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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
I
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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 Διός ο 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 A.D., 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 Prosopographia Imperii Romani, i, pp. 313 f.
3 LXXII, 7, 2.
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death 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;¹ 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,² containing an account of the dreams and portents which had foretold to Severus his future greatness.³ 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).
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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 passage ³ 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 proconsulship 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.
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emperor to the Parthian war. By Macrinus he was placed over the cities of Pergamum and Smyrna as *curator ad corrigendum statum civilitatum*,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 *Ῥωμαϊκά*), 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.
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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

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\(^1\) LXXII, 23, 5.  
\(^2\) Frg. 1, 2; cf. LIII, 19, 6.  
\(^3\) LXXII, 23, 5.  
\(^4\) LIII, 19; LXXI, 36, 4; LXXII, 4, 2.
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content 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.

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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.
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.
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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
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.
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 LXXIX 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.
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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 excipitor'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 Vitii (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
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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 Boisseyvain, following Niebuhr, would identify with Petrus Patricius, a historian of the sixth century. Nevertheless, though not direct
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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 (U¹), and (b) of the Romans to Foreign Nations (U²)—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 Boissovain, 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) Boissovain adds to the previous fragments No. 55, 3ᵃ and 3ᵇ.¹

¹ The Excerpta Planudea, a collection made by the monk Maximus Planudes (1280–1310) and published by Mai, have been shown by Boissovain 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),
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The short syntactical lexicon (Περὶ Συντάξεως) 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 Boissevain 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.¹

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 Ἐπιστομὴ Ἱστοριῶν, 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 Boissevain 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 Boissevain.
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 Boisseyvain; 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 (Boisseyvain's division), containing the reign of Antoninus Pius
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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 Boisseyvain. 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
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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.

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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 Boissevain 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.
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(b) The oldest Dio Ms. is now reduced to a few leaves on which are contained LXXVIII, 2, 2-LXXIX, 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. (Frgs. 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 Ursiaiana.

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.


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In addition to the symbols already given for the Ms. 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. = Xiphilinus.
Xyl. = Xylander.
Zon. = Zonaras.
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1, 2. Ἄνεγνων μὲν πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἄλλ' ὡσα ἑξέκρινα. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι κεκαλλισεπτημένοισ, ἐσ ὅσον γε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε, λόγοις κέχρημαι, ἐσ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν διὰ τούτῳ τὶς ὑποπτεύσῃ, ὅπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων τινῶν συμβέβηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμφότερα, ὡς οἴον τε ἦν, ὁμοίως ἀκριβῶς, ἔστοτα ἐσπούδασα. ἄρξομαι δὲ ὅθενπερ τὰ σαφέστατα τῶν περὶ τῆς τῆν γῆν, ἣν κατοικοῦμεν, συμβήκαι λεγομένων παρελάβομεν.—Μ. 1 (p. 135).

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

Zonaras 7, 1.

1. Αἰνείας μετὰ τῶν Τροικὸν πόλεμον ἄφικτο πρὸς Ἀβορρεγίνας, οἱ πρόχη τὴν χώραν ὅκουν καθ' ἦν ἡ Ῥώμη πεπόλισται, Λατίνου τοῦ Φαύνου τότε τῆν

Tzetzes in Lyceophr. Alex. v. 1282.

Ὅτι οἱ Ἀἰνείας, μετὰ τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἀλώσιν, οἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὡς ἐφημερεύσαν, καὶ Λατίνους παραγινεῖται.
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
τούτων ἀρχὴν ἔχωντος, καὶ προσέσχε Λαυρεντῖο
κατὰ τὸν Νουμίκιον ποταμὸν, ἔνθα κατὰ τὴ δὴ
θεωπρόπιον λέγεται παρασκευάζεσθαι ποιήσασθαι
τὴν κατοίκησιν. ὁ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀρχῶν Λατῖνων
ἀπείρης τῷ Λινείᾳ τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καθίδρυσιν,
καὶ συμβαλῶν ἤτταται· εἶτα δὲ ὀνειράτων φανέρω
τοῦν ἀμφοῖν καταλλάσσονται· καὶ τῆς κατοικίας
αὐτῆς παραχωρεῖ, καὶ τῆς θυγατέρας Λαουνίναν ἐὰς
γάμον ἐκδίδωσιν. ἔνθα πόλιν ὁ Λινείας οἰκοδομήσεις ὀνόμασε Λαουνίνον· ἢ τε χώρα Λάτινον
ἐπεκλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ εκεῖ Λατῖνοι προσηγορεύθησαν.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

περὶ Λαυρεντίου δὲ προσώκειλε τὸ καὶ Τροίαν
καλούμενον, περὶ Νουμίκιον ποταμὸν, ἔχων καὶ
τὸν ἐκ Κρεούσης νῦν αὐτοῦ Ἀσκάνιον ἡ Ἡλόω
ὀποὺ φαγόντων τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς τραπέζας
σελίνας ὄψας, ἢ ἐκ τῶν σκληροτέρων μερῶν
tῶν ἄρτων (οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τραπέζας), ἔτι δὲ καὶ
χοίρου λευκῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου αὐτοῦ ἀποσκηρτη-
σάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὄνομασμένων Ἀλβανῶν
όρος καὶ τριάκοντα τετοκνίας, ἀπερ ἐδίδουν ὅτι
τριακόστῳ ἔτει οἱ παιδεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆν καὶ κράτους
ἀμείνον ἔξωσιν, ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐκ χρηματὶ
tοῦτο προακηκοῦσι, θύσας δὲ καὶ τὴν χοίρου παρ
εσκευάζετο κτίσειν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι τοῦτον
οὐκ εἶχα· ἦττηθες δὲ πολέμῳ δίδωσιν Λινείᾳ πρὸς
γάμον Λαβινίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. Λινείας δὲ
κτίσας πόλιν Λαβινίαν ὄνομασε.
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.
"Ότε περὶ Τυρσηνῶν φησιν ὁ Δίων "ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσῆκεν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν γεγράφαι: ἐτέρωθε καὶ ἀλλο τι καὶ αὕτης αὖ ἔτερον, ὅτῳ ποτ' ἂν ἡ διέξοδος τῆς συγγραφῆς τὸ ἀεὶ παρὸν 1 εὑτερείποισα προστύχῃ, κατὰ καὶρὸν εἰρήσεται. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων

Zonaras 7, 1.

'Ρουτούλοι δὲ ὁμορούντες τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀρδέας ὁμώμενοι, καὶ πρόσθεν δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς Λατίνους, καὶ τότε πόλεμον ἡραυτο, ἐπαρήγαγος αὐτοῖς καὶ Τούρνου ἀνδρός ἐπιφανοὺς καὶ τῷ Λατίνῳ προσήκοντο, διὸ δ' ὀργῆς τὸν Λατίνον πεποίητο διὰ τῶν Λαονικᾶς γάμαν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἡ κόρη προσωμολόγητο. μάχης οὖν γενομένης πέπτουσιν ὁ τε Τούρνος καὶ ὁ Λατίνος, τὴν δὲ νίκην ὁ Λανείας κεκόμιστο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ βασιλείαν. μετὰ δὲ τινὰ χρόνου συμμαχίας ἐκ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ 'Ρουτούλοι τυχόντες ἐπηλθοῦν τῷ Λανείᾳ καὶ τῶν πόλεμον νευκήκασιν. ἀφανῆς δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Λατίνου δὲ καὶ Τύρνου τοῦ 'Ρουτούλων βασιλέως πολέμω ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθανόντων Λανείας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀνηρρημένου δὲ καὶ Λανείου πολέμω ἐν Λαυρέντω ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν 'Ρουτούλων καὶ Μαξεντίου τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ, ἐγκύου οὐσῆς τῆς Λανείου γνωστοῦ χριστιανικοῦ Λανείας τῶν Σιλβίων, Ἀσκάνιος ὁ ἐκ Κρεούς ἁ

1 άεὶ παρὸν Bk., λεπτὸν Ms.
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 ἀρκούντως ἔχετω· 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 Αινείας γενόμενος, οὐτε γὰρ ξοῦν ὡφθη ἐτὶ οὐτε μὴν τεθνεώς, ὡς θεὸς παρὰ Λατίνοις τετίμητο. ἐνετυθεὶς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀρχηγεύτης νενόμισται καὶ Αινείαδαι καλεῖσθαι αὐχοῦσι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐκείνου νιὸς Ἀσκάνιος διεδέξατο, οὗ οἶκοθεν συνείπτο τῷ πατρὶ. οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λαονικίας παῖδα ἐγείνατο, ἐγκυνὸν δὲ αὐτὴν καταλέλουπε. τὸν δὲ Ἀσκάνιον κατακλείσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπολιόρκον, νυκτὸς δὲ οἱ Λατῖνοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένοι τὴν τε πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

Χρόνου δὲ διελθεῖσθος πληθυνθέντες οἱ Λατῖνοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τὸ Λαονίκον οἱ πλείονες ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐν ἀμείνων χώρῃ ἀντρικόδομησαν,

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

παῖς βασιλεῦει, ὦς καὶ τὸν Μαξέντιον πολέμῳ συμβαλόντα νικᾶ τελέως, μὴ δεχόμενον τὰς πρεσβείας ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Λατίνου πάντα εἰς ἐτήσιον δασμὸν ξητοῦντα. αὐξηθέντες δὲ οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἐνέστη, Λαβινίας μὲν ὑπερεφύτησαν, Ἀλβαν δὲ Δόγγαν ἐτέραν πόλιν ἐκτίσαν ἀπὸ τῆς χούρου, τούτεστι λευκῆν μακρά

ἐχέτω Bk., ἐχούσα 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.
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Zonaras 7, 1.

"Αλβαν ἐκ τῆς λευκότητος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μήκους Δόργαν ἐπωνύμασαν εἰποιεῖν ἄν Ἑλληνες λευκῆς καὶ μακρᾶς. Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δαυυίας τεχθέντα μὸνον Αἰνεία υἱὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προσελήφθησαν τοῦ Ἀσκανίου παιδός, διὰ τὸν πάρπον τοῦ Λατίνου τοῦτον προκρίναντες, Σιλβίου κεκλημένον. ἐκ Σιλβίου δὲ Αἰνείας ἐτέχθη, ἐξ Αἰνείου δὲ Λατίνου ἐγένετο, Λατίνου δὲ διεδέξατο Πάστις. Τιβερίνος δὲ ἄρξας μετέπειτα ἐν ποταμῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀλβούλῳ πεσὼν διεφθάρη, διὸ δὴ ποταμὸς Τιβερίς εἰς ἐκείνου μετω- νομάσθη, ἐξών διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πολυκέστατος καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρησιμώτατος. ἔκγονος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίνου Ἀμούλιος ὃς ὑπερφρονήσας καὶ θεοῦ ἐαυτοῦ τολμήσας, ὅς βροντάς τε ταῖς βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀντεπάγειν καὶ ἀνταστράπτειν ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐνσκίπτειν τε κεραυνοῖς, διεφθάρη, τῆς Λύμνης παρῇ τὰ αὐτοῦ βασίλεια ἱδρυτὸ ἐπιρροείσθης αἰφνίδιον καὶ κατα- ποντίσασθαι κάκεινοι καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Ἀνευντίνος δὲ ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπέθανε.

Tzetzes in Lycothyr. Alex. v. 1232.

καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὄρος Ἀλβανόν ἐκαλέσαν ὀμοίως; τὰ δὲ ἐκ Τροίς ἀγάλματα μόνα πρὸς τὸ Δαβίδιον δεύτερον ὑπεστράφησαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀσκανίου τε- λευτήν οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς παῖς Ἰουλός ἐβασιλεύσεν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ Δαμίας Δαινέαυ οἶς Σίλβιος, ἥ κατά- τινας Ἀσκανίου οἶς Σίλβιος. Σίλβιον πάλιν Δαινέαυ, οὗ Δαινέαυ, οὗ Κάτης, Κάτης ὁ 1 δὲ παῖς Τιβερίνος, οὗ Ἀμύλιος, οὗ Ἀβεντίνος.

1 Κάτης τοῦ ΑΒβ, κατους ά.
BOOK I

Zonaras 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 δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτε προϊδέσθαι πάντα ἀνθρώπων οὕτη οὐτ' ἀποτροπὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐσομένων εὐρείων) τιμωροῦσι τινας τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κόρης ἐκείνης γεννηθήναι.—Μ. 4 (p. 136).

Zonaras 7, 1.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Λαομίου καὶ Ἀλβανῶν τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχήκασι τὸν Νομίτορά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀμούλιον, οἱ Ἀουεντίνου μὲν ἐγένοντο νῖνοι, τοῦ δ' Ἀινείου ἀπόγονοι.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

Μέχρι τούτου τὰ περὶ Ἀλβης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, τὰ δὲ περὶ Ῥώμης ἐντεῦθεν. Ἀβεντίνος γεννᾷ Νομίτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἡ κατὰ τινας τὸν Πρόκαν. τοῦ Πρόκα δὲ τούτου λέγουσι παῖδας τοῦ τούτου τὸν Νομίτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον. βασιλεύοντα δὲ τὸν Νομίτορα ὁ Ἀμούλιος ἐξῆλασε, καὶ Διηγήστην τῶν Νομίτορος κυίν ἐν κυνηγεσίᾳ ἀναρεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφήν Διηγῆστου, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ προπρηθέντος Νομίτορος, Σιλουίαν ἡ Ὁριὼν Ἰλιᾶν ἰέρειαν τῆς θεᾶς Ἐστίας ποιεῖ, ὡς ἀν παρθένος διαμείνῃ ἐδεδείκα γάρ τινα χρησμὸν λέγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν Νομίτορος παιδών αὐτοῦ ἀναρεθήναι, διὰ τοῦ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Διηγῆστην ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἐστίας ἐποίησεν, ὅπως παρθένος καὶ ἀπαίς διαμείνῃ. ἢ δὲ ἐν Ἀρεος ἀλσει ὑδερνομένη ἐγκυνος γίνεται, καὶ γεννᾷ Ῥωμύλον καὶ Ῥῶμον, καὶ τὴνδε μὲν ἐξαιτεῖται μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τοῦ Ἀμούλιον ἡμέρας τοῖνος ταυτάκισ' ἂν ἔσεσθαι μὲν ἄριστος τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ.
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
ΔIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ζωνάρας 7, 3.

'Οκτωκαιδεκά δ' εἶναι ὁ Ρωμύλος ἐνιαυτῶν ἀναγέγραται ὅτε τὴν Ῥώμην συνήκισεν. ἔκτισε δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τὴν τοῦ Φαιστούλου οἰκήσιν ὄνοματο δ' ὁ χόρος Παλάτιον.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. v. 1232.

λίου θυγάτηρ, τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαιστύλῳ ποιμένι, Δαυρεντίας ἄνδρι, ἔδωκε ῥέψαι περὶ τὸν Τιβερίον ποταμόν. ἀνέτρεφεν ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτὴν τότε νεκρὸν βρέφος τεκεῖν. αὐξηθέντες δὲ ὁ Ρωμύλος καὶ ὁ Ρώμος ἐποίμαινον κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀμούλιου ἄγροις, ἀνελόντες δὲ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ πάππου Νομήτωρος ποιμένων ἔπετηροῦντο. κατασχεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ρώμου δραμῶν ὁ Ρωμύλος τῷ Φαιστύλῳ λέγει, καὶ ὁς δραμῶν τῷ Νομήτωρι πάντα διηγεῖται. τέλος ἐγὼ Νομήτωρ τῆς θυγατρός αὐτοῦ παῖδας ὄντας αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ συναρμαμένων πολλῶν ἀναίρουσι τὸν Ἀμούλιον, τῷ δὲ Νομήτωρι πάππῳ αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ἀλβης παρασχόντες αὐτοῖς τὴν Ῥώμην κτίζειν ἀπήρξαντο ὁκτωκαιδεκάτω ἔτει τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἡλικίας . . . ἦν ἐκτισε Ῥωμύλος περὶ τὴν Φαιστύλου οἰκίαν ἐν ὅρει Παλάτιον . . .


Ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔξαρχοι κατὰ Δίωνα, Ρώμος δηλαδὴ καὶ Ρωμύλος, οὗς ἐθῆλασε λύκαινα, ἡ παρὰ Ἰταλιώταις λυώτα: ὃ δὴ ὄνομα μετήκται ἀστείως εἰς ἐταιρίδων προσηγορίαν.
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 lupae; this name has been aptly applied as a term for courtesans.
3 "Οτι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἄλληλους Ἱέμως καὶ Ὑρωμύλος ἐκδηλοῦν ἐποίησαν ὅτι τινὲς καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς κινδύνους τῶν εὐτυχίων συνδιαφέρουσιν.—Μ. 5 (p. 136).

4 Καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐξέμαθον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεδιδαξαν ὅτι οὐθ’ οἱ τιμωρούμενοι τινὰς κατορθοῦσι πάντως, ὅτι προηδικηται, οὐθ’ οἱ παρὰ τῶν κρείττων ἀπαιτοῦντες τινὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτά, ἄλλα πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσαπολυόουσιν.—Μ. 6 (p. 136).

5 "Οτι ἡ Ἑροσίλα καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ ὁμοφυλογυναίκες τηρῆσασί ποτὲ ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους σφᾶς κατέδραμον ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλατίου μετὰ τῶν

Zonaras 7, 3.

... περὶ τῆς ἄρχης καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ μάχης ἐχόρησαν, εὖ ὁ Ῥώμης ἀπέθανεν... ὅθεν καὶ ἐνομίσθη τὸν στρατοπέδου τάφρον τολμήσαντα διελθεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνήθεις ὡδοὺς θανατοῦσθαι.

Ἡκείνη γὰρ ἐφ’ υδώρ κατελθοῦσα συνελήφθη καὶ ἤχθη πρὸς Τάτιον καὶ ἀνεπεισθῇ προδοῦναι τὸ ἐρύμα.

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

Δίων καὶ Διονύσιος γράφουσι τὰ τοῦ Κάκου ᾿Αλλοὶ πολλοὶ τε συγγραφεῖς, γράφοντες τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης.
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 I, 10, 11.
παιδίων (ὅδε γὰρ τινὰ ἐγεγένητο) καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ἐξαπίνης ἐσπεσοῦσαι πολλὰ καὶ οἱ-κτρὰ καὶ εἶπον καὶ ἐποίησαν· τοτε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τούτους τοτε δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους βλέπουσαι "τι ταύτα" ἔφασαν "ποιεῖτε, πατέρες; τι ταύτα, ἀνδρεῖς; μέχρι ποῦ μαχεῖσθε; μέχρι ποῦ μισήσετε ἀλλήλους; καταλάγητε τοῖς γαμβροῖς, καταλ-λάγητε τοῖς πενθεροῖς. φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Πανὸς τῶν τέκνων, φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἔλεγχατε τὰς θυγατέρας, ἔλεγχατε τὰς γυναῖκας· ὅσοι εἰόη ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχετε καὶ τις ἒμας σκηπτός μανίας ἐσπευδών οἴστρεῖ, ἡμᾶς τε διὰ ἂς μάχεσθε προαποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταύτα ἄ μισείτε προαποσφύξατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐτι μήτ' ὅνομα μὴτε σύνδεσμον συγγενείας πρὸς ἀλ-λήλους ἔχοντες κερδάνητε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ τοὺς τε πάππους τῶν παίδων καὶ τοὺς πατέρας τῶν ἐκγόνων φοιεύειν." ταύτα τε ἔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια καταρρηξάμεναι, τοὺς τε μαστοὺς καὶ τὰς γαστέρας γυμνόσασαν, αἱ μὲν αὐταὶ τοῖς ἄφεσί σφων ἑνεχρίμπτοντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῖς προσερέπτουν, ὡστε ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶ ὄν ἑκονον καὶ εἶ ὃν ἑόρων κλαῖσαι καὶ τῆς τε μάχης ἐπίσχειν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ὅσπερ ἔχον, ἐν τῷ κομιτῷ διὰ αὐτὸ τούτῳ κληθέντες συνελθεῖν.—Μ. 7 (p. 137).

Πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκ καυχῆς τινὰς καταστα-θήναι ἢ καὶ πρότερον οὔσας 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 grandfathers 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.
"Ὅτι ὁ Ρωμύλος πρὸς τὴν γεροουσίαν τραχύτερον διέκειτο καὶ τυραννικότερον αὐτῇ προσεφέρετο, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοὺς Οὐμιένταις ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης, ὡσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγένετο· ἀγανακτοῦντας τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰσθόμενος ἀλλὰ τε ἐπαχθῇ διελέχθη καὶ τέλος εἰπεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὁ πατέρες, ἐξελεξάμην οὐχ ἢνα ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἀρχητε, ἀλλ' ἢνα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττομι."—Μ. 9 (p. 138).

Labbæus, Veteres glossae verborum iuris, p. 123.

Τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ἄντες ὀπλίται Ρωμύλου, ὃς φησί Δίων ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰς τρεῖς ἐνεμήθησαν 5 μόρας κληθεῖσας τρίβους, τούτου ἐστὶ τριτύπους, ἀς καὶ φυλὰς ὄνομασαν "Ελληνες. ἐκάστη δὲ τριτύπος εἰς δέκα δὴρέθη κουρίας ἣτοι φροντιστηρία. κοῦρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ φροντίς λέγεται, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ κουρίαν συνώνυτες οἱ εἰς αὐτὴν τεταγμένοι 6 τινὰ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐξεφροντίζον.


