοὺς Οὐολοσκοὺς ἀναχωρήσας ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ καὶ γηράσας ἀπέθανεν.—Μ. 33 (p. 148).


19 "Ὅτι Κάσσιος τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους εὐεργετήσας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐθανατώθη ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι πιστὸν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σφίσι προσκεμένους οὐχ ἦτον τῶν τα μέγιστα ἄδικούντων ἀπολλύουσι πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀεὶ παρὸν μεγάλους τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ὁφελημάτων ἀγούσιν, ἔπειδὰν δέ σφας ἐκκαρπώσωσθαι, οὐδὲν ἐτ’ αὐτοὺς οἰκειοτέρους τῶν ἔχθιστων νομίζουσι. τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον καὶ περ χαριζόμενον σφίσιν ὅμως ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐσεμνύνετο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐκδηλὸν γε ἐποίησαν ὅτι ξηλοτυπηθεῖσι άλλ’ οὐκ ἄδικήσας τι ἀπώλετο.—Μ. 34 (p. 150).

Zonaras 7, 16.

ἀναχωρήσας δὲ εἰς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἐκεῖ γηράσας ἀπῆλλαξεν.

Zonaras 7, 17.

17. Οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι χώραν ἐκ πολεμίων προσκτηθεὶσαν 'Ῥωμαίοις ἀπήτουν διανεμηθήναι τῷ πλῆθει· ὃθεν πρὸς ἀλλήλων τε καὶ πρὸς τῶν Tzetzea, Chil. 6, 559–60.

αὐτὸς τοὺς Κοριόλους δὲ ἀφείς καὶ τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους πρὸς ἀλλήν γῆν ἀπέδραμε τῇ λύπῃ βεβλημένος.

1 ἐποίησαν supplied by Bs.
BOOK V

but retired among the Volsci, and there died, either as the result of a plot or from old age.

Dio, Book V. "The rich, encouraging them with certain hopes." ¹

Cassius after benefiting the Romans was put to death by that very people. Thus it was demonstrated anew in his case that there is no sense of loyalty in multitudes. On the contrary, they destroy men who are altogether devoted to them no less than men guilty of the greatest wrongs. For in each event they deem those great who are the cause of benefits to them, but when they have profited to the full by such men's services, they no longer regard them as having any nearer claims than bitterest foes. For Cassius, although he humoured them, was nevertheless slain by them because of the very matters on which he prided himself, and they made it clear that he perished through envy and not as the result of any wrong he had committed.

Zonaras 7, 16.

restoration, but retired among the Volsci, and there passed away in old age.

Zonaras 7, 17.

17. Now the tribunes demanded that some land acquired by the Romans from the enemy be apportioned among the people, and as a result of their

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 559-60.

behind the Corioli² and the Romans, himself hurried to another land, smitten with sorrow.

¹ Macchioro (Klio 10, 354 ff.) argues that this fragment refers to the year 486, when the patricians through their representative, Verginius, promised the people an assignment of public land.

² See note on page 135.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

20 Oi gar en tois pragmason ale gynomeneoi epideia mevedena allon tropon katexein sfas edunanto, polemous ek polemow exepitqthes ekinoun, opow pros ekineous ascholian angontes meden peri tis gis polupragmonowin.—M. 65 (p. 150).

3 Outo goun vph ekaterou paroxunthasan ostekal tihn vikhen enorikon tois stratqhgois uposchethai. pros gar tihn autika ormhin kuriou kal tis tychis einai enomisau.—M. 36 (p. 150).


Zonaras 7, 17.

pollemow polla ekakwthasan. oi gar dunatoi mh allas katexein autous dunamenei, polemous ek polemow exepitqthes ekinoun, iv autois ascholoymenoi meden peri tis gis polupragmonowin. chrqo de pothe upotophsantetes tines to prattomeun, oik eiwn kal amfow touvs upatos h stratqghous upo twn dunatwn apodeikynousai, all' xelion kai autoi tov exeron ek twn eupatriidin aireisthai. ois de touto kateirghasanto, proeilonto Spiourion Phourion,1 kai met' ekinein stratveusamenei panta ef' osa aormhisan prothymos kataprazan. ois de touto synarchontai autous Fabiq Kaiswni synexelthonites ou monon oik errosthisan, allan kal to stratopedeon ekklpontes eis tihn polin qllhoun kai qhoroiboun, eosoi Turosiq touto mawemptoyste kathorismen autois. kal tote mewtoi ou proteron exilhroun tis

1 Phourion Wolf, phourion Mss.
BOOK V

For the men from time to time in control of affairs, when they became unable to restrain the people by any other method, stirred up purposely war after war, in order that they might be kept busy attending to those conflicts and not disturb themselves about the land.

At any rate they were so inflamed with rage by each of the two as to promise victory under oath to their generals; with regard to the immediate attack they thought themselves actually lords of destiny.

It is natural for the majority of the human race to quarrel with an opposing force even beyond what is to its own advantage, and upon those who yield to bestow a benefit in turn even beyond its power.

Zonaras 7, 17.

action many injuries were received by the citizens both from one another and from the enemy. For the nobles, being unable to restrain the people in any other way, stirred up purposely war after war, in order that, being busied therewith, they might not disturb themselves about the land. But after a time some persons began to suspect what was going on, and would not permit both of the consuls (or praetors) to be appointed by the nobles, but desired to choose one of them themselves from the patricians. Upon gaining this point they selected Spurius Furius, and campaigning with him accomplished with enthusiasm all the objects for which they had set out. But those who took the field with his colleague, Kaeso Fabius, not only displayed no energy, but abandoned their camp, came to the city, and raised a tumult, until the Etruscans, learning of it, assailed them. Even then, in fact, they
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

21 "Оτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπὶ τῇ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ ὄμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις φρονοῦντες ὡς τάχιστα αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον. ὅταν γὰρ τινὲς ἐς πολλὰς ἁμα καὶ δυσχερεῖς πράξεις ἐμπέσωσιν, οὕτε τι βούλεμα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄθροι τῶν κινδύνων ἕξευρεῖν δύνανται, καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὰ πάνω ῥάδια ἀπογιγνώσκουσι, κάκ τούτου ταῖς τε γνώμαις παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ταῖς δόξαις ἀναπληστοῦσι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐκόντες ὡς καὶ μάτην πονησοῦντες προῖνται, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτρέψαντες σφας τοῖς ἐκ τού δαιμονίου παραλόγως ἀναμένουσι πᾶνθ’ ὅσα ἄν ἡ συντυχία ἐνέγκη.—Μ. 38 (p. 151).

Ζωναράς 7, 17.

πόλεως πρὶν τῶν δημαρχῶν τινὰς συμφρονήσαι τοῖς δυνατοῖς. ἡγωνύσαντο δὲ προθύμως, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων διεφθειραί, συχνὸι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ὁ εἰς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Μάλιος. ὁ δὲ ὦμιλος στρατηγὸν τὸ τρίτον τῶν Μάλιον ἐλεῖτο.

Καὶ πόλεως αὐθίς αὐτοῖς ἐπενήμεκτο πρὸς τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀθυμοῦσι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἀποροῦσι πῶς τοῖς ἑχθροῖς ἀντικαταστῶσιν, οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπεκούρησαν. δὲ γὰρ ὄντες καὶ τρικόσιοι, ὡς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον αὐτοὺς καὶ μῆτε τὰ βουλευμένους λυστελές καὶ ἀπογιγνώσκοντας ἀπαντα, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς ὑπεδέξαντο πόλεμον αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐαυτῶν προδιωκθέντες μαχεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. καὶ τι χωρίον κατα-

1 καὶ after eikds Bk., after γνώμαις Ms.
BOOK V

The Fabii, who on the basis of birth and wealth were as proud-spirited as the noblest, very quickly saw that they [the Romans] were dejected. For when men involve themselves in undertakings at once numerous and difficult, they can discover no device for confronting the multitude and array of dangers, and give up as hopeless quite easy projects; after which they lose their spirit, strange to say, as well as their confidence, and voluntarily abandon matters in hand, with the idea that their labour will be in vain; finally they surrender themselves to the uncertain dispensations of Heaven and await whatever Chance may bring.

---

Zonaras 7, 17.

did not march out of the city until some of the tribunes came to an agreement with the nobles. Still, they fought vigorously and destroyed many of the enemy, and not a few of their own number also were killed. One of the consuls, Manlius, likewise fell; the populace chose Manlius praetor for the third time.¹

Again a war was waged against them by the Etruscans. And when the Romans were dejected and at a loss to know how they should withstand the enemy, the Fabii came to their aid. These, three hundred and six in number, when they saw that the Romans were dejected, were not following profitable counsels, and were despairing of their whole cause, took upon themselves the burden of the war against the Etruscans, offering to carry on the conflict zealously all by themselves with their persons and with their wealth. They occupied and fortified an ad-

¹ The second "Manlius" is evidently an error of Zonaras. The name should be Fabius.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 "Ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἔξι καὶ τριακόσιιοι ὄντες ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν ἀνηρễθησαν· καὶ γὰρ πῶς τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖας ἡπτις ὑγκούμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θρά-
ςους πολλάκις φθείρεται, τὸ τε δὲ ἐυτυχίαν ἀνχοῦν ἐσ τούναντίων ἐκφρονήσαν ἐκπίπτει.—
Μ. 39 (p. 151).

3 Ὅσοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μειξόνως ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπογενομένων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ἐπένθησαν. ἦν
μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν εὐπατρίδαις οὐ
συμκρόσ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἄξιωσιν τὸ τε φρόνημα
αὐτῶν πᾶσαν σφών ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐνο-
μίζου. καὶ διὰ τούτο τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ διεφθά-
ρησαν ἐς τὰς μιαρὰς ἐνέγραψαν, καὶ τὰς πύλας
dι’ ὑν ἔξεστράτευσαν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐποῆσαντο, ὡστε
μηδένα δι’ αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα διενέα. καὶ Τίτου
Μεσηνίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου τὸ
πάθος ἐγένετο) κατηγορηθέντος ὑστερον ἐν τῷ

Zonaras 7, 17.

λαβόντες ἐπίκαιρον ἐνετειχίσαντο, ὑθεν ὀρμώμενοι
πάντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἣγου, τῶν Τυρσηνῶν μηδὲ
ἐς χείρας αὐτοῖς ἠναι θαρροῦντων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ποτε
συμμίζειαν, ἐπανουμένων παρὰ πολυ. προσλαβό-
μενοι δὲ καὶ συμμάχοις οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἐν ὑλώδει
χωρίῳ ἐλόχησαν, καὶ ἀφιλάκτους ἐπελθόντας
αὐτοῖς τοὺς Φαβίους ὅπο τού πάντα νικὰν, περιε-
στοίχισαν καὶ πάντας ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ παντελῶς
τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔξελιπεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἐλὰς τῖς οἴκου

1 ἀνδρεῖας Bk., ἀνδρείαν Ms.
BOOK V

The Fabii, three hundred and six in number, were killed by the Etruscans. Thus the arrogance which arises from confidence in one's valour is oftentimes brought to naught by this very boldness, and the boastfulness which comes from good fortune runs mad and suffers a complete reverse.

For these the Romans grieved, both in private and with public demonstrations, to a greater degree than the number of the lost would seem to warrant. That number was not small, to be sure, especially since it was composed entirely of patricians; but they further felt, when they stopped to consider the reputation and the resolute spirit of these men, that all their strength had perished. For this reason they inscribed among the accursed days the one on which these men had been destroyed and put under the ban the gates through which they had marched out, so that no magistrate might pass through them. And they condemned to death Titus Menenius, the praetor,—for it was in his year that the disaster took place,—when he was later accused before the people

Zonaras 7, 17.

vantageous position from which as a base they ravaged the entire hostile domain, since the Etruscans would not even venture to engage in combat with them, or, if they ever did join issue, were decisively defeated. But, upon the accession of allies, the Etruscans laid an ambuscade in a wooded spot; and when the Fabii, as masters of the whole field, assailed them incautiously, they surrounded and slew them all. And their race would have entirely disappeared, had not one of them
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δήμω ὡτι μῆτ' 1 ἐκείνους ἰμμυνε 2 καὶ μάχη μετὰ
tοῦθ' ἦττήθη, κατεψηφίσαντο.—V. 9 (p. 578).

24, 5  Δίωνος ε' βιβλία "ἐπειδὴ διήρξεν, 3 εἰσήγαγον
καὶ χρημάτων εξημώσαν, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος
p. 146, 21.

Zonaras 7, 17.

κατελείψθη διὰ νεότητα, ἀφ' οὔπερ αὖθις εἰσ-
ἐπειτα ἤνθησαν.

Τῶν δὲ Φαβίων οὕτω φθαρέντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
μᾶλα παρὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἐκακώθησαν. εἶτα
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδὰς ἐποίησαντο,
τραπόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἔπραξαν πολλὰ καὶ
dεινά, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποχέσθαι τὸ
πλήθος. τοὺς τε γὰρ ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν ἐπαίων καὶ
tὰς ράβδους κατέκλων, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς ὑπ' εὐθύμην ἤγγον ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει καὶ
μεῖζοι καὶ ἐλάττων. Ἕπειρον οὖν Κλαύδιον καὶ
παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλεῖν
ἐβουλεύσαντο, ὅτι τε αὐτοῖς ἴχνην οὕτω ἀπαντα
καὶ ὅτι τῶν συστρατευσάμενοις αὐτῷ ἐδεκάτευ-
σεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Οὐκολουσίκοις ἐν μάχῃ ἐνέδοσαν.
ἡ δεκάτευσις δὲ τούόντε τι ἤν. ὅτε τι οἱ στρατιω-
ταί μέγα ἡμάρτησαν, ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς δεκάδας
αὐτοὺς ἁρίζων, ἑνα λαβῶν ἐξ ἐκάστης δεκάδος
τὸν κλήρον λαχῶν τανάτῳ ἐκόλαξεν. ἀπελθόντα
δ' ἐκ τῆς ἁρχῆς τὸν Κλαύδιον εὐθὺς ὁ τὸ πλῆθος
 eius ἁγώνα κατέστησαν, καὶ οὐ κατεψηφίσαντο μὲν,

1 μῆτ' Bk., μη Ms.
2 ἐκείνοις ἰμμυνε Val., μετ' ἐκείνοις ἰμυσε (or ἰμυσε) Ms.
3 ἐπειδὴ διήρξεν de Boer, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξεν Ms.
4 καταστήσαντες Bk., καταστήσας Ms.

158
of having failed to assist the Fabii and of having been defeated subsequently in battle.

Dio, Book VI. "When he had ended his term of office, they indicted him and imposed a fine, but neither brought him into danger of his life. . . ."  

Zonaras 7, 17.

because of his youth been left at home; in his descendants the family later attained renewed renown. After the Fabii had thus been destroyed the Romans suffered many injuries at the hands of the Etruscans. Subsequently they concluded a peace with the enemy, but turning against one another committed many outrages; in fact, the populace did not refrain from attacking even the praetors. They beat their assistants and shattered their fasces and made the praetors themselves submit to investigation on every pretext, great and small. Thus, they actually planned to throw Appius Claudius into prison in the very midst of his term of office, inasmuch as he persistently opposed them at every point and had decimated the troops who served under him because of their giving way before the Volsci in battle. Now decimation was the following sort of process. When the soldiers had committed any grave offence the leader told them off in groups of ten, and taking one man of each ten, who had drawn the lot, he would punish him by death. Upon Claudius’ retirement from office the popular party straightway brought him to trial; and though they

1 Boissevain shows that this fragment, commonly understood of Camillus, cannot refer to him, and he would therefore refer it to Menenius (cf. Livy 2, 52), in spite of the fact that it is cited from Book VI.; but the book numbers are often erroneously cited. Von Gutschmid refers to Postumius, B.C. 423 (cf. Livy, 4, 40, 4).
"Ετι οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πάνυ πλὴν βραχέων ἐπιθειάζοντές τινα ἀντέπραττον, λάθρα δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν θρασύτατων ἐφόνευον. ἐννέα γὰρ ποτὲ δῆμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν· ἀλλ’ οὐτὲ τοῦτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν, πολλῷ τε πλείονα ἐπιτίδα οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰὲ δημαρχοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἐξαυτῶν φιλονεικίας ἢ δέος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων συμφορᾶς λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ ἦμβλύνοντο, ἀλλὰ

Zonaras 7, 17.

τὴν ψῆφον δὲ ὑπερθέμενοι ἐς ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν αὐτοχειρίας κατέστησαν. καὶ τινὲς δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀλλὰ τε κατὰ τῶν εὐπατρίδων συνέγραψαν καὶ τὸ ἔξεινα τῷ πλῆθει καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὸ συνιέναι καὶ ἀνευ ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ χρηματίζειν πάνθ’ ὅσα ἄν ἐθελήσῃ. κἂν τις ἐπ’ αἰτία τινὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν προστιμήσῃ, ἐκκλητοὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν δῆμον δικάζειν ἔταξαν. καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους δὲ καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπηύξησαν, ἵνα πλεῖστοις τοὺς αὐτῶν προϊσταμένους ἔχοσι.

Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πάνυ ἀντέπραττον πλὴν βραχέων, λάθρα δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν θρασύτατων ἐφόνευον. ἀλλ’ οὐτε τοῦτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν οὐθ’ ὅτι ποτὲ ἐννέα δῆμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δημαρχοῦντες οὐκ ἦμβλύνοντο,

1 πολλῷ τε Βς., πολλὰ Ms.
2 προστιμήσῃ Dind., προστιμωθῇ ΚΑ, προστιμωρθῇ Β.

160
BOOK V

The patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, where they appealed to Heaven for vengeance; but they secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Thus, nine tribunes on one occasion were delivered to the flames by the populace. This did not, however, deter the others; on the contrary, those who in turn held the tribuneship afterwards derived far more encouragement from their own eagerness for the struggle than fear from the fate of their predecessors. Hence, far from being disheartened, they were even

Zonaras 7, 17.
failed to condemn him, they forced him, by postponing their vote, to commit suicide. And among the measures introduced by some of the tribunes to the prejudice of the patrician interests was one permitting the populace to convene separately and without interference from the patricians to deliberate upon and transact as much business as they pleased. They also ordained that, if any one for any cause should have an excessive penalty imposed upon him by the praetors, the populace might thereupon have the case appealed to them and decide it. And they increased the number of aediles and tribunes, in order to have a large body of persons to act as their champions.

During the progress of these events the patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, but secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Neither this, however, nor the fact that on one occasion nine tribunes were delivered to the flames by the populace deterred the others. Not only were those who subsequently held the

VOL. I.

161
καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἐθρασύνοντο·

2 τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀπολλυμένους ἐστὶ καὶ δυνᾷ μᾶλλον ἑπὶ τοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἄκινδυνος περίεσθαι· νομίζει προσετίθεντο. ὡστε καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τινῶς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἄλλως ἦν τούτο, ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους νομίσματα μεταστήναι· τὴν γὰρ ταπεινότητα αὐτοῦ πολύ κρείττων 1 πρὸς τὰς τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἱσχύος ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τῶν σφετέρων καλλωπισμάτων ἀσθενείας ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖὸν τε ἔτι, καίπερ κωλυθέν τὸ τινά δις 2 τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, συχνοὶ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐδημάρχουν.

—M. 40 (p. 152).

3 Ὅτι ἐς τούτο ὁ 3 ὁμιλῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προϊχθέν· δ' γὰρ τοι ἑπὶ ἐαυτῶν ἡγοῦντο ποιεῖν, τὸ πολέμους τινάς ἄλλ' παρασκευάξειν σφίσιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἔξωθεν κινδύνων σωφρονεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται, τούτο θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπειργάζετο· οὕτε γὰρ στρατεύειν, εἰ μὴ λάβοιεν

Zonaras 7, 17.

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθρασύνοντο. εἰς τούτο ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προϊχθέν ὁ ὁμιλῶς. οὕτε γὰρ στρατεύειν ἐπείθοντο πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, εἰ μὴ ὄν

1 κρείττω supplied by Mai. 2 δὶς supplied by v. Herw. 3 ὁ added by Krebs.
the more emboldened by those very proceedings. For they put forward the death of the former tribunes as a justification of the vengeance they were going to take in their own behalf; and personally they got great pleasure out of the belief that they might, after all, accomplish the unexpected and come through unharmed. The consequence was that some of the patricians, being unable to effect anything otherwise, transferred themselves to the ranks of the populace; they thought its humble condition, in view of their desire for the tribunician power, far preferable to the weakness of their own ornamental distinctions, especially since many held the office a second and third and even a greater number of times, and that in succession, although it was forbidden to take the position twice.

To this state was the populace brought by the patricians themselves. For the policy which the latter pursued with an eye to their own advantage—that of always having some wars in readiness for them, so that the people might be compelled by the dangers from without to practise moderation—was a policy that only rendered the people bolder. By

Zonaras 7, 17.

tribuneship not disheartened, but they were actually the more emboldened. To this state was the populace brought by the patricians. They would not obey the summons to go on a campaign, though
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δὲν ἐκάστοτε ἐπωρέγοντο, βουλόμενοι, καὶ ἀπροθύμως ὅποτε ἔξελθοιεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάνθ' ὁσ' ἦθελον ἔπραττον. κἀν τοῦτό καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι, τῇ ἐκείνω διχοστασίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῇ ἕαυτῶν δυνάμει θαρσούντες, ἐνεωτέριζον.—Μ. 41 (p. 152).

23 "Ὅτι οἱ Αὐκουοὶ τὸ τε Τοῦσκουλον λαβόντες καὶ Μάρκου Μινούκιον νικήσαντες ἐν φρονήματι ἐγένοντο, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὐς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χωρίου καταλήψει αἰτιώμενοι σφας ἐπέμψαν, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐπίκλημα μηδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι, δρῦν δὲ τινα διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφὼν Κοιλίου Γράκχου δείχαντες, πρὸς ἐκείνην, εἰ τι βούλοιντο, λέγειν αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι.

—U* 1 (p. 373).

2 "Ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν Μινούκιον ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ λοχμώδει τόπῳ μετά τινων ἀπει-

Zonaras 7, 17.

ἀρέγοντο ἔτυχον, καὶ εἰ ποτε δ' ἔξηλθον, ἀπροθύμως ἐμάχοντο, εἰ μὴ πάνθ' ὁσα ἔβολοντο ἡμισαν. κἀντεῖθεν πολλοὶ τῶν προσοίκων αὐτοῖς τῇ ἐκείνων διχοστασίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῇ ἕαυτῶν ἑπροούντες ἵσχύι ἐνεωτέρισαν.

"Ὡν ἦσαν καὶ Αὐκουοί, οἱ Μάρκου Μινούκιον στρατηγούντα τότε νικήσαντες ἐφρονηματίσθησαν. μαθάντες δὲ τῶν Μινούκιον ἠτημένον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δικτάτορα Δούκιοι Κυντίοι εἶλοντο,

1 πλέον supplied by Cary, in accordance with Wolf's translation. Compare the fragment above.

164
BOOK V

refusing to go on a campaign unless they obtained in each instance the objects for which they were striving, and by contending listlessly whenever they did take the field, they accomplished all that they desired. Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, not a few of the neighbouring tribes, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own power, kept revolting.

The Aequi, after capturing Tusculum and conquering Marcus Minucius, became so proud that when Roman ambassadors were sent to chide them regarding the seizure of the place, they made no answer at all to the censure, but after designating, by the mouth of their general, Cloelius Gracchus, a certain oak, bade them speak to it, if they desired anything.

The Romans, on learning that Minucius with some followers had been intercepted in a bushy defile, elected as dictator against the enemy Lucius

---

Zonaras 7, 17.

wars were threatening, unless they secured the objects for which they were striving; and if they ever did take the field, they fought listlessly, unless they had accomplished all that they desired. Hence many of the tribes living close to them, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own strength, revolted.

Among these were the Aequi, who, after conquering at this time Marcus Minucius, the praetor, became filled with pride. The men in Rome, learning that Minucius had been defeated, chose as dictator Lucius Quinctius, who was a poor man and had

165
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λήφθαι, δικτάτορα ἐπ' αὐτοῦς Δούκιον Κοίντιον,1 καὶ πέντα δυντα, τὸ τε γῆδιον, ὁ μόνον αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν, αὐτοχειρία τοῖς γεωργοῦντα, προεχειρίσαντο· ἐσ τε γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίοις τοῖς πρώτοις ἁρετὴν ἢν καὶ σωφροσύνη διέπρεπεν, καὶ τοῖς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιείς, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ Κιγκινάτος ἐπωνομάζη.—V. 10 (p. 578).

Zonaras 7, 17.

πέντα μὲν ἄνδρα καὶ γεωργία συνεζηκότα, ἐς ἁρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην διαπρεπῆ, καϊτοι τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιέντα, οἶνον καὶ Κιγκινάτος ὑνόμαστο. οὔτος οὖν δικτάτωρ προχειρισθεῖς, καὶ αὐθημερόν ἐκστρατεύσας, καὶ τάχει σὺν ἀσφαλείᾳ χρησάμενος, καὶ τοῖς Αἴκουοις προσβαλὼν μετὰ τοῦ Μινούκιον, πλείστους μὲν διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐξώγησεν οὐδ ἕπος ξυγὸν διαγαγὼν ἀφήκεν. ἡ δὲ πράξεως ἢ τοῦ ξυγοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν. σταυροῖς δύο, ὅρθια δηλαδὴ ξύλα διέχοντα ἄλληλων, εἰς τὴν γῆν κατεπήγγυον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθουν ἐγκάρσιον ἔτερον, καὶ διὰ μέσον τοῦτων τοὺς ἀλόντας διήγον γυμνοὺς· οὐ τοῖς μὲν δρόσι λαμπρήτητα, πολλὴν δ' ἀτμίαν τοῖς πάσχοσιν ἔφερεν, ὡστε τινὰς τοῦ τοιοῦτον τι παθεῖν προαρείσθαι θανεῖν. καὶ πόλιν δὲ αὐτῶν Κορούινον καλομένην ἐλών ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸν Μινούκιον διὰ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθετο την ἀρχὴν.

Zonaras 7, 18.

18. Οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι οἰκεῖον ἐσχῆκασι τόλεμον, δὲ ἐκ δούλων συνέστη καὶ φυγάδων τινῶν, οἱ

1 Δούκιοι: Κοίντιον Vul., λούκονκουιτον Ms.
BOOK V

Quinctius, in spite of the fact that he was a poor man and at the time was engaged in tilling with his own hands the little piece of ground which was his sole possession. For in addition to being the equal of the foremost in general excellence, he was distinguished for his moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, from which practice he received the nickname of Cincinnatus.

_Zonaras 7, 17._
devoted his life to farming, but was distinguished for his excellence and moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, whence he was named Cincinnatus. He, upon being elected dictator, took the field that very day, used wariness as well as speed, and joining with Minucius in attacking the Aequi, killed great numbers of them and captured the rest alive; the latter he led under the yoke and then released. The nature of the yoke was somewhat as follows. The Romans used to fix in the ground two poles (upright wooden beams, that is to say, with a space between them) and across them they would lay a transverse beam; through the frame thus formed they led the captives naked. This conferred great distinction upon the side that conducted the operation, but vast dishonour upon the side that endured it, so that some preferred to die rather than submit to any such treatment. Cincinnatus also captured a city of theirs called Corbio, and then returned; he removed Minucius from his praetorship because of his defeat, and resigned his own office.

_Zonaras 7, 18._
18. The Romans, however, now had a war on their hands at home,¹ in which their adversaries

¹ If this paragraph refers to the attack made under the leadership of Herdonius in 460, it is out of its proper place.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 18.

νυκτὸς ἐπεξελθόντες ἐξαπινάόμενος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐκράτησαν. ὁ δ' ὁμιλος καὶ τότε οὐ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐγένετο πρίν τι πλέον σχεῖν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν. ἐπελθόντες δὲ γε τοῖς στασιμάσασιν ἐκράτησαν μὲν αὐτῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον.

Διὰ ταύτα τούνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διὰ τινα σημεία εὐλαβθέντες, τῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐγκλημάτων, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἵσωτέραν ποιῆσασθαι ἐνυφίσαντο. καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνους ἑθη πεπόμφαι. καὶ κομισθέντων αὐτῶν τάς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν δημάρχων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ἄνδρας ὁκτὼ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ Ἄπτιον Κλαύδιον Τίτον τε Γενούκιον ἀπέδειξαν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνων στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας. καὶ νόμους αὐτῶνς συγγράψαι ἐπέτρεψαν, μηδεμίαν τε δίκην ἐφέσιμων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι προσενηφίσαντο. ὁ πρῶην οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πλῆν τῶν δικτάτορων ἐδέδοτο. ἡρξάν τε οὕτω ἐφ’ ἡμέραν ἐκατόστος, ἐναλλαξα τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἤγερνος λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νόμους συγγράφαστες εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐξέθησαν οὐ ἐπεὶ πᾶσιν ἦρεσαι, ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰσήχθησαν, καὶ κυρωθέντες σανίσων ἐνεγράφησαν δέκα· ὅσα γὰρ φυλάκις ἐκρίθησαν ἄξια, ἐν σαμιδίους ἐθεσαυρίζοντο.

Ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνύσαντές ἀφῆκαν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔτεροι δ’ αὕτης αἱρεθέντες δέκα, ὡσπερ ἔπει καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας χειροτονηθέντες, ἐξώκειλαν. πάντες γὰρ ἀμα ὡπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἤρχον, 168
BOOK V

Zonaras 7, 18.

were slaves and some exiles who made an attack unexpectedly by night and secured possession of the Capitol. This time, too, the multitude did not take up arms until some further concessions had been wrung from the patricians. Then they assailed the rebels and overcame them, but lost many of their own men.

For these reasons, accordingly, and because of certain portents, the Romans became sobered, dismissed their mutual grievances and voted to establish the rights of citizenship on a fairer basis. And they sent three men to Greece to observe the laws and the customs of the people there. Upon the return of the commission they abolished all the magistracies, including that of the tribunes, and chose instead eight of the foremost men, and appointed Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius praetors with absolute power for that year. They empowered them to compile laws, and further voted that no appeal could be taken from them—a power granted previously to none of the magistrates except the dictators. These men held sway each for a day, assuming by turns the dignity of rulership. They also compiled laws which they exposed to view in the Forum. When the laws were found acceptable to all, they were brought before the people, and after receiving their ratification were inscribed on ten tables; for all records that were deemed worthy of safe-keeping used to be preserved on tables.

The above-mentioned magistrates surrendered their office at the expiration of the year, but ten more chosen anew—for the overthrow of the state, as it almost seemed—came to grief. For they all held sway at once on equal terms, and chose from among the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 "Οτι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστει ἐπαράξθη, οἳ τε γὰρ στρατευόμενοι φιλονεικία τοῦ μηδὲν τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ἔχουσι προχωρῆσαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἐθέλονται προέντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπολλυμένοις σφόν ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὺς τῶν δραστηρίων τῶν τὰ τοῦ πλήθους

Zonaras 7, 18.

καὶ νεανίσκοις ἐκ τῶν εὐπατρίδων θρασυτάτους εκλεξίμενοι πολλὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐποίουν καὶ βίαια· ὥστε δὲ ποτὲ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐτους ὅληα ἄττα ἐν δύο σανίσι προσέγγαραν ὡς πάντα δὴ αὐτογνωμονήσαντες. ἂφ' ὅτι οὐχ ῥόμονοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφοράλεπος Ῥωμαίως γενήσεσθαι ἐμελλὼν.

Αἱ μὲν οὖν λεγόμεναι δώδεκα δελτοὶ οὕτως τότε ἐγένοντο· οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἐκεῖνοι οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἐπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶς διελθόντος ἐτι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνέμειναν, βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν βουλήν ἢ τῶν δήμων ἀθροίζοντες, ἵνα μὴ συνελθόντες παύσωσιν αὐτούς. Ἀικονών δὲ καὶ Σαβίνων πόλεμον αἱρομένων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, τότε τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶς παρακούσαντες διεπράζαντο σφίς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιτραπῆναι. ἐκ γοῦν τῆς δεκαχρίας αὐτῶν Σερούιος μὲν Ὀπτιός καὶ Ἀπτίος Κλαύδιος κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, οἳ δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστάτευσαν.

Πάντα μὲντοι ἀπλῶς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστει καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τετάρακτο, κἂντεῦθεν στάσις αὕθης συνηνεχθῇ, ἐμβαλόντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν 170
BOOK V

Affairs of camp and state alike were thrown into confusion. For the men under arms, eagerly vying with one another to prevent any success from attending those who held the power, voluntarily disregarded both the public and their own personal interests; while those in the city not only took pleasure in the death of their opponents at the hands of the enemy, but themselves likewise patricians some most brazen youths, through whose agency they committed many acts of violence. At last, toward the end of the year, they compiled some few additional statutes written upon two tables, all of which were the product of their own arbitrary judgment. From these not harmony but greater disputes were destined to fall to the lot of the Romans.

The so-called twelve tables were thus created at that time. But besides doing this the lawgivers in question, when their year of office had expired, still remained in control of affairs, occupying the city by force; and they would not even convene the senate or the people, lest, if they came together, they should depose them. And when the Aequi and the Sabines now stirred up war against the Romans, these officials by arrangement with their adherents arranged to have the conduct of the wars entrusted to them. Thus, of the decemvirate Servius Oppius and Appius Claudius alone remained at home; the other eight set out against the enemy.

Absolutely all the affairs, however, of state and camp alike were thrown into confusion, and hence contention again arose. For the leaders of the army
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πραττόντων ἐκ τρόπου δὴ τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθείρον. κὰκ τούτου στάσις οὐ σμικρὰ σφῶν συνηνεχθή. —Μ. 42 (p. 153).

Zonaras 7, 18.

τῶν Σαβίνων γὰρ οἱ στρατιάρχοι Δούκιον τινα Σίκιον, ἀκρον τε τὰ πολέμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ ὀμίλου καταρθημοῦμενον, μεθ' ἐτέρων ὡς τι χωρίων καταληψόμενον ἔπεμψαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν συνεκκεπεμφθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἀνδράς διέθειραν. λόγου δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γεγονότος ὡς παρὰ πολεμίων τοῦ ἀνδρός σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνηρμένου, οἱ στρατιώται ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὀρμήσαντες οὐδὲν σώμα τῶν ἑαυτῶν εὑρήκασιν, συνχοῦς δὲ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, οὓς ὁ Σίκιος ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινεν ἀμυνόμενον. ὡς οὖν κύκλῳ τε αὐτοῦ κείμενος καὶ τετραμμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὑπετότησαν τὸ γενόμενον καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐθορυβήσαν· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καὶ διὰ τοῖς τοιούτων.

Δούκιος τις Οὐεργίνως ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους διὶ καὶ θυγατέρα ἔχον περικαλλῆ Δουκίῳ Ἱκιλλίῳ τῶν ὀμοίων αὐτῷ ἐκδώσεως ἔμελλε. ταύτης ὁ Κλαύδιος ἔρασθες καὶ μὴ τυχῶν, παρεσκεύασε τινὰς δουλαγωγησαι αὐτήν· καὶ δικαστὴς ἦν ἑκεῖνος. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδικαιολογεῖτο. ώς δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος ταύτης κατεψηφίσατο καὶ τοῖς δουλαγωγοῦσιν αὐτήν ἡ κόρη παρεδόθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔπημυνεν, ὑπερήλθησεν ὁ ταύτης πατήρ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα κοπίδι διαχειρισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς εἶχεν ἐξώρμησα

172
BOOK V

destroyed in some convenient manner many of the more active champions of the populace. As a result no small contention arose between the parties.

Zonaras 7, 18.

had invaded the land of the Sabines and had sent a certain Lucius Sicius, a mighty warrior, and accounted also among the foremost of the populace, along with some companions, ostensibly to seize a certain position; but they had the man slain by the party that had been sent out with him. The report was brought into camp that the man with others had been killed by the foe, and the soldiers went out to gather up the dead bodies. They found not one corpse belonging to the enemy, but many of their own race, whom Sicius had killed in his own defence when they attacked him. And when they saw the dead lying all around him with their faces turned towards him, they suspected what had been done and actually raised a tumult. There was still another incident, of the following nature, that served to arouse them.

Lucius Verginius, a man of the people, had a daughter of surpassing beauty, whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon Lucius Icilius, a man of his own rank. For this maiden Claudius conceived a passion, and after failing otherwise to attain his ends he arranged with certain men to declare her a slave; he, meanwhile, was the judge. The father of the girl accordingly came from the camp and pleaded his case. When Claudius had given sentence against her and the girl was delivered to those who had declared her a slave, and no one came to her rescue, her father, wild with grief, took a cleaver and ended his daughter's life, then, just as he was, rushed out
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 18.

σεν. οὖς οὐδὲ πρὶν εὖ διακειμένους οὕτως ἐτάραξεν ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπειρὴναι. καὶ οἱ ἐτεροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐστρατευμένοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἐμαθοῦν, τὸ τε τάφρευμα ἐξέλισσαν, καὶ συμμικένομεν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἁνδράς ἐκοσίων ἐαυτῶν προσετήσαπτο, καὶ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐλογιζόμενο πράξαι. καὶ τὸ ἄλλο δὲ πλῆθος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει προσεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔδορυβει.

Ἐν τούτοις ο μὲν Κλαύδιος φοβηθείς ἐκρύβη, ὁ Ὀπτίος δὲ τὴν τε βουλήν ἡδροιμε καὶ πεμψας ἐπύθετο τοῦ πλῆθους τί βούλονται. οἱ δὲ τῶν οὐάλλερίων δούκιοι καὶ τὸν Ὀράτιον Μάρκον, ἁνδράς ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτοῖς προσκειμένους, πεμφθήναι σφίσοιν ἐξήτουν, ὡς τι δι' ἐκείνων ἀποκρινοῦμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέμφθησαν, φοβηθέντων τῶν δέκα ἁρχόντων (ἥδη γὰρ πάντες παρῆσαν) μὴ στρατηγοίς αὐτοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσαντο, ἐτί μᾶλλον ὁργίζοντο. φόβος οὖν τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐνέπεσεν ἐντεύθεν οὐ μετρίος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἁρχόντων τῶν τε οὐαλλερίων σφίσι καὶ τὸν Ὀράτιον ἐπεμψαν. κακὸς τοῦτος συναλλαγής γενομένης τοῖς μὲν θορυβηθῆσαι ἄδεια τῶν πραξάντων ἐδόθη καὶ ἡ δεκαρχία κατελύθη, αἱ δὲ ἐπέτειοι ἁρχαὶ αἱ τε λοιπαὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς προνομίοις ἐπανήλθουν ἐφ' οἴστερ ἤσαν καὶ πρότερον. ἀποδειχθέντες δὲ ἁρχοντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ Οὐεργύνος τὸν μὲν Ὀπτίον τὸν τε Κλαύδιον εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον, οὐ πρὶν εὐθυνθήναι ἕαυτοὺς διεχειρίσαντο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐγράψαντο καὶ ἔλοντες ἐξήλασαν.

174
BOOK V

Zonaras 7, 18.
to the soldiers. The latter, who had previously been far from tractable, were so wrought up that they straightway set out in haste against the city to find Claudius. And the rest, who had gone on a campaign against the Sabines, abandoned their entrenchments when they learned this, and, joining with the others, set at their head twenty men, determined to accomplish something of importance. The remainder of the multitude in the city likewise joined their cause and added to the tumult.

Meanwhile Claudius, in terror, had hidden himself and Oppius had convened the senate; and sending to the populace, he inquired what they wished. They demanded that Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, two of the senators who favoured their cause, be sent to them, saying that through these men they would send some reply. Owing to the fear of the ten magistrates, who were now all on the spot, that the people would employ the two as generals against them, they were not sent, whereupon the populace grew still more angry. As a consequence, the senators were filled with no slight fear, and accordingly, even against the will of the magistrates, they sent Valerius and Horatius to the people. By this means a reconciliation was effected: the rioters were granted immunity for their acts, and the decemvirate was abolished; the annual magistracies, including that of the tribunes, were restored with the same privileges as they had formerly enjoyed. Verginius was one of the magistrates appointed; and they cast into prison Oppius and Claudius (who committed suicide before their cases were investigated), and indicted, convicted, and banished the remainder of the board.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 19.

19. Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ (τότε γὰρ λέγεται πρῶτον ὑπάτους αὐτοὺς προσαγορευθῆναι, στρατηγοὺς καλουμένους τὸ πρῶτον. ἦσαν δὲ Ὀυαλλέριος καὶ Ὁράτιος) καὶ τότε καὶ μετέπειτα τῷ πλήθει προσέκειντο καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐκράτυναν. ἔλαττούμενοι οὖν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οὕτε ῥάδιον συνελέγοντο οὕτε τὰ πράγματα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίουν παντάπασιν, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους οἰωνοσκοπία ἐν συλλόγοις χρήσθαι δεδώκασιν. ὁ λόγῳ μὲν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε καὶ ἀξίωμα (μόνος γὰρ τούτο ἐκ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίου τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐπετέρατο), ἔργῳ δὲ κῶλυμα ἦν, ἵνα μὴ ῥάδιως οἱ δημάρχοι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσα βούλουντο πράττονει, ἄλλα προφάσει τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας ἔστω τοῦ ἐμποδίζοντο. ἀρνόμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις οὐ τε εὐπατρίδαι καὶ ἡ βουλή, ὡς τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους φρονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο σφίσι τὰ ἐπινίκια, πόλεμον ἑκατέρου νικήσαντος, οὐθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστῳ ἀπένεμαν, ὡσπερ εἰθιστο. τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος ἐπὶ δύο τε ἡμέρας ἐῴρτασε καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ νικητήρια ἐψηφίσαντο.
BOOK V

Zonaras 7, 19.

19. Now the consuls (it is said that this is the first time they were styled consuls, having been previously called praetors; and they were Valerius and Horatius) both then and later favoured the populace and strengthened their cause rather than that of the patricians. The patricians, though defeated, would not readily convene or put matters entirely in the power of the consuls, but they permitted the tribunes also to take the auspices in the assemblies; nominally this was an honour and distinction for them, since from very ancient times this privilege had been accorded the patricians alone, yet in reality it was a hindrance. The nobles intended that the tribunes and the populace should not accomplish easily everything they pleased, but should sometimes be prevented under the pretext of the auspices. The patricians and the senate were both displeased at the consuls, whom they regarded as favourable to the popular cause, and so did not vote a triumph to them, though each had won a war, nor assign to each a day as had been the custom. The populace, however, both held a festival for two days and voted a triumph to the consuls.
Zonaras 7, 19.

Οὔτως οὖν ἐς διαφορὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλθόντων, οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπήσαν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Γενουκίου καὶ Γαίου Κουρτίου ὑπατεύόντων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο. οὐ̂ τε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπατεύειν ἥθελον, ἐπεὶ περ ἐδημάρχουν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθιστάμενοι, καὶ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι λίαν τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς περιείχοντο. καὶ πολλὰ κατ' ἀλλήλας καὶ βίαια ἔλεγον τε καὶ ἔπραττον. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πρὸς τι χεῖρον χωρήσωσι, τοῦ μὲν ἔργου τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοῖς παρεχώρησαν, τοῦ δὲ ὀνόματος οὐ̂ μετέδωκαν, ἀλλ' ἄνθ' ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ὀνόμασαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς κλήσεως ἐντιμον τῷ σύρφακι ὀμήλῳ καταρρυπαίνοιτο. καὶ τρεῖς ἀφ' ἐκατέρων χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν δύο ὑπάτων αἱρεῖσθαι συνεδροζεν. οὐ̂ μέντοι τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξέλιπε τέλεον ονόμα, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπάτοι καθίσταντο, ποτὲ δὲ γε χιλιάρχοι. οὔτω μὲν οὖν ταῦτα παραδέδοται γίνεσθαι, καίτοι οὐ̂ μόνον τῶν ὑπάτων δικτάτορας ἀνειπόντων,
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 19.

When the Romans thus fell into discord, their adversaries took courage and came against them. And in the next year, when Marcus Genucius and Gaius Curtius were consuls, they turned against each other. For the popular leaders desired to be consuls, since the patricians were in the habit of becoming tribunes by transference to their order; but the patricians clung tenaciously to the consular office. And they indulged in many words and acts of violence against each other; so, in order to prevent the populace from proceeding to some greater extremity, the nobles yielded to them the substance of authority, though they did not let them share the name; in place of consuls they named them consular tribunes,¹ in order that the honour of the former title might not be sullied by contact with the vulgar throng. It was agreed that three consular tribunes should be chosen from each of the classes in place of the two consuls. However, the name of consul was not lost entirely, but sometimes consuls were appointed and at other times consular tribunes. This, at all events, is the tradition that has come down regarding what took place. Yet not only did the consuls nominate dictators, though

¹ The Greek word is the same as that for "military tribunes"; but, in order to avoid ambiguity, the term "consular tribunes" will be adopted in what follows.

179
καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἐκέινης ἐλαττουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιάρχων τοῦτο πεποιηκότων ἐνίοτε· λέγεται δὲ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν χιλιάρχων, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλάκις νικησάντων, ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψεν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχοι οὔτω τότε ἤρεθησαν, οἱ δὲ τιμηταὶ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει Βαρβάτου καὶ Μάρκου Μακρίνου ὑπατεύοντων κατεδείχθησαν· καὶ ἤρεθησαν Δούκιος τε Παπέριος καὶ Δούκιος Σεμπρώνιος. κεχειροτόμητο δὲ ὅτι οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀδύνατοι ἑπὶ πάντα 1 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαρκείω ἦσαν. τὰ γὰρ τοὺς τιμηταῖς ἀπονεμηθέντα προ- νόμια ἐκεῖνοι μέχρι τότε ἐποίουν. δύο τε ἦσαν οἱ τιμηταὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατρίδων. Ἰρχον δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταία ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἕξαμήνους· καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν ὑπάτων μείζους, καίτοι μέρος τῆς ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἄρχης. ἐξῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰς τε προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐκμισθούν, καὶ τῶν ὁδών καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπι- μελείσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῆς ἐκάστου εὐπο- ρίας διατελεῖν, καὶ τῶν βίων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπισκο- πεῖν τε καὶ ἕξετάξειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄξιους ἔπαινον ἐς τὰς φυλὰς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν γεροντι- σίαν ἐγγράφειν, καθὼς ἐκάστους προσήκειν ἐνομί- ξετο, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ εὐ βιοῦντας ἀπανταχόθεν ὁμοίως ἀπαλείφειν· οἱ μείζον πάντων ἢν τῶν τοῖς ὑπάτους καταλειψάντων. πέστες δὲ ἐνόρκους ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν τι ποιούσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα

180

1 πάντα Bs., πάντας Mss.
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 19.

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

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

Zonaras 7, 19.

τῷ κοινῷ καὶ σκοποῦσι καὶ πράττουσι. καὶ τῶν
dήμων ἐπὶ τε νόμων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις
συνήθροιζον, καὶ τῷ τῶν μειζόνων ἀρχῶν κόσμῳ
πλὴν ῥαβδοῦχων ἐχρόντο. τοιαύτη ἡ τῶν τι-
μητῶν ύπήρξειν ἀρχὴ. τῶν μέντοι μὴ ἀπογρα-
ψαμένοι τάς ὀυσίας ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς καὶ
ἐαυτοῖς, τάς μὲν ὀυσίας οἱ τιμηταί, αὐτοὺς δὲ
ἐκείνους οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐπίπρασκον. χρόνῳ μὲν οὖν
τινι ταύτῃ ὀυτως ἐπράχθη, ὠστε καὶ Ὑθαξ
tῇ βουλή καταλεξθέντα διὰ βίου βουλεύειν
ἐδοξε, μηδὲ ἀπαλειφθεῖσαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἀδικήσας
καὶ κριθεὶς ἡτίμωτο ἢ κακῶς ξῶν ἡλέγχθη· τοὺς
γὰρ τοιούτους ἀπῆλειφον καὶ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέρους
ἐνέγραφον.

Τῶν δὲ προσκαίρως ἀρχόντων πρεσβεῖα μὲν
ἐδέδωκα τοῖς δικτάτορι, δευτερεία δὲ γε τοῖς τι-
μηταῖς, ἢ δὲ τρίτη τάξις τοῖς ἵππαρχοις νενεμένοι,
καὶ οὗτο ταύτα ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
ξαν καὶ ἀπηλλάγησαν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἕκ μειζόνοις
ἀρχής εἰς ὑποδεστέραν κατέστη, τὸ τῆς προτέρας
ἀξίωμα εἰχεν ἀκέραιον. εἰς δὲ τις, ὃν πρίγκιπα
μὲν τῆς γερουσίας ὠνόμαζον (λέγοιτο δὲ ἄν καθ’
Ἐλληνας πρόκριτος), συμπάντων προείχε τὸν
χρόνον ὅν προεκρίνετο (οὐ γὰρ διὰ βίου τίς ἐς
τοῦτο προεχειρίζετο), καὶ προεφερε τῶν ἀλλῶν
τῶ αξίωματι, οὐ μὴ καὶ δυνάμει ἐχρήτο τινι.

Zonaras 7, 20.

20. Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα εἰρήνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους ἠγαγον· εἶτα λιμῷ ἐπι-
κρατήσαντος, ὡστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐαυ-
182
both the result of their unbiassed opinion of what was advantageous for the commonwealth. They convened the people when laws were to be introduced and for other purposes, and employed all the insignia of the greater offices save lictors. Such was the office of the censors. If any persons did not have their property and themselves registered in the census lists, the censors sold the property and the consuls the men. This arrangement held for a time, but later it was determined that a man once enrolled in the senate should be a senator for life, and that his name should not be erased, unless he had been convicted of some crime and been deprived of his citizenship, or had been shown to be leading an evil life; the names of such persons were erased and others entered in their stead.

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

20. For a time they maintained peace with each other and with the neighbouring tribes; but then a famine overwhelmed them, so severe that some, unable to endure the pangs of hunger, threw themselves into
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 20.

τοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν μὴ φέροντας τὸν λιμὸν, ἐστασίασαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς εὐπόρους ὡς περὶ τὸν σῖτον κακουργούντας ἐν αὐτίᾳ πεποίητο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πενητὰς ὡς τὴν γῆν μὴ βουλομένους ἐργάζεσθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Σπουρῖος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἵππευς πλούσιος, τυραννίδι ἐπικεχείρηκε, καὶ σῖτον ἐκ τῆς περιχώρου πριάμενος πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπευνώζον πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ προῖκα ἐδίδον, κἀκε τοῦτον συχνὸν προσοικεωσάμενος, ὅπλα τε ἐπορίσατο καὶ φρονοῦσ' καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἀν τῆς πόλεως, εἰ μὴ Μυσώκιος Λυγουρίνος, ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, ἐπὶ τῇ ποιοδοσίᾳ τεταγμένος καὶ αἰτιώμενος ἐπὶ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ, εἰσήγγειλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸ πραττόμενον. ἦ δὲ γερουσία μαθοῦσα τὸ μήνυμα δικτάτορα παραντικα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνεῖπε τῶν Κυίντιον τὸν Δούκιον τὸν Κικινᾶτον καὶ τῶν παρηλικὰ ὅντα: ὁγδοκοντούτης γὰρ ἦν. κἀκεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν πάσαν ἀνάλωσαν συγκαθημένοι, ὡς τι δὴ βουλευόμενοι, ὅνα μὴ τὸ γεγονός ἐκφοιτήση. νυκτὸς δὲ δικτάτωρ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διὰ τῶν ἱππέων προκαταλαβὼν, ἐξεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάλλιον ἐπεμψε Γάιον Σεροῦλιον τὸν ἱππαρχον, ὡς δὲ ἀλλο τι ἐκεῖνον μετακαλούμενο. ὦ δὲ, ὑποτησάμενος τι τοῦ Μάλλιον καὶ διαμέλλοντος, ἰέσας μὴ ύπό τοῦ πλήθους ἐξαρπασθῆ (ἢ γὰρ συνέτρεχον), ἐκτεινὲ τὸν ἀνδρά, ἡ αὐτογυμνότης ἡ τούτῳ κεκελευσμένος πρὸς τοῦ δικτάτορος. θερυβηθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ Κυίντιος δημηγορήσας καὶ σῖτον σφίσι παρασχὼν καὶ μὴ τινὰ ἐτερον ἡ κολάσας ἡ ἐπαιτισάμενος τὸν θόρυβον ἔπαυσε.

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

184
the river, and they fell to quarrelling. The one class charged the prosperous with unfairness in the handling of the grain, and the other class charged the poor men with unwillingness to till the soil. Spurius Maelius, a wealthy knight, observing this, attempted to set up a tyranny, and buying corn from the neighbouring region he lowered the price of it for many and gave it free to many others. In this way he won the friendship of a great many, and procured arms and a bodyguard. And he would have gained control of the city, had not Minucius Augurinus, a patrician, appointed to have charge of the grain-distribution and censured for the dearth of grain, reported the proceeding to the senate. That body, on receiving the information, nominated at once and at that very meeting Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, though past his prime,—he was eighty years old,—to be dictator. But they spent the whole day sitting there, as if engaged in some discussion, to prevent news of their action from getting abroad. At night the dictator made the knights occupy the Capitol and the remaining points of vantage, and then at dawn he sent Gaius Servilius, master of the horse, to Maelius pretending to summon him for some other purpose. But as Maelius suspected something and delayed, Servilius, fearing that he might be rescued by the populace, who were already running together, killed the man, either on his own responsibility or because ordered to do so by the dictator. At this the populace broke into a riot, but Quinctius addressed them and by providing them with grain and refraining from punishing or accusing any one else he stopped the riot.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

24, 1 "Οτι πρὸς Φαλίσκους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰς μάχας μαχεσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες καὶ δράσαντες, τῶν μὲν πατρίων ἱερῶν ἀληθώςαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ ὡς καὶ ἐπαρκέσοντά σφισιν ὀρμησαν. φίλει γὰρ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν συνῆθους, κἂν θείου ἢ, καταφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον θαυμάζειν. παρ’ ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἄτε μηδὲν ἐσ τὸ παρόν ὑφελείσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἐσ τὸ ἔπειτα χρηστὸν οὐδὲν προσδέχονται, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξένου πάν ὅσον ἀν 1 ἐθελήσωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς κανονομίας ἐλπίζουσιν.—Μ. 43 (p. 153).

23, 4 Ἕς γὰρ τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας κἀκ τούτου καὶ φιλονεωκίας ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ὥστε μηκὲτι καθ’ ἐν πάντας, ὁσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἀφ’ οὐ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο· τὸ τε γὰρ οἰκεῖον, οὐ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν σκοποῦντος, καὶ βλαβηναί τῇ τὸ δημόσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν συνάρχοντα εὐδοκιμήσαι ἐθέλοντος, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερὴ συνέβαινεν.—Μ. 44 (p. 153).

5 "Οτι δημοκρατία ἐστίν οὐ τὸ πάντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς τυχανέων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὰ 2 κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκαστον φέρεσθαι.—Μ. 45 (p. 154).

Zonaras 7, 20.

Πολέμων δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ διαφόρων ἔθνων ἐπενηπεγμένων, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐνικησάν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρσηνοῖς ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐπολέμησαν.

1 ἀν St., οὖν Ms. 2 τὰ added by Bk.

186
BOOK VI

The Romans, after meeting with many reverses as well as successes in the course of the numerous battles they fought with the Faliscans,¹ came to despise their ancestral rites and turned eagerly to foreign ones with the idea that these would help them. Human nature is for some reason accustomed in trouble to scorn what is familiar, even though it be divine, and to admire the untried. For, believing that they are not helped by the former in their present difficulty, men expect no benefit from it in the future either; but from what is strange they hope to accomplish whatever they may desire, by reason of its novelty.

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

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

Zonaras 7, 20.

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

¹ Faliscans may be an error for Fidenates or Veientes (cf. Livy 4, 32); but Boissévain believes we may retain the reading of the Ms. and refer this statement to the year 428 (cf. Livy 4, 30, 9).
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 20.

Ποστούμων δὲ νευκηκότος τοὺς Αἴκουνος καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν ἐλόντος αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιώται εἰς προνομὴν ἔξεχωρήθησαν μῆτε τῇ τῆς λείας αἰτήσαντες ἔλαβον, τὸν τε ταμίαν τὸν διατιθέμενον αὐτὴν περιστάντες ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμων ἐπιτυμώντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ ξητούντα τοὺς αὐτόχειρας προσαπέκτευναν, καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν προσένειμαν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἐν τῷ δὴ-μοσίῳ τότε τυγχάνουσαν. κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ στάσις διήρκεσεν, εἰ μὴ πόλεμος αὖθις Ῥωμαίους παρὰ τὸν Αἴκουνον ἐπενήμεκτο. φοβηθέντες γὰρ διὰ τούτο ἡσύχασαν, καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν φύων εἰς ὀλίγους ἔλθοσαν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους στρατεύοντας μάχη αὐτοὺς νευκηκασί. διὸ τὴν τε λείαν αὐτοῖς οἱ δύνατοι διέδοσαν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς πεζοῖς, εἰτα καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἑγησάμαντο· ἀμεθα γὰρ μέχρι τότε καὶ οἰκόσιτοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τότε δὲ πρῶτον μισθοφορεῖν ἤρξαντο.

Πολέμου δὲ αὐτοῦς πρὸς Οὐιέντας συστάντος, ἔως μὲν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπολέμουν ἐκεῖνοι, πολλάκις αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ ἐς πολυρκίαι κατέστησαν· προσγενομένων δὲ αὐτοῖς συμμάχων ἐπεξῆλθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν· ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἡ πρὸς τῷ ὅρει τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οὐσα λίμνη, ὑπὸ τῶν πέριξ αὐτῆς περικλειουμένη λόφων καὶ μὴ ἐχουσα ἐκροήν, κατὰ τῶν τῆς πολυρκίας τῶν Οὐιέντων καίρον ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπλήμμυρεν, ὡς ὑπερεκχείσθαι καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ κατιέναι πρὸς θάλασσαν, κρίναντες δ' οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πάντως τι
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 20.