Τῷ γε μὴν Ρωμύλῳ καὶ στέφανος ἢν καὶ σκηντρον ἀετὸν ἔχων ἐπ' ἄκρου καὶ φανόλας λευκός ποδήρης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμων ἐμπρόσθεν μέχρι ποδῶν πορφυρῶν υφάσμασιν ἰρεαβδωμένος . . . καὶ υπόδημα φοινικῶν . . . κατὰ τὸν Κοκκήιον.

Zonaras 7, 4.

Καὶ πεδίλους ἐκέχρητο ἐρυθροῖς.

1 Οὐμιένται Bs., θεσται Ms. 2 ἀπέδωκε supplied by Mai.
3 διελέχθη supplied by Bs. 4 πρῶτῳ Val., προτέρῳ Labb.
5 ἐνεμήθησαν Val., ἐνεμήθη Labb.
6 τεταγμένοι Val., τεταλμένο 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 Coecceius.

Zonaras 7, 4.

And he wore red shoes.

Ioann. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

"Οτι Ῥωμύλος βασιλεύσας διετέλει εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολέμους διαπρέπων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ὑπερφρονών καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέχοντας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατευομένους προσφιλῆς ἦν καὶ χώρας αὐτοῖς νέμων καὶ τῶν λα-φύρων διδοῦς: πρὸς δὲ τὴν γερουσίαν οὐχ ὁμοίως διέκειτο· ὅθεν μισήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ περιέχοντες ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δημηγοροῦντα διεσπάραξαν τε καὶ διεφθείραν. Συνήρατο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν ξάλθη μεγίστη τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἐκλειψες ἡλίου, ὅπερ ποι ὦς ἐγεννᾶτο γέγονεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος αὐταρχήσας καὶ λ’ ἔτη τοι-οῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος. ἀφανισθέντος τε οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται μάλιστα ἐκεῖνον ἐξήτουν, αὐτοὶ δ’ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν μήτε ἐξειπεῖν τὸ πραξθὲν ἔχοντες μήτε βασιλεά καταστήσαι δυνάμενοι. ταρασσομένων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ τε παρασκευαζομένων δράσαι Ἰούλιός τις Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, στειλάμενος ὡς καὶ ἑτέρωθεν ποθεν ἤκου, εἰσεπῆδον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἐφῆ: "μὴ λυπεῖσθε Κυρίται· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὸν Ῥωμύλον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσταται εἶδον. καὶ

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

6,2 "Οτι ὁ Νομμᾶς φυσὶ ἐν κολοκυθὶ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ ὀνομαζόμενῳ ἀτε καὶ Σαβίνος ὄν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄρχεια ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὄδὸς εἰς, καὶ τὰς τε διατριβὰς πλησίον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν έμενεν.—V. 1 (p. 569).

1,1 "Ο δὲ Δίων φησὶν ὅτι σπουδὴν ἔχω συγγράψαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εἰρήνουσι καὶ πολεμούσι ἄξιοις μνήμης ἐπράξθη, ὅστε μηδὲν τῶν

Iouan. Antioch., fr. 32 M.

μοι ἐφι εἰπεῖν τε ὑμῖν ὅτι θεὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι Κυρίνος ὄνομαζεται καὶ προσπαρανεύεσαι ὑμῖν βασιλέα τε πάντως εὐθύς ἐλέσθαι τινὰ καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύματε κεχρήσθαι." λεξιθέντων δὲ τούτων ἄπαντες ἐπίστευσαν καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀπεπαύσαντο· εὐθέως τε ναὸν Κυρίνου ὁκοδομηθεύσαν καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐδόκει βασιλευσθαι, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ὁμοφρόνουν· οὗ τέ γὰρ κατ' ἄρχας Ῥωμαίοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Σαβίνων προσοκισθέντες ἑκάτεροι εξ ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα γενέσθαι ἥξιον· ἐκ τούτου τε ἀναρχία συνέβαινεν. ἐνιαυτῶν γοῦν ὅλων ἐν σύγκλητος τὸ κύρος τῶν κοινῶν εἰς πραγμάτων, πενθήμερον ἄρχην τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Βουλευτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατανέμονα, οὕς μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀνόμασεν.
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 he was 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

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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

6,3 Ἡσπείδὴ γὰρ ἐν ὑπόστατο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν ὁμοφυὲς σφισε καὶ σύννομον ἐν ὀλυγωρίᾳ ὡς μηδὲν βέλτιον ἕαυτῶν ὅν ποιομένους, τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄλλοιον ὡς καὶ κρείσσον πίστει τοῦ θείου θεραπεύοντας, χωρίον τέ τι ταῖς Μούσαις ἱέρωσεν . . . —Μ. 10 (p. 138).


Suidas, s.v. Νουμᾶς.

Καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ποντίφικας καὶ φλαμμίους τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἐπέστησε, Σαλίους τε τοὺς τὴν ὀρχήσιν ἀσκήσοντας· τὰς τε Ἐστιάδας παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατός τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν αἱ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τιμὴν παρὰ Ἑρωμαίοις εἶχον, διὰ βίον δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἡμόροθη κατεχόμενοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μῦρο φύκ άνθεσιν οὐχ ἱματίῳ χρῆσθαι συνεχωροῦντο πλὴν λευκοῦ.

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

Καὶ τὰς Ἐστιάδας παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατός τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν αἱ διὰ τοῦ βίου τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον εἰ δὲ μή, λίθοις κατεχόμενοι. . . .

1 ἵνατῶν Mai, ἵνατον Ms.
2 ἀσκήσοντας Bernhardy, ἀσκήσαστας 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. Νοῦμας.

And he placed over the priests the pontifices and flamines 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.
"Oti 1 di eautov tota katéstthesan pístin tou' theiou labónves, kák tou'tou aútoi te en eírýnē kai proš allhlon kai proš tou's allolofulou para pasan thn tou' Noumà árkhyn dieugénontos, kai ékeinou ouk áthei sphi eis íson to' Pómýllo upárxei edoxen. fasí dé auton oi ta saferstata Sávínwv eidotes en th aúthi hmera en h h' Pómy

6 ektrísth gegovnhsaiv. ouwos mev dý di' amfotérous autous kai ischurá tachw kai eukosmos h polis égvento, tou' ménu ta polemiká aúthn anagkaios áte kal nèktyistov ouvnav askhsantos, tou' dé ta eírnhniká prosegikidaásaantos, osw' aúthn en ekatérw ómioiós diapréfsai.—V. 3 (p. 569).

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

Oútwos ménu ouv eis' amfotérou kai ischurá tachέwos kai eukosmos h polis égvento, tou' ménu ta politiká kai eírnhniká éktrposwasantos, tou' dé 'Pómýlou ta polemiká.

Cedreuna I, p. 295 (Bekk.).

Δiów 'O Pómmáios arχaión tina ἕρωα Ἰανδων λέγει διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρόουν ξενισθαν λαβέθων 2 τὴν γυναίκα τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῶν προπαρχόντων, καὶ διὰ τούτω διπρόσωπων ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων πλάτησθαι: εἰς οὔ τοῦ τε μήνα κλησθήναι Ἰανουάριον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ έτους ἀρχήν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς γίνεσθαι.

1 Eteiata kal., prefixed to δι' in the Ms., due to the exceptor.
2 Labeín Ba., labbónta 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.
a' βιβλίῳ Δίων "καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τισὶ τελευταῖοι ὀργυνόμενοι καὶ τὰς δαπάνας οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπομένομεν."—Bekk. Aeneid. p. 161, 3.

Zonaras 7, 5.

Καὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον ὥθη ἡ Νομᾶς εἰς ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀπένειμεν.

. . . βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἐπὶ τρισὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

1 ἀκουσίως Βθ., ἀκουσίους Μθ.
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' βιβλίῳ "δόξαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπίπροσ-θέν σφισὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐσεθαί."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 12.

2 "Οτι δ' τε Τούλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος1 οὐδέτεροι συνεχώρουν τὴν μετανάστασιν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα περιέστελλον· δ' 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 ὅτι καὶ μητρόπολις ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων 3 ἦν, ἐπαιρόμενοι μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐφρόνουν. δ' οὖν

Zoparrai 7, 6.

6. Τοῦ δὲ Νομᾶ τελευτήσαντος καὶ μηδένα καταλυτόντος διάδοχον, Ὅστίλλιος Τούλλος ἠρέθη παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς. ὃς [τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τοῦ Νομᾶ χλενᾶσας ἦθῶν Plutarch, Numa 22, 7] τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξήλωσε καὶ πρὸς μάχας αὐτὸς τε ὁρμα καὶ τῶν δήμου ἠρέθεξεν. ἀρπαγής γοῦν γενομένης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ Ἀλβανῶν ὁρμησαν πρὸς μάχην ἐκάτεροι· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατηλλάγησαν καὶ ἐς μίαν πόλιν ἀμφότεροι ἐδόκει συνοικῆσαι τοῖς γένεσιν.

1 5 ο τή Τούλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος is an addition of the exccerptor.

32
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
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

taúta tís áμφισβητήσεως ékeíνhs ápésthsan, perí de tís ëγγεμονías diýnargvhsan ástasíasíōn 1 γár épí toîs ïsouís áσφalós suμbhínaí ñfhs ádún-natov èográfon ñvn. 2 ek tís èmфúto toîs ánðròpois prós te to òmooín fílonoikías 3 kai prós to ìrçævn ètëròw èpíðrhmìas. polláás te kai perí toûto dìkaiówseis álhlìoi prosoñþngkou, ei pòs ékeính

ghe oî èterov òpotoëroíno èðelouísíou toîs ètëròs
taráxhoíseían. óuðèn δ' 4 èpéránan, álλí ùpèr autíhs ìgónísaðbai sýnèðetvo.—M. 11 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 6.

ékástou de tís oíkeías ëxoméνou kai to èterov eís taútìn ñzíouníto metavanásthsai ápësthsan toû
skotov. eíta perí tís ëγγεμονías diýnargvhsan ísos
de òuðeís tò òtéròw parèxéwri aútís, ìgónísaðbai
sýnèðetvo perí tís ìrçhìs. òuðè de tòis stratopé-
dois òlloís èdókeí máxësaðbai òuðe mìn monomàñia
kríðhíseían. ëìsan de par' ìmfoí òtídùmòi ìðè-
φoi, ék mëteròw ëgeòntes ðìðìmòw, ìsìlkìxès te
cal ìsopaleís tìn ìçhìn. èkaloûnto de òi mën tòw
'Rómaíon Poutplioráítov, òi de tòw 'Albàñòwn
Kouríátai. toûtov eís màçhìn pròbeìlloúnto par'
òuðèn tìn pròs álhlìouís aútín sýngënéiavn òhè-
menoi. òi de òpìlìsàmènvoi kai èn tò ìðì metàixìmì'
tòw stratopéðówn àntìpaðapaíàmènòv òhëus te òmò-

1 ástasíasíōn Schenkl = Ms. ñ (now illegible).
2 ñdònavteì èográfì ñv v. Herw., . . . rìwov Ms.
3 fílonoikías Bk., fílòvìas (= fílonoíròpìas) Ms.
4 δ' supplied by Bk.
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 Publilhoratii 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

5 "Ὅτι ὁ Τοῦλλος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κράτιστος

Zonaras 7, 6.

γνίους ἀνεκαλοῦντο καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. συμβαλόντες δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀθρόου, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑνα ἐμάχοντο. τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῶν δύο πεσόντων, τῶν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἀπάντων πρωθέντων, ὁ Ὀράτιος ὁ κατάλοιπος, ὅτι τοὺς τρισὺν ἁμα, εἰ καὶ ἀρτώτας ἦν, οὐκ ἦδοντο ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐνέκληνεν, ὡς ἂν διώκοντες αὐτὸν σκεδασθῶσι κάπειδη πρὸς τὴν διώξιν διεσπάρησαν, ἐκάστῳ ἐπικαθέμενος ἀπαντάς διεχρήσατο. καντεύθεν τετίμητο· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄδελφην προσαπέκτειν, ὀλοφυρομένην ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνεψιόν σκῦλα ἑώρα φέροντα τὸν Ὀράτιον, φόνου ἐκρίθη· ἐς δὲ τὸν δήμου ἐκκλησίων αἰτήσας ἀφείθη.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ τότε μὲν ὑπήκουοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ὦστερον δὲ τᾶς συνθῆκας ἀδετήσαντες καὶ ὡς ὑπήκουοι πρὸς συμμαχίαν κληθέντες, μεταθέθαι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης ἐπιχειρήσαντες καὶ συνεπιθέσαντες Ῥωμαίοις, γνωσθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκκαθήθαν καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν ἔξηγούμενος Μέττιος, οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ μετανάστασιν ἔπαθον, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν Ὁλβα κατεσκάφη, πεντακόσια που ἦτο Ῥωμαίοις νομοθετεῖσα μητρόπολις.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Τοῦλλος κράτιστος ἐδοξεῖ, 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
ενομίζετο, τού δὲ δὴ θείου πάνω καταφρονήσας ¹ παρημέλει, μέχρις οὐ νόσου λοιμόδους γενομένης καὶ αὐτὸς ἥρροστησε· τότε γὰρ τῶν τε ἄλλων θεῶν δὲ ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη, ² καὶ τοὺς Σαλίους τοὺς Κολλίνους προσκατέστησε.—V. 4 (p. 569).

8 "Ὅτι συνελή ο Μάρκιος ὡς τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰρηνεύειν οὐκ ἔξαρκον τὸ μηδὲν ἁδικεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπραγμόν ἀνευ τοῦ δραστηρίου σωτηρίου, ³ ἀλλ' ὅσοι τις αὐτοῦ ὄργυναι, εὐπεπιθετότερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνεται, μετεβάλετο· οὐτε γὰρ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν ἡσυχίαν ἵσχυρον πρὸς φυλακὴν ⁴ ἀνευ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἓωρα ὁν, καὶ τὸ

Zonaras 7, 6.

ἔνσηκηψάσης λοιμόδους καὶ αὐτὸς νοσήσας [εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαιν ἀπέκλινεν Plut., Numa 22, 7], ἐσχηκέναι μέντοι τοῦ βίου λέγεται τέλος [καταφλεχθεῖσι υπὸ κεραυνῶν, ἡ ibid.] ἐπιβουλευθεῖσι υπὸ Μαρκίου "Ἀγκοῦ, ὦς θυγατριδοῦς ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς εἰρηται, τοῦ Νομᾶ. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ὑωμαίων ἐτη δύο ἐπὶ τριάκοντα.

Zonaras 7, 7.

7. Διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν Μάρκιος παρ' ἐκῶν τῶν Ὑωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν λαβών. ἦν δὲ τὴν χεῖρα οὐκ ἄρτιος· τὴν γὰρ ἀγκύλην πεπήρωσο, οθὲν καὶ Ἀγκός ἐπώνυμον ἐσχήκεν. ἐπιείκης δὲ ὁν ἴγκασθη μεταβαλέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς στρα-

¹ καταφρονήσας Bk., καταφρονήσει Ms.
² ἐπεμελήθη Val., ἐπεμελήθησαν Ms.
³ δραστηρίου σωτηρίου Egger, σωτηρίον δραστηρίου Ms.
⁴ πρὸς φυλακὴν Bk., προφυλακὴ 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.
τερπνον της ἀπραγμοσύνης τάχιστα καὶ ράστα
tois 1 πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ σπουδάζουσιν αὐτὴν ἀπολ.
2 λύμενον ἰσθάνετο. καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ καλλίω καὶ
ἀσφαλεστέραν καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ φροντίδα τής
eἰρήνης τῶν πόλεμον νομίζας εἶναι, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα
παρ᾽ ἐκόντων τῶν Λατίνων μηδὲν σφαζ ἄδικών
οὐκ ἕδυνηθε κομίσασθαι, παρὰ ἀκόντων στρατεύ-
σας ὑπέλαβεν.—Μ. 12 (p. 139).

Zonaras 7, 7.
tεῖς ἐτράπετο. οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ Λατῖνοι διὰ τε
τῶν τῆς Ἀλβίης ὀλεθροῦ, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῖς δεδο-
kότες μὴ τι πάθωσιν ὁμοιοῦ, δὲ ὀργῆσ μὲν εἰχον
Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐως δὲ περῆν ὁ Τούλλος, δεδιδοὺς
ἐκεῖνον ὑπὸ μάχιμον, συνεστέλλοντο. τόν δὲ
Μάρκιον εὐεπίθετον ἡγησάμενοι διὰ τὸ εἰρηναιον
τῆς γνώμης, τῇ τε χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὴν
ἐλήσαντο. συνεις δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι εἰρήνης εἶναι τὸν
πόλεμον αὑτῶν, ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις καὶ
ἀντημύνατο, καὶ πόλεις εἶλεν αὐτῶν, ὅν μίαν καὶ
κατέσκαψε, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἁλόντων ὡς αἰχμα-
λώτοι ἑρχῆσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην δὲ συχροὺς
ἐτέρους μετάκισεν, αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥω-
μαιών καὶ τῆς χώρας σφίσι προστιθεμένης οἱ
πλησίονωροι ἡχοῦτο καὶ ἑαυτοῖς Ῥωμαίους
ἐξεπολέμωσαν όθεν αὐτῶν Φιδηνάτας μὲν πο-
λιορκία ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους δ᾽ ἐκάκωσαν, αὐτοῖς
τε προσπεσούντες ἐσκεδασμένοις καὶ τὸ σφῶν
ἐλόντως στρατόπεδον, ἑτέρους δ᾽ ἐκφοβησάντες
1 τοῖς Μαί, τοῖς Μα,
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
9 "Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος πλούτῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ πολλῇ πανταχοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν χρόμενος οὕτω τὸν Μάρκιον διέθηκεν ὡστε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εἰρηνεῖν καὶ ἀκονταὶ παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Μαρκίῳ ἐπέλιπε τὸ βιώσιμον, εἰκοσιν ἕναυτος καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρξαντί, καὶ πολλὴν τοῦ θείου κατὰ τὸν πάππου Νομᾶν ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐτιμήλειαν.

Zonaras 7, 7.

8. Λούκιος δὲ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὕκειόσατο, δὲ Δημαράτου μὲν ἦν παῖς Κορινθίου, φυγόντος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλιν Τυρσηνίδα Ταρκυνίαν ἐγκατοικήσαντος ἐξ αὐθυγενοῦς γυναικὸς ἑκεῖ ἐτέχθη, Λουκοῦμον ὄνομασθεὶς. πολλὰ μέντοι πατρόθεν διαδεξάμενοι, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πρωτείων παρὰ τῶν Ταρκυνησίων ὡς ἐπηλὺς κατηχίωτο, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταναστεύει, τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν κλήσιν συμμετάθομεν, καὶ μετωνομάσθη Λούκιος Ταρκύνιος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἡ παρακεῖ. λέγεται δὲ μετοικιζομένου ἀετός καταπτατὰς ἀρπάζατο τὸν πίλου ὅπον εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ μετεωρίζεθει καὶ κλάγξας ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀὐθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐφαρμόσα τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἐντεύθεν μὴ δὲν ἔπισαι μικρὸν καὶ προθύμως τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγκατοικήσαν ὁδὲ τοῖς πρώτοις οὐ μετὰ πολὺ συνηρίθμητο. τῷ τε γὰρ πλούσιον χρόμενος ἀφεδέστερον, συνέσει τε καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοὺς δυνατοὺς οἴκειομενος, ἔς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
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,
εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεχθῆναι, στρατηγὸς τε πολλάκις ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπεῖαν τῶν παιδών αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πιστευθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσφιλής οὐδὲν ἦττον ἦν, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκόντων 2 αὐτῶν ἐπρώτευσεν. αὐτίον δὲ ὅτι πάντα ἄφ' ὅν ἵσχυεν ἐμελλε πράττων οὐκ ἐξεφρόνει, ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι1 ὃν συνεστέλλετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἀνθ' ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ὑπέμενεν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἢδέων τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐθελοντῆς παρεχόμερε καὶ 2 αὐτὸς ἢ οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα, καὶ ταῦτα λανθάνων, ἐκαρποῦτο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀμεινῶν τὴν τε αὐτίαν ἐς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς αὐτόν ἄντιγκε, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δεομένῳ κατετίθει, τὰ δὲ ἀτοπώτηρα οὔτ' ἀνέφερεν ἐς τινὰ οὔτε ἐκοινοῦτο τοις. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐχαρίζετο μὲν πάσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις· τῶν τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀφεδῶς ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς, εἰ τίς τι αὐτοῦ δεηθείη.

Zonaras 7, 8.

κατελέγθη παρὰ Μαρκίου, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ἐκείνου ἐπιτροπεῖαν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πεπίστευτο. ἔδεικνυε γὰρ ἐαυτὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρά, χρημάτων τε τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδίδοσι καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐτοιμὸν παρέχον εἰ τις δέοιτο αὐτοῦ εἰς βοήθειαν φαύλον δὲ τι οὕτ' 1 πρῶτοι Bk., πρῶτοι Ms. 2 καὶ Bk., καὶ γὰρ Ms.
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
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ετούμως ἐχρήτο· φαύλον δὲ τι ἐστὶ οὐδένα οὕτε ἐλεγεν οὕτε ἐπραττεν, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ ἀπεχθειαν ἐκών οὐδενὶ καθίστατο. καὶ προσέτε, ἣ μὲν εὐ ὑπὸ τινὸν ἐπασχεν, ἔπι· τὸ μεῖζον αἱ ἐλὰμβανεν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστερα ἦτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο ἢ καὶ φαυλίσασ παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦγε, καὶ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡμύνετο τινά ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνηργήτει, μέχριτε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐξενίκησεν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν, ἀτε καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας χειρωσάμενος, ἐκτήσατο, εκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἔπειτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν ὡς ήτοι δυσερους φύσει δυνας ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς τινὰς καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοιομένους.—V. 5 (p. 570).