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

In a war which arose with the Veientes the Romans won frequent victories and reduced the foe to a state of siege so long as the latter fought merely with their own contingent; but when allies had been added to their force, they came out against the Romans and defeated them. Meanwhile the lake situated close to the Alban Mount, which was shut in by the surrounding hills and had no outlet, overflowed its banks during the siege of Veii to such an extent that it actually poured over the crests of the hills and went rushing down to the sea. The Romans, judging that something supernatural was
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 20.

dia touton theion sumpainesbatis, epemeran eis Delephon perì touton chrësomemon. ἦν δὲ τις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Οὐίενταις Τυρσηνὸς ἀνὴρ μαντικός. ἐσ ταυτὸν οὖν ἢ τε Πυθία καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖνος μαντεῖα συνέδραμον καὶ ἀμφοὶ γὰρ ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἴπον ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πλημμυρῆσαι μὴ ἐσθάλασσαν ἐμπέση, ἀλλ' ἀναλωθείη ἐτέρωθι, καὶ τίνας ἑρουργίας διὰ τούτο γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πῦθιος οὐτε τίσι θεῶν οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτάς ποιήσοντι διεσάφησεν, ὁ δὲ Τυρσηνὸς ἐφέκε μὲν εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐδήλουν. οἵ γοῦν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὀμίλει, τεταγμένοι Ρωμαίοι, φιλίαν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὑποκρίθεντες, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδουν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπέτρεπον ἐκφοιτάν· καὶ οὕτω συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἤναγκασαν ἐξειπεῖν. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην ἐκείνου τὰς τε θυσίας ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν λόφον διέτρησαν καὶ τὸ πλευνάξον ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ πεδίον κρυπτὴ διόρυχι μετωχέτευσαν, ὡσθ' ἀπαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ μὴ τι καταρρέειν εἰς θάλασσαν.

Zonaras 7, 21.

21. Ἀρτι μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ δικτάτωρ ἡρέθη Μάρκος Φούριος Κάμιλλος. ὅς προσβαλών τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦμνεν, ὑπόγειον ὀρύζατο διόδουν πόρρωθεν ἀρξάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρότολιν φέρουσαν. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦδη τοῦ ὑπονόμου, ἐπεὶ πόλλοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν ἑθελονταί, παραλαβὼν κάκεινος προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ τεῖχος ἐκύκλωσε· τῶν 190
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 20.
surely signified by this event, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about the matter. There was also among the inhabitants of Veii an Etruscan soothsayer whose prophecy coincided with that of the Pythia. Both declared that the city would be captured when the overflowing water should not fall into the sea, but should be used up elsewhere; and they also ordered sacrifices to be performed because of the occurrence. But the Pythian god did not specify to which of the divinities nor in what way these should be performed, while the Etruscan appeared to have the knowledge but would explain nothing. So the Romans who were stationed about the wall from which he was wont to converse with them pretended friendliness toward him, encouraged him to feel thoroughly at ease, and allowed him to walk abroad in security. Thus they succeeded in seizing him and forced him to give all the requisite information. And in accordance with his advice they offered sacrifices, tunnelled the hill, and conducted the superfluous water by an underground channel into the plain, so that all of it was used up there and none ran down into the sea.

Zonaras 7, 21.

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

Zonaras 7, 21.

δ’ ἐντὸς περὶ πάντα τῶν περίβολων σκεδασθέντων,
. . . . τὴν δὲ τῆς λείας δεκάτην ἐξελὼν ἀκόντων
tῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέθετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, εὐχὴν
tοῦτο πρὶν ποιησάμενος. ἀνέθετο δὲ καὶ κρατῆρα
χρυσοῦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμου πεποιη-
μένου· ἀνθ’ οὖ τιμῇ αὐταῖς παραχρῆμα ἐψήφιστο.
ἡ δὲ ἦν τὸ ἐπ’ ὀχημάτων αὐτᾶς ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις
φοιτῶν, αὐτοποδίᾳ βαδιζούσαις πρῶτον ἐς αὐτᾶς.
tὸ δὲ Καμίλλῳ προσώχθισεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἐνε-
μέσησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ
ἐν τῷ διαρράξεσθαι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καιροῦ παρελ-
θόντος ἐξείλετο τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δ’ ὅτι [τά τε ἄλλα
σοβαρῶς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ Plut., Camill. 7] πρῶτος
Ῥωμαῖῶν λευκῷ τεθρίππῳ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψεν.

Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπινικίων πομπῆ, ἦν καὶ θρήμβουν
ἐκάλουν, τοιάδε τις ἐγίνετο. ὅτε τι κατωρθώθη
μέγα καὶ ἐπινικίων ἐπάξιον, αὐτοκράτωρ αὐτίκα ὁ
στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄνομαζετο, καὶ
κλώνως δάφνης περιέδει ταῖς ράβδοις καὶ τοῖς
δρομοκήρυξι τοῖς τὴν νύκην καταγγέλλοντι τῇ
πόλει κομίζειν ἐδίδου. ἔλθων δὲ οἰκάδε τὴν γε-
ρούσιαν συνήθροις καὶ ἦτει ψηφίσασθαι οἱ τὰ
ἐπινίκια. καὶ εἰ ἔτυχε ψήφου παρά τε τῆς
βούλης καὶ τοῦ δῆμου, ἐβεβαιώτοι αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ
ἐπωνυμία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ
ἀρχῇ ἦν ἐτι, ἐν ἡ τυγχάνων ἐνίκησε, ταύτῃ καὶ
πανηγυρίζων ἐκέχρητο, εἰ δ’ ὁ χρόνος παρελήλυθε
τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ’ τι πρόσφορον αὐτῇ ἐλάμβανεν
όνομα· ἰδιώτη γάρ νυκτηρία πέμψαι ἀπείρητο.

192
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 21.

along its entire circuit [other troops secretly got inside through the tunnel. And when the city had been captured, etc.], setting aside the tenth of the booty, against the will of the soldiers, he offered it to Apollo, in accordance with a vow he had previously made. He also offered a golden mixing-bowl, fashioned out of the women's jewellery. In return for this an immediate honour was decreed them; this consisted in their riding to the festivals in carriages in place of going on foot, as hitherto. Now the people became indignant and angry at Camillus, partly because he had set aside the tenth of the booty for the god, not at the time of its capture, but after a considerable interval, and partly because he [not only celebrated his triumph with great magnificence generally, but] was the first Roman to parade with a team of four white horses.

Now the celebration of the triumph was somewhat as follows. When any great success, worthy of a triumph, had been gained, the general was immediately saluted as imperator by the soldiers, and he would bind sprigs of laurel upon the fasces and deliver them to the messengers who announced the victory to the city. On arriving home he would assemble the senate and ask to have the triumph voted him. And if he obtained a vote from the senate and from the people, his title of imperator was confirmed. If he still occupied the office which he had held when he won his victory, he continued to hold it while celebrating the festival; but if his term of office had expired, he received some other title appropriate to the office, since it was forbidden a private individual to hold a triumph. Arrayed in
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 21.

ἐνσκευασάμενος δὲ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ σκευῇ, καὶ περι-
βραχιόνια λαβὼν, στέφανον τε δάφνης ἀναδησά-
μενος καὶ κλάδον κρατῶν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τὸν δήμον
συνεκάλει· καὶ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς συστρατευσα-
μένους αὐτῷ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ιδίᾳ τινάς, ἐδωρεῖτο
μὲν σφίν χρήματα, ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ κόσμῳ, περι-
βραχιόνια τε τισι καὶ δόρατα ὑσίδηρα παρεῖχε,
καὶ στεφάνους τοῖς μὲν χρυσοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἀργυροῖς
ἐδίδον, τούτοις τε ἐκάστων καὶ τῆς ἀριστείας
φέροντας τὸ ἐκτύπωμα. εἰ γὰρ τείχους τις πρῶ-
τος ἐπέβη, καὶ τείχους ὁ στέφανος εἶδος ἐφερεν· ἢ

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Εἰς δίφρον τὸν θριαμβονίκην ἀναβιβάσαντες
σινωπιδίῳ ἢ κινναβάρει τὸ πρόσωπον ἀντὶ αἴμα-
tos, ὡς μὴ ἐρυθριὰ, περιχριόουσι καὶ βραχιον-
στήρας. ἐμβάλλουσι ταῖς χεραί καὶ δάφνινον
στέμμα καὶ δάφνης κλώνα διδοῦσι τῇ δεξιᾷ. περι-
τιθέασι δὲ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον ἐξ ὑλῆς ὑποίας,
ἀνάγραπτα φέροντα ὡς ἐποίησεν ἢ ἐπεπόνθει.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 43–50.

Τὸν θριαμβεύοντα χρίσαντες κινναβάρει | ἢ καὶ
σινωπιδίῳ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρματος ἰστῶσι | καὶ στέφανον
dὲ χρύσεων τῇ κεφαλῇ τιθοῦσιν, | ὅποια κατεργά-
sto fērōnta τυπωθέντα, | καὶ τῇ χειρὶ διδοόσιν
dάφνινον τούτῳ κλάδον, | καὶ βραχιονιστήρας δὲ
ἐμβάλλουσιν ἔκεινῳ, | καὶ πάντας ἀριστεύσαντας
στεφάνους στεφανοῦσιν, | ἐξ ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ὕλης
μὲν γραπτοὺς ταῖς ἀριστείαις.

194
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 21.

the triumphal dress and wearing armlets, with a laurel crown upon his head, and holding a branch in his right hand; he called together the people. After praising collectively the troops who had served with him, and some of them individually, he presented them with money and honoured them also with decorations. Upon some he bestowed armlets and spears without the iron; to others he gave crowns, sometimes of gold, sometimes of silver, bearing the name of each man and the representation of his particular feat. For example, if a man had been first to mount a wall, the crown bore the figure of a wall;

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

They cause the celebrator of the triumph to mount a car, smear his face with earth of Sinope or cinnabar (representing blood), to screen his blushes, clasp armlets on his arms, and put a laurel wreath and a branch of laurel in his right hand. Upon his head they also place a crown of some kind of material, having inscribed upon it his exploits or his experiences.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 43–50.

After anointing with cinnabar or else Sinopian earth the man who celebrates a triumph, they place him in a chariot and set upon his head a golden crown showing clearly portrayed all his conquests, and in his hand they place a branch of laurel, and they clasp armlets about his arms. They likewise crown all who have gained distinction with crowns made out of silver material and inscribed with their feats of valour.

195
καὶ ἔξεπτολιρκησέ τι, καὶ τοῦτο κάκεῖνο εἰκόνιστο. ἑναυκράτησε τις, ναυσίν ὁ στέφανος ἐκεκόσμητο· ἱπποκράτησε τις, ἤππικόν τι ἐξετετύπωστο. ὁ δὲ πολίτην τινὰ ἐκ μάχης ἢ ἐτέρου κυνιδύνου ἢ ἐκ πολιορκίας σώσας μέγιστόν τε εἶχε τὸν ἐπαίνον καὶ ἐλάμβανε στέφανον γινόμενον ἐκ δρυὸς, δῆς πολὺ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ὡς ἐντιμότερος προτετίμητο. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον ἄριστεύσαντα ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχως καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὅλοις παρείχετο. καὶ τῶν λαβύρων πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διανευμένου· ᾧδη δὲ τινας καὶ παντὶ τῷ δῆμῳ διέδοσαν καὶ ἐδαπάνων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἐδημοσίευν, καὶ εἰ τὶ περιελείπτο, εἰς ναοὺς, εἰς στοὰς ἢ καὶ τὶ ἐτερον δημόσιον ἔργον ἀνήλικον.

Ταῦθ' ὁ πομπεὺς ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἄρμα ἀνέβαινε. τὸ δὲ ἡ ἄρμα οὕτ' ἀγωνιστηρίῳ οὐτε πολεμιστηρίῳ ἢν ἐμφερέσ, ἀλλ' ἐς πύργου περιφερούς τρόπον ἐξείργαστο. καὶ οὐ μόνος ἢν ἐν τῷ ἄρματι, ἀλλ' ἂν γε καὶ παῖδας ἢ καὶ συγγενεῖς τινας εἰχε, κάκείων τὰς μὲν κόρας καὶ τὰ ἄρρενα τὰ νεογάνα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνεβίβαζε, τοὺς δὲ ἄδροτερους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς τὲ ξυγίους καὶ τοὺς σειραφόρους ἀνέτίθετο· ἐι δὲ πλείους ἤσαν, ἐπὶ κελήτων τῷ πομπεῖ παριππεύοντες συνεπόμπευον· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔδεις ὠχείτο, ἀλλ' ἐστεμμένοι δάφνη

196
BOOK VI

Zonaras 7, 21.

or if he had also captured some point by storm, both of the feats were depicted. A man might have won a battle at sea, in which case the crown was adorned with ships, or he might have won a cavalry fight and some equestrian figure was represented. He who had rescued a citizen from battle or other peril, or from a siege, had the greatest praise and would receive a crown fashioned of oak, which was esteemed as far more honourable than all the other crowns, whether of silver or of gold. And these rewards were not only given to men singly, as the result of individual deeds of prowess, but were also bestowed upon whole companies and armies. A large part of the spoils also was assigned to the soldiers who had taken part in the campaign; but some victors have distributed the spoils even among the entire populace and have devoted them towards the expenses of the festival or turned them over to the treasury; if anything was left over, they would spend it for temples, porticos or some other public work.

After these ceremonies the triumphant general would mount his chariot. Now this chariot did not resemble one used in games or in war, but was fashioned in the shape of a round tower. And he would not be alone in the chariot, but if he had children or relatives, he would make the girls and the infant male children get up beside him in it and place the older ones upon the horses—outriggers as well as the yoke-pair; if there were many of them, they would accompany the procession on chargers, riding along beside the victor. None of the rest rode, but all went on foot wearing laurel
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 21.

πάντες ἐβάδιζον. οἰκέτης μέντοι δημόσιος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παρωχεῖτο τοῦ ἄρματος, τῶν στέφανον τῶν τῶν λίθων τῶν χρυσοδέτων ύπερανέχουν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ὀπίσω βλέπε," τὸ κατόπιν δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς προσκόπητο τοῦ βίου, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαρθῆς καὶ ύπερφρονήσης. καὶ κώδων ἀπήρτητο καὶ μάστιξ τοῦ ἄρματος, ἐνδεικτικὰ τοῦ καὶ δυστυχῆσαι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι, ὥστε καὶ αἰκισθῆναι ἢ καὶ δικαιωθῆναι θανεῖν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὶς ἀτοπήματι καταδικασθέντας θανεῖν νεόμοστο κωδωνοφορεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲς βαδι-ζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐγχριστομῶν μιᾶσματος ἀνα-πιμπληται. οὔτω δὲ σταλεῖτε εἰσῄσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐχοντες προπεμπόμενα φοίνικα τὰ σκιλά τε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια, καὶ ἐν εἰκόσι τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα φρούρια ἴσκημένα, πόλεις τε καὶ ὅρη καὶ ποτα-μοὺς, ἱώμασι, θαλάσσας, τὰ τε σύμπαντα δία ἐαλώκεσαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν μία ἡμέρα ἡν ἔξαρκούσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦτον πομπήν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἐν δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη ἐπέμπτε. προδιελθόντων δ' ἐκείνων οὔτως ὁ πομπεύς εἰς τὴν 'Ρωμαίαν κομισθεῖς ἀγοράν, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς εἰς τὸ δεσμω-

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Οἰκέτης δὲ δημόσιος τοῦ ἄρματος ἐστὼς ὅπισθεν ἀνέχει τὸν στέφανον, λέγων ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ous: "βλέπε καὶ τὸ κατόπιν." κώδωνες δὲ καὶ μάστιξ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῦ ἄρματος ἀπηρόρηται.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 51–53.

Καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος δημόσιος οἰκέτης | ὅπισθεν τοῦτον ἵσταται τὸν στέφανον ἀνέχων | καὶ λέγων τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ ous: "καὶ τὸ κατόπιν βλέπε." 198 1 προπεμπόμενα Bs., προπέμποντα Mss.
wreaths. A public slave, however, rode with the victor in the chariot itself, holding over him the crown of precious stones set in gold, and kept saying to him, "Look behind!" that is, "Look at what comes after—at the ensuing years of life—and do not be elated or puffed up by your present fortune." Both a bell and a whip were fastened to the chariot, signifying that it was possible for him to meet with misfortune also, to the extent even of being scourged or condemned to death. For it was customary for those who had been condemned to die for any crime to wear a bell, to the end that no one should approach them as they walked along and so be contaminated. Thus arrayed, they entered the city, having at the head of the procession the spoils and trophies and figures representing the captured forts, cities, mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas—everything, in fact, that they had taken. If one day did not suffice for the exhibition of these things in procession, the celebration was held during a second and a third day. When these adjuncts had gone on their way, the victorious general arrived at the Roman Forum, and after commanding that some of

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

A public slave, standing in the back part of the chariot, holds up the crown, saying in his ear: "See also what comes after." Bells and a whip dangle from the yoke of the chariot.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 51–53.

In the chariot a public slave stands behind him holding up the crown and saying in his ear: "See also what comes after."
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

24, 2 "Οτι την των Φαλίσκων πόλιν πολιορκούντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταύτη προσκαθήμενοι διετρίβησαν, εἰ μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. γραμματιστής τις ἐν αυτῇ παιδας οὗτ' ὅλλους οὗτ' ἀφανεῖς παιδεύων, εἰθ' ὑπ' ὄργης ἥ καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι πάντας σφᾶς ἔξω τε τοῦ τείχους ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐξῆγαγεν (τοσοῦτον γάρ που τῆς ἄδειας αὐτοῖς περιή ὡστε καὶ τότε συμφοιτάν) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐκό-

Zonaras 7, 21.

τήριον ἀπαχθὴναι καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἀνήλαινεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ τινὰς ἐκεί τελεταὶ πληρώσας καὶ προσαγαγὼν ἀναθήματα, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἐκεί δευτηρίας στοαῖς, πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἴκας μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων ἀπήρχετο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦσαν πάλαι τὰ νυκτήρια· ἂδὲ δὲ στάσεσι αὐτὲς δυναστεῖαι πλεῖστα ἐνεωτέρισαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Zonaras' account of the siege of Falerii (7, 22), based on Plutarch, contains the following fragments from Dio: εἱ δὲ καὶ, ὡς ἦδη ἱστόρηται, ὁ δῆμος ἐμέσει τὸν Κάμιλλον, . . . καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐνίκησαν μαχεσάμενοι . . . οὐδὲν ἦτοι . . . καὶ ἀπέστησαν τῆς πολιορκίας εἰ μὴ τῇ συμβεβηκε . . . ἡ δὲ ὄργη των ἢ κέρδους ἐλπίδι . . . πᾶσαν

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Εἴτε τρίς κυκλῶν τὸν τόπον περιτρέχει καὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς ἐπὶ γόνασιν ἀνέρπει καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐκεῖ ὑποτίθεται. εἴτε μετὰ θυμελικῶν οἰκαδε ἀπέρχεται.

200 ¹ εἴθ' Reim., ἕτεθ' Ms.
BOOK VI

The Romans, who were besieging the city of the Faliscans, would have consumed much time en-camped before it had not an incident of the following nature occurred. A school teacher of the place who instructed a number of children of good family, either under the influence of anger or through hope of gain, led them all outside the wall, ostensibly for some different purpose from his real one. For they had liberty enough left in any case so that the children were still attending school. And he led

Zonaras 7, 21.

the captives be led to prison and put to death, he rode up to the Capitol. There he performed certain rites and made offerings and dined in the porticos up there, after which he departed homeward toward evening, accompanied by flutes and pipes. Such were the triumphs in olden times; but factions and powerful cliques effected many changes in them.

And even though the people did hate Camillus, as already related, . . . And they [the Romans] prevailed over them [the Faliscans] in battle . . . [The Romans] were making no progress [in the siege] . . . They would even have given up the siege but for a certain occurrence . . . Either out of anger or through hope of gain . . . He [the schoolmaster]

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Next he runs thrice about the place in a circle, mounts the stairs on his knees, and there lays aside the garlands. After that he departs home, accompanied by musicians.

201
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μοσε, πᾶσαν ὦ τὴν πόλιν δι' αὐτῶν παραδιδόναι λέγων: οὐ γὰρ περιοίσειν ἐτί τούς ἔνδοιν, τῶν 3 φιλτάτων σφίσι ἐχομένων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέρανε τι: ὁ γὰρ Κάμιλλος τῆς τε ἄρετῆς ἀμα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῶν ἄνθρωπίων ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὐκ ἤξιωσεν ἐκ προδοσίας αὐτοὺς ἔλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χείρῃ ἐς τοὐπίσω τοῦ προδότου δῆσας παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς παισίν ἓν ἀπαγαγείν οἰκάδε. γενομένον δὲ τούτον οἱ Φαλίσκοι οὐκέτ’ ἀντέσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δυσάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας τῶν πόλεμος διαφέροντες, ὄμως ἐθελοῦτο τύμλολογησαν αὐτῷ, θαυμαστὴν τῶν φιλίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκήσαντες ἔξειν, οὐγε καὶ πολεμίου οὖτῳ δικαίον ἐπεπείραντο.—V. 11 (p. 578).

4 'Ὁ οὖν Κάμιλλος ἐπιφθονώτερος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτων τοῖς πολίταις γενόμενος, ἐγράφη τε ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῆς τῶν Οὐηνίων ἡ δημόσιον ὡφελήσας, καὶ ἐκουσίως πρὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπεξέσχεν.—V. 12 (p. 578) = Suid. s.v. ὑπεξέσχεν.

Zonaras 7, 22.

εἶπε παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῶν παιδῶν . . . φέροντες έαυτοὺς ἐθελοντα τῷ Καμίλλῳ παρέδωσαν . . . φυσιοθείς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλέον κατηγορήθη ὡς μηδὲν τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν ὥφε-

1 After παισίν the Ms. has ὑπισθόχειρα, deleted by Rk.
2 Ὑηνίω Bk., βιέων Ms.

202
BOOK VI

them to Camillus, saying that in their persons he surrendered to him the whole city; for the inhabitants would no longer hold out when those dearest to them were held prisoners. However, he failed to accomplish anything; for Camillus, mindful of Roman valour and likewise of the vicissitudes in human affairs, would not agree to take them by treachery. Instead, he bound the traitor's hands behind his back and delivered him to the children themselves to lead home again. After this episode the Faliscans held out no longer, but in spite of the fact that they were securely entrenched and had ample resources to continue the war, they nevertheless made terms with him voluntarily. They were confident they should enjoy a remarkable friendship with one, whom, even as an enemy, they had found so just.

Accordingly, Camillus became on this account an object of even greater jealousy to the citizens, and he was indicted by the tribunes on the charge of not having benefited the public treasury with the plunder of Veii; but before the trial he voluntarily withdrew.

Zonaras 7, 22.

declared that in the persons of the boys he surrendered to him the whole city . . . They came forth voluntarily and surrendered themselves to Camillus . . . As the result of increasing envy the charge was brought against Camillus that he had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον, οὐδ' ὅσοι
φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτοῦ εἶχον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνω φίλοι συγγενεῖς τε αὐτῷ ὄντες
ἐβάσκαινον ὡστε μηδ' ἀποκρύπτεσθαι. δεομένου
γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν καὶ συναγωνίσασθαι οἱ, τῶν δὲ
tὸν γε ἀπολύουσαν θέσθαι,1 . . . ἀλὸντι δ' αὐτῷ
χρημάτων τε τιμήσειν καὶ τὴν καταδίκην συνεκτί-
σεως ὑπέσχοντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα εὐχὴν τε ὑπ'
ὀργῆς ἐποιήσατο χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν σχείν,
kαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄντωνους πρὶν κατηγορηθῆναι 2
μετέστη.—Μ. 46 (p. 154).

Zonaras 7, 22.

λήσας χρημάτων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τούτων σφετερι-
σάμενος. οὕτω δὲ ὀργίζοντο κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς
μηδ' οἰκτὸν αὐτοῦ τινὰ λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ συμβάσῃ
αὐτῷ συμφορᾶς τεθνηκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ νοσήσας
ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νιῶν . . . πρὸς Ἄντωνους μετ-
έστη.

1 Lacuna after θέσθαι recognised by Bk.
2 κατηγορηθῆναι is perhaps a mistake on the part of the
exceptor for καταδίκασθῆναι.
BOOK VI

To such a degree did not only the populace and all those who were somewhat jealous of his reputation but even his best friends and his relatives feel envy toward him that they did not even attempt to hide it. When he asked some of them to support his cause and others to vote for his acquittal, [they refused to assist him with their vote,] but promised, in case he were convicted, to impose a fine and to help him pay it. As a result of this he prayed in his anger that the city might come to have need of him; and he went over to the Rutuli before accusation was brought against him.¹

Zonaras 7, 22.

not enriched the treasury at all with the Etruscan wealth, but had appropriated some of it himself. And they were so enraged against him that none showed pity for him in the calamity that befell him; for one of his sons fell sick and died . . . He betook himself to the Rutuli.

¹ This seems a strange statement, but may possibly mean before his trial took place. Otherwise πρὶν καταδικασθήναι ("before sentence was passed upon him") would seem to be the proper reading.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

25 "Ότι τῆς στρατείας τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτία αὐτὴ ἐγένετο. οἱ Κλουσίνοι πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κετέφυγον, ἐπὶ δίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντες, ἐπειδή τοῖς Οὐηνένταις καὶ περόμοιοι οὕσιν οὐ συνήραντο, πάντως τινὰ ὠφελῶν παρ' αὐτῶν εὑρήσεσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἔκείνοι τὴν ἐπικοινίαν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας πέμψαντες εἰρήνην 2 αὐτοῖς ἐπραττόν, ταύτην παρὰ μικρὸν (ἐπὶ γὰρ μέρει τῆς χώρας προσεύνετο σφισιν) ἑποίσαντο, συμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐς μάχην τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις προσπαρέλαβον. οἱ οὖν Γαλάται χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει αὐτῶν ἐνεγκόντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνταπέστειλαν τινὰς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, αὐτιώμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις· εἰτ' ἐπειδῇ μήτε τι-

---

Zonaras 7, 23.

(1) οἱ δ' Ἕλερεφαίοι Γαλάται, δὲν οἱ Ἀσιαίοι νομίζονται ἄποικοι . . .

(2) ἐν τούτοις δὲ λοχήσαντες οἱ Κλουσίνοι μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πρέσβεων ἔπεθεντο τοῖς Γαλάταις.

---

1 Οὐηνένται Bk., βένται Mss.
2 συμπεσόντες Bk., συμπεσόν Mss.

206
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

The cause of the Gallic expedition was this. The people of Clusium had suffered injuries in the war at the hands of the Gaurs and had turned for refuge to the Romans, having considerable hope that they could obtain some help at least in that quarter, from the fact that they had not taken sides with the Veientes, though of the same race. When the Romans failed to vote them aid, but sent envoys to the Gaurs and were negotiating a peace for them, they set little store by this (for it was offered them in return for a portion of the land), and attacked the barbarians in battle right after the conference, taking the Roman envoys along with them. The Gaurs, vexed at seeing these on the opposite side, at first sent an embassy in their turn to Rome, preferring charges against the envoys. And when no punishment was

Zonaras 7, 23.

(1) The European Gaurs, of whom the Asiatic Gaurs are thought to be an offshoot, . . .

(2) Meanwhile the people of Clusium with the Roman ambassadors lay in wait for the Gaurs and attacked them.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

μωρία σφίσιν ἐγένετο καὶ χιλιάρχοι πάντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, θυμού τε ἐπληρώθησαν, ὄντες καὶ ἄλλως ὄργην ἁκροι, καὶ Κλουσίνους ἐν ὀλυγρίᾳ θέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμήσαν.—U n 2 (p. 373).

3 "Οτι τοις Ῥωμαίοις δεξαμένοις τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον οὐδ' ἀναπνεύσαι ὑπήρξεν, ἀλλ' αὐθημεροῦν ἐς τὴν máχην ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὃσπερ εἴχον καταστάντες ἐπταῖσαν πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, τῆς τε φωνῆς ἕνεκόν τε τι καὶ φρικώδες φθεγγομένην ἐκπλαγέντες, τῆς τε ἐμπερίας ἀμα τῆς τῶν τακτικῶν ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰς ἄρετὰς προῆκαντο.

Zonaras 7, 23.

(3) καὶ τοσοῦτο τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὡστ' ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοῦς τῇ πόλει μὴ προμαθότων Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἔφοδον. τὸ μέντοι δαμόνιον προαγγεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔφοδον λέγεται. Μάρκος γὰρ Καίδικος νυκτὸς ποι βαδίζων φωνῆς ἥκουσε λεγούσης “Γαλάται ἔρχονται.” εἰρήκτοι δὲ τούτο Μάρκου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [ἐν παειδίᾳ τὸν λόγον ἔποιοντό καὶ γέλωτι Plut., Camill. 14], ἐως αὐτάγγελοι οἱ Γαλάται σφῶν πλησίον ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ σπουδὴ ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἀτάκτως ἀγωνισάμενοι αἰσχρότατα ἤττηντο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ máχῃ πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἔθησαν καταλαμβανόμενοι, πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν Τίβεριος συνώσθησαν1 καὶ ἐφθάρμησαν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκέδαι.

1 συνώσθησαν B corr., συνωθήσθησαν C5, συνωθήσθησαν A (?) 208
BOOK VII

visited upon the latter, but they were all, on the contrary, appointed consular tribunes, the barbarians were filled with wrath, being naturally quick to anger, and since they held Clusium in contempt, they set out against Rome.

The Romans after going out to meet the invasion of the Gauls had no time even to recover breath, but went immediately from their march into battle, just as they were, and lost. Panic-striken by the unexpectedness of the invaders' expedition, by their numbers, by the huge size of their bodies, and by the strange and terrifying sound of their voices, they forgot their training in military science and hence lost the use

Zonaras 7, 23.

(3) And he [Brennus] advanced with such speed that his followers came upon the city before the Romans had learned of their approach. Nevertheless, Heaven is said to have forewarned them of the attack. For as Marcus Caedicius was proceeding somewhere or other one night he heard a voice say: "The Gauls are coming." But when he reported this to the people and to the senate, [they treated his story with ridicule and derision,] until the Gauls were close at hand to announce themselves. Then indeed they eagerly sallied forth, but fighting in no orderly ranks, they met with a most disgraceful defeat. Many fell in battle, many while fleeing were overtaken and slain; great numbers moreover were crowded into the Tiber and there perished. The rest were scattered and managed
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 πλείστουν γάρ τοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην φέρει, ὅτι καὶ παρούσα τις τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γυνώμης σφῶν βεβαιοὶ καὶ ἐλλείπουσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσδιαφείρει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸις προούπηρχει 1 ἀπειροὶ 2 μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πολλὰ θυμῷ βιαίως κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐταξίας, ἢν ἀν μάθωσιν, ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ τινὸς ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἐσφάλησαν.—Μ. 47 (p. 154).

5 "Ὅτι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες καὶ πολιορκοῦμενοι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας πλὴν παρὰ τοῦ

Zonaras 7, 23.

σθένετε οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν ἰδυνήθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γρόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀπογρόντες οὔτε τῶν τεῖχῶν φυλακὴν ἔθεντο οὔτε τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ἐκλείσαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκλιμπάνουσιν ἐφευγον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. μόνοι δὲ ὄγδοή-κοντα ἀνδρὲς, οὗς οἱ μὲν ἰερεῖς εἶναι φασὶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρῶτων Ρωμαίων καθ' ἥλικιαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐνδύντες ἑρᾶς ἡ πολυτελε-στάτας στολάς . . .

(4) οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἠλθον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, . . . ἐπέσχον καὶ οὐκ εἰσήσαν . . . τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ θαρσῆσαντες εἰσεπήδησαν καὶ εἶδον τὴν πόλιν.

(5) εἶτα καὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσέβαλον· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἦμυνον,

1 αὐτοῖς προούπηρχει Bk., αὐτής προσαπήλθεν Ms.
2 ἀπειροῖ Bk., ἀπειρίᾳ Ms.
BOOK VII

of their valour. For skill contributes very largely to bravery, since when present it strengthens the power of men's resolutions and when wanting destroys the same more thoroughly by far than if they had never possessed it at all. Many persons, to be sure, without experience often carry things through by the impetuosity of their spirit, but those who fail of the discipline which they have learned lose also their strength of purpose. This caused the defeat of the Romans.

The Romans who were on the Capitol under siege had no hope of safety, unless through the aid of

Zonaras 7, 23.

to get away, some to Rome, and some to other places. The Romans in the city upon learning of the disaster were helpless, and in their despair neither manned the walls nor closed the city gates; instead, some of them deserted the city and fled, while others with their wives and children rushed up to the Capitol. Eighty men alone, who, according to some, were priests, according to others, the chief citizens in point of age, wealth, and family, arrayed themselves in sacred or very costly robes . . .

(4) The Gauls came the next day to Rome, [but upon seeing the gates open and the wall unguarded] they halted and did not enter, [since they suspected an ambush]. But on the third day they gained courage to rush in, and they captured the city.

(5) Then they attacked the Capitol also; but when, after attempts covering several days, they could accomplish nothing, [some continued to guard the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

daimoniou oudeimian eichon. to gar di theion, kaipser en panti kakou \(^1\) onties eterapeuon outwos woste, epieidhi ti twon ieroun echhen upo twon ponte-
phikwn allotpi pou tiis poleous genethai, Kaissou
Fabisos, du \(^2\) i ierouryia ikneito, katexi te et' au-
tiin ek tou Kapitollion steilamevos wsper eiwthei,
kal dita twon polemwn diezelwov ta te nomizomena
6 epotheke kal authmeron anekomisith. thamixo
men ouin kal twon barbaron oti autou, eit' ouin
dia touz theous eiite kal dia tiin arethi, efheisanto-
poli ge mhn malloin auton ekeinon en thamati
pouymai kath ekateron, oti te es touz polemous
monos katelthein etolmase, kal oti duntheias
anachorhiasai poi asfalas ouk thelhesen, alli'
es to Kapitollion authis ekwn eti proopton
kivdunon anechorhesen, epistamemous men oknoynas
autous to chorioin, du monon eti tiis patridos eichon,
eklipein, oron de mhp ei payn epethymoun ek-
fynein dunamenous upo to pot plithous twon poleor-
kountwn touto pouthesai.—V. 13 (p. 581).

Zonaras 7, 23.

. . . kal upo meithos esfallointo. ouin gar entu-
choutes pollaf akrapesteiron echorinto autoi, mhpw
proteron pomatos toioouto geussamevoi.

\(^1\) kakou Bk., kakhf Ms. \(^2\) du B., ou (i.e. od) Ms.

212
BOOK VII

Heaven. For so scrupulously did they observe the mandates of religion, although in every extremity of evil, that when one of the sacred rites needed to be performed by the pontifices in another part of the city, Kaeso Fabius, who was then exercising the office of priest, descended for the purpose from the Capitol after arraying himself as was his wont, and passing through the enemy, performed the customary ceremony and returned the same day. I marvel at the barbarians, on the one hand, because, either on account of the gods or his bravery, they spared him; yet still more do I marvel at the man himself, for two reasons: first, that he dared to descend alone among the enemy, and again, that when he might have withdrawn to some place of safety, he refused, and instead voluntarily returned up to the Capitol again into manifest danger. For he understood that they hesitated to abandon the spot which was the only part of their country they still held, but saw at the same time that no matter how much they desired to escape it was impossible to do so by reason of the multitude of the besiegers.

Zonaras 7, 23.

Capitol, while the others scoured the country for provisions, etc.]. And drunkenness proved their undoing; for upon finding a large quantity of wine they drank very intemperately, since they had never before tasted such a beverage.
ΔΙΟ'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 "Οτι ο αυτός παρακαλούμενος την ήγεμονίαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγων τε ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλε κατὰ τα πάτρια αὐτήν λήψεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ πον νόμμος ἀκριβῆς τε ἀνήρ ἐγένετο ὡστε καὶ ἐν τηλικοῦτῳ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνῳ διὰ φροντίδος τὰ καθήκοντα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ δικαιοῦν παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπείτα παρανομίας κατα-λιπεῖν.—V. 14 (p. 582).

Zonaras 7, 23.

(6) χαλεπῶς ἀνερπύσας μόλις τε ἀναρριχη-σάμενος . . .

(7) οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μεθ' ἡμέραν διώντες [καὶ καταμαθόντες θεν] ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Κα-πιτώλῳ Plut., Camill. 26, 1] (τούτῳ δ' ὑπετοπασαν ἐκ τε τῶν ἀπερρωγῶν τῆς πέτρας θραυσμάτων καὶ τῆς πόας, ἡ πολλὴ ἔπ' αὐτῆς ἦν, τῆς μὲν ἀνεσπασμένης, τῆς δὲ συμπεπτυκημένης), ἐκεῖθεν ἀναβῆναι νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ δυσχερῶς μὲν, ἀνήσαν δ' ὀμῶς, καὶ ἐλαθὼν ἀν . . .

(8) μικρὸν ἐξελιπτον ἂν αὐτὴν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεί-θοντο οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὔτε τῇ γερουσίᾳ παρα- καλοῦσι καὶ συμβουλεύσασι μὴ ἐκλυτεῖν τὸ ἄστυ, δ' ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἡδη ἔσεσσωτο, εἰ μή ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντως περὶ τούτοι βουλευμένων ἑκατονταρχὸς φρουρᾶν ἄγων τινὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διών τυχαίως, "ἐνταῦθα στήτε" πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ἔβοησεν, "ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεὶ ὑμᾶς μεῖναι." θεία γὰρ προνοία ἔνομισαν ταῦτ' εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τοῦ μεταναστεῦσαι ἀπέσχοντο, 214
BOOK VII

This same man [Camillus], when urged to let the leadership be entrusted to him, would not allow it, because he was an exile and could not take the position according to time-honoured usage. He showed himself so law-abiding and scrupulous a man that in so great a danger to his native land he made duty a matter of earnest thought and was unwilling to hand down to posterity the example of an illegal act.

Zonaras 7, 23.

(6) When after much difficulty, now crawling and now clambering, he [Pontius Cominius] had at last reached the top . . .

(7) But the barbarians went around by day [and discovered where Pontius had approached the Capitol], drawing their inference from the fragments broken off the cliff as well as from the fact that the grass, which grew in abundance there, was in some places torn up, in other places crushed down. They determined therefore to climb up themselves the same way by night; and they did, in fact, make the attempt, and were getting up, painfully but surely, and would have escaped detection . . .

(8) They [the Romans] all but abandoned it [their ruined city]. They would not listen either to the officials or to the senate when these counselled them not to abandon the city, just saved from the enemy. But while they were all deliberating about the matter in the Forum, a centurion in command of a guard chanced to march directly past the assembly and to call out to his men: “Halt! This is where you remain.” The people thought these words had been uttered by divine foresight, and so gave up the
πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀνακαίνισμῶν τῆς Ῥώμης σὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐτράποντο.

(9) καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτῷ προσβαλὼν. . . . ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν αὐθημερὸν τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο. ἔθριάμβευσεν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄγων τὰ ἐπινίκια· καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἦρετο.

(10) παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· καὶ κατέσχον αὐτῷ. διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ἥρεθ ό Κάμιλλος. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερούσιας καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐς μέγα δέος ἐμπεπτωκότων καὶ ἀποροῦντων τί ἂν πράξαμεν, δούλος τις αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν ἔβαλε τὸν Καπιτωλίνων σφίσι παραδώσεων ὑπέσχετο. λαβὼν οὖν ὁπλίταις καὶ τάξας αὐτοῖς ἅφανὸς ἐνεδρεύειν ὑπὸ τὸ Καπιτώλιον· ὥς αὐτόμολος τῷ Καπιτωλίνῳ προσεκέχωρήκει, ἐπήνευ τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως καὶ βοήθειαν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων αὐτῷ ἐπηγγέλλετο. καὶ ταῦτά οἱ διαλεγόμενοι ἀπήγαγε τὸν ἄνδρα πόρρω τῶν περιεστηκότων, ὡς δὴ τὶ κοινολογούμενος αὐτῷ ἰδιαίτερα, καὶ ἡρέμα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ Καπιτωλίου προσήκει καθ' ὁ ἐνέδρα ἐλελόχυστο, κακεῖθεν αὐτὸν κάτω ἀπόσατο· δὲ καὶ συλληφθέν τοῖς ἀποκοκόμιστο πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον. οὗ δὲ τὰς τε ἀριστείας κατέλεγε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον τοὺς τε δικάζουσι καὶ τοὺς περιεστώσιν ἐδείκνυν, ἀποπτοῦν ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσπεφευγότων πολιτῶν ἀνεμίμησεν, ὡς ἐντεύθεν κατακλᾶσθαι τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὴν ψήφον.

216
BOOK VII

Zonaras 7, 23.

thought of removal and turned with eagerness to the rebuilding of Rome.

(9) And attacking it [Sutrium] unexpectedly . . . he [Camillus] restored it that same day safe and uninjured to the inhabitants. Accordingly he celebrated a triumph as a result of these victories and was exalted to great honour.

(10) The populace, accordingly, led him [Capitolinus] up to the Capitol; and they took possession of it. As a result, Camillus was chosen dictator for the fourth time. Now when the senators and the magistrates had fallen into great fear and were doubtful what course to take, a slave approached them and promised to deliver up Capitolinus to them alive. Receiving for the purpose some heavy-armed troops and placing them secretly in ambush below the Capitol, he himself went forward in the guise of a deserter to meet Capitolinus; and he proceeded to praise him for his undertaking and to promise assistance from his fellow-slaves. While thus conversing with the man, he drew him apart from the bystanders, pretending that he had some communication for him in particular, and gradually approached that part of the Capitol where the ambuscade had been stationed; then he thrust him down. Thus Capitolinus was seized and brought before the court. But he proceeded to enumerate his valiant services and to point out to the jury and others present the Capitol, which was visible from that point, and reminded them of the preservation not only of the citadel itself but also of the citizens who had taken refuge there; as a result, the jurors were overcome with emotion, and postponed the vote.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

26 "Οτι του Καπιτωλίου κατέγανο δήμος, καὶ ἡ
tε οἰκία αυτοῦ κατεσκαφῆ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐθη-
μεύθη, τὸ τε ὄνομα, καὶ εἶ δὴ ποιν εἰκῶν ἦν,
ἀπηλείφθη καὶ διεθάρη, καὶ νῦν δὲ πλὴν τῆς
κατασκαφῆς πάντα ταῦτα ἔγνεται ἐπὶ τοῖς τῷ
κοινῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαν. ἔκριναν δὲ καὶ μηδένα
εὑπατρίδην ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ κατοικεῖν, ὡτε καὶ ἔκεινος
ἐνταυθὸς οἰκῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ συγγένεια ἡ
τῶν Μᾶλλίων ἀπείπε μηδένα σφῶν Μάρκου,
ἐπείτερο οὔτως ὁνομάζετο, προσκαλείσθαι.

2 Καπιτωλίως μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον τὸ διαλλάσσον
κἂν τὸις τρόποις κἂν τῇ τύχῃ ἔσχεν τὰ τε γὰρ
πολέμια ἀκριβώσας εἰρηνεῦ μιὰ ἡπίστατο, καὶ
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὃ εἴσεσώκει κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ τῶν
ρανόνδη, εὑπατρίδης τε ὡν οἰκέτου ἔργου ἐγένετο,
καὶ πολεμικὸς νομισθῇς ἐν ἀνδραπόδου τρόπῳ
συνελήφθη, κατὰ τε τῆς πέτρας αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἢς
τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπεώσατο ἐρρίφη.—V. 15 (p. 582).

3 "Οτι ο Καπιτωλίως κατεκρημασθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων, οὔτως οὕτ' ἄλλο τι κατά χώραν ὡς
πλήθει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μένει, καὶ αἱ ἐνπραγματ
συχνῶς ἐς συμφορὰς ἀντιρρότους προϊόνοισι
ἐξαίρονται γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἔλπιδας τῶν
ὀμοίων, τοῦ τε πλείωνος αὐτὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐπορέγέσθαι
καὶ εἰ τὸ ἐναντιώτατον σφαλέντας καταβάλλουσι.
—Μ. 48 (p. 155).

1 πάντα ταῦτα Bk., πάντα Ms. 2 οὕτως Rk., οὗτος Ms.
3 αἱ added by Dindorf.
BOOK VII

The people sentenced Capitolinus to death, his b.c. 384 house was razed to the ground, his wealth confiscated, and, his name and even likeness, wherever such existed, were erased and destroyed. At the present day, too, all these punishments, except the razing to the ground, are visited upon those who conspire against the commonwealth. They decreed also that no patrician should dwell upon the citadel, because Capitolinus had happened to have his house there. And the family of the Manlii prohibited any one of their number from being called Marcus, since that had been his name.

Such was the change, then, that Capitolinus underwent both in character and in fortune. Having made a speciality of warfare, he did not understand how to remain at peace; the Capitol he had once saved he occupied for the purpose of establishing a tyranny; although a patrician he became the prey of a servant; and whereas he was reputed a warrior, he was arrested after the manner of a slave and hurled down the very rock from which he had repulsed the Gauls.

Capitolinus was thrown headlong down the rock by the Romans. So true it is that nothing in human affairs, as a rule, remains fixed; and success, in particular, leads many people on into catastrophes equally great. It raises their hopes for continued good fortune, makes them always strive for more, and, when they fail, hurls them into the very opposite extreme.

219
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

28 "Ὅτι πρὸς Τουσκουλανοῦς ἔστρατευσε Κά-
μιλλος, θαυμαστῇ δὲ τινὶ προσποιῆσει δεινὸν
οὐδὲν ἔπαθον.1 καθὰπερ γὰρ οὔτ’ αὐτοῖ τι πλημ-
μελήσαντες οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅργῃν σφισι
ἐχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ὡς φίλων παρὰ φίλων ἱόντων
ἡ καὶ ἐφ’ ἑτέρους τινὰς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων στρατευ-
όντων, οὔτε τι μετέβαλον τῶν καθεστηκότων οὐθ’
2 ὅλως ἐταράχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω πάντες ἐπὶ τε
ταις δημουργίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἐν
εἰρήνῃ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, εἰσώ τε τὸν στρατὸν
ἐσεδέξαντο καὶ ξένια αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τά τε ἄλλα
ὡς φίλους ἐτίμησαν. εἰς οὔπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι
οὐχ ὅτι κακὸν τι2 αὐτοὺς ἐδρασάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔστὶν
τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐσεγράψαντο.—V. 16 (p. 582).
3 Δίωνος ζ’ βιβλίῳ “Τουσκουλανοὶ3 δὲ χεῖρας μὲν

Zonaras 7, 24.

Εἶτα πολλῶν πολέμων κατά τε τῆς Ῥώμης
αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῆ πόλεων κινη-
θέντων, ἐπεξελθόντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
diά τε τοῦ Ῥώμης καὶ di’ ἑτέρων, ἤδη ἐκείνου
ὑπερηγράσαντος, τοὺς τε πολέμους κατέπαυσαν,
καὶ εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν ἔσχον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, πρὸς
ἀλλήλους δὲ ἐστασίαζον. Μάρκος γὰρ τοὺς Φάβιος
εὐπατρίδης, θυγατέρων δύο τυχαίων πατήρ, τὴν
μὲν πρεσβυτέραν Δικινία τω Στόλωνι κατηγ-
γύς πολύ αὐτοῦ καταδεστέρω, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν
Σουλπικίω τυ Ρούφω, ἀνδρὶ ὁμοτίμῳ, συνφύσε.

1 ἔπαθον Val., ἔπαθαν Ms. 2 τι added by Bk.
3 Τουσκουλανοὶ Bk., κουλανοὶ Ms.
BOOK VII

Camillus made a campaign against the Tusculans, but thanks to a remarkable course of dissimulation that they adopted they suffered no harm. For, just as if they themselves were guilty of no offence and the Romans were cherishing no anger against them, but were either coming to them as friends to friends or else marching through their territory against some other tribes, they changed none of their accustomed habits and were not in the least disturbed; instead, all without exception remained in their places, at their regular trades or occupations, just as in time of peace, and receiving the army within their borders, gave them hospitable gifts, and in other ways honoured them like friends. Consequently the Romans, so far from doing them harm, enrolled them subsequently among the citizens.

Dio, Book VII. "The Tusculans did not raise their hands against him."

Zonaras 7, 24.

Then many wars were stirred up both against Rome herself and against the cities subject to her; but the Romans went out against their enemies under the leadership sometimes of Camillus, sometimes of others,—for he was now very old,—and quelled these wars. Then they enjoyed profound peace with the outside nations, but were at variance among themselves. A certain Marcus Fabius, a patrician, who chanced to be the father of two daughters, had betrothed the elder to one Licinius Stolo, much inferior to him in rank, and married the younger to Sulpicius Rufus, who belonged to his own class. Now while
"Οτι ἡ γυνη, τοῦ Ρούφου καὶ πράττοντός τι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ δημόσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο καὶ τήν θύραν ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος κατά τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἐκρουσεν, ἐξεταράχθη πρὸς τούτο, οὕτω πρότερον τοιοῦτο τινὸς πεπεραμένη, καὶ διεπτοήθη. γέλωτοι οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ συχνοὶ καὶ παρὰ 2 τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ σκωφθείσα ὡς ἰδιώτις τῶν ἀρχικῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τόν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς μήποτε ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τυλί ἐξητάσθαι οὐσα, δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο, οἷα ποι ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐκ μικροψυχίας συμβαίνειν πέφυκεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκε δυσκολαίνουσα πρὶν πάσαιν τήν πόλιν θορυβῆσαι, ὡς ποι σμικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα πολλῶν τισι καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτία γίγνεται, ὅταν φθόνῳ τέ τις αὐτά καὶ ξηλοτύπως λαμβάνῃ.—Μ. 49 (p. 155).

Zonaras 7, 24.

χιλιαρχούντος οὖν τοῦ Ρούφου καὶ ὄντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῆς παραγέγονεν. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐκείνου τὴν θύραν ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος κατά τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἐκρουσε. διεπτοήθη δὲ πρὸς τὸν πάταγον ἡ γυνη οὕτω τούτῳ πεπεραμένη· καὶ γέλως ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἰδιώτις ἐσκώφθη. τῇ δ' ἐν δεινῷ τῷ πρᾶγμα πεποίητο, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐς ἀρχήν παραγγείλει ἡρέθιζεν. ὁ γοῦν Στόλων ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς παρακινηθεῖς Λουκίῳ τινὶ Σεξτίῳ, ἀνδρὶ τῶν

1 γυνη, τοῦ Ρούφου Vinkesteyn, τοῦ ρούφου γυνη Ms. 2 τι added by Bk. 3 ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος is repeated in the Ms. after ἀρχαῖον; Mai deleted. 4 θορυβῆσαι Mai, θεραπεύσαι Ms.
BOOK VII

When Rufus, who was consular tribune and was engaged in public service in the Forum, arrived at home, and the lictor, according to an ancient custom, knocked at the door, the woman was alarmed at this, being unfamiliar with anything of the sort, and was startled. Accordingly, both her sister and the others burst into loud laughter at her expense, and made fun of her as a woman ignorant of official etiquette, since her husband had never served in any position of authority. She took it terribly to heart, as women in particular, from their littleness of soul, usually do, and would not give up her resentment until she had set all the city in an uproar. Thus small and accidental events become, in some cases, the cause of many great evils, when a person meets them with envy and jealousy.

Zonaras 7, 24.

Rufus was consular tribune and was in the Forum one day, his wife had a visit from her sister. Upon the arrival of the husband the lictor, according to an ancient custom, knocked at the door. The visitor was startled by the noise, as she was unfamiliar with this procedure; thereupon both her sister and the others present burst out laughing and made fun of her as an ignoramus. But she took the matter as a serious affront, and roused her husband to canvass for office. Stolo, accordingly, incited by his wife, took counsel with Lucius Sextius, a man of his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 "Οτι δεινόν ἐν κακοῖς προσδοκία σωτηρίας ἀναπείσαι τινα πιστεύσαι καὶ τοῖς παραλόγοις.—Μ. 50 (p. 156).

4 'Αεὶ γὰρ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον στασιάζοντες παρέλυον, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ ὃν τοὺς πολέμους πρὶν τοὺς μεγίστους ἀνηροῦντο, ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ σύμπαντα ὡς εἰπέιν οὐκ ἀστασιάσως μὲν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς κατακτήσασθαι.—Μ. 51 (p. 156).

5 "Οτι Πούπλιος, τῶν πολιτῶν στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀλίγων τούτους συνήλλαξεν. Δικίννιον γὰρ Στόλωνα ἵππαρχον προσείλετο καὶ περ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους ὄντα.2 ὅπερ καινοτομηθὲν τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἐλύπησεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλους οὕτως ὑπηγάγετο ὡστε μηκέτι τῆς ὑπατείας τῷ υστέρῳ3 ἐτεί ἀντιποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐάσαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους αἰρεθήσαι. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἐμὲ τάλα ἀνθυπείζαντες γε τινα ἀλλήλοις ἵσως ἄν κατηλλάγησαν, εἰ μέπερ ὁ Στόλων ὁ δήμαρχος τοιοῦτον τι εἰπών, ὡς οὖκ ἂν πίοιεν4 εἰ μὴ φάγοιειν,

Zonaras 7, 24.

ὅμως, τὰ τοῦ πράγματος κοινωσάμενος, ἄμφω δημαρχήσαι κατεβιάσατο, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας συνέχεον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τέσσαριν ἔτεσιν ἀναρχίαν γενέσθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰς γὰρ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐνεπόδιζον.

1 'Ρωμαίων, which follows πολιτῶν in the Ms., was recognized by Bs. as due to the exector. 2 ἵππαρχον . . . ὄντα Bs., following Reimar (προσελετο καῖπερ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους ὄντα ἵππαρ- χον), προσελετο ὄντα ἵππαρχον Ms. 3 υστέρῳ Bk., ἔτερῳ Ms. 4 ἂν πίοιεν Reim., ἀπίοιεν Ms.

224
In the midst of evils expectation of rescue is very apt to persuade one to trust even in what is beyond reason. For by their disputes they were constantly undermining in one way or another the good order of the state; as a rule, nearly all these objects for which they were formerly accustomed to wage the greatest wars, they gained in time—not without factional quarrels, to be sure, but still with small difficulty.

Publius, when the citizens of Rome were quarrelling with one another, nearly reconciled them. For he chose as master of the horse Licinius Stolo, in spite of the fact that he was a man of the people. This innovation grieved the patricians, but conciliated the rest so much that they no longer laid claim to the consulship for the following year, but allowed consular tribunes to be chosen. As a result of this certain mutual concessions were made in other matters as well, and they would perhaps have become reconciled with each other, had not Stolo, the tribune, made some remark to the effect that they should not drink unless they would eat and so persuaded

Zonaras 7, 24.

own station, and forced the election of them both to the tribuneship; and they overthrew the established order of the state to such an extent that for four years the people had no rulers, since these men repeatedly obstructed the patrician elections.

1 This is Publius Manlius, the dictator (Livy 6, 39).
2 A proverbial form of statement, based on the well-known practice of the Greeks and Romans of drinking only in connection with meals. According to Livy (6, 39) the people had accepted the measures of Stolo with reference to the
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνέπεισεν αὐτοὺς μηδενὸς ἀφέσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι.—V. 17 (p. 585).

Zonaras 7, 24.

Καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἂν ἔτι τούτῳ ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ τις ἀγγελία κεκόμενο [ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ αὐθὶς ἐλαύνειν Κελτοὺς Plut., Camill. 40]. ἀπαν οὖν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀφέντες διάφορου [δικτάτορα τὸ πέμπτον τὸν Κάμιλλον εἰλοντο ἤδη], καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστράτευσαν. οὐ μάχῃ μὲντοι κοινῇ, μονομαχίᾳ δὲ γέγονεν πρότερον. Τίτος γάρ τις Μάλλιος ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης, προσκεκροκὼς τὸ πατρί, παρημελεῖτο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐν ἀγρῷ εἰτὰ τῷ πατρί διηλλάγη, καὶ χιλιάρχος στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῷ τε προκαλομένῳ Κελτῶ πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἀντέστη καὶ νυκήσας αὐτὸν τὸν στρεπτὸν αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦ ὄντα ἔσκυλυεσε, καὶ Τουρκούνατος φορῶν αὐτὸν ἐπεκέκλητο. συμμετέχάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἦττητο οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὄρμης ἀπέσχοντο, τὴν δ’ Ἀλβανίδα ἔλεηλάτουν. ἐκάσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαρράψασι τὴν χώραν, ὡς κατακορεῖς γενόμενοι βρωμάτων καὶ μέθης εὐπειχειρητότεροι εἰεν, ἔπεθεντο σφίσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν καὶ τὸ σφῶν εἰλον στρατόπεδον. ο ὃς Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν.

'Εκτοτε οὖν οἱ μὲν χιλιάρχοι, οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν

226
them to relinquish nothing, but to carry through as indispensable reforms all that they had taken in hand.

Zonaras 7, 24.

This state of affairs would have continued for a still longer time, had not news been brought that the Celts\(^1\) were again marching upon Rome. Accordingly they dropped all their quarrels with each other, chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time, and marched against the barbarians. A general engagement, however, did not take place at once, but first there was a combat between single champions. There was a certain Titus Manlius, a patrician, who had quarrelled with his father and had been living neglected in the country; but after becoming reconciled with his father he had been elected military tribune. This Manlius now presented himself against the Celt who had offered the challenge for a duel, vanquished him, and stripped from him his collar, which was of gold; and wearing this, he received the cognomen of Torquatus. Now when the armies joined in battle, the Celts were defeated, and desisted from their march upon Rome, but proceeded to ravage the Alban territory. The Romans permitted them to plunder the country, in order that they might freely indulge in food and drink, and so become easier to attack; then assaulting them, they destroyed a great many and captured their camp. After this Camillus returned to Rome and resigned his office.

From this time the consular tribunes, who had public land and interest, but rejected the proposal of a plebeian consul; the tribunes thereupon declared that all the measures must be accepted, or none.

\(^1\) "Celt" is the term regularly employed by Plutarch; in what immediately follows Zonaras continues to use this word, although his account is based on Dio.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 24.

ὡπάτων ἐγίνοντο, ἐσχολάκασιν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ ἀπε- 
δείκνυντο ἐνίοτε μὲν εὐπατρίδαι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ 
πλῆθους ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄμφοτέρων ὀμοῦ. 
νόσου δ' ἐνσκηψάσθης τῇ Ῥώμη καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος 
τέθηκε καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστα θανόντος τοῦ 
ἀνδρός ἤμιάθησαν.

Zonaras 7, 25.

25. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τι συμβήναι πάθος 
περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἱστόρηται. διαστήναι γὰρ τὸ 
πεδίον λέγεται τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ 
Καπιτωλίου ἔξαπτω, μήτε σεισμὸν προηγήσασ- 
μένου μὴ ἄλλου τενός, οἷα συμβαίνειν εἰσθε 
φυσικῶς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις παθήμασι. καὶ ἢν τὸ χάσμα 
διαμένον ἐπὶ μακρὸν, οὔτε συνερχόμενον οἰως 
ποτε οὔτε μὲντοι πληρούμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα χοῦν 
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς αὐτὸ συμφοροῦντων πολὺν καὶ 
λίθους καὶ ἄλλην ὕλην παντοδαπὴν. ἀποροῦσι 
οὖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρησίμος ἐδόθη μὴ ἄλλος τὸ 
διεστὸς συνελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κρείττον αὐτῶν καὶ 
δὲ οὐ μᾶλλον πλείστον ἱσχύονσιν εἰς τὸ χάσμα 
ἐμβάλλουσιν οὔτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ τε παύεσται καὶ 
τὴν πόλει ἐστὶν δύναμις ἀκατάλυτος. ἐμενεν οὖ 
καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀποροῦμενον, ἀσαφοὺς 
τυγχάνοντος τοῦ χρησιμοῦ. Μάρκος δὲ Κούρτιος,
BOOK VII

Zonaras 7, 24.
replaced the consuls, ceased to be elected, and consuls were chosen—sometimes patricians, sometimes plebeians, and occasionally from both orders at the same time. Furthermore, a pestilence visited Rome, in the course of which Camillus died; and the Romans grieved greatly at his death.

Zonaras 7, 25.
25. It is related that after this a disaster befell Rome. The level land between the Palatine and the Capitoline is said to have become suddenly a yawning chasm, without any preceding earthquake or other natural phenomenon such as usually takes place in connexion with such events. For a long time the chasm remained thus, refusing to close at all or even to be filled, although the Romans brought and cast into it masses of earth and stones and all sorts of other material. In the midst of their uncertainty an oracle was given them to the effect that the aperture could in no wise be closed unless they threw into the chasm their best possession and that which was the chief source of their strength; in this way the prodigy would cease, and the city would command invincible power. Still the uncertainty remained unresolved, for the oracle was obscure. But Marcus Curtius, a patrician, young in

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

Dio Cassius Cocceianus, the compiler of Roman history, states that as a result of the wrath of Heaven a fissure opened in the ground round about Rome and would not close. After an oracle had been obtained to the effect that the fissure would close if they should throw into it the mightiest possession of the Romans, one Curtius, a knight of noble birth,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

30,2 ὤκ ἐστιν οὐδὲν ζῷον θνητὸν οὔτ' ἁμεινον οὔτ' ἵσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. ἡ οὖ χ' ὅρατε δι' τα μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κάτω κέκυψε καὶ ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἀεὶ βλέπει, πράττει τε οὐδὲν ὅ μη τροφῆς καὶ ἄφρο-δισίων ἔχεται (οὔτω καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως 3 ἐσ ταύτα κατακέκριται), μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀνω τε ὄρωμεν καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ ὀμιλούμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπερφρονοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ θεοῖς αὐτῶι ὡς καὶ ὁμοίους ὑσίν ἡμῖν σύνεσμεν, ἀτε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ποιήματα αὐτῶι οὐ γῆνα ἄλλα οὐράνια δύνες; ὑφ' οὐ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα εἶδη καὶ γράφομεν καὶ πλάττομεν· εἰ γὰρ δεί δὴ τι καὶ θρασύνομεν εἰπεῖν, οὔτ'

Zonaras 7, 25.

ἀνήρ εὐπατρίδης, νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὥραιότατος τὴν μορφήν, ῥωμαλεώτατος τὴν ἵσχυν, ἀνδρείωτατος τὴν ψυχήν, φρουσίει διαπρετής, τὸν νοῦν συνείς τοῦ χρησμοῦ, παρελθόν εἰς μέσον ἔδημηγόρησε λέγων "τί τῶν· λογίων ἀσάφειαν, ὃ Ρωμαῖοι; μᾶλλον ἡ ἀμαθίαν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίζομεθα; ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν τούτο δὴ τὸ ζητούμενόν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενον. οὐ γὰρ τι ἄψυχον ἐμψυχον λογισθῆται βέλτιον, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐννοοῦν καὶ ἐμφρονος καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον τὸ ἀνουν ἀλογόν τε καὶ ἄφρον προτιμηθῆσεται. τι γὰρ ἂν τις ἀνθρώπῳ προκρίνειν, ἵνα τούτο ἐσ τὴν τῆς γῆς βαλόντες διάστασιν αὐτὴν συναγάγωμεν; οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ζῷον θνητὸν οὔτ' ἁμεινον οὔτ' ἵσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. εἰ γὰρ τι δεί καὶ θρασύνομεν εἰπεῖν,

1 ὅτ'—ὁτ' Bk., οὔτ'—οὔτ' Mss.
2 Punctuation is that of Bs.; previous editors ended the question with ἔχεται.
3 μᾶλλον supplied by Bs.

230
BOOK VII

There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. Do you not see that all the rest go bent downwards and look forever toward the earth and accomplish nothing save what is connected with their nourishment and the propagation of their species (for to these pursuits they have been condemned even by Nature herself), while we alone gaze upwards and associate with heaven itself, despising the things on the earth and dwelling with the very gods, whom we believe to be similar to ourselves inasmuch as we are both their offspring and creation, not earthly, but heavenly? And for this reason we both paint and fashion those very beings according to our own forms; for, if I may speak somewhat boldly, man is

Zonaras 7, 25.

years, of a remarkably handsome appearance, powerful physique, and courageous spirit, and conspicuous for intelligence, comprehended the meaning of the oracle. He came forward, therefore, before them all and addressed them, saying: "Why, Romans, do we blame the obscurity of the oracle rather than our own ignorance? We are this thing sought and debated. For nothing lifeless is to be accounted better than that which has life, nor shall that which is uncomprehending, speechless, and senseless be preferred to that which has comprehension and sense and the adornment of speech. What should any one deem superior to man to be cast into the earth-fissure, that therewith we might close it? There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. For, if I may speak somewhat boldly, man
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

άνθρωπος ούδέν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς σῶμα θυτῶν ἔχων, οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἡ άνθρωπος ἁσώματος καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἄθανατος. ταύτα τοι καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων προφέρομεν· καὶ οὔτε τι πεζόν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ τάχει καταληφθήν ἡ ἱσχὺ δαμασθὲν ἢ καὶ τέχναις τισὶ συλληφθέν νευλόμεθα, οὔτε ἐνυδρον οὔτε ἀεροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ μηδ’ ὀρώντες ἀνέλκομεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μηδὲ ἐξικνούμενοι κατασύρομεν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 211v A (f. 241 B) (M. p. 532).

Zonaras 7, 25.

οὔτ’ άνθρωπος ούδεν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς σῶμα θυτῶν ἔχων οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἡ άνθρωπος ἁσώματος καντεύθεν ἄθανατος, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀπηρτήμεθα. ταῦτα ἐγὼ μὲν οὔτω φρονῶ, ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τῇ γνώμῃ προσθέσθαι ταύτῃ. καὶ μὴ τις οὐχαίτω ὁτι κλήρον ποιήσομαι ἢ κόρην κελεύσω θανεῖν ἡ μειράκιον· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ἐμαιτῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιδίδωμι, ὅσα σήμερον αὐτίκα κηρυκα πέμψατε με καὶ προσβεβην τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς, ἐσόμενον ὑμῖν ἀεὶ προστάτην καὶ σύμμαχον.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κούρτιος τὰ ὅπλα ἐνεδίδυσκετο, εἴτα καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἑπέβη. οἴ δ’ ἄλλοι περιαλγεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ περιχάρεις, καὶ κοσμήματα τινα συμφορήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἐκόσμουν ός ἦρω, οί δὲ τινα καὶ ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐνέβαλλον. ἀρτι δ’ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνήλατο

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

χρησμὸν δυναμένου, αὐτὸς ἐρμηνεύσας ἢππον ὁμοῦ καὶ άνθρωπον λέγειν, εὐθέως ἀνέβη τε τῶν 232
BOOK VII

naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and consequently immortal. That is why we surpass all other creatures. And there is no creature afoot which we do not enslave, overtaking it by speed or subduing it by force or catching it by some artifice, nor yet any that lives in the water or travels through the air; nay, even of these two classes, we pull the former up from the depths without seeing them and drag the latter down from the sky without going to them.

Zonaras 7, 25.

is naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and therefore immortal; and we are not far removed from divine power. This is what I think about the matter, and I ask you also to accept this view. But let no one think that I would have recourse to the lot or bid maiden or lad perish. I, of my own free accord, bestow myself upon you, that you may send me at once this very day as herald and envoy to the chthonian gods, to be your representative and helper forever." With these words Curtius proceeded to put on his armour and then mounted his horse. The rest grew mad with grief and mad with joy; and collecting various ornaments, some adorned the man himself with them as a hero, while others threw theirs into the chasm. Scarcely had Curtius sprung

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

when no one else was able to understand the oracle, himself interpreted it to mean a horse and man together. Straightway he mounted his horse and just

233
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 7, 25.

ο Κούρτιος ἐφιππος καὶ ἡ τῆς γῆς συνήχθη διάστασις, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι οὔτε τὸ χάσμα οὔτε τὸν Κούρτιον ἑθεάσατο. ταῦθ' οὔτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱστόρηται· εἰ δὲ τῷ μυθῶδῃ κριθεία καὶ μὴ πιστά, ἐξεστίν οἱ μὴ προσέχειν αὐτοῖς.

Τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δὲ πόλεμοι αὐθίς καὶ παρὰ Γαλατῶν καὶ ύφ' ἐτέρων ἑθνῶν ἐπηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρουσάντο πάντας, τῇ μὲν ὑπάτους, τῇ δὲ δικτάτορας ψηφιζόμενοι. ὤτε καὶ τι τοιοῦτον συμβέβηκε. δικτάτωρ ἐλέγχη Λιόκιος Κάμιλλος, Γαλατῶν καταπεταχόντων τὰ, ὑπὸ Ῥώμην. ὅς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρμήσας γνώμην εἶχε τρίβειν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπονοία χρωμένους· βάλων γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἁσφαλέστερον ἀπορία τροφῶν ἐκτυρχώσειν ἡπιστε. Γαλάτης δὲ τις εἰς μυομαχίαν τινὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προεκαλεῖτο. καὶ ἀντέστη αὐτῷ Ὀὐαλλέριος Μάρκος χιλιαρχῶν, ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου ἐκείνου ἐγγονός. καὶ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἡ μάχη προέβη ἀμφὸτερός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ περιτεχνήσει προέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Γαλάτης τῇ ἵσχυι καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ ἐθαυμαστώθη ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Ὀυαλλερίου κράνει κόραξ ἐφιπτάμενος καὶ κρῶξων εἰς τὸν βάρβαρον ἐνεχρυμπτετο, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας ἀντιανομίαν, καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἑνεπόδιζε, μέχρις οὗ

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

ὑπτον καὶ ὡς εἰχεν ἐλάσας ἡρωίκως κατὰ τοῦ φρικώδους ἐκείνου βόθρου ἐφέρετο. καὶ εὐθέως κατενεχθέντος τὸ χάσμα ἐπέμευ καὶ οἱ λουποὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνώθεν ἀνθεσιν ἐβάλλον. κἀκε τούτω καὶ Κούρτιος ὁ λάκκος ἐκλήθη.

234
into it mounted, when the earth-fissure was closed and no one ever again beheld either the chasm or Curtius. This is the way the story is related by the Romans; should any person judge it fabulous and not to be credited, he is at liberty to pay no attention to it.

And again wars were waged against the Romans both by Gauls and by other nations, but they repelled all invaders, voting now for consuls, now for dictators. At this time occurred an incident of the following nature. Lucius Camillus had been chosen dictator, when the Gauls were overrunning the environs of Rome; and he had proceeded against the barbarians with the intention of using up time and not risking a conflict with men animated by desperation; inasmuch as he hoped to exhaust them more easily and securely through the failure of their provisions. But a Gaul challenged some one of the Romans to single combat, and there met him, accordingly, Marcus Valerius, a military tribune, and grandson of the famous Maximus. The course of the battle was brilliant on both sides: the Roman excelled in skill and unusual cleverness, and the Gaul in strength and daring. It was regarded as still more marvellous that a crow lighted on the helmet of Valerius and cawing all the while made dashes at the barbarian, confusing his sight and impeding his attack until he was finally slain. The

Ioan. Tzetzes, Schol. ad Exeg. Iliad., p. 136, 17.

as he was dashed heroically forward and plunged down that frightful pit. No sooner had he plunged down than the fissure closed; and the rest of the Romans from above scattered flowers. From this event the name of Curtius was applied also to the pit.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

32 "Ὅτι ὁ Δίων φησὶν "διόπερ ποι, καίτερ σὺν εἰσόδῳ ἐκβολαίς τοῦ λόγου χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰς τῇ ἐπεμνήσθην αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ὀλυμπιάδα προσεγράφα, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ λανθάνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῆς μετοικίσεως, ἐκφανέστερος εἴς ἐκείνου γένη
tai."—Μ. 52 (p. 156).

35 Ταὐτά τε δῆ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιούτοτροπα προετέινοντο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπράξειν τι αὐτῶν

Zonaras 7, 25.

κατειργάσθη. διὸ ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ Γαλάται ὡς ὑπὸ ὀρνιθὸς ἃπιανοῦν, θυμῶ ναύτικα συνέμειζαν
τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, καὶ κακῶς ἁπηλλάγησαν. οὖ δ' ὁ
Οὐαλλέρος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόρακος συμμαχίας
Κορονίνου ἐπαυγωμάσθη.

Εἰσέπειτα δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων στασιασάντων
καὶ ἐμφυλίον πολέμου γενέσθαι μέλλοντος, κατ-
ηλλάγησαν οἱ στασιασάντες, νόμων τεθέντων μήτ'
ἀκουτά τινα τοῦ καταλόγου ἀπαλείφεσθαι, μήτε
τῶν χιλιαρχήσαντα ἐκατονταρχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-
tους καὶ ἄμφω ἔξων εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους
καθίστασθαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτόν μὴτε δύο ἀμα ἄρχας
μήτε τὴν αὐτὴν δῆς ἐντὸς δέκα ἄρχεων ἐτῶν.

Zonaras 7, 26.

26. Λατίνοι δὲ καίτερ ἐνσπούδοι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις
όντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ πόλεμον ἧραντο, ἐν φρονή-
mate γεγονότες ὅτι τε νέοτητι ἡκμαξον καὶ τὰ
πολεμικὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀεὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατείας ἀκριβῶς
BOOK VII

Dio says: "Accordingly, although not accustomed to indulge in digressions, I have taken pains to make mention of this event and have stated in addition the Olympiad, in order that the date of the migration, of which most men are ignorant, may, from the precaution mentioned, become better known."¹

They put forward these proposals and a few others of similar nature, not because they expected to carry

Zonaras 7, 25.

Gauls, consequently, indignant at being vanquished by a bird, closed at once in their rage with the Romans and suffered a severe defeat. From the incident of the crow's assistance Valerius received the cognomen of Corvinus.

Thereafter, as the armies began to grow insubordinate and a civil war threatened to break out, the insurgents were brought to terms by the enactment of laws that no one's name should be erased from the list against his will, that any person who had served as tribune should not be centurion, that both of the consuls might be appointed from the plebs, and that the same man should not hold two offices at the same time nor hold the same office twice within ten years.

Zonaras 7, 26.

26. Now the Latins, although under treaty with the Romans, revolted and began war. They were filled with pride for the reason that they had an abundance of youthful warriors and had become thoroughly expert in warfare as a result of their

¹ A fragment of uncertain bearing. Boisseevain would refer it to the invasion (μετοίκησις?) of Italy by Alexander of Epirus, Macchioro (Klio 10, 356 f.) to the first entrance of the Gauls into Italy (cf. Livy 5, 34). If the fragment is in its proper order in the Ms. it belongs between ca. 370 and 340 b.c.

237
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἡλπιζον (εύ γάρ, εἰπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, τά τῶν 'Ρωμαιῶν φρονήματα ἡπίσταντο), ἀλλ’ ὤπως ἀποτυχόντες ¹ αὐτῶν πρόφασιν ἐγκλημάτων ὡς ἀδικοῦμενοι λάβωσιν.—Μ. 53 (p. 156).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἡσκηντο. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο γυνόντες ἐξῆλθον, ὑπατον τὸν τε Τουρκουάτον τὸ τρίτον ἐλόμενοι καὶ τὸν Δέκιον, καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο αὐτῶις κραταιαν μάχην, κρίσιν τῇν ἠμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκάτεροι νομίζοντες ἀκριβῇ τῇς σφετέρας τύχῃς τε καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἔδοξε δὲ περιφανεστέρα ἡ μάχη καὶ διὰ τί συμβεβηκός. τοὺς γὰρ Λατίνους οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ὁμοσκεύοντες καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς 'Ρωμαιοῖς ὁμώνυμες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες σφαλώσα, τὸ τε οἶκευον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον μὴ ῥάστα διαγινώσκοντες. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προεῖπον σφίσι τά τε ἅλλα παρατηρεῖν ἀκριβῶς, καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν μηδένα μηδένι τῶν ἐναντίων συμβαλεῖν. τούτῳ δὴ τὸ παράγγελμα οἱ μὲν ἐτήρησαν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Τουρκουάτον παῖς, στρατευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἅπευσε, καὶ πεμβήσας πρὸς κατασκοπην τῶν ἐναντίων, παρείδεν, οὐκ αὐθαδεία ἅλλα μὲντοι φιλοτιμία. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ παραχος τῶν Λατίνων ἰδὼν αὐτῶν προσεύστη πρὸς μονομαχίαν προεκαλέσατο, καὶ μὴ δεξάμενον ταῦτα διὰ τῆς πρόρρησιν, παρώξυνεν εἰπών, "οὐ σὺ μέντοι Τουρκουάτον νῦς εἶ; σὺ σεμνύνει τῷ στρεπτῷ τοῦ πατρός; ἡ πρὸς μὲν Γαλάτας ἀνθρώπους φθόρους ἔρρωσε καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Λατίνους ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθε; τί οὖν ἄρχειν ἡμῶν ἁξιούτε; τί δ’ ὡς χείροσιν ὑμῶν ἐπιτάσσετε;"

238 ¹ ἀποτυχόντες Mai, ἐπιτυχόντες Ma.
BOOK VII

any of them into effect,—for they, if anybody, understood the purposes of the Romans,—but in order that failing to obtain their requests they might secure an excuse for complaints, on the ground that they were being wronged.

Zonaras 7, 26.

constant campaigning with the Romans. The latter, upon learning of this, chose Torquatus consul for the third time along with Decius, and came out to meet them. They fought a fierce battle with them, each side thinking that that day would be an accurate test of their fortune and of their valour. A certain event seemed to give the battle added distinction. The consuls, seeing that the Latins were equipped and spoke like the Romans, feared that some of the soldiers might make mistakes through not distinguishing their own and the hostile force with entire ease. Therefore they made proclamation to their men to observe instructions carefully and in no case to engage in single combat with any of their opponents. The rest observed this injunction, but the son of Torquatus, who was on the field among the cavalry and had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, disregarded it—not through wilfulness, but through zeal. The leader of the Latin horse saw him approaching and challenged him to single combat; and when the youth would not accept the challenge on account of the notice that had been served, he provoked him, saying: "Are you not the son of Torquatus? Do you not give yourself airs because of your father's collar? Or are you Romans strong and courageous against those plaguy Gauls, but fear us Latins? Why, then, do you presume to rule over us? Why
Dio's Roman History


4 Ἡν μὲν δὴ παντὶ καταφανὲς ὅτι περισκοπή-σαντες τὴν ἐκβασιν τῆς μάχης¹ πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἐστησαν' οὐ μὴν ἐξήλεγξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τορκουάτος, μή τι οἰδοῦντων² σφίσιν ἑτὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Δατίνους πραγμάτων νεωτέρισσων οὐ γάρ τοι τὰ πάντα τραχύς, οὐδὲ οἷος ἐς τὸν νῦν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τάλλα ἡν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐβουλος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ὁμολογητο³ είναι, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι ὅτι τὸ τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε, καὶ εἰ καὶ τῶν Δατίνων ἠγείτο, πάντως ἀν αὐτοὺς νικήσαι ἐποίησεν.—M. 54 (p. 157) (ἡν ... ἐς τάλλα ἡν) and V. 18 (p. 585) (ὅτι ὁ Τορκουάτος οὐ τὰ πάντα τραχύς ... ἐποίησεν).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἐκφροων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ τῆς παραγ-γέλσεως ἐκὸν ἐπελάθητο, καὶ μονομαχής ἐνίκησε, καὶ τὰ σκύλα μέγα φρονὸν ἐκόμισε τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὅς ἀθροίσας τὸ στράτευμα, "γενναίως μὲν," ἔφη, "ἀ παί, ἐμαχέσω, καὶ διὰ τούτο σε στεφανώσω· ὅτι δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν οὐ παρετήρη-σας, καίτοι καὶ ὡς νῦν πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ὡς στρα-τιωτὴς ἀναγκαζόμενος, διὰ τούτο σε δικαιώσω, ἵνα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀριστείας ἄθλον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνηκουστίας τίμημα λήψῃ." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἁμα τὸν τε στεφανον

1 μάχης Bs., τύχης (?) Ms. 2 οἰδοῦντων Bk., δούντων Ms. 3 ὁμολόγητο Val., ὁμολογεῖτο Ms.
BOOK VII

Dio, Book VII. "And for this reason I shall punish you, in order that even as you have obtained the prize for your prowess, so you may receive the penalty for your disobedience."

It was evident to every one that they had awaited the outcome of the battle and had ranged themselves on the victorious side. Torquatus did not, however, question them about it, for fear they might revolt while relations between the Romans and the Latins were still tense. In fact he was not harsh in all cases nor in most matters the sort of man he had shown himself toward his son; on the contrary, he was admitted to be excellent both in council and in battle, so that it was said by the citizens and by their adversaries alike that he had held in his hands the destiny of the war, and that if he had been leader of the Latins, he would certainly have made them conquer.

---

Zonaras 7, 26.

do you give orders to us as to your inferiors?"
The Roman became frenzied with rage and readily forgot the injunction; he won the combat, and in high spirits conveyed the spoils to his father. The latter, after assembling the army, said: "Nobly you have fought, my son, and for this I will crown you. But because you did not observe the orders issued, though under obligation both as a son and as a soldier to yield obedience, for this reason I shall punish you, that you may obtain both the prize for your prowess and the penalty for your disobedience."

With these words he at the same moment placed
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

9 Ὑποτείνομεν γὰρ ἄγεδέμενοι τῷ Τορκουάτῳ διὰ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ οὔτως ἀστεὶ καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων μαλλιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁνομάσαι, καὶ διότι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τεθυκότος μὲν ἐκείνου τεθυκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐώρτασεν, ὅμως ἐπείξαντός ποτε ἑτέρου σφάς πολέμου καὶ αὔθες αὐτὸν ἐς τετάρτην ὑπατείαν προεχειρίσαντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκείνοις ἄρξαι ἐτ' αὐτῶν ἡθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἕξωμόσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι οὔτ' ἄν ἕγω ύμῶν ἀνασχοίμην οὐθ' ύμεῖς ἐμοῖ.—Μ. 55 (p. 157).

Zonaras 7, 26.

τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο καὶ αὕτην ἐκείνην ἀπέτεµεν.

Εἶτα ὁνάρ ἀμφοῖν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ὁμοίως φανὲν ἐδοχὲ λέγειν τῶν ἐναντίων κρατήσειν, ἃν ὁ ἑτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐαυτὸν ἐπίθε. μεθ' ἡµέραν οὐν ἄλληλοι τὸ ὅναρ διηγησάµενο συνέθεντο θείον εἰναι, καὶ πεισθῆναι δείν αὐτῷ ὁµολόγησαν. ἡµιφυσβήτησαν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλους, οὐχ ὃς ἄν σωθείη, ἄλλ' ὃς ἄν μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν ἐπίθε. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδυκαιολογήσαντο. καὶ τέλος ἦρεσε σφίσι τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξίου κέρως, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιου παρατάξασθαι, καὶ ὅποτερον ἄν ἐκείνων ἑλαττώθη, τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένον ἀποθανεῖν. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν φιλοτιμία αὐτοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ὡς εὐχεσθαι ἐκαστὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἡττηθῆναι, ἵνα τύχῃ τῆς ἐπιδόσεως καὶ τῆς εὐκλείας τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς. συμβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ 242
BOOK VII

Although the Romans were vexed at Torquatus on account of his son to such an extent that they called the harshest deeds "Manlian" after him, and were angry, furthermore, that he had celebrated a triumph in spite of the death of that youth and in spite of the death of his colleague, nevertheless, when another war threatened them, they elected him again to a fourth consulship. But he refused to be their leader longer, and renounced the office, declaring: "I could not endure you nor you me."

Zonaras 7, 26.

the garland on his head and cut off the very head that bore it.

Soon after, a dream that appeared similarly to both consuls the same night seemed to tell them that they should overcome the enemy, if one of the consuls would devote himself. Discussing the dream together in the daytime, they decided that it was of divine origin, and agreed that it must be obeyed. And they disputed with each other, not as to which should be saved, but as to which of them preferably should devote himself; and they even presented their arguments before the foremost men in the camp. Finally they settled it that one should station himself on the right wing and the other on the left, and that whichever of these two divisions should be defeated, the consul stationed there should give up his life. And there was so great rivalry between them in regard to the self-devotion that each of the consuls prayed that he might be defeated, in order to obtain the right to devote himself and the consequent glory. After joining battle with the Latins
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

7 "Οτι φησιν ὁ Δίων "θαυμάξω μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἡθάνατος ὁ τοῦ Δεκίου τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσε καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας ἠττήσε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ κρατουμένοις νίκην ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω δι’ ὅ τούτ’ ἐγένετο. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πραχθέντα τισίν ἐπιλέξωμαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἦδη πολλοῖς τουαῦτα συνενεχθέντα ἴσμεν), οὐ δύναμαι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπιστήσαί τινα ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἔκλογισμαι, καὶ πάνυ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίσταμαι: πῶς γὰρ ἀν καὶ πιστεύσει τις ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐνός ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδόσεως τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν μεταβαλέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δ’ ἂς αἰτίας οὔτως ἔχει ζητεῖν ἄλλοις μελήσει."—Μ. 56 (p. 157).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἰσοπαλῶς ἰγωνίσαντο, εἶτα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Δέκιον κέρας μικρὸν τι τοὺς Δατίνοις ἐνέκλινεν. νῦν οὖν ὁ Δέκιος ἔσωκεν ἐπιδέδωκε· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκδὺς τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐνέδυ τὴν περιπόρφυρον. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτω φασὶν ἐφ’ ἵππον ἀναπηδήσας αὐτὸν καὶ εἰσελάσας πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου πολιτικοῦ σφαγήνας τέως δὲ τελευτήσαντο τοῦ Δεκίου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦ νίκη καθαρῶς συνηνέχθη, καὶ οἱ Δατίνοι πάντες ἐτράπησαν, οὐ πάντως δὲ διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Δεκίου· πῶς γὰρ ἀν τις πιστεύσειν ἐξ ἐνός ἀνδρὸς τοιάσδε τελευτής τοσούτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν φθαρῆναι, τὸ δὲ σωθῆναι καὶ

1 θαυμάξω μὲν γὰρ εἰ Dind., θαυμάζομεν εἰ γὰρ Ms.
2 ἀν supplied by Bk.

244
BOOK VII

Dio says: "I marvel that the death of Decius should have set the battle right again, and should have defeated the side that was winning and given victory to the men who were getting worsted; and yet I cannot conjecture what did bring about the result. When I reflect what some have accomplished,—for we know that many such experiences have befallen many persons before,—I cannot disbelieve the tradition; but when I calculate their causes, I become involved in a great dilemma. For how is one to believe that by such a sacrifice of a single man so great a multitude of men turned at once to safety and to victory? Well, the truth of the affair and the causes responsible for it shall be left to others to investigate."

Zonaras 7, 26.

they carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a long time, but finally the wing of Decius gave way before the Latins a little. On perceiving this Decius devoted himself. Slipping off his armour, he put on his purple-bordered clothing. Some say that in this costume he sprang upon a horse and rode toward the enemy and met his death at their hands, others that he was slain by a fellow-soldier of his own race. When Decius had now perished, a decisive victory fell to the Romans and the Latins were all routed—yet certainly not on account of the death of Decius. For how can one believe that from such a death of a single man so great a multitude of human beings was destroyed in the one case and in the other was saved and won a conspicuous
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

10 "Oti anuvpapagómevoi tous Latínoús éς èνvοiav oi 'Rwmaíoi tìn politeían autóis èdokav, òste kai tòn ómòiav sphií metálambánaiw òw gar àpaneilousi tòv pólehem ou metédossan kai de' à tosoútopous kivdúnov uyésthsan, tauta tòte kraitíasantes autón autépággeletoi toútops ëψηψí-
sanvo, toús men tís sýmmachías, toús òde òti mèdèn èneòchomwosan ìmeiβómenvoi.—M. 57 (p. 158).

11 "Oti diagwómhn pròs Príouerntas1 èpòiý-
sanvo oi 'Rwmaíoi, èrwtísthsantes tì padoívn toiaúta dívntes àξiòi èlyn ou èpekriávnto tharsoúntos òti òsa xrh tòus èleuvèrrous òntas te kai èpíthmuòn-
tas ènvas. puthomévou te àðvìs toû úpátou "kai tì poíhsete òn tís eirhính tûxhte;" èfasan òti, òn mun èpì metríoiws tísìn autívn lábwmén, òusthá-
somev, òn de àforónto tî prostakíðwmev, polèmí-
somev. ùanmásantes dé tìn prôthmíw oûx òpws tás spitdás polú béltíous sphií parà toûs állous èdossan . . . —M. 58 (p. 158).

Zonaras 7, 26.

υικήσαι περιφανᾶς; οἱ μὲν οὖν Λατῖνοι οὕτως ἤττηντο, ὅ δὲ γε Τουρκοκάτος καὶ τῶν νῦν ἀπο-
κτείνας καὶ τοῦ συναρχοῦτος τεθνηκότος ἑώρασεν ὅμως τὰ ἐπινίκια.

Εἶτε ἄδες αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπαναστάν-
tas katepolémpsan, kai Êtera ëthna máhais ypé-
taξan, pote mèn úpatóis kekrhmévoi, pote òde diktátorovin.

1 Príouerntas Bk., prìvevntas (?) Mv., Prìvevntas Mai.
246
BOOK VII

The Romans, by way of bringing the Latins in turn to a condition of friendliness, granted them citizenship, so that they secured equal privileges with themselves. Those rights which they would not share with that nation when it threatened war and for which they underwent so many dangers they voluntarily voted to it now that it had been conquered. Thus they rewarded some for their alliance and others because they had made no move to rebel.

The Romans passed a decree with reference to the inhabitants of Privernum, after first asking them what they deserved to suffer for conduct such as theirs. The others answered boldly: "Whatever is suitable for men who are free and desire so to continue." To the next question of the consul, "And what will you do if you obtain peace?" they replied: "If we receive it on reasonable terms, we will cease from disturbance, but if any intolerable burden is placed upon us, we will fight." Admiring their spirit, the Romans not only made a much more favourable treaty with them than with the rest . . . .

Zonaras 7, 26.

victory? So the Latins in this way were defeated, and Torquatus, though he had killed his son and though his colleague had perished, nevertheless celebrated a triumph.

Once again did they subdue these very Latins, who had revolted, and they subjugated in battle other nations, employing now consuls and now dictators.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

36, 18b Δίωνος ἡ βιβλίας "ὁ γὰρ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀρκῶν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 124, 1.

36, 1 ἦλ ἦσθι ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἀνύκεςτοι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τιμώριαι αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς δικαιομένους παραπολλύοντι δυνηθέντας ἄν ἀμείνους γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σωφρονίζουσιν ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις οὐκ ἔθελεν ἐαυτῆς πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς εξίστασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἢ δέους τινὸς ἀνάγκη ἢ θάρσους υβρεῖ ἀπειρίας τε θραυστητι καὶ ἐξουσίας προπτεῖα, ἢ καθ’ ἐτέραν τινὰ συντυχίαν, οἷα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα συμβαίνει, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐνθυμουμένους τῶν κολάσεων ἀλλ’ ἀλογίστως αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πρὸκειμένους φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ παρ’ οὐδὲν αὐτῶς πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν δὲν ὀρέγονται ποιουμένους ἀμαρτάνειν ἀναπείθει. αἱ δὲ ἐμμελεῖς φιλανθρωπίαι τάναντι αὐτῶν πάντα διαπράτ-}

Zonaras 7, 26.

*Ων εἰς ἴν καὶ Δούκιος Παπείριος ὁ καὶ Κούρσωρ ὄνομαζόμενος διά τε τὴν ἐξίν, ἤν γὰρ δρομικότατος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσκησιν τὴν τοῦ δρόμου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δικτάτωρ ὁ Παπείριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαννίτας ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ Φασίου Ῥούλλου ἵππαρχου,

1 In the margin the Ms. has ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΡΟΥΛΛΟΥ ("from the speech of Rullus' father.")

248
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

Dio VIII. "For he was quite self-sufficient in all such matters." ¹

Be well assured that monstrous penalties in such cases not only destroy the culprits under sentence, who might have been made better, but at the same time fail to make others any more prudent. Human nature refuses to leave its regular course for any threats. Some compelling fear or insolent audacity together with courage born of inexperience and rashness sprung from power, or some other combination of circumstances such as often occurs quite unexpectedly in the lives of many, leads men to do wrong. As for the punishments, some of these offenders do not even think of them, but heedlessly rush into the business before them, while others esteem them of no moment in comparison with the attainment of the ends for which they are striving. Wise forbearance, however, produces an effect quite the opposite of that

Zonaras 7, 26.

One of these leaders was Lucius Papirius, also called Cursor from his physical prowess (he was a very fleet runner) and on account of his practising running. After this Papirius, as dictator, with Fabius Rullus, as master of the horse, was sent out against

¹ Said of L. Papirius Cursor or Q. Fabius Maximus; cf. Livy 10, 26.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tousoiv' upo gar tis enkairon sughnwmhs autoi te polllakias metaballontai, allos te kai otan e' andreias kai mh kakourgias, ek filostimias kai mh pnoerias ti poinwsoi (dein gar esti kai doulwsei kai swfrovnisi fronhma genwain eulologos filanbropia), kai tous alloss e'teloventas ate kai to se Sophia'menon otroean metarrhymizousi: peidetai gar pad hdiwn h biazetai, kai ekousios akoun eis tou no'mou 1 bouletai ma'llon h anagnh, oti to men authaireton ws kai oikeioi spoudazai, to de e' epitammatos ws kai aneleuthe'ren apowdetai.

—M. 59 (p. 159).

4 "Oti tis megisths kai areths kai e'ousias estin' ergon ou to founisai tina (tou'to men gar kai upo ton kakistou kai asthevesataton polllakis gynei-tai) alla to feisasthai tinos kai to swsai tina, o midgeths allos h'mwun 2 akontos g' se sou dynatai.

5 Boulomai men h'dh petau'stai legwn' to te gar psuchidion mou kekmhke kai to thige'ma enididwsi, tа te dakrya tihn fowhnh e'isischi, koi o fobos to stoma sundei. All' ouk exw pois apallagw: to gar pados, an ge mu' allo ti 4 do'xi sou, mu' enoid-astos mou 5 profishmenon, ouk e'pitrpepei mou siwphtai, all' ws kai parad tovth 6 ti pot' an telleutai non eipw tihn swothrias mou to pai'dos e'somhnhs, anagkazei me pleioi 'ostper en euchais lalexw.—M. 60 (p. 159).

1 tou no'mou Bk., tou no'mo Ms. 2 h'mwun Bk., h'mwun Ms.
3 e'isischi v. Herw., andischi Ms. 4 an ge mu' allo ti Tafel, an . . . allu (?) Ms. 5 enoidastos mou Bk., do . . . Ms.
BOOK VIII

just mentioned. For through the influence of a seasonable pardon the offenders themselves, in the first place, frequently change their ways, especially when they have acted from brave and not from evil motives, from ambition and not from baseness; for reasonable forbearance is a mighty force for subduing and correcting a noble spirit. Then, too, the rest are brought without resistance into a proper frame of mind by the sight of the rescue. Every one would rather obey than be forced, and prefers voluntary to compulsory observance of the law. That which a man chooses of his own accord he works for as if it were his own affair, but what is imposed upon him he rejects as unbecoming to a freeman.

It is the part of the highest virtue and power alike not to kill a man (this is often done by the wickedest and weakest men), but to spare him and to preserve him; yet no one of us is at liberty to do that without your consent.

It is my wish at length to cease from speaking. My poor spirit is weary, my voice is giving way, tears check my utterance, and fear closes my lips. But I am at a loss how to close. For my sorrow, which appears to me in no doubtful light, does not allow me to be silent,—unless you decide otherwise,—but compels me, as if the safety of my boy would depend upon whatever I say last, to speak even further, as it were in prayers.¹

¹ From the address of the father of Rullus.

251
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 Τό τε γὰρ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἂς περιεβέβλητο δικαιοῦσαι καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐμελέτη τοῦ 'Ῥούλλου φείσεσθαι (τὴν γὰρ σπούδην τοῦ δήμου ἕωρα), ἐκείνῳ τε ἐπὶ πλείου ἀντισχῶν χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιστρέψαι 1 μᾶλλον, ὡστε ἐξ ἀδοκίτου αὐτῷ συγγνοῦς, ἠθέλησε. τὸ τε οὖν πρόσωπον συστρέψας καὶ τὸν δήμον δριμὸν ὑποβλέψας τὴν φωνὴν ἐνέτεινε καὶ εἶπε. καὶ σιωπή μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑσύχαζον, ἀλλ' οἷον τι φιλεί ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γέγονεσθαι, αὐτῷ 2 τε ἐπιπρότεινος καὶ πρὸς ἅλλους τοῦ πόλεος ἑδίκοις ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν λαλοῦτες ἐξήκοντο, σωθήναι δὲ δὴ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιθυμεῖν ὑποπτεύοντο. ἰδοὺ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Παπίριος καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ 3 καὶ νεοχμώσσωσι τι, τοῦ τε πάνω ἄρχικον, ὅπερ ἐς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μείζον τοῦ καθήκοντος προσεπεπόντῳ, ὑφήκε, καὶ τὰ λουτὰ μετριάζον ἐς τε φιλίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν αὖθις σφᾶς ἀντικατῆσθεν, ὡστε συμβαλόντας τοὺς ἐναντίοις ἄνδρίσασθαι.—Μ. 61 (p. 160).

8 "Ὄτι νικηθέντες οἱ Σαυνίται ὑπὸ Ἄρωμαίων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἄρωμαίων, τοὺς

Ζοναρᾶς 7, 26.

καὶ ἠττήσας αὐτοὺς ἡμάγκασεν ἐπὶ συνθῆκας συµβῆναι αἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο, ἀποδεμένου δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν αὖθις.
‘Τπὸ δὲ Κορυθλοῦ Αὐλοῦ δικατῶτρος καὶ πάλιν πολεμηθέντες καὶ ἠττηθέντες διεκηρυκεύσαντο

1 ἐπιστρέψαι Polak, ἐπιστρέψαι Ms.
2 αὐτῷ Mai., αὐτοῖ Ms. 3 μὴ added by Mai.

252
BOOK VIII

He shrank from changing the name and form of the office with which he was invested, and although he was intending to spare Rullus,—for he observed the zeal of the populace,—he wished, by resisting for some time, not only to make the favour the greater to him, but also to correct the young men more effectively as a result of the unexpectedness of the pardon. Therefore he knit his brows, and darting a harsh frowning look at the populace, he raised his voice and spoke.\(^1\) The talking had ceased, but still they were not quiet; instead, as generally happens in such a case, what with groaning over the fate of the master of horse and muttering one to another, although they did not utter a single word, they gave the impression that they desired his preservation. Papirius, seeing this and fearing they might even become mutinous, relaxed the very domineering manner which he had assumed, for the purpose of their correction, to an excessive degree, and by showing moderation in his conduct generally brought them once more to friendship and enthusiasm for him, so that they acquitted themselves like men when they met their opponents.

The Samnites, after their defeat at the hands of the Romans, made proposals for peace to the Romans

\(^1\) Dio probably inserted at this point the speech of Papirius; but the Ms. of the excerpts gives no indication of a lacuna.
 Dio's Roman History

γενόμενα· οί τε γὰρ Ῥώμαιοι ὑπεραναγόμενες, ὅστε μήτε κήρυκη ἑτέρην παρὰ τῶν Σαν-
νιτῶν προσδέχεσθαι ψηφισσασθαι καὶ προσεπτι-
σαι καὶ αὐτοῖς εἷς πάντας αὐτοῖς ἀρίστως, παῦ-

Zonaras 7, 26.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τε ὅσους εἶχον πέμψαντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν αἱτίαν τοῦ πολέμου Ῥούτουλῳ, ἀνδρὶ δυνατῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπιγράφουτες· οὐ τὰ ὅστα, ἐπεὶ φθάσας ἑκείνος διεχειρίσατο ἑαυτὸν, διέρρησαν· οὐ μεντοὶ καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης ὡς ἀπιστοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀσπούνδου σφίσιν ἐπιδράσαντο πόλημον, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμα-
λώτους λαβόντες. ὑπεραναγόμενες οὖν οἱ Ῥω-

1 Παπιον Leuncl., Παπιφίου Mss.
BOOK VIII

in the city. They sent them all the Roman captives that they had; and they furthermore ravaged the property of a certain Papius, who was esteemed among the foremost of their race and bore the entire responsibility for the war, and likewise scattered abroad his bones, since he had anticipated their vengeance by committing suicide. Yet they did not obtain the desired peace; for they were regarded as untrustworthy and had the name of making truces in the face of disasters merely for the purpose of cheating any power that conquered them. Hence they not only failed to obtain any terms, but even brought a relentless war upon themselves; for the Romans, though they had received the prisoners, voted to wage implacable war upon them.

Among the many events of human history that might give one cause for wonder must certainly be reckoned what occurred at this time. The Romans, who were so extremely arrogant as to vote that they would not again receive a herald from the Samnites in the matter of peace and moreover expected to

Zonaras 7, 26.

peace to the men at Rome. They sent them all the captives that they had, and ascribed the responsibility for the war to Rutulus [Papius Brutulus], a man of great influence among them; and since he had anticipated their vengeance by destroying himself, they scattered abroad his bones. Yet they did not obtain the desired peace, being accounted untrustworthy; instead, the victors, though they had received the prisoners, voted for relentless war against them. Thus the Romans, expecting in their extreme arrogi-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ματι δεινῷ περιέπεσον καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ οἵα οὖν πώποτε ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλως τε ὑπερδείσαντες καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι ποιησάμενοι πανσυδίᾳ τε τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔξωγρησαν καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ὑπήγαγον ἐς τὸν γὰρ αὐτῶς ἦ τύχη περιέστη.—Μ. 62 (p. 161).

11 Ἀἱ εὐεργεσίαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον προαιρέσει εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐθὲ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης οὐθὲ ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας, οὐκ ὅργῃς, οὐκ ἀπάτης, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων γίγνονται, ἀλλ’ αὐθαίρετοι παρ’ ἐκουσίας καὶ προθύμου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτελοῦνται καὶ διὰ ταῦτα χρή τοὺς μὲν πλημμελήσαντάς τι ἐλεεῖν νουθετεῖν παιδεύειν, τοὺς δὲ εὖ ποιήσαντας θαυμάζειν φιλεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι. καὶ ὅταν γε ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἕκατερον γένηται, πολὺ ποι ὑπὸ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἥθεσιν ἡμῶν 1 προσήκει τῶν ἀμεινώνων μυθο- νεύειν ἢ τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46 (M. p. 535).

Zonaras 7, 26.

μαῖοι καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰρήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, δεινῷ παθήματι περιέπεσον. ὑπερ- δείσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σαυνῖται καὶ ἐν συμφορᾷ ποιούμενοι τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀπεγνω- σμένοι μαχόμενοι, καὶ λοχήσαντες ἐν τινὶ χώρᾳ κοιλοτέρᾳ καὶ στενῇ, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον εἶλον

1 αὐτῶν Bk., ἀνθρώπων Mss.
2 ἡμῶν A, ἡμῶν B.
BOOK VIII

capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster and incurred disgrace as never before; while the enemy, who were badly frightened to begin with, and thought their failure to gain terms a great calamity, captured alive the entire Roman army, and sent them all under the yoke. So great a reversal of fortune did they experience.

Benefits lie rather within the actual choice of men and are not brought about by necessity, or by ignorance, or anger, or deceit, or anything of the sort, but are performed voluntarily by a willing and eager mind. For this reason it is proper to pity, admonish, and instruct those who commit any offence, but to admire, love, and reward those who do right. And whenever both kinds of treatment are received from the same individuals, it is decidedly more befitting our characters to remember their good rather than their disagreeable actions.¹

Zonaras 7, 26.

ance to capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster. For the Samnites, who were badly frightened and thought their failure to gain terms a calamity, fought with desperation; and by planting an ambuscade in a rather narrow valley they both captured the camp and seized alive the whole

¹ See note on p. 259.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

12 "Οτι αἱ διαφοραὶ εὐεργεσίαις παύονται· καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἐπὶ μείζον ἔχθρας ἐλθὼν σωτηρίας ἀντὶ τιμωρίας παρὰ δόξαν τύχῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνην τε ἐκὼν καταλύει καὶ ταύτης ἁσμενὸς ἣτταῖ. ὁσφ τε τῶν ἄλλως πως διενεχθέντων οἱ ἐκ φιλίας ἐς ἔχθραν χωρῆσαντες μισοῦσιν ἄλληλον, ἐπὶ πλείον καὶ τῶν ἄλλως πως εὐεργετηθέντων οἱ ἐκ διαφορᾶς εὐ παθόντες φιλοῦσι τοὺς πεποιηκότας. καὶ Ὁμαῖοι οὐν βούλονται μὲν καὶ μᾶλα πολέμῳ1 κρατιστεύειν, προσέτι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμῶσι, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἐν ἀμφότεροις ἡμαρ-κασμένοι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς γενναίοτητῃ τὸ κρατεῖν ἐπικερδαίουσι, σπουδάζοντες ἀεὶ τὰ ὀμοία τοῖς ὀμοίοις καθ' ὑπερβολὰς ἀμύνεσθαι.—Μ. 63 (p. 161).

13 Μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας τι ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ φρονεῖν, μείζω δὲ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντας τι ἀμείβεσθαι ἔχειν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536).

14 Πεφύκασι γὰρ2 πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ πλέον ἀλγείν ὅν ἂν ἀτιμασθῶσιν ἡ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὐεργετηθῶσι, καὶ ρᾴδιον γε ἐπεξέρχονται τοῖς τι λυπησάσι σφας ἡ ἀνθυποργοῦσι τοῖς εὐ ποιή-σασι, τὴν τε3 κακοδοξίαν τοῦ τῶν σώσαντα μὴ δι' εὐνοίας ποιήσασθαι παρ' οὗδὲν πρὸς τὰ συμ-φέρουτα αὐτῶν τιθέμενοι, καὶ τῷ θυμομένῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν σφῶν χαριζόμενοι.

1 μὲν καὶ μᾶλα πολέμῳ Bk., ἀν καὶ ἀμα πολέμῳ Mai, Ms. now illegible. 2 πεφύκασι γὰρ flor., δὲ πεφύκασι palimps. 3 τε Bk., δὲ Ms.
BOOK VIII

Quarrels are ended by kindness. The greater the pitch of enmity to which a man has come when he unexpectedly meets with safety instead of vengeance, the more eagerly does he abandon the quarrel and the more gladly does he yield to the influence of kindness. And just as among persons at variance for one reason or another those who have passed from friendship to enmity hate each other with the more intense hatred, so among recipients of kindness those who have experienced this considerate treatment after a state of strife love their benefactors with the stronger affection. Now the Romans are very anxious to surpass in war, and at the same time they honour virtue; and so, impelled by their nobility of spirit, they gain success in both, since they take pains to return like treatment for like, with interest.¹

Now it is quite right to take pride in requiting those who have done us some injury, but we ought to gain greater honour from rewarding those who have conferred some benefit.¹

All men are by nature so constituted as to grieve more over insults offered them than they rejoice over benefits conferred upon them; therefore they attack those who have injured them more readily than they requite those who have shown them kindness. They take no account, when their own advantage is concerned, of the evil reputation they will get by not adopting a friendly attitude toward their preserver, but indulge their wrath even when such behaviour runs counter to their own interest.¹

¹ Sections 11, 12, and 13 appear to come from various speeches delivered at the Caudine Forks; section 14 is clearly from the speech of Herennius Pontius.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Τοιαύτα αυτοίς παρά τε τῆς ἐμφύτου φρονήσεως καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γήρως ἐμπειρίας οὐ τὸ αὐτίκα κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπειτὰ ἀλγεινὸν προσκοπῶν παρῆνεσθε.—Μ. 64 (p. 162) and πεφύκασι γὰρ πάντες—ποιήσασιν Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536).

"Οτι οἱ Καπνηνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠτηθέντων καὶ ἐς Καπνὴν ἐλθόντων οὔτε εἰπον αὐτοὺς δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ἱπποὺς αὐτοῖς ἐδωκαν καὶ ὡς κεκρατηκότας ὑπεδέξατο· οὐς γὰρ οὔκ ἂν ἐβούλοντο διὰ τὰ προγεγονότα σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν νευκηκέναι, τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας ἠλέησαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι

Zonaras 7, 26.

καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξώγησαν πανσείτι καὶ πάντας ὑπήγαγον ύπὸ τῶν ξυγῶν (τί δ’ ἢν τὸ τοῦ ξυγοῦ ἤδη μοι ἀνωθέ που ἱστόρηται), οὔδενα μέντοι ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ὁπλα καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ τὰ ἀλλα θανατοποιῆσαν πλὴν ἔνοι ἱματίων ἀφείλοντο, καὶ γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ συνθήκας τοῦ τε τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐκλιπέεν καὶ συμμάχους σφίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης εἶναι. ἵνα δὲ τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας βεβαιωθῶσι, τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐξακοσίους εἰς ὀμηρείαν κατέσχον.

Οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ Σπούριος τε Ποστούμιος καὶ Τιβέριος Καλουνίνος μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἀξιωλογώτατοι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθοσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται κατὰ τοὺς ἁγροὺς ἐσκεδά-

1 τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας Grob, τούτους κακοτυχήσασιν Ms.
BOOK VIII

Such was the advice he gave them out of his own inherent good sense and experience acquired in a long life; for he had regard, not to what might gratify them at the moment, but to what might cause them sorrow in the future.

The people of Capua, when the Romans after their defeat arrived in that city, were guilty of no bitter speech or outrageous act, but on the contrary gave them both food and horses and received them like victors. They pitied in their misfortune the men whom they would not have wished to see conquer on account of the treatment those same persons had formerly accorded them. When the Romans heard

---

Zonaras 7, 26.

force of the Romans, all of whom they sent under the yoke. The nature of the yoke has already been described by me above [7, 17]. They killed none of them, however, but took away their arms and horses and everything else they had save one garment, and released them, thus stripped of their possessions, under an agreement that they should leave Samnite territory and be their allies on an equal footing. And in order to make sure that the articles of the agreement were ratified also by the senate, they retained six hundred of the knights as hostages.

The consuls Spurius Postumius and Tiberius Calvinius with their army immediately withdrew, and at night they and the other more prominent officers entered Rome, while the surviving soldiers scattered through the country districts. The men in the city

---

1 Apparently an error of Zonaras for Titus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὥς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἦκουσαν, ἀποροι πανταχόθεν ἐγένοντο, μήθ' ὅπως ἤσθωσι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ μήθ' ὅπως ἀχθεσθῶσιν ἔχοντες· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης υπερήλγουν, ἀπαξιώντες ἀλλὰς τε τούτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἔβούλουντο δὲ πάντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι, ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ ὅτι, εἰπέρ τι τοιοῦτον συνεβεβήκει σφίσι, καὶ 1 περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπασίν ἐκινδύνεσαν, οὐκ ἀκοινοὶς ἦκουν ὅτι ἔσωθησαν.—Μ. 65 (p. 162).

Zonaras 7, 26.

σθησαν. οἵ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθόντες οὔτε ἤσθωσιν τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ οὔτε ἀχθεσθῶσιν ἦδυναντο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν υπερήλγουν, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τοιαύτα πεπόνθασι, μεῖζον σφίσι τὸ ἁλγός ἐγύνετο· λογιζόμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη, καὶ περὶ πάντα ἀν ἐκινδύνεσαν, ἐπὶ τῇ σφῶν ἠδοντο σωτηρία. ἐπικρύπτοντες δὲ τέως τὸ ἰδέασθαι, πένθος ἐπεπούκεσαν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ ἐπραξαν, οὔτε αὐτίκα οὖθ' ὕστερον, ἐως ἀντεπεκράτησαν τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους μὲν παραχρῆμα ἔπαιναν, ἐτέρους δ' ἀνθελόμενοι βουλὴν ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν σφίσι μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν σύμβασιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἢν τούτο δρᾶσαι μὴ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς πράξαντας αὐτὴν τρέψαντα τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅκινου μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων καταψηφίσασθαι

1 καὶ St., καὶ Ms.
BOOK VIII

of the affair, they were thoroughly embarrassed, finding themselves unable either to feel pleased at the survival of their soldiers or yet to feel displeased. When they thought of the calamitous disgrace, their grief was extreme, for they regarded it as particularly shameful to have met with this defeat at the hands of the Samnites, and they could wish that all their men had perished; when they stopped to reflect, however, that if such a disaster had befallen them they would have been in danger of losing all the rest as well, they were not sorry to hear that the men had been saved.

Zonaras 7, 26.

on learning of the affair were unable either to feel pleased at the survival of their soldiers or yet to feel displeased. When they thought of the calamity, their grief was extreme, and the fact that they had suffered such a defeat at the hands of the Samnites increased their grief; when they stopped to consider, however, that if it had come to pass that all had perished, they would have been in danger of losing everything, they were really pleased at the survival of their men. But concealing for a time their satisfaction, they went into mourning and carried on no business in the usual manner either then or later until they in their turn were victorious. The consuls they deposed forthwith, chose others in their stead, and took counsel about the situation. And they determined not to accept the arrangement; but since it was impossible to take this action without placing the responsibility upon the men who had conducted the negotiations, they hesitated, on the one hand, to condemn the consuls and the
ΟΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΕΜΕΣΘΗΤΟΝ ἘΣΤΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΕΙΣΘΑΙ, ΚΑΙΝ ἐν κινδύνῳ τινι καταστώσι, πᾶν οτίοιν ὡστε σωθήναι πράττειν.—Μ. 66 (p. 163).

ΟΤΙ ΣΥΝΑΓΝΩΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΔΙΔΟΤΑΙ ΤΟΙς ἈΚΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΤΙ ΠΡΑΞΑΣΙΝ.—Μ. 67 (ib.).


Zonaras 7, 26.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷ μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἅρχας τινας ἀρχοντες τὰς στοιχίας ἐποιήσαντο, ὥστε δὲ καὶ ἀφεῖναι, ὅνα μὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸ παραπόνημα περιστήσουσιν. αὐτοὶς οὖν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπεκοινώσαντο, καὶ πρῶτῳ γε τῷ Ποστομίῳ τὴν ψήφον ἐπήγαγον, ὡς καθ' ἑαυτὸς τὴν γυνώμην ἀποφήμηταί· αἰσχύνη τοῦ μὴ πάντας ἀδοξίας ἀναπλήσαι. ο ὅπερ παρελθών εἰς τὸ μέσον ἔφη μὴ δείν κυρωθήναι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπραγμένα παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκουσίως πράξαι αὐτά, ἂν ἀνάγκη συμε-χομένους, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἐπήγαγον οἰ πολέμοι οὐκ ἔξ ἀρετῆς, ἂν' ἔκ δόλου καὶ ἔξ ἐνέδρας. οἰ γοῦν ἀπατήσαντες, εἰ ἀντηπατήθησαν, οὐκ ἄν δύναντο δικαίως ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς ἀνταπατήσασιν. ταύτα τοῦ- νων εἰσπόντως καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, ἐν ἄμηχανίᾳ ή γερουσία ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Ποστομίου καὶ τοῦ Καλουίνου εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναδεχομένων, 264.
BOOK VIII

It is requisite and blameless for all men to plan for their own safety, and if they get into any danger, to do anything whatsoever in order to be saved.

Pardon is granted both by gods and men to those who have committed any act involuntarily.

Dio, Book VIII. "I both take upon myself the crime and admit the perjury."