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ἐπραττεν οὔτ᾽ ἐλεγεν οὐδενί. καὶ εἰ τι πρὸς τινὸς εὐ ἐπασχεν, ἔξηρε τὸ γινόμενον, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπαχθεστερον αὐτῷ γένοιτο, ἢ οὕδ᾽ ἐλογίζετο τὸ λυποῦν ἢ καὶ φαυλίσασ παρελογίζετο, οὐ μόνον τε οὐκ ἡμύνετο τὸν λευτηκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνηργήτει. τούτως αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑχειρώσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀνδρὸς ἐκτήσατο σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ.

Ἀλλ' οὐ προσέμεινε μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ ἡ υπόληψις. τοῦ Μάρκιον γὰρ τελευτήσαντός κακῶς τε περὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου διετέθη δύο νιεῖς καὶ τὴν

1 τι inserted by Gros.
2 ἐτι Salmasius, ὕπο Ms.
3 αἱ ἐλὰμβανεν Bk., διελὰμβανεν Ms.
4 τινὰ Bk., τινὸς Ms.
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
βασιλείαν ἐσφετερίσατο. της τε γὰρ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοῦ Μαρκίου παιδας χειροτονεῖν μελλόντων, ἐκεῖνος τῶν βουλευτῶν τε μετῆλθε τὸ δυνατότατον, καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς πόρρω ποιὶ ὡς ἐσθήραν προπέμψας, οἳς τε εἰπὲ καὶ οἳς ἐπραξεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ψηφίσασθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ὡς ἀνδροθείσων αὐτὴν δήθεν τοῖς παισίν ἀποδώσοντι. ἐγκρατῆς τε καταστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων, οὗτος τοὺς Ὑρμαίους διέθετο ὡστε μηδέποτε ἑθελήσειν ἀνθελέσθαι τοὺς παιδὰς ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὰ μειράκια δὲ πρὸς ῥαστόνυν ἐθίζων τὰς τε ζωιὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σῶματα σὺν χάριτι δὴ τινὶ ἑφθείρε. δεδώς δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔχων ἰσχὺν ἐαυτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περιεποιησάτο. τοὺς γὰρ φίλους αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου διακειμένους περὶ διακοσίους ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐνέγραψε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τε γεροντίαν ὡς ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς πολεμοῦντις ἐποιήσατο. καὶ τὴν στόλην πρὸς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἤμεισεν· ή δὲ ἡ ἰμάτιον καὶ χιτῶν ὀλοτόρφυρα καὶ χρυσόταστα, στέφανος τε λίθων χρυσοδέτων καὶ σκηντόνος τῆς ἐλεψιάς, οἷς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐτοκράτορα ἐχοντες ἤγεονν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τεθρύππω ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίους ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοις διὰ βίου δώδεκα ἐσχε.

Πάντως δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείῳ ἐκαίνιστόμησεν ἀν, εἰ μὴ τις Ἀττος Νάονιος τὰς φυλάς αὐτῶν βουληθέντα μετακοσμήσαι κεκόλουκεν, ὡς οἰωνιστῆς ἢν ὦλος οὗχ ἐτερος γέγονε. τούτοις ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὀργισθείς διὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ὑβρίσα ἰ 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
τέχνην ἐξουθενήσαι διεμελέτησεν. Λαβών οὖν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἀκόινην τε καὶ ξυρόν ἐς τὸν δήμον παρῆλθεν, ἐν ύψῳ ἔχων τιμῆθην τῷ ξυρῷ τὴν ἀκόινην, πράγμα τῶν ἀδυνάτων εἰπὼν τε ὅσα ἐβούλετο, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀττος ἀντέλεγεν ἐντονώτατα, μηδὲν ὑφίσκευσο "εἰ μὴ φιλονείκως ἀντιλέγεις," ἐφη, ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἐπὶ πάντων τούτων ἀπόκριναί μοι εἰ ὁ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχω ποιηθαι γενησεται." ὃ δὲ Ἀττος αὐτοῦ ποιον οἰωνισάμενος παραντικα "καὶ πάνυ γε," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ διανοή ἐσται ἐπιτελές." "οὐκοῦν," ἐφη, "τὴν ἀκόινην ταύτην λαβὼν τῷ ξυρῷ τούτῳ διάτεμεν τοῦτο γὰρ γενέσθαι διανενόμημαι." ὃ δὲ ἔλαβε τε αὐτὴν εὐθὺς καὶ διέκοψε. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄλλας τε τιμᾶς ἑκείνῳ παρέσχε καὶ χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἡξίωσε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας ἠλλοίωσε, πρὸς πάντα τε συμβούλῳ τῷ Ἀττῷ ἐκέχρητο.

Μαχεσάμενος δὲ Λατῖνοις ἀποστατήσασιν, ἐπείτα καὶ Σαβίνοις ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαία ἐμβαλοῦσι, συμμαχουμένοις καὶ ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν, ἀπάντων ἐκράτησε. τῶν δὲ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείων, ὡς παρθενεύειν διὰ βίου νεόμοισται, φωράσας τινα συμφθαρείσαν ἀνδρί, ὑπόγεων τινα κατασκευάσας ὑποδρομῆν προμῆκη, κλίην τε θεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λύχνου καὶ τράπεζαν στίων ὑπόπλεων, ἐκεῖ τὴν φθαρείσαν προπεμπομένην ἐκόμισε, καὶ ξύσαν εἰςαγαγῶν ἐγκατφικοδόμησε. καὶ οὕτω τάς τὴν
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
παρθενίαν μὴ τηρησάσας τῶν ἱερείων ἔξ ἐκεῖνου τιμωρεῖσθαι κεκράτηκεν· οἱ δὲ ταύτας αἰσχύνοντες εἰς ξύλον τὸν αὐχένα δίκρουν ἐμβᾶλλονται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τοῦτο γυμνοὶ αἰκιζόμενοι ἀποψύχουσιν.

Ἐπεθευτο μέντοι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ τινα Τούλλιον τεχθέντα οἱ ἐξ αἰχμαλωτιδοὺς προῆγγε πάντων ὁ δὴ μᾶλλον τὸς εὐπατρίδας ἔλυπε. ὅν τινας προσεταιρίσαμενοι αὐτῷ ἐπεβούλευσαν, δύο τινὰς χωριτικῶς ἐσταλμένους, ἄξινας καὶ δρεπάνους ὀπλεισμένους, αὐτῷ ἐπιθέσθαι παρασκευάσαντες. οἱ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀγοράζοντι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐνέτυχον, ἐπὶ τὰς θάνατος τῶν βασιλείων ἥκον, ἄλληλοις δῆθεν διαμαχόμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν ἐδέοντο. καὶ τυχόντες τούτου εἰς λόγους ἄλληλοις ἀντικατέστησαν, καὶ δικαιολογομένων τῷ ἐνι προσέχοντα τὸν Ταρκυνίου ὁ ἄλλος κατεργάσατο.

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9. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιος τοιούτου ἔσχε τέλος, τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτοῦ. οὐ μὴν τῆς βασιλείας οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες ἐδράξαντο, ἀλλ' ὁ Τούλλιος ταύτην ἔσχε συνεργία τῆς τοῦ Ταρκύνιον γυναικὸς Τανακύλλιδος. ὅν γυνὴ τής Ὀκρισίας καλομένη, Σπουρίου ¹ Τούλλιον ἀνδρὸς Λατίνου εὐνετειρά ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλοῦσα καὶ τῷ Ταρκύνιῳ ἐξαιρεθείσα, τέτοκεν ἡ ἐγκύμων οἰκοθέν οὐσα ἡ συλλαβοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἀλωσιν λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερα. οὗτος ἐς παῖδας ἦδη

¹ Σπουρίου Βιο., ἡπουρίου Βεκε, ἐπερίου Α.
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 Marcus 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.

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9. Such was the end that befell Tarquinius after he had ruled for thirty-eight years. Nevertheless, the sons of Marcus 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 Spurius 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

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Footnote 1: For the name Spurius cf. Festus, s.v. Notrum (p. 174 M).

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tελῶν ἐπὶ δίφρου μεθ' ἡμέραν κατέδαρθε, καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς πολὺ ἐδόκει ἐξάλλεσθαι. ὅπερ ἵδον ὁ Ταρκύνιος διὰ σπουδής ἔγγο τοῦ παιδα, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀφυγμένον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ συνέταξε.

Συλληφθέντων οὖν τῶν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου φονέων, μαθοῦσα ἡ ἐκείνου γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Τούλλιος τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐ φανερὸν αὐτικὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου θάνατον ἔδειον, ἀλλ' ἀνελόμενοι αὐτὸν ὡς ἐτε ἐμπνεύστα ἐθεράπευσον δηθεν, κἂν τοῦτο πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἑδοσαν ὅστε τὸν Τούλλιον τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφότα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῆς ἀνδρωθείσιν ἐκστήσαι ταῦτας. ἔπει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος συνδραμὸν ἔθορύθσει, προκύψασα ἐκ τῶν υπερφών ἡ Τανακύλλις "μὴ φοβεῖσθε" ἔφη. "ο γὰρ ἀνήρ μου καὶ ζῇ καὶ υμῖν μετ' ὅλην ὀφθήσεται. Ἰνα δὲ αὐτὸς τε σχολάζων ὑγιασθῇ καὶ μὴ τε τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας εἰς ἐμπόδιον, Τοῦλλῳ κατὰ γε τὸ παρόν τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπι-τρέπει διοίκησιν." εἶπεν ἐκείνῃ ταύτα. οἱ δὲ τῶν Τοῦλλιον οὐκ ἄκουσίως ἐδέξαντο· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐδόκει.

Ἔγχειρισθεὶς οὖν ἐκείνος τὴν τῶν κοινῶν οἰκονομίαν, τὰ πλεῖον καὶ ἐντολὰς δῆθεν διάκει τοῦ Ταρκυνίου. ὥσ δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν ἑώρα πειθαρ-χοῦντας αὐτῷ, τοὺς αὐτοχειρας τοῦ Ταρκυνίου.
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 sovereignty 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 husband 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
πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν παρῆγαγε διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τάχα: ἐτε γὰρ ζῆν ἐκείνων προσεποιεῖτο. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταψηφισθέντες ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου νῦσι φοβηθέντες εἰς Οὐνόλοςκους κατέφυγον. κάκεινος τότε τῶν τε θάνατον τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ἐξέφη καὶ φανερῶς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπείληπτο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παιδᾶς προσβάλλετο ὡς αὐτὸς τὴν ῥγεμονίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, εἶτα πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ δήμου ἑτράπετο, ὡς βάστα μᾶλλον τὸν ὁμιλὸν ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑποποιησόμενος, χρήματα τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδον καὶ γῆν ἐκάστῳ προσένειμε καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθεροῦσαί καὶ φυλετεύσασθαι παρεσκεύασε. ἀχθομένων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι τῶν δυνατῶν, ἔταξε τινα τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας τοῖς ἐλευθερώσασι σφᾶς ἀνθυποργεῖν. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ εὐπατρίδαι αὐτῷ, καὶ διεθρόων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὧτι μηδὲνος αὐτῶν ἐλομένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει, συναγωγὰ τῶν δήμου ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ πολλὰ ἑπαγωγὰ διαλεχθεῖς αὐτῷ οὕτω διέθετο, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶς ἀμείβομενος ἄλλα τε ἐφιλοτιμήσατο καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τινας αὐτῶν ἐνέγραψεν ὃι πᾶλαι μὲν ἐν πλείστοις ἦττον ἑφερον τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, πλὴν τῆς μεσοβασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν, τῶν ἔσων μετείχον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις, καὶ διέφερον ἄνευ τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὔδεν. τοῖς γὰρ εὐπατρίδαις τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ ¹ αὐτικὰ τῇ ² τε

¹ τὰ supplied by Cary. ² τῇ Pinder, καὶ τῇ Me.
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 Marciius 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
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ἐπαλλαγῆ τῶν ἵματων καὶ τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ γράμματος ἑκεκόσμητο, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦτων Ἰσκοίδες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατόν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κατ’ ἄρχας θουλευσάντων κατιέναι.

Τὸ γράμμα δὲ ἴδος φασὶν εἶναι, ἣ τοῦ ἁριθμοῦ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν δηλωτικοῦ ὅν ἢ ὡς τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατάρχον οὖν ὀνόματος. 2

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ὅμιλον οὕτως ὁ Τούλλιος οἰκείωσατο, δείσας δὲ μή τις στάσις συμβῆ, τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἐσχυράτα τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς δυνατοτέρους ἐπέτρεψεν, καὶ οὕτως σφίχει τε αὐτοῖς συνεφρὸνησαν καὶ τὸ δημόσιον διήγαγον ἀρίστα. καὶ πολέμους δὲ τινας πρὸς τε τοὺς Οὐκέντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς Τυρσήνους ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπράγμην συγγράμματος ἀξίων. τοὺς Δατῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοις βουληθείς οἰκείωσασθαί, νεόν τινα ἐκ χρημάτων κοινῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσας πέπεικε. καὶ τούτων ἀνέδεσαν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, περὶ δὲ τῆς νεωκορίας αὐτοῦ διεφεροντο. καὶ τούτω Σαβίνος ἄνηρ βοῦν ἤγερ περικαλλὴ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς ἐκ τινος χρησμοῦ 

οὐσῶν αὐτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ο δὲ χρημάς τῶν ἔκεινθι θύσαντα ἔλεγεν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανείησεν. τούτῳ δὲ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαθὼν προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον εἴπε δεῖν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀγνισθῆναι, καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπείσε, καὶ πείσας ἔλαβε τὴν βοῦν ὡς φυλάξουν, καὶ λαβὼν ἔθυσεν. ἐκφήναντος δὲ τοῦ Σαβίνου τὸ λόγιον οἱ Δατῖνοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστασίας τοῦ Ῥωμαίων

1 τοῦτων ΒΑ, τοῦτον C.
2 This sentence is doubtless an addition of Zonaras.
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, 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.

Zonara 7, 9.

ἑξεστησαν καὶ ἐς τάλλα ὡς κρείττονας σφῶν ἑτίμων αὐτοὺς.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· ὁ Τοῦλλιος δὲ τοῖς Ταρκυνίοις τὰς θυγατέρας συνᾶκισε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδόσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀλλοτε ἀλλὰ τι προφασιζόμενος ἀνεβάλλετο. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ύγίες ἐφύρονος, ἀλλὰ ἤχθοντο. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τούτοις πεποίητο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρὸς τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ἐνήγη καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον. ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἔπε τούτοις ἤσχαλλοι οἱ Ταρκυνιοὶ. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος, κἂν ἐχαλέπαινεν, ἔφερε, τὸ δὲ τὸ χρόνῳ προῆκοντι οὐκέτι τοῦ Τουλλίου ἐδόκει ἀνέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ συνενδοκοῦσαν εὑρίσκε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ὀμαῖμον, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν δ’ ἀδελφὸν διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείνου φαρμάκους διέφθειρε, καὶ συναφθεὶς τῇ συνείσω τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῷ Τουλλίῳ σὺν αὐτῇ ἐπεβούλευε. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αὐτίας ἔχοντας κατὰ τοῦ Τουλλίου πείσας συνάρασθαι οἱ, ἱεραπιναῖοι μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραγέγονεν, ἐπομένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Τουλλίας· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπὲ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξίας τοὺς παρόντας ἀναμμηνησκών, πολλὰ δ’ ἀπέσκοψε πρὸς τὸν Τουλλίον. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκείνος ταῦτα μαθὼν ἔπεστὶ σπουδῇ, καὶ τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφθέγξατο, συνήρτασεν αὐτὸν καὶ δο
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,
"Ὅτι ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ἐπεὶ ἰκανῶς ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων, πολλοὺς μὲν φανερῶς, οἷς γε αἰτίαν τινὰ εὐπρεπῆ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐδύνατο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ

Zonaras 7, 9.

ἐξάρας ὡςε κατὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀναβαθμῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταραχθεὶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ταρκύνιον τόλμαν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησεν, οὔτε εἰπεν ἐτε οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐποίησε: Ταρκύνιος δὲ τὴν τε βασιλείαν εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλαβε, καὶ πέμψας τινὰς τῶν Τουμίλλιον κομιζόμενον οἴκαδε διεχρήσατο. ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῶν ἄνδρα καταφιλήσασα καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύσασα καὶ ἀπούσα πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία τὸ ὅχημα κατὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπῆλασεν.

Zonaras 7, 10.

10. Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Τουμίλλιος ἦρξε καὶ οὗτος ἀπέθανε, βασιλεύσας τέσσαρας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὁ Ταρκύνιος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς δορυφόρους κατὰ Ῥωμίλλον ἐναὐτῷ περιέστησε, καὶ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκουρῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων ἐκέχρητο. ἐξ ὦν γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κηδεστὴν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς λυποὺς ἐδεδίεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσατο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων ἐκτίνυνεν, οἷς μὲν αἰτίαν εἶχεν
BOOK II

Tarquinius, 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 ὕπερῳριζεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸν Τουλλίαν τινὲς αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνον ἡγάπησαν, οὐδ’ ὅτι γένη καὶ πλούτους ἢ καὶ φρόνημα ἔχον, ἀνδρείας τε ἐπιφανεί ἢ καὶ σοφία διαπρεπεὶ ἔχρωντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς δὲ προκαταλαμβάνων, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἁμαμίσους ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίους ἐφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους πρὸς τε τὴν μοναρχίαν οἱ σπουδάσαντες, οὐδὲν ἤττον τῶν ἐτέρων ἀπόλλυνεν, νομίζον εἰς ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, υφ’ ἢς ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἁρχὴν συγ-κατέπραξαν, κἂν ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτὴν δοῦναι. καὶ τούτου τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἵππαδος ἀπανάλωσεν, οὐδ’ ἀντικαθίστῃ τὸ παράπαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα: μυσεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευε, καὶ τὰ

Ζωνάρας 7, 10.

ἐπενεγκεῖν φανερὸς ἄναργον, οὐς δὲ λάθρα-ένιος δὲ γε καὶ ὑπερῷριξεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν Τουλλίων προσκειμένους μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὴν μοναρχίαν συναραμένους αὐτῷ προσ-ἀπώλυκεν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἵππαδος ἀνάλωσε. μυσεῖσθαι τε ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευε: διὸ οὐδὲ ἀντικαθίστῃ τὸ παράπαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τινῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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1 te added by Val.
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 cooperated 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

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téln ékeína ásthenésta ta ek tís òlignanhropías poíhsai épethúmei. kai tìn ge geryousían kai kata-
lússai pantelóss epexeirhshen, pánn áthrophia ánth-
trópwn, álloos te kai épilektwv kai próskhima
prostataías tinós ápò palaiou éxóntow, pole-
méwtaton tyránnoph1 nómiwv éinai. déíasa dé mú
pósw oí to pléthis h kai autoi oí dorufóroi, oí ó
pou polítai ontés, áganaktíssei toú tìn poli-
teian sfón medístasbas épanastówson, ek mé
v óu profranous óuk époíhsse touto, án tòproph dé
tíi épitthdeíph kai pásv autó2 katépraxen. óúte
ýár antréisíghen és autíh oúdéna, óúte toús kata-
loipous lóghou ti áxion épepoínon. synékaléi mén
ýár autóus, óú múnh ósste kai synðioikein ti tón
ánagkaíwn, álلα kai autó toutó prós te tón
éleghon tís òlignóstotós sfón kai dia touto kai
tapevósteta kai katafrónhshin éxeptíthdes épotei.

Zonaras 7, 10.

tìn geryousían katalússai pantelóss epixeirhshas,
óúte antréisíghen és autíh oúdéna óúte tóis oúsw
épekoínon ti lóghou áxion. synékaléi mén ýár
autóus, óú múnh ósste ti tón ánagkaíwn synðio-
kein, álλα ἵνα δήλα autóon ἡ βραχύτης γίνοιτο
ápasi, kántetdein katafrónwnto: tâ dé pлеístα

1 tyránnoph Val., týránnon Ms. 2 autó Val., autóí Ms.
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 bodyguards 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-
καθ' έαυτόν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν νιέων, τότε μὲν ὅπως μηδείς τῶν ἄλλων μηδέν δύνατο, τότε δὲ καὶ κατοκών δημοσίευεν ἐν οἷς ἐκακούργηε, ἔπραττεν. δυσπρόσοδος τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ύπεροψίᾳ τῇ τε ὁμότητι τοσαύτη πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἔχρητο ὡστε καὶ 'Τερήφανος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικληθήναι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παίδες αὐτοῦ τυραννικώτερον ἔπραττον, καὶ ποτε τῶν 1 πολιτῶν τινας ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ὁμμασί σταυροῖς τε γυμνοῖς προσέδησεν καὶ ράβδοις αἰκισσάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου τὸτε ἐξευρέθεν καὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο.—V. 6 (p. 573).

Zonaras 7, 10.