Zonaras 7, 26.

others associated with them, who, in their capacity as holders of certain offices, had made the truce, and they hesitated, on the other hand, to acquit them, since by so doing they would bring the breach of faith home to themselves. Accordingly they made these consuls themselves participate in their deliberations; and they asked Postumius first of all for his opinion, in order that he might pronounce judgment against himself, through shame at the thought of bringing reproach upon them all. So he came forward and said that their acts ought not to be ratified by the senate and the people, since they themselves had not acted of their own free will, but under the compulsion of a necessity which the enemy had brought upon them, not through valour, but through treachery and ambuscade. Now men who had practised deception could not, if they had been deceived in turn, have any just complaint against those who turned the tables on them. When he had expressed these sentiments and many more of the same nature, the senate found itself at a loss how to act; but inasmuch as Postumius and Calvinus
"Οτι οι Σαυνίται ὁρῶντες μήτε τὰς συνθήκας σφίσι τηρουμένας μήτε ἄλλην χάριν ἀντιδιδομένην, ἄλλ' ὅλιγοις ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐσε παραγωγὴν τῶν ὄρκων ἐκδιδομένους, δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν, ἐπεθείαζον 1 τε τινα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὰς πίστεις αὐτῶν προφερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπήτουν τοὺς ἀλόντας, ἐκείλευν τε αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ζυγὸν γυμνὸς ἐσελθεὶν οὐπερ ἐλεηθέντες ἀφείθησαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μάθωσι 2 τοῖς ἀπαξ ὀμολογηθείσι τοῖς ἔμμενεν. καὶ ἀντέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας, εἰτ' οὖν ὃτι οὐκ ἤξισαν σφας μηδὲν ἡδικηκότας ἀπολέσαι, ἥ ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν προσάψαι ἤθελησαν καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλιγων ἀνδρῶν κολάσεως τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολύσαι. ταῦτ' ἔπραξαν ἐπίτευσαντες ἐκ τούτων ἐπιεικές τι εὐρήσεσθαι.—Μ. 68 (p. 163).

"Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Σαυνίταις οὐχ ὅτι χάριν τινὰ τῆς γοῦν τῶν ἐκδοθέντων σωτηρίας ἔσχον.

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἐψηφίσθη μήτε κυρωθὴν τὰ ὀμολογημένα ἐκείνους τε ἐκδοθήναι.

Ἀπῆχθησαν οὖν καὶ ἄμφω οἱ ὑπατοί καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀρχοντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις παρουσιάσαντες εἰς τὸ Σαῦνιον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοῖς οἱ Σαυνίται ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀλόντας ἀπῆτουν ἀπαντᾶν, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεβοῶντο καὶ ἐπεθείαζον, καὶ τέλος τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας ἀντέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀσμένως ἀπέλαβον, τοῖς δὲ Σαυνίταις

1 ἐπεθείαζον Gros, . . . ζονον Ms.
2 μάθωσι v. Herw., . . . ζ Μs.
BOOK VIII

The Samnites, seeing that neither the terms were observed by the Romans nor gratitude manifested in any other way, and that few men instead of many were surrendered, in violation of the oaths, became terribly angry and conjured the Romans in the name of the gods; and reminding them of their pledges, they demanded back the captives and ordered them to pass naked under the same yoke from which through pity they had been released, in order that by experience they might learn to abide by terms which had once been agreed upon. They sent back those who had been surrendered, either because they did not think it right to destroy these guiltless men or because they wished to fasten the perjury upon the populace and not through the punishment of a few men to absolve the rest. This they did, hoping as a result to secure decent treatment.

The Romans, so far from being grateful to the Samnites for the preservation of the surrendered

Zonaras 7, 26.

took the responsibility upon themselves, it was voted that the agreement should not be ratified and that these men should be delivered up.

Both the consuls, therefore, and the other officials who had been present when the oaths were taken were conducted back to Samnium. But the Samnites did not accept them; instead, they demanded back all the captives, and conjured the Romans in the name of the gods, and finally they sent back the men who had been surrendered. The Romans were glad enough to get them back, but
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

άλλ' ὧσπερ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτου παθόντες ὀργῇ τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἀντειργάσαντο· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ νομίζομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὡς πλήθει κρίνεται, οὐδ' ἀνάγκη τὸς ἔστι νικάν τοὺς ἀδικούμενοις, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοκράτωρ διὸ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συμφέρον τίθεται καὶ τὴν τοῦ δίκαιου νόμωσιν ἐς τοῦναντίον πολλάκις περίστησιν.—Μ. 69 (p. 163).

22 "Οτι οἱ Ρωμαίοι Σαυνίτῶν κρατήσαντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀνθυπήγαγον, ἔξαρκείν σφισὶ νομοσάντες τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας αἰσχύνης ἀνταπόδοσιν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ τύχη πρὸς τὰ ἐναυτία αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρως ἐν βραχυτάτῳ περιστάσε, καὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑβρισθέντων τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιποίησας, διέδειξε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ὄλον αὐτὴ δυναμένη.—Μ. 70 (p. 164).

23 "Οτι ὁ Παπύριος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς ἐς πολυρκίαν προσήδευε σφισὶ. καὶ τούτῳ ὑνεδίσαντός τινος αὐτῷ ὃτι οὐνὶ πολλῷ ἔχρητο, ἐφ' ὃτι τὸ μὲν

Zonaras 7, 26.

ὁργῇ τὴν μάχην ἐπήγαγον. καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ ὁμοία σφίσιν ἐποίησαν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν ἀνθυπήγαγον καὶ ἄφηκαν, μηδὲν ἀλλο κακὸν δράσαντες. καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἰππεῖς, οὓς ὡς ὀμήρους κατεῖχον οἱ Σαυνίται, ἀπαθεῖς ἐκομίσαντο.

1 αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτοῖς Ms. 2 αὐτοῖς Bk., τοῖς Ms. 268 3 ἐν βραχυτάτῳ Cary, ἐς βραχύτατον Ms.
BOOK VIII

soldiers, actually behaved as if they had in this affair suffered some outrage. In their anger they continued the war, and upon vanquishing the Samnites accorded them the same treatment in their turn. For the justice of the battle-field does not, as a rule, fit the ordinary definition of the word, and it is not inevitable that those wronged should conquer; instead, war, in its absolute sway, adjusts everything to the advantage of the victor, often causing something that is the reverse of justice to go under that name.

The Romans after vanquishing the Samnites sent the captives in their turn under the yoke, regarding as satisfactory to their honour a repayment of similar disgrace. Thus did Fortune in the case of both peoples in the briefest time reverse her position, and, by treating the Samnites to the same humiliation at the hands of these same outraged foes, show clearly that here, too, she was all-supreme.

Papirius made a campaign against the Samnites, and after reducing them to a state of siege, was entrenched before them. At this time some one reproached him with excessive use of wine, where-

Zonaras 7, 26.

were angry at the Samnites, and attacked them in battle; and vanquishing them, they meted out to them treatment similar to that which they had received: they sent them under the yoke in their turn and released them without inflicting any other injury. They also received back unharmed their own knights, who had been held by the Samnites as hostages.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

μὴ εἶναι με μεθυστικὸν παντὶ που δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ πρωιαίτατά με ὁρθρεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁψιαίτατα καταδαρθάνειν ἐστίν διὰ δὲ τὸ τά 1 κοινὰ ἀεὶ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὁμοίως ἐν φροντίδι ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ῥάδιως ὑπνοῦ λαχεῖν, τὸν οἶνον κατακομήσοντα 2 με παραλαμβάνω.—Μ. 71 (p. 164).

24 "Οτι οἱ αὐτῶς ἐφοδεύουν ποτὲ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ μὴ εὑρὼν τὸν Πραιστίνων στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει δοῦντα ἡγανάκτησεν, εἶτα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τῷ ῥαβδοῦχῳ τὸν πέλεκυν προχειρίσασθαι· ἐκπλαγέντος τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ καταδείκας τῷ τε φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἡρκέσθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτε δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ρίζας τινὰς παρὰ τὰ σκηνώματα οὕσας ἐκκόψαν τῷ ῥαβδοῦχῳ, ἴνα μὴ τοὺς παρίστατας λυπώσι, προσέταξε.—Μ. 72 (ib.).

25 "Οτι αἱ εὐπραγίαι οὐ πάνι τοῖς πολλοῖς παραμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς ἐς ἀφυλαξίαν παραγαγοῦσαι φθείρουσιν.—Μ. 73 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

1. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους πλείονας αὖθις τοῖς Σαυνίταις πολεμοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Γαίτον Ἰουνίου ἠγουμένου αὐτῶν, συμφορᾶ περιέπεσον. πορθοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἰουνίου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὰς ὀλὰς τὰς Ἀόρνους τὰ προσόντα οἱ Σαυνίται ἀνεκομίσαντο, οὕτω καλουμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδὲ ὀρνίς εἰσπέτεσθαι εἰς αὐτὰς τῇ τῶν δένδρων πυκνότητι. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντες, ποίμνια τινὰ ποιμένων

1 τὸ τὰ Bk., τὰ Ms.
2 κατακομῆσοντα St., κατακομῆσοντα Ms.

270
BOOK VIII

upon he replied: “That I am not a drunkardard is clear to every one from the fact that I am up at the peep of dawn and lie down to rest latest of all. But on account of having public affairs on my mind day and night alike, and not being able to obtain sleep easily, I take the wine to lull me to rest.”

The same man one day while making the rounds of the garrison became angry on not finding the general from Praeneste at his post. He summoned him and bade the lictor make ready his axe. When the general thereupon became alarmed and terrified, his fear sufficed for Papirius; he harmed him no further, but merely commanded the lictor to cut off some roots growing beside the tents, so that they should not injure passers-by.

Success is not at all constant in the case of most men, but leads many aside into carelessness and ruins them.¹

---

Zonaras 8, 1.

1. After a number of years the Romans, under the leadership of Gaius Junius, were again warring with the Samnites, when they met with disaster. While Junius was pillaging their territory the Samnites conveyed their possessions into the Avernian woods, so called because on account of their denseness not even the birds fly into them.² And having taken refuge there, they stationed some flocks in front of their position without shepherds

¹ Cp. Livy 9, 18, 8.
² The Greek name (Δόρνος) means “birdless.”
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

26 “Οτι Παπίριον δικτάτορα προεβάλοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ ὁ Ρούλλος οὐκ ἔθελήσῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβάντα οἱ ἐν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ εἰσείν, ἐπέμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δεόμενοι τὰ ἱκονὰ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας προτιμῆσαι. καὶ τὰ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦξ ἐγένετο (ὡς γὰρ πάντως ἐκ τῶν πατρίων τὸν δικτάτορα ἔδει λέγεσθαι), εἰπὲ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐκ τούτου μεγίστην ἔλαβεν.—V. 19 (p. 585).

27 “Οτι ὁ Ἀππίος ὁ τυφλὸς καὶ ὁ Οὐσλούμνιος διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἂφ’ οὔπερ Οὐσλούμνιος τοῦ Ἀππίου προενεγκόντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς σοφώτερος ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονὼς οὔδεμιαν οἱ χάριν εἰδείη, αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ γεγονέναι οὕτως σοφώτερος καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τούτ’ ἐφη, ἐκεῖνον δὲ μηδὲν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι.—Μ. 74 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἡ φρουρῶν ἀνευ προκαθιστάντες καὶ ψευδαυτο-
μόλους ὑποτέμποντες, ὡς ἐφ’ ἑτοίμην λείαν αὐ-
τοὺς ὑπηγόγοντο. εἰσώ δὲ γεγομένους τῆς ὕλης
περιέσχον τε σφᾶς καὶ οὗ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο
κτείνοντες πρὶν τέλεον ἐκκαμεῖν.

Καὶ ἀλλοτε δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς Ρωμαίοις πολε-
μήσαντες οἱ Σαυνίται καὶ ἠττηθέντες οὐκ ἐφη-
σύχασαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμάχοις ἄλλους τε προσ-
λαβόμενοι καὶ Γαλάτας, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην
αὐτὴν ἐλάσσοντες ἤτοιμάζοντο. ὃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

1 τὰ Val., ὡς τὰ Ms. 2 Οὐσλούμνιος Bk., βολούμνιος Ms.
272
BOOK VIII

The men of the city put forward Papirius as dictator, and fearing that Rullus might be unwilling to name him on account of his own experiences while master of the horse, they sent to him and begged him to place the common weal before his private grudge. Now he gave the envoys no response, but when night had come, (according to ancient custom it was absolutely necessary that the dictator be appointed at night), he named Papirius, and by this act gained the greatest renown.

Appius the Blind and Volumnius became at variance with each other; and it was owing to this that Volumnius once, when Appius charged him in the assembly with showing no gratitude for the progress he had made in wisdom through his [Appius’] instruction, replied that he had indeed grown wiser, as stated, and that he furthermore admitted the fact, but that Appius had not advanced at all in the science of war.

Zonaras 8, 1.

or guards, and then secretly sent some pretended deserters who guided the Romans to the booty apparently lying at their disposal. But when the latter had entered the wood, the Samnites surrounded them and slaughtered them until completely exhausted.

And though the Samnites fought on many other occasions against the Romans and were defeated, they did not remain quiet; instead, they secured the Gauls and others as allies, and made preparations to march upon Rome itself. The Romans,
μαθόντες ἐς δέος κατέστησαν, καὶ σημείων πολλῶν ἐς τούτο αὐτοῦς ἐναγόντων. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς αἵμα τρισίν ἡμέραις, μιᾶς δὲ μέλι καὶ ἐν ἔτερα γάλα θρυλλεῖται ἀναδοθῆναι, εἰ τῷ ταῦτα πιστὰ· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Νίκης τι ἀγαλμά χάλκεον ἰδρυμένον ἐπὶ βάθρου λιθίνων αὐτομάτως εὑρέθη κάτω ἐστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς· ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀποβλέπων ὅθεν οἱ Γαλάται ἦδη ἐπῆσαν. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἑξεφόβη τῶν δήμου, πλέον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν μάντεων κεκριμένα ἀπαίσια. Μάνιος δὲ τις Τυρσηνὸς τὸ γένος ἔθαρσυνεν αὐτοῦς, εἰπὼν τὴν τῇ Νίκην, εἰ καὶ κατέβη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προχωρῆσαν καὶ βεβαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰδρυθείσαν τὸ κράτος σφίσι προδηλοῦν τοῦ πολέμου· κάκ τούτου καὶ θυσίας πολλὰς γενήσεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς· τοὺς γὰρ βωμούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐν οἷς τὰ νυκτήρια θύουσιν, ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς κατ' ἔθος αἰμάττεσθαι. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀγαθὸν τι σφάς ἐπείθε προσδοκᾶν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος νόσου, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ κάμνοντες δέονται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος λιμῶν· ἐς γὰρ τοσαῦτην σιτοδείαν ἀφίξεσθαι ὡστε καὶ τὴν αὐτόφυτον τὴν τῇ αὐτόνομον ξητήσαι τροφήν.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάνιος οὕτω τὰ τῶν σημείων

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

274
BOOK VIII

In regard to the prophecy the multitude was not capable for the time being of either believing or

Zonaras 8, 1.

when they learned of this, were in a state of alarm, particularly since many portents were causing them anxiety. On the Capitol blood is reported to have issued for three days from the altar of Jupiter, also honey on one day and milk on another—if anybody can believe it; and in the Forum a bronze statue of Victory set upon a stone pedestal was found standing on the ground below, without any one’s having moved it; and, as it happened, it was facing in that direction from which the Gauls were already approaching. This of itself was enough to terrify the populace, who were even more dismayed by ill-omened interpretations of the seers. However, a certain Manius, by birth an Etruscan, encouraged them by declaring that Victory, even if she had descended, had at any rate gone forward, and being now established more firmly on the ground, indicated to them mastery in the war. Accordingly, many sacrifices, too, would be offered to the gods; for their altars, and particularly those on the Capitol, where they sacrifice thank-offerings for victory, were regularly stained with blood on the occasion of Roman successes and not in times of disaster. From these circumstances, then, he persuaded them to expect some fortunate outcome, but from the honey to expect disease, since invalids crave it, and from the milk, famine; for they should encounter so great a scarcity of provisions that they would seek for food of natural and spontaneous origin.

Manius, then, interpreted the omens in this way,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἶχεν' οὖτε γὰρ ἐλπίζειν πάντα ἐβούλετο, ὦτι μηδὲ γενέσθαι\(^1\) πάντα ἦθελεν, οὔτε\(^2\) αὐτῷ ἀπιστεῖν ἀπασίων ἐτόλμα, ὦτι νικῆσαι ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' οἷα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε εὐχῆς\(^4\) καὶ τοῦ φόβου ὃν χαλεπῶτατα διήγεν. συμβάντων δ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκάστων καὶ τῆς ἐρμήνευσιν σφυσίν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων πείρας ἐφήρ-μοσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν ἐς τὴν τοῦ\(^5\) ἀφανὸς πρὸγνωσιν προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπεχείρει.—

M. 75 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ηρμήνευσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δ' ἐσύστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ μαντείας ἐκβάςης, σοφίας ἐκομίσατο δόξαν καὶ προγνώσεως· ὦ δὲ Οὐσολύμνιος τοῖς Σαυνίταις πολεμεῖν ἐκελεύσθη, τοῖς δὲ Γαλάταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἀντικαταστῆναι ὑπατοὶ αἱρεθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν δ' τε Ῥοῦλλος ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μάξιμος καὶ ὁ Δέκιος ὁ Πούπλιος. οὔ πρὸς τὴν Τυραννίδα σπουδὴ ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀππίου στρατόπεδον ἱδόντες διπλῶ σταυρώ-ματι κατωχυρωμένου, τοὺς σταυροὺς ἀνέσπασάν τε καὶ διεφόρησαν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς στρατιώτας διδάσκον-τες. προσέβαλον οὖν τοὺς πολεμίοις· κἂν τούτῳ λύκος ἔλαφον διώκων εἰς τὸ μεταίχμιον εἰσπεσόν ἀυτὸς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὀρμήσας διεξήλθε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεθάρρυνε, προσήκειν αὐτὸν νομί-ζοντας ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς λυκαίνης θρεψαμένης τὸν Ῥω-μύλου, καθάπερ ἱστόρησι τῇ ἐλαφος πρὸς τοὺς

1 γενέσθαι πάντα Mai, γενέσθω πάστων Ms.
2 οὔτ' Mai, δ' ἐν Ms.
3 αὖ St., ἐν Ms.
4 τε εὐχῆς Polak, ταραχῆς Ms.
5 τὴν τοῦ Bs., τὴν Ms.

276
BOOK VIII

disbelieving him [Manius]. It neither wished to hope for everything, inasmuch as it did not desire to see everything fulfilled, nor did it dare to refuse belief in all points inasmuch as it wished to be victorious, but was placed in an extremely painful position, distracted as it was between hope and fear. As each single event occurred the people applied the interpretation to it according to the actual result, and the man himself undertook to assume some reputation for skill with regard to foreknowledge of the unseen.

Zonaras 8, 1.

and as his prophecy turned out to be in accordance with subsequent events, he gained a reputation for skill and foreknowledge. Now Volumnius was ordered to make war upon the Samnites, while Fabius Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius were chosen consuls and were sent to withstand the Gauls and their fellow-warriors. And when the consuls had come with speed to Etruria, and had seen the camp of Appius, which was fortified by a double palisade, they pulled up the stakes and carried them off, instructing the soldiers to place their hope of safety in their weapons. So they joined battle with the enemy. Meanwhile a wolf in pursuit of a hind entered the space between the two armies, and darting toward the Romans, passed through their ranks. This encouraged them, for they looked upon him as belonging to themselves, since, according to tradition, a she-wolf had reared Romulus. But the hind ran
"Οτι οι Σαυνίται ἄγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤττᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀποκινδύνεσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὡς ὦτοι κρατήσοντες ἡ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι ὀρμήσαν, καὶ τὴν τε ἥλικιαν πᾶσαν ἐπελέξαντο, θάνατον τε

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἐτέρους χωρήσασα κατεκόπη, καὶ τὸν τε φόβον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν συντυχίαν τοῦ πάθους κατέλυπε. συμπεσόντων οὖν τῶν στρατευμάτων ὁ μὲν Μάξι-μος ῥαν τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνίκησεν, ἦττητο δὲ γε ὁ Δέκιος. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ πατρός, Ἰη Δόλῳ ἐν ἐνυπνιον ἐποίησατο, ἑαυτὸν ὁμοίως ἐπέδωκε, μὴ τινι περὶ τῆς πράξεως κοινωσάμενος. ἀρτὶ δὲ ἐσφακτο καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου αἶδοί ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς θανόντος θελοῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἐλπίζο τοῦ πάντως ἐκ τούτου κρατήσειν, τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ τοῖς διώκουσι σφᾶς γενναίος ἀντικατέστησαν. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Μάξι- μος κατὰ νότον τε αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε καὶ παμπόλι- λους ἐφύκες· οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες ἀποδιδρά- σκοντες διεφθάρχασαν. Μάξιμος δὲ Φάβιος τὸν μὲν τοῦ Δέκιου νεκρὸν κατέκαυσε σὺν τοῖς σκύλοις, τοῖς δὲ εἰρήνης δεσθεῖσι σπουδᾶς ἐποίησατο.

Τὸ δὲ ἔξης ἔτει αὐθαῖοι τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπολέ- μησαν Ἀτίλιος Ῥήγουλος. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἱσορρόπως ἐμάχοτο· εἶτα κρατήσαντο τῶν Σαυνιτῶν αὐθαίοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντεπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἐλώντες αὐτοὺς ὑπήγαγον ὑπὸ τῶν ξυγῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἀφῆκαν. Σαυνίται δὲ ἔπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἄγανακτήσαντες πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὀρμήσαν, ὡς ἡ κρατήσοντες ἡ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι, θάνατον

278 ¹ Ατίλιος Pinder, ἀτίλιος AC, ἀτίλιος Bo.
BOOK VIII

The Samnites, enraged at what had occurred and feeling it disgraceful to be continually defeated, resorted to extreme daring and recklessness, with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed. They assembled all their men that were to the other side and was struck down, thus leaving to the enemy fear and the issue of disaster. When the armies clashed, Maximus quite easily conquered the foes opposed to him, but Decius was defeated. And recalling the self-devotion of his father, undertaken on account of the dream, he likewise devoted himself, though without sharing his intention with anybody. Scarcely had he been slain when the men ranged at his side, partly out of respect for him (since they felt he had perished voluntarily for them) and partly in the hope of certain victory as a result of his act, checked their flight and nobly withstood their pursuers. At this juncture Maximus, too, assailed the latter in the rear and slaughtered vast numbers. The survivors took to flight and were annihilated. Fabius Maximus then burned the corpse of Decius together with the spoils and made a truce with the enemy, who sued for peace.

The following year Atilius Regulus again waged war upon the Samnites. And for a time they carried on an evenly-balanced struggle, but eventually, after the Samnites had won a victory, the Romans conquered them in turn, took them captive, led them beneath the yoke, and then released them. The Samnites, enraged at what had occurred, resorted to recklessness with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed, threaten-
προεπόντες ὑστις ἀν αὐτῶν οἰκοι καταμένη, καὶ ὅρκοις σφᾶς φρικώδεσι πιστωσάμενοι μὴ ἀυτῶν τινα ἐκ μάχης φεύξεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειρήσουτα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φονεύσεων.—Μ. 76 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἀπειλήσαντες τῷ οἰκοι μενοῦντι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ ἔρημον διὸ στρατιωτῶν τὸ Σαύνιον ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις εἰλόν τινας. ὅθεν οἱ Σαυνῖται τὴν Καμπανίαν υπόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἥπειρον ἥρπον, καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ τῶν ὑπάτων συμμίξαντες ἐκ τινος ἡττητον στρατηγῆ-ματος, καὶ φεύγοντες δεινῶς ἐπταίσαν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέβαλον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πόλισμα ὧ έπεβοήθουν. ὃ δὲ υπατός τὰ τε ἐπινίκμα ἐπεμψε καὶ τὰ ἀθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδημοσίωσεν. ὃ δ’ ἄτερος υπατός κατὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στρατεύ-σας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς δι’ ἀλγοῦ, σὺτῶν τε καὶ χρήματα παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰσπράξας, τὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε, τὰ δ’ εἰσήγνενεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς.

Συμβεβηκότος δὲ λοιμοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, οἱ Σαυνῖται καὶ Φαλίσκοι καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν νόσον καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ὑπάτους οὐ κατ’ ἄρετην ἤρηντο, ὡς μὴ πολέμων ὄντων, παρε-κίνησαν. μαθόντες οὖν τοῦθ’ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουνίῳ μὲν Βρούτῳ τοῦ Καροῦλου, Κυντῳ δὲ Φαβίῳ τὸν πατέρα τῶν Ρούλλου τῶν Μάξιμου ὑποστρατήγους ἢ προσβεντας συνεξέπεμψαν. ὃ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος Φαλίσκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρσηνῶν ἐληίζετο, Φάβιος 280
of military age, threatening with death any one of their number who should remain at home, and they bound themselves with frightful oaths, each man swearing not to flee from the contest himself and to slay any one who should undertake to do so.

Zonaras 8, 1.

ing with death the man who should remain at home. So these invaded Campania; but the consuls ravaged Samnium, which was now destitute of soldiers, and captured a few cities. Therefore the Samnites, abandoning Campania, made haste to reach their own land; and joining battle with one of the consuls, they were defeated by a ruse and in their flight met with terrible reverses, even losing their camp and in addition the fortress to the assistance of which they were advancing. The consul celebrated a triumph and turned over to the treasury the moneys realized from the spoils. The other consul made a campaign against the Etruscans and reduced them in a short time; he then levied upon them contributions of grain and money, of which he distributed a part to the soldiers and deposited the rest in the treasury.

However, there befell a mighty pestilence, and the Samnites and Faliscans started an uprising; they felt contempt for the Romans both on account of the disease and because, since no war menaced, they had not chosen the consuls on grounds of excellence. The Romans, ascertaining the situation, sent out Carvilius along with Junius Brutus, and with Quintus Fabius his father Maximus Rullus, as lieutenants or envoys. Brutus, accordingly, worsted the Faliscans and plundered their possessions as well as those of the other Etruscans; and Fabius
"Οτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ὅτι ὁ ὑπατος Φάβιος ἠττήθη ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ τούτον μεταπέμψαντες εὐθυνοῦν. κατηγορίας τε αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενομένης (καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δόξῃ ἐπὶ πλείου τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐβαρύνετο) ἐκεῖνῷ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐδόθη, ὁ δὲ γέρων ύπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπελογήσατο, κατα-

Zonaras 8, 1.

dὲ τῆς Ῥώμης πρὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς Σαυνῖτας λησίζεσθαι τὴν Καμπανίδα πυθό-
μενος ἠπείγετο. προσκόποις τε τισὶν αὐτῶν ἑντυχών, καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωροῦντας σφὰς θεσασ-
μενος, πάντας τε τοὺς ¹ πολέμους ἔκει τυγχάνειν ἐνόμισε καὶ φεύγειν ἐπίστευσε· καὶ τούτου σπεύσας αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι, ὣν αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνον δοκῆ, προσεχώρησεν ἀσυντάκτως. καὶ περιπέτειαν ἀθρόοις τοῖς πολεμίοις πανσυδῆ ἄν διεφθάρῃ, εἰ μὴ νῦς ἐγένετο. πολλοὶ δὲ οὖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τεθνήκασιν, μὴ τ' ῥατροῦ μὴτ' ἐπιτηδείου τινὸς παρόντος, διὰ τὸ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν σκευοφόρων αὐτοὺς ἐπειχθῆναι ὡς αὐτίκα νικήσοντας· καὶ πάντως ἀν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ οἱ Σαυνῖται τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐγγὺς εἶναι νομίζαντες ἔδεισαν τε καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν.

Πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν ὑπατον εὐθυνεῖν ήθελον. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ τούτου πατήρ

282

¹ toûs supplied by Be.
BOOK VIII

The Romans, on hearing that their consul Fabius had been worsted in the war, became terribly angry, summoned him home, and proceeded to try him. He was vehemently denounced before the people,—though he was distressed by the injury to his father’s reputation even more than by the charges,—and no opportunity was afforded him for reply. But the elder Fabius, although he did not make a set

Zonaras 8, 1.
marched out of Rome before his father and pushed rapidly forward when he learned that the Samnites were plundering Campania. Falling in with some scouts of theirs and seeing them quickly retire, he got the impression that all the enemy were at that point and believed they were in flight. Accordingly, in his hurry to come to blows with them before his father should arrive, in order that the success might appear to be his own and not his elder’s, he went ahead with a careless formation. But he encountered the enemy in a compact body, and would have lost his entire army, had not night come on. Many of his men, moreover, died afterwards, with no physician or medical appliances at hand, because they had hastened on far ahead of the baggage-carriers in the expectation of immediate victory. And they would certainly have perished on the following day but for the fact that the Samnites, believing Fabius’ father was near at hand, felt afraid and withdrew.

Those in the city on hearing this became terribly angry, summoned the consul, and wished to put him on trial. But the elder Fabius, his father, by enu-
καταριθμήσας τά τε οίκειά καὶ τά τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθήματα, καὶ ύποσχόμενος μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξεως ἀνάξιον τῶν υἱῶν, καὶ τὴν τούτου νεότητα πρὸς τὸ ἀτύχημα προβαλόμενος, τῆς ὅργης αὐτοῦς αὐτίκα παρέλυσε. καὶ οἱ συνεξελθόν τοῦ Σαυνίτας ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν εἶλε τὴν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἡλάσε· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐδημοσίωσε, τὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιώτων κατένευσε. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκείνον τῇ ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπείτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἥξιον ἐκέλευσαν, ύποστρατήγῳ καὶ τότε τῷ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ δὲ πάντα μὲν αὐτὸς διώκει καὶ δίηγεν οὕτως τοῦ γῆρως φειδόμενος, καὶ τὰ γε συμμαχικὰ προθύμως οἱ, μνήμη τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοῦ ἐργῶν, συνήρετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνδηλὸς ἦν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ

Zonaras 8, 1.

1 προβαλόμενος G 183, προβαλλόμενος Ms.
defence of his son, did enumerate his own services and those of his ancestors, and by promising furthermore that his son should do nothing unworthy of them, he abated the people’s wrath, especially since he urged his son’s youth as an excuse for his error. And joining him at once in the campaign, he overthrew the Samnites in battle, elated as they were by their victory, and captured their camp and great booty. The Romans therefore both extolled him and ordered that his son should command also for the future, as pro-consul, and still employ his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything for him, sparing his old age not a whit, and the allied forces readily assisted the father in remembrance of his old-time deeds. Yet he did not let it appear that he

Zonaras 8, 1.

merating his own and his ancestors’ brave deeds, by promising that his son should do nothing unworthy of them, and by urging the latter’s youth to account for the misfortune, immediately abated their wrath. And joining him in the campaign, he conquered the Samnites in battle, captured their camp, ravaged their country, and drove off great booty; a part of this he turned over to the treasury and a part he granted to the soldiers. For these reasons the Romans both extolled him and ordered that the son should command also for the future, as pro-consul, and still employ his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything himself, sparing his old age not a whit, yet he did not let it appear
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πράγματα ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ὄντως ἐν τε συμβούλῳ καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχῳ μέρει τῷ παιδὶ συνὼν αὐτῶς τε ἐμετρίαζε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνῳ ἠποσετίθει.—V. 20 (p. 585).
32 "Ὅτι οἱ . . . στρατιῶται μετὰ Ποστουμίου ἐξελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ὀδόν τε ἐνόσησαν καὶ ἐδόκουν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἄλογος τομῆς πονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις ἀνακληθεὶς ἐν ὀλιγορίᾳ κάνταυθα αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λέγων οὐκ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνης αὐτὸν ἄρχειν.—Μ. 77 (p. 166).

40 "Ὅτι Γάιος Φαβρίκιος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοίς ὁμοίως ἦν Ρουφίνῳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀδωροδοκίᾳ πολὺ προέχων ἦν γὰρ ἀδωρότατος, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐτ' ἥρεσκετο καὶ αἰὲ ποτε διεφέρετο. ὃμως ἐχειροτοῦνσεν ἐπιτηδείωτατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν 2 τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἐνόμισεν ἐῖναι, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν ιδίαιν ἐχθραν πρὸς τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν γε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκτήσατο, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, ὀσπερ πον

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἦαυτοῦ τὰ πράγματα πράττων, ἀλλ' τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων τῷ παιδὶ προσῆπτε.

1 ἐκείνῳ applied by Rk.
2 The words following οἱ and στρατιῶται are illegible in the Ms.; οἱ σὺν τῷ ἴουντι στρατιῶται ἄμα τῷ Ποστουμίῳ Μαι, οἱ τοῦ ἴουντος στρατιῶται σὺν Π. Bs., μετὰ Ποστουμίου Cary.

286
BOOK VIII

was doing things on his own responsibility, but he associated with his son as if actually in the capacity of counsellor and under-officer, while he acted with moderation and assigned to him the glory of the exploits.

The soldiers . . . after setting out with Postumius, fell sick on the way, and it was thought their trouble was due to the felling of the grove. Postumius was recalled for these reasons, but showed contempt for them [the senators?] even at this juncture, declaring that the senate was not his master but that he was master of the senate.

Gaius Fabricius in most respects was like Rufinus, but in incorruptibility far superior. He was very firm against bribes, and on that account not only was obnoxious to Rufinus, but was always at variance with him. Yet he appointed the latter, thinking that he was a most proper person to meet the requirements of the war, and making his personal enmity of little account in comparison with the advantage of the commonwealth. From this action also he gained renown, in that he had shown himself superior even to jealousy, which springs up in the

Zonaras 8, 1.

that he was doing things on his own responsibility, but made the glory of his exploits attach to his son.

3 ἐαυτοῦ . . . ἔρχειν Bs. Very few letters are legible in the Ms. after ἐαυτο 4 ἀδωροδοκία Val., ἀδωροδοκία Ms.
5 ἔχειροτόνησεν Val., ἔχειροτονήθη Ms.
6 ἐνάμισεν Val., ἐνάμισαν Ms.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγύγυγμεναι. φιλόπολίς τε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὁν, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσχήματι ἄρετὴν ἄσκων,ἐν τῷ ἵσφ τὸ τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ δι' ἑτέρου τινὸς, κἂν διάϕορος οἱ ή, εὖ τι τὴν πόλιν παθεῖν ἐτίθέθη.—V. 21 (p. 586) and M. 78 (p. 166) (κρείττων—ἐγγύγυγμεναι).

36,33 "Οτι ἐρωτηθέεις Γάιος Φαβρίκιος διὰ τί τῷ ἐχθρῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε τὴν τε ἅλλην ἄρετὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπήνευε καὶ πρὸς εἶπεν ὃτι αἱρετώτερον ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολίτου συληθήναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πραθήναι.—M. 79 (p. 166).

37 "Οτι ἐρωτηθέεις Γάιος Φαβρίκιος διὰ τί τῷ δήμῳ ἀπολογιζόμενος ἔφη ὅτι γῆν μὲν τοσαύτην προσεκτήσατο ὅσην οὐκ ἄν ἄνθρωποι ἑλάττουσι ἐξειργάσάντο, καὶ ἄνθρωπος τόσος ἐθηράσατο ὅσος οὐκ ἄν ἑλάττων χῶρα ἔξηρκεσεν.—M. 80 (ib.).

2 "Οτι χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν εἰσηγομένων τῶν δημάρχων ὅ νόμος κελεύων τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν πολλάκις μάτην ἐξετέθη, πᾶν ἀπολαβεῖν τῶν δα-

Zonaras 8, 2.

2. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα, δημάρχων τινῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆν εἰσηγομένων, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ παρὰ

1 ἄρετὴν ἄσκων Rk., ἄρεσκων Ms.
2 τὸ supplied by Bk.
3 The words ἐρωτηθέεις Γάιος, ἐπέτρεψε, αὐτοῦ ἐπήνευε, and πραθήναι are conjectures of Bs. The Ms. readings are uncertain.
4 Bs.'s restoration of this fragment, based on v. Herw. and Polak, is here adopted. Only a small part is legible in the Ms.

288
BOOK VIII

hearts of many of the best men by reason of emulation. Since he was a true patriot and did not practise virtue for a show, he thought it a matter of indifference whether the state were benefited by him or by some other man, even if that man were an opponent.

Gaius Fabricius, when asked why he had entrusted the business to his foe, praised the general excellence of Rufinus, and added that to be spoiled by the citizen is preferable to being sold by the enemy.

Curius, in defending his conduct before the people, declared that he had acquired so much land that any smaller number of men could not have tilled it, and had captured so many men that any smaller territory would have been insufficient for them.

When the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the law prohibiting imprisonment for debt was often proposed without avail, since the lenders were

Zonaras 8, 2.

2. After this, when some of the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the people, since this was

5 Boissevain's tentative restoration of this fragment, here adopted, follows in part that of Niebuhr (Rhein. Mus. 2, p. 588 ff.). Mai was able to read only small portions of the first seven lines (down to καὶ οἱ ἐν πολίτευσι) in the Ms., and their decipherment is still more difficult to-day. Unfortunately we have no other account of the circumstances here recorded, aside from the few words in Zonaras.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νειστῶν βουλομένων, τῶν δὲ δὴ δημάρχων αὔρεσιν
didóntων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἡ τούτων ἐπιψηφίσαντας τῶν
νόμων τὰ ἀρχαῖα μόνα λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνους τοὺς
3 . . . ἀποφοράς τριέτεσι κομίσασθαι. καὶ ἐν μὲν
τῷ παραχρήμα οἳ τ' ἀσθενέστεροι ὁκνήσαντες μὴ
καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνοιεν ἀμφότερα προσήκαντο
καὶ οἱ εὐπροφέτεροι θαρσησάντες ὡς οὐδέτερον
ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἠχθοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπίσχειν ἔ
το μεταστάν τι ἐμελλεν, ἐσ τοὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστη· τοῖς τε γὰρ ὀφειλούσιν οὐδέτερον
ἐτ' αὐτῶν ἐξήρκεσε, καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀγαπητῶν
ἔδοκει εἰναὶ εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων στερηθεὶν.
οὐτ' οὖν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἡ στάσις διεκρίθη,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν
συνέβαλλον ἄλληλοις· οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδέν ἐν τῷ
4 καθεστώτι προσώπῳ ἐποίουν. τελευτῶντες οὖν
οὐδὲ ἑθελόντων τῶν δυνατῶν ἐπὶ πλείω τῶν
κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιστιθέντων σφίσιν ἀφεῖναι συνηλ-
λάγησαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον μᾶλλον εἵκοντας αὐτοὺς
ἐώρων, ἐπὶ πλείον ως καὶ δικαιώματι των περι-
γυγμόμενοι ἑθρασύνοντο, καὶ διὰ τούτο τὰ τε ἀεὶ

Zonaras 8, 2.

τῶν δανειστῶν αὕτη ἐδίδοτο, ἔστασίσασε τὸ
πλήθος· καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς στάσεως κατην-
νάσθη ἐως πολέμοι 3 τῇ πόλει ἐπήλθοσαν.

1 ταῦτα Niebuhr, τοῦτων Ms. 2 δυνατῶν Mai, δυναστῶν Ms.
3 πολέμοι Wolf, πολέμοι Mss.

290
desirous of recovering everything and the tribunes offered the rich the choice of either putting this law to the vote and recovering their principal only or . . . of receiving . . . in three annual payments. And for the time being the poorer class, fearing they might lose all, and the wealthier class, encouraged to believe they would not be compelled to accept either alternative, displayed anger. But when . . . , the situation became reversed for both sides. The debtors were no longer satisfied with either plan, and the rich thought they should be lucky if they were not deprived of their principal also. Hence the dispute was not decided immediately, but for a long time after this they continued to clash in a spirit of contentiousness; and, in general, they did not act in their usual character. Finally the people would not make peace even when the nobles were willing to concede much more than had originally been hoped for. On the contrary, the more they beheld their creditors yielding, the more they became emboldened, as if they were successful by a kind of right; and consequently they would minimize the concessions

Zonaras 8, 2.

not granted by the lenders as well, began a sedition; and this was not quieted until foes came against the city.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

38 "Οτι ὃς εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἐλθόντα, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς στρατείας σφῶν ἡμέλησαν, τὴν δὲ ἱδίαν ἐκαστοί σωτηρίαν διεσκό-πουν, ὅλα που φιλοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ μῆτε ἐξ ὀμοφύλων συνιόντες μῆτ᾽ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἕγκλημάτων στρατευόντες μῆτ᾽ ἄρχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες. εν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς 2 εὐπραγίαις συμφρονοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκαστος μόνον προορᾶται. καὶ ὄρμησαν ἐς φυγήν, ἐπειδῆ συνεσκότασε, μηδὲν ἀλλήλους ἐπικοινωνήσαντες· ἀθρόοι μὲν γὰρ οὐτ᾽ ἃν βιάσασθαι οὐτ᾽ ἃν λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπόδρασιν ἐνόμισαν, ἀν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱδία ἐκαστοι καὶ ὃς φῶντο μόνοι ποι ἀπίστωσι· ρᾷν ποι διαπεσεῖσθαι. καὶ οὔτω τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐκαστος αὐτῶν δόγματι ὅτι ἀσφαλεστατα ἐν τῇ φυγήν ποιησάμενοι . . . —

Μ. 82 (p. 167).

1 κοινῶν Gros., κοινοῦ Ms.
2 ἕνα ἔχοντες Mai, ἕνα ἔχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες Ms.
3 οὕτ' Mai, οὕτ' Ms.
4 ποι ἀπίστω ς Bs., η... Ms.
5 δόγματι Mai, δό... Ms. (δόξους Mai).
6 ἀσφαλεστατα Bk., ἀσφαλεστατον Mai (and Ms. ?).
made to them from time to time, feeling that these had been won by force; and they strove for yet more, using as a stepping-stone thereto the fact that they had already obtained something.

When the enemy\(^1\) saw that another general also had come, they ceased to heed the common interests of their expedition, and each cast about to secure his individual safety, as is the common practice of those who form a union un cemented by kindred blood, or who make a campaign without common grievances, or who have not a single commander; while good fortune attends them their views are harmonious, but in disaster each one looks after his own interests only. And they betook themselves to flight as soon as it had grown dark, without having communicated to one another their intention. In a body they thought it would be impossible for them to force their way out, or for their flight to pass unnoticed, but if they should leave each on his own account and, as they believed, alone, they ought more easily to escape. And so, arranging their flight each in the way that seemed safest in his own judgment . . .

\(^1\) The Etruscans, Senones, and Gauls appear to be meant.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX

39 "Οτι πυθομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλοι1 τινὲς πόλεμον ἀρτύουσι κατ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ προσβευτὴν Φαβρίκιον ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, ὡς μηδὲν νεστερίσωσι, στειλάντων, ἐκεῖνον τὸ συνέλαβον, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Ὄμβρικον2 καὶ Γαλάτας συνχοῦν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα τοὺς δ’ οὐ πολλῇ ύστερον, προσαπέστησαν.—U3 3 (p. 375).

3 "Οτι οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, καίπερ τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοῖ παρασκεύασαντες, ὡμως ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου3 ἦσαν· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἵσθανον μὲν τὰ πραττόμενα ὡς·4 αὐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διὰ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο νομίσαντες γοῦν ἡ διαφυγεῖν5 ἢ πάντως γε λανθάνειν, ὡτι μηδ’ ἐγκλημα ἐλάμβανον, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἕξιν—

Zonaras 8, 2.

Ἡρῴαν δὲ τῶν πολέμων οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Γαλάτας καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ ἄλλους προσεταιρισάμενοι πλεῖονας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συμβαλόντες διαφοροῖς μάχαις ἐνίκησαν καὶ ὑπάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι, καίτοι αὐτοὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκεύασαντες, ὡμως

1 ἄλλοι Urb., ἄλλοι τε Μss. 2 Ὅμβρικος Urb., Ὅμβρισκος Μss. 3 φάβου Bs. (and Ms.?). φαβρίου or φαλίου Ms. as formerly read by Bs. 4 ὡς Bk., ἄν Μss. 5 διαφυγεῖν Bs., δ. α. λείν Ms. 294
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK IX

The Romans had learned that the Tarentines and some others were making ready to war against them, and had despatched Fabricius as an envoy to the allied cities to prevent any revolt on their part; but these people arrested him, and by sending men to the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls caused a number of them also to secede, some immediately and some a little later.

The Tarentines, although they had themselves begun the war, nevertheless were sheltered from fear. For the Romans, who understood what they were doing, pretended not to know it on account of their temporary embarrassments. Hereupon the Tarentines, thinking either that they would get off with impunity or that they were entirely unobserved, because they were receiving no complaints, behaved

Zonaras 8, 2.

Those to begin the wars were the Tarentines, who had associated with themselves the Etruscans, Gauls, and Samnites, and numerous other tribes. These allies the Romans engaged and defeated in various battles, with different consuls on different occasions; but the Tarentines, although they had themselves begun the war, nevertheless did not yet
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

βρισαν καὶ ἀκοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξε-πολέμωσαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπαληθεύσαι ὅτι καὶ αἱ εὐπραγίαι, ἔπειδαν ἐξο τοῦ συμμέτρου τοῖς γένονται, συμφορῶν σφισιν αὕτης καθίστανται. προαγαγοῦσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἐκφρον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθέλει τὸ σώφρον τῷ χαύνῳ συνεῖναι) τὰ μέγιστα σφάλλουσιν, ὡσπερ που καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερανθήσαντες ἀντίπαλον τῆς ἀσέλγειας κακοπραγίαν ἀντέλαβον.—Μ. 83 (p. 168) and αἱ εὐπραγίαι—σφάλλουσιν Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103 (M. p. 536).


5 "Οτι Δούκιος ἀπεστάλη παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Τάραντα. οἱ δὲ Ταραντίνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διακορείς οὐνοῦ τὸ δεῖλης καθή-μενοι, πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτῶν ὑπετόπησαν, καὶ παραχρήμα δι' ὀργῆς, καὶ τι καὶ τῆς μέθης αὐτοῦς ἀναπειθούσης, ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ μητὲ χείρας ἀνταιρομένῳ μήθ' ὀλὼς πολέ-

Zonaras 8, 2.

οὐπω πρὸς μάχην ἀντικατέστησαν φανερῶς. ναυ-αρχοῦντος δὲ Δούκιον Οὐαλλερίον, καὶ τριήρεις προσόρισας βουληθέντος ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆκε ὅπη σὺν αὐταῖς ἀπεστάλη, φίλων τὴν χώραν ἡγούμενος, οἱ Ταραντίνοι κατ' αὐτῶν ὑποτοπή-σαντες τὸν Οὐαλλέριον πλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ὀν ἔδρων, μετ' ὀργῆς ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσ-πεσόντες αὐτῷ μηδὲν πολέμιον ἐλπίσαντι κατέ-

296 1 αὐτοὺς Reim., αὐτοῖς Mss.
BOOK IX

still more insolently and forced the Romans even against their will to make war upon them. This confirms the saying that even success, when it comes to men in undue measure, proves a source of misfortune to them; for it leads them on into folly—since moderation will not dwell with vanity—and causes them the gravest disasters. Just so these Tarentines, after enjoying exceptional prosperity, met in turn with misfortune that was an equivalent return for their insolence.

Dio, Book IX. "Lucius Valerius, who was admiral of the Romans and had been despatched on some errand by them."

Lucius was despatched by the Romans to Tarentum. Now the Tarentines were celebrating the Dionysia, and sitting gorged with wine in the theatre one afternoon, they suspected that he was sailing against them. Immediately, in a passion and partly under the influence of their intoxication, they set sail in turn; and thus, without any show of force on his part or the slightest suspicion of any hostile act,

Zonaras 8, 2.

openly array themselves for battle. Now Lucius Valerius, the admiral, while proceeding with his triremes to a place whither he had been despatched with them, wished to anchor off Tarentum, supposing the country to be friendly. But the Tarentines, owing to a guilty sense of their own operations, suspected that Valerius was sailing against them, and in a rage set sail in turn, and attacking him when he was expecting no hostile act, sent to the bottom

297
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μόν τι ὑποτοπουμένον κατέδυσαν κάκεινον καὶ ἀλ-
λοι τοις πολλοῖς. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
χαλεπῶς μὲν, ὥσπερ οὖν εἰκός, ἐφεροῦν, οὐ μὴν
καὶ στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς εὔθὺς ἥθελησαν.
πρέσβεις μέντοι, τοῦ μὴ κατασκευασθήκειν δό-
ξαι κἀκε τούτον θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, ἐ-
στειλαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι οὐχ ὅπως
καλῶς ἐδέξαντο, ἡ τρόπον γέ τινα ἐπιτηδειον ἀπο-
κρυμάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν, ἀλλ' εὔθυς, πρὶν καὶ
λόγου σφίσι δοῦναι, γέλωτα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τήν
7 στολὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀστική, ἤ κατ'
ἀγορὰν χρώμεθα· ταύτην γὰρ ἐκείνοι, εἰτ' οὐν σε-
μυνότητος ἕνεκα εἴτε καὶ διὰ δέος, ἧν ἤκε γε τούτου
αἰδεσθῶσιν αὐτοὺς, ἑσταλμένοι ἦσαν. κατὰ συ-
στάσεις τε οὖν κωμάζοντες ἑτώθαζον (καὶ γὰρ καὶ
τότε ἐστρή ἦγος, ὡς ὡς καίτοι μηδένα χρόνον
σωφρονοῦντες ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ύβριζον), καὶ τέλος
προστάσιςς τοῖς τῷ Ποστουμῷ καὶ κύψας ἑαυτῶν
8 ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα αὐτῶν ἐκηλίδωσε. θο-

Zonaras 8, 2.

δυσαν ἐκείνον τε καὶ ἀλλοὺς πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς
ἀλόντας τοὺς μὲν καθείρξαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέ-
κτειναν. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡγανάκτη-
σαν μὲν, πρέσβεις δ' ὡμοις ἀπέστειλαν ἐπεγκα-
λοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ δίκας ἀπατοῦντες. οἱ δὲ οὐ
μόνον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικῆς ἀπεκρίθησαν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐτώθαζον, ως καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τοῦ Δουκίου
Ποστουμίου τοῦ προέχοντος κηλιδώσας τῶν πρέ-
298

1 προστάσις St., προστάσις Mss.
BOOK IX

ey they attacked and sent to the bottom both him and
many others. When the Romans heard of this, they
naturally were angry, but did not choose to take the
field against Tarentum at once. However, they
despatched envoys, in order not to appear to have
passed over the affair in silence and in that way
render them more arrogant. But the Tarentines, so
far from receiving them decently or even sending
them back with an answer in any way suitable, at
once, before so much as granting them an audience,
made sport of their dress and general appearance.
It was the city garb, which we use in the Forum;
and this the envoys had put on, either for the sake of
dignity or else by way of precaution, thinking that
this at least would cause the foreigners to respect
their position. Bands of revellers accordingly jeered
at them—they were then also celebrating a festival,
which, though they were at no time noted for
temperate behaviour, rendered them still more
wanton—and finally a man planted himself in the
way of Postumius, and stooping over, relieved his
bowels and soiled the envoy's clothing. At this an

Zonaras 8, 2.

both him and many others. Of the captives they im-
prisoned some and put others to death. When the
Romans heard of this they were indignant, but
nevertheless despatched envoys, upbraiding them and
demanding satisfaction. The offenders, however, not
only failed to give them any decent answer, but
actually jeered at them, going so far as to soil the
clothing of Lucius Postumius, the head of the

299
ρύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ τὸν 1 μὲν ἐπανοίγων ὅσπερ τι θαυμαστὸν εἰργασμένου, ἐς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολλὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ ἀνάπαυστα ἐν ρυθμῷ τοῦ τε κρότου καὶ τῆς βαδίσεως ἄδοντων, ὁ Ποστοῦμος "γελάτε," ἔφη, "γελάτε, ἑως ἐξεστιν ύμῖν· κλαυσείσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἔσθητα ταύτην τῷ αἴματι ύμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

9 'Ακούσαντες τοῦτ' ἑκείνοι τῶν μὲν σκωμμάτων ἐπέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν τοῦ ύβρίσματος οὐδὲν ἐπράξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ σῶς αὐτοὺς ἀφήκαν, ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει ἐπίθεντο.—Uγ 4 (p. 375), §§ 5–8, and M. 84 (p. 168), §§ 8, 9.

10 "Οτι Μέτων, ὥς οὖν ἐπείπος Ταραντίνους τὸ μῆ Ρωμαίους ἐκπολεμοθῆναι, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐκκλησίας

Zonaras 8, 2.

σβεων. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου, καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐπικαγχαζόντων, ὁ Ποστοῦμος "γελάτε," ἔφη, "γελάτε ἑως ἐξεστιν ύμῖν· κλαυσείσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἔσθητα ταύτην τῷ αἴματι ύμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

Ἑπανελθόντων οὖν τῶν πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὰ πραχθέντα μαθόντες ἤληγαν, καὶ στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους Δούκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν ὑπατον ἐψηφίσαντο. ὅσες Τάραντα προσχωρήσας λόγοις αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐπεμψε, νομίζων εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοις μετρίοις αἰρήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀλλήλοις ἤναντιόθησαν καὶ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ εὐπόρων τὴν εἰρήνην σπευδόντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἥλικίᾳ καὶ ὀλίγα ἡ μηδὲν ἐχόντων πόλεμον αἴρου-300 1 τὸν Βκ., τῶν Μσσ.
uproar arose from all the rest, who praised the fellow as if he had performed some remarkable deed, and they sang many scurrilous verses against the Romans, accompanied by applause and capering steps. But Postumius cried: "Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood."

Hearing this, they ceased their jests, but made no move toward obtaining pardon for their insult; indeed, they took to themselves credit for a kindness in the fact that they had let the ambassadors withdraw unharmed.

Meton, failing to persuade the Tarentines not to engage in war with the Romans, retired unobserved from embassy. At this an uproar arose and the Tarentines indulged in loud guffaws. But Postumius cried: "Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood."

Upon the return of the envoys the Romans, learning what had been done, were grieved, and voted that Lucius Aemilius, the consul, should make a campaign against the Tarentines. He advanced to Tarentum and sent them favourable propositions, thinking they would choose peace on some fair terms. But they were at variance among themselves in their opinions. The elderly and well-to-do were anxious for peace, but those who were youthful and who had little or nothing were for war; and the younger
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

υπεξήλθε καὶ στεφάνους ἀνεδήσατο, συγκωμαστάς
té tinas kai αὐλητρίδα λαβὼν υπέστρεψεν.
 adbontos dé autou kai kordakízontos ēxésthsan
τῶν προκειμένων kai ēpebóon kai ēpekróton, òda
én tò toioúth filéi γύγνεσθαι. kai δς σιγάσας
autóus "νῦν μὲν kai meðúein," éph,1 "καὶ κωμά-
ζειν ēxesthn hímw· ἀν δ' òsa bouléuésote ēpite-
lésiote, douléuósomem."—Μ. 85 (p. 169).

40, 5 "Οτι υπὸ τοῦ Κινέου ἐλέγετο Πῦρρος ὁ βασι-
λεύς πλείονας πόλεις ἡ υπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ2 ēxelei
δόρατος. kai γὰρ ἦν δεινός,3 φησὶ Πλούταρχος,
ἐν τῷ λέγειν, καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει μόνος ἐν τῇ
deiwti parisiomeneos. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον
τῆς ēkstratetías ola ēmbrón eiydws anýr, ēmpo-
dówn ὑπὸ Πῦρρο ἐς λόγους ēlithn kathistato-

Zonaras 8, 2.

μένων, ēkraitasan oī neöteroi. φοβούμενοι dé
ômos, tòv Pýrron tòn Ἡπειρώτην eis suymachían
ēboulíasaito proskalæsathai, kai présewes
autò kai dôra peπómpasiai. Aǐmílios dé taúta
mاثwv tìn χώρan autòwv Æleplátai kai eθheirev.
oi dé ēpexήlthon mév, allē ētráptasan, ῥμτε tòv
'Ρomegaíon tìn te χώρan autòwv ἀδεῶς poðhais
kai tina xeiρósaθh Æfroúria. poÌllh dé tòv
alòntwv tòv Aǐmílion peπoiçkótoùs ēpiméleian,
kai tinas tòv duvwtéron ēleuθerósantos, oì
Tarauntiow tìn te filanwrtiain autòwv thawmá-
santes, kai eis elpídās proach'éntes stpòdów,
'Anw toīs 'Romegaioís ēpitiðeioù ònta eîlonto
stratethgón autokrátora. ārti δ' òutos kekeire-

1 éph Mai, òdei Ms. 2 autòv Bk., autòv Ms.
3 deinós Rk., deinós elvai Ms.
the assembly, put garlands on his head, and returned along with some fellow-revellers and a flute-girl. At the sight of him singing and dancing the cordax, they gave up the business in hand to accompany his movements with shouts and hand-clapping, as people are apt to do under such circumstances. But he, after reducing them to silence, said: "Now it is our privilege both to be drunk and to revel, but if you accomplish what you plan to do, we shall be slaves."

King Pyrrhus was said to have captured more cities by the aid of Cineas than by his own spear. For the latter, says Plutarch¹ [Pyrrhus, 14], was skilled in speaking—the only man, in fact, to be compared in skill with Demosthenes. Now, as a sensible man, he recognized the folly of the expedition and endeavoured to dissuade Pyrrhus from it. For the

Zonaras 8, 2.

generation had its way. But feeling timid, nevertheless, they planned to invite Pyrrhus of Epirus to form an alliance, and sent to him envoys and gifts. Aemilius, learning of this, proceeded to pillage and devastate their country. They made sorties, but were routed, so that the Romans ravaged their country with impunity and got possession of some strongholds. Aemilius showed much consideration for those taken prisoners and liberated some of the more influential; and the Tarentines, accordingly, filled with admiration for his kindness, were led to hope for reconciliation, and so chose as general, with full powers, Agis, who was a good friend of the Romans. Scarcely had he been

¹ Plutarch is again cited in frg. 107, but nowhere in the extant Mss. of Dio. Hence Boissevain suggests that the two references are due to the excerptor.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπεξῆλθε καὶ στεφάνους ἀνεδήσατο, συγκωμαστάς τὲ τινὰς καὶ αὐλητρίδα λαβὼν ὑπέστρεψεν. ἦδοντος δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ κορδακίζωντος ἐξέστησαν τὸν προκειμένων καὶ ἐπεβῶν καὶ ἐπεκρότουν, ὅλα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φίλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ὅς συγάσας αὐτοὺς "νῦν μὲν καὶ μεθὺνει," ἔφη, ἃ καὶ κωμάζειν ἐξεστιν ἡμῖν. ἀν δ' ὁσα βουλεύοντες ἐπιτελέσητε, δουλεύομεν." —Μ. 85 (p. 169).