καθ' έαυτόν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν νιέων ἔπραττε. δυσπρόσειτος τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ύπεροψίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμότητι ὁμοίως ἔχρητο πρὸς ἀπαντάς, καὶ τυραννικώτερον αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ παίδες αὐτοῦ προσεφέροντο ἀπασί. διὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ύπόπτους ἔχων, ἐκ τῶν Λατίνων προσηταιρίσατο δορυφορίκων, καὶ ἐς τὰς τῶν Ρωμαίων τάξεις Λατίνους ἀνέμιζεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν Λατίνοι ἱσομοιρίας τῶν Ρωμαίων τυχόντες εὑροιν αὐτῷ ἐντεύθεν ὁφείλωσι, καὶ οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἤπτον ἐκφοβῶσεν αὐτόν, ἡμεῖς κατὰ σφᾶς ὀντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις συνοπλιτεύοντες.

1 τῶν added by Bk.
BOOK II

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.
Γαούνοις δὲ μάχην συνήψε, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἕγωνίσατο, δόλῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχειρώσατο. αὐτο-μολήσαι γὰρ αὐτοὶς Σέξτῳ ύπέθετο τῷ νίῳ. ἦν δὲ εὐπρόσωπος αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτομολίας πρόφασις γένηται, ἐκείνος μὲν τὸν πατέρα φανερῶς ὡς τύραννον καὶ παράσπονδον ἐλοιδόρησεν, ὡ δὲ τὸν νῖὸν ἐμαστίγωσε τε καὶ ἀντημύνατο. εἰτα κατὰ συνθήκας πρὸς Γαούνοις ἔφευνδαυτομόλησε, χρήματά τε καὶ ἑταίρους παρειλήφθησι, οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ διὰ τε τῆς τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ὁμόητα καὶ ὅτι καὶ τότε πολλὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν πατέρα ἐκακηγόρει καντεῦθεν ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι αὐτῷ ἔδοκεί, ἐδέξατο τε αὐτῶν ἁγμενέστατα καὶ τινὰς ἐπελεύσεις κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς χώρας σὺν αὐτῷ ἐποίησαντο καὶ οὐ μετρῶς αὐτή ἔλυμῆνατο. διὰ ταῦτα γοῦν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ χρήματα ἴδια τε τισὶ παρεῖχε καὶ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλισκε δαψιλῶς, ἱρέθη παρ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων ἐπετράπη διοίκησιν. ἐπὶ τού- τοις λάθρα πέμψας τινὰ τὰ συμβάντα τε ἐγνώρισε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον γνώμην ἔτησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε μὲν τῷ πεμφθέντι οὐδὲν, ἵνα μὴ ἵσως γνωσθεῖς ἐκών τι ἡ ἄκων ἐξείποι, εἰς δὲ
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
12, 3ον 

Zonaras 7, 10.
κήπον εἰσαγαγών αὐτῶν, ἐν ὦ μῆκων ἦσαν, τὰς κωδύας αὐτῶν τὰς ὑπερεχούσας ῥάβδῳ κατέκλασε καὶ εἰς γῆν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ οὔτω τὸν ἀγγελιαφόρον ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ πραξθὲν τῷ Σέξτῳ ἀπήγγειλεν, ἀςυνέτως ἔχων τῆς πράξεως, ὁ δὲ τὸν νοῦν συνήκε τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογωτέρους τῶν Γασσίνων τοὺς μὲν λάθρα φαρμάκους διεύθυνε, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τινὸς δήθεν ληστῶν, ἄλλους δὲ καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων ἀπέκτεινε, συκοφαντίας κατ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προδοσίας πλαττόμενος.

Καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οὖν οὕτω τοὺς Γασσίνως μετῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κραίττους ἀπώλευε, τῷ πλῆθει δὲ τὰ σφῶν διένειμε χρήματα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, τῶν μὲν διαφθαρέντων ἤθη, τῶν δὲ λαυπῶν ἦπατημένων καὶ πάντα πιστευόντων αὐτῷ, μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων, οὐς πολλοὺς διὰ τοῦτο συνήθροισε, κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ παραδεδωκε. καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῷ νῷ παρεχόρησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλα ἐπολέμησεν ἐδοξήν.

Zonaras 7, 11.

11. Τοὺς δὲ τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις
Tzetzes in Lycothra. Alex. 1279.
Περὶ ἤς 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 Macchioro (Klio 10, 347 ff.) holds that this refers to the plot against Turnus Herdonius; cf. Livy 1, 51, 3.
καὶ ἄκων προσεπούσατο. γινήγαρ τις θεόμαντις, ἦν Σίβυλλαν ὄνομαζον, ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐκλήθη βιβλία τρία ἡ ἐννέα φέρουσα, καὶ ταύτα πρίασθαι τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ ἐδίδου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν βιβλίων ὁρίσατο. ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ προσεσχηκότος αὐτῇ, τὸ ἐν ἡ τὰ τρία τῶν βιβλίων κατέκαυσεν. ὡς δ' αὖθις ὁλιγόρευ αὐτὴς ὁ Ταρκύνιος, κἀκεῖ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοίως διέφθιβερε. μελλοῦσης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐτὶ λοιπὰ καταβλέξειν, ἤναγκασαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰωνισταί τὰ γοῦν σωζόμενα πρίασθαι. καὶ ὁμήσατο ταύτα ὡς τὰ πάντα κτῆσασθαι ἐμμέλλε, καὶ δύο βουλευταῖς ἀνδράσι φυλάσσειν παρέδωκεν. ὡς δ' οὐ πάνυ τῶν θεγραμμένων συνεσαν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στείλαντες δύο ἄνδρας ἐκείθεν μισθὸν ἤγαγον τοὺς ἀναγρωσσόμενους ταύτα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσοντας. οἱ δὲ περίοικοι μαθεῖν ἐθελήσαντες ὁ τι ποτὲ τὸ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων εἰς δηλούμενον, τὸν ἐτερὸν τῶν φυλασσόντων αὐτὰ Μάρκου Ἀκιλλίου χρήμασιν ἀναπείσαντες μετεγράφατο τινὰ γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Μάρκος βύρσας δύο

Tzetzes in Lycoth. Alex. 1279.

Κυμαία ἢν, ἦτε τέθυκεν ἐν χρόνοις Ταρκυνίου τοῦ 'Τπερηφάνου βιβλίον προφητικὰς αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἡ ἐννέα καταληποῦσα: ὃν ἡ μίαν ἡ τρεῖς ἐξωνήσαντο οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι, ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ἐκείνης θεραπαίνης ἀναλωσάσης πυρί, ὅτι μὴ ἐδίδουν ἐκείνη ὡςον ἐξήτει χρυσῶν. ὃ ύστερον ποιήσαντες ἐξωνήσαντο ἡ μίαν τὴν καταλειφθείσαν ἡ τρεῖς καὶ ἐδουτο Ἑλίκων φυλάσσειν. ξόντα δὲ τούτου εἰς δέρμα βοὸς ἐμβαλόντες ἄνειλον, ὅτι
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;
συγγραφείσας ἐμβληθεῖς κατεποντώθη, ὁ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετέπειτα κατὰ τῶν πατροκτόνων ἐπεκράτησε γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ γῆ μήτε τὸ ὕδωρ μήτε ὁ ἢλιος μιανθῆ αὐτοῦ θυνήκοντος.

Τὸν δὲ νεῶν τὸν ἐν τῷ Ταρπείῳ ὅρει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχήν φοινοῦμει. τῆς δὲ γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν θεμελίων καταβολῆν ἀναρρηγνυμένης, ἀνδρὸς νεοθύνητος κεφαλὴ ἀνεφάνη ἕναμος ἐτη. ἐπεμψαν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς ἀνδρα Τυρσηνὸν τερατοσκόπον ἑρωτώντες τὸ διὰ τοῦ φανεντος δηλούμενον· ὁ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον εἰς τὴν Τυρσηνίδα μεταθείναι μηχανήματα, διάγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν τε τῆς Ῥώμης θέσιν ἐντείνασα καὶ τὸ Ταρπείον ὅρος, ἐμελλε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀνερέσαι "ἡ Ῥώμη αὐτὴ ἔστι; τὸ ὅρος τούτο ἔστιν; ἡ κεφαλὴ ἑνταῦθα εὑρέθη;" ἢ ἐκείνων μηδεν ὑποτοποιησάντων καὶ συμφημασάντων ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σημείου εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧν διεγέραττο μεταταίη, καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπεκαταθέντα, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ νεοῦ ἐκείνου μαθόντες τὸ τέχνασμα, ἑρωτώμενοι "οὐκ ἑνταῦθα," εἶπον, "οἰκεῖται ἡ Ῥώμη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Δατίῳ, καὶ τὸ ὅρος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἔστι, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐν τῷ ὅρει ἐκείνῳ εὑρέθη;" οὕτω δὲ τῷ τερατοσκόπῳ διακρούσθηντος τοῦ μηχανήματος πᾶσαν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν

Τzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1279.

πρὸς μεταγραφὴν ἐδότο, τὴν δὲ βιβλίου ἢ τὰς βιβλίας ὁρύζαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ λάρνακος κατέχοσαν.

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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.
11. 10 "Οτι Δούκιος Ἰούνιος, ἀδελφής Ταρκύνιον παῖς, φοβηθεὶς ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἄπεκτόνει καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀφήρητο, μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, εἰ πώς αὐτὸς γε περιγένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ εὗ ἡπίστατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐμφρόν, ἄλλως τε

Zonaras 7, 11.

ζωμαὶς, διαλέκτῳ ἡ κεφαλῆς ὀνομάζεται. 

Δεηθεὶς δὲ χρυμάτων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὁ Ταρκύνιος Ἀρδεάταις ἐπήνεγκε πόλεμον ὅθεν οὕτε χρύματα προσεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔξεπεσε. γεγοναί τ' αὐτῷ καὶ σημεῖα τῶν ἡμιωτικὰ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως. ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ κήπου αὐτοῦ γυπτες νεοσσοὺς ἐξῆλασαν ὠςτὼν, καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρόπων, ἐν φύσις περιτυότως φίλοις, ὃς μέγας ἐπιφανείς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς συσσίτους ἔξεβαλε. διὰ τοῦ ταύτα ἐς Δελφοὺς Τίτον τε καὶ Ἀρροὶντα τοὺς αὕτου ἐπεμψε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσατος τότε τῆς ἄρχης ἐκπευτείναι αὐτὸν ὅτε κύων ἀνθρωπίνη φωνῆ χρήσατο, ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδων ἠφόρητο, μὴ οὐθεὶς ποτε γενέσθαι τὸ μάντευμα.

Ἡν δὲ Δούκιος Ἰούνιος ἀδελφής τοῦ Ταρκύνιον νίος, οὗ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἔκτεινεν. οὗτος οὖν καὶ περὶ ἕαυτῷ δεδομένως
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,

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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,
καὶ ὤταν ἐν λαμπρότητι γένους ἦ, δὲ ὑποφίασ
tοῖς τυραννοῦσι γίγνεται. καὶ ἑπειδὴ ἦ γε ἀπαξ ἐπὶ
tοῦτο ὄρμησεν, ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν ὑπεκρίνετο,
cαὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βροῦτος ἐκλήθη· τοὺς γὰρ
eὐθέεις οὕτω πως οἱ Λατῖνοι προσηγόρευον. τῷ τῇ
Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀρροῦτι ὡσπερ τῷ ἄθυρμα συμπεμφθεὶς
βακτηρίαν τινὰ ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ φέρειν ἐλεγεν,
μηδὲν μέγα ὅσα 1·γε ἰδεῖν ἔχουσαν.—Μ. 13 (p. 139).

11 "Εν β' βιβλίῳ Δίων "ἐπείτα ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου

12 "Οτι τοῦ Βροῦτου τὸ τε δῷρον2 ἔσκωπτον, καὶ
ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς θεωροῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς

Ζωναρία 7, 11.

μωρίαν προσποιήσατο, ταύτην ἐαυτοῦ προστη-
σάμενος σώτειραν· διό καὶ Βροῦτος ἐπεκλήθη·
tοὺς γὰρ εὐθέεις οὕτω τοῖς Λατῖνοι ἔθος καλέων,
πλαττόμενος οὖν τὸν μωραίνοντα τοῖς τοῦ Ταρ-
κυνίου παισίν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπιοῦσι συμπαρελήφθη
ὡς ἄθυρμα, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἀνάθημα φέρειν ἐλεγε τῷ
θεῷ· τὸ δ' ἦν βάκτρον τι μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου
ἐχον χρηστόν, οἴκειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὄφλισκαν ἑλώτα.
τὸ δ' ἦν οἶον εἰκόνι τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ
προσποιήσως· κοιλάνας γὰρ αὐτὸ λάβρα χρυσίουν
ἐνέχειν, ἐνδεικνύμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὸ φρόνημα
αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς μωρίας ἀτίμω σῶον καὶ ἐντίμουν
κατακρύπτεται· ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν Ταρκυνίου νῦν

1 δέσι Βσ., δό Μς.

2 After δῷρον the Ms. has the words τοῦτο· ἐστὶ τῆς βακτηρίας
(“i.e. the staff”), due to the excerptor.
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
βασιλείας, ὅστις αὐτὴν διαδέχεται, ἐπερωτήσασιν ὑπευθύνοντος τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ἔξειν, τὴν γῆν ὡς καὶ καταπεσόν ἄλλος κατεβίλησε, νομίζασι αὐτὴν μητέρα ἀπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι.—Μ. 14 (p. 140).

13 Ὡτι ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ἐκ τοιᾶσθε αἰτίας κατέλυσε. συνδεπνοῦντές ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν πολιορκία ὦ τε τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες καὶ Κολλατίνος καὶ Βροῦτος, ἀτε καὶ ἡλικιωταὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἵνα λόγον τινὰ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν γυναικῶν σφών, κακὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐσ ἔριν, τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γαμετῇ ἐκάστον προκρίνοντος, ἦλθον. καὶ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ 1 πᾶσαι ἅπο τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποῦσαι) ἐδόξευν αὐτῶν αἰτία τῆς νυκτὸς, πρὸν καταγγέλτους σφᾶς γενέσθαι, πρὸς πάσας ἀμα αὐτᾶς ἀφιππεῦσαι. ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐν πότῳ 2 τινὶ εὐρον, Λουκρη—

Zonaras 7, 11.

τὶς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδέχεται, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος ἔξειν. ὁ συνείς ὁ Βροῦτος ὡς τυχαίως καταπεσόν τὴν γῆν κατεβίλησεν, αὐτὴν μητέρα πάντων ὑπάρχειν κρίνας ὁρθῶς.

Ὀθος ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους κατέλυσεν, αἰτίαν τὸ περὶ τὴν Δουκριτίαν συμβεβηκός προστηράμενος, καὶ ἄλλος μισουμένος 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,

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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 αἰσχύναι ἐπεθύμησεν τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ἔσχε ὑπερκαλλοῦς οὖσης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὄμως τὴν δόξαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα διαφθείραι ἦθέλησε. καὶ ποτε τηρήσας τὸν Κολλατίνου πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουτούλους ὅντα ἥπειρον μὲν ἐς τὴν Κολλατίαν, καὶ νυκτὸς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρὸς οἰκείαν γυναίκα ἐλθὼν καὶ σίτου καὶ καταλύσεως ἐτυχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀναπείθειν αὐτὴν ἐπειράτῳ συγγενέσθαι οἱ, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέρατεν, ἐβιάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔδὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ προεχόρει, καίνυν δὴ τινὰ τρόπον ἐξεύρεν, ύφ᾽ Ἰ ὀν καὶ βλασιν. ὡς δὲ Λουκρίτια βυγάτηρ μὲν ἦν Λουκρίτιον Σπουρίου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου ἐνός, γαμετή δὲ Κολλατίνου Ταρκυνίου τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐπὶ τε κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τυγχάνουσα περιβόητος ταύτην Σέξτος ο τοῦ Ταρκυνίου υἱὸς αἰσχύναι σπούδασμα ἔθετο, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἔρασθείς ὡς τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ σώφρου δόξῃ ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῆς. τηρήσας οὖν τὸν Κολλατίνου τῆς οἰκίας ἀποδημοῦντα, νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς πρὸς γαμετὴν συγγενοῦς κατέλυσε παρ᾽ αὐτῇ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις ἐπείρα συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ, εἶτα καὶ βλασὶ προσήγει πως δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέρατεν, ἀποσφάξειν ἥπειρλησεν· ὡς δὲ

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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

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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
οὐ τὸ παραδοξότατον ἡμάγκασεν αὐτὴν ἐκούσαν ὑβρισθήναι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εἶπε, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα προσκαταχρήσεσθαι ἐφη, καὶ τοῦτο ὀλγῶρως ἠκούσεν· ἵπτει μέντοι παρακατακλινεῖν τε αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ δούλου σῶμα καὶ λόγον ὡς καὶ συγκαθεύδοντάς σφας εὐρών ἀποκτείνει διαδώσειν ἑπτείλησεν, ὦκετ' ἀνεκτὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ φοβηθείσα μὴ καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ' ὦτω γεγονέναι, εἴλετο μιχθείσα αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἔξεποισα ἀποθανείν μᾶλλον ἡ παραχρῆμα τελευτήσας ἀδοξήσαι. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄκουσα δὴ ἐμοιχεύθη, παρασκενάσασα δὲ ἐκ τούτου ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον μετεπέμψατο τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡλθοῦ, κατεδάκρυε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀναστενάζασα, "πάτερ.

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καὶ τοῦ θανάτου κατωλυγόρει, δούλου παρακατακλινεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ἀμφω κτανεῖν καὶ λόγον διαδώσειν ὡς εὐρών αὐτοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας ἐκτείνε. τούτῳ τὴν Δουκριτίαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ φοβηθείσα μὴ πιστευθεὶ σα ταῦθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μοιχευθείσα ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἔθετο, καὶ μεταπεμψαμένη τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, συνεπομένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ Ποπλίου Οὐαλλερίου, κατεδάκρυε καὶ στενάζασα

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

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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
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εἶπε, "(τὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ αἰσχύνομαι) οὖθεν μοι χρηστὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ πέπρακται. ἀλλὰ μὲ Σέξτος ἐβιάσατο ἀπειλήσας δούλῳ τινὶ συναποκτενεῖν ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ καθευδοῦσαν λαβῶν. αὐτὴ γὰρ μὲ ἡ ἀπειλή ἀμαρτεῖν ἤναγκασεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πιστεύσῃ τοῦτο ὅτι γεγονέναι. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν (γυνὴ γὰρ εἰμι) τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰπὲρ ἄνδρες ἐστὲ καὶ τῶν γα- μετῶν τῶν τε παῖδων ὑμῶν προορᾶσθε, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ ἑαυτοῦς, καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἷον ἄρα υἱῶν οἰντών οἷαν γυναῖκα ὑβρισάν." τοιαῦτα ἀττα εἶποῦσα οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν ἀντακοῦσα τι, ἀλλ' εὐθέως τὸ ξιφίδιον ὑφελκύσασα αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.—V.7 (p.574).

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τὸ δρᾶμα πάν ἀνθρώπισατο· εἶτα ἐπῆγαγε "καὶ ἔγὼ μὲν τὰ πρέποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω, υμεῖς δὲ εἰπὲρ ἄνδρες ἐστέ, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώθητε δὲ αὐτοῖ, καὶ δείξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἷον υἱῶν οἰντών οἷαν γυναῖκα ὑβρισάν." τοιαῦτα εἶποῦσα εὔθως ξιφίδιον ὑφελκύσασα κατέκτειν ἑαυτὴν.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα καὶ θεασάμενοι ὑπερήλητον. καὶ τῷ Ποπλίῳ συμβούλῳ καὶ προδόμῳ πρὸς τούργον ὁ Βροῦτος χρησάμενος τὴν τε γυναῖκα πολλοῖς τῶν τοῦ δήμου κειμένην ὑπὲ- δείξε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς δημηγορήσας τὸ πρὸς

1 ἑαυτοῦς Be., αὐτοὶ 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.

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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

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τοὺς τυράννους μίσος ἔκφηναι πεποίηκε· καὶ μηκέτι δὲξασθαί συνέδεντο τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ταύτα δὲ πράξας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέψας τοὺς ἄλλους, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεπάσατο, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπεισε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψηφίσασθαι. ὦ δὲ γε Ταρκύνιος τὰ συμβεβηκότα μαθὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπειχθεὶς ἀπεύθυς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ταρκυνησίους μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφρῶν κατέφυγε, μόνης τῆς Τουλλίας, ὡς λόγος, εαυτὴν ἀνελούσης.
BOOK II

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

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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.
"Οτι οι ομιλοι παντες τα πραγματα προς τους μεταχειριζοντας αυτα κρινοντι, καλ οποιους αν τουτους αισθανονται οντας, τοιαυτα κα έκεινα νομίζουσιν ειναι.—Μ. 15 (p. 140).

2 Πας1 γαρ τις το απειρατον2 προ του κατεγνωσμενου προαιρεται, μεγαλην εσ το αδηλον έλπιδα παρα το μεμισημενον ηδη ποιουμενος.—Μ. 16 (ib.).

3 Πασαι μεν γαρ μεταβολαι σφαλερωται ειςι, μαλιστα δε αι εν ταις πολιτειαις πλειονα δη και μεγιστα κα ιδιωται και πολεις βλαπτουσι. διι δι οι νον έχοντες εν τοις αυτοις αει, καν μη βελτιστα η, αξιουσιν εμενειν η μεταλαμβανοντες άλλοτε άλλα αει πλανασθαι.—Μ. 17 (ib.).