40, 5 "Ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κινέου ἔλεγετο Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς πλείονας πόλεις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔξελείν δώρατος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸς, φησὶ Πλούταρχος, ἐν τῷ λέγειν, καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει μόνος ἐν τῇ δεινότητι παρισούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον τῆς ἐκστρατείας οἷα ἐμφρῶν εἰδὼς ἀνήρ, ἔπιτε- δὼν τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν καθίστατο.

Zonaras 8, 2.

μένων, ἐκράτησαν οἱ νεώτεροι. φοβοῦμενοι δὲ ὅμως, τὸν Πύρρον τὸν Ἡπειρώτην εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐβουλεύσαντο προσκαλέσασθαι, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῷ καὶ δώρα πεπόμφασιν. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτει καὶ ἐφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεξήλθον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐτράπησαν, ὡστε τοὺς Ρωμαίους τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀδεως πορθήσαι καὶ τινα χειρώσασθαι φρούρια. πολλὴν δὲ τῶν ἀλόντων τοῦ Αἰμιλίου πεποιηκότος ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ τινας τῶν δυνατώτερων ἐλευθερώσαντο, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τὴν τε φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῶν θαυμάζουντες, καὶ εἰς ἐλπίδας προαχθέντες σπούδων, Ἀγνω τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐπιτιθείον ὅντα εἴλοντο στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἀρτὶ δ' οὕτος κενῶσεν.
the assembly, put garlands on his head and returned along with some fellow-revelers and a flute-girl. At the sight of him singing and dancing the music, they gave up the business in hand to accompany his movements with shouts and hand-clapping, as people are apt to do under such circumstances. But he, after reducing them to silence, said: "Now it is our privilege both to be drunk and to revel, but if you accomplish what you plan to do, we shall be slaves."

King Pyrrhus was said to have captured more cities by the aid of Cineas than by his own spear. For the latter, says Plutarch\(^1\)[Pyrrhus, 14], was skilled in speaking—the only man, in fact, to be compared in skill with Demosthenes. Now, as a sensible man, he recognized the folly of the expedition and endeavoured to dissuade Pyrrhus from it. For the

---

Zonaras 8, 2.

generation had its way. But feeling timid, nevertheless, they planned to invite Pyrrhus of Epirus to form an alliance, and sent to him envoys and gifts. Aemilius, learning of this, proceeded to pillage and devastate their country. They made sorties, but were routed, so that the Romans ravaged their country with impunity and got possession of some strongholds. Aemilius showed much consideration for those taken prisoners and liberated some of the more influential; and the Tarentines, accordingly, filled with admiration for his kindness, were led to hope for reconciliation, and chose as general, with full authority, Tages, who was a good friend of the Romans. But they had he been

---

\(^1\) Plutarch is again cited, but nowhere elsewhere.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ο μὲν γὰρ ἄρξειν διὰ τὴν1 ἀνδρείαν πάσης
dieneíto2 τῆς γῆς, ὁ δὲ ἀρκείσθαι ἵκανοῖς οὕσι τοῖς
οἰκείοις πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν προέτρεπεν.3 ἀλλὰ τὸ
φιλοπόλεμον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φιλόπρωτον τῆς τοῦ
Κινέων νυκήσαν παραίνεσιν, αἰσχρῶς ἀπαλλάξαι
αυτὸν καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας πεποίηκεν,
pολλὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ4 δυνάμεων μυριάδας ἐν ταῖς
μάχαις ἀπάσαις ἀποβεβληκότα.—V. 22 (p. 586).

3 "Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς τε Ἡπείρου καλοῦ-
mένης ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸ πλείστον,
tὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίας τὸ δὲ φόβῳ, προσεπεποίητο.
Αἰτωλοῖ τε πολὺ τότε δυνάμενοι καὶ Φιλιπποὶ ὁ
Μακεδών καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἡλληνικῷ δυνάσαι ἑθερά-
pευνον αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ φύσεως λαμπρότητι καὶ
παιδείας ισχύι καὶ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων πολὺ
pάντων προέφερεν, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δυνάμεις
καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ5 καὶ τὰς τῶν6 συμμάχων καὶ περ
μεγάλας οὕσις ἀξιοῦσθαι.—V. 23 (p. 589).

Zonaras 8, 2.

τόνητο καὶ Κιννέας υπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου προπεμφθεὶς
ἐμποδὸν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐγένετο.
'Ο γὰρ Πύρρος τῆς καλομένης βασιλεύων
Ἡπείρου φύσεώς τε δεξιότητι καὶ παιδείας ισχύι
καὶ ἐμπειρία πάντων προέφερε, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλη-
nικοῦ τὸ πλείστον, τὸ μὲν εὐποιώ, τὸ δὲ φόβῳ,
pροσεπεποίητο. οὐτος τοῖς ποιῆς τῶν Ἡρακλείων

1 διὰ τὴν supplied by Val. 2 dieneíto Bk., διενεί Μs.
3 προέτρεπεν Reim., ἐπέτρεπεν Ms. 4 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτών Ms.
5 ἑαυτοῦ Salmasius, ἑαυτῶν Ms. 6 τὰς τῶν St., τῶν Ms.

304
BOOK IX

latter intended by his prowess to rule the whole earth, whereas Cineas urged him to be satisfied with his own possessions, which were sufficient for enjoyment. But the king's fondness for war and fondness for leadership prevailed against the advice of Cineas and caused him to depart in disgrace from both Sicily and Italy, after losing in all of the battles countless thousands of his own forces.

King Pyrrhus was not only king of the district called Epirus, but had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by conferring benefits and partly by inspiring fear. The Aetolians, who at that period possessed great power, and Philip\(^1\) the Macedonian, and the chieftains in Illyricum paid court to him. In natural brilliancy, in power acquired by education, and in experience of affairs he far surpassed all men, so as to be rated even beyond what was warranted by his own powers and those of his allies, great as these were.

---

Zonaras 8, 2.

elected when Cineas, sent ahead by Pyrrhus, planted himself in the pathway of negotiations.

Now Pyrrhus, king of the district called Epirus, surpassed all men in natural cleverness, in power acquired by education, and in experience; and he had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by conferring favours and partly by inspiring fear. Accordingly, when chance threw the

---

\(^1\) If the text is correct, this refers to the son of Cassander, who ruled only four months in B.C. 296; Reiske substituted the name of Alexander.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Οτι Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου τὸ τε φρόνημα πολλῷ μείζον ἔσχεν ἀτε καὶ ὕπο τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀντίπαλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι νομιζό-μενος, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ηγήσατο ἐσεθαί συς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν καταφυγόσιν, ἀλλως τε καὶ Ἑλλησσων οὖσιν, ἐπικουρήσαι καὶ θείους σὺν προφάσει τινι εὐπρεπεὶ προκαταλαβεῖν πρὶν τι δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ ποι καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας αὐτῷ ἐμελεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄτι χειρώσατο δια-σκοτῶν, οἰκεῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἥδικητο, προκατάρξασθαι.—Μ. 86 (p. 169).

Zonaras 8, 2.

πρέσβεσιν ἐντυχῶν, ἐρμαιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡγή-σατο, ἐκ πλείονος τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Καρχη-δόνος καὶ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐφιέμενος, ὅκινων δ' ὅμως ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶς προκατάρξασθαι καὶ βοηθήσειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγεῖλατο, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ύποπτευθεὶν δι' ἄπερ εἰρήται, οἰκάδε αὐτίκα ἀνα-κομισθήσεται ἐφή, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις προσ-τεθήναι πεποίηκε τὸ μὴ περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν κατασχεθήναι. συνθέ-μενος δὲ ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν πλείονος τῶν πρέσβεων ὡς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶς συμπαρασκευάσοντας ἐν ὁμορείᾳ κατέσχεν, δήλους δ' ἔξ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Κιννέαν προεπέμψε σὺν στρατῷ. ἐλθόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι θαρσήσαντες τῶν τε καταλ-306
BOOK IX

Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, had a particularly high opinion of his powers because he was deemed by foreign nations a match for the Romans; and he believed that it would be opportune to assist the fugitives who had taken refuge with him, especially as they were Greeks, and at the same time to forestall the Romans with some plausible excuse before he should suffer Injury at their hands. For so careful was he about his good reputation that though he had long had his eye on Sicily and had been considering how he could overthrow the power of the Romans, he shrank from taking the initiative in hostilities against them, when no wrong had been done him.

Zonaras 8, 2.

envoys of the Tarentines in his way, he considered the alliance a piece of good luck. For a long time he had had his eye on Sicily and Carthage and Sardinia, but nevertheless he shrank from personally taking the initiative in hostilities against the Romans. So he promised to aid the Tarentines; but in order that he might not arouse suspicions (for the reasons stated) he announced that he would return home without delay, and insisted upon a clause being added to the agreement to the effect that he should not be detained by them in Italy further than actual need required. After making this agreement he detained the majority of the envoys as hostages, giving out that he wanted them to help him get the armies ready; a few of them, together with Cineas, he sent in advance with troops. As soon as they arrived, the Tarentines took courage, gave up their
"Οτι Πύρρος πέμψας ἐς Δοδώνῃν ἐμαυτεύσατο περὶ τῆς στρατείας· καὶ οἱ χρησμοῦ ἔλθόντος, ἀν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ Ρωμαίους νυκήσειν, συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ βούλημα (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐξαπατῆσαι τινα ἐπιθυμία ἐστίν ¹) οὐδέ τὸ ἔαρ ἔμεινεν.—Μ. 87 (p. 169).

Zonaras 8, 2.

λαγῶν τῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέσχωντο καὶ τῶν Ἀγων παύσαντες τῆς στρατηγίας ἕνα τῶν πρεσβεῶν ἐχειροτόνησαν στρατηγόν. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ Μίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου σὺν δυνάμει πεμφθεὶς τῆν τε ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνην ὑποδοχήν κατειλήφει καὶ τὴν τοῦ τείχους φρουράν ϕ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησατο. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι ἐπὶ τούτως ἔχαιρον, ὡς μὴτε φρουρεῖν μὴτ’ ἄλλο τι ἐπίπονον ὑπομένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶς τροφὰς ἐχορήγουν καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ χρήματα ἐπεμπον.

‘Ο οὖν Αἰμίλιος τέως μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς τε Πυρρείους ἦκοντας ἔγνω καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσκαρτερεῖν οὐχ οἶος τε ἢν, ἐς Ἀπολλάνια ἄρμησεν. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι ἐν τοῖς στενωπόρῳ χωρίῳ, δ’ οὔ δειλθεῖν ἀνάγκην εἰχε, λοχήσαντες, ἀπορουν αὐτῷ τὴν πορείαν ἐποίον τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίσμασι τε καὶ σφενδόνημασι. ο’ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους σφῶν, οὐς ἐπήγετο, προῆγαγε. φοβηθέντες δ’ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι μὴ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσωσιν, ἐπαύσαντο.

‘Ο δὲ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμείνας ἀπῆι στράτευμά τε πολὺ καὶ ἐκκριτοῦν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ ἐλέφαντας εἰκοσι, ἕξα μῆτω πρότερον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὀφθέντα: ὅθεν ἐξεπλήσσοντο καὶ ἔθαυ

¹ ἔστιν Mai, τοιτέστιν Ms.
BOOK IX

Pyrrhus sent to Dodona and inquired of the oracle about the expedition. And when the response came to him, "You, if you cross into Italy, Romans shall conquer," he construed it according to his wish—for desire is very apt to deceive one—and did not even await the coming of spring.

Zonaras 8, 2.

attempted reconciliation with the Romans, and deposing Agis from his command, elected one of the envoys general. Shortly afterward Milo, sent by Pyrrhus with a force, took possession of their acropolis to serve as quarters for the king, and personally superintended the manning of their wall. The Tarentines rejoiced at this, since they did not have to do guard duty or undergo any other troublesome labour, and they sent regular supplies of food to the men and consignments of money to Pyrrhus.

Aemilius for a time held his ground, but when he perceived that the soldiers of Pyrrhus had arrived, and also found himself unable on account of the winter to hold out any longer, he started for Apulia. The Tarentines laid an ambush at a narrow pass through which he was obliged to go, and by means of their arrows, javelins and slings rendered progress impossible for him. But he put at the head of his line the captives whom he was conveying; and the enemy, fearing they might destroy their own men instead of the Romans, desisted from their attack.

Now Pyrrhus set out, not even awaiting the coming of spring, taking along a large, picked army, and twenty elephants, beasts never previously beheld by the Italians; hence they were invariably filled with
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 "Ότι οἱ Ῥηγίνοι φρομάν ἦτοντο παρὰ Ῥω-

μαίων, ἤγειτο δὲ αὐτῆς Δέκιος. τούτων οὖν οἱ
πλεῖοι εἰκε τῆς περιουσίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ
ἐκ τῆς ἀλλης ῥαστώνης, ἀτε καὶ ἀνεμένη παρὰ
πολὺ διαίτη πρὸς τὰ οἰκοι χρώμενοι, ἐπεθύμησαν,
ἐνάγοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δεκίου, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν
Ῥηγίνων ἀποκτείναντες τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν·

Adresse γὰρ αὐτοὶς πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο, τῶν Ῥωμαίων
περὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ περὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀσχό-

Zonaras 8, 2.

μαξο. χειμῶν δὲ περιπεσῶν τὸ Ἰόνιον περαιού-
μενος πολλοὺς ἀπόλισε τοῦ στρατεύματος, οἵ δὲ
λοιποὶ τῶν κλύδων ἐσκεδάσθησαν. μόλις δ' οὖν
πεζεύσας ἤλθεν εἰς Τάραντα. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς
μὲν ἀκμάζοντας τοῖς ἔαυτοι στρατιώταις συνέ-
tαξεν, ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς λεοχισμένοι νεω-
tερίσωσι, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐκλεισέ, τάχα διὰ τὸν
πόλεμον, ὅπως μὴ ἐστὶ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι νεοχμό-
σωσί τί, ἀπείπε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς συμπόσια καὶ
κόμμους ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν μᾶλλον ἡ διημερεύειν
κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. ὡς δὲ τινες ἀχθομενοι τούτους
ὑπεχώρησαν, φρουροὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκεῖων κατέστησεν,
ὥστε μηδένα ἔξεναι τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ τούτως τέ
καὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς
dορυφόρους εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι
déxex̄thai, metegíνωσκον δεσπότου καὶ οὑχὶ συμ-

1 μᾶλλον supplied by Cary, in accordance with Foster's translation.

310
BOOK IX

The Rhegians had asked the Romans for a garrison, and Decius was the leader of it. But the majority of these guards, as a result of the abundance of supplies and the generally easy habits—for they were under far less rigid discipline than they had known at home—and at the instigation of Decius, formed the desire to kill the foremost Rhegians and occupy the city. It seemed as if they might be quite free to accomplish whatever they pleased, now that the Romans were busied with the Tarentines

Zonaras 8, 2.

alarm and astonishment. While crossing the Ionian Gulf he encountered a storm and lost many soldiers from his army; the remainder were scattered by the violent seas. Only with difficulty, then, and by a land journey did he reach Tarentum. He at once impressed those of military age into service along with his own soldiers, so that they might not become mutinous as a result of having separate companies; he closed the theatre, ostensibly on account of the war and to prevent the people from gathering there and setting on foot any uprising; also he forbade them to assemble for banquets and revels, and ordered the youth to practise in arms instead of spending the day in the market-place. When some, indignant at this, left the ranks, he stationed guards from his own contingent so that no one could leave the city. The inhabitants, oppressed by these measures and by supplying food, and compelled to receive the guardsmen into their houses, repented, since they found in Pyrrhus a master instead of an ally. He, fearing
8 λων ὄντων, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλυντο πράξαι. προσ-
ανέπειθε 1 δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ
tῶν Μαμερτίνων 2 ἐχομένην ἑώρων. οὕτωι γὰρ,
Καμπανοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπ’ Ἀγα-
thοκλέους τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύοντος ταχθέντες,
sφαγάς τε τῶν ἑπιχωρίων ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν
9 πόλιν κατέσχον. οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς
tὴν ἑπιχείρησιν ἐποιήσαντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἡλατ-
tοῦντο τῷ πλήθει· ἀλλ’ ἐπιστολᾶς ὁ Δέκιος ὡς
καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐπὶ προδοσία σφῶν ὑπὸ τινῶν
γεγραμμένας πλάσας ήθροισε τοὺς στρατιώτας,
cαὶ ἐκεῖνας τε αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνας ἀνέγνω,
cαὶ προσπαρώξυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν,
ἀλλῶς τε καὶ ἐσαγγειλαντὸς τίνος ἐκ κατασκευ-

Zonaras 8, 2.

μάχου τοῦ Πύρρου πειρώμενοι. ὁ δὲ διὰ ταύτα μὴ
πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποκλίνωσι φοβηθεῖς, τῶν
tὰ πολιτικὰ δυναμένων πράττειν καὶ προστατεῖν
tοὺ ὀμίλου τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον πρὸς τὸν
νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς προφάσεως ἐπεμπτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
ἀφανῶς διώλλυεν. Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ τινὰ ἐν τοῖς
ἀρίστοις τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐξεταζόμενον καὶ εἰπεὶ
πιθανότατον προσηταιρίσατο, ἵν’ ὑποπτός τῷ
dήμῳ ὡς τῷ τοῦ Πύρρου φρουῶν γένηται· ὡς δὲ
ἐτὶ πιστεῦν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ πλῆθος ἑώρα, ἐπεμπεῖν
αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον· καὶ δὲ ἀντειπεῖν μὴ θαρρῶν
ἐξέπλευσε μὲν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο.

1 προσανέπειθε Bk., προσανέπειθον Ms.
2 Μαμερτίνων Val., μαμερίνων Ms.
BOOK IX

and with Pyrrhus. They were the more easily persuaded owing to the fact that they saw Messana in the possession of the Mamertines. The latter, who were Campanians and had been appointed to garrison the place by Agathocles, the lord of Sicily, had slaughtered the inhabitants and occupied the city. The conspirators did not, however, make their attempt openly, since they were decidedly inferior in numbers. Instead, Decius forged letters purporting to have been written to Pyrrhus by some citizens with a view to the betrayal of the Romans; he then assembled the soldiers and read these to them, stating that they had been intercepted, and by addressing them in words appropriate to the occasion he exasperated them still further. The effect was enhanced by the announcement of a man, who had

Zonaras 8, 2.

for these reasons that they might lean to the Roman cause, took note of all the men who had any ability as politicians or could dominate the populace, and sent them one after another to Epirus to his son on various excuses; occasionally, however, he would quietly assassinate them instead. A certain Aristarchus, who was among the noblest of the Tarentines and was a most persuasive speaker, he made his bosom friend, to the end that he should be suspected by the people of having the interests of Pyrrhus at heart. When, however, he saw that he still had the confidence of the multitude, he gave him an errand to Epirus. Aristarchus, not daring to dispute his behest, set sail, but went to Rome.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σημοῦ ὅτι ναυτικόν τέ τι τοῦ Πύρρου κατήρει¹ ποιν 

τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐσ λόγους τοῖς προδόταις ἀφικνεῖται. οἱ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐμεγάλυνον, καὶ 

dieβόων προκαταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀργίνους πρὶν τι 

dεινὸν παθεῖν ἄν γυναίκας, δὲ τὸ πρασσόμενον 

χαλεπῶς ἀν² ἀντισχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τᾶς καταγωγάς σφων οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπηρήσαντες 

ἐφόνευσαν πολλοῖς, πλὴν ὄλιγον οὗς ὁ Δέκιος 

καλέσας ἐπὶ δείπνου ἔσφαξεν.—V. 24 (p. 589).

11 "Οτι ο Δέκιος ὁ φρούραρχος τοὺς Ἀργίνους ἀποσφάξας φιλίαν πρὸς Μαμερτίνου ἐσπείσατο,

νομίζων αὐτοῦς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοιοτρόπου τῶν τολμημάτων πιστοτάτους πσισι συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι, ἄτε 

καὶ εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι συνχοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυροτέραις δὴ τισιν ἀνάγκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὁμοίων τι 

παρανομήσαι τοῦ τε κατὰ νόμους ἐταιρικὸ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ γένος ὁ οἰκεῖον συνιστανται.—Μ. 88 (p. 170).

12 "Οτι διαμοῖλην ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι χρόνον 

tινὰ ἐσχον, μέχρι οὐ ἐπεξήλθον αὐτοῖς· πρὸς γὰρ 

tὰ μείζω καὶ πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλον κατεπείγοντα 

ἀνοιχλίαν ἄγοντες παρὰ σμικρόν τισιν αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι ἐδοξαν.—Μ. 89 (p. 170).

13 "Οτι οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι μαθόντες ἕξειν τὸν Πύρρου 

κατέδεικαν, ἐκείνον τε αὐτὸν εὐπόλεμον εἰναι

Zonaras 8, 3.

3. Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς Ταραντίνοις 

ἔτοίει· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη κατέδεικαν μαθόντες τὸν 

Πύρρον ἔλθοντα εἰς Τάραντα τῷ τε ἐκτετο-

¹ κατήρε Val., κατηρκέ Ms. ² ἀν supplied by St. 
³ γένος Bk., γένους Ms.
been assigned to the rôle, that a portion of Pyrrhus’ fleet had anchored off the coast, having come for a conference with the traitors. Others, who had been instructed, magnified the matter, and shouted out that they must anticipate the Rhegians before they met with some harm, and that the traitors, ignorant of what was being done, would find it difficult to resist them. So some rushed into their lodging-places, and others broke into the houses and slaughtered great numbers; but a few had been invited to dinner by Decius and were slain there.

Decius, the commander of the garrison, after slaying the Rhegians, ratified friendship with the Mamertines, thinking that the similar nature of their outrages would render them most trustworthy allies. He was well aware that a great many men find the ties resulting from some common transgression stronger to unite them than the obligations of lawful association or the bonds of kinship.

The Romans suffered some reproach from them for a while, until such time as they took the field against them. For while they were busied with concerns that were greater and more urgent, they gave the impression that they regarded this affair as of slight moment.

The Romans, on learning that Pyrrhus was coming, were overcome with fear, since they had heard

Zonaras 8, 3.

3. Such was the behaviour of Pyrrhus toward the Tarentines. Those in Rome, learning that Pyrrhus had come to Tarentum, were overcome with fear,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μαθόντες καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ἀναταγώνιστον ἔχειν, οἷα που συμβαίνει περὶ τε τῶν ἄγνωστων σφίσι καὶ περὶ τῶν διὰ πλείστου ὄντων μάλιστα ̣θρυλεῖσθαι τοῖς ̣πυθανομένοις.—Μ. 90 (p. 170).

Zonaras 8, 3.

λεμόσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ θρυλ- λεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνον εὐπόλεμον τα νυχάνειν καὶ δύναμιν ἔχειν ἀναταγώνιστον. στρατιωτὰς τε ὅνων κατέλεγον καὶ χρήματα ἢθροίζον φρουροὺς τε ἐσ τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέσπερυν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποστῶσι, καὶ τινὰς προαισθόμενου νεωτεριοῦντας τοὺς πρῶτους αὐτῶν ἐκόλασαν. καὶ τινὲς τῶν Πρωνστίνων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀχθέντες περὶ δείλην ὄψιν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐνεβλήθησαν, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτων χρησμὸς ἐκπεπλήρωτο· ἐχρήσθη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ποτὲ ὅτι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθέξουσι θησαυροὺς. καὶ ὁ μὲν χρησμὸς εἰς τούτο ἀπέβη, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ γε ἀπώλοντο.

Οὐαλλέριον δὲ Δαυνίνου ἐπὶ τῶν Πύρρων καὶ τοὺς Ταρατίνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπεστάλκασι, καὶ τι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί τοῖς στρατεύματος κατέσχον. ὁ γοῦν Δαυνίνος εὐθὺς ἐξεστράτευεν, ἵνα πορροτάτω τὸν πόλεμον τῆς οἰκείας ποιήσῃ καὶ τὸν Πύρρον καταπλῆξειν ἦλπίσεν, εἰ αὐτοῖς ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίσει, οὐδὲ ἐκείνος πολιορκεῖν προσεδόκησε. καὶ ἀπὶ τῶν χωρίων τὶ τῶν Δευκανῶν ἐλευ ἵσχυρόν καὶ ἐπίκαιρον, καὶ δύναμίν τινα ἐν τῇ Δευκανίᾳ κατέλεπτεν, εἰρίζονταν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐπαρῆξαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

1 ἢντων μάλιστα v. Herw., μάλιστα ἢντων Ms.
2 τοῖς added by v. Herw.
that he was a great warrior himself and had a large and irresistible army—just the sort of reports, of course, that always come to those inquiring about persons unknown to them who live at a very great distance.

Zonaras 8, 3.

because the Italian states had been set at enmity with them, and because it was the common report that he was a great warrior and had an irresistible army. So they proceeded to enlist soldiers and to gather money and to distribute garrisons among the allied cities to prevent them from revolting likewise; and learning in time that some were on the point of changing their allegiance, they punished the principal men in them. A handful of those from Praeneste were brought to Rome late one afternoon and thrown into the treasury for safe-keeping. Thereby a certain oracle was fulfilled concerning them. For an oracle had told them once that they should occupy the Roman treasury. The oracle, then, turned out in this way; but the men lost their lives.

Valerius Laevinus\(^1\) was despatched against Pyrrhus, the Tarentines, and the rest of their associates, but a part of the army was retained in the city. Laevinus accordingly set out at once on his march, so that he might carry on the war as far as possible from the Roman territory. He hoped it would frighten Pyrrhus when the very men whom the king had thought to besiege should of their own accord advance against his troops. In the course of his journey he seized a strong strategic point in the land of the Lucanians, and he left behind a force in Lucania to hinder the people from giving aid to his opponents.

\(^1\) Zonaras regularly spells the name Lavinius.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 3.

Καὶ ὁ Πύρρος μαθὼν τὸν Δαουίνιον πλησιάζοντα προεξώρμησε, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος τρίβειν ἦθελε τὸν καίρον, ἀναμένων τοὺς συμμαχήσοντας. καὶ τῷ Δαουίνῳ ἔπεστειλεν ὑπερηφάνως, ὡς καταπληξῶν αὐτὸν εἶχε δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὄδε. "Βασιλεὺς Πύρρος Δαουίνιῳ χαίρειν. πυρβάνομαι σε στράτευμα ἐπὶ Ταραντίνους ἄγειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπότεθησον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἦκε πρὸς ἐμὲ· δικάσω γὰρ ὡμὲν ἔγω εἰ τι ἀλλήλους ἐγκαλεῖτε, καὶ ἀκοντας τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάσω." Δαουίνιος δὲ τάδε τῷ Πύρρῳ ἀντέγραψε. "Πάνι μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Πύρρε, τετυφώσθαι, δικαστὴν ἡμῶν ἔαντὸν καθιστᾶς καὶ Ταραντίνοις πρὶν δίκην ἡμῶν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄρχην εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεραιώθης. ἦξεν τοῦ οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λήψομαι. τὰ γὰρ δεὶ μοι λήρου καὶ φλαναρίας, ἐξὸν παρὰ τῷ "Ἀρει τῷ προπότορι ἡμῶν κριθήμα;" τοιαύτα ἀντεπιστεύλας ἢπείγετο, καὶ ἡνίκαστο διὰ μέσου τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ἕκει ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος. κατασκόπουσε τὴς τινας συλλαβῶν, δείξας τὴν δύσμαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔτευχον πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην ἔχειν, ἀπέτεμψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ Πύρρος καταπλαγεῖς ὅ μάχεσθαι ἦθελεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὕτω τινὲς συνήλθον αὐτῷ, ἐπιλείψειν τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἠλπιζέν ἐν πολεμίᾳ διάγονοι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαουίνιος λογιζόμενος ἔσπευδε συμμίξαι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φήμην καὶ διὰ τοὺς 318
BOOK IX

Zonaras 8, 3.

Pyrrhus, on learning of Laevinus' approach, set forth before the latter came in sight, established his camp, and was desirous of using up time while waiting for his allies. And he sent a haughty letter to Laevinus with the purpose of overawing him. The contents were as follows: "King Pyrrhus to Laevinus, Greeting. I learn that you are leading an army against Tarentum. Send it away, therefore, and come to me yourself with a few attendants. For I will judge between you, if you have any charge to bring against each other, and I will compel the party at fault, however unwilling, to deal justly." Laevinus wrote back thus in reply to Pyrrhus: "You seem to me, Pyrrhus, to be perfectly crazy when you set yourself up as judge between the Tarentines and us, before rendering us an account of your crossing over into Italy at all. I will come, therefore, with my whole army and will exact the proper recompense both from the Tarentines and from you. What use have I for nonsense and palaver, when I can stand trial in the court of Mars, our progenitor?" After sending this reply he hurried on and pitched camp in such wise that the river which flows through that district was between him and the enemy. Having captured some scouts, he showed them his troops, and after telling them he had more of them—many times that number—he sent them back. Pyrrhus, alarmed at this, was not desirous of fighting, since some of the allies had not joined him, and also since he kept hoping that provisions would fail the Romans while they delayed on hostile soil. Laevinus also took this possibility into account, and was eager to join battle. But as the soldiers had become terrified at the reputation of Pyrrhus and because
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

14 Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἕστι μῆτε ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἥθεσι
tεθραμμένους τινάς, μῆτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἑπτάθυμον-
tας, μῆτε τὰ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ νυμίζοντας
ἐῖναι, φίλους ποτὲ ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι.—Max. Conf.
Flor. f. 34r (M. p. 537).

15 "Οτι ἡ τε φιλοτιμία καὶ ἡ ἀπιστία αἰὲ τοῖς
τυράννοις σύνεστιν, εξ ὧν ἀνάγκη μηδένα αὐτοὺς
ἀκριβῆ φίλου ἔχειν. Ἀπιστούμενός τε γὰρ καὶ φθο-
νούμενός τις οὐδένα ἄν καθαρῶς ἀγαπῆσει. πρὸς
δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἡ τῶν τρόπων ὀμοιότης ἢ τε τοῦ βίου
ἰσότης καὶ τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ τισὶ καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ σω-
tήρια εἴναι καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαιοὺς φιλίας μόνα
ποιεῖ. ὅποιο δ’ ἄν τούτων τι ἐνδεήσῃ, προσποιητὸν
μὲν τι σχῆμα ἐταιρίας ὀρᾶται, ἔρμα δ’ οὐδὲν
αὐτῆς ἐξέγγυον εὐρίσκεται.—M. 91 (p. 170) and (as

16 "Οτι στρατηγία ἄν μὲν καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξίοχρεος
λάβῃ, πλείστον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σφῶν καὶ πρὸς
ἐπικράτησιν φέρει, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ’ ἐαυτὴν οὐδὲν ἐν
μέρει ἐστίν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἀλλ’ τις τέχνη χωρὶς
τῶν συμπραξόντων καὶ συνδικησόντων αὐτῇ
ἰσχύει.—M. 92 (p. 171).

Zonaras 8, 3.

ἐλέφαντας ἐκπεπληγμένων, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς
πολλὰ πρὸς θάρσος παρακαλοῦντα ἐδημηγόρησε,
καὶ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἀκοντὶ τῇ Πύρρῳ συμ-
1 καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ B, αἰσχρὰ καὶ καλὰ A. 2 βεβαιοὺς φιλίας
Bk., βεβαιός φίλος palimps., βεβαίος φίλος flor. 3 τι Bk.,
toi palimps., om. flor. 4 ἐστίν supplied by Bs.
320
BOOK IX

For it is impossible that persons not brought up under the same institutions, or filled with the same ambitions, or accustomed to regard the same things as noble or base, should ever become friends with one another.¹

Ambition and distrust are ever the associates of tyrants, and so it is inevitable that these should possess no real friend. A man who is distrusted and envied could not love any one sincerely. Moreover, a similarity of habits and a like station in life and the fact that the same objects are disastrous and beneficial to persons are the only forces that can create true, firm friendships. Wherever any one of these conditions is lacking, you see a fictitious appearance of comradeship, but find it to be without secure support.

Generalship, if it be assisted by respectable forces, contributes greatly both to their preservation and to their victory, but by itself is worth nothing. Nor is there any other profession that avails aught without persons to coöperate and to aid in its administration.

---

Zonaras 8, 3.

of the elephants, he called them together and delivered a speech containing many exhortations to courage; then he busily prepared to join issue with Pyrrhus, willing or unwilling. The latter had no

¹ Nos. 14, 15, and 16 may be from the speech made by Laevinus to the soldiers.
μίξαι. ο δὲ γνώμην μὲν οὐκ εἰχε μάχεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ μὴ δόξη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς οἰκείοις διαλεχθεῖσι ἐπώτρυνεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. Δαυύνιος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πειρώμενος κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαβῆναι ἐκολύθη. ἐπαναγαγὼν οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ χώραν μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐμείνε, τοὺς δ' ἵππεις ὡς ἐπὶ λείαν τάχα τινὰ ἐπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος πόρρω ποι βαδίσαντας περαιωθῆναι. καὶ οὖτως ἐκείνοι τε κατὰ νότον τοῖς πολεμίοις προσέπεσον ἀπροσδόκητοι, καὶ ο Λαυύνιος ταραχθέντων αὐτῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ τῆς μάχης συνεπελάβετο. φεύγουσιν οὖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ο Πύρρος ἐπικουρήσας τρωθέντα τὸν ἵππον ἀπέβαλε, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τεθνηκέναι. κἀκε τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄθυμησάντων, τῶν δὲ καταφρονησάντων, τὸ ἐργὸν ἡλιοῦτο. συνεῖς δὲ τούτω τὴν μὲν στολὴν ἐκπρεπεστέραν τῶν ἄλλων οὐσαν ἐδωκε Μεγακλεῖ, κελεύσας ἐνδύναι αὐτὴν καὶ πανταχόσε περιελαύνειν, ὅπως σωξηθαι αὐτὸν νομίσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐναντίοι πρὸς δέος, οἱ δ' οἰκεῖοι πρὸς θάρσος ἀφίκωνται, αὐτὸς δὲ στειλάμενος ἰδιωτικῶς συνέμεθαν αὐτοῖς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ πλήν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τοῖς άεὶ πουνομένοις ἐπαμίνων πλείστον τοὺς σφετέρους ὠφέλησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἱσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο, ὡς δὲ τὸν Μεγακλέα τις ἀποκτείνας φήβη τὸν Πύρρον ἀπεκτονέα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόκησιν τούτου παρέσχεν, οἳ τε Ῥωμαίοι ἐπερρώσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι

322
BOOK IX

When Megacles was dead and Pyrrhus had cast off heart to fight, but in order to avoid an appearance of fearing the Romans he also in person addressed his men, inciting them to battle. Laevinus tried to cross the river opposite the camp, but was prevented. Retiring, therefore, he himself remained in position with the infantry, but sent the cavalry off, ostensibly on a marauding expedition, with instructions to march along some distance and then to cross the stream. In this way the cavalry assailed the enemy unexpectedly in the rear, while Laevinus in the midst of the foe’s confusion crossed the river and took part in the battle. Pyrrhus came to the aid of his own men, who were in flight, but lost his horse by a wound; and they believed him to be dead. Then, with the one side dejected and the other scornfully elated, the situation had become altered. Pyrrhus became aware of this and gave his raiment, which was more striking than that of the rest, to Megacles, bidding him put it on and ride about in all directions, so that in the belief that the king was safe his opponents might be inspired with fear and his followers with courage. As for himself, he put on the dress of a private soldier and encountered the Romans with his full army, except for the elephants; and by bringing assistance to his troops wherever they were in trouble he aided them greatly. At first, then, for a large part of the day, they fought evenly; but when a man killed Megacles, thinking he had killed Pyrrhus and creating this impression in the minds of the rest, the Romans gained strength and their opponents began to give way. Pyrrhus,
Πύρρου τὸν πῖλον ἀπορρύψαντος ἐσ τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ μάχη περιέστῃ τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἔλπιδα σφῶν αὐτῶν περείναι ἢ εἰ μηδὲ ἄρχην τεθυηκέναι ἐνενόμοστο θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπατηθέντες δεύτερον οὐδὲν ἐτι πρόθυμον ἔσχον, κολουσθέντες τε ἀδίκες τὸ μάτην θαρσῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς δὴ ὀλίγου μεταβολῆς σφῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ χείρονος δόκησαν οὐδὲ ύπερτέρων ποτὲ αὐτὸν φθαρῆσεσθαι ἐλπίζαντες.—Μ. 93 (p. 171).

Zonaras 8, 3.

ἐνέδοσαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον, τὸν πῖλον ἀπέρριψε καὶ γυμνὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιήγη· καὶ εἰς τούτων περιέστῃ ἡ μάχη. ἴδων δὲ τὸ τὸ Δαυΐνιος, καὶ ἰππεὰς ἔχων ἐνεδρεύοντάς πον τῆς μάχης ἐκτός, κατὰ νώτου προσπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσε. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ ἀντιστρατηγὸν ὁ Πύρρος τὸ σημεῖον τοῖς ἑλέφασιν ἤρεν· ἐνθα ἐκ τε τῆς τῶν θηρίων θέας ἀλλοκότου ὁυσις καὶ τῆς βοῆς φρικώδους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὀπλων πατάγου, ὃν ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐποῖον ἐν τοῖς πύργοις φερόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ἦρωμαϊοι ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ σφῶν ἵπποι ἐκταραχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀποσείμενοι τοὺς ἀναβάτας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φέροντες ἐφευγοῦν. ἀθυμησαν οὖν ἐκ τοῦτοι τὸ Ἦρωμαϊκὸν ἔτραπτες προστατεύμα, καὶ φεύγοντες ἀνηροῦντο οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων ταῖς προβοσκίσι καὶ τοῖς κέρασιν ἢ ὀδούς φθειρόντων πολλοὺς· καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ δὲ οὐ μείους κατηλώναν συμπατούμενοι. καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς δὲ ἔφ·
BOOK IX

his cap, the battle took an opposite turn. The one side was filled with much greater boldness as a result of his safety and the fact that he had survived contrary to their fears than if the idea had never gained ground that he was dead; the other side, deceived a second time, had no longer any zeal left, but since they had been once more cut short in their premature encouragement and because of the sudden change in their feelings to the expectation of disaster, they had no hope that he might ever perish after that.

Zonaras 8, 3.

noting what was taking place, cast off his cap and went about with his head bare; and the battle took an opposite turn. Seeing this, Laevinus, who had horsemen in hiding somewhere outside the battle, ordered them to attack the enemy in the rear. As a counter-move to this Pyrrhus raised the signal for the elephants. Then, indeed, at the sight of the animals, which was out of all common experience, at their frightful trumpeting, and also at the clatter of arms which their riders made, seated in the towers, both the Romans themselves were panic-stricken and their horses became frenzied and bolted, either shaking off their riders or bearing them away. Disheartened at this, the Roman army was turned to flight, and in their rout some soldiers were slain by the men in the towers on the elephants' backs, and others by the beasts themselves, which destroyed many with their trunks and tusks (or teeth) and crushed and trampled under foot as many more. The cavalry, following after, slew many; and

325
19 "Οτι συγχαρόντων τινῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ τῆς νίκης, τὴν μὲν δόξαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐδέχετο, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐθὲς ποτε ὁμοίως κρατήσειν, ἀπολείψαν τις, καὶ τούτο τ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἐστιν, καὶ οτι τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους καλτοι νικηθέντας ἐθαύμασε καὶ προ- ἐκρινε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, εἰτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἃν ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐχειρωσάμην, εἰ 'Ρω- μαίων ἐβασίλευν.—Μ. 94 (p. 171).

21 "Οτι Πύρρος λαμπρός τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη ἡν καὶ ὅνομα ἄπτ' αὐτῆς μέγα ἔσχεν, ὅστε πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθημένων προσχωρῆσαι οἱ, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιορωμένους τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικέσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὖτε ἐμφανὴ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐποι- ἡσατο, οὐτ' αὐ παντελῶς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπεκρύ- 

Zonaras 8, 3.

επόμενοι πολλούς ἐφθειροῦν· οὐδ' ἂν ὑπελείφῃ τις, εἰ μὴ ἐλέφας τρωθείς αὐτός τε ἐσφάδαξεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνον βοῶς ἑταράσσουτο. διὰ τούτο γαρ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέσχε τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ οὗτως οἱ 'Ρωμαιοὶ διαβεβηκότες τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς 'Απουλίδα πόλιν τινὰ ὑπεσώθη- σαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πύρρου στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰγκόνων πεπτώκασιν, ὡστε συγχαίρον- 
tων αὐτῶ τῆς νίκης τινῶν "εἰ καὶ αὖθις ποτέ ὁμοίως," ἔφη, "κρατήσομεν, ἀπολούμεθα." τοὺς 
μέντοι 'Ρωμαιοὺς καὶ νικηθέντας ἐθαύμασεν, εἰτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἃν πᾶσαν ἐχειρωσάμην, εἰ 'Ρωμαιῶν ἐβασίλευν." Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα ἔσχηκεν ὅνομα, καὶ πολλοὶ αὐτῶ προσεχώρησαν, οὗ τε
BOOK IX

When some men congratulated Pyrrhus on his victory, he accepted the glory of the exploit, but said that if he should ever conquer again in like fashion, it would be his ruin. Besides this story, it is also told of him that he admired the Romans even in their defeat and judged them superior to his own soldiers, declaring: "I should already have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans."

Pyrrhus became famous for his victory and acquired a great reputation from it, to such an extent that many who had been remaining neutral came over to his side and all the allies who had been watching the turn of events joined him. He did not openly display anger towards them nor did he entirely conceal not one, indeed, would have been left, had not an elephant been wounded, and not only gone to struggling itself as a result of the wound but also by its trumpeting thrown the rest into confusion. This restrained Pyrrhus from pursuit and the Romans thus managed to cross the river and make their escape into an Apulian city. Many of Pyrrhus' soldiers and officers alike fell, so that when some men congratulated him on his victory, he said: "If we ever conquer again in like fashion, it will be our ruin." The Romans, however, he admired even in their defeat, declaring: "I should have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans."

Pyrrhus, accordingly, acquired a great reputation for his victory and many came over to his side; and the allies also espoused his cause. These he rebuked
ψατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμελλήσει ἐπιτιμήσας ἀλλως φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐγκεῖθαι ἐδείησε μὴ καὶ ἐς φανερὰν αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίωσιν προ-22 ἀγάγη, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνδείξασθαι ἐνόμισεν ἦτοι καταγνωσθῆσθαι ὡς αὐτῶν εὑρήθειαν ὡς οὐ συνεῖς ὃν ἔπραξαν, ἢ καὶ ὑποπτευθῆσθαι ὁργήν κρυφαίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ κατα-φρόνησιν ἡ μίσος προεπιβουλῆν τε ἐς αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ προπάθωσί τι, ἐγχενήσεσθαί σφισι προσεδόκησε· δι' οὖν ταῦτα πρῶς τε αὐτοῖς διελέχθη καὶ τῶν σκύλων τινὰ ἔδωκεν.—Μ. 95 (p. 172).

23 Ὅτι Πύρρος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους συχνοὺς ὅντας τὸ μὲν πρώτον πείσαι ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην συντρατεύσαι, ως δὲ οὐκ ἡθέλησαν, ἰσχυρῶς ἐθεράπευσε, μήτε δήσας τινὰ μήτ' ἄλλο τι κακὸν δράσας, ως καὶ προῖκα αὐτοὺς ἀποδώσων καὶ ἀμαχεῖ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἀστυ προσποιησόμενος.—V. 25 (p. 590).

24 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐν ἀπόρῳ γενόμενοι διὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἀτε μηπώποτε τοιοῦτο θηρίων ἱδόντες, τὴν μέντοι θνητὴν φύσιν ἐνθυμοῦμενοι καὶ ὅτι

Zonaras 8, 3.

σύμμαχοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτῶν· ὅλα ὅλα ἐπι-

1 ἀλλως ... ἐγκεῖθαι supplied by Bs. to complete the

sense.

2 προσάγαγῃ Bk., προσάγαγῃ Ms.

3 ἡ added by v. Herw.

328
BOOK IX

his suspicions; he rebuked them somewhat for their delay, but otherwise received them kindly. The result of showing excessive irritation would be, he feared, their open estrangement, while if he failed to reveal his real feelings at all, he thought that he should either be condemned by them for his simplicity in not comprehending what they had done, or should be suspected of harbouring secret wrath. And such feelings would breed in them either contempt or hatred, and would lead to a plot against him, due to their desire to anticipate injuries that they might suffer at his hands. For these reasons, then, he conversed affably with them and gave them some of the spoils.

Pyrrhus at first tried to persuade the Roman captives, who were many, to join with him in a campaign against Rome; but when they refused, he treated them with the utmost consideration and did not put any of them in prison or harm them in any other way, his intention being to restore them voluntarily and through them to win over the city without a battle.

Although on account of the elephants, a kind of beast that they had never before seen, the Romans had fallen into dismay, nevertheless, by reflecting on the mortal nature of the animals and the fact that no

Zonaras 8, 3.

somewhat on account of their tardiness, but gave them a share of the spoils.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

θηρίον οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου κρείττον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ᾽ ἱσχύν, ταῖς γοῦν σοφίαις σφῶν ἐλαττοῦται, ἐθάρσουν.—Μ. 96 (p. 172).

25 "Ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιώται οἱ τοῦ Πύρρου, οἱ τε οἰκοδεν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, δεινῶς πρὸς τὰς ἄρπαγας ὡς καὶ ἐτοίμους καὶ ἀκινδύνους σφίσιν οὔσας ἥπειροντο.—Μ. 97 (p. 172).

26 "Ὅτι οἱ Ἡπειρῶται τὴν φιλίαν, ἀγανακτήσει ὃτι ἐπὶ μεγάλαις δὴ τισιν ἐλπίσα στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲν ἐξω πραγμάτων εἰχον, ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ πάνυ γε ἐν καιρῷ τούτῳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο· συναστάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τὴν Ἑταιλίαν οἰκοῦντες ἀνεκόπησαν, ἐξ ἱσοῦ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πορθοῦντας αὐτοὺς ὀρώντες· τὰ γὰρ ἐργά αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐσκόπουν.—Μ. 98 (p. 172).

Zonaras 8, 4.

4. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἠλήγησαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ, τῶν δὲ γε Ἰαουινίῳ στράτευμα ἐπεμψαν, καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν μετεπέμψαντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησαντο, πυνθανόμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὸν Πύρρον ἐπείγεσθαι. οὐ μέντοι Ἰαουινίος τοὺς οἰκείους τε πραγματίας ἐξακεσάμενος, καὶ τοὺς σκεδασθέντας συναγαγὼν, ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πεμφθέντων ἀφικομένων, τὸν Πύρρον παρεπόμενον ἐλύπει· καὶ τὴν Καπὺν μαθὼν ἐλεῖν γλυκόμενον, προκατέλαβε καὶ ἐφύλαξεν. ἀμαρτῶν δ' ἐκείνης ὁ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν ὀρμήσεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ὕδη ἐν αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι ἱσχυσε, σπεύδων

1 ἐλαττοῦται Madvig, ἐλαττοῦται οἰ ἐλαττοῦτα Ms. 2 οἱ τε Gros, ἀτε Ms. 3 πραγμάτων Bs., τῶν πραγμάτων Ms.

330
BOOK IX

animal is superior to man, but that all of them in 
every way show inferiority, if not as regards strength, 
at least in respect of intelligence, they began to take 
heart.

The soldiers of Pyrrhus, moreover, both his native 
followers and the allies, showed tremendous eagerness 
for the plunder, which seemed to lie ready 
before them and to be free from danger.

The Epirots, displeased because they were getting 
nothing but trouble after entering upon the campaign 
in such high hopes, ravaged the territory of their 
friends. And this happened very opportunely for 
the Romans, inasmuch as the inhabitants of Italy 
who had been on the point of leaguing themselves 
with him, on seeing that his troops ravaged the pos-
sessions of allies and enemies alike, drew back; for 
they considered his acts rather than his promises.

Zonaras 8, 4.

4. The men of Rome were grieved at their defeat, 
but sent an army to Laevinus; and they summoned 
Tiberius from Etruria and put the city under guard 
when they learned that Pyrrhus was hastening against 
it. And Laevinus, as soon as he had cured his 
wounded soldiers and collected those scattered, and 
had also received the reinforcements from Rome, 
followed on the track of Pyrrhus and harassed him. 
Finding out that the king was eager to capture 
Capua, he occupied it in advance and guarded it. 
Disappointed there, Pyrrhus set out for Neapolis. 
But unable to accomplish anything at this place 
either, and being in haste to occupy Rome, he passed

4 τούτο Book., τούτωι Ms.  5 καὶ τὰ supplied by Bs.

331
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

27 "Οτι ο Πύρρος ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἕπο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίοις ἀγνώστωι ἀπολήψη ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ φερόντων, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ὡτι σαφῶς εξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας ὄρφη ὄσον τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαφέρουσι: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ὑπὸκοινο καὶ δένδρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ ἀμπελοῦργια καὶ γεωργίας κατασκευάς τε τῶν ἀγρῶν πολυτελεῖς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων οὕτω πεπορθήσθαι ὡστε μηδὲ εἰ κατωκήθη ποτὲ γεγυώσκεσθαι.—Μ. 99 (p. 173.)

28 "Οτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἔπειδη γε ἀναχωροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Λαυούνιου πολλῷ πλείου τού πρόσθεν εἴδεν, οὐδας ἐφι δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ ἦττον ἐθάρσησεν, ἄλλ' ἀντιπαρετάξατο μὲν, οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο δὲ.—Μ. 100 (p. 173).

Zonaras 8, 4.

τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος παριῶν ὡς κάκεινους προσλάβοι, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθεν αὐτοῦς τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὡμολογίας πεποιημένους καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτῷ ἀντιπροσώπι τῶν τε Λαυούνιον ἐφεστόμενον ἐφοβήθη μὴ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πανταχόθεν ἐν χωρίοις ἀγνώστως ἀπολήψη, καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχώρησεν. ὡς δὲ ἀναχωροῦντι καὶ γενομένῳ περὶ Καμπανίαν ὁ Λαυούνιος ἐπεφάνη, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ πολλῷ πλεῖον τοῦ πρόσθεν ἦν, οὐδας ἐφι δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξατο μὲν, οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο δὲ, ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς

1 πανταχόθεν Bs., πανταχ Μαι, λαυούνιον Ms. (πανταχόσ Mai).
2 Λαυούνιον Bk., οὐκιονιον Ms. 3 The anacoluthon is pro-

332
BOOK IX

Pyrrhus became afraid of being cut off on all sides by the Romans while he was in unfamiliar regions. When his allies showed displeasure at this, he told them that he could see clearly from the country itself what a difference there was between them and the Romans. The subject territory of the latter had all kind of trees, vineyards, and tilled fields, and expensive farm fixtures; whereas the districts of his own friends had been pillaged to such an extent that it was impossible to tell whether they had ever been settled.

The same man, when, upon his retreat, he beheld the army of Laevinus much larger than it had been before, declared that the Roman legions when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. This did not, however, cause him to lose courage, but he in turn arrayed his forces, though he did not join battle.

Zonaras 8, 4.

on through Etruria with the object of winning the people there also to his cause. Upon learning, however, that they had made a treaty with the Romans and that Tiberius was moving to meet him, while Laevinus was dogging his footsteps, he became afraid of being cut off on all sides by them while he was in unfamiliar regions, and he advanced no farther. When, now, as he was retreating and had reached the vicinity of Campania, Laevinus confronted him with an army much larger than it had been before, he declared that the Roman legions when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. And he in turn arrayed his forces, though he did not join battle. In order

bably due to the excerptor. ¹ ήττου Βκ., ήγαιν Μσ. ⁶ ἀλλ' added by Βκ.
 Dio's Roman History

29 Ὁτι ὁ Πύρρος πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Φαβρίκιον προσέναι πυθόμενος, φρούραν τε σφισὶ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια, μὴ καὶ βιαιόν τι ὑπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων πάθωσιν, ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπῆντησεν, ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς καὶ τάλλα ἐδεξίωσατο, ἐλπίσας σπουδῶν τε δεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμολογίαιν οἷαν ἠτηθέντας εἰκὸς ἢν ποιήσασθαι.—Ζοναρᾶς 5 (p. 376).

30 Ὁτι τοῦ Φαβρίκιον αὐτὸ τούτο μόνον εἰπόντος, ὅτι Ἦρωμαιοι ἡμᾶς ἐπεμψαν τοὺς τε ἐαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομιουμένους καὶ λύτρα ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀντιδώσοντας, ὡς ἄν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν συμβῆ, διηπορήθη τε ὅτι μὴ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἔφη, καὶ μεταστησάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐβου-

Zonaras 8, 4.

καταπλήξου πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς τοὺς Ἦρωμαιοὺς, τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας τὰς ἀσπίδας τοὺς δόραι πλήξαντας ἐκβοηθάσας καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνηχῆσας, ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνοι πολὺ μείζον ἀντεβόηθαν, ὡς ἐκπλαγην τοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου, οὐκετῇ ἤθελον συμμίξει, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς δυναερῶν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ἄφικετο ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθα πρέσβεις τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄφικοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Φαβρίκιος. σοὺς φιλοτίμως ἐξένισε καὶ ἐδεξίωσατο, ἐλπίσας αὐτοὺς σπέισασθαι καὶ ὁμολογίαιν ὡς ἠτηθέντας ποιήσασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Φαβρίκιον τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομίσασθαι αἰτοῦντος ἐπὶ λύτρως τοῖς ἀμφοῖν συναρέσουσι, διηπορήθη ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἔφη, καὶ ἰδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐβου-

334
BOOK IX

Pyrrhus, when he learned that Fabricius and other envoys were approaching to treat on behalf of the captives, not only sent a guard for them as far as the border, to the end that they should suffer no violence at the hands of the Tarentines, but also went to meet them later, escorted them into the city, entertained them splendidly, and honoured them in other ways, expecting that they would ask for a truce and make such terms as became those who had been defeated.

Fabricius merely made this statement: "The Romans have sent us to get back the men captured in battle, and to pay ransoms for them of such size as shall be agreed upon by both of us." Thereupon Pyrrhus was quite dumbfounded because the envoy did not say that he was commissioned to treat about

Zonaras 8, 4.

to terrify the Romans he had ordered his own soldiers before joining battle to smite their shields with their spears and utter a shout while the trumpeters and the elephants raised a united blare; but when the other side raised a much greater shout, actually terrifying the followers of Pyrrhus, he no longer cared to come to close quarters, but retired, as if he found the omens bad. And he arrived at Tarentum. Thither came Roman envoys, including Fabricius, to treat on behalf of the captives. These he entertained lavishly and showed them honour, expecting that they would conclude a truce and make terms now they were defeated. But Fabricius asked that he might get back the men captured in battle for such ransom as should be satisfactory to both. Thereupon Pyrrhus, quite dumbfounded because the envoy did not say that he was commissioned to treat about peace also, took

335
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λένετο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὀντερ εἰώθει, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς διαχειρίσεως αὐτοῦ, εἴτε κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἴτε καὶ ἀλλας πως αὐτὸν . . . ¹—Μ. 101 (p. 173).

31 "... μεταχειρίσασθαι ἡ μάχας καὶ παρατάξεις ἀσταθμήτους ἀναρρίψαι· ὡστε πεισθεῖς, ὥς Μίλων, ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲ ἐς ἄλλο τι βία μᾶλλον ἡ σοφία, ὅποι γε καὶ ἐνδεχεται, χρήση, ἐπεὶ Πύρρος γε πάντα τὰ πρακτέα οἱ ἀκριβῶς οἴδε καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν." ταῦτ' εἴπε, καὶ πάντες ὁμογώμονες ἐγένοντο, καὶ μᾶλισθ' ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τούτων οὔτε ξημιωθήσεσθαι τι οὔτε κινδυνεύσεως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν 32 ἑτέρων ἐκάτερον πείσθαι ἐμελλον. καὶ ὁ

Zonaras 8, 4.

λένετο, ὡς εἰώθει, περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδόσεως καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅπως τούτων μεταχειρίσηται. ὅ μὲν οὖν Μίλων μήτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι μήτε σπείσασθαι συνεβούλευεν, ἀλλ' ήδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἥττημένων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολέμῳ προσκατεργάσασθαι, ὁ δὲ Κιννέας τοῦντὶν ἄπαν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν· τοὺς τε γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀποδοῦναι συνήνει καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ χρήματα πέμψαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνεκα καὶ σπονδῶν. ὥστ' ἡ γνώμη καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συνετίθεντο. οὕτω δὲ φρονῶν καὶ ὁ Πύρρος

¹ Four pages are here wanting in the Ms. ² ἡ Bk., ς Ms.

336
peace; and after removing them he took counsel with the friends who were usually his advisers, partly, to be sure, about the return of the captives, but chiefly about the war and its conduct, whether energetically or in some other way it . . .

". . . to manage, or to run the risk of battles and combats, the outcome of which is doubtful. Do you therefore heed me, Milo, and the old proverb, and do not, either on the present occasion or any other, employ violence rather than skill, at least when the latter is possible; for Pyrrhus knows precisely what he has to do and does not need to be enlightened by us regarding a single detail." By this speech [of Cineas] they were brought to a unanimous decision, particularly because this course entailed neither loss nor danger, whereas the others were likely to involve both. And Pyrrhus, being of

Zonaras 8, 4.
counsel privately with his friends, as was his wont, about the return of the captives, but also about the war and how he should conduct it. Milo advised neither returning the captives nor making a truce, but overcoming all remaining resistance by war, since the Romans were already defeated; Cineas, however, gave advice just the opposite of his: he approved of surrendering the captives without price and sending envoys and money to Rome for the purpose of obtaining an armistice and peace. In his opinion the rest also concurred, and Pyrrhus, too,
Πύρρος οὖτω φρονῶν εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς "οὔτε πρότερον ἐκὼν ὑμῖν, ὡς 'Ρωμαῖοι, ἐπολέμησα, οὔτ' ἄν νῦν πολεμήσαιμι. φίλος τε γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦμαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνευ λύτρων ἁφίμη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπένδομαι." καὶ ἵδια τούτους ἑθεράπευσεν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθέλονται, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γε φιλίαν οἱ πρυτανεύσωσιν.—Μ. 102 (p. 173).