Zonaras 7, 12.

12. 'Ο μεν ουν Ταρκύνιος πεντε και εικοσι τυραννησας εισαυτους ουτως έξεπεσε της αρχης, οι Ρωμαιοι δε προς τον Βρούτον απεκλιναν κα καυτων ειλοντο αρχοντα. ίνα δε μη η μοναρχια βασιλεια δοκη, και συναρχοντα αυτω εφηφισαντο τον της Λουκριτιας εκεινης ανδρα τον Κολλατινον Ταρκύνιον, ως απεκθωσ προς τους τυραννους πιστευόμενον έχειν δια την θλαν της

1 τας St., των Ms. 2 απειρατον Bk., απειροτατον 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.

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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, 3¹, 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, 5¹, 5² 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, 5¹, 5², 6, 7, 10, 11, are from the arguments urged in private by the
"Οτι καὶ τὰ βουλήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰς τύχας ἐκαστοι κτώνται, καὶ ὅποια ἂν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ οἰήματα λαμβάνουσιν.—Μ. 18 (p. 141).

"Οτι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πράγμα ὅπως ἄρετὴς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ συνήθειας, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, πολλὴς δεῖται, καὶ ὅν ποιον τὸ ἐστὶν ἀνευ ἐκείνων ἄψαμενον τίνα σωφρονήσαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὡσπέρ ἐς ὑψος τι μέγα παρὰ λόγον ἄρθέντες ὅποι ἑνεγκαν τὴν μετεώρισιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε κατα- πεσόντες ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπταίσαν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁρχομένων πάντα συνηλόταν.—Μ. 19 (ib.).

γ' Δίωνος βιβλίῳ "οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλευόντων σφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν παρα- δυναστεύοντων αὐτοῖς γίγνεται."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 130, 23 and 164, 32.

'Εν γ' βιβλίῳ Δίωνος "οὐ γε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀμέμπτος ὑμῶν ἦρξεν."—Ib. p. 120, 24.

Δίωνος γ' βιβλίῳ "ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἄγαπᾶ ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν μεῖζον τεκμήριον λάβοιτε ἡ ὅτι τοῦ τε βίου τοῦ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἐφίεται."—Ib. p. 139, 26.
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."

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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.
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6 Δίων βιβλίῳ ἔ "πῶς δ' ἄν καὶ λυσιτελήσεις τινι τούτῳ πρᾶξαι;"—Ib. p. 155, 14.
7 Δίωνος ἕ βιβλίων "ὅσπερ ποι ἡ 'Ρωμύλος ἦμιν ἐπέσκηψεν."—Ib. p. 139, 29.
10 Καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐξ ὧν ἐπράξαν τεκμηρασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν πλάττονται ἱκτεύοντες ἀπατηθῆτε τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς ἐκάστῳ γίγνεται, συλλαβάσας δ' ἄν τις εὐπρεπεῖς συμπλάσειν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησε τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν φησὶ ποιήσειν, κρίνετε.¹—M. 20 (p. 141).
2 "Ὅτι Οὐαλέριον, τὸν συνάρχοντα στρατηγοῦ,

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'Ἡσαν δὲ τούτων τινὲς τῷ Κολλατίνῳ προσήκοντες δι' οὕς καὶ ὠργιζετο. Ὅθεν ο’ Βρούτος οὕτως κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν δήμον παράξυνεν ὡς μικρὸι καὶ αὐτοχειρία αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν ἀπειπέειν. εἰλοντο δὲ ἀντ ἐκείνου συνάρχοντα Πόπλιον Οὐαλλέριον, ὃς Ποτλικόλας προσωφυμάσθη δηλοὶ δ' ἡ κλήσις ἐξελληνιζομένη δημοκριτή ἡ δημοτικώτατον.

¹ κρίνετε v. Herw., κρίνεται Ms.
² Δίων ὁ 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."

Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, although he had

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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 δημοτικότατον ἀνδρῶν γενόμενον, ὅμως αὐτοευτία μικροῦ ὁ ὅμαλος κατεχρήσατο· ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ αὐτῶν μοναρχίας ὑπετόπησαν. καὶ ἐφόνευσαν ἂν, εἰ μὴ σφας διὰ ταχέων φθάσας ἑθώπευσεν. ἐσελθὼν γὰρ ἔσ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τάς τε ῥάβδους ἐκλίνειν, ὁρθαίς πρότερον ταῦτας χρόμενος, καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις τοὺς συνδεδεμένους σφίσει περιεῖλε· σχηματίσας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτόν ἐς τὸ ταπεινότατον, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐσκυθρώπασε καὶ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐφθέγξατο ποτε, σμικρὰ καὶ δεδινία τῇ φωνῇ ὑποτρέμων εἶπεν.—Μ. 21 (p. 141).


3 "Ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Δίως νεὼν ἔθειώσεν ἀπὸ κλήρου ὁ Ὄρατιος, καὶ τού Ὀυαλερίου τὸν τε νῦν αὐτοῦ τεθυγκέναι φήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερομῖαν ἀγγελθῆναι παρακενάσαντος, ἢν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὧτο οὐδ' ἄλλως ὅσιον ἦν ἐν πείθει τινα ὄντα ιεροποιεῖν, παραχωρησεῖν οἱ τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἱερόσεως. ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστησε μὲν τῷ ῥηθέντι (καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἀξιοπίστων ἐθρυλήθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέστη, ἀλλ' ἀταφον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς καὶ ἀλλότριον, ὡς καὶ μὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅσια προσήκειν δόξη, κελεύσας τισίν ἔκασαι, πάνθ' οὔτω τὰ καθήκοντα διετέλεσεν.—V. 8 (p. 577).

1 ieróssew Reim., iəróssew 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 ή Κλάρας γε Πορσέννας | κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἢν χωρὸν στρατεύματι μεγάλω. | Μόκιος δὲ Ῥωμαίος τις γενναῖος στρατιώτης | ὁπλα καὶ σχῆμα Τυρρηνῶν ἡμιφιεσμένος τὸτε | χωρεῖ κατόπτης κατ' αὐτῶν κτείναι Πορσένναν θέλων. | συγκαθημένου τούτω δὲ τότε τοῦ γραμματέως, | ὅσ ἦν τῇ γλώσσῃ Τυρρηνῶν Κλουσίνος κεκλημένος, | ἀμφιγνώσων ὁ Μόκιος, τίς βασιλεὺς τυγχάνει, | ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Κλουσίνον ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. | ὡς συνιεθέντα τούτων δὲ ἀνέκρινε Πορσέννας: | “τὶ ποτὲ τοῦτο δέδρακας; τῇ προπαθῶν ἐκ τούτου;” | “οὐ Τυρρηνός,” ἐβοήσε, | Ῥωμαίος δὲ τυγχάνω, ἀλλοι τε τριακόσιοι ὁμοίοι μοι τὴν γνώμην | σε νῦν θηρώσειν ἀνελεῖν,” | τούτῳ ψευδός δ’ εἰρήκει, | τῆς δὲ χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς | εἰς πῦρ ἐμβεβλημένης | αὐτὸς ὡς ἄλλου πάσχων τοῖς ἐβλεπε πρὸς Πορσένναν | τούτου δ’ εἰπόντος | “πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὶ ἀτενῶς προσβλέπεις;” | ἐφη “τὸ πῶς πεπλάνημαι καὶ σε μὲν σῶς ἀνείλον, | ἀντὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀπέκτεινα, ὅν ἐδοξά Πορσένναν.” | εἰπόντος τοῦ Πορσέννα δὲ “γενήσῃ νῦν μου φίλος,” | ὁ Μόκιος ἀντέλεξεν “εἰ γένη σῦ Ῥωμαίων.” | θαν-
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
Δίωνος δ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τῇ γε κόρῃ καὶ ὀπλα, ὦς φασί τινες, καὶ ἦππον ἐδωρήσατο."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 8.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 201-23.
μάσας ὁ Πορσέννας δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν ἀνδρά | φίλος Ρωμαίοις γίνεται καὶ πάνει τὰ τῆς μάχης.
Κλουσίνος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ τοῦ Πορσέννα γραμ- | ματέως, καθά φησι Δίων.
Zonaras' account of Mucius (7, 12) is from Plutarch, except (1) Κόρδος [M.'s cognomen], (2) Σκαιόλας τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ὁ δηλοὶ τὸν μονόχειρα ἡ μὴ ἀρτιώχειρα, (3) τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ συν- καθήμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοίως ἔχοντα τῆς στολῆς.
Zonaras 7, 12.
Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν | οἱ Ταρκύννοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, τοῖς | ὀμορροῦσι Ρωμαίοις ἔθνεσι συμμαχούμενοι, πάντες | δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐφθάρμησαν, πλὴν τοῦ γέροντος, | ὅς καὶ Σούπερβος ἐκαλεῖτο εἰποὶ ἄν τις Ἕλλην ἀνὴρ Ὄπερφανος. κάκεινος δὲ μετέπειτα εἰς | Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὁπικία γενόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν.
Zonaras 7, 13.
13. Καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἄλλοις | ἀπένειμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ὅντες οἱ | ὑπατεύοντες μέγα δύνονται. ὅτε πρῶτον οἱ ταμίαι | γίνεσθαι ἥξιοντο κοινώστωρας δ' ἐκάλουν αὐτούς, | οἱ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς θανασίμους δίκας ἐδίκαζον, | ὅθεν καὶ τὴν προσήγορίαν 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 Scaevola, 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
Δίωνος δ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τὰ τὲ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς πολὺ διαλλάττοντα ἄλληλῳ καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις διαφόρους παρέθεσαν."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 16.

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

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

Zonaras 7, 13.

κρίσεις ἐσχήκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀλήθειας τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνακρίσεων ζήτησιν ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων διοίκησιν ἔλαχον, καὶ ταμίαν προσωπομάσθησαν. μετὰ ταύτα δ' ἐτέρως μὲν ἐπετράπη τὰ δικαστήρια, ἐκείνοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν διοικηταί.

Οἱ δὲ Σαβίνοι, καὶ τούτο τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι πρόφασιν, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπήλασαν. οἱ τούς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἀντεπαγαγὼν, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὅς ἀριστα, μικρῶν πάντας ἀπώλεσε.

Οἱ μέντοι Σαβίνοι δὲ ὅργην όν ἔπαθον οὐδὲ τὸν χειμώνα ἥρέμησαν, ἄλλα τὴν Ῥωμαία χώραν κατέδραμον, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμον ἐκάκωσαν τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντα· καὶ εἶλον ἀν αὐτὸν πανσυδί, εἰ μή Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας ὁ συνάρχων 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

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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 [lamiae]. 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.

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"Ότι τὸ κρύφιον τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ τὸ καί-
ριον τῶν πράξεων, τὸ τε ἰδιοβουλεῖν τινα καὶ τὸ
μήτ' ἀναχώρησιν ἐς μηδένα ἄλλον μηδεμίαν ἔχειν

Zonaras 7, 13.

dὲ ταύτα Σπουριός τε Κάσσιος καὶ Ὄπιτῶριος
Οὐεργίνιος ὑπατεύοντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐσπεί-
σαντο. Καμέριον δὲ τὸ ἀστυ ἑλόντες τοὺς μὲν
πλείους ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λυπουσὶς ζωγρήσαντες
ἀπέδοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.

Ποστούμιος δὲ Κομίνιος¹ καὶ Τίτος Λάρκιος
δούλους τινὰς ἐτὶ καταλύειν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
συνωμοσίαν θεμένους συλλαβόντες ἐφθειραν.
Σέρουσι τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ Μάρκος Τούλλιος
ἐτέραν αὐθίς συνωμοσίαν δούλων καὶ ἄλλων δὴ
tινῶν συστάντων αὐτοῖς προκατέλαβον, ἀγγελ-
θεῖσαι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τινῶν τῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
μετεχόντων. οὐς καὶ συσχόντες περιστάδον κατέ-
κόψαν, τοῖς δὲ μνυταίς ἄλλα τε καὶ πολιτεία ἐδοθῆ.

Αὐθίς δὲ πολέμου παρὰ Δατίνων κατὰ Ἀρῴς
κεκινημένου, οὐκ ἠθελον οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ὅπλα
λαβεῖν, ἀποκοπὴν τῶν χρεών ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι.
καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ καὶ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους
αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον οἱ δυνατοὶ κατεστῆσαντο.
δικτάτωρ ὁ τάυτης ἡξιωμένων ὀνόμαστο, ἤδυνατο
δὲ πάντα ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν βασιλεύσι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίαν διὰ τοῦς Τάρκυννους
ἐμίσησαν, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ὡφέλειαν θέ-
λουσε, ὥσ πολὺ ἴσχυσες ἐς τὰς τῶν πολέμων
καὶ τῶν στάσεων περιστάσεις, ἐν ἄλλῳ ταύτην
ὄνοματι ἐλήμφο. ἢ μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰρηται, ἢ
dικτατορία κατὰ γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
ἰσόρροπος, πλὴν ὅτι μὴ ἔφ' ἵππων ἀναβήναι ὁ

1 Κομίνιος Wolf, καμίνιος Miss.
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 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 αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὴν αἰτίαν λαμβάνειν, μέγα μέρος ἐς τὸ κατορθωθήναι τι συμβάλλεται.—Μ. 22 (p. 142).

17 Πρὸς στάσεις ἔτραπτοντο. αὐτῶν δ’ ὅτι οἱ τε ἴσχυοντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐν πᾶσι τῶν καταδεστέρων ὡς καὶ βασιλεύοντες σφων προέχειν ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεστέραι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι

Zonaras 7, 13.

δικτάτωρ ἤδυνατο, εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλεν, ούτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀναλώσαι τι ἐξήν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἐψηφίσθη: δικάζειν δὲ καὶ ἀποκτεῖνειν καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἐν στρατείαις ἤδυνατο, καὶ οὐ τοὺς τὸν δήμου μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βουλής. καὶ οὐτ’ ἐγκαλέσαι τις αὐτῶν οὐτ’ ἐναντίον τι διαπράξασθαι ἵσχυεν, οὔδὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, οὔτε δίκη ἐφεσίμος ἐγίνετο ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. οὐκ ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τῶν ἐξ μηνῶν ἡ τῆς δικτατορίας ἀρχὴ παρετείνετο, ἵνα μὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ κράτει καὶ ἐξουσία ἀκράτω χρονίσας ὑπερφρονήσῃ καὶ πρὸς ἔρωτα μοναρχίας ἐκκυλισθῇ. ὅπερ ἐς υστερον καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ Ἰουλιος ἐπαθεῖν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὰ νεομισμένα τῆς δικτατορίας ἥξιωτο.

Zonaras 7, 14.

14. Τότε μὲν οὖν δικτάτορος γενομένου Δαρκίου οὔδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐνεωτέρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐγένοντο. τῶν δὲ Δατίνων ἰσχύσαν ἀγώντων ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, οἱ δανεισταὶ τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μετεχειρίζοντο βιαιώτερον, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὖθις

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

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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.

¹ 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.
σμικρόν ώς καὶ ἵσονομούμενοι πειθαρχεῖν ἥθελον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπληστοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὗτος καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις ταῖς ἐκείνων, 1 οἱ δὲ ἀκρατῶς τῆς τιμήσεως ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς σώμασι τοὺς τούτων ἑχόντα καὶ οὗτος εξ ὕπ' ὑπότερον τὰ πρόσφορα ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλους συνεφρόνουν καταλύσαντες, οὐκέτι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ θυνείου διέκρινον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε μέτριον ἀμφότεροι ὑπερῃροῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἀκρον οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιτάξεως οἱ δὲ τῆς οὐκ ἐθελο- 

douleias protimōνtes, οὔτε ἐκεῖνα κατειργάσαντο καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τὰ δὲ 
3 καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἀλλήλους ἐδρασάν, ὡστ'  

Zonaras 7, 14.

ἔστασίαζε διὰ τούτο, ὡστε καὶ εἰς τὸ συνεδρίων συνδραμεῖν καὶ πάντες ἀν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰσπεσόντων ἐν αὐτῷ διεφθάρσαν, εἰ μὴ τινὲς τοὺς Οὐκολού- 


1 οἴκειν τον Κρέμβ, ὀἰκείν Μα.
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 Volscì 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

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ἀυτοὺς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνω κινδύνοις, οὐς ἐκ τῶν αἱ πολέμων δὲ αὐτὰ ταύτα μάλιστα ἐσχον, διεστατήσανθι ὅθενπερ συχνοὶ τῶν πρῶτων καὶ ἐξεπιτήδες σφαι πολικὰς παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενοι πολὺ πλεῖον κακὰ πρὸς ἄλληλων ἢ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων ἑπαθον. καὶ μοι καὶ καταμαντεύσασθαι ἔξ ἀυτῶν ἐπέρχεται ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄλλως εἶτ' οὖν τὴς δυνάμεως εἶτ' οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερηθεῖεν, εἰ μὴ δὲ ἄλληλαι σφαλεῖεν.—Μ. 23 (p. 142).

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

Zonaras 7, 14.

ταύτα τοῖς πολεμίωις ἐπεξερθόντες ἐνίκησαν μήτε δὲ τῶν χρεῶν κοιφισθέντες μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς τυχόντες ἐπιεικοὺς, καὶ πάλιν ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ὁργίζουσαν, καὶ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐσταισίαξον.

Πολέμου δὲ αὐθίς ἐπενεχθέντος οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ἐγκατιστήσαν δὲ ἔτεροι διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἔρρηθῃ Οὐαλλέριος Μάρκος, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ποπλικόλας συγγενείας γενό-

¹ εἶτ' οὖν—εἶτ' οὖν Dind., ὅταν—ὅταν Ms. acc. to Be., εἶτ' ἄν—εἶτ' ἄν Mai.
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
"Ινα γάρ δή μη καθ’ ἐν μαχόμενοι ἄλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας χωρίς ἐκαστοι ἁγωνιζόμενοι εὐχειρωτότεροι σφίσε γένονται, διεἰλον τὴν στρατιάν.—Μ. 25 (p. 143).

"Οτι ο δήμος ἰδιωτεύσαντος τοῦ Ούαλερίου τοῦ δικτάτορος ἡ καλεπώτατα ἐστασίασεν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν νεοχμόσας οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιουσίαις ὅντες τοῦ πάνω ἀκριβοῦς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ μηδ’ ὀτιοῦν αὐτοῦ παριέντες, καὶ ἐκείνου διήμαρτον καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐστερήθησαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐγγρωσαν ὅτι ἡ τε πενία ἡ

Zonaras 7, 14.

μενος, καὶ τῷ πλῆθει φιλούμενος· ἐνθὲν τοι τουσοῦτοι καὶ οὕτω προθύμως, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀθλα ὑπέσχετο, συνελέγησαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων κρατήσας καὶ τῶν συμμαχοῦστων αὐτοῖς Οὐνολυσκὼν καὶ Αἰκουῶν. ἔτι τούτως ἄλλας τε τῷ Ούαλερίῳ ο δήμος τιμᾶς ἐφηφίσατο καὶ Μάξιμου ἐπωνόμασεν ἐξελπιζόμενον δὲ μέγιστον σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ θέλων τῷ δήμῳ χαρίσασθαι πολλὰ διειλέγθη τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔσχε ταύτην πειθήνιον. διὸ σὺν ὑργῇ ἐκπαιδήσας τοῦ συνεδρίου δημηγορῆσας τε πρὸς τῶν δήμων τινὰ κατὰ τῆς Βουλῆς τὴν ηγεμονίαν ἀπείπατο.

Καὶ ο δήμος ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς στάσιν ἰρέθιστο. οἱ γὰρ δανεισταὶ, τῆς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἁκριβείας ἑχόμενοι καὶ μὴ τι τοῖς ὄφλουσιν ἐνδι-
BOOK IV

So, in order that they¹ 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

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.
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ἀκρατος βιαιοτατον κακων, ἢ τε ἐξ αὐτὴς ἀπόνοια, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλήθος προσλαβοῦσα, δυσμα-7 χώτατον ἐστί. καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐκ ὅλοιοι τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ πρασσόντων ἐθελοῦν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πρὸ τοῦ σφόδρα δικαίου προαιροῦνται τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῆς τε ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως πολλάκις ἤττᾶται καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ παντελῶς καταλύεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ σμικρὸν τι αὐτοῦ παραθράσαν τὸ γοῦν λοιπὸν μεῖζων ὃν σώζει. πλείστων γοῦν δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἢ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου ἐς τοὺς ὑπο-8 δεστέρους ἀκρίβεια ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑπερήμερων αὐτῶις ἐδέδοτο, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινὶ πλείους δεδανεικότες ἑτυχον, κρεουργηδὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὧν ὀφειλεν ἐξου-σίαν εἶχον κατανεμεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰ καὶ τὰ

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dόντες, τοῦ ἀκρίβους τε διήμαρτον καὶ πολλῶν ἐτέρων ἀπέτυχον. ἡ γὰρ πενία καὶ ἡ ἐκ ταύτης ἀπόνοια κακον ἐστι βίαιων, εἰ δὲ καὶ πλήθος προσλάβων, καὶ δυσμαχώτατον. πλείστων γούν δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἢ τότε τῶν δυνατω-τέρων πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους ἀκρίβεια γέγονεν. ὡς γὰρ ταῖς στρατείαις τε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιέζετο καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐλπίζαν σαφῶς ἐξηπάτητο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν οἱ ὀφειλεῖται ὑβρίζοντο καὶ ἤκιζοντο, ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑργῆς ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς

1 ἐστιν ὅτε Kreb., ὅτε Ms. 2 τις v. Herw., τις Ms.
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

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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
μάλιστα ἑνενόμιστο, ἀλλ' οὕτε γε καὶ ἔργῳ ποτὲ ἐγεγόνειν πῶς γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀμότητα προεχώρησαν οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀδικήματι τινι ἄλογοι 1 διάφευξιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πολλάκις δόντες τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πετρῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὠσθείσι ξήνει, εἰ περιγένοιτο, ἐπιτρέποντες;—Μ. 26 (p. 143).

9 "Ὅτε οἱ χρεωστοῦντες τὰ δάνεια κολωνῶν τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Γάιόν τινα προστησάμενοι τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὀσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἐλάμβανον, κὰκ τούτου τούς τε νόμους τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀπονοίας σφῶν ἄσθενεστερα ἀπεφηναν. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τούτους τε 2 φοβηθέντες μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον πολεμωθῶσι 3 καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους μὴ 4 πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνεπίθωνται σφίσι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο αὐτοῖς πάνθ' ὅσα καθ' ἡδονὴν ἡλπίζουν ἑσεσθαι προτείνοντες. οὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν 5

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καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀπόρων συχνοῦς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὡς πολεμίους τὰς τροφὰς ἐρανίζεσθαι.

Οὕτω δὲ τούτων συνενεχθέντων, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστάντας συνέρρεον, δεῖσαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον οὕτως οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῶσι καὶ τῇ στάσει συνεπίθωνται οἱ περιοίκοι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡσα πρὸς βουλής ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὑπισχυόμενοι. ὡς δὲ μᾶλλον 6

1 ἄλογοι supplied by v. Herw. 2 τούτως τε added by Bk. 3 πολεμωθῶσι Dind., πολεμηθῶσι Ms. 4 μὴ added by Bk. 5 τὸ μὲν Bk., τὸ (?) Ms. 6 μᾶλλον Polak, μάλιστα Ms.
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

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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
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πρώτον ἑθρασύνοντο, θαυμασίω δὲ δὴ τῶν τρόπων κατέστησαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀτάκτως διεβόλον, Ἀγρίππας εἰς τῶν πρέσβεων μύθον τινὸς ἐπακούσαι σφας ἥξιωσε, καὶ τυχὼν εἶπεν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ποτὲ τάλλα μέλη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἑστασίας, λέγοντα αὐτὰ μὲν καὶ ἀσιτα καὶ ἀποτα πονείν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἄτε καὶ ἀπαντα αὐτῇ διακονούμεναι, ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ μήτε τινὰ πόνον ἔχειν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς μόνην ἐμπίπτει. καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσαντο μηκέτι μήτε τὰς χειρὰς τῷ στόματι προσ-

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ἔθρασυνοντο καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔδέχοντο, εἰς τῶν πρέσβεων Ἀγρίππας Μενήμιος μύθον τινὸς σφας ἀκούσαι ἥξιωσε, καὶ τυχὼν εἶπε στασίας πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα τὰ μέλη πάντα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ φάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἡμεῖς τὰς τε χειρὰς ἐνεργοὺς εἰς ἔργα καὶ τοὺς πόδας πρὸς πορείαν τιθέαμεν, τὴν γλώσσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ χειλῆ ὅτι δὲ ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς καρδίας βουλεύματα διαγγέλλονται, τὰ ὅτα δ’ αὖ ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν οἱ ἔτερον λόγοι τῷ νοὶ παραπέμπονται, τὸς δὲ χειρὰς ὅτι ἐργάτιδες οὐσαὶ ἡμεῖς περιποιούμεθα πορισμούς, τοὺς πόδας δ’ αὖθις ὅτι ἀπαν ἡμεῖς τὸ σῶμα φέροντες κοπιῶμεν καὶ ταῖς πορείαις καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἡμῶν δ’ ἐνέργουσιν οὕτω σὺ μόνη ἀσυνετῆς οὕσα καὶ ἀεργὸς υπὸ πάντων ἡμῶν ὡς δέσποινα τῆς ὑπηρετῆ

1 δὲ δὴ Ἰερ., δὴ Μν.
2 αὐτῇ διακονούμεναι Μαί, αὐτῷ διακονούμενοι Μς.

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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,

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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
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φέρειν μήτε ἐκεῖνο λαμβάνειν, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἡ γαστήρ ἐνδείχθα καὶ σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ γενομένη φθαρεῖ. ὥσδὲ ἐδοξε ταύτα καὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεισχυράθη τὸ σῶμα σύμπαν, ἐπεστὰ ὑπέδωκε καὶ ἐξέκαμεν. Ποιήρως οὖν τὰ μέλη σφῶν ἐχοντα συνεγρω τε ἐν ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὴν σφετέραν σωτηρίαν εἰναι καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν τροφήν. ἀκούσαν δὲ τούτων τὸ πλήθος συνήκειν.

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καὶ τῶν ἐκ καμάτων πάντων ἡμῶν πορισμῶν ἀπολαύεις αὐτή. ἡ δὲ γαστήρ συνέθετο καὶ αὐτῇ οὔτω ταύτ᾽ ἔχειν, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ἀχορήγητόν με ἐάσατε, μηδέν μοι προσφέροντες. ἐδοξε ταύτα, καὶ μὴ τὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χορηγεῖσθαι τῇ γαστρὶ κουνῶς ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μέλεσιν. τροφής δὲ μὴ προσφερομένης αὐτῇ οὐθ᾽ αἱ χεῖρες πρὸς ἐργοὺς ἦσαν εὐκίνητοι διὰ τὴν ἐνδείαν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀτονήσασαι, οὐθ᾽ οἱ πόδες ἔρρωντο, οὔτε τι ἐτερον τῶν μελῶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνέργειαν παρεῖχεν ἀνόρσκοπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπρακτα πάντα δυσκίνητα τε ἢ καὶ τέλεον ἦσαν ἀκίνητα. καὶ τότε συνήκαν ὅτι τὰ τῇ γαστρὶ προσφέρομενοι οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκείνη, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῶν κεχορήγηται, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐκείνη προσαγομένων παραπολαύει.

Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις τὸ πλήθος συνήκειν ὡς αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων οὔσια καὶ τοῖς πένησιν εἰσιν εἰς ὀφέλειαν, καὶ εἰ κάκεινοι ὀφελοῦντο ἐκ δανεισμάτων καὶ τὰς οὕσιας αὐξοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰς βλάβην τούτο τῶν πολλῶν ἀποβαίνει, ὡς εἰ γε μὴ ἐχοιευ

1 ἐν ἐκείνῃ Βα., ἐκείναι Μν.
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

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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
ὀτι και τα των πενήτων αι των ευπόρων περιουσίαν ἀνέχουσι, και διὰ τούτῳ ἡπιώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ κατηλλάγησαν ἄφεσιν τῶν τε δανεισμάτων καὶ τῶν ὑπερημερίων εὐρόμενοι. ταύτα μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τῆς Βουλῆς ἐψηφίσθη.—Μ. 27 (p. 144).

14 Καὶ ἐδόκει μήτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου εἶναι, καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις, τοῖς μὲν ἐκούσι τοῖς δὲ ἄκουσιν . . .—Μ. 28 (p. 145).

"Οτι δὴν πολλοῖ καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι πλεονεκτήσωσι βιασάμενοι, παραχρῆμα μὲν ὁμολογία τινὶ ἐπιεικεὶ θρασύνονται, διαλυθέντες δὲ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν δικαιούνται.—Μ. 29 (p. 146).

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οἱ πλουτοῦντες, οὐδ' οἱ πένητες ἃν ἐν καιρόις ἀναγκαίοις ἔξουσι τοὺς δανείσοντας, καὶ ἀπολούνται χρείας κατεπειγούσης. ἑντεύθεν ἡπιώτεροι γενόμενοι κατηλλάγησαν, κονφίσμον τῶν ὀφειλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπερημερίων ἄφεσιν τῆς Βουλῆς ψηφισμένης αὐτοῖς.

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15. Φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ σκεδασθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς συστάσεως ἢ τὰς συνθήκας οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖς ἔξουσιν ἢ κακοθώσι διαλυθέντες καὶ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν κολάζουτο συνεχόμενος, συνέθεντο ἐπαρήγειν ἄλληλοις, ἢν τίς τι ἄδικοντο, καὶ ὅρκους ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑπέσχον, καὶ προστάτας αὐτίκα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν δύο προεχειρίσαντο, εἰτά καὶ πλείονος, ὅν εἰεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ συμμορίαν

1 ἄλλοις Mai, ἄλλως (? ) 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.

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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 class¹ might

¹ The reference is to the classes of Servius Tullius.
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Ζωνάρας 7, 15.

βοηθοὶ τε καὶ τιμοροί. καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄπαξ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκτοτε τὸ πράγμα ἀρξάμενον οὕτω προεβαινε, καὶ ἐπʼ ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς προστάτας ὡς ἀρχὴν τινα ἀπεδείκνυσαν, τῇ μὲν τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσῃ καλουμένους τριβούνους (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ χιλιάρχοι κέκληνται), δημάρχους δὲ προσαγο- ρευομένους τῇ Ἑλληνίδε φωνῇ. ἴνα δὲ διαστέλ- ληται ἢ τῶν τριβούνων προσηγορία, τοῖς μὲν τὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ τοῦ πλῆθους προσέθεντο πρόσρημα. οὕτω δὴ τοῦ πλῆθους οἱ τριβοῦνοι ἢ δήμαρχοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτίων ἡ Ῥώμη γεγονασί. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄνομα οὐκ ἔσχων εὐθὺς, ἵσχυσι δ᾽ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀλλούς ἐκτῆσαντο, ἦσυνοι τε δεομένῳ παντί, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιβοηθάμενον σφᾶς ἀφηροῦντο οὐκ ἐκ μόνων ἰδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων, πλὴν τῶν δικτάτωρον. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἀπόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο, κάκεινος ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάττετο καὶ ἢ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰσῆγετο ἢ καὶ ἀπελύετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τί ποι ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς μὴ γενέσθαι, ἐκώλυν, κἂν ἰδιωτῆς ἢν ὁ ποιῶν κἀν ἄρχων κἀν ὁ δῆμος κἀν ἡ βουλὴ πράττειν ἐμελλὲ τι κἀν ψηφίζεσθαι, εἰς δὲ τις ἡναντίωτο δήμαρχος, ἀπρακτος καὶ ἦ πράξεις καὶ ἡ ψήφος ἐγίνετο. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος καὶ τὴν γερον- σίαν ἀθροίζειν καὶ χημοῦν τὸν μὴ πειθάρχοντα καὶ μαντείᾳ χρήσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ἐπετράπησαν ἢ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὁ γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς
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, 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 χιλαρχος literally means the "leader of a thousand," but is regularly used for the Roman military tribunes (and consular tribunes).
οὐκ ἐξῆν, κατώρθουν ἐκ τῆς ἀνανταχωνίστου πρὸς τῶν πάν τὸ πραττόμενον ὡς ἐτέρων ἐναντιώσεως, καὶ γὰρ καὶ νόμους εἰσήγαγον ῥω ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ ἡ λόγῳ προσκρούσῃ, κἂν ἰδιώτης εἰῃ κἂν ἄρχων, ἱερὸς τε ἢ καὶ τὸ ἅγει ἐνέχειται. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι ἀπολωλέναι ἦν οὔτω γὰρ πάν ὅπερ ἄν ὁσπέρ τι βήμα εἰς σφαγὴν καθιερώθη ὁνόμαστο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δημάρχους τὸ πλῆθος σακροσάγκτους ὁνόμασαν, οἷον τείχη ἅγια εἰς φρούραν τῶν σφᾶς ἐπικαλουμένων τυχάνωντας. σάκρα γὰρ παρὰ Ρωμαίοις τὰ τείχη καὶ σάγκτα τὰ ἅγια. ἐδρῶν ὁμ πολλὰ ἀτοπα- καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπάτους ἐβαλλον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίον καὶ ἑθανάτου τινὰς μηδὲ λόγῳ τυχάνωντας. καὶ οὔδεις αὐτοῖς ἐναντιώθηναι ἐτόλμα: εἰ δὲ μῆ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱερὸς ἐγένετο. εἰ μέντοι τινὲς μὴ παρὰ πάντων τῶν δημάρχων κατεδικάζοντο, τοὺς μὴ ὀμογνωμονοῦντας ἐπεκαλούντο εἰς ἄρωγὴν, καὶ οὕτως εἰς δίκην καθίσταντο ἡ παρὰ αὐτοῖς ἑκείνοις ἡ παρὰ τισι δικασταῖς ἢ καὶ παρὰ τὸ πλῆθει, καὶ τῆς ἰκώσης ἐγένετο. εἰς δέκα δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου οἱ δήμαρχοι κατέστησαν ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἰσχύος κατεβέβλητο. φύσει γὰρ ὁσπέρ, φθόνοι δὲ μᾶλλον, ἀλλήλοις οἱ συνάρχοντες διαφέρονται. καὶ χαλεπῶν πολλοῦς ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα ὅντας συμφρονήσατι. ἀμα δὲ

1 συμφρονήσαι Μαι, συμφρονήσαι Μα.
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.

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αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχὺς διεσπάτο καὶ κατετέμνετο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁφέλος ὅν ἕγινον ἦν, εἰ καὶ εἰς σφῶν ἀντεἰπεν τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐπὶ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ ἄλλο διαζομένοις τινὰς ἐναντιοῦσθαι λαμβάνειν, ἵσχυρότερος οὐ κωλύων τι πραξθῆναι τῶν σπουδαζόντων αὐτὸ ἐγίνετο.—Μ. 30 (p. 146).

Zonaras 7, 15.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διαστῶν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν μηχα-νώμενοι, ὅπως ἁσθενέτεροι δισγνωμονοῦντες ὡσιν, ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοίσδε, οἱ δὲ τοῖσδε προσετίθεντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς σφῶν ἀντεἰπε, τὰς τῶν ἄλλων διαγνώσεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέφαινε. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐκ εἰσήγετο εἰς τὸ θουλευ-τήριον, καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τὰ ποιούμενα παρετήρουν, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ αὐτοῖς ἤρεσκε, παρα-χρῆμα ἀνθίσταντο· εἰτα καὶ εἰσεκαλούντο ἑνός. εἰσπεπείτα μέντοι καὶ μετέλαβον τῆς θουλείας οἱ δημαρχήσαντες, καὶ τέλος κὰκ τῶν θουλευτῶν τινῶς ἠξίωσαν δημαρχεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις εὐπατρίδης ἐτύγχανεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶδέχετο τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὁ ὁμιλός. κατὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἑλόμενοι τοὺς δημάρχους, καὶ πρὸς τοσαύτην προαγα-γόντες ἴσχὺν, ἐδεδοκίσεν μὴ τὶς αὐτῶν τῇ ἰσχυὶ ἐς τούναντίον κατ' αὐτῶν χρηστηταί· εἰ δέ τις τὸ τοῦ γένους ἄξιωμα ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους μετέστη νόμισιν, ἀσμένως αὐτῶν

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

especially 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.

especially in a position of influence, to attain harmony. No sooner did others, planning to shatter their influence, go to intrigue, 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
προσεδέχοντο. καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν σφόδρα εὐπατριδῶν ἀπείπαντο τὴν εὐγένειαν ἔρωτι τοῦ μέγα δυνηθήναι, καὶ ἐδημάρχησαν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὐν ἡ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων δύναστεία συνέστη ὡς καὶ ἀγορανόμους δύο προσείλοντο, οἶον υπηρέτας σφίσῳ ἐσομένους πρὸς γράμματα. πάντα γὰρ τά τε παρὰ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γραφόμενα λαμβάνοντες, ὡστε μηδὲν σφᾶς τῶν πραττομένων λανθάνειν, ἐφύλασσον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠροῦντο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικαίῳ, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀλλ' ἄττα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁνίων ἀγορᾶν ἑπτεράπησαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τοῖς ἐλληνίζονσιν ὀνομασθῆσαν.
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.
Δίον ε' βιβλίω "τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν."
—Bekk. Aeneid. p. 175, 19.

Zonaras 7, 16.

16. Ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις ἡ πρώτη οὖτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέσαυσεν ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιοίκων σφίσι διὰ τὴν στάσιν πολλῶν κατ' αὐτῶν κινηθέντων, μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν ὁμονοησαυτες ἐρρωμένως τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων πολέμους διήνεγκαν καὶ πάντας ἐνίκησαν. ὅτε καὶ Κοριόλανος πολιορκοῦντες ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μικροῦ ἐκινδύνευεν, εἰ μὴ Γναῖος Μάρκιος εὐπατρίδης ἄνηρ ἧριστευσε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπώσατο· διὰ δὲ τούτο ἄλλως τε ἐδοξάσθη καὶ Κοριόλανος ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους οὐ ἐτρέψατο ἐπεκλήθη.

Τzetzes, Chil. 6, 532-42.

Ῥωμαῖοι Κοριόλανον τὴν πόλιν πολεμοῦντες, ὅσ πρὸς φυγῇ ἐτράπησαν οἱ πάντες ἀνὰ κράτος, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν πολέμιον πόλιν στραφεῖς καὶ μόνος ἣνεφυγίην ἐφευρὼν ἐνέφρησεν ἐκείνην, λαμπρῶς δ' ἀρθείσης τῆς φλογὸς ἐπαναβάς τῶν ἵππων ῥυμη πόλλῃ κατόπισθεν ἐμπηκοτει τῶν βαρβάρων, οὗ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διωγμὸν τὸν ἀστρεπτὸν ἐποίουν. οὕτε στραφεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλέγον ἰδόντες πόλιν καὶ πορθηθῆναι δοξάτε ἐφευγον ἄλλαχόσε. αὐτὸς Ῥωμαῖοις σώσας δὲ πορθήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν ἤπειρ

1 φυγήν Kiesling, αὐτὴν Mss.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK V

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

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, 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.

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Οὔ γὰρ ἐστὶ βάδιον οὔτε ἐν πᾶσι τινα ἱσχύειν οὔτε ἐν ἑκατέροις ἀμα τοῖς τε πολεμικοῖς καὶ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἄρετὴν ἐχειν· οἳ τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασιν ἱσχυρίζομεν ἀνοηταίνουσιν ὡς πλῆθει, καὶ τὰ ἄθροώς εὐτυχήσαντε· οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀνθεὶ. δὴ οὖν ταῦτ' ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ποθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄρθεῖς, ἐπειτ' πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἐξέπεσεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ὀὐόλσκων τῇ πατρίδι δουλώσας τὴν οἰκείαν αὖ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου κατέστησεν.—Μ. 31 (p. 146).

"Οτι δ' αὐτὸς στρατηγήσαι ἄθλησας καὶ μὴ τελεσθεὶς ἱγανάκτησε τὸ ὁμίλῳ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοις δημάρχοις πολὺ δυναμένοις βαρύνεσθαι,

Zonaras 7, 16.

καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἠρθη, οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὑστερον στρατηγήσαι σπεύδων καὶ μὴ τυχών, ἱγανάκτησε κατὰ τὸν ὁμίλον καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἐβαρύνετο.

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 542-50.

Κοριόλανον εἰρήκαμεν καλείσθαι, | πρὸς τὸ καλείσθαι πρότερον Μάρκος καὶ Γιαϊός ἀμα | ἔσχε καὶ Κοριόλανος ἐκ τοῦ τρωταῖον κλῆσιν. | οἷα δ' ὁ φθόνος εἰσέβην ποιεῖν τοῖς εὐτυχεῖσιν, | μετὰ μικρὸν ἐν λογισμοῖς τὸν ἀνδρὰ ξημοῦσιν. | ὑπερπαθήσας δ' ὁ ἄνηρ θυμὸν δικαιοτάτῳ | ἄφεις γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτὸν, μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα | πρὸς Κοριόλον ἐρχεται, καὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀνδρὰ. | καὶ δὴ καὶ παρετάζαντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

1 ἱσχυρίζομενοι Bk., ἱγχειρίζομενοι Ms.
2 τὰ ἄθροώς εὐτυχήσαντε· Bk. (and so perhaps Ms.), τὸ ἄθροώς εὐτυχήσαντα Mai.
3 αὖ Bk., αὖ Ms.
4 στρατηγήσαι Mai (from Zon.), στρατηγῆς 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 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 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.
παρρησία πλείονι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὁμοίους οἱ ἐκ τῶν κατειργασμένων ἔχοντο.

4 καὶ λιμῷ γενομένου ἵσχυρῷ καὶ Νάρβης πόλεως ἀποκιζέσθαι βουλομένης, τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἥτισατο, ὡς καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τῆς τροφῆς στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐσ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπίτηδες ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ προὔπτω ἐκδιδόμενοι δὲν γὰρ ἐς ὑποψίαν τινὲς ἀλλήλων ἔλθωσιν πάντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ σφῶν γυνώμενα ἀλλοίως κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικὸν λαμβάνοντο, καὶ ὁ Κοριολάνος ἄλλως τε ἐν ὁλυγορίᾳ αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ σῖτου πολλαχόθεν κομισθέντος, καὶ τοῦ γε πλεῖστον προῖκα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βασιλέων πεμφθέντος, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε σφισὶ διαλαχεῖν αὐτὸν ὁσπέρ ἤτοι. οἱ οὐν δήμαρχοι, οὐσπέρ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καταλύσαι ἐγλύχετο, τυραννίδος αὐτοῦ ὕπὸ τὸ πλῆθος ἀγαγοντες ἐξῆλασαν, καὶ τοὺ πάντων τῶν βουλευτῶν βοώντων καὶ ἰεινοῦν ποιουμένοιν ὅτι καὶ περὶ σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν ἐτόλμωσιν ἐκπέσων οὐν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐόλοσκους

Zonaras 7, 16.

οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι, οὐσ καταλύσαι ἐγλύχετο, αἰτίας τινὰς καὶ αὐτοῦ συμφορήσαντες τυραννίδος αὐτῶν προσήψαν αἰτίαμα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξῆλασαν. ἐκπέσων οὖν τοῖς Οὐόλοσκοις εὐθὺς προσεχώρησεν.

1 ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος Κρῆσσα, τοῦ πλῆθους Μα.
2 τῶν βουλευτῶν supplied by Polak.

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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.
καίπερ ἐχθρίστους ὄντας ὀργὴ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦς ἐπεπείραντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἀντίπαλα ἢ καὶ μείζω δι’ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὅν ἐπαθὼν δράσειν ἀντελπίσαντας. ὑφ’ ὀν γὰρ ἂν τις σφόδρα κακοπαθῆ, πρὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ εὐ πείσεσθαι, βουλομένων γε καὶ δυναμένων εὖ ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα πιστεύει.—Μ. 32 (p. 147).

Zonaras 7, 16.

"Ων οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἔχαιρον τε αὐτῷ καὶ αὕτης πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀττίου Τουλλίου πρὸς τούτον ἐρεθίζοντο ἀπαντας· ὁ δὲ ὁμιλος ἀπρόθυμος ἔνν. ὡς ὅν οὔτε παρανόντες οὔτ’ ἐκφοβοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δυνατοὶ κινήσαι πρὸς ὅπλων ἁρσίν ἡδύναντο, τοιῶντες τὸ ἐμμηχανήσαντο. ἰπποδρομίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅγγοντων, ἄλλοι τε τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς καὶ Ὀυλούσκοι πλήθει πολλῷ κατὰ θέαν συνηλθοσαν. ὁ δὲ Τουλλίος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς ἐπεισεν, ὡς εὐνοῶν δῆθεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Ὀυλούσκους φυλάσσεσθαι, παρεσκευασμένους ἐπιθέσαι σφίσιν ἀνελπίστως ἐν τῇ ἰπποδρομίᾳ. οἱ δὲ στρατηгоι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ μήνυμα κοινωσάμενοι, τοὺς Ὀυλούσκους αὐτίκα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγώνος ἀπαντας ἡξεκήρυξαν. οἱ δὲ δυσανασχετήςαντες ὅτι μόνοι ἐκ πάντων ἡξελήφαντο, ἐτοιμοὶ πρὸς μάχην ἐγένοντο. καὶ προστησάμενοι τὸν Κοριο-"
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
Ζωνάρας 7, 16.

λάνον τε καὶ τὸν Τούκλιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τοὺς Δατίνους προσειλήφθετος, πληθεὶς ἠχώρησαν πλείον. ὃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὀπλα μὲν οὐκ ἔρρωσθεν, ἐν αἰτίαις δὲ ἀλλήλους πεποίητο, οἱ μὲν τοῦ ὄμιλου τοὺς ἐυπατρίδας ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Κοριολάνος τυχάνων μετὰ τῶν ἐγκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα στρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ τὸν ὄμιλον ὅτι μὴ ἐνδίκως αὐτῶν ἐξελάσαντες πολέμιον πεποίηκασιν. οὖτω δὲ στασιάζοντες ἐς μέγα τι κακὸν ἐνέπεσον ἂν, εἰ μὴ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς ἐπεκουρῆσαν. ὅς γὰρ ἡ γερουσία κάθοδον τῷ Κοριολάνῳ ἔσχηφατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πρέσβει τροχεῖον ἔσταλμα, ἔκεινος καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Οὐλούσικος ἀποδοθῆκαί ἀπῆτε ἦς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν πολέμιοις ἐστήρημα, τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῆς χώρας οὐ μεθίετο. πάλιν οὖν ἔτερα πρεσβεία.

'Ὁ δὲ περιθύμως ἐφερεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύοντος οὐδ' οὕτω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίστανται. καὶ τούτων δὲ ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς οὐτ' ἔτι κεκινημένῳ οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων οἱ ἀνδρεῖς τοῦ στασιάζειν ἐξίσταντο. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἦ τε γαμεθὴ

1 Οὐλούσια Βκ., οὐλούσια Μσ. 2 Οὐτεουρία Βκ., βετουρία Μσ. 3 οθ'—οθ' Δινδ., οὐθ'—οὐθ' Μσα.
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 Volsci 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,
παραλαβοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἠλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἀγούσαι, καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλα\(^1\) μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ καταλύσασθαι.

8 προσήκατο γὰρ αὐτὰς εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παροῦσας ἦσθε, καὶ λόγου σφίσι μετέδωκεν, ἐπράξθη τε ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἔκλαυν, ἡ δὲ δὴ Οὐντουρία οὔτε "τι θαυμάζεις," ἐφη, "τέκνον; τί δὲ ἐκτελήσαι; οὐκ ἡπτομολήκαμεν, ἄλλ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πατρὶς ἐπεμψὲ σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναίκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα, ὅστ' εἰ καὶ

9 νῦν ἐτὶ ὀργίζῃ, πρῶτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. τί δακρύεις; τί δ' ἀποστρέφῃ; ἡ ἀγνοεῖς ὅπως τὰς τῇ τὸλει ἡμεῖς τοι ἁρτὶ ὀδυρόμεναι ἐπανσάμεθα, ἵνα σε ἰδομεν; καταλλάγησθι τε ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ μηκέτι

Zonaras 7, 16.

τοῦ Κοριολάνου Οὐνολουμία καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Οὐντουρίνα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας παραλαβοῦσαι, ἠλθον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμεναι. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἐδάκρυν, ἡ δὲ Οὐντουρίνα οὔτε "οὐκ ἡπτομολήκαμεν," ἐφη, "τέκνον, ἄλλ' ἡ πατρὶς ἡμᾶς ἐπεμψὲ σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ γυναίκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα. καὶ εἰ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ ὀργίζῃ, πρῶτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. καταλ-

\(^1\) ἄλλα supplied by Gros.  \(^2\) Οὐντουρία Bk., Βετουρία Ms.

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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 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
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όργηζον τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ιεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδὲ ἐπεσπέσης ἐσ' τὸ ἀστυ θυμῷ πολεμίῳ, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκηθησθα τὴν πατρίδα ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἀνετράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολάνως ἐγένου. πείσθητι μοι, παιδίου, μηδὲ με ἀπρακτὸν ἀποπέμψῃς, ἢν μή καὶ νεκράν με ὑπ' αὐτοχειρίας ἵδης." ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα καταρρηξαμένη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστρῶς ἀψαμένη, "ἵδοι," ἔφη, "τέκνον, αὕτη σε ἐτεκεν, οὗτοι σε ἐξέθρεψαν." εἰποὺσης δὲ αὐτῆς ταῦτα καὶ ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ τε παιδία καὶ αἱ ἀλλαὶ γυναῖκες

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λάγηθι καὶ μηκέτι ὀργίζον τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ιεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήθησθα τὴν πατρίδα, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἐτράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολάνως ἐγένου. μηδὲ με ἀπρακτὸν ἀποπέμψῃς, ἢν μή καὶ νεκράν με αὐτοχειρία θεάσῃ," ἐπὶ τούτως ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστρῶς ἀψαμένη, " αὕτη σε ἐτεκεν," ἔφη, "τέκνον, οὗτοι σε ἐξέθρεψαν." ἢ μὲν εἰπε ταῦτα, ἡ γαμετὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ αἱ ἀλλαὶ γυναῖκες συνεθρήσκαν,

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 551-555.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ μετὰ συρραγῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου ἁρμοδόσας κατεσχύσαντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χιτῶνας γυμναὶ τε περιέστησαν ἡ σύξυγος καὶ μῆτηρ, ἢ Βετούρνια τε αὐτῇ καὶ Βολούμνια κλήσει, 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
συνεθρήμησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πένθος ἐμ-
βαλεῖν. μόλις τε ποτε ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπτυξε τὴν
μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἁμα αὐτὴν, “ιδοὺ,” ἡ ἐφή,
“μήτερ, πείθομαι σοι' σὺ γὰρ με νικᾶς, καὶ σοι
δὴ ταύτην τὴν χάριν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχέτω-
σαν’ ἐγὼ γὰρ οὸδ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω, ὦτινες
τηλικαύτα ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐνεργητήθεντες τοιαῦτα με
ἐδρασάν. οὐκούν οὐδ’ ἀφίξομαι ποτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν;
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ἐπειδὴ
tούτο ἥθελησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκποδῶν ύμῖν
ἀπαλλαγήσομαι.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπανέστη τῷ τε
γὰρ δέει τῷ τοῦ ὀμίλου καὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τῶν
ὀμοίων, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεστρά-
τευσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον διδομένην οἱ ἐδέξατο,

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ὁστε κάκεινον εἰς πένθος κινήσαι. μόλις δ’
ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπταξε τὴν μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἁμα,
“ιδε,” ἐφή, “μήτερ, πείθομαι σοι’ σὺ γὰρ με
νικᾶς. καὶ σοι ταύτην τὴν χάριν πάντες ἐχέ-
tωσαν’ ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδέ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω οἱ
τηλικαύτα παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἐνεργητήθεντες τοιαῦτα μοι
ἀνταπέδωκαν, οὐδ’ ἀφίξομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν’ ἀλλὰ
σὺ μὲν ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ὅτι τοῦτο
ἦθελησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπαλλαγήσομαι.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν
ἀπανέστη καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον κατεδέξατο,

Tzetzes, Chil. 6, 555–58.
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

"Οτι Κάσσιος τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνεργετήσας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνουν ἐθανατώθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτων διαδεισχθῆναι ὅτι πιστῶν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σφίσι προσκειμένους οὐχ ἦττον τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικοῦντων ἀπολλύσαι πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀεὶ παρὸν μεγάλους τοὺς αἴτιος τῶν ὀφελημάτων ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ σφας ἐκκαρπῶσωσναι, οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοὺς οἰκεωτέρους τῶν ἔχθιστων νομίζουσι. τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον καὶ περ χαριζόμενον σφίσιν ὄμως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐσεμνύνετο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἔκδηλον γε ἐποίησαν ὁτι ξηλοτυπηθεὶς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικήσας 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 προσκυνησαν Ῥωμαίους ἀπήτουν διανεμηθῆναι τῷ πλήθειν ὃθεν πρὸς ἄλληλων τε καὶ πρὸς τῶν Τζέτζες, Chil. 6, 559–60.

αὐτὸς τοὺς Κοριόλους δὲ ἀφεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρὸς ἄλλην γην ἀπέδραμε τῇ λύπῃ θεβαλημένος.

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.
Οι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἂν γιγνόμενοι ἐπειδὴ μὴ δένα ἄλλον τρόπον κατέχειν σφᾶς ἑδύναντο, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἐξεπέτηθες ἐκίνουν, ὡς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἁγχωλίαν ἄγοντες μὴ δέν περὶ τῆς γῆς πολυπραγμονῶσιν.—Μ. 65 (p. 150).

3 Οὔτω γοῦν ὑφ’ ἐκατέρου παροξύνθησαν ὡστε καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔνορκον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑπο- σχέσθαι πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτίκα ὀρμῆν κύριοι καὶ τῆς τύχης εἰναι ἐνόμισαν.—Μ. 36 (p. 150).


Zonaras 7, 17.

πολέμιον πολλὰ ἐκακώθησαν. οἱ γὰρ δυνατοὶ μὴ ἄλλως κατέχειν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενοι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων εξεπέτηθες ἐκίνουν, ἵπταν αὐτοῖς ἂσχολοῦν μὴ δέν περὶ τῆς γῆς πολυπραγμονῶσι. χρόνῳ δὲ ποτε ὑποτοπηθάντες τινες τὸ πραττόμενον, οὐκ εἰσὶν καὶ ἄμφω τούς ὑπάτους ἢ στρατηγοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἴδελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἔτερον ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἰρεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ τούτῳ κατειργάσαντο, προεῖλοντο Σπούριον Φούριον, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου στρατευσάμενοι πάντα ἐφ’ ὅσα ὁρμήσαν προθύμως κατέπραξαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ συνάρχοντι αὐτοῦ Φαβίῳ Καίσωνι συνεξελθόντες οὐ μονον οὐκ ἐρρώσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπε- δου ἐκλιπόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠλθον καὶ ἐδροῦσον, ἔως ὅτι Τυρσηνι τούτο μαθόντες ἐπεχειρήσαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὸτε μεντοί οὐ πρότερον ἐξηλθον τῆς 152

1 Φούριον Wolf, φρούριον 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
"Ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπὶ τῇ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ ὅμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις φρονοῦντες ὡς τάχιστα αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον, ὅταν γὰρ τινὲς ἐς πολλὰς ἀμα καὶ δυσχερεῖς πράξεις ἐμπέσωσιν, οὕτε τι βουλευμα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄθροιν τῶν κυνδύνων ἐξευρεῖν δύνανται, καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὰ πάνα ῥάδια ἀπογυγνώσκουσι, κάκ τούτον ταῖς τε γνώμαις παρὰ τὸ εἰκός καὶ ταῖς δόξαις ἀναπληγιοῦσαι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐκόντες ὡς καὶ μάτην πονησοῦτες προϊέναι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτρέφοντες σφας τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου παράλογοις ἀναμένουσι πάνθ' ὡς ἐν ἡ συντυχία ἐνέγγυ. —Μ. 38 (p. 151).

Zonaras 7, 17.

πόλεως πρὶν τῶν δημάρχου τινὰς συμφρονησαί τοῖς δυνατοῖς. ἦγοονεις τὸ δὲ προθύμωσι, καὶ πολέμους μὲν τῶν πολεμιῶν διέφθειραν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ὁ εἰς τῶν ὑπάτων ο Μάλιως. ὁ δὲ ὀμιλος στρατηγὸν τοῦ τριτοῦ τῶν Μάλιων εἶλετο.

Καὶ πόλεμος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἑπενήνεκτο πρὸς τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀθυμοῦσι δὲ Ρωμαίοις καὶ ἀποροῦσι πῶς τοῖς ἐχθρῶς ἀντικαταστῶσιν, οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπεκούρησαν. ἦ γὰρ οὗτς καὶ τριακόσιοι, ὡς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον αὐτοὺς καὶ μήτε τι βουλευομένους λυπηλές καὶ ἀπογυγνώσκοντας ἀπαντα, τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς ὑπεδέξαντο πόλεμον αὐτοῦ δὲ ἕαυτῶν προθυμηθέντες μακέσασθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. καὶ τὸ χωρίον κατα-

1 καὶ after εἰκὸς 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.

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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.
"Οτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ὄντες ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν ἀνηρέθησαν καὶ γὰρ πως τὸ δι᾽ ἀνδρείας πίστιν ὁγκούμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θράσους πολλάκις φθείρεται, τὸ τε δὲ εὐτυχίαν αὐχοῦν ἐς τούναντίον ἐκφρονήσαν ἐκπίπτει.—Μ. 39 (p. 151).

Ὀδι οἱ Ρωμαίοι μειζόνοι ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπογενομένων καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὴ ἐπενθήσαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἅλλος τε καὶ ἐν εὐπατρίδαις οὐ σμικρός, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τὸ τε φρόνημα αὐτῶν πᾶσαν σφων ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἵσχυν ἐνομίζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἕ διεθάρησαν ἐς τὰς μιαρὰς ἐνέγραψαν, καὶ τὰς πῦλας δι᾽ ὧν ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐν ἀτιμία ἐποιήσαντο, ὡστε μηδένα δὲ αὐτῶν ἁρχοῦντα διενέα. καὶ Τίτον Μενηρίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο) κατηγορηθέντος ὑστερον ἐν τῷ

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λαβόντες ἐπίκαιρον ἐνετειχίσαντο, οθεν ὁρμόμενοι πάντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγον, τῶν Τυρσηνῶν μηδὲ ἐς χείρας αὐτοὺς ἰέναι βαρροῦντων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ποτὲ συμμίξειαν, ἐδαπτουμένων παρὰ πολύ. προσλαβόμενοι δὲ καὶ συμμάχους οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἐν ὑλόδει χωρίω ἐλόχησαν, καὶ ἀφυλάκτους ἐπελθόντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Φαβίους ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα νικάν, περιστοίχισαν καὶ πάντας ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ παντελῶς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ εἰς τις οἵκοι

1 ἀνδρείας 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
Ζωνάρας 7, 17.

κατελείφθη διὰ νεότητα, ἀφ’ ούπερ αὐθις εἰσ-έπειτα ἠμβησαν.

Τῶν δὲ Φαβίων οὕτω φθαρέντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μᾶλα παρὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἐκακώθησαν. εἶτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπραξαν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποσχέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. τοὺς τε γὰρ ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν ἐπαίων καὶ 

τάς ῥάξδους κατέκλων, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς στρατη-

γους ὑπ’ εὐθύνην ἤγου ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει καὶ 

μείζον καὶ ἑλάττων. Ἀππιον οὖν Κλαύδιον καὶ 

παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχήν ἐσ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλείν 

ἐβουλεύσαντο, ὅτι τε αὐτοῖς ἡμαντίοτα εἰς ἀπαντά 

και ὅτι τοὺς συστρατευσάμενος αὐτῶ ἐδεκάτευ-

σεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Όὐκολούσκοις ἐν μάχη ἐνέδοσαν. 

ἡ δεκάτευσις δὲ τοιοῦδε τῇ ἦν. ὅτε τι οἱ στρατιώ-

ται μέγα ἡμάρτησαν, ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς δεκάδας 

αὐτοὺς ἀριθμῶν, ἐνα λαβὼν ἐξ ἐκάστης δεκάδος 

τῶν κλήρων λαχώντας θανάτῳ ἐκόλαζεν. ἀπελθόντα 

δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Κλαύδιον εὐθὺς οἱ τοῦ πλῆθος 

εἰς ἀγώνα κατέστησαν, καὶ οὐ κατεψηφίσαντο μὲν,
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. . . ."¹

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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 Boisseevain 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, 49, 4).
"Οτι οι ευπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν ού πάνη πλὴν βραχέων ἐπιθειάζοντές τινα ἀντέπραττον, λάθρα δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν βρασυτάτων ἐφόνευον. ἐννέα γάρ ποτε δήμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν ἀλλ' οὕτε τούτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν, πολλῷ τε πλείονα ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ μετὰ ταύτα ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλονεικίας ἢ δέος ἐκ τῆς ἑκείνων συμφορᾶς λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ ἡμβλύνοντο, ἀλλὰ

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τὴν ψήφον δὲ ὑπερθέμενοι ἐς ἀνάγκην αὐτὸν αὐτοχειρίας κατέστησαν. καὶ τινὲς δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀλλὰ τε κατὰ τῶν εὐπατρίδων συνέγραψαν καὶ τὸ ἥξινα τῷ πλῆθει καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ συνιέναι καὶ ἀνεν ἑκείνων βουλεῦεσθαι καὶ χρηματίζεων πάνθ’ ὡς ἀν ἔθελήση. κἀν τις ἐπ’ αἰτία τινὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν προστιμήθη, ζ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τούτως τῶν δήμων δικάζειν ἔταξαν. καὶ τῶν ἀγορανόμους δὲ καὶ τῶν δημάρχους ἐπηύξησαν, ἵνα πλείστους τοὺς αὐτῶν προϊσταμένους ἐχωσι.

Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερῶς μὲν ού πάνη ἀντέπραττον πλὴν βραχέων, λάθρα δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν βρασυτάτων ἐφόνευον. ἀλλ’ οὕτε τούτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχεν οὖθ’ ὅτι ποτὲ ἐννέα δήμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν. οὐ μόνον γάρ οἱ μετὰ ταύτα δημαρχοῦντες οὐκ ἡμβλύνοντο,

1 πολλῷ τε Βς., πόλλα Ms.
2 προστιμήθη Dind., προστιμωθῆ CΔ, προστιμωρηθῆ B.
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

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
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καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔθρασύνοντο:

2 τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀπολλυμένους ἦς δικαίωμα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τιμωρίας προεβάλλοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλην ἴδιον ἔκ τοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀκινδύνως περιεσθαί νομίζειν προσεπίθεντο. ὡστε καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τινας, ἐπειδή μηδὲν ἄλλως ἦν τούτων, ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους νομίσματα μεταστήναι τὴν γὰρ ταπεινότητα αὐτοῦ πολὺ κρείττων ὑπὸ τὰς τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἱσχύος ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τῶν σφετέρων καλλωπισμάτων ἀσθενείας ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλείον τε ἐτί, καίπερ κολυθέν τὸ τινα δίς τὴν ἀρχῆν λαμβάνειν, συχνοὶ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐδημάρχουν.

—Μ. 40 (p. 152).