33 Ὅ δὲ Πύρρος τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσηταρίσατο καὶ τῷ Φαβρικίῳ διελέχθη ὡδε: "ἐγώ, ὁ Φαβρικί, πολεμεῖν μὲν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἄρχην τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἐπείσθην καὶ δεύρῳ ἥλθον μεταγιγνώσκω, καὶ περ πολὺ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσας. φίλος δὲ δὴ καὶ πᾶσι μὲν Ἱωμαίοις ἡδέως ἀν ἐγενόμην, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ σοί.

Zonaras 8, 4.

ἐτύγχανε. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις "οὔτε πρόφη, ὡς 'Ρωμαῖοι," ἔφη, "ἐκὼν ὑμῖν ἐπολέμησα οὔτε νῦν πολεμήσαιμι. φίλος γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι βεβοῦλημαι. διὸ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑμῖν ἀνευ λύτρων ἁφίμη καὶ σπέισασθαι ἄξιον."

Ταῦτα μὲν πᾶσιν εἰρήκει τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ χρήματα σφίζει τὰ μὲν δέδωκε, τὰ δὲ ἐπηγγεῖλατο, τῷ δὲ Φαβρικίῳ κατὰ μόνας διαλεξθὲς "φίλος," εἶπεν, "ἡδέως καὶ πᾶσιν ᾧ Ἱωμαίοις γενοίμην, μάλιστα δὲ σοί. ὅρω γὰρ σε ἄγαθον ἀνδρα, καὶ

1 ὑμῖν Be., ὑμῶν (?) Ms.  
2 Ἱωμαίοις Gros, Ἱωμαίοιν Ms.
BOOK IX

this mind, said to the ambassadors: "Not willingly, Romans, did I make war upon you earlier, and I will not war against you now; I feel that it is of the highest importance to become your friend, and for this reason I release all the captives without ransom and make peace." Privately, also, he showed these men favour, in order that they might, if possible, espouse his cause, or at any rate might obtain the desired friendship for him.

Pyrrhus in addition to making friends of the rest conversed with Fabricius as follows: "Fabricius, I do not wish to be at war with you Romans any longer, and indeed I repent that I heeded the Tarentines in the first place and came hither, although I have beaten you badly in battle. I would gladly, then, be a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that you are

Zonaras 8, 4.

chanced to be of this mind. Having summoned the ambassadors, therefore, he said: "Not willingly, Romans, did I lately make war upon you, and I will not war against you now. It has been my desire to become your friend. Wherefore I release to you the captives without ransom, and am ready to make peace."

These words he addressed to the envoys as a body, and he gave them money, with the promise of more; but in conversation with Fabricius alone he said: "I would gladly become a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πάνυ γάρ σε καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐλλόγιμον ἀνδρὰ ὠρῶ ὄντα. τὴν τε οὖν εἰρήνην συμπράξαι σὲ μοι ἄξιω, καὶ οἰκαδὲ ἐπιστέπθαι. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσεῖν καὶ συμβούλου στρατηγοῦ 34 τὸ σου δέομαι." ὁ οὖν Φαβρίκιος "ἐπαινῶ μὲν σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι καὶ ἔπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ μεταγγυνώσκεις καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καὶ σοι πρὸς αὐτὴν, εἰγέ συμφέρει ἡμῖν, σπουδᾶσω (οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖς καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πράξαι με ἀγαθὸν, ὡς φής, ἀνδρὰ ὄντα ἄξιώσεις), σύμβουλον δὲ δὴ καὶ στρατηγόν μηδένα ποτὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας παραλάβης. έμοιν' οὖδ' ἠτίσειν ἐστὶ 4 σχολή. οὐ μέντοι οὖδὲ τούτων τι λάβοιμι 5 ἀν, 6 ὅτι οὐ προσ- 35 ἢκει τὸ παράπαν προσβευτὴν δωροδοκεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γοῦν πότερον ἐλλόγιμον με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἀνδρὰ εἶναι ἡ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαύλος εἰμι,

Zonaras 8, 4.

τὴν εἰρήνην συμπράξαι μοι ἄξιω." ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐδίδον. ὁ δὲ "ἐπαινῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ὁ Πύρρη, ὅτι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καὶ σοι αὐτὴν, ἂν γε συμφέρῃ ἡμῖν, καταπράξομαι. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πράξαι με ἀγαθὸν, ὡς φής, ἀνδρὰ ὄντα ἄξιώσεις. ἀλλ' οὐδέ τούτων ὀν δίδως τι λάβοιμι ἃν. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ σου, πότερον ἐλλόγιμον με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἀνδρὰ ἡ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαύλος εἰμι, πῶς με δώρων

1 καὶ ἐλλόγιμον supplied by Ba. from Zon. There is a space of about ten letters in the Ms. 2 oíkade v. Herw., oíkade kal ἐς τὴν 'Ἡπειρον Ms. 3 The Ms. has ἐμοὶ before ἐμοιν', deleted by Mai. 4 οὖδ' ἠτίσειν ἐστὶ v. Herw., οὐ δὴ τι οὖν ἐστὶ Ms. 5 λάβοιμι supplied by Mai. 6 ἀν Gros, ἀλλ' Ms.

340
BOOK IX

a thoroughly upright and reputable man. Accordingly, I ask you to help me in securing peace and furthermore to accompany me home. I am desirous of making a campaign against Greece and need you as adviser and general." Fabricius replied: "I commend you both for repenting of your expedition and for desiring peace, and will cordially assist you in that purpose, if it is to our advantage; for of course you will not ask me, an upright man as you say, to do anything against my country. But an adviser and general you must never choose from a democracy; as for me, I have no leisure whatever. Nor could I ever accept any of these presents, because it is not seemly for an ambassador to receive gifts at all. I ask, now, whether in very truth you regard me as a reputable man or not. For, if I am a scoundrel,

Zonaras 8, 4.
you are an upright man, and I ask you to help me in securing peace." With these words he offered to bestow upon him a number of gifts. But Fabricius said: "I commend you, Pyrrhus, for desiring peace, and I will secure it for you, if it shall prove to our advantage. For you will not ask me, an upright man, as you say, to do anything against my country. Nay, I would not even accept any of these things which you offer. I ask you, now, whether in very truth you regard me as a reputable man or not. For, if I am a scoundrel, how is it that you deem
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πῶς με δώρων ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτά κελεύεις; εἰν τοίνυν ἵσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω καὶ οὐδὲν δέομαι πλειόνων· ἄρκει γάρ μοι τὰ .onclickfont diam, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁτῶν ἄλλωτρίων ἐπιθυμῶ· σὺ δ' ἐκι καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖν νομίζεις, ἐν πενία μυρία καθέστηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὔτε τὴν Ἡπείρον οὔτε τάλλα 1 ὅσα κέκτησαι καταληπτῶν δεύρ' ἐπεραιώθης, εἰγε ἐκείνοις τε 36 ἥρκον καὶ μῆ πλειόνων ὃρέγου. ὅταν γὰρ τις τούτῳ πάσχῃ καὶ μηδένα ὄρον τῆς ἀπληστίας ποιήται, πτωχότατός ἐστι. διὰ τί; ὅτι πάν τὸ μῆ υπάρχην αὐτῷ ὄς καὶ ἀναγκαίον ποθεῖ, καθάπερ ἀνευ ἐκείνου μὴ δυνάμενος Ἰησαί. ὅστ' ἔγγοι ἥδεως ἂν σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φίλος μοι φής εἶναι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ τι πλούσιτο χαρισαίην πολλῷ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ἠθανατωτέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ σοῦ, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ οὔτε τις ἐπιβουλεύει, οὐ δῆμος, οὐ πύρινος· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσο τις ἄν αὐτοῦ πλείοσι μεταδίδῃ.

Zonaras 8, 4.

ἀξιόν κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτά κελεύεις; ἵσθι γοῦν ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω, τοῖς παρούσιν ἄρκούμενος, καὶ πλειόνων οὐ δέομαι· σὺ δ' ἐκι καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖς, ἐν πενία μυρία καθέστηκας. οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὔτε τὴν Ἡπείρον οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα ἄ λεξεῖς καταληπτῶν δεύρο ἐπεραιώθης, εἰ γε ἐκείνοις ἥρκον καὶ μῆ πλειόνων ὃρέγου.

342 1 οὔτε τάλλα v. Herw., οὔτ' ἄλλα M8.
how is it that you deem me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honour, how can you bid me accept them? Be well assured, then, that I have many possessions and am in no need of more; what I have satisfies me, and I feel no desire for what belongs to others. You, however, even if you believe yourself ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your dominions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more. Whenever a man is in this condition and sets no limit to his greed, he is the poorest of beggars. Why? Because he longs for everything not his own, as if it were absolutely necessary, and with the idea that he cannot live without it. Consequently I would gladly, since you call yourself my friend, afford you some of my own wealth. It is far more secure and imperishable than yours, and no one envies it or plots against it—neither populace nor tyrant; best of all, the larger the number of persons

Zonaras 8, 4.

me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honour, how can you bid me accept them? Be then assured that I have very many possessions, that I am satisfied with what I now have, and feel no need of more. You, however, even if you are ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your possessions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more.”
37 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μεῖζον αὐξηται. τίς οὖν οὕτως ἐστιν; τὸ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι τινὶ ὡς καὶ παμπληθέσιν οὕσω ἢδέως χρῆσθαι, τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐχόντων ἀπέχεσθαι, τὸ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πολλοὺς εὔφρηστεῖν, ἀλλὰ μυρία ἡ σχολὴν ἄν τις ἀγωνιῶν εἴποι. ὡστ' ἔγγυε θυμοί μην ἂν, εἴπερ του πάντως ἀναγκαῖον εἰς θάτερον αὐτῶν παθεῖν, βιασθεὶς δὲν μᾶλλον ἡ δοκιμασθεῖς ἀπολέσθαι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἀξιώσει φιλεῖ τοισι συμβαίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τε ἀνολας καὶ εξ αἰσχρο-κερδείας πολλῆς, ὡσθ' αἱρετῶτερον εἶναι τῇ τοῦ θείου πλεονεξία μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἕαυτον κακία σφαλήνας: ἐν ἐκείνω μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τινὸς ἡττᾶται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ψυχή προσδιαφθείρεται: ... , ἐνταῦθω δ' αὐτοέντης τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς τὸς ἕαυτον γίγνεται, ὅτι ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαξ τῆς ἔαυτον τὸ μῆ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι διδάξας ἀόριστον τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνει. —M. 103 (p. 174) and ἐλλόγιμον—κελευεῖς § 35 Max. Conf. Flor. f. 75v (M. p. 538).

38 Καὶ προθυμοτατα ἐς τοὺς καταλόγους ἀπήντησαν, τὸ καθ' ἕαυτον ἐκαστὸς ἐλλιπτεὶς ἀνάστασιν τῆς πατρίδος νομίζοντες ἐσεσθαι. —M. 104 (p. 176).

Zonaras 8, 4.

Τούτων οὕτω λεχθέντων οἱ πρέσβεις τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἀπήρεσαν καὶ ὁ Πύρρος τοῦν

1 ὡστ' Bs., ὡς Ms. 2 τῇ Bk., τῇ Ms. 3 Lacuna recognized by Bk. 4 πατρίδοις Mai, πατρίδος εἶναι Ms.
BOOK IX

who share it, the greater it will grow. In what, then, does it consist? In using what one has with as much satisfaction as if it were inexhaustible, in keeping one's hands off the possessions of others as if they contained some mighty curse, in wronging no man, in doing good to many, and a thousand other things which I could name if I had leisure. I, for my part, should choose, if it were absolutely necessary to suffer either one or the other, to perish by violence rather than by deceit. The former fate falls to the lot of some by the decree of Fortune, but the latter only as a result of folly and great greed of gain. It is, therefore, preferable to be overthrown by the superior might of Heaven rather than by one's own baseness. In the former instance a man's body is brought low, but in the latter his soul is ruined as well; . . . while in this case a man becomes to a certain extent the slayer of himself, because he who has once taught his soul not to be content with the fortune already possessed, acquires a boundless desire for increased wealth."

And they presented themselves for the enlistment with the greatest zeal, each believing that his own failure to serve would mean the overthrow of the fatherland.

Zonaras 8, 4.

After this conversation had taken place as recounted, the envoys took the captives and departed.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 4.

Κιννέαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ καὶ κόσμου γυναικείου παντοδαποῦ, ἵνα εἰ καὶ τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀντίσχοιει, ἀλλ' αἱ γυναικεῖς αὐτῶν τοίς κόσμοις ἀναπεισθείσαι κακείνους συν-διαφθείρωσιν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κιννέας οὐ προσήχει τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ διήγετο ἀλλὸτε ἀλλην αἴτιαν σκηπτόμενον. περιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας λόγοις τε σφάς καὶ δόροις ὑπήγετο· καὶ ἐπειδῆ πολλοὺς φιέκιστο, εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἶπεν ὡς "Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπο-λογεῖται ὅτι οὐχ ὡς πολεμήσων υμῶν ἤκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καταλάξων Ταραντίνον αὐτῶν ἱκετεύοντας· ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας υμῶν λύτρων ἀφήκεν ἄτερ, καὶ δυνάμενος πορθήσαι τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει προσβαλεῖν, ἀξιοὶ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς συμ-μάχοις υμῶν ἐγγραφῆναι, πολλὰ μὲν ὀφελήσεσθαι ἂφ' υμῶν ἔπληξον, πλεῖω δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζω εὐερ-γετήσει υμᾶς."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ πλείους τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢρέ-σκοντο διὰ τὰ δώρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλ' ἐσκόπουν ἐτί πλείους ἥμερας ὁ τι χρή πρᾶξαι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔλεγετο, ἐπεκράτει δὲ ὡμος σπείρασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ τούτο Ἀππίος ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκομίσθη ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον (ὕπω γὰρ τοῦ γήρως καὶ τοῦ πάθους οἰκουρῶν ἦν) καὶ εἶπε μὴ συμφέρειν τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον συμ-βισέων τῇ πολιτείᾳ, παρῆνεσε δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Κιννέαν ἑξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ
BOOK IX

Zonaras 8, 4.

Pyrrhus despatched Cineas to Rome with a large amount of gold and women's apparel of every description, so that even if some of the men should resist, their wives, at least, won by the appeal of the finery, might corrupt them along with themselves. Cineas on coming to the city did not seek an audience with the senate, but lingered about, alleging now one reason, now another. He was visiting the houses of leading men, and by his conversation and gifts was gradually extending his influence over them. When he had won over a large number, he entered the senate-chamber and spoke as follows: "King Pyrrhus offers as his defence the fact that he came not to make war upon you, but to reconcile the Tarentines, in answer to their entreaties. And what is more, he has released your prisoners, waiving ransom, and though he might have ravaged your country and assaulted your city, he asks to be enrolled among your friends and allies, hoping to gain much assistance from you and to render you still more and greater benefits in return."

Thereupon the greater part of the senators were pleased because of the gifts and because of the captives; however, they made no reply, but continued to deliberate for several days more as to the proper course to pursue. There was a great deal of talk, but they were inclined, nevertheless, to make a truce. On learning this, Appius the Blind was carried to the senate-house—for by reason of his age and his infirmity he was confined to his house—and declared that the truce with Pyrrhus was not advantageous to the state. He urged them to dismiss Cineas at once from the city, and through him to make known to
40 Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τού λόγου φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ το-
σαύτην ἱσχὺν ἔχει ὅστε καὶ ἑκείνους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
τότε μεταβαλεῖν καὶ ἐς ἀντίσπαλον καὶ μίσος καὶ
θάρσος τοῦ τε δέους τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν
dώρων αὐτοῦ ἀλλοιώσεως περιστήναι.¹—Μ. 105
(p. 176).
42 "Οτι πάν τὸ τῇ γινόμη παρὰ δόξαν ταπεινωθέν
καὶ τῆς ρώμης ὑποδίδωσιν.—Μ. 106 (p. 177).

Zonaras 8, 4.

dηλώσαι τῷ Πύρρῳ οἰκαδε ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκείθεν
ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι περὶ εἰρήνης αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ περὶ
ἐτέρου ὅτου δέοιτο. ταῦτα ὁ Ἀππιος συνεβούλευ-
σευ· ἢ δὲ γεροντία οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς
ὁμοθυμαδῶν ἐψηφίσαντο αὐθημερῶν τῶν Κιννέαν
ἐξω τῶν ὄρων ἐκπέμψαι καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ πόλεμον
ἀκήρυκτον, ἔως ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διάγη, ποιήσα-
σθαι. τοὺς δ’ αἰχμαλώτους ἀτιμῶν τινὰ ἐν ταῖς
στρατεύσεις ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ οὕτε πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον
αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἐχρήσαντο οὐτ’ ἄλλοσε ποι ἄθροίους,
ἵνα μὴ τι ὄμοι ὄντες νεωτερίσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἄλλους
ἀλλή φρουρήσοντας ἐπεμψαν.

¹ περιστήναι Bk., ἀντιστήναι Mē.
BOOK IX

Such is the nature of oratory and so great is its power that it led even them to change, causing courage and hatred to take the place respectively of the fear inspired by Pyrrhus and the change of heart his gifts had wrought.

Every force which, contrary to expectation, is humbled in spirit, suffers a loss also in strength.

Zonaras 8, 4.

Pyrrhus that the king must first withdraw to his own country and from there make propositions to them about peace or about anything else he might wish. This was the advice Appius gave; and the senate delayed no longer, but forthwith voted unanimously to send Cineas that very day across the border and to wage implacable war upon Pyrrhus, so long as he should remain in Italy. They imposed upon the captives certain degradations in the campaigns, employing them no longer against Pyrrhus or for any other object as a body,—out of apprehension that if they were together they might mutiny,—but sending them to do garrison duty, a few here and a few there.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 5.

5. Ἔν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι παρέσκευαξόντο ἁμφώ, ἔαρος δ' ἦδη ἐφεστηκότος οὐ Πύρρος εἰς τὴν Ἄπολειαν ἐνέβαλεν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν βία, πολλὰ δὲ ὀμολογία προσεποιήσατο, μέχρις οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Ἀσκούλῳ πόλει ἄυτῷ ἐπελθόντες ἀντε-στρατουπεδεύσαντο. ἔτι πλείους δ' ἡμέρας διέ-τριψαν ἀκυρεύτες ἀλλήλους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προνεκηκότας οὐκ ἔθαρρουν, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀπο- νευσμένοις εὐδέδεσαν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. κἂν τούτῳ λογοποιόντων τινών ὅτι ὁ Δέκιος ἐπιδιόνα ἐστὶν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐτοιμά-ζοιτο, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου δεινῶς ἐκφοβοῦντων ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θανείν ἐκεῖνον πάντως ἀπολουμένους, συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας οὗ Πύρρος καὶ διεισδύχη περὶ τούτου, συμβουλεύουν μήτ' ἀθυμεῖν μήτ' ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοιούτως λόγοις· μήτε γὰρ ἕνα ἀνθρωπόν δύνασθαι θυνήκοντα πόλλον κατα-γωνίσασθαι μήτ' ἐπιφθήνῃ ἢ μαργανεῖον τινα κρέιττῳ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἵπον καὶ λογισμοῖς ἐπικρατήσατο τοὺς λόγους ὁ Πύρρος τὸ οίκειον ἐθάρσανε στρατεύμα. καὶ πολύτροπον ἡ τὴν στολὴν ἡ ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Δέκιοι ἐπιδιόντες ἐστὶν, παρῆγγειλε τοῖς οἵ-κείοις, ἃν τινα οὕτως ἐσκευασμένον ἰδωσι, μή κτείναι αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἔως συλλαβέειν. τῷ δὲ
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 5.

5. During the winter both sides were making their preparations. And when spring was now at hand, Pyrrhus invaded Apulia and gained many places by force, many also by capitulation. Finally the Romans came upon him near a city called Asculum, and pitched camp opposite. For several days they delayed, rather avoiding each other. The Romans were not feeling confident against men who had once beaten them, and the others feared the Romans as men animated by desperation. Meanwhile some were talking to the effect that Decius was getting ready to devote himself after the fashion of his father and grandfather, and by so doing they terribly alarmed the followers of Pyrrhus, who believed that through his death they should certainly be ruined. Pyrrhus then assembled his soldiers and discussed this matter, advising them not to be disheartened or terrified by such talk. One human being, he said, could not by dying prevail over many, nor could any incantation or magic prove superior to arms and men. By talking to this effect and confirming his words by arguments Pyrrhus encouraged his army. He also inquired into the details of the costume which the Decii had used in devoting themselves, and gave orders to his men, if they should see anybody so arrayed, not to kill him, but to seize him alive. And he sent to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

43 "Οτι τῷ Δεκίῳ ὁ Πύρρος προσπέμψας οὕτε προχωρήσειν οἱ τοῦτο πράξατε ἑθελήσαντε ἔφη ¹ καὶ ξωγρηθέντα κακῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐπη-πείλησεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον ἔργον σφᾶς δεῖσθαι πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσειν.—Μ. 107 (p. 177).

Zonaras 8, 5.

Δεκίῳ πέμψας ἔφη οὕτε προχωρήσειν αὐτῷ τοῦτο πράξατε θελήσαντε καὶ ξωγρηθέντα κακῶς ἀπολεῖσθαι ἦπειλησε. πρὸς ἀπερ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον ἔργον σφᾶς δεῖσθαι· πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσειν. ποταμοῦ δὲ διὰ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων οὐκ εὐδιαβάτων ἰένιτος, ἦροντο πότερον αὐτὸς περαιωθήναι βούλεται ἀδεῶς, αὐτῶν ἀναχωρησάντων, ἡ ἐκείνως ἐπι-τρέψατι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵν' εἴ ἀντιπάλον μάχης ἀκεραίων τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς χείρας ἐλθούσων ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐλεγχος γένοιτο ἀκριβῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὀρμαιοὶ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τὸν λόγον ἑποίησαν, ὅ δὲ Πύρρος αὐτοῖς ἔφηκε διαβήναι τὸν ποταμόν, μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τοίς ἑλέφασιν. οἱ δὲ Ὀρμαιοὶ τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέ-φαντας κεραίας ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν σεσιδηρωμένας καὶ πανταχόθεν προεχόσας ἤτοίμασαν, ἵνα τοξεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε καὶ πῦρ ἐμποδὸν σφίσι γίνονται. προσμίζαντες δὲ, χρόνῳ μὲν οἱ Ὀρμαιοὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐώσαντο δ' οὖν, μέχρις ὁ

¹ After ἔφη the Ms. has τοῦτ' ἐστι τὸ μῆ συλληφθῆναι ἀποκτανθήναι, words manifestly due to the exceptor. Gros first deleted.

352
BOOK X

Pyrrhus sent to Decius, telling him that he would not meet with any success in case he had made up his mind to do this deed, and threatening besides that if he were taken alive he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of resorting to such a deed, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways.

Zonaras 8, 5.

Decius and told him that he should not meet with success in case he had made up his mind to do this deed, and threatened that if he were taken alive, he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of resorting to such a deed, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways. There was a river not easy to ford flowing between the two camps; and they inquired whether he chose to cross un molested himself, while they retired, or whether he would allow them to cross, in order that the forces might encounter each other intact and so from a battle with conditions equal the test of valour might be made an accurate one. The Romans delivered this speech to overawe him, but Pyrrhus granted them permission to cross the river, since he placed great reliance upon his elephants. The Romans, among other preparations, made ready, as a measure against the elephants, iron-pointed beams, mounted on waggons, and bristling in all directions. From these they intended to shoot fire and various missiles, in order to check the beasts. When the conflict began, the Romans forced the Greeks back, slowly but surely, until Pyrrhus,
Πύρρος τοῖς ἐλέφασιν οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἀμάξας, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσβοσθήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱπποῦν σφῶν καὶ πρὶν προσμῆξαι φόβῳ τῶν θηρίων ἐτρέψατο. τῷ μεντὶ πεξφο ούδὲν μέγα ἐλυμήνατο. κἀν τούτῳ τῶν Ἀπούλων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν ὥρμηκότες στρατόπεδον τῆς νίκης αἴτιοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο. τινὰς γὰρ τῶν μαχομένων ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου πέμψαντο πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπαράχθησαν, καὶ τὰς τε σκηνὰς ἐκλωκέναι καὶ ἑκείνους φεύγειν ὑποτετῆσαντες ἐνέδοσαν καὶ συνυὼν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον, ὅ τε Πύρρος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοὶ ἐτρώκησαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τε τὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἀπορίαν σφόδρα ἐκακώθησαν. ὢθεν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τάραντα πρὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ δίεβησαν μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ μάχῃ, ὡς δὲ πάντας ἐσκεδάσθαι ἐπύθοντο, εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἀνεχώρησαν πόλεις· ἐπισιδῶξαν γὰρ διὰ τοὺς σφετέρους τραυματίας οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀπούλιαν ἐχείμασαν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τάλλα τε ἠτοιμάζετο καὶ οἰκοθεν στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα μετεπέμψατο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ τὸν Πάππον ὑπάτους ἦρμηνεύον καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄφυγμένους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μεμένηκε γνώμης.

Ἡδη δὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ὄντων, Νικίας τις τῶν Πύρρω πιστῶν δοκούντων ἤλθε πρὸς τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ τὸν Πύρρον δολοφονήσειν. δυσχεράνας οὐν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνος ἀρετὴ γὰρ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἥξιον τῶν πολεμίων κρατείν ὡς ὁ Κάμιλλος, 354
BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 5.

bringing his elephants to bear, not opposite their waggons, but at the other end of the line, routed their cavalry through fear of the beasts even before they had come close. Upon their infantry, however, he inflicted no great damage. Meanwhile some of the Apulians had set out against the camp of the Epirots, and by so doing brought about victory for the Romans. For when Pyrrhus sent some of his warriors against them, all the rest became disquieted, and, suspecting that their tents had been captured and that their companions were in flight, they gave way. Numbers of them fell, Pyrrhus and many officers besides were wounded, and later, because of the lack of food and of medical supplies, they incurred great loss. Hence he retreated to Tarentum before the Romans were aware of what he was doing. The consuls crossed the river for battle, but when they ascertained that all had scattered, they withdrew to their own cities, being unable to pursue after the foe on account of their wounded. Then the Romans went into winter quarters in Apulia, while Pyrrhus sent for soldiers and money from home and went on with his other preparations. But when he learned that Fabricius and Papus had been chosen consuls and had arrived in camp, he no longer adhered to the same purpose.

The aforesaid consuls were now in the midst of their army, when a certain Nicias, one of those believed to be loyal to Pyrrhus, came to Fabricius and offered to assassinate the king. Fabricius, indignant at this, since he wished to overcome the enemy by valour and by main force, as Camillus had done,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

45 Oùth' ópws tòv ëteteron autòv pròteron oúth' ópws àmfotérous ãma àmúýnato èséchen, kai èn àmnhaxanía ñv' tò te gàr diëleivn tò oòròtewma èlattov ën tòn ènantrìwv ènedíei, kai tò tò ëtérò tòn xòran àdèwos kàkouèn àfeínavë diëwvn èpouèito.
—M. 108 (p. 177).

46 'Èpete méntoì allaos te ëi èkribeías autòv èpouèito, meìzòn méros ès àsfálæiaun tòu ùïï' ën¹

Zonaras 8, 5.

catæmènusse tò Púrrro tò èpibóûleuma: kai ouòw ouòv èk tou'tou kàtæplhexèn ùste kai tou's èalòkòtou tòw 'Rwmaìwv pròika ùðhis àfeínavë kai prèsebèis pálw upèr èirènìs èpossteilai. èpetè ðè ouì 'Rwmaìoi peri tìs èirènìs ouìden èpekriínavò, alla kai tòte àpatrài tìs 'Italìas èkèlevou kai ouòw ouòv diàkñpruèveshài kai tàs sum-màkìdas autòf' pòleis kàtætrexhòn te kai ëròun, èn àmnhaxanía ègèneto, prîn dhì 'Syraquosíwv tînevès (ètunaxhòn ðè èz ouì 'Agnathokîhès èteleutìhse stasìázontes), èpekálæsanò autòn, paradiòntes ðì kai èautòu kai tìn pòlin. ànàpnevúsas gàr èpì tou'tò kai pròsèlpìsas pàsaw tìn 'Sikèlìan kàtastrepèshài, tòv mèn Mílawa èn 'Italìa kàtelìwèn, èn fùlakh tòv tò Tàrànta kai tà alla pouìsòmenon, autòs ðè òs dià bòraçèos èpàvì'hìwv èpèpleusè, kai tàw 'Syraquosíwv déxamènon autòn kai pànta autòf' ànàthmènon mégyas èn bòraçèi ùðhis ègèneto, ùste tòw 'Kàrkhì-douìwv fòherèntas mìstòphorouès èk tìs 'Italìas pròsàlæeiv. alla tâçì pròs tòvautòv autòf
¹ àn supplied by Bk.

356
BOOK X

He did not know how he was to repel either one of them [the consuls] first, nor how to repel them both, and was in perplexity. For he feared to divide his army, which was smaller than that of his opponents, and yet to allow one of them to ravage the country with impunity seemed to him a great calamity.

However, he behaved in general toward them with great circumspection, attaching greater credit for his safety to the fact that no one, even if he wished, informed Pyrrhus of the plot. This action of his so amazed the king that he again released the Roman captives without price and sent envoys once more in regard to peace. But when the Romans made no reply about peace, but as before bade him depart from Italy, and only in that event make propositions to them, and when they kept overrunning and capturing the cities in alliance with him, he fell into perplexity; until at length some Syracusans called on him for aid—they had been quarrelling, as it chanced, ever since the death of Agathocles—and offered to surrender to him both themselves and their city. Hereupon he again breathed freely, hoping to subjugate all Sicily. Leaving Milo behind in Italy to keep guard over Tarentum and the other positions, he himself sailed away, after letting it be understood that he would soon return. The Syracusans welcomed him and laid everything at his feet, so that in a brief time he again became great, and the Carthaginians in fright secured additional mercenaries from Italy. But presently his fortunes met with
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπιθυμήσαι τινα κακῶς αὐτὸν δράσαι τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἀν εὐθελήσῃ δύνασθαι νέμων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενους αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν τι βαρυνόμενος σφισιν ὅτι ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐν κράτει τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι ἔλεγετο, τὸ δὲ καὶ προσυπποττεύων σφάς μὴ ὠσπερ αὐτῷ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ προσχωρήσωσιν, ἐξῆλασε καὶ διέθειερεν, . . . —M. 109 (p. 178).

Zonaras 8, 5.

περιέσθη τὰ πράγματα τῷ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει τοὺς μὲν ἔξελάσαι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείραι ὑποτευνομένους αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἱδόντες αὐτὸν μήτε ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσιν ἔρρω-μένου μήτε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους δι’ εὐνοίας ἔχοντα, τοῦ πολέμου προθύμως ἀντελάβοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν Συρακούσιων δεχόμενοι δεινὰ αὐτὸν εἰργάσαντο, ὡστε μὴ τὰς Συρακούσας μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκλίπειν.

Zonaras 8, 6.

6. Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἀποψιάν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι ἀνεθάρσησαν καὶ πρὸς ἀμυναν τῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενων αὐτὸν ἐτράπησαν. καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους εἰς ἄλλου καιρὸν ὑπερθέμενοι εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὸ Σαύνιον μετὰ ὑπάτων τοῦ Ῥουφίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰουνίου, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἐπόρθουν καὶ τείχη τινὰ ἐκλειφθέντα ἐλαβον. οἱ γὰρ Σαυνίται εἰς τὰ ὅρη τὰ Κρανιτα λεγόμενα, ὧτι κρανίαν πολλὴν ἔχουσι, τὰ τε φίλτατα καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνεκό-

1 τῷ Bk., τῷ Ms. 2 δύνασθαι supplied by Gros. 3 σφισιν Bk., σφίν Ms. 4 τῷ Kuiper, τῷ τῆς Mss.
could harm him than to the probability that no one would desire to do so. For this reason he banished and put to death many who held office and many who had called him in to help in their disputes, partly because he was displeased with them, on account of remarks to the effect that he had become master of the state through their influence, and partly because he was suspicious of them and believed that just as they had come over to his side so they might go over to some one else.

Zonaras 8, 5.

a complete reversal by reason of the fact that he either expelled or slew many who held office and had incurred his suspicions. Then the Carthaginians, seeing that he was not strong in private forces and had not the goodwill of the natives, took up the war vigorously. They harboired the Syracusans who were exiled and harassed him so severely that he abandoned not only Syracuse but Sicily as well.

Zonaras 8, 6.

6. The Romans on learning of his absence recovered courage and turned their attention to punishing those who had summoned him. Postponing till another time the case of the Tarentines, they invaded Samnium with their consuls, Rufinus and Junius, devastated the country as they went along, and took several deserted forts. The Samnites had conveyed their dearest and most valuable treasures into the hills called Cranita, since they bear a large growth of cornel-wood [krania]. The Romans, feeling con-
μισαν. καταφρονήσαντες οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα ὅρῃ ἀναβῆναι ἐτόλμησαν. λασίων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ δυσπροσβάτων ὄντων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕαλωσαν. Οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ οὐκέτι κοινῇ τῶν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ λίθως αἰτιώμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα, ἀλλ’ Ἰούνιος μὲν ἐδήσε μέρος τι τῆς Σαυνίτιδος, Ῥουφῖος δὲ Δευκανόις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἐλημύνατο. καὶ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα ὅρμησεν ἀποστάντα Ῥωμαίων, μεταπεμφαμένων αὐτῶν τῶν ἑπταδείων, φθασάντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπαγαγέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Μίλωνος φρουρῶν, ὡς ἠρχε Νικόμαχος. ἀγνοῆσας οὖν τούτο καὶ ἀμελῶς τούς τείχεσι προσω ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἔπταισεν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόμενοι αὐτῷ. εἰτὰ τι ἐπινοῆσας στρατήγημα τὴν πόλιν εἴλε· δύο γὰρ ἀνδρὰς αἰχμαλώτους ψευδαυτομόλους ἐσ τὸν Κρότωνα ἐπεμψε, τὸν μὲν εὐθὺς λέγοντα ὅτι ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν ἀλογίν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Δοκρίδα προδιδομένην αὐτῷ μέλλει ἀπαίρειν, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἐν ὅδῷ ἔστι διαβεβαιούμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἴνα πίστιν ὁ λόγος ἔχῃ, ἀνεσκευάσατο καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπείγεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Νικόμαχος πιστεύσας τούτως (καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνήγγελλον), τὸν Κρότωνα λιτῶν ἐς τοὺς Δοκροὺς ἀπῆκε σπουδὴ δι’ ἐπιτομωτέρας ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῇ Δοκρίδι γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥουφῖος ὑπεστρεφὲ πρὸς τὸν Κρότωνα, καὶ λαθῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ δι’ ὁμίχλην τότε συμβᾶσαν εἰλε τὴν πόλιν. μαθὼν δὲ τούτο Νικόμαχος ἀπῆκε εἰς Τάραντα· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ τῷ Ῥουφῖῳ
BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 6.

tempt for them, undertook to ascend these same hills; but since the region was overgrown with shrubbery and difficult of access many were killed and many, too, were taken prisoners.

The consuls now no longer carried on the war together, since each blamed the other for the disaster; but Junius went on ravaging a portion of Samnium, while Rufinus inflicted injuries upon the Lucanians and Bruttians. He then set out against Croton, which had revolted from Rome. His friends had sent for him, but the other party forestalled them by bringing in a garrison from Milo, of which Nicomachus was commander. Ignorant of this fact, he approached the walls carelessly, supposing that he was coming among friends, and suffered defeat when a sudden sortie was made against him. Then, bethinking himself of a ruse, he captured the city. He sent two captives as pretended deserters into Croton—one immediately, who declared that Rufinus had despaired of capturing the place and was about to depart for Locris, which was being betrayed to him, and the other later, corroborating this statement with the report that the consul was already on his way. For, in order that the story might gain credence, he actually packed up the baggage, and affected to be in haste. Nicomachus, accordingly, believed the story, inasmuch as scouts made the same report, and leaving Croton, he set out hastily for Locri by a shorter road. And when he had now arrived in Locris, Rufinus turned back to Croton, and escaping observation because he was not expected and because of a mist that then prevailed, he captured the city. Nicomachus, when he learned of this, went back to Tarentum, and encountering
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

48 "Ὅτι τῷ Πύρρῳ ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι συντελέσαν ἐβούλοντο, ἐτράπτητο πρὸς τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῆς Φερρεφάττης, δόξαν πλούτου μεγάλην ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοῦς συλῆσας ἐς τὸν Τάραντα τὰ σύλα ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑπεμψε. καὶ οἱ τε ἀνθρώποι οἷγου πάντες ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ τε ἀναθήματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσεν.—V. 26 (p. 590).

Zonaras 8, 6.

περιπεσῶν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε. καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσχώρησαν.

Τῷ δ’ ἔξης ἦτει Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Σαύνιον καὶ ἔς Δευκανίδα καὶ Βρεττίοις ἐπολέμησαν. ὅ δὲ Πύρρος τῆς Σικελίας ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἦδη δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύτησε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Λοκροὺς ἐκομίσατο (τὴν γὰρ φρουρὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκτείναντες μετέστησαν), ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ Ῥήγηνον στρατεύσας ἀπεκρύβη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη καὶ πλείστους ἀπέβαλε. μεταστὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶ ἐναντία φρουρησάντων δικαίωσας τινάς, παρὰ τῶν λυκτῶν σιτοῦ καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβε, καὶ εἰς Τάραντα ἀνεκομίσθη. κακῶς δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἱ Σαυνῖται ἐξαναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν. ἔλθων δὲ εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπη. τρωθέντος γὰρ πῶλου ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἀποστειραμένου τοὺς ἀναβάτας περιπλανομένου τε κατὰ ζῆτησιν τῆς μητρός, κάκεινς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθείσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων θορυβθέντων, φύρδην ἀνεμίχθησαν ἀπαντά. τέλος δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπεκράτησαν, συνχων ἀποκτείναντες καὶ ὃκτῳ ἑλώντες ἐλέφαντας, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα κατέσχον αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τρωθέντος γὰρ πῶλον Dind., πῶλον τρωθέντος γὰρ Mss., 362
BOOK X

When the allies were unwilling to contribute anything for the support of Pyrrhus, he betook himself to the treasuries of Proserpina, which were widely famed for their wealth, plundered them and sent the spoils by ship to Tarentum. And the men nearly all perished in a storm, while the money and offerings were cast up on shore.

Zonaras 8, 6.
Rufinus on the way, lost many men. And the Locrians came over to the Roman side.

The next year the Romans made expeditions into Samnium and into Lucania, and fought with the Bruttians. Pyrrhus, who had been driven out of Sicily and had now returned, was troubling them grievously. He got back the Locrians, after they had killed the Roman garrison and changed their allegiance; but in a campaign against Rhegium he was repulsed, was himself wounded, and lost great numbers. He then retired into Locris, and after putting to death a few who had opposed his cause, secured food and money from the rest and made his way back to Tarentum. But the Samnites, being hard pressed by the Romans, caused him to set forth again; and on coming to their assistance he was put to flight. For a young elephant had been wounded, and shaking off its riders, wandered about in search of its mother, whereupon the latter became excited and the other elephants grew turbulent, so that everything was thrown into dire confusion. Finally the Romans won the day, killing many men and capturing eight elephants, and they occupied the enemy's entrenchments. Pyrrhus, accompanied
"Οτι του Πύρρου εκεινο δη παντες εθαυμαζου, οτι νεανισκων τινων εν συμποσιοι σκωψαντων αυτων τα μεν πρωτα εξελεγξαι σφα τηθελησεν, οπως τιμωρησηται, επειτε ειπουτων αυτων ωτι πολυ πλειω και χαλεπωτερα δν ειρηκειμεν ει μητερ ο οινος ημας επελελοιπει, εγελασε και αφηκεν αυτως.—Μ. 110 (p. 178).

Zonaras 8, 6.

Πύρρος συν ολογοι ιππευσι διεφυγεν εις τον Τάραντα, εκειθεν δε εις την Ἡπειρον απεπλευσεν ως αυθις ἐπανήξων, τον Μιλωνα μετα φρουρας εις Τάραντα καταλεψας, δους αυτοις διφρον ιμασιν εκ του δερματος του Νικιου ενδεδεμένου, τιν ετι τη προδοσια απεκτεινεν. τον μεν ουν Νικιαν ουτως ετιμωρησατο, νεανισκους δε τινας εν συμποσιῳ σκωψαντας αυτων τιμωρησασθαι εμελλεν, ερωτησας δι αυτοις δια τι εσκαπτουν, ετει απεκριθησαν ότι "πολυ πλειω και χαλεπωτερα ειρηκειμεν δν ει μη ο οινος επιελελοιπε," γελασας αφηκεν αυτως.

Πύρρος μεν ουν επιφανεστατος εν στρατηγοις γενομενος και φοβουν πολυν τοις Ῥωμαιοις εμβαλων και πεμπτω έτει την Ἰταλιαν λιπον και επτη την Ελλαδα στρατεύσας ου πολλω υστερον εν Αργει απεδανε. γυνη γαρ τις, ως λόγος εχει, παριντα αυτων ιδειν απο του τεγους επιθυμησασα ἐσφαλη και εμπεσούσα διεθερευν αυτων. εν δε τω αυτω έτει ο τε Φαβρικιος και ο Πάππος ετιμητευσαν και ἄλλους τε των ιππέων ἀπήλεψαν και των βουλευτων και των Ρουφινος, καιπερ δικτατορεύσαντα και δις υπατεύσαντα.

364 1 ειρηκειμεν Mai, ειρήκαμεν Ms.
BOOK X

All admired the following act of Pyrrhus. Some youths at a banquet had ridiculed him, and at first he wished to convict and punish them, but, afterward, when they declared, "We should have said many other things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go.

Zonaras 8, 6.

by a few horsemen, made his escape to Tarentum, and from there sailed back to Epirus, leaving Milo behind with a garrison to take charge of Tarentum, inasmuch as he expected to come back again. He also gave them a chair fastened with straps made from the skin of Nicias, whom he had put to death for treachery. This, then, was the punishment that he meted out to Nicias. But in the case of some youths whom he was intending to punish for having ridiculed him at a banquet, he first asked them why they were ridiculing him, and when they answered, "We should have said many other things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go.

Now Pyrrhus, who had made a most distinguished record among generals, who had inspired the Romans with great fear, and had left Italy in the fifth year to make a campaign against Greece, not long afterward met his death in Argos. A woman, as the story runs, being eager to catch a glimpse of him from the roof as he passed by, made a misstep, and falling upon him, killed him. The same year Fabricius and Papus became censors; and among others whose names they erased from the lists of the knights and the senators was Rufinus, though he had served as dictator and had twice been consul. The reason was
33 ὡς ὁ Ἀγύλλας ἔπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους σφίσαι πολεμῆσαι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις τε ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστειλαν πρὶν καὶ ὁτιόν ψήφισθηναι, καὶ εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμῖσι τῆς χώρας ἔτυχον.—U o 2 (p. 374).

41 Καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαίος ὁ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεύς, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἑπικληθεῖς, ὡς τὸν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐξανομένους ἔμαθε, διὸρα τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ ὁμολογίαν

Zonaras 8, 6.

αἰτιον δ' ὅτι σκεύη ἀργυρὰ λιτρῶν δέκα εἰχεν. οὕτως οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πενίαν οὐ τὸ μὴ πολλὰ κεκτήσατε, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλῶν δείσατε εἶναι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἀρχοῦσι τοῖς ἐκδημοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατά τι πράγμα τὴ πόλει διαφέρουν ἐξιούσι τά τε ἀλλα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δικτύλιος ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἐδίδοτο.

Τῶν Ταρατών οὔ τινες κακωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, Νίκωνα προστησάμενοι. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυσαν, τείχόν τι τῆς σφέτερας χώρας κατέσχον, κακείθεν ὀρμόμενοι τῷ Μίλωνι ἐπήσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμῆσαι σφίσι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστειλαν καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτυχον.

Καὶ Πτολεμαίος δὲ ὁ Φιλάδελφος ὁ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεύς, τὸν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα μαθὼν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐξανομένους, διὸρα τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἐπονήσατο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθέντες πρέσβεις

1 Ἀγύλλας Leuncl., ἀγύλλα Mss.
BOOK X

The Agyllaeans [Caerites] when they learned that the Romans were disposed to make war on them, despatched envoys to Rome before any vote was taken, and obtained peace upon surrendering half of their territory.

Ptolemy, nicknamed Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared badly and that the Romans were growing powerful, sent gifts to them and made a compact. The Romans, ac-

---

Zonaras 8, 6.

that he had in his possession silver plate of ten pounds' weight. Thus the Romans regarded poverty as consisting not in not having many things, but in wanting many things. Accordingly, their officials who went abroad and others who set out on any business of importance for the state received from the treasury a seal-ring in addition to their other necessary expenses.

Some of the Tarentines who had been injured by Milo attacked him, with Nico at their head. But, failing to accomplish anything, they occupied a fortress in their own land, and with that as headquarters kept making assaults upon Milo. When they learned that the Romans were disposed to make war upon them, they despatched envoys to Rome and obtained peace.

And Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared badly and that the Romans were growing powerful, sent gifts to them and made a compact. And the Romans, pleased

---

1 The Caerites, as is shown by a comparison with Frag. 33 above. Zonaras, in abbreviating his source, failed to note the change of subject.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἔποιήσατο. οἱ οὖν Ρωμαιοὶ ἠσθέντες δὴ καίτοι
diὰ πλείστον ὁν̄ περὶ πολλοῦ σφὰς ἔπεποίητο,
πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν. ἔπειδῆ τε̣
ἐκείνοι δόρα παρ’ αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὴ λαβόντες
ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σφὰς ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο
αὐτά.—U³ 3 (p. 374).

Ζονάρας 8, 6.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν’ οἱ μεγαλοπρεπὴ δόρα
παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβόντες εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα
eἰσήγησαν. ἢ δὲ βουλὴ οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλ’ εἰάσεν
αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἔχειν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τὸν Σαυνίτας διὰ Καρουλι-
λίου ὑπέταξαν, καὶ Δενκανῶν καὶ Βρεττίων διὰ
Παπειρίου ἔκρατησαν. καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ὁ
αὐτὸς Παπείριος ἔχειρώσατο. ἀχθόμενοι γὰρ τῷ
Μίλωνι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν σφετέρων κακούμενοι τῶν,
ὡς εἰρηταὶ, ἐπιθεμένων τῷ Μίλωνι, Καρχηδόνιος
ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Πύρρον τεθνάναι
ἐμαθοῦ. ο δὲ Μίλων ἐν στενῷ ἐαυτῷ τὰ πράγ-
ματα συνηγμένα ὅρων, τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκ τῆς
ἳπείρου ἐφεδρεύοντων, τῶν δὲ γε Καρχηδόνιου ἐκ
τῆς θαλάσσης, παρέδωκε τῷ Παπειρίῳ τὴν ἄκραν,
ἐπὶ τῷ ἀβλαβῆς μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων ἀποχωρήσαν. ἐντεύθεν οἱ μὲν Καρχη-
δόνιοι ὡς ἐνυποῦντο τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς ἀπέπλευσαν, ἡ
δὲ πόλις προσεχώρησε τῷ Παπειρίῳ καὶ τὰ
ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῖς αὐτῷ παρέδωκαν καὶ τὰ τείχη
καθείλω καὶ δασμοφορεῖν ὁμολόγησαν.

Οὐτω δὲ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ὑφ’ ἐαυτοὺς οἱ Ῥω-
μαιοὶ ποιησάμενοι ἐτράπηκαν πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγηνον,
ὅτι τὸν Κρότωνα προδοσία λαβόντες τὴν τε πόλιν

368
BOOK X

cordingly, pleased that a monarch living so very far away should have come to regard them highly, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. From him the envoys received magnificent gifts; but when they offered these to the treasury, they were not accepted.

Zonaras 8, 6.

with this, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. The latter received magnificent gifts from him, which they desired to place in the treasury; the senate, however, would not accept them, but allowed the envoys to keep them.

After this, they subdued the Samnites through the activity of Carvilius and overcame the Lucanians and Bruttians at the hands of Papirius. This same Papirius subjugated the Tarentines also. The latter, angry at Milo and harassed by their own countrymen, who, as has been related, had made the attack on Milo, called in the Carthaginians to their aid when they learned that Pyrrhus was dead. Milo, finding himself in a tight place, since the Romans were besetting him on the land side and the Carthaginians on the water front, surrendered the citadel to Papirius on condition of being permitted to depart unharmed with his followers and his money. Then the Carthaginians, inasmuch as they were at peace with the Romans, sailed away, and the city surrendered to Papirius. They delivered to him their arms and their ships, demolished their walls, and agreed to pay tribute.

When the Romans had thus secured control of Tarentum, they turned their attention to Rhegium, whose inhabitants, after taking Croton by treachery,
κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις διέ-
φθειραν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Μαμερτίνους τοὺς τὴν
Μεσσήνην ἔχοντας, οὗς συμμάχους οἱ ἐν τῷ
Ῥηγίῳ προσεδέχοντο, ὠμολογίᾳ διεκρούσαντο,
ἐκακοπάθησαν δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὸ Ῥήγιον
σπάνει τε τροφῆς καὶ ἄλλοις τισίν, ἔσσε Ἰέρων ἐκ
Σικελίας σιτόν τε Ῥωμαίοις πέμψας καὶ στρα-
τιώτας ἐπέρρωσε σφᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνείλεν.
ἡ τοῖς περιοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτῶν ἀπεδόθη·
οἱ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ ἐκολάσθησαν.
Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰέρων οὔτε πατρόθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχων
τινά, μητρόθεν δὲ καὶ δουλείᾳ προσήκων, Σικελίας
ἀπάνησι  ἢρξε μικρῷ, καὶ φίλος Ῥωμαίοις ἐνομίσθη
καὶ σύμμαχος, οὖτος οὖν τῶν Συρακουσίων κρα-
τήσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φυγήν καὶ τοὺς Καρ-
χηδονίους εὐλαβθεῖς ἐγκειμένους τῇ Σικελίᾳ, πρὸς
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε, καὶ πρὸτιν χάριν αὐτοῖς
tὴν εἰρημένην συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν
ἀπένειμε.
Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ χειμῶνος γεγονότος πολλοῦ,
ὡστε τὸν Τίβεριν ἐς πολὺ τοῦ βάθους κρυστάλλω-
θηναι καὶ αὐναθήναι τὰ δένδρα, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώ-
μη ἐταλαιπώρησαν, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα τῆς πόλας
ἐπιλιποῦσθης ἐφθάρσαν.

Zonaras 8, 7.

7. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἦτει Δόλιος τις ἀνὴρ Σαυνίτης,
ὁμηρεύων ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐκδράς, δύναμιν συνελέ-
ξατο, καὶ χωρίον τι καρτερὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ κατα-
λαβὼν ἐλήστευεν. ἐφ' ὃν Κύνντος τε Γάλλος καὶ
37ο.
BOOK X

Zonaras 8, 6.

had razed the city to the ground and had slain the Romans who were there. They averted the danger that threatened them from the side of the Mamertines in possession of Messana, whom the people of Rhegium were expecting to secure as allies, by coming to an agreement with them; but in the siege of Rhegium they suffered hardships because of the scarcity of food, among other reasons, until Hiero by sending them grain and soldiers from Sicily strengthened their hands and aided them in capturing the city. The place was restored to the survivors among the original inhabitants, while those who had plotted against it were punished.

Now Hiero, who was not of distinguished family even on his father's side, and on his mother's side actually belonged to the slave class, ruled almost the whole of Sicily, and was considered a friend and ally of the Romans. After the flight of Pyrrhus he had become master of Syracuse, and being on his guard against the Carthaginians, who were encroaching upon Sicily, he was inclined to favour the Romans; and the first mark of favour that he showed them was the alliance and the sending of grain already related.

After this came a winter so severe that the Tiber was frozen to a great depth and trees were killed. The people of Rome suffered hardships, and the cattle perished for want of grass.

Zonaras 8, 7.

7. The next year a Samnite named Lollius, living in Rome as a hostage, made his escape, gathered a band and seized a strong position in his native country, from which he carried on brigandage. Quintus Gallus and Gaius Fabius made a campaign
 "Ὅτι τοιαύτα πράττοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖξον ἄει αἱρόμενοι ὑπερεφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύντων Φάβιον βουλεύτην Ἀπολλωνιάτας τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὸιόνῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποικισθεὶσιν

Ζωναράς 8, 7.

Γάιος Φάβιος στρατεύσαντες αὐτὸν μὲν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σύγκλυδας καὶ ἀόπλους τοὺς πλεόνας ὄντας συνέσχον, χαρῆσαντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ Καρικίνους, παρὰ οἷς τὴν λείαν ἐκείνοι ἀπετέθειντο, πράγματα ἔσχον. καὶ τέλος νυκτὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτομόλων ὑπερβάντες τῇ τοῦ τεῖχος ἐκιώνυνεν ἀπολέσθαι διὰ σκότους, οὐχ ἡς ἁσελήνου τῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης, ἀλλὰ ὧ τοὺς σφοδρότατα ἐνιφεν ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς σελήνης άθρόν ἐκράτησαν τοῦ χωρίου.

Πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα τότε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ ἀγυρμαῖς δραχμαῖς χρησάσθαι.

Εἶτα εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλαβρίαν ἐστράτευσαν, προφάσει μὲν ὧτε τὸν Πύρρον ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχία κατέτρεχον, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ὧτε ἐβούλουντο οἰκειώσασθαι τῷ Βρεντέσιον, ὡς εὐλόμενοι καὶ προσβολὴν καὶ κάταρσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοιαύτην ἔχον ὅσθ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐξανάγεσθαι τινας καὶ καταλείψιν. καὶ εἴλον αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποίκους ἐπεμψαν εἰς αὐτὸ τε καὶ εἰς ἄτερα. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀνύνουτες καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖξον αἱρόμενοι οὐχ ὑπερεφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύντων Φάβιον βουλεύτην Ἀπολλωνιάτας τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὸιόνῳ κόλπῳ ἐξέδωκαν, διὰ

1 ἄει αἱρόμενοι Βκ., διαρούμενοι Μπ.
2 καρικίνους ΒΑ, κανικίνους Σ, καρκίνους Σ.
BOOK X

Though the Romans were achieving such results as these and were ever rising to greater power, they showed no haughtiness as yet; on the contrary, they surrendered to the people of Apollonia (Corinthian colonists on the Ionian Gulf) Quintus Fabius, a

Zonaras 8, 7.

against him, and captured him along with his rabble, most of whom were unarmed; on proceeding, however, against the Caraceni, in whose keeping the robbers had deposited their booty, they encountered difficulties. Finally one night, led by deserters, they scaled the wall at a certain point and came dangerously near perishing on account of the darkness—not that it was a moonless night but because it was snowing fiercely. But the moon shone out, and they at once captured the position.

A great deal of money fell to the share of Rome in those days, so that they even used silver denarii.

Next they made an expedition into the district now called Calabria. Their excuse was that the people had received Pyrrhus and were overrunning their allied territory, but in reality they wished to get possession of Brundisium; for the place had a fine harbour, and for the traffic with Illyricum and Greece there was an approach and landing-place of such a character that vessels would sometimes come to land and put out to sea wafted by the same wind. They captured it, and sent colonists both to this point and to others as well. Yet while accomplishing these exploits and rising to greater power, they showed no haughtiness; on the contrary, they surrendered to the people of Apollonia, on the Ionian Gulf, Quintus Fabius a senator, because he

373
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εξέδωκαν, ὃτι τινὰς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὑβρίσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἔπειν τι ἐδρασαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεμψαν οἶκαδε.—V. 27 (p. 590).

Zonaras 8, 7.

πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὑβρίσεν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψαν οἶκαδε ἀπαθῇ.

'Επὶ δὲ Κύντου Φαβίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου ὑπάτων πρὸς Οὐλσινίους ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ ἐλευθερία αὐτῶν ἐνσπονδοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς. οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι Τυρσηνῶν ὄντες ἱσχύν τε περιποιήσαντο καὶ τείχος κατεσκεύασαν ὁχυρώσαντον, πολιτεία τε εὐνομομενή ἐκέχρησαν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ πολεμοῦντές ποτε τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις επὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχουν. ὡς δ' ἐχειρώθησαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐξώ-κειλαν εἰς ἀβρότητα, τὴν δὲ διοίκησιν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὰς στρατείας δι' ἐκεῖνων ὦς τὸ πολύ ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐς τοῦτο προῆγαγον σφάς ὡς καὶ δύναμιν τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ φρόνημα ἔχειν καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐαυτοὺς ἄξιοιν. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἕτυχον ταύτης δι' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τὰς σφών διεσποίνας ἦγαγοντο καὶ τοὺς διεσπότας διεδέχοντο, καὶ εἰς τὴν βουλήν ἐνεγράφοντο καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐλάμβανον καὶ αὐτὸι τὸ σύμπαν κύρος εἶχον, καὶ τὰ τε ἀλλα καὶ τὰς ὑβρεῖς τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν διεσποτῶν αὐτοὶς γινομέναι ἰταμώτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους ἀντεπεδείκνυτο. οὔτε οὖν φέρειν σφᾶς οἱ ἀρχαιοὶ πολῖται οὔτε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δεδυνημένοι ἀμύνασθαι, λάθρα πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀπέστειλαν. οἱ καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων

374
senator, because he had insulted some of their envoys. The people there, however, did him no injury, but actually sent him home.

Zonaras 8, 7.

had insulted their envoys. But they, on receiving him, sent him back home unharmed.

In the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Aemilius\(^1\) they made an expedition to Volsinii to secure the freedom of its citizens; for they were under treaty obligations to them. These people were the most ancient of the Etruscans; they had acquired power and had erected an extremely strong citadel, and they had a well-governed state. Hence, on a certain occasion, when they were involved in war with the Romans, they resisted for a very long time. Upon being subdued, however, they drifted into indolent ease, left the management of the city to their servants, and used those servants also, as a rule, to carry on their campaigns. Finally they encouraged them to such an extent that the servants gained both power and spirit, and felt that they had a right to freedom; and, indeed, in the course of time they actually obtained this through their own efforts. After that they were accustomed to wed their mistresses, to succeed their masters, to be enrolled in the senate, to secure the offices, and to hold the entire authority themselves. Furthermore, they were not at all slow to requite their masters for any insults and the like that were offered them. Hence the old-time citizens, not being able to endure them, and yet possessing no power of their own to punish them, despatched envoys by stealth to Rome. The envoys urged the senate to convene secretly by night in a

\(^1\) Probably an error on the part of Zonaras for Mamilius.
νυκτὸς τὴν γερουσίαν εἰς ἵδιωτικὴν οἰκίαν ἔθειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξαγγέλθη, παρεκάλεσαν καὶ ἔτυχον. καὶ οἳ μὲν ὅς οὐδενὸς ἐπακούοντος ἐβουλεύοντο, Σαυνίτης δὲ τις παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπι-ξενούμενος καὶ νοσῶν ἔλαθε κατὰ χῶραν μείνας καὶ ἔμαθεν ἃ ἐγηφίσαντο καὶ ἐμήνυσε τοὺς τὴν αἰ-τίαν ἔχουσι. κακείνου τοῦ πρέσβεις ἑπανίστατες κατέσχον καὶ ἐβασάνισαν καὶ μαθόντες τὰ δρό-μενα αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους. δὲ οὖν ταῦθ' οἳ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Φάβιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστειλαν. καὶ δὲ τοὺς τε ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῶν ἐξ ἑκείνων ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ φθείρας κατέκλεισε τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα τρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, θαρσήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεξ-ήλθον. καὶ ἤττηθεντες αὐθίς ἀνεχόρησαν καὶ ἐπολλορκοῦντο καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην λιμῷ ἐμπεσόντες παρέδωκαν καὶ αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ὑπατος τοὺς μὲν ἀφελο-μένους τὰς τῶν κυρίων τιμᾶς αἰκισάμενος ἐκτείνε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέκαψε, τοὺς δὲ αὕθιγενεῖς, καὶ εἰ τίνες τῶν οἰκετῶν χρηστὸν περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐγένοντο, ἐν ἔτερῳ κατφίκισε τόπῳ.
BOOK X

Dio, Book X. "These even suspect you besides."

Zonaras 8, 7.

private house, so that no report might get abroad, and they obtained their request. The senators, accordingly, deliberated under the impression that no one was listening; but a certain Samnite, who was being entertained by the master of the house and was sick, kept his bed unnoticed, and learning what was voted, gave information to those against whom charges were preferred. These seized and tortured the envoys on their return; and when they found out what was afoot, they put to death the envoys and the other more prominent men as well. This, then, was the occasion which led the Romans to send Fabius against them. He routed those who came to meet him, destroyed many in their flight, shut up the remainder within the wall, and made an assault upon the city. In that action he was wounded and killed, whereupon the enemy gained confidence and made a sortie. Upon being again defeated, they retired and underwent a siege; and when they were reduced to famine, they surrendered. The consul scourged to death the men who had seized upon the honours of the ruling class, and he razed the city to the ground; the native-born citizens, however, and any servants who had been loyal to their masters were settled by him on another site.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI

43 "Οτι αὐτίαι ἐγένοντο τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους δια-
φορᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς

Zonaras 8, 8.

8. Ἐντεύθεν ἢρξαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαποντιῶν ἀγώνων ναυτικῶν γὰρ οὗτι πάνυ πεπείραντο·
θαλαττουργοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς
τε ἀλλὰς ἤπειρος ἐπεραιώθησαν. Καρχηδονίοισι
δὲ πρώτοις ἐπολέμησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν οὔσιν ἦττοσιν
οὔτε πλοῦτῳ οὔτε Αρετῇ χώρας, καὶ ἡσκημένοις
τὰ ναυτικὰ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ παρεσκευασμένοις
ἱππικαῖς τε δυνάμεις καὶ πεζαῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι,
καὶ ἄρχουσι Διόσκουρον, τὴν τε Σαρδῶ καὶ τῆς
Σικελίας τὰ πλεῖον κατέχουσιν ὅθεν καὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν χειρώσασθαι δι’ ἐλπίδων πεποιήμενο.
τὰ
tε γὰρ ἀλλὰ σφᾶς φρονηματίζεσθαι ἐπειδοθοῦν, καὶ
τῷ αὐτοῦμοι λίαι ἐτύγχανον ἐπαιρόμενοι (τὸν
γὰρ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῦς κλῆσιν ἐτησίου ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ’
οὖν ἐπὶ χρονίῳ δυναστείᾳ προεβάλλοντο), καὶ ὡς
αὐτοῖς πονοῦμενοι προθυμότατα ὄργων.

Σκῆψεις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν
ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐβοήθησαν,
378
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI

The causes responsible for the dispute between the two were—on the side of the Romans, that the

Zonaras 8, 8.

8. At this time the Romans began their struggles oversea; previously they had had no experience at all in naval matters. They now became seamen and crossed over to the islands and to other divisions of the mainland. The first people with whom they warred were the Carthaginians. These were no whit inferior to them in wealth or in the excellence of their land; they were trained in naval science to a high degree of efficiency, were equipped with cavalry forces, infantry, and elephants, ruled the Africans, and held possession both of Sardinia and the greater part of Sicily; as a result they had conceived hopes of subjugating Italy. Various factors contributed to increase their self-confidence, but they were especially proud by reason of their position of independence, since they elected their king under the title of a yearly office and not for permanent rule; and feeling that their efforts were expended in their own behalf, they were brimful of enthusiasm.

The reasons alleged for the war were—on the side of the Romans, that the Carthaginians had assisted
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ταραττίνοις ἔβοηθησαν, τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι φιλίαν τῷ Ἰέρωνι συνέθεντο. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν, οἷά που πεφύκασιν οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πλεονεκτεῖν¹ βουλόμενωι τὴν δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῦ αἰσχυνόμενοι, σκῆψεις ἐποιοῦντο· ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια

2 ἄλλως ἔχει. δυνάμενοι μὲν² γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Καρχηδονίοι, αὐξανόμενοι δὲ ἤδη οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀλλήλους τε ύφεωρῶντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀεὶ πλείονος κατὰ τὸ τοῖς ³ πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν εὐ πράττοσιν, ἐμφυτον, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προήχθησαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, μίαν⁴ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάτεροι τῶν οἰκείων σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων

3 προσκτῆσασθαι νομίζοντες εἶναι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἀδύνατον τε ἦν δύο δήμους ἐν τε ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐν δυνάμει φρονήματι τε ὅντας, καὶ βραχύτατον ὡς⁵ εἰπεῖν ταῖς τῆς ναυτιλίας ἰξύτητι διεστηκότας, ἄλλων μὲν τινῶν ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐθελήσατο. τοιοῦτον κατὰ

Zonaras 8, 8.

Καρχηδονίοις δὲ ὅτι φιλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι συνέθεντο τῷ Ἰέρωνι· τὸ δ' ἄληθές, ὅτι ἀλλήλους ύφεωρῶντο, καὶ μίαν σωτηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάτεροι φοντο εἰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσκτῆσαιντο. οὕτω διανοού-

¹ πλεονεκτεῖν Bk. πλείον ἐκείνου Ms. ² μὲν supplied by Bk. ³ τοῖς supplied by v. Herw. ⁴ μίαν supplied by Bk. from Zon. ⁵ ὡς supplied by Bk.
BOOK XI

Carthaginians had assisted the Tarentines, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. But these they merely put forward as excuses, as those are inclined to do who in reality are seeking their own advantage but are ashamed to be thought to be doing so. The truth is otherwise. As a matter of fact, the Carthaginians, who had long been powerful, and the Romans, who were now growing rapidly stronger, kept viewing each other with jealousy; and they were led into war partly by the desire of continually acquiring more—in accordance with the instinct of the majority of mankind, most active when they are most successful—and partly also by fear. Both sides alike thought that the one sure salvation for their own possessions lay in obtaining also those of the others. If there had been no other reason, it was most difficult, nay, impossible, for two peoples which were free, powerful, and proud, and separated from each other by a very short distance, so to speak, considering the quickness of the voyage, to rule alien tribes and yet be willing to keep their hands off each

Zonaras 8. 8.

the Tarentines, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. The truth was, however, that they were viewing each other with jealousy and thought that the only salvation for their own possessions lay in the possibility of obtaining also those of the others.

381
4 "Ωτι το ἀγώνισμα λόγῳ μὲν περὶ Μεσσήνης καὶ Σικελίας, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἕκα-τέρων ἐκεῖθεν ἢ ἡ κυνόμενον ἦσθανοντο, καὶ τῆν νῆσον, ἀτε ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν κειμένην, ἐπίβασιν τοῖς κρατήσασιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔτερους ἀσφαλῆ παρέ-ξειν ἐνόμιζον.—Μ. 112 (p. 179).

Zonaras 8, 8.

μένοις αὐτοῖς συμπεσόν τι τὰς σπονδάς τε διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἐξηρέθισε. τὸ δ’ ἦν τοιοῦτον.

Οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ἐκ Καμπανίας ποτὲ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τότε δ’ ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος πολυρκούμενοι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐ σφίσι προσήκοντας. κάκεινοι ἐτοίμως ἐπικουρήσαι αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴδότες ὅτι, ἃν τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι μὴ τεῦξονται, πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τραπῆσονται, κάκεινοι τῆς τε Σικελίας ὅλης κρατήσουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς διαβήσονται. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος αὐτὴ βραχυνή τῆς ἦπερον διέχει, ὡς μυθεύσθαι ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἦπερωτο. ἡ τε ὅνη νῆσος, οὕτω τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπικείμενη, ἐδόκει τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐκκαλέσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἀντιπέρων ἀντιποιήσασθαι, ἄν γε ταῦτῃ κατάσχωσι, καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη παρεῖχε τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ κυριεύειν.

Ὑφισάμενοι δὲ βοήθειαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Μαμερτῖνοι, οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησαν διά τινας ἐπισυμβάσας αἰτίας. ὃθεν ἀνάγκη πιεζο-
other. But a chance incident of the following nature broke their truce and plunged them into war.

The conflict nominally concerned Messana and Sicily, but in reality both sides perceived that from this beginning the struggle would involve their own country as well; and they thought that the island, lying, as it did, between them, would furnish to the side that conquered it a safe base for operations against the other party.

Zonaras 8, 8.

While they were thus disposed, a certain incident broke the truce and provoked them to war. It was of the following nature.

The Mamertines, who had once conducted a colony from Campania to Messana, were now being besieged by Hiero, and they called upon the Romans as a nation of kindred blood. The latter readily voted to aid them, knowing that in case the Mamertines should not secure an alliance with them, they would have recourse to the Carthaginians; and then the Carthaginians would master all Sicily, and from there cross over into Italy. For this island is such a short distance away from the mainland that the story goes that it was itself once a part of the mainland. So the island, thus lying off Italy, seemed to invite the Carthaginians to lay claim also to the land over opposite, could they but occupy Sicily first; and the possession of Messana assured to its masters the control of the strait also.

Though the Romans voted to assist the Mamertines, they did not promptly come to their aid because of various hindrances that occurred. Hence the
"Оти Гая Клау́дий велов эс екклесиан альла те епагога είπε кαί о́тι εν' елевтерώσει τής πόλεως όκει, ού γάρ δείσθαι γε 'Ρωμαίον Μεσσήνης ούδεν καί ότι ευθύς, ἐπειδὰν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν καταστήσῃ, ἀποπλευσεῖται.κάκ τούτου καί τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἦτοι καί ἀποχωρήσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἥ, εἰ δή τι δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, εἰ

Zonaras 8, 8.

μενοι οἱ Μαμερτίνοι Καρχηδόνιους ἐπεκαλέσαντο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις εἰρήνην κατεπράξαντο πρὸς Ἰέρωνα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Ἦρωι ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιώθωσι, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον, Ἀννωνος σφῶν ἡγομένου. κἂν τούτῳ Γάιος Κλαῦδιος χειμαρχῶν, ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ύπὸ Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου προπεμφθείς, εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀφίκετο. διαπλεῦσαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθάρρησε, πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων ὄρων ναυτικόν. ἀκατιώ δὲ ἐμβὰς προσέπεσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καὶ διειλέχθη αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου. ἀντειπότοιν δὲ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων, τότε μὲν µῆδεν πράξας ἀνεκμίςθη, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν στάσει θύτας (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείκειν ἐβούλοντο καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἐβαρύνοντο), ἐπλευσεν αὕτως, καὶ ἄλλα τε εἰπεν ἑπαγωγά καὶ ως ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἤκει, καὶ ἐπειδὰν κατασταίεν τὰ πράγματα, ἀποπλεύσει καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἡ ἀποχωρήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἥ, εἰ τι δίκαιον ἔχοιεν, τούτο εἰπεῖν. ώς δ' οὔτε
BOOK XI

Gaius Claudius came to the meeting, and among other remarks which he made to tempt them declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, since the Romans had no need of Messana; and that he would immediately sail away, as soon as he had set their affairs in order. Next he commanded the Carthaginians also either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea to offer, to submit to arbitration.

Zonaras 8, 8.
Mamertines, under the spur of necessity, called upon the Carthaginians. These effected peace with Hiero both for themselves and for those who had invoked their aid, so as to prevent the Romans from crossing into the island; and under the leadership of Hanno they kept guard over the strait and the city. Meantime Gaius Claudius, a military tribune, sent ahead with a few ships by Appius Claudius, had arrived at Rhegium. But to sail across was more than he dared, for he saw that the Carthaginian fleet was far larger. So he embarked in a skiff and landed at Messana, where he talked to the Mamertines as long as the time permitted. When the Carthaginians spoke in opposition, he returned without accomplishing anything at the time; but later, ascertaining that the Mamertines were at odds,—they did not wish to submit to the Romans, and yet were weary of the Carthaginians,—he sailed over again. Among other remarks which he made to tempt them he declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, and that as soon as their affairs could be set in order, he would sail away. He also commanded the Carthaginians either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea, to offer it.

385
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 κρίσιν καταστήναι. ὡς δ' οὕτε τῶν Μαμερτίνων
tis ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδώνιοι ἀτε
καὶ βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες βραχὺ αὐτοῦ
ἐφρόντιζον, αὐταρκεῖ ἐφη μαρτύριον τὴν σιωπῆν
παρ' ἀμφότερων ἔχειν,1 τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἄδικοιεν, δεδι-
καιολογηθεῖται γάρ ἄν εἴπερ τι ύγιες ἐφρόνουν, τῶν
dὲ ὅτι τῆς ἔλευθερίας ἐπιθυμοῦεν παρρησία γάρ
άν, εἴπερ τα τῶν Καρχηδόνιων ἦροῦντο, ἀλλὰς τε
καὶ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν παροῦσης κεχρηθεῖσα. καὶ
προσυπέσχετο σφισὶ βοηθήσεων καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος
αὐτῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὃν καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτησιν
tῆς ἐπικουρίας ἢν ἐπεποίητο.—Μ. 113 (p. 179).

Zonaras 8, 8.

τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ οἱ
Καρχηδώνιοι, βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, οὐδὲν
αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, “αὐταρκεῖ,” ἐφη, “μαρτύριον
παρ' ἀμφότερων ἡ σιωπή, τῶν μὲν οτι ἄδικοιεν,
eὶ γάρ τι ύγιες ἐφρόνουν, ἐδικαιολογηθαντο ἂν,
tῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἔλευθερίας ἐφίεναι· ἐπαρρησιά-
σαντο γάρ ἂν, εἰ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων προήρητο.”
καὶ ἐπηγγέλλετο βοηθήσεων αὐτοῖς. θορύβου δὲ
καὶ ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῶν Μαμερτίνων ἐπὶ τούτοις
γενομένου εὐθὺς ἀνέπλυεσε πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγιον, καὶ
μετ' ὅλιγον παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ βιασάμενος τὸν
dιάπλουν, τὸ μὲν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς

1 τὴν σιωπήν . . . ἔχειν Βκ., ἡ σιωπῆ . . . ἔχει Με.
BOOK XI

Now when not one of the Mamertines, by reason of fear, opened his lips, and the Carthaginians, since they were occupying the city by force, paid little heed to him, he stated that in the silence of both sides he had sufficient evidence. On the part of the invaders it showed that they were in the wrong, since they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest; and on the part of the Mamertines, that they desired freedom, since they would have been quite free to speak, had they chosen the side of the Carthaginians, especially as there was a force of the latter present. Furthermore he promised that he would aid them, both on account of their Italian origin and on account of the request for assistance which they had made.

Zonaras 8, 8.

Now when not one of the Mamertines, by reason of fear, opened his lips, and the Carthaginians, who were occupying the city by force, paid no need to him, he said: "The silence on both sides affords sufficient evidence. On the part of the invaders it shows that they are in the wrong, since they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest; and on the part of the Mamertines, that they covet freedom, since they would have spoken freely if they had espoused the cause of the Carthaginians." And he promised to aid them. At this a tumult of applause arose from the Mamertines. He then sailed back to Rhegium, and a little later forced a passage across with his entire fleet. However, partly because of the numbers and skill of the Carthagin-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 "Оτι Γάιος Κλαύδιος τῶν τε τριήρων τινάς ἀπέβαλε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεσώθη. οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ θρυλοῦ ἤττου οὖτε ἐκεῖνος οὐτε οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ῥώμαιοι ἀντελάβοντο τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτι πρῶτον πειρασάμενοι, αὐτὴς ἠττήθησαν, ὅπερ ποὺ φιλοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτον τὶ ἐγχειρισάμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες ποιεῖν, πρὸς οἴνων τὸ πρόσθεν τιθέμενοι καὶ μηδὲ αὐθίνες ποτε κατορθώσειν νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθυμότερον αὐτὴς διὰ τὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀποτετράφθαι δόξωσι, μετεποιήσαντο.—Μ. 114 (p. 180).

8 Ὅστι ὁ Ἀννων οὔτε ἄλλως ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τῶν πόλεμον ποιούμενον, εἴ τε καὶ δεόν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σπονδῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τρέψαι, μη κατάρχειν αὐτῶς νομισθεῖν, θέλων, ἀπέπεμψε αὐτὸ τὰς ναύς καὶ τέχνης τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τὸ δὲ πλείστον διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χαλεπότητα καὶ χειμῶνα ἐξαίφνης γενόμενον, τινάς τε τῶν τριήρων ἀπέβαλε καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς μόλις εἰς τὸ Ῥήγηον ἀπεσώθη.

Zonaras 8, 8.

9. Οὐ μέντοι τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τήν ἠττᾶν ἀπέσχοιντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν Κλαύδιος τὰς ναύς ἐπεσκεύαζεν. Ἀννον δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαλύσεως εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρέψαι βουλομένοι, καὶ τὰς ἀλούσας τριήρεις τῷ Κλαυδίῳ.

1 πειρασάμενοι v. Herw., . . . μενοι Ms. 2 εν Bs., επ’ Ms. 3 αὐτῶς v. Herw., αὐτῆς Ms. 4 ἀπέπεμψε Bk., προσέεμψε Ms.

388
BOOK XI

Gaius Claudius lost some of his triremes and with difficulty got back to safety. Neither he nor the Romans in the City, however, relaxed their attempts to master the sea because they had been worsted when first making trial of it, although this is the ordinary course that people pursue who fail in their first undertaking and think that they can never again succeed, viewing the past in the light of an omen. On the contrary, they applied themselves to the sea with even greater zeal, chiefly because they were ambitious and did not wish to appear to have been diverted from their purpose by the disaster.

Hanno was in no wise disposed to make light of the war, and wished, in case it were bound to occur, to throw the responsibility at least for breaking the truce upon the other man, for fear it might be thought that he himself was taking the initiative. Accordingly, he sent back to him the

Zonaras 8, 8.

ians, but chiefly owing to the violence of the current and to a storm that suddenly came up, he lost some of his triremes and barely succeeded in getting back safely to Rhegium with the remainder.

Zonaras 8, 9.

9. However, the Romans did not avoid the sea because of their defeat. Claudius proceeded to repair his ships, while Hanno, wishing to throw the responsibility for breaking the truce upon the Romans, sent to Claudius the captured triremes and was restoring
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tous aìxmalòtous, prós te tìn eìrìdhùn próukaleíto, kai prospaparínei òi mú₉ polupraγmoneìvements tìn thalattan.—M. 115 (p. 180).

9 "Oti òphei ouòdeν édéξato, òpoeilìhùn úpérffrona kai νemèsthìn òpêlìhsen' éfhi te γàr μην απονìψasaì pote tас χèiras ën tì thalàssìa toìs òpòmíous òpitèpseìven, kai metà tautìs ápèbdale kai tìn Mèssìnhùn òù polleù òsèteron. —M. 116 (p. 180).

10 "Oti ò Klaúdios kataλabòw toùs Mameρtìnous ën tò ólìmèni suνestramaμéνous, èkklyssìan te autòwn èpòìsìte kai eìpòw¹ òti "ouòdeν déòmæi tòùn ópìlouì, ἀλλ' autòis ùmèn diagnostòì pànta èpìtrèpetw," èpèisè òpòs metapèmpsaì tòùn "Aννòna" múì òwllìhèntòs te autòù kataβhìnaì polleìs ènèkèntòi kataπtòwv kai λègnìn òti, eì dhì ti kai

Zonaras 8, 9.

èpèmψe kai toùs aìxmalòtous òpedìdou kai prós tìn eìrìdhùn próukaleíto autòù. èpæi ð' ouòdeν édéξato, òpêlìhsìs μèν απονìψasaì pote tòùs χèiras ën tìn thalàssìa toùs òpòmíous èássai. ò Klaúdios ðè tòù tou πòrbìmuì fòsì πìtan kàtanòìsas, ètòrhìte tòùt ðòù kai tòùt ànòmò κì tòn òìlìs òtàs Òtìlìas èis tìn ònikèìan àma fóroutas, kai ouòtò dìèπlèvoun èis tìn òìlìs, mèòdhìs ènàntìwòtòs. èuòoun ouò ën tò òlìmèn toùs Mameρtìnous (ò γàr òAνòwn πòròπòπtëúsas autòùs ën tìn ákropòleì kathòstò fòlòtòw autòù), èkklyssìan sòνìgagìe, kai diálekòsìs autòìs èpèisè metapèmpsaì tòùn òAνòna. ðè kàtaβhìnaì ouòk òìlìheì fòbìthèìs ðè

390 ¹ eìpòw Gros, elèvèn Ms.
ships and the captives, and urged him to agree to peace; moreover he advised him not to meddle with the sea.

When Claudius would listen to nothing, he uttered an arrogant and outrageous threat. For he declared that he would never allow the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea; yet he lost not only the sea but also Messana not much later.

Claudius, finding the Mamertines gathered at the harbour, called an assembly of their number and made the announcement: "I have no need of arms, but leave it with yourselves to decide everything." By this means he persuaded them to send for Hanno; and when Hanno was unwilling to come down, he denounced him vigorously, inveighing

Zonaras 8, 9.

the captives; and he urged him to agree to peace. When the other would listen to nothing, he threatened that he would never permit the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea. But Claudius, now that he had become acquainted with the strait, watched for a time when the current and the wind both bore from Italy toward Sicily, and then sailed to the island, encountering no opposition. So, discovering the Mamertines at the harbour, he convened an assembly and talked to them, finally persuading them to send for Hanno; for the latter had already become suspicious of their movements and had established himself on the citadel, which he was guarding. Now Hanno was unwilling to come down, but fearing that
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tο βραχύτατον δικαίωμα εἶχεν, πάντως ἂν ἐς λόγους οἱ ἁφίκετο καὶ οὐκ ἂν βία τήν πόλιν κατείχεν.—Μ. 117 (p. 180).


Zonaras 8, 9.

μὴ οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ὡς ἄδικοντος αὐτοῦ νεωτερίσωσιν, ἥθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν μάτην λεχθέντων συνήρτασε τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, συνεπαινούντων τῶν Μαμερτίων.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτως δόλην ἀνάγκη τῆς Μεσσήης ἐξέλιπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὲν τὸν Ἀινωνα, κήρυκα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεμψαν τὴν τε Μεσσήην ἐκλείπειν κελεύσας καὶ ἐκ πάσης ἀπελθεῖν Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέρα ῥήτη καὶ στρατιὰν ἀπεστάλκασιν. ὡς δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπείδουτο οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, τοὺς τε μυσθοφοροῦντας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῇ Μεσσήη προσέβαλον (συνῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων αὐτοῖς) καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιῶρκον καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐφύλασσον, ὡς μήτε στρατεύμα μήτε σῖτος αὐτοῖς κομισθῇ. ὁ μαθὼν ὁ ὕπατος ἢδη πλησιάζων, ὡς εὕρε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν πολλαχῆ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἐμπορίας ἐσπηρεῖεντας, ἐξη- πάτησε σφᾶς ὅπως διελθῇ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἔλαθε νυκτὸς τῇ Σικελίᾳ προσορμοσάμενος, καὶ προσπλεύσας οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἰέρωνος αὐτικὰ συνέμεθε, νομίζων φοβερῶτατος.
BOOK XI

against him and declaring that if the other had even the slightest right on his side, he would certainly have come to a conference with him, and would not persist in occupying the city by force.

Dio, Book XI. "You attack even your friends who have been guilty of any error, whereas I pardon even my enemies." ¹

Zonaras 8, 9.

the Mamertines might allege injustice on his part and revolt, he finally entered the assembly. After many words had been spoken to no purpose by both sides, one of the Romans seized him and, with the approval of the Mamertines, threw him into prison.

Thus, under compulsion, Hanno left Messana entirely. The Carthaginians punished him, and sent a herald to the Romans bidding them leave Messana and depart from all of Sicily by a given day; they also set an army in motion. And when the Romans paid no heed, they put to death the mercenaries serving with them who were from Italy, and made an assault upon Messana, accompanied by Hiero. They besiegged the city and kept guard over the strait, to prevent any troops or provisions from being conveyed to the foe. The consul learned of this when he was already close at hand; and finding numerous Carthaginians disposed at various points about the harbour under pretence of carrying on trade, he resorted to deception in order to get safely across the strait, and thus succeeded in anchoring off Sicily by night. His place of landing was not far from the camp of Hiero, and he joined battle without delay, thinking that his sudden appearance

¹ Thought by von Gutschmid to be from Hanno's speech.
11 "Ὅτι οὗτος Κλαύδιος τοῖς στρατιώταισι προσπάρχεις θαρρεῖν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἡττῇ καταπεπλήχθαι, διδάσκαλοι αὐτοὺς ὅτι τε αἱ νῖκαι τοῖς ἀμείνου παρεσκευασμένους γίγνοντο καὶ ὅτι ἡ σφετέρα ἀρετὴ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τέχνης προέχουσα εἰῇ ἕαυτος μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἑπιστήμην τῶν ναυτικῶν δὲ ὀλίγου προσλήψεθαι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίως μυθέποτε τὴν ἀνδρεῖαν ἕκ τοῦ ἵσον σφίσιν ὑπάρξειν ἔφη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτητὸν διὰ βραχέος τοῖς τῶν νοῦν αὐτῷ προσέχουσι καὶ καθαιρετῶν μελέτη εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τῷ προσεῖ, οὐκ ἂν διδαχῆ ἐπορισθήναι. —Μ. 118 (p. 181).

Zonaras 8, 9.

αὐτοῖς ἕκ τοῦ ἀθρόου φανήσεσθαι. ἀντεπεξελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἱρωνίων ἀποτύχων ἠλαττάτοτε, τὸ δ’ ὀπλιτικὸν ὑπερέσχε. καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων τότε μὲν εἰς τὰ ὦρη, ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἰυρακούσας ὑστερον ἀπεχώρησεν.

Ὅς οὖν Κλαύδιος, ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Ἱερωνικὸς καὶ τῶν Μαμερτίων διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναθαρσησάντων, ἐπήλθε τοῖς Καρχηδονίως μονοθείσων ἡδῆ, καὶ τῷ σφῶν προσέβαλε χαρακώματι ὅτι οἶον ἐν χερσονήσῳ, ἐντεύθεν μὲν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τούτῳ συνεῖχεν, ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐλητικὰ δυσδιάβατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν αὐχένα, δι’ οὕτως μόνον εἰςήσαν στενοτάτου τυγχάνοντος, ἐπεποίητο διατείχισμα. Βιαζόμενοι οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἱρωνίων ἐταλαιπώρησαν καὶ βαλλόμενοι

1 τοῖς στρατιώταισι Βκ., τοὺς στρατιώτας Μσ.
2 διδαχῆ Μαι, διδαχῆ Μσ.
BOOK XI

The consul Claudius exhorted the soldiers moreover to be of good cheer and not to be cast down over the defeat of the tribune. He showed them that victories fall to the lot of the better-equipped, but that their own valour was far better than the skill of their opponents. They would soon acquire the science of seafaring, whereas the Carthaginians would never have bravery equal to theirs. For skill was something that could be obtained in a short time by men who gave their minds to it, and could be mastered by practice; but bravery, in case it were lacking in a man's nature, could never be furnished by instruction.

Zonaras 8, 9.

would be most likely to inspire the enemy with fear. When they came out to withstand the attack, the Roman cavalry was worsted but the heavy-armed infantry prevailed. Hiero retired temporarily to the mountains and later to Syracuse.

When Hiero had retired, the Mamertines recovered courage because of the presence of Claudius. Claudius therefore assailed the Carthaginians, who were now isolated, and attacked their rampart, which was situated on a kind of peninsula. For on the one side the sea enclosed it, and on the other some marshes, difficult to traverse. At the neck of this peninsula, the only entrance and a very narrow one, a cross wall had been built. In an attempt to carry this point by force the Romans fared badly and withdrew
Είπα τών ἡμῶν ἕστη καὶ τῶν τρέσβεις
οὔτε τρεῖς ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀμαῖος. ἐπολέ-
μησα, ὅπως ἐστιν τοις τρεσβεῖς, ὅπως ἐστιν ὁ Ὀμαῖος, ἢ ὁ Φα-
βρίκης καὶ ὁ Πομαῖος ὁ ἀμφότερος τῶν ὑμῶν ἀδέσποτος ἂν ἐστιν.

Ζαχαρίας 8:4

ἐπιτάχθητε καλέστε οὖν τοὺς τρέσβεις "οὔτε ὁ Ὁμαῖος," εἰπ., "ἐκεῖν ἦμεν ἐπολέμησα
οὔτε τῶν τολεμάουσιν φίλος γὰρ ἦμεν γενέσθαι βεβούλημα ὃ ὁ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἦμεν ἀνεν
λιτραῖν ἀφίημι καὶ στείρασθαι αξιόν"

Ταύτα μὲν πᾶσιν εἰρήκει τοῖς τρέσβεσι, καὶ
χρήματα σφίζει τὰ μὲν ἐδέσκε, τὰ δὲ ἐπηργεῖτα, τὸ δὲ Φαβρίκης κατὰ μόνας διαλεξθεὶς "φίλος,

εἶπεν, "ὁδεῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἂν Ὁμαῖοις γενοίμην,
μάλιστα δὲ σοι ὁρῶ γὰρ σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ

1 ὦμεν Be., ὦμεν (?) Ms. 2 Ὁμαῖοις Gres, Ὁμαῖοιν Ms.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

12 "Ὅτι θαρσήσαντες οἱ Δίβυς, ὡς οὐ τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου ἀλλὰ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ κεκρατηκότες, ἐπέξεδον ἐποίησαντο. ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος οὗτος αὐτοὺς δεδιέναι ἐποίησεν ὡς μὴ ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρακύψαι.—Μ. 119 (p. 181).

13 Συμβαίνει γὰρ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς μὲν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τι δεδιόσιν ὁρθοῦσθαι διὰ προφυλακῆν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἀπρονοήτως θραυσυνομένοις χείρεσθαι δι᾽ ἀφυλαξίαν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539).

14 Τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν καὶ κτάται τὰς νίκας καὶ γενομένας φυλάσσει, τὸ δὲ ἀσελγαῖν οὔτε περιγύνεται τίνος, κἂν ἄρα εὔνυχησῃ ποτε ἐν τιν, ὅστα αὐτὸ ἀπόλλυσι· κἂν μὲν διασώῃ τι, χειρὸν ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρὰ λόγον εὑπραγήσαι γενόμενοι, οὐχ ὁσον οὐκ ἐκεῖνον τι οὐναιται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ προσδιαφθείρεται. καὶ γὰρ πώς πἀν τὸ παρὰ λόγον θραυσυνόμενον καὶ δεδιέναι ἄλογος πέφυκεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς τὴν τε γνώμην τῇ προνοίᾳ βεβαιαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πιστὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐχεγγύου αὐτῆς ἔχων, οὗτε καταπτάζεσεν τινά...

Zonaras 8, 9.

ἀνεχώρησαν. οἱ δὲ Δίβυς θαρσήσαντες ἐπεξήλθον, καὶ ὡς φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔξω προελήλυθασι τῶν στενῶν κάνταῦθα ἐπιστραφέντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο καὶ πόλλοις ἀπέκτειναν, ὡστε αὐτοὺς μηκέτι τοῦ στρατοπέδου προελθεῖν παρ΄ ὁσον ἦν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ὁ Κλαύδιος.

1 οἱ Mai, ἡ Ms. 2 ὡς supplied by Bk. 3 ἔξω τοῦ Ba., ἔξ. τοῦ Ms. 4 ὡς Ba., ὡς ἐπὶ Mss. 5 αὐτὸ Ba., αὐτῷ Mss.

396
BOOK XI

The Africans, taking courage as if they had conquered not through the nature of their position, but by their own valour, sallied forth. But Claudius made them so fearful that they did not even peep out of the camp.

For it usually happens that those who are in dread of something as a result of calculation are successful because of their precaution against it, whereas those who are bold through lack of foresight are ruined because of their unguarded state.

Moderation both obtains victories and preserves them after they are won, whereas license can prevail against nothing, and if it ever should be fortunate in any matter, very easily destroys it. And even if it perchance preserves some conquest, it grows worse by the very fact of undeserved good fortune, and so far from being benefited by its success, is itself actually ruined. Moreover, all boldness that is not in accord with reason is prone to unreasoning fear. Calculation, bringing with it resolution strengthened by forethought and hope rendered reliable by its own trustworthiness, does not allow one

Zonaras 8, 9.

under a shower of missiles. The Africans then took courage and sallied out, pursuing the fugitives, as they thought them, beyond the narrow strip of land. Thereupon the Romans wheeled about, routed them, and killed many, so that they did not issue from the camp again, at least so long as Claudius was in Messana.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὖθ'¹ ὑπερφρονεῖν ἐὰ· ἡ δ' ἀλόγιστος ἐμπληξία πολλοῦς ἐν τε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔξαρει κἂν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταπεινοῖ, οἷα μηδὲν ἔρμα² ἔχουσα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῷ συμπίπτοντι ἔξομοιομένη.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539) and from καὶ γὰρ πῶς (§ 15) M. 120 (p. 181).

Zonaras 8, 9.

'Ο δὲ βιάσασθαι τὴν πρόσοδον μὴ τολμῆν πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας καὶ τὸν Ἰέρωνα ἔτραπετο, φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπὼν. καὶ προσ-ἐβαλλέ τε αὐτὸς τῷ ἀστεὶ κἀκεῖνοι ποτὲ ἐπεξήγε-σαν καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐκράτουν, ὅτε δ' ἐκρατοῦντο ἐκάτεροι. καὶ ποτὲ ἐν χωρίῳ στενῷ ὁ ὑπατός γεγονὼς ἐάλω ἀν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ περισχεθῆναι ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰέρωνα, εἰς συμβάσεις δὴ τινὰς αὐτὸν προκαλοῦμενος. οὕτω γὰρ ἐλθόντος τινὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐμπλήσασθαι, ἰδελέγετο τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπατής, μέχρις οὐ πρὸ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπεχώρησε. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ῥάδιως ἀλώναι μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τῆς προσδρέιας ἀπόρου διὰ σπάνιων οὕσης σιτίων καὶ διὰ νόσου τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀπανέστη καὶ οἱ Συρακούσιοι ἐπέτοντο καὶ ἐσὶ λόγους τοῖς σκεδασμοῦντος ἤσαν, καὶ ἐστελε-σαντο ἄν, εἰ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων συμβῆναι ἠθέλησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπατός φυσικῶς ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπῶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον.

Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Τυρσηνικὰ καθειστή-κει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκριβῶς εἰρήνουν, τὰ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ πλέον συνίστατο, ἀμφότερος ὑπάτους ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκστρατεύσαι ἐκέλευσαν. περαιωθέντες οὖν ὁ τε Μάξιμος

398 ¹ οὖθ' Mai, οὐδ' Mss. ² ἔρμα Bk., ἔρμα Mss.
BOOK XI

to be either dejected or presumptuous. Unreasoning impulse, on the other hand, often elates men in the midst of good fortune and brings them low in disasters, possessing, as it does, no support, but always accommodating itself to the chance event.

Zonaras 8, 9.

But since he hesitated to force the entrance, he left a garrison behind in Messana, and turned his attention to Syracuse and Hiero. He made assaults upon the city, and the inhabitants would now and then come out to battle. Each side was sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated. One day the consul got into a confined position and would have been captured, had he not, before being surrounded, sent to Hiero an invitation to agree to certain terms. When the man came with whom he was to conclude the terms, he kept falling back unobtrusively, while conversing with him, until he had retired to safety. But the city could not easily be taken, and a siege was impracticable, because of the scarcity of provisions and because of disease in the army. Claudius accordingly withdrew; but the Syracusans followed and held communication with his scattered troops, and they would have made a truce, if Hiero also had been willing to agree to terms. The consul left behind a garrison in Messana and sailed back to Rhegium.

Now that Etruscan unrest had come to a standstill and affairs in Italy were perfectly peaceful, whereas the Carthaginian power was becoming ever greater, the Romans ordered both the consuls to make an expedition into Sicily. Valerius Maximus and Ota-
Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Ὀτακλίως Κράσσως, καὶ διὰ τῆς νήσου ὁμοῦ τε καὶ διόχῳ πορευόμενοι, πολλοὺς ὁμολογία παρεστήσαντο. ὡς δὲ τὰ πλεῖω φικείωντο, πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας ὤρμησαν. καὶ ὃ Ἰέρων φοβηθεῖσι διεκηρυκεύσατο σφίσι, τὰς πόλεις τε ἀν ὁφήρησι άποδιδοὺς καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχούμενος καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔλευθερον. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τούτοις σπουδών οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ βάδον μετ' αὐτοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐνόμισαν. συμβάντες δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων φρουρουμένας ἐτράποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπεκρούσθησαν, Ἐγεσταν δ' ἐκουσίαν ἔλαβον. διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ρωμαίους οἰκείωσιν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἴνειον λέγοντες γεγονόναι, προσεχῶρησαν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φονεύσαντες.

10. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα εἰς τὸ 'Ρήγιον ἀπῆραν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ εἰς Σαρδὼ τὸ πλεῖον ἑκόμισαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἵνα ἐκείθεν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἐπίθωνται, καὶ ἡ τέλεον οὕτω τῆς Σικελίας ἐκστήσωσιν ἡ διαπεραιωθέντας ἀσθενεστέρους ποιήσωσιν. ἄλλοι γὰρ τούτοι οὕτω μὴν ἑκεῖνον ἐπέτυχον οἱ γὰρ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὴν τε οἰκείαν ἐφύλαττον, καὶ ἀξιόμαχον εἰς Σικελίαν δύναμιν ἐπεμψαν μετὰ Ποστομίου Ἀλβίνου καὶ μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Κυίντου. ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐπὶ Ἀκράγαντα ὄρμησαν, κανταύθα Ἀνωβαν τὸν Γίσγουνος ἐπολιόρκουν.
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 9.

cilium Crassus consequently crossed over, and in their progress through the island together and separately they won over many towns by voluntary submission. When they had gained the majority of the places, they set out for Syracuse. Hiero, in terror, sent a herald to them with offers: he was ready to restore the cities of which they had been deprived, to promise money, and to liberate the prisoners. On these terms he obtained peace, for the consuls thought they could subjugate the Carthaginians more easily with his help. After reaching an agreement with him they turned their attention to the remaining cities garrisoned by the Carthaginians. Now from all the others they were repulsed, but Segesta they took without resistance; for its inhabitants because of their relationship with the Romans—they declare they are descended from Aeneas—slew the Carthaginians and joined the Roman alliance.

Zonaras 8, 10.

10. Now the consuls on account of the winter departed for Rhegium, while the Carthaginians conveyed most of their army to Sardinia with the intention of attacking Rome from that quarter. They would thus either drive them out of Sicily altogether or would render them weaker after they had crossed over there. Yet they achieved neither the one object nor the other. The Romans both kept guard over their own land and sent a respectable force to Sicily with Postumius Albinus and Quintus Aemilius.1 On arriving in Sicily the consuls set out for Agrigentum, and there besieged Hannibal, the son of Gisco. The

1 In the Fasti Capitolini these consuls appear as L. Postumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus. The same corruption of the name Mamilius has already been noted above (p. 375).
Καρχηδόνι πυθόμενοι Ἀννώνα αὐτῷ σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ συμμαχήσοντα ἐπεμψαν. ὦ δὲ ἔστι Ἡράκλειαν ἐλθὼν οὐ πόρρω οὖσαν Ἀκράγαντος ἐπολέμει. καὶ μάχαι πλείους, οὐ μεγάλαι δὲ ἐγένοντο· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὁ Ἀννὼν τοὺς ὑπάτους προκαλεῖτο εἰς πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅστε ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προκέκλητο. ἦς μὲν γὰρ ἄφθονον εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τροφήν, οὐκ ἔτολμον μαχᾶσθαι, τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττούμενοι, λυμῷ δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἥλπιζον· εἶπε δὲ σίτου ἑσπάνιζον, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀποκινδυνεύειν προεθυμοῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀννὼν ὁκνεῖ, ύποπτεύσας διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνεδρεύθησεσθαι. διὸ οὐ τε ἄλλοι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θεραπεύειν ἥξιον ὡς ἀκμητὶ νευκηκότων, καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων, ἀπροθύμως αὐτοῖς συναιρόμενος πρὸτερον, τότε σίτου αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναθαρσῆσαι.

Ἀννὼν δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μάχην συνάψαι, ἐλπίσας καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ νότου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσπεσεῖσθαι. ὦ μαθόντες οἱ ὑπάτοι ἥσυχαζον, ὡστε τὸν Ἀννώνα καταφρονήσαντα τῷ ταφρεύματι προσελθεῖν. ἐπεμψαν δὲ τινὰς κατόπιν αὐτοῦ ἐνεδρεύσοντας. ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἅδεως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἐπανάγοντος, ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χαρακώματος αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσέμεξαν, καὶ φονὸν πολὺν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων εἰργάσαντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐν τούτῳ ταῖς σκηναῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθὼν ἑξεκρούσθη ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀννὼν εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κατέφυγε, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπὼν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας νυκτὸς ἐκδράναι τῷ Ἀκράγαντος βουλευσάμενος, αὐτὸς 402
people of Carthage, when apprised of it, sent Hanno with a powerful force to aid him in the warfare. So this leader came to Heraclea, not far from Agrigentum, and engaged in the war. A number of battles followed, though not important ones. At first Hanno challenged the consuls to fight, then later on the Romans challenged him. For as long as the Romans had an abundance of food they did not venture to contend against a superior force, and were hoping to get possession of the city by famine; but when they began to encounter a shortage of grain, they became eager to run risks, while Hanno now showed hesitation, since their eagerness led him to suspect that he might be ambushed. Everybody, therefore, saw fit to court the Romans as easy victors, and Hiero, too, who thus far had co-operated with them reluctantly, now sent them grain, so that even the consuls took heart again.

Hanno now undertook to bring on a battle, in the expectation that Hannibal would fall upon the Romans in the rear, assailing them from the wall. The consuls learned his plan, but remained inactive, and Hanno in scorn approached their intrenchments; and they sent some men to lie in ambush behind him. When now, toward evening, he fearlessly and contemptuously led a charge, the Romans joined battle with him both from ambush and palisade, and wrought a great slaughter of the enemy and of the elephants besides. Hannibal had in the meantime assailed the Roman tents, but was repulsed by the men guarding them. As for Hanno, he abandoned his camp and escaped to Heraclea. Hannibal then formed a plan to steal away from Agrigentum.
DIOS'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 10.

μὲν ἔλαθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι γυνωσθέντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, συνυκότει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίων ἐκτάνθησαν. οὐ μὲντοι συγγενῶμης ἐτυχοῦσ' οἱ Ἀκραγαντίνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα σφῶν διηρπάσθησαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπραθησαν ἀπαντες.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην διὰ τὸν χειμώνα ἀνεγώρησαν. ὁργύζοντο δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ Ἀνωνως, καὶ Ἀμίλκας ἀντί αὐτοῦ τῶν Βαρχίδην ἀπέστειλαν, ἀνδρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πλὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τοῦ νέος ἐν στρατηγῷ κρείττονα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐφύλαττεν, Ἀννίβαν δὲ ναυαρχοῦντα ἐσ Ἰταλίαν ἐπεμψε τὰ παράλια αὐτῆς κακουργήσοντα, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπάτους πρὸς έαυτὸν ἐπισπάσῃ. ἀλλ' οὖν ἔτυχε τοῦ σκοποῦ· καταστήσαντες γὰρ ἐκείνοι φρουρᾶς ἐκασταχόθη τῆς παραλίας, εἰς Σικελίαν ἠλθον. οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἐπράξαν ἄξιον. ο δὲ Ἀμίλκας τοὺς Γαλάτας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, διὰ μὴ ἐντελῇ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἀναλτῆσαις, φοβηθεὶς μὴ προσχωρήσωσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διέθεσε, πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς τινὰ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους πόλεις παραληφομένους αὐτὴν ὡς τάχα προδιδομένην καὶ διαρτᾶσαι αὐτήν ἐπιτρέψας, στείλας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ψυχικὸν ἀυτούς τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν προμηνύσοντας ἔλευσιν. δὲν οἱ Γαλάται μὲν πάντες ἐνεδρευθέντες ἐβάρθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον.

Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐκαδεὶς ᾧ Ἀμίλκας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθησε προσπλέων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλεις τινὰς ὑπηγάγετο. παραβέβηκαν δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ναυτικὸν συνεστήσαντο, καὶ Γάιον αὐτῷ Δούλιον τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων 404
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 10.

by night, and did in his own case elude observation; the rest, however, were recognised and were killed, some by the Romans, and many by the Agrigentines. For all that, the people of Agrigentum did not obtain pardon, but their wealth was plundered and they themselves were all sold.

On account of the winter the consuls retired to Messana. The Carthaginians were angry with Hanno and sent out in his stead Hamilcar, the son of Barca, a man superior in generalship to all his countrymen with the exception of Hannibal, his son. Hamilcar himself guarded Sicily and sent Hannibal as admiral to ravage the coast regions of Italy and so draw the consuls to his vicinity. Yet he did not accomplish his object, for they posted guards all along the coast, and then proceeded to Sicily. They effected nothing worthy of record, however. Now Hamilcar, becoming afraid that his Gallic mercenaries, who were offended because he had not given them full pay, might go over to the Romans, brought about their destruction. He sent them to take charge of one of the cities under Roman sway, assuring them that it was in course of being betrayed, and giving them permission to plunder it; he then sent to the consuls pretended deserters to give them advance information of the coming of the Gauls. Hence all the Gauls were ambushed and destroyed; many of the Romans also perished.

After the consuls had departed home, Hamilcar sailed to Italy and ravaged the land and also won over some cities in Sicily. On learning of this the Romans gathered a fleet and put one of the consuls, Gaius Duilius, in command of it, while they sent his
"Οτι Ρωμαιοί καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἠλθόντες τῷ μὲν ἄριθμῷ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ταῖς προ-
θυμίαις ἀντίρρωποι ἦσαν, ἐκατέρωθεν ὅ πρῶτον τ' ἐσ ναυμαχίαν ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου παρασκευὴς καθι-
στάμενοι, καὶ ἐλπίζοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὑπ' αὐτῆς κριθήσεθαι, τὸ τε ἄθλον τὴν Σικελίαν

Zonaras 8, 10.

ἐπέστησαν, τὸν δὲ τούτου συνάρχοντα Κορνήλιον Γάιον εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπεμψαν. οὐ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ γῆν πο-
λέμου δὶν ἐκεκλήρωτο ἀμελήσας ταῖς προσούσαις αὐτῷ ναυσίν ἐσ Λιπάραν ἐπέλευσεν ὡς προδιδο-
μένην αὐτῷ· τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ δόλου τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένετο. ὡς οὖν ἐς τὴν Λιπάραν καθωρώσατο, Βόδης αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιεσταίχισεν ὑπο-
στράτηγος. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Γαίου πρὸς ἀμύναν, δείσας ἐκείνος τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν, προ-
εκαλέσατο αὐτοὺς εἰς σπονδάς· καὶ πείσας ἀνε-
βίβασεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν τε ὑπατον καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὡς τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἐντευξομένους.
καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀπέπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οὐδὲ ἁραμένους τὰ ὅπλα ἔδω.

Zonaras 8, 11.

11. Εἴτε Ἀννίβας μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθει,
Ἀμίλκας δὲ εἰς Ἐγέας ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν ἴ τὸ
πλείστον τοῦ πεζοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἦν· οἷς ἐπι-
κουρήσας Γάιον Καικίλιον χιλιάρχου ἐθελήσαντα
λοχῆσας πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε τῶν αὐτῶν· ταῦτα
δὲ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τὸν μὲν ἀστυνόμον
ἐυθὺς ἢξεπεμψαν καὶ τὸν Δουλίλιον ἐπέστευσαν·
ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν, καὶ καταμαθὼν τῶς

1 ἐκατέρωθεν Bs., ὅστερον δὲ Ms.
BOOK XI

The Romans and Carthaginians, when they joined in naval combat, were well matched in the number of ships and in their own enthusiasm. For both sides were then for the first time entering a naval engagement with equal equipment, and they hoped that it would decide the whole war. Sicily lay before their colleague, Gaius [Gnaeus] Cornelius, to Sicily. The latter, neglecting the war on land, which had fallen to his lot, sailed with the ships which he had to Lipara, on the understanding that it was to be betrayed to him; but this was a ruse on the part of the Carthaginians. When, therefore, he put in to Lipara, Bodes, the lieutenant of Hannibal, closed in on him. But as Gaius made preparations to defend himself, Bodes, fearing the Romans’ desperation, invited them to discuss terms; and having persuaded them to do so, he took the consul and military tribunes, who supposed they were to meet the admiral, on board his own trireme. Now these men he sent to Carthage; and he captured the rest without their so much as lifting a weapon.

Zonaras 8, 10.

11. Then Hannibal continued the ravaging of Italy, while Hamilcar made a campaign against Segesta, where the Romans had most of their infantry. Gaius Caecilius, a military tribune, was endeavouring to assist them, but Hamilcar waylaid him and slaughtered many of his followers. The people of Rome, learning of this, at once sent out the praetor urbanus and incited Duilius to haste. Duilius, on coming to Sicily, learned
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες, καὶ περὶ δουλείας¹ καὶ
περὶ ἀρχῆς, τῆς μὲν μὴ πειραθήναι νικηθέντες²
τὴν δὲ προσκτήσασθαι κρατήσαντες, ἀγωνιζό-
17 μεν. προέφερον δὲ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν
τριμετῶν ἀτε ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ναυκρατοῦντες, οἱ δὲ
τῇ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις: διὸ
γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦσαν, τόσῳ καὶ
προπετέστεροι καὶ θρασύτερον ἐμάχοντο. τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἐν πείρᾳ σφίσιν ὃν ἀκριβῶς πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν
ἐκλογίζονται, καὶ ὀκνοῦσιν, ἃν γε καὶ ταύτῃ σφάς
ἡ γνώμη φέρῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον³ ἀλογίστως τε
θαρσοῦσι καὶ ἐξ χειρᾶς ἐξ ἀπροβουλίας ἀγονταί.
—Μ. 121 (p. 181).

Zonaras 8, 11.

ναὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων τῇ μὲν παχύτητι καὶ
τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σφῶν ἐλαττωμένας, τῷ τάχει
δὲ τῆς εἰρεσίας καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τοῦ πλοῦ προε-
χοῦσας, μηχανάς ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ἀγκύρας τε
καὶ χειρᾶς περικόντως σιδηρᾶς καὶ ἄλλα τοιαύτα
κατεσκεύασεν, ὅπως ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐπιρ-
ρυπτοῦντες αὐτὰ συνάπτοντο σφίσι, καὶ μετα-
βαίνοντες εἰς αὐτὰς εἰς χειρᾶς ἵνα τοῖς Καρχη-
δονίοις καὶ ὃς ἐν πεζῇ μάχῃ τούτωι συρρήγνυνται.
συμμίλαντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ταῖς τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ναυσὶ περεόπλεον σφάς, συντόνως χρώμενοι
εἰρεσία, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου προσέβαλλον.
χρόνων μὲν οὖν τοια ἱσοπαλῆς ἡ ναυμαχία
ἐγένετο, εἰθ' οἱ Ῥωμαίοι εἰπικρατέστεροι γεγονότες

¹ δουλείας Mai, δούλων Ms. ² νικηθέντες Mai, νικητές Ms. ³ ἀπείρατον Bk., ἀπειράτατον Ms.
eyes as the prize, and they were contending in a matter of servitude or dominion, resolved not to be beaten, lest they experience the former, but to conquer and obtain the latter. One side, however, surpassed in the experience possessed by the crews of its triremes, since they had long been masters of the sea; and the other was superior in the strength of its marines and in their daring, since the recklessness and audacity of their fighting were in direct ratio to their inexperience in naval affairs. For in matters of experience practically all men make exact calculations and feel some reluctance, even when their judgment approves a particular course; but in the case of the untried they are unreasonably bold, and are drawn into the conflict through lack of due consideration.

Zonaras 8, 11.

that the ships of the Carthaginians were inferior to his own in stoutness and size, but excelled in the speed of their rowing and in the variety of their manoeuvres. Therefore he fitted out his triremes with mechanical devices,—anchors, grappling-irons attached to long poles, and other such contrivances,—in order that by hurling these upon the hostile ships they might bind them fast to their own vessels, and then by crossing over into them might come to blows with the Carthaginians and engage them just as in an infantry battle. When the Carthaginians began the fight with the Roman ships, they sailed round and round them, plying the oars rapidly, and would make sudden attacks. So for a time the conflict was evenly matched; later the Romans got the upper hand and not only sent many
"Ὅτι ἦττηθέντων Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὴν ναυ-
μαχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν
ἀπέκτειναν (πᾶσὶ τε γὰρ ὡς εἴπειν τοῖς στρατεύ-
ματά ποὶ πέμπουσι πρόσεστι φύσει τῶν μὲν
πλεονεξίων προσποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἑλαττώσεις ἐς
τοὺς στρατηγησαντας ἀνωθεῖν, καὶ οἱ Καρχη-
δόνιοι προχειρότατα τοὺς παίσκαντας τι ἐκό-
λαζοῦν), εἰ μὴ φοβηθεῖς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν
ἐπερωτῶν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἔτι τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ὄντων, πότερον ναυμαχῆσαι οἱ κελεύουσιν
ἡ μή, συνεπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ὁσπερ που καὶ
προσεδόκα, ἃτε καὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ ναυτικῷ προ-
έχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπείπε διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων
ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτά ὑμῖν ἐλ-

Zonaras 8, 11.

πολλοὺς μὲν κατέδυσαν, συνέσχον δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς.
ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἔτι ἐπτήρους ναυμαχῶν, συμπεπει-
σης τῆς αὐτοῦ νησὸς τρεῖρε τινί, φοβηθεὶς μή ἄλῳ,
τὴν ἐπτήρη τε ἐγκατέληπτε καὶ μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέρας
dιέφυγε.

Τῆς μὲν οὖν ναυμαχίας τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο
καὶ λάφυρα πολλὰ ἐλήφθη· τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν οἱ
Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἦτταν ἀπέκτειναν ἃν, εἰ
μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπηρώτησε σφᾶς, ὡς ἀκέραιοι ἔτι τῶν
πραγμάτων ὄντων, εἰ ναυμαχῆσαι κελεύουσιν
ἡ μή, συνθεμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ναυμαχῆσαι, ὡς
τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπείπεν ὅτι
"οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτά ὑμῖν ἐλπίσας

410 1 προσεδόκα, ἃτε Kuiper, προσεδοκάτο Ms.
BOOK XI

The Carthaginians because of their defeat by the Romans in the sea-fight came near putting Hannibal to death. It is a natural tendency of practically all people who send out armies on any mission to claim credit for the advantages gained, but to charge the defeats upon their leaders; and the Carthaginians were very ready to punish those who failed in any enterprise. Hanno, however, was afraid, and immediately after the defeat inquired of them, just as if the business were still untouched, whether they bade him risk a sea-fight or not. When they declared in the affirmative, as he had of course expected, because they prided themselves on having such a superior navy, he added, by the mouths of the same messengers: “I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement with the same hopes as

Zonaras 8, 11.
of the enemy to the bottom, but also captured many. Hannibal conducted the fight from a boat of seven banks of oars, but when this became entangled with a trireme, fearing capture, he hastily left the seven-banked boat, and boarding another ship, effected his escape.

This was the outcome, then, of the naval battle, and much spoil was taken. The Carthaginians would have put Hannibal to death on account of the defeat, if he had not immediately inquired of them, just as if the business were still untouched, whether they bade him risk a sea-fight or not. When they agreed that he ought to fight, since they prided themselves upon having a superior navy, he added: “I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement
πίσας συνέβαλον συνέβαλον. τής γάρ γνώμης, ἀλλ` οὗ τής τύχης ἦν κύριος." —Μ. 122 (p. 182).

Zonaras 8, 11.

συνέβαλον. τής γάρ γνώμης, ἀλλ` οὗ τής τύχης ἦτο γεγονός κύριος.

Καὶ ο μὲν ἐσώθη, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν ἀφηρέθη. Δουίλλος δὲ τὸν πεζὸν προσλαβὼν τοὺς τε Ἔγεσταίους ἑρυσσατο, μηδ` εἰς χείρας αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀμῖλκου ἐλθεῖν ὑπομείναντος, καὶ τὰ φίλα τὰ ἄλλα ἑβεβαιώσατο, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοῦ θέρους παρελθόντος ἀνεκομίσθη. ἀπάραντος δ` αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀμῖλκας τὸ τε Δρέπανον κεκλημένον (ἐστι δὲ λοιμὴ ἐπίκαιρος), ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ πλείστον κατέβηκεν ἄξια, καὶ τοὺς Ἐρυκίνους ἀπαντάς μετανέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, ἢν μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καρτερὰν αὐτήν ὄσαν καταλαβόντες ὀρμητὴριον τοῦ πολέμου πονησσενται, καὶ πόλεις ἐδέ τὰς μὲν βίας, τὰς δὲ προδοσίας καὶ εἰ μὴ Γάιος Φλώρος αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν ἑκεῖ χειμάσας, τὴν Σικελίαν ἄν κατεστρέφατο ἀπασαν.

Δούκιος δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐπὶ Κύρυνον ἐστράτευσε (κεῖμαι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ πελάγει ὀλίγου ἀλλήλων ἀπεχουσα, ὡς μῖαν αὐτὰς πόρρωθεν εἶναι δοκεῖν), καὶ πρωτέρα τῇ Κύρυῳ προσβαλὼν τὴν μὲν Οὐαλλερίαν τὴν κρατίστην αὐτῆς πόλιν βία εἰλεν, ἀπόνοις δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐχειρώσατο. ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαρδῶ πλέων κατείδη τι ναυτικῶν Καρχιδόνου, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ ἐτράπτετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐφυγόν πρῶν ἡ συμμίξαι, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ πόλιν

412 συνέβαλον Grob, συνέβαλλον Ms.
BOOK XI

you. The decision was within my power, but not the fortune of the battle."

Zonaras 8, 11.

with the same hopes as you. The decision lay within my power, but not the fortune of the battle." So he saved his life, but was deprived of his command.

Duilius, taking the infantry along with him also, rescued the people of Segesta—Hamilcar would not even venture to come to blows with him—and strengthened the loyalty of the other friendly settlements; and he returned to Rome at the close of the summer season. Upon his departure Hamilcar fortified the place called Drepanum (it is a convenient harbour), deposited there the objects of greatest value, and transferred to it all the people of Eryx. The latter city, because it was a strong position, he razed to the ground, to prevent the Romans from seizing it and making it a base of operations for the war. He captured several cities, too, some by force and some by betrayal; and if Gaius Florus, who was wintering there, had not restrained him, he would have subjugated the whole of Sicily.

Lucius Scipio, his colleague, made a campaign against Sardinia and against Corsica. These islands are situated in the Tyrrenian sea and lie so near together that from a distance they seem to be one. His first landing place was Corsica. There he captured by force Aleria, its chief city, and subdued the other places without difficulty. While sailing toward Sardinia he descried a Carthaginian fleet and directed his course toward it. The enemy fled before a battle could be joined, and he came to the city of Olbia.

413
Ολβίαν ἤλθεν ἐνθα τῶν Καρχηδονίων μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιφανεντῶν φοβηθεῖς, οὗ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ πεζὸν ἀξιώμαχον, ἔπ' οἴκου ἀπῆρεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἀλλοι τε τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί δουλεύονται καὶ οἱ Σαυνίται (ὑπὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευήν ἀφικοντο) συνέθεντο τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιβουλεύσαι. μάθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἐριος Ποτίλιος ὁ τῆς Βοσθείας ἀρχων προσεποιήσατο συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἀκριβωςὶ πᾶν τὸ δεδομένου αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἷς τῇ καταμηνύσαι τὸ βούλευμα (πάντες γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν οἱ Σαυνίται), ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς βουλῆς ἀγομένης εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ καταβοῆσαι αὐτοὺς ὡς περὶ τὸν σίτον ἀδικουμένου δυσπερ ἐλάμβανον. τῶν δὲ τούτων ποιησάντων μεταπεμφθεῖς ὡς αἴτιος τοῦ θορύβου ἐξέφησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἰσυχάσαντας ἀπέπεμψαν, νυκτὸς δὲ συνέλαβον ἔκαστοι τῶν ἑχόντων δούλους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως ἡ πᾶσα διελύθη συνωμοσία.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ θέρει ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδῶι ἄμα ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Ἀτίλιος Λατίνος ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔλθων, καὶ Μουτίστρατος πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλώρου πολυρκουμένην εὐρών, τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐκείνου ἐχόστο. καὶ προσβολὰς περὶ τὸ τείχος αὐτοῦ πολυμένου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡμύνοντο κραταίοις, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἐς δάκρυα καὶ ἐς οἴμοις προαιθέντων οὐκ ἀντέχον. ὑπεξελθόντων δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἄμα τῇ ἑρ τὰς πύλας ἑθελονταί οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνεπέτασαν. 414
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 11.

There the Carthaginians put in an appearance with their ships, and Scipio, becoming frightened, since his infantry was insufficient for battle, set sail for home.

At this time various captives serving in the city, together with the Samnites, who had come in considerable numbers to man the fleet, agreed to form a conspiracy against Rome. Herius Potilius, the leader of the auxiliary force, found it out and pretended to be of like mind with them, in order that he might fully inform himself in regard to what they had determined upon. But being unable to reveal their plans, since all the Samnites were around him, he persuaded them to gather in the Forum at a time when the senate was meeting and denounce him on the ground that they were being wronged in the matter of the grain which they were receiving. This they did; and when he was sent for as being the cause of the tumult, he revealed the plot to the senators. For the moment they merely dismissed the conspirators, after they had become quiet; but at night all of those who owned slaves arrested some of them. And in this way the entire conspiracy was overthrown.

The following summer the Romans and the Carthaginians fought in Sicily and Sardinia at the same time. Somewhat later Atilius Latinus [Calatinus] went to Sicily, and finding the city of Mutistratus besieged by Florus, he made use of the other's troops. When he made assaults upon the circuit of the wall, the natives, with the help of the Carthaginians, defended themselves vigorously at first, but when the women and children were moved to tears and laments, they abandoned resistance. The Carthaginians passed out secretly by night and at daybreak the natives voluntarily swung the gates open.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 11.

eἰσιόντες δὲ οἱ ῆΡωμαίοι πάντας ἐφόνευον, ἐὼς ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Ἀτιλίος τὴν λοιπὴν τε λείαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι· ἐκτοτε γὰρ τοὺς λοιποὺς τε ἔξωγρησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προδιαρπάζαντες κατέπρησαν.

Zonaras 8, 12.

12. Ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καμάριναν ἀπερισκέπτως γενόμενοι ἐς χωρία προλεοχισμένα ἐνέπεσον· καὶ πανυδίλ ἄν ἐφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Καλπούρνιος χελιαρχῶν σοφία μετήλθη τὸ δυστήχημα. ἰδὼν γὰρ τῶν πέρεξ λόφων μόνον ύπο τοῦ κρημνώδους μὴ προκατειλημμένου, ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους παρὰ τοῦ υπάτου ἠτήσατο, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπ' ἐκεῖνον ὄρμησεν, ἵνα οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τράπωνται, κἀντεῦθεν οἱ λοιποὶ διαφύγωσι. καὶ ἔσχεν οὔτως· ὡς γὰρ τὴν ὅρμην αὐτῶν εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἐκπλαγέντες τὸν μὲν ύπατον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὃς ἦδη ἐαλωκότας κατέλησον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Καλπούρνιον συνέδραμον. καὶ μάχης ἱσχυρᾶς γεγονοῦσα πολλοὶ μὲν κἀκεῖνοι, πάντες δ' οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐπέσουσ' μόνον δὲ περισέσωστο ὁ Καλπούρνιος, τρωθεὶς μὲν, λαθὼν δ' ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς κείμενοι ύπο τῶν τραυμάτων ὃς τεθυκὼς, ἐνθα ἱὼς εὑρεθεὶς ἐσώθη. ἐν χ' δ' οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐμάχοντο, ὁ υπάτος ἀπεχώρησε. διαφυγὼν δ' οὔτως τὴν τε Καμάριναν καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς μὲν βίας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δεπάραν ὄρμησεν ὁ Ἀτιλίος. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν προκατέσχεν αὐτὴν

416
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 11.
The Romans went in and proceeded to slaughter them all, till Atilius made proclamation that the remainder of the booty and the inhabitants would belong to whoever captured them. Thereafter they spared the lives of the remaining captives, and after pillaging the city burned it to the ground.

Zonaras 8, 12.
12. Thence they proceeded heedlessly against Camarina and came into a region where an ambuscade had already been set; and they would have been utterly destroyed, had not Marcus Calpurnius, a military tribune, retrieved the disaster by his cleverness. He saw that just one of the surrounding hills had been left unoccupied, by reason of its steepness, and he asked the consul for three hundred heavy-armed men, with whom he hastened to that point. His purpose was to make the enemy turn their attention to his detachment, so that the rest of the Romans might then make their escape. And so it turned out; for when their foes witnessed the charge of these men, they were thunderstruck and leaving the consul and his force, whom they considered as good as captured, they made a united rush upon Calpurnius. A fierce battle ensued, in which many of the enemy as well as all the three hundred fell. Calpurnius alone survived. He had been wounded and lay unnoticed among the slain, being as good as dead by reason of his wounds; afterward he was found alive and his life was spared. While the three hundred were fighting, the consul got away; and after thus escaping he gained Camarina and other cities, some by force and some by capitulation. Next Atilius set out against Lipara. But Hamilcar forestalled him by

Zonaras 8, 12.

ὁ Ἀμίλκας, καὶ ἑπεξελθὼν αἰφνιδίως πολλοὺς διέφθειρε.

Γάνως δὲ Σουλτίκιος τῆς τε Σαρδοῦς τὰ πλείστα κατέδραμε καὶ ὑπερφορήσας ἐκ τούτου ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Διβύνην. καὶ ἀπήραν μὲν καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν τῷ Ἀννίβα ἐπεὶ τοὺς οἴκοι δεδιότες, ἀντιπυνεύσας δὲ πυνεύματος σφίσσῳ ἀμφω ὑπέστρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἔσφηλε διὰ τινων ψευδαυτομόλων τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὁ Ἀτίλιος ὡς ἐς τὴν Διβύνην αὖθις πλευσούμενος. σπουδὴ τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἔξαναθέντη ἐπιτυλίσας ὁ Σουλτίκιος τὰς μὲν πλείους τῶν νεῶν ἀγνοοῦσας ὑπὸ ὀμῆχλης ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ παραττομένας κατέδυσε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς καταφυγοῦσας ἐς τὴν γῆν κείσας εἶλεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἄσφαλῆ τὸν λιμένα ὄρων, καταλυπὼν αὐτὰς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς πόλιν Σουλκοῦς· ἐνα στασισάσαντων πρὸς αὐτὸν Καρχηδονίων προῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτοὺς μόνον καὶ ἀπώλετο. ἀδεέστερον δ' ἐκ τούτου τὴν χώραν κατατρέχοντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἤττήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀννώνος. ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐτεί τούτῳ ἐγένετο· καὶ συνεχῶς λίθοι εἶ δοκαροῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἅμα πολλοί, ὡς καὶ χαλάζῃ ἐοικέναι, ἔπεσον· καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἀλβαίον καὶ ἄλλοθι λίθους ὁμοίως συνέβη κατενεχθῆναι.
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "When the storm continued and a mist arose besides, he compassed Hannibal's defeat by means of some pretended deserters."

Zonaras 8, 12.

occupying it stealthily during the night; and making a sudden sortie, he killed many of the Romans.

Gaius Sulpicius overran the greater part of Sardinia, and filled with arrogance as a result, set out for Africa. The Carthaginians also, alarmed for the safety of their countrymen at home, set sail with Hannibal, but when a contrary wind was encountered, both leaders turned back. Subsequently Atilius compassed Hannibal's defeat by means of some false deserters who represented that Atilius was going to sail to Africa again. Hannibal put out hastily, whereupon Sulpicius sailed against him and sank the majority of his vessels, whose crews, because of a mist, did not know for a long time what was taking place and were thrown into confusion. All the ships that made their escape to land he seized, though without their crews; for Hannibal, who saw that the harbour was unsafe, abandoned the vessels and retired to the city of Sulci. There the Carthaginians mutinied against him, and when he came forth before them alone, he was slain. The Romans in consequence overran the country with greater boldness, but were defeated by Hanno. These were the events of that year. Also stones in great quantities at a time, and in appearance something like hail, fell from heaven upon Rome continually. It likewise came to pass that stones descended upon the Alban Mount and elsewhere.

1 A mistake for Sulpicius.
'Αλλ' ἐν τῷ ἵσῳ τὸ ¹ τὴν οἰκείαν μὴ προέσθαι ² καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν προσκτήσασθαι τιθέμενοι, θυμῷ καὶ ρώμῃ ἡγωνίζοντο. τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν σφέτερα καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν περιστελλόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλη τίμων ὧν ἔθελόντων μετὰ κινδύνων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὁμίῳ τὸ τε κεχειρωμένον καὶ τὸ προσδοκόμενον ποιούμενοι, πρὸς ἀμφότερα ὁμοίως ἔρρωσον. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἡρωμαῖοι ἀμείων εἰναι νομίσαντες μηκέτι πόρρῳ τόν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις προκυνδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀγωνίζονται (πταίσαντες γὰρ οὐδεὶς στερήσεσθαι καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐν ³ ἐλπίσιν ἐσεσθαι), καὶ διὰ τοῦτ ἀκόλουθον τῇ διανοίᾳ σφῶν τὴν ⁴ παρασκευὴν ποιησάμενοι, ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα.

Zonaras 8, 12.

Οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ Διπάραν ἐστράτευσαν. ἔπει δ’ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκραν τὴν Τυνδαρίδα καλουμένην ναυλοχοῦντας ἤσθοντο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διχῇ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ βατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ ἡμίη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλλόντος, νομίσας δ’ Ἀμίλκας μόνους εἶναι ἐξανήχθης· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπεγένοντο, πρὸς φυγὴν ἔχωρησε καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ ἐπελεῖστον ἀπέβαινε. ἔποικότες δ’ οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι Σικελίαν μὲν ως ἥδη σφετέραν ύστεραν κατέλυσαν, τῇ δὲ Διβύῃ τῇ τε Καρχηδόνι ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐτόλμησαν. ἤγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν δ’ τε

to supplied by Bk. ² προέσθαι Gros, προσέσθαι Ms.
BOOK XI

But holding the non-surrender of their native land and the acquirement of foreign territory to be of equal importance, they [the Carthaginians] contended with spirit and might. For, whereas most men defend their own possessions even beyond their strength, but are unwilling to struggle for those of others when it involves danger, these antagonists regarded in the same light what they possessed and what they expected, and so were equally determined upon both points. Now the Romans thought it better to conduct the war no longer at a distance [from Carthage], nor to risk a first encounter in the islands, but to have the contest in the Carthaginians’ own land. Then, if they failed, they would lose nothing; and if they conquered, they would be in excellent hopes. Therefore, making their preparation commensurate with their resolve, they took the field against Carthage.

Zonaras 8, 12.

The consuls on coming to Sicily made a campaign against Lipara. And discovering that the Carthaginians were lying in wait beneath the height called Tyndaris, they divided their expedition. One of the consuls with half the fleet doubled the promontory, and Hamilcar thinking them to be an isolated force, sailed out against them; but when the rest came up, he turned to flight and lost most of his fleet. The Romans were elated, and feeling that Sicily was already theirs, they left it and ventured to make an attempt on Africa and Carthage. Their leaders were Marcus

3 ἐν Bs., ὕπον ἐν Ms.  4 τὴν supplied by Val.  5 τὸ added by Bs.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

20 Ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν δὲ τοῦ Ῥήγουλος καὶ Δούκιος, ἀπ’ ἄρετῆς προκριθέντες· ὁ γὰρ Ῥήγουλος ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ ἦν ὡστε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥάδιως ἐθελῆσαι δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τοῖς τε παισίν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι ψηφισθήναι.—Μ. 123 (p. 183) (ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἱσφ.—ἐξεστάτευσαν) and V. 28 (p. 593) (ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐστάτευσαν ἀκόλουθον—ψηφισθήναι, οτι. ἐξεστάτευσαν).

21 Ὅτι Ἀνωνὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἐργὼ δὲ τριβῆς ἔνεκα ἐπεμψεν ᾿Αμίλκας· καὶ δὲ ἐπιβοῶντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν, ὅτι Καρχηδόνιο τοῦ Κορνήλιου ἀπάτη...—Μ. 124 (p. 183).

Zonaras 8, 12.

Ῥηγοῦλος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ Δούκιος Μάλλιος, ἔξ ἄρετῆς προκριθέντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ τε καθίστων καὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Δυβύνην ηὐτρέπτιζον πλοῦν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἀνέμειναι αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλέεσθαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάσαντες πρὸς Σικελίαν ἡπείχθησαν· καὶ παρά τῇ Ὑπακλειώτιδι ἔς χείρας ἀλλήλοις ἥλθον. ἰσορρόπου δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γινομένης, τέλος ὑπερέσχον Ῥωμαίοι· Ῥαμίλκας δὲ ἀντιστήναι αὐτοῖς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα, Ἀνωνὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπέμψεν ὡς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, βουλόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν τρίβειν· ἦλπιζε γὰρ στράτευμα οἱ πεμφθῇσθαί οἰκοδεεν. Ἀνών δὲ, βοῶντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀπάτη ὑπέλαβον τὸν Κορνήλιον, ὅ τοῦτο ποιήσητε, εἰπεν, "οὐδὲν ἔτι κρείττως τῶν Δυβύων ἐσεσθε." 422

1 Four pages are here lost from the Ms.
BOOK XI

Their leaders were Regulus and Lucius, selected for merit. Regulus, indeed, was in so great poverty that he did not readily consent, on that account, to undertake the command; and it was voted that his wife and children should be furnished their support from the public treasury.

Hamilcar sent Hanno to the Romans, ostensibly in behalf of peace, but in reality to gain time. And he, when some clamoured for his arrest on the ground that the Carthaginians [had arrested] Cornelius treacherously . . .

Zonaras 8, 12.

Regulus and Lucius Manlius, selected for merit. These two sailed to Sicily, settled affairs there, and made ready for the voyage to Africa. The Carthaginians, however, did not wait for them to sail thither, but after due preparation hastened toward Sicily; and thus the opposing forces met near Heraclea. The contest was for a long time evenly balanced, but in the end the Romans got the best of it. Hamilcar did not dare to withstand them longer, but sent Hanno to them, professedly in behalf of peace, whereas he really wished to use up time; for he was hoping that an army would be sent to him from home. When some clamoured for Hanno’s arrest, because the Carthaginians had treacherously arrested Cornelius, the envoy said: “If you do this, you will no longer be any better than the Africans.” He,
Zonaras 8, 12.

ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ευκαιρότατα θωπεύσας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθικὸς τοῦ πολέμου εἶ-
χοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπλεον, Ἀμίλκας δὲ καὶ Ἀννων διαιρεθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς περισσεῖν ἐμελετών. ὀλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀννων οὖν ὑπέστη προσίοντας αὐτοὺς, προκαταπλεύσας δ' εἰς Καρχηδόνα ταύτην ἑφύ-
lασσεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας πυθόμενος τούτῳ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν. ἐκβάντες δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ Ἡρω-
μαῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρισαν. οὖς ἱσόντες προσίοντας οἱ ἐπικώριοι προοίμηλαθοι
καὶ ἀμαχεῖ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι τοῦ πολέμου ἐκρημήνων ἐποίησαν, καὶ τεῦθεν τὴν
τὴν γῆν ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἑθελο-
σίας, τὰς δὲ φόβοι προσεπεκτῶντο, λείαν τε
πολλὴν ἐλάμβανον καὶ αὐτομόλους πλείστους
ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων συχνόν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
πρὸν πολέμωι ἀλόντων ἐκομίζοντο.

Zonaras 8, 13.

* 13. Χειμώνος δὲ ἐπεγευμένον Μάλλιος μὲν εἰς Ἡρωμὸν σὺν τῇ λείᾳ ἀπέπλευσε, Ἡργοῦλος δ' ἐν
τῇ Διβύῃ ὑπέμεινε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι ἐν παντὶ
κακῷ γεγόνασι, τῆς χώρας τε πορθομένης αὐτῶν
καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀλλοτριωμένων, καὶ κατειλη-
θέντες εἰς τὸ τείχος ἤσχαζον. Ἡργοῦλο δὲ παρὰ
τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδευομένῳ δράκων

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

Ὁ δὲ Δίων ὁ Ἡρωμαῖος . . . . . . . λέγει, ὅτι Ἡργοῦλο τοῦ ὑπάτου Ἡρώμης πολεμοῦντος
τῆς Καρχηδόνα ἔξαίφνης δράκων ἐρπύσας ἐξω
τοῦ χαρακώματος τοῦ Ἡρωμαίου στρατοῦ ἐκείτο,
424
therefore, by flattering them most opportunely escaped all molestation; but the Romans once more resumed the war. And the consuls sailed from Messana, while Hamilcar and Hanno separated and studied how to enclose them on both sides. Yet Hanno would not await them when they approached, but sailed away promptly to Carthage and kept guard over the city. Hamilcar, however, when apprised of this, stayed where he was. The Romans landed and marched against the city of Aspis [Clupea], whose inhabitants, seeing them approaching, slipped away in good season. The Romans thus occupied it without striking a blow, and made it a base for the war. Setting out from it, they ravaged the country and acquired cities, some of their own free will and others by intimidation; they also secured great booty, received vast numbers of deserters, and got back many of their own men who had been captured in the previous wars.

13. When winter came on, Manlius sailed back to Rome with the booty, while Regulus remained behind in Africa. The Carthaginians found themselves in the depths of woe, since their country was being pillaged and their neighbours alienated; and cooped up in their fortifications, they remained inactive. Now while Regulus was encamped beside the Bagradas river, there appeared a serpent of huge bulk,

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus L., p. 472.

Dio the Roman . . . says that when Regulus, the Roman consul, was warring against Carthage, a serpent suddenly crept out of the palisade of the Roman army and lay there. By his command the Romans
ΟΤΙ ΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΦΟΒΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΜΗ ΆΛΩΣΙ, ΠΡΟΕΚΡΥΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΨΑΤΟΝ, ΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΙΝΩ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΙ ΑΠΟΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΧΡΗΜΑ ΔΕΙΝΩΝ ΥΠΕΚΦΥΓΩΣΙΝ. ἘΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΕ ΟΥΚ ἩΘΕ-

Ζοναράς 8, 13.

ἐπεφάνη ὑπερμεγέθης, οὗ τὸ μῆκος λέγεται εἶναι ποδῶν ἐκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσι καὶ γὰρ ἡ λεβητίς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἄρμηνιν κεκόμιστο δι’ ἐπτι- δείξων ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον εἶχεν οὔγκον τοῦ σώματος. δὲ συγχυός τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν πελάξοντας αὐτὸ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθειρε. κατειργάσατο δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πλήθει στρατιωτῶν καὶ μηχαναῖς λεθοβόλους. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐφθει- ρεν, τῷ δὲ Ἀμίλκα ἐπὶ μετεώρου καὶ ἐλάδους στρατοπεδευομένῳ χωρίου νύκτωρ προσέμενε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐναίς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐξεγερ- θέντας διώλεσεν εἰ δὲ τῖνας καὶ διέφυγον, τοῖς τὰς οὔγκος τηροῦσιν ἐμπίπτοντες ὀλλυντο. καὶ οὕτω τῶν τε Καρχηδονίων μέρος ἀνάλωθη πολύ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν συγκαλέσει πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεθί- σταντο. φοβηθέντες δ’ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ ἄλωσι, διεκρυβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Ἱπτόν, ὅπως ὁμολογία τινω έπιεικεί ἀποπεμψαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ παραντίκα δεινῶν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἀπητοῦντο

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

δι τῇ προστάξει αὐτοῦ ἕκτειναν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ ἀποδείραντες αὐτοῦ ἐστειλε τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ τῇ συγκλήτῳ Ῥώμης, μέγα θαύμα καὶ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταθείσα συγκλήτον, ώσ αὐτὸς ὁ Δίων ἔλεγε, εὐρέθη ἔχουσα μῆκος ποδῶν ἐκατὸν εἰκοσι. πρὸς τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ ἢν καὶ τὸ πάχος.

426
BOOK XI

The Carthaginians, fearing capture, first made overtures to the consul, in the hope that they might by some satisfactory arrangement secure his withdrawal and thus escape the danger of the moment. But

Zonaras 8, 13.

the length of which is said to have been one hundred and twenty feet (for its slough was carried to Rome for exhibition), and the rest of its body corresponded in size. It destroyed many of the soldiers who approached it and some also who were drinking from the river. Regulus overcame it with a crowd of soldiers and with catapults. After thus destroying it, he gave battle by night to Hamilcar, who was encamped upon a high, wooded spot; and he slew many in their beds as well as many who had been aroused. Any who escaped fell in with the Romans guarding the roads and perished. In this way a large part of the Carthaginians was destroyed and many of their cities were going over to the Romans. Those in the city, fearing capture, made overtures to the consul, in the hope that they might by some satisfactory arrangement secure his withdrawal and so escape the immediate danger. But when many oppressive demands were made of

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

slew the reptile, and having flayed it, sent its skin, a great wonder, to the senate at Rome. And when measured by this same senate, as Dio himself goes on to report, it was found to have a length of one hundred and twenty feet; its thickness, moreover, was proportionate to its length.

427
λησαν Σικελίας τε πάσης καὶ Σαρδοὺς ἀποστῆμαι,
kai tois mēn tov Ὁρμαίων αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα
ἀφεῖναι tois dē σφετέρους λύσασθαι, tā te
dapanthēnta tois Ὁρμαίως ἐς τὸν πόλεμον πάντα
diaλύσαι kai χωρὶς ἀλλα kath' ἐκαστον ἔτος συν-
teleīn oude̊n ἠγνουν. prōs gār dē tois eiron-
meīn kai ekheina autōn elúpetei, oti mēte pole-
meīn ἐμίte svmbaīnein aνeν tōn Ὁρμαίων, kai
autōl mēn μὴ pleōsoi mās navour makrais χρῆσθαι,
ekheīnous dē penvthkounta τριήρειν ἐπικουρεῖν
osakis an epaggelhē sφiων, ἀλλα τέ tina oúk
ek tov ὁμοίou poleīn ekheleūno to. eξ oūn toûtou
alouśiν sφoν ἀκριβὴ tās spondas νomïsantai
ēsesthai, polemeiν autōs małllon eīlontο.—
U 4 (p. 376).

Zonaras 8, 13.
kai fōrthkā, ws alouśiν autōn akrībη νomïēsthai
tās spondas, polemeiν małllon eīlontο.
Ο mēntoi Ῥηγούλος mékri tōte eūtuchōn aúkh-
mastos mēstos eγένετο kai φρονήmatos, ωste kai
grάfein eis tnv Ῥώπην oti katešforaghismēnas
ēchei tās tōn Karχhdoiōn pūlas ὑπὸ tōu fôbou-
tā isa dē kai oī σvν aútph kai oī eν tē Ῥώμη
ēφrōνουν. ðhev kai èsfálēsan. ἦλθουν mēn gār
tois Karχhdoiōs kai Ĥteroi sūmμaχoi, ἦλθε dē
kai eκ Ἀκαδαἰμονος Εάνθιππος. oútōs tīn
aútokeratōra tōn Karχhdoiōn āρχhν eīlphōs
(ο te gār dēmōs aútō tā prágmatα prōdūmous
ēpetreψε kai o Ἀμίλκας kai oi λοιποι οἱ eν tēleī
428

1 polemeiν Reim., polemeiν tē (tō A) Mss.
BOOK XI

since they refused to retire from all Sicily and from Sardinia, to release the Roman captives free of cost and to ransom their own, to make good all the expenses incurred by the Romans for the war and also to pay more as tribute each year, they accomplished nothing. Indeed, in addition to those just mentioned, there were the following demands which displeased them: they were to make neither war nor peace without the consent of the Romans, were to keep for their own use not more than one warship, yet come to the aid of the Romans with fifty triremes as often as notice should be sent them, and were not to be on an equal footing in some other respects. In view, then, of these demands, they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and they chose rather to fight with the Romans.

Zonaras 8, 13.

them, they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and they chose rather to fight.

Regulus, however, who up to that time had been fortunate, became filled with boastfulness and conceit, so much so that he even wrote to Rome that he had sealed up the gates of Carthage with fear. His followers and the people of Rome were of the same opinion, and this caused their undoing. For various allies came to the Carthaginians, among them Xanthippus from Sparta. This man assumed absolute authority over the Carthaginians, since the populace was eager to entrust matters to his charge and Hamilcar together with the other officials stepped aside voluntarily. He managed their affairs
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 13.

έκουσις εξέστησαν) τά τε ἄλλα πάρεσκεύασεν εὗ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων τοὺς Καρχηδόνιοις, ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ δέους ἦσαν, κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ὀμάλον, ἐν ὃ ἦ τε ἱππεία αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πλεῖστον ἵσχύειν ἔμελλον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡσύχασε, τηρήσας δὲ ποτε τοὺς Ἔλληνας καταφρονητικῶς αὐλιζομένους (μέγα τε γὰρ τῇ νίκῃ φρονοῦντες καὶ τὸν Ξάνθιππον ὡς Γραικὸν ὑπερορώντες—οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ εἰς ὄνειδος δυσγενείας τῷ προσρήματι κατ' αὐτῶν χρώναι—τὰς στρατοπεδείας ἀπερισκέπτως πεποίηματο), οὕτως οὖν τοῖς Ἔλληνας διακειμένως ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐπελθὼν, καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τρεψάμενος, πόλλους μὲν κατεκοψε, πόλλους δὲ καὶ ἑξώγρησε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἠγούμον. καὶ ἐν φρονήματι διὰ ταύτα ἦσαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς δὲ ἀλώτας περείσωσαν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἔλληνων πρότερον εξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντες κτανθῶσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους τῶν ἑαυτοκτόνων Ἐλληνας ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον, τὸν δὲ Ἡγούμον ἐν πάσῃ κακουχίᾳ πεποίημα, τροφὴν τε αὐτῶν ὅσον ἀποζημίωσεν προσήχων, καὶ ἐλέφαντα προσέφερον συνεχῶς, ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δειματούμενος μήτη τῷ σώματι μήτη τῇ διανοίᾳ ἰσχυρόν, ἐπὶ συχνώς δὲ κακώσαντες, οὕτως αὐτὸν εἰς δεσμωτηρίων ἔθεντο.

Τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους συμμάχους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δεινότατα μετεχείρισαντο. οὐ γὰρ εὐποροῦντες ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἡ προύπεσχοντο, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ τὸν μυσθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἀποδώσοντες. ἐκέλευσαν δὲ τοῖς κομίζομεν σφᾶς.
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 13.

excellently in every way, and in particular he brought the Carthaginians down from the heights, where they were staying through fear, into the level country, where their horses and elephants would be of most avail. For some time he remained inactive, until at length he found the Romans encamped in a manner that betokened their contempt. They were very haughty over their success and looked down upon Xanthippus as a Graecus¹ (for thus they call the Hellenes, and they use the epithet as a reproach to them for their mean birth); and consequently they had constructed their camp in a heedless fashion. While the Romans were in this state of mind Xanthippus assailed them, routed their cavalry with his elephants, cut down many, and captured many alive, among them Regulus himself. This put the Carthaginians in high spirits. They saved the lives of those captured, in order that their own citizens previously taken captive by the Romans might not be killed. Thus they treated all the Roman prisoners with consideration except Regulus, whom they kept in a state of utter misery; they offered him just enough food to keep him alive, and they would repeatedly lead an elephant close up to him to frighten him, so that he might have peace in neither body nor mind. After afflicting him in this way for a good while, they placed him in prison.

With their allies the Carthaginians dealt in a most ruthless manner. Not being supplied with sufficient wealth to pay them what they had originally promised, they dismissed them with the understanding that they would pay them their wages before very long. To the men who escorted the allies, however, they issued orders to put them

¹ The word should be the diminutive Graeculus.
14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἠλγοῦν μὲν διὰ τὸ συμβαν, καὶ πλέον ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν προσεδόκων πλευσεῖσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῇ τε Διβύῃ ὄντας 'Ρωμαίους σπουδὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπέμψαν, Μάρκου Αἰμίλιου καὶ Φούλβιον Πλαίτινον. οἳ ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καὶ φρουρήσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὸς Διβύην ἀφρήκεσαν καὶ χειμῶν ἀρθέντες κατηνέχθησαν ἐς Κόρσουσαν. πορθήσαντες δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ φουραὶ παραδόντες ἐπέλευν αὐθίς. καὶ τούτῳ ἵσχυρὰ ναυμαχία πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐγένετο. ἦγοντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν παντελῶς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκβάλειν, ('Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς ἔγκαταλείφθεντας σφῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀνασώσασθαι. ἀγχωμάλοις δὲ μαχομένων οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι ὄντες 'Ρωμαῖοι κατὰ νότον τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ ἀμφιβόλους αὐτοὺς κατάλαβοντες ἐνίκησαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τῷ πεζῷ οἱ
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 13.
ashore on a desert island and quietly sail away. As regards Xanthippus, one story is that they pursued after him, when he had sailed away, and sank his ship; the other is that they gave him an old ship which was in no wise seaworthy but had been newly covered over with pitch outside, that it might sink quite of itself, and that he, being aware of this, went aboard a different ship, and so was saved. Their reason for doing this was to avoid seeming to have been saved by his ability; for they thought that when once he had perished, the renown of his deeds would also perish.

Zonaras 8, 14.
14. The people of Rome were grieved at what had occurred, more especially because they expected that the Carthaginians would sail against Rome itself. For this reason they carefully guarded Italy, and hastily sent to the Romans in Sicily and Africa the consuls Marcus Aemilius and Fulvius Plaetinus [Paetus]. These men sailed to Sicily, and after garrisoning the positions there, set out for Africa, but were overtaken by a storm and carried to Cossura. They ravaged the island and put it in charge of a garrison, then sailed onward again. Thereupon a fierce naval battle with the Carthaginians took place. The latter were struggling to eject the Romans entirely from their country, and the Romans were striving to save the remnants of their soldiers who had been left in hostile territory. In the midst of a close battle the Romans in Aspis [Clupea] suddenly sailed against the Carthaginians from the rear, and by thus getting them between two forces overcame them. Later the Romans also

433

VOL. 1.

F F


Δίων ια' βιβλίων "οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναῦς αὐ-
τῶν ἀναπλεούσας οἴκαδε τηρήσαντες, συχνὰς χρη-
mάτων γεμούσας εἴλου."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 131, 12.

Zonaras 8, 14.

Ῥωμαίοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ εἶλον πολλοὺς· οὐδὲ διὰ
τὸν Ῥηγούλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀλόντας περι-
εσώσαντο. ἀρπαγάς δὲ τινας ποιησάμενοι ἐς
Σικελίαν ἔπλεον. χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσόντες καὶ
πολλοὺς ἀποβαλάντες οἰκοὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς
περισσοθείσαις ἀπέπλευσαν.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ τὴν Κόρσουραν ἔλαβον
καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπεραιώθησαν καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν
Κολλατίνων καὶ Γναιὼν Κορηλίου ἔμαθον πολλὺς
προσπλέοντας ναυτικῶν, πᾶσαν ἀν αὐτὴν ἐχειρω-
σάντο. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι ναυτικῶν τε ἀριστῶν
ταχέως ἐξῆρτυσαν καὶ καταλόγους βελτίστους
ἐπεποιήσαναν, καὶ οὕτως ἐρρώσθησαν ὅστε τρίτῳ
μὴν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντακοσιοστὸν
δ' ἦν ἔτος ἀφ' οὔπερ ἡ Ῥώμη συνέστη. καὶ τὴν
μὲν κάτω τοῦ Πανόρμου πόλιν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἶλον,
τῇ δὲ ἄκρᾳ προσεδρεύουσας ἐκακοπάθησαν,
μέχρις οὗ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπέληπεν ἣ τροφή·
tοτὲ γὰρ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις. οἱ δὲ
Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν οἰκαδε πλεοῦσας
tηρήσαντες εἴλον συχνὰς χρημάτων μεστάς.

Εἶτα Σερόυλιός τε Πίων καὶ Γάιος Σεμπρώνιος
ὐπατοὶ τοῦ μὲν Διλυβαίου πειράσαντες ἀπε-
κρούσθησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Διβὴν ἐπεραιώθησαν, καὶ
tὴν παραλίαν ἐπόρθουν. ὡς δ' ἐκομίζοντο οἰκαδὲ,
χειμῶνι ἐνέτυχον καὶ ἐβλάβησαν. διὸ νομίζας ὁ
dήμος ἐξ ἀπειρίας τῶν ναυτικῶν βλάπτεσθαι, τῆς

434
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "The Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound and captured several heavily laden with money."

Zonaras 8, 14.

won an infantry engagement and took many prisoners, whose lives they saved because of Regulus and those captured with him. They made several raids, and then sailed to Sicily. But encountering a storm and losing many of their number, they sailed for home with the ships that were saved.

The Carthaginians took Cossura and crossed over to Sicily; and they would have subjugated the whole of it, had they not learned that Collatinus [Calatinus] and Gnaeus Cornelius were approaching with a large fleet. For the Romans had quickly fitted out a first-class fleet, had made levies of their best men, and had become so strong that in the third month they returned to Sicily. It was the five-hundredth year from the founding of Rome. The lower city of Panormus they took without trouble, but in the siege of the citadel they fared badly until food failed those inside: then the besieged came to terms with the consuls. But the Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound, and captured several that were full of money.

Afterwards Servilius Pio [Caepio] and Gaius Sempronius, consuls, made an attempt upon Lilybaeum, where they were repulsed; and crossing over to Africa, they ravaged the coast. But while returning homeward they encountered a storm and incurred disaster. Hence the people, thinking that their misfortunes were due to their inexperience in naval
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 14.

μὲν ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἀπέχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο,

καὶ δ’ ὅλγαις τὴν Ἰταλίαν φρουρέιν.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ ἔτει Πούπλιος Γάιος καὶ

Αὐρήλιος Σερούλιος ἔς τὴν Σικελίαν ἤλθον, καὶ

ἄλλα τέ τινα κατεστράφαντο καὶ Ἰμέραν οἱ

μέντοι τινα συνέσχου τῶν ἐν αὑτῇ νυκτὸς γὰρ

αὐτοὺς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐξεκόμισαν. μετὰ δὲ

τούτο Ἀὐρήλιος ναῦς τε παρὰ Ἰέρωνος εἰληφὼς

καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤσαν ἐκεὶ συμπαραλαβῶν,

ἐπλευσεν εἰς Λιπάραν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Κύιντον

Κάσσιον χιλιάρχοι 1 καταλιπτῶν προσεδρεύσοντα

μάχης ἄνευ, ἀπῆρεν οὐκαδε. Κύιντος δὲ μὴ

φροντίσας τῆς ἐντολῆς προσέμιξε τῇ πόλει καὶ

πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀὐρήλιος μετὰ

ταῦτα ἐκείνους ἐλὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν

Κάσσιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαυσε.

Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

περὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μαθώντες, ἐπεμήγαν εἰς Σι-

κελίαν, πᾶσαι υποτάξαι τότε ἐλπίζαντες. καὶ

ἐὼς μὲν ἐμφω παρῆσαν οἱ ὕπατοι Κακίλιος

Μέτελλος καὶ Γάιος Φούριος, 2 ἢρέμουν ὁς δὲ

πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆρεν ὁ Φούριος, 2 κατεφρό-

νησαν τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ πρὸς τὸ Πάνορμον ἤλθον.

ὁ δὲ Μετέλλος κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν

μαθῶν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡθοισε τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει

πάντας, καὶ διαλεχθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἄλληλων λαβέσθαι

σφίσιν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὔτως ἐκαστὸν ἀνακρίνων

ὅστις τε εἶν καὶ ὁ τι πράττοι, κατεφώρασε τοὺς

πολεμίους. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ παρετάξαντο ὡς

1 Κύιντον χιλιάρχον Κάσσιον Mss., corrected by Bs.
2 Φούριος Wolf, φρούριος Mss.

436
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 14.

affairs, voted to keep away from the sea with the exception of guarding Italy with a few ships.

In the succeeding year Publius Gaius and Aurelius Servilius came to Sicily and among other places subdued Himera; but they did not get possession of any of its inhabitants, for the Carthaginians conveyed them away by night. After this Aurelius secured some ships from Hiero, and adding to his contingent all the Romans who were there, he sailed to Lipara. Here he left the tribune Quintus Cassius to carry on a siege, while avoiding battle, and set sail for home. Quintus, disregarding orders, made an attack upon the city and lost many men. Aurelius, however, subsequently took the place, killed all the inhabitants, and deposed Cassius from his command.

The Carthaginians, learning what the Romans had determined regarding the fleet, sent an expedition to Sicily, hoping now to bring it entirely under their control. Now as long as both the consuls, Caecilius Metellus and Gaius Furius, were on the ground, they remained quiet; but when Furius set out for Rome, they conceived a contempt for Metellus and proceeded to Panormus. Metellus learned that spies had come from the enemy, and assembling all the people of the city, he addressed them, and then bade them lay hold of one another; thus he was enabled to investigate who each one was and what his business was, and so detected the enemies. The Carthaginians now set themselves in

1 A mistake for Gaius Aurelius and Publius Servilius; the names are correctly given at the beginning of chapter 16.

2 The same procedure is attributed to Mummius after the destruction of Corinth; see Zonaras 9, 31 (end).
μαχούμενοι, καὶ Μέτελλος δεδέναι προσεπουητό.
tοῦτον δ’ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας γινομένου, οἱ Καρχη-
δόνοι ἔφρονηματίσθησαν καὶ προσέβαλλον θρα-
ςύτερον. καὶ τότε ὁ Μέτελλος σημείον τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις ἥρει· κὰκ τοῦτον ἐξαιπιναίως ἐκείνοι
κατὰ πάσας τὰς πύλας ἐπεκδραμόντες ῥαδίως
ἐκράτησαν, καὶ ἐς στενὸν αὐτοὺς κατέκλεισαν,
ὡςτε μηκὲν ἀναχωρήσαι δὴ αὐτοῦ δυνηθήμαι.
στενοχωρούμενοι γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ αὐτὸι πολλοὶ ὄντες
καὶ πολλοὶς ἑλέφαντας ἔχοντες, ἐταράττοντο.
καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Διβυκὸν προσπλεῦσαν
αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο φθορᾶς αἰτιώτατον. ἱδόντες γὰρ
τὰς ναῦς ὀρμησαν εἰς αὐτὰς καὶ ἐμβαίνειν ἐξεβιά-
ζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνέπτυσαν καὶ
ἐφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐμπελαξο-
μένων ἄλληλοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπώλ-
λυντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτείνοντο, πολλοὶ
dὲ καὶ ξώντες ἐάλωσαν ἄνδρες τε καὶ ἑλέφαντες.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνευ τῶν συνήθων σφίσιν ἄνδρῶν
ὅντες ἡγείρισσον, κηρυγμα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὁ
Μέτελλος ἐποιήσατο σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀδειαν τοῖς
συλλαβοῦσιν αὐτοὺς διδοῦν καὶ οὕτως προσελ-
θόντες τινὲς τοῖς σφῶν προστάταις ἐκείνοις τε διὰ
tὴν συνήθειαν ἐχειρώσαντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
προσεπετάσαντο. οὕς καὶ ἐις τὴν Ῥώμην
ἐκόμισαν ἐκατὸν ὄντας καὶ εἰκοσιν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς
tὸν πορθμὸν περαιώσαντες. πίθους πολλοὺς συν-
δήσαντες ἄλληλοις καὶ ξύλοις διαλαβόντες σφᾶς,
وذτε μὴτ ἀπαρτάσθαι σφᾶς μήτε συμπτίπτειν,
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 14.

battle array, and Metellus pretended to be afraid. When he continued this pretence for several days, the Carthaginians were filled with presumption, and became quite bold in making attacks. Then Metellus raised the signal for the Romans. Forthwith they made an unexpected rush through all the gates, easily overcame resistance, and enclosed their foes in a narrow place through which they could now no longer retreat; for, by reason of their own numbers and the large number of elephants with them, they were crowded together and thrown into confusion. Meanwhile the Carthaginian fleet approached the coast and became the chief cause of their destruction. For the fugitives, seeing the ships, rushed toward them and tried to force their way on board; some fell into the sea and perished, others were killed by the elephants, which crowded against one another and against the men, and still others were slain by the Romans; many also were captured alive, men and elephants as well. For when the beasts, bereft of the men to whom they were used, became infuriated, Metellus made a proclamation to the prisoners, offering safety and pardon to such as would hold them in check; accordingly, some of the keepers approached the gentlest of the animals, which they subdued by the influence of their accustomed presence, and then won over the remainder. These, one hundred and twenty in number, were conveyed to Rome, being ferried across the strait in the following way. A number of huge jars, separated by wooden stays, were fastened together in such a way that they could neither break apart nor yet strike together; then this framework was spanned by

439

"Οτι φασὶ Καρχηδονίων ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τάλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ πως καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μετρίως τις ποιήσαντο, εἰ δὲ μη, ἵνα τοὺς γε ἐαλωκότας κομίσαντο. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ρηγούλον ἐν τοῖς πρέσβεσι πεμφθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπέλαβον γὰρ πᾶν ὅτιον τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τὸ κομίσασθαι αὐτοῦ πράξαι, ὥστε καὶ μόνον ἄντι τῆς εἰρήνης ἡ πάν-

Zonaras 8, 14.

δοκους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπέτειναν καὶ ὕλην καὶ γην ἐπεφόρησαν, φράξαντες τε πέριξ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς αὐλῆ τινι ἐοικέναι, εἰς τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἑπεβίβασαν, καὶ διεπόρθιμευσαν οὖν αἰσθανομένους ὅτι πλέουν. ο μὲν οὖν Μέτελλος οὕτως ἐνίκησεν, ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς σωθεῖς τότε, ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐκλήθη καὶ ἀνεσκολοπίσθη.

Zonaras 8, 15.

15. Οὶ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τάλλα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ῥηγούλου συνέπεμψαν, πάν δὲ αὐτοῦ οἰνθέντες κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὀρκωσάν τε αὐτοῦ ἡ μὴν ἐπανήξειν. καὶ

1 πράξαι: Rk., ἐλπίσαι: σφᾶς πράξαι Mss.
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "He feasted the people." ¹

They say that the Carthaginians made overtures to the Romans on account of the great number of the captives, among other causes; they wished most of all to see if they could make peace on some moderate terms, and if they could not do this, at least to get back the captives. It is said that Regulus, too, was sent among the envoys because of his reputation and valour. They assumed that the Romans would do anything whatever for the sake of getting him back, so that he might even be delivered up alone in return for peace, or at any rate beams, and on top of all earth and brush were placed, and the surface was fenced in round about, so that it presented somewhat the appearance of a farmyard. The beasts were put on board this raft and were ferried across without knowing that they were moving on the water. Such was the victory of Metellus; but Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian leader, though he got safely away on this occasion, was later summoned by the Carthaginians at home and impaled.

Zonaras 8, 15.

15. The Carthaginians now made overtures to the Romans, on account of the great number of the captives, among other causes; and with the envoys they sent also Regulus himself, thinking that through him their whole object was as good as gained, because of the reputation and valour of the man; and they

¹ Boissevain refers this to the triumph of Metellus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tos ge ἀντὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνταποδοθήναι. 27 ὀρκωσάν τε οὖν αυτῶν πίστευς 1 μεγάλαις ἡ μὴν ἐπανηζεῖν, ἀπὸ 2 μηδέτερον αὐτῶν 3 διαπράξεται, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν μεθ' ἑτέρων ἐστειλαν. καὶ δὴ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα καθάπερ τις Καρχηδόνιος ἄλλ', οὐ 'Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπράττε, καὶ οὐτε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐσ ἀλλ' ἔσχηκε, ἀλλ' ἔσχηκε, ἀλλ' ἔσχηκε ὁ δ' ἐξω τοῦ τείχους ἡς Βουλής ἁθροισθείσης, ὁσπέρ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων πρέσβεσιν έχοις ἐν χρηματίζεις, τὴν τε πρὸσ- ὀδον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅς γε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἥτησατο, . . . Uv 5 (p. 377).


Zonaras 8, 15.

ds τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς εἰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπράττε καὶ οὐτε τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς λόγους ἐδέξατο οὕτε τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλθε, καὶ ταῦτα καλοῦμενος, ἀλλ' ἔσχηκε, τοῦ τείχους τῆς Βουλής ἁθροισθείσης, ὣς ἔθος ἦν χρηματίζεις τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς πρέσβεσιν, εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἔπευ ἡμᾶς, ὡς πα- τέρες, πρὸς ὡς Καρχηδονίους ἐπεμψαν. ἐκείνοι γάρ με ἐστάλκασι, ἐπεὶ δοῦλος αὐτῶν νόμῳ πολέμου γεγένησαι καὶ ἀξιώσας μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον λύσασθαι ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ταῖς

1 πίστευς Reim., πίστευς τε (τε καὶ B) MSS. 2 απὸ Bk., απὸ δὲ MSS. 3 μηδέτερον αὐτῶν Urs., μηδὲν ἑτερον αὐτῶν MSS. 4 ἐσκληθεῖσις Ba., ἐκβληθεῖσις MSS.

442
BOOK XI

in exchange for the captives. Accordingly, they bound him by mighty oaths and pledges to return without fail, in case he should accomplish neither of their objects; and they despatched him as an envoy along with others. Now he acted in all respects like a Carthaginian, and not a Roman. He did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him, nor did he enter the city, although invited inside; instead, when the senate assembled outside the walls, as was their custom in treating with the enemy's envoys, he not only asked permission to approach with the others—at least so the story goes— . . . .

Dio, Book XI. "Regulus paid no heed to them until the Carthaginians permitted him to do so."

Zonaras 8, 15.

bound him by oaths to return without fail. Now he acted in all respects like one of the Carthaginians. He did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him, nor did he enter the city, although repeatedly invited to do so; instead, when the senate assembled outside the walls, as was the custom in treating with the envoys of the enemy, and he was brought into the assembly he said: "We, Fathers, have been sent to you by the Carthaginians. It is they who despatched me on this journey, since by the law of war I have become their slave. Now they ask, in the first place, to conclude the war upon terms pleasing to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

32a Δίωνος ια’ βιβλίῳ “άλλος άν τις, 1 παραμυθή-
σασθαι τήν καθ’ έαυτόν συμφοράν έθελήσας, εξ-

32d Δίωνος ιβ’ βιβλίῳ “έκεινο 2 μὲν γάρ ἀπαλ-
λοτριωθέναι υμῶν τρόπον τινά ἡδυνήθη.”—Ib.
p. 124, 4.

32a Δίωνος ιβ’ βιβλίῳ “τεθύασι δὲ οἱ μέν, οἱ δὲ έαλόκασιν οί γε καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἄξιοι.”—Ib.
p. 133, 25.

Zonaras 8, 15.

δοκούσαις ἀμφοῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
ποιήσασθαι ἄλλαγμα.” ταύτα εἰπὼν μετέστη
μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς δὲ καθ’ έαυτός οἱ ’Ρω-
μαίοι βουλεύσονται. κελευόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν
ὕπατων συμμετασχεῖν σφίσι τῆς διαγνώμης οὐ
πρὶν ἐπείσθη πρὸ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων
ἐπιτραπήναι. ο δὲ τέως μὲν ἐσιώπα: ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ
βουλευται εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐκέλευον, εἰπεν
“εἰμὶ 4 μὲν εἰς εξ’ υμῶν, ὁ πατέρες, κἀν μυρι-
άκις ἄλω’ το μὲν γάρ σῶμα μου Καρχηδονίων,
η δὲ ψυχὴ μου ύμετέρα ἐστὶν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ
ὑμῶν ἠλλοτριώτατι, ταύτην δὲ οὕδες δύναται μὴ
οὐχὶ ’Ρωμαίαν εἶναι ποιήσαι· καὶ ὡς μὲν αἰχμα-
λωτος Καρχηδονίως προσήκω, ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐκ
κακίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ προθυμίας ἐδυστύχησα, καὶ ’Ρω-
μαίος εἰμι καὶ φροντὶ τὰ ύμετέρα. καὶ οὐδ’ εξ’ ἐνὸς
τρόπον λυσιτελεῖν υμῶν τάς καταλλαγάς νομίζω.”

1 άλλος άν τις Μs., άλλο γ’ άν τι Ms.
2 ἐκεῖνο de Boer, ἐκεῖνος Ms. 3 ἡδυνήθη Bk., ἡδυνήθηναι Ms.
4 At this point Boislevain would begin Book XII. It
seems highly improbable, however, that the division
should occur in the middle of an episode like the present one. The
444
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "Any one else, in the desire to palliate the disaster with which he had met, would have exalted the prowess of the enemy."

Dio, Book XII. "The former, indeed, might have become to a certain extent estranged from you." ¹

Dio, Book XII. "Some are dead, and the rest captured, at least those deserving of any notice." ¹

---

Zonaras 8, 15.

both parties, or, if that is not possible, to effect an exchange of prisoners." After speaking these words, he withdrew with the envoys, so that the Romans might deliberate in private. When the consuls urged him to take part in their discussion, he paid no heed, until permission was granted by the Carthaginians. And for a time he was silent; then, when the senators bade him state his opinion, he said: "I am one of you, Fathers, though I be captured times without number. My body is a Carthaginian chattel, but my spirit is yours. The former has been alienated from you, but the latter nobody has the power to make anything else than Roman. As captive I belong to the Carthaginians; yet, inasmuch as I met with misfortune not from cowardice, but from zeal, I am not only a Roman, but I also have your cause at heart. Not in a single respect, now, do I think reconciliation advantageous to you."

division here adopted assumes two mistakes instead of one on the part of the grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota in citing books.

¹ Probably from the speech of Regulus to the senators; compare Zonaras.
Ταύτα ὁ Ῥηγούλος εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσέθηκε δι’ ἀσ τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὡς "οἷδα μὲν ὅτι μοι προὔπτος ἀλέθρος πρόκειται. ἀδύνατον γὰρ λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀ συνεβούλευσα· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ κοινὴ συμφέρον προτίθημι. εἰ δὲ τις φήσει, τι ὁν πότε ἐκδιδράσκεις ἢ ἐνταῦθα καταμένεις, ἀκούσται ὅτι ὁμομοιάς αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξεν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν παραβαίνῃ τοὺς ὥρκους, οὐδ’ εἰ πρὸς πολέμιοις γεγόνασι, καὶ δ’ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τὸ δεινὸν ἐμπεδορκήσας μὲν μόνος πεῖσομαι, ἀν δ’ ἐπιορκήσω, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀναπλησθήσεται."

Ἡ γερουσία δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐνεκεν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀντιδοῦναι προτεθύμητο. γνωσὶ ποτε τούτῳ αὐτός, ἦν μὴ τὸ συμφέρον δι’ αὐτὸν καταπρόωνται, ἐπλάσατο πεπωκέναι φάρμακον δηλητηρίου καὶ μέλλειν πάντως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ οὐτε ἡ σύμβασις γέγονεν οὐτε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἡ ἀμοιβή. ἀπιόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς πρόσβεσιν ἀντελάβοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ· οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ μὴ ἐθέλοντα καταμεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐκδωσεῖν ἔφασαν μὴ ἀπίοντα κατασχέιν. καὶ

1 ἐστι προέθεται Bk., ἐπιπροέθεται Ms.
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "For it neither becomes me nor any other upright man to sacrifice aught that pertains to the public welfare." 

Zonaras 8, 15.

After these remarks Regulus stated also the reasons because of which he favoured rejecting the proposals, and added: "I know, to be sure, that manifest destruction awaits me, for it is impossible to keep them from learning the advice I have given; but even so, I esteem the public advantage above my own safety. If any one shall say, 'Why, then, do you not run away, or stay here?' he shall be told that I have sworn to them to return, and I will not transgress my oaths, not even when they have been given to enemies. My reasons for this attitude are various, but the principal one is that if I abide by my oath, I alone shall suffer disaster, but if I break it, the whole city will be involved."

But the senate, out of consideration for his safety, showed a disposition to make peace and to restore the captives. When he became aware of this, he pretended, in order that he might not be the cause of their letting their advantage slip, that he had swallowed deadly poison and was sure to die in any case from its effects. Hence no agreement and no exchange of prisoners was made. As he was departing in company with the envoys, his wife and children and others clung to him, and the consuls declared they would not surrender him, if he chose to stay, nor yet would they detain him if he was for

1 See note on p. 445.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 15.

ούτω προτιμήσας μὴ παραβήναι τοὺς ὅρκους ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αἰκισθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἡ φήμη λέγει, ἀπέθανε. τὰ γὰρ βλέφαρα αὐτὸν περίτεμον, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν σκότει καθεύραντες, εἶτα εἰς σκεῦος τι σύμπτηκτον κέντρα πανταχόθεν ἔχον ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὸν καὶ τρέψαντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, οὔτως ὑπὸ κακοπαθείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας μὴ δυνάμενον τῇ κλιθήναι διὰ τὰ κέντρα διέφθειραν. ἢ πιθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶ καὶ ἀνταίκισασθαι καὶ ἀνταποκτεῖναι.
BOOK XI

Zonaras 8, 15.

departing. Consequently, since he preferred not to violate the oaths, he was carried back. And he was tortured to death, as the report goes, by his captors. They cut off his eyelids and for a time shut him up in darkness, then they cast him into some kind of specially constructed receptacle bristling with spikes, and made him face the sun; thus through suffering and sleeplessness—for the spikes kept him from reclining in any fashion—he perished. When the Romans found it out, they delivered the foremost captives in their hands to his children to torture and put to death in revenge.

END OF VOL. I