3 Ὡτε ἐς τούτο ὑπ’ ἀυτῶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προῆχθη ὁ γὰρ τοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἕγοντο ποιεῖν, τὸ πολέμου τινὰς ἀεὶ παρασκευάζειν σφίσιν, ὅπως υπὸ γε τῶν ἔξωθεν κινδύνων σω- φρονεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, τοῦτο θρασύτερος αὐτοῦς ἀπειργάζετο: οὔτε γὰρ στρατεύειν, εἰ μὴ λάβοιεν

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ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἔθρασύνοντο. εἰς τούτο ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν προῆχθη ὁ ὅμιλος. οὔτε γὰρ στρατεύειν ἐπείθουτο πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὅν

1 κρείττω supplied by Mai. 2 δίς supplied by v. Herw. 3 ὁ added by Krebs.
BOOK V

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

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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
διν ἐκάστοτε ἐπωρέγοντο, βουλῶμενοι, καὶ ἀπροθύμως ὑπὸ τέτε ἐξήλθοιεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἦσθεν ἔπραττον. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι, τῇ ἐκείνῳ διχοστασίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῇ ἐαυτῶν δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες, ἐνεωτέριζον.—Μ. 41 (p. 152).

23 "Οτε οἱ Αἰκονοί τὸ τε Τούσκουλον λαβόντες καὶ Μάρκον Μινούκιον νικήσαντες εἰς φρονήματι ἐγένοτο, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὗ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χωρίου καταλήψει αἰτιώμενοι σφας ἐπεμψαν, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐπίκλημα μηδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι, δρῦν δὲ τινα διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων Κολλίου Γράκχου δεῖξαντες, πρὸς ἐκεῖνην, εἰ τε βούλοιτο, λέγειν αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι.

—U* 1 (p. 373).

2 "Οτε πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν Μινούκιον ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ λοχμόδει τόπῳ μετὰ τινῶν ἀπειρασθεῖσαι.

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ἀπείροντο ἐτυχον, καὶ εἰ ποτε δ᾽ ἐξήλθον, ἀπροθύμως ἐμαχοντο, εἰ μὴ πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐβοῦλοντο ἤμυσαν. καὶ τεῦθεν πολλὸι τῶν προσοικῶν αὐτῶν τῇ ἐκείνῳ διχοστασίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῇ ἐαυτῶν θαρροῦντες ἵσχυι ἐνεωτέρισαν.

"Ων ἦσαν καὶ Αἰκονοί, οἱ Μάρκον Μινούκιον στρατηγοῦντα τόπε νικήσαντες ἐφρονηματίσθησαν, μαθόντες δὲ τὸν Μινούκιον ἤτημένον οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δικτάτορα Λούκιον Κυντιον εἶλοντο,

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

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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 Tuseulum 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

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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
λήφθαι, δικτάτορα ἐπ' αὐτοῦς Δούκιον Κολύτιον, καὶ πενήτα ὄντα, τὸ τε γῆδιον, ὁ μόνον αὐτὸ ὕπήρχεῖν, αὐτοχειρία τότε γεωργοῦντα, προεχειρισαντον ἐς τε γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ὄμοιος τοῖς πρῶτοι ἄρετὴν ἤν καὶ σωφροσύνη διέπρεπεν, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιέεις, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ Κυκνᾶτος ἐπωνυμάσθη.—V. 10 (p. 578).

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πενήτα μὲν ἄνδρα καὶ γεωργία συνεξήκοτα, ἐς ἄρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην διαπρεπή, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιέετα, ὅθεν καὶ Κυκνᾶτος ὠνόμαστο. οὕτος οὖν δικτάτωρ προχειρισθεῖς, καὶ αὐθημερόν ἐκστρατεύσας, καὶ τάχει σὺν ἀσφαλείᾳ χρησάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Λίκουοις προσβαλὼν μετὰ τοῦ Μινουκίου, πλείστους μὲν διέφθειρε, τοὺς δ' ἀλλοὺς ἐξώγρησεν' οὓς ὅποι ξυγὸν διαγαγόν ἄφηκεν. ἡ δὲ πράξες ἡ τοῦ ξυγοῦ τοιάδε τις ἤν. σταυροὺς δύο, ὁρθὰ δηλαδὴ ξύλα διέχοντα ἀλλήλων, εἰς τὴν γῆν κατεπήγμουν, καὶ αὐτοὶς ἐπετίθουν ἐγκαρσίον ἐτερον, καὶ διὰ μέσου τούτων τοὺς ἄλοντος διήγγον γυμνούς· δ' τοὺς μὲν δρόσης λαμπρότητα, πολλὴν δ' ἀτμίαν τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἐφερεν, ὡστε τίνας τοῦ τοιούτον τι παθεῖν προαιρεῖσθαι θανεῖν. καὶ πόλειν δ' αὐτῶν Κορούιναν καλουμένην ἐλοὺν ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸν Μινουκίον διὰ τὴν ἤτταν τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν.

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18. Οἱ μέν τοι Ῥωμαίοι οἰκεῖοι ἐσχήκασι πόλεμον, δὲ ἐκ δούλων συνέστη καὶ φυγάδων τινῶν, οἱ

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1 Δούκιον Κολύτιον VAl., λούκοκοςτον 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.

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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.

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18. The Romans, however, now had a war on their hands at home, 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.
νυκτὸς ἐπεξελθόντες ἐξαιπιναίως τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐκράτησαν. ὁ δ' ὀμιλὸς καὶ τὸτε οὐ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο πρῶς τι πλέον σχεῦ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν. ἐπεξελθόντες δὲ γε τοῖς στασιάσασιν ἐκράτησαν μὲν αὐτῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον.

Διὰ ταῦτα τοιώνοι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ διὰ τινα σημεία εὑλαβηθέντες, τῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλοις ἀπῆλλαγμένων ἐγκλημάτων, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσωτέραν ποιήσασθαι ἐφηφίσαντο, καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα διὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἔκεινος ἔθη πεπόμφασι. καὶ κομισθέντων αὐτῶν τὰς τὰς ἄρχας καὶ τὰς τῶν δημάρχων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ἄνδρας ὅκτω ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ἀνθείλουν, καὶ 'Ἀππιον Κλαύδιον Τίτον τε Γενούκιον ἀπέδειξαν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκεινον στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας. καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς συγγράψας ἐπέτρεψαν, μηδὲμίαν τε δίκην ἐφεσίμον ὅπ’ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι προσεψηφίσαντο· ὁ πρώην οὐδεὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πλὴν τῶν δικτάτωρων ἐδέστο. ἤρξαν τε οὕτως ἔφ’ ἕμεραν ἕκαστος, ἐναλλὰς τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἤγεμονιας λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νόμους συγγράψαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξ- έθηκαν· οἱ ἐπεὶ πᾶσιν ἤρεσαν, ἐς τῶν δῆμων εἰσηχθὲσαν, καὶ κυρωθέντες σανίσιν ἐνεγράφησαν δέκα· ὅσα γὰρ φυλακῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἀξία, ἐν σανίδιος ἐθησαυρίζοντο.

'Εκείνοι μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνύσαντες ἀρήκαν τὴν ἄρχην, ἔτεροι δ’ αὕτως αἱρεθέντες δέκα, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας χειροτονηθέντες, ἐξοκειλαν. πάντες γὰρ ἀμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης ἤρχουν,
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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
Τοι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἑταράχθη· οἴ τε γὰρ στρατευόμενοι φιλονεικία τοῦ μηδὲν τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ἔχουσι προχωρῆσαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἑθελονταὶ προϊέντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπολλυμένοις σφῶν ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὺς τῶν δραστηρίων τῶν τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους

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καὶ νεανίσκους ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν βρασυτάτους ἐκλεξάμενοι πολλὰ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐποίουν καὶ βίαια· ὃς δὲ ποτε ἐπὶ ἔξοδῳ τῶν ἔτους ὤλγα ἀττα ἐν δύο σανίσι προσέγραψαν ἐς πάντα δὴ αὐτογνωμονήσαντες. ἀφ' ὅν οὐχ ὀμονοια, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφορὰι μεῖζοι Ῥωμαίοϊς γεννήσεσθαι ἐμελλον.

Ἄι μὲν οὖν λεγόμεναι δώδεκα δέλτοι οὕτως τότε ἐγένοντο· οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἐκεῖνοι οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἐπράξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς διελθόντος ἐτὶ τοίς πράγμασιν ἐνέμειναν, βια τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν Βουλήν ἢ τῶν δήμου ἄθροιζοντες, ἢν μὴ συνελθόντες παύσωσιν αὐτοὺς. Λίκουν δὲ καὶ Σαβίνων πόλεμον αἱρομένων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, τότε τοὺς ἑπιτιθείοις αὐτοῖς παρασκευάσαντες διεπράξαντο σφίς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιτραπτήναι. ἐκ γοῦν τῆς δεκαρχίας αὐτῶν Σερούιος μὲν Ὀππίος καὶ Ἦππιος Κλαύδιος κατὰ χωραν ἐμειναν, οἱ δὲ ὅκτῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐστράτευσαν.

Πάντα μέντοι ἄπλοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τετάρακτο, καὶ τεύθεν στάσις ἀδίκης συνηνέχθη. ἐμβαλόντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν
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

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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 Acqui 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
πραττόντων ἐκ τρόπου δή τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθει-ρου. κακὸ τούτον στάσις οὐ σμικρὰ σφῶν συνηνέχθη.—Μ. 42 (p. 153).

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τῶν Σαβίνων γῆν οἱ στρατιάρχοι Δούκιον τινα Σίκιον, ἄκρου τε τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις τοῦ ὀμίλου καταριθμούμενον, μεθ' ἐτέρων ὡς τι χωρίον καταληψώμενον ἔπεμψαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν συνεκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν ἄνδρα διέφθειραν. λόγον δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γεγονότος ὡς παρὰ πολεμίων τοῦ ἄνδρος σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνηρμένου, οἱ στρατιώται, ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὀρμήσαντες οὐδὲν σῶμα τῶν ἐναντίων εὑρήκασι, συχνοὺς δὲ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, οὕς ὁ Σίκιος ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινεν ἀμυνόμενος. ὡς οὖν κύκλῳ τε αὐτοῦ κειμένου καὶ τετραμμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὑπετόπησαν τὸ γενόμενον καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔδορο-βήσαν πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καὶ διὰ τι τοιούτον.

Δούκιος τὸς Ὀυεργίνιος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὁν καὶ θυγατέρα ἔχον περικαλλὴ Δούκιος Ἰκιλλίῳ τῶν ὀμοίων αὐτῷ ἐκδώσεις ἐμελλε. ταύτης ὁ Κλαύδιος ἔρασθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχών, παρεσκεύασε τινας δου-λαγωνηγήσας αὐτῆς καὶ δικαστῆς ἢν ἔκεινος. ἔλθον οὖν ὁ τῆς κόρης πατήρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδι-καιολογεῖτο. ὡς δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος ταύτης κατεψη-φίσατο καὶ τοῖς δουλαγωνοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἢ κόρη παρεδόθη καὶ οὐδὲς ἐπήμυνεν, ὑπερήφανεν ὁ ταύτης πατήρ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα κοπίδει διαχειρι-σάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς εἶχεν ἐξώρμη-
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.

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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
σεν. οὖς οὐδὲ πρὶν εὖ διακειμένους οὐτως ἐτάραξεν ὡστε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπειχθῆναι. καὶ οἱ ἑτεροι δὲ οἱ ἑπὶ τοὺς Σαβίνους ἑστρατευμένοι, ἐπεὶ τούτ’ ἐμαθον, τὸ τε τάφρενα εξελιπον, καὶ συμμίξαντες τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄνδρας εἰκοσι ἑαυτῶν προετήσαντο, καὶ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐλογίζοντο πράξαι. καὶ τὸ ἀλλο δὲ πλῆθος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει προσεχόρθησεν αὐτοίς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐθορύβη ζην. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος φοβηθεὶς ἐκρύβη. "Οππιος δὲ τὴν τε βούλην ἠθροίσε καὶ πέμψας ἐπίθετο τοῦ πλῆθους τὶ βουλονται. οὐ δὲ τὸν Ὑβαλλερίον Λοὺκιον καὶ τὸν Ὁράτιον Μάρκον, ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτοῖς προσκεκαίμενος, πεμφθῆναι σφίσιν ἐξήτουν, ὡς τι δε’ ἐκείνων ἀποκρινόμενοι. ἐπεί δὲ οὐκ ἐπέμφθησαν, φοβηθέντων τῶν δέκα ἄρχοντων (ἡδη γὰρ πάντες παρῆσαν) μὴ στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν χρήσαντο, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὄργιζοντο. φόβος οὐν τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐνέπεσεν ἐντεῦθεν οὐ μετρίος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἄρχοντων τόν τε Ὑβαλλερίον σφίσι καὶ τὸν Ὁράτιον ἐπέμψαν. κακὸν τούτων συναλλαγῆς γενομένης τοῖς μὲν θρουβήσασιν ἄδεια τῶν πραξικένων ἐδόθη καὶ ἡ δεκαρχία κατελύθη, αἱ δὲ ἑπέτειοι ἄρχαν αἱ τε λοιπαὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶς προνομίως ἐπανήλθον ἐφ’ οἷς πέπεμφαν καὶ πρὸτερον. ἀποδειχθέντες δὲ ἄρχοντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὑβεργίνος τὸν μὲν Ὁππιον τὸν τε Κλαύδιον εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐνέβαλον, οὗ πρὶν εὐθυνθῆναι ἑαυτῶς διεχειρίσαντο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐγράψαντο καὶ ἐλόυτες ἐξῆλασαν.

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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.
19. Οἱ δ᾽ ὑπάτοι (τότε γὰρ λέγεται πρῶτον ὑπάτους αὐτοὺς προσαγορευθῆναι, στρατηγοὺς καλομένους τὸ πρότερον ἦσαν δὲ Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Ὀράτιος) καὶ τότε καὶ μετέπειτα τῷ πλῆθει προσέκειντο καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐκράτυναν. ἐλαττούμενοι οὖν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι ὡστε ῥάδιον συνελέγοντο οὕτε τὰ πράγματα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐποίουν παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους οἰωνοσκοπία ἐν συλλόγοις χρησθαι δεδόκασιν ὃς λόγῳ μὲν τιμῆν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε καὶ ἄξιωμα (μόνοις γὰρ τούτῳ ἐκ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίον τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐπέτεραπτο), ἐργῳ δὲ κόλυμα ἦν, ἵνα μὴ ῥαδίως οἱ δήμαρχοι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁσα βούλουστο πράττοιον, ἀλλὰ προφάσει τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας ἔστιν οὐ ἐμποδίζωντο. ἀχθόμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις οἱ τε εὐπατρίδαι καὶ ἡ βουλή, ως τὰ τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο σφίσι τὰ ἐπινίκια, πόλεμον ἑκατέρου νικήσαντος, οὔθε ἡμέραν ἑκάστῳ ἀπένειμαν, ὡσπερ εἴριστο. τὸ μεντοὶ πλήθος ἐπὶ δύο τε ἡμέρας ἐώρτασε 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.
Οὗτος οὖν ἐσ διαφοράς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλθόντων, οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπήσαν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐτεὶ Μάρκου Γενουκίου καὶ Γαϊου Κουρτίου υπατεύοντων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ἐτρά-ποντο. οἳ τε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ υπατεύειν ἤθελον, ἐπεῖπερ ἐδημάρχοιν οἱ εὐπατρίδαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθιστάμενοι, καὶ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι λίαν τῆς υπότου ἀρχῆς περιείχοντο. καὶ πολλὰ κατ’ ἀλλή-λων καὶ βίαια ἔλεγον τε καὶ ἐπραπτον. ἦν δὲ μὴ πρὸς τι χείρον χωρήσωσι, τὸν μὲν ἐργον τῆς ἱγγεμονίας οἱ δυνατοί αὐτοῖς παρεχώρησαν, τοῦ δὲ ὅνωματος οὐ μετέδωκαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνθ’ υπάτων χιλιάρχους ὁνόμασαν, ἦν μὴ τὸ τῆς κλῆσεως ἐντιμον τῷ σύρφακι ὅμιλῳ καταρρυπαίνοντο. καὶ τρεῖς ἀρ’ ἐκατέρων χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν δύο υπάτων αἱρεῖσθαι συνεδρίζειν. οὐ μέντοι τὸ τῶν υπάτων ἐξέλιπτε τέλεον ὁνομα, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν υπατοί καθίσταντο, ποτὲ δὲ γε χιλιάρχου. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τάτα παραδέδοται γίνεσθαι, καίτοι οὐ μόνον τῶν υπάτων δικτάτορας ἀνεπόντων,
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 Genecius and Gaius Curtius were consuls, they turned against each other. For the popular leaders desired to be consuls, since the patricians were in the habit of becoming tribunes by transference to their order; but the patricians clung tenaciously to the consular office. And they indulged in many words and acts of violence against each other; so, in order to prevent the populace from proceeding to some greater extremity, the nobles yielded to them the substance of authority, though they did not let them share the name; in place of consuls they named them consular tribunes, in order that the honour of the former title might not be sullied by contact with the vulgar throng. It was agreed that three consular tribunes should be chosen from each of the classes in place of the two consuls. However, the name of consul was not lost entirely, but sometimes consuls were appointed and at other times consular tribunes. This, at all events, is the tradition that has come down regarding what took place. Yet not only did the consuls nominate dictators, though

1 The Greek word is the same as that for "military tribunes"; but, in order to avoid ambiguity, the term "consular tribunes" will be adopted in what follows.
καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐλαττουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιάρχων τοῦτο πεποιηκότων ἐνίοτε λέγεται δὲ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν χιλιάρχων, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλάκις νικησάντων, ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψεν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχοι οὕτω τότε ἤρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τιμηταὶ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει Βαρβάτου καὶ Μάρκου Μακρίνου ὑπατευόντων κατεδείχθησαν· καὶ ἤρέθησαν Δούκιος τε Παπείριος καὶ Δούκιος Σεμπρώνιος. κεχειροτονήτω δὲ ὅτι οἱ ὑπάτοι ἀδύνατο ἐπὶ πάντα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαρκεῖν ἦσαν. τὰ γὰρ τοῖς τιμηταῖς ἀπονεμηθέντα προνόμια ἔκεινοι μέχρι τότε ἐποίουν. δύο τε ἦσαν οἱ τιμηταὶ εξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εκ τῶν ἐνπατρίδῶν. ἦρχον δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταία ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἔξαρμήνως: καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν ὑπάτων μείζους, καίτοι μέρος τῆς ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἀρχῆς. ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς τάς τε προσόδους τάς κοινὰς ἐκμισθοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὅδων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμελεῖσαν, καὶ τάς ἀπογραφὰς τῆς ἐκάστου εὐπορίας διατελεῖν, καὶ τῶν βλον τῶν πολιτών ἐπισκοπεῖν τε καὶ ἐξετάζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰς φυλὰς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν γερον- σίαν ἐγγραφεῖν, καθὼς ἐκάστοις προσήκειν ἐνομί- ξετο, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ εὑ βιοῦντας ἀπανταχόθεν ὁμοίως ἀπαλείψειν ὁ μεῖζον πάντων ἦν τῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις καταλειφθέντων. πίστεις δὲ ἐνόρκουσι ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' εξ ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα

1 πάντα B., πάντας Mss.
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
τὸ κοινῷ καὶ σκοποῦσι καὶ πράττοντοι. καὶ τὸν δημὸν ἐπὶ τε νόμων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνήθροιζον, καὶ τῷ τῶν μειζόνων ἄρχον κόσμῳ πλὴν ῥαβδούχων ἔχροντο. τοιαύτη ἢ τῶν τι- μητῶν ύπήρχεν ἄρχη. τῶν μέντοι μὴ ἀπογρα- ψαμένων τὰς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς καὶ εαυτούς, τὰς μὲν οὐσίας οἱ τιμηταί, αὐτοῦς δὲ ἐκείνους οἱ ύπατοι ἐπίπρασκον. χρόνῳ μὲν οὗν τινι ταῦθ’ οὗτος ἐπράξη, ὠστερον δὲ τὸν ἄπαξ τῇ βουλῇ καταλεξθέντα διὰ βίου βουλεύειν ἔδοξε, μηδὲ ἀπαλείφθεθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἀδικήσας καὶ κρυθεῖς ἧττιμωτὸ καὶ κακῶς ξόν ἠλέγχθη τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτοις ἀπῆλειφον καὶ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέρους ἐνέγραφον.

Τῶν δὲ προσκαίρως ἄρχοντων πρεσβεία μὲν ἐδέσθη τοῖς δικτάτορσι, δευτερεῖα δὲ γε τοῖς τι- μηταίς, ἢ δὲ τρίτη τάξις τοῖς ἵππαρχοις νενέμητο· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις ἦσαν καὶ ἀπηλλάγησαν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐκ μειζόνων ἄρχης εἰς ὑποδεεστέραν κατέστη, τὸ τῆς προτέρας ἀξίωμα εἰχεν ἀκέραιον. εἰς δὲ τις, ὅπειρα πρὶν μὲν τῆς γερουσίας ὁνόμαζον (λέγοντο δ’ ἂν καθ’ Ἐλληνας πρὸκριτος), συμπάντων προεῖχε τὸν χρόνον δὲ προεκρίστο (οὐ γὰρ διὰ βίου τις ἐς τούτο προεχειρίζετο), καὶ προέφερε τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ἀξίωματι, οὐ μὴν καὶ δυνάμει ἐχρήτω τινι.

Zonaras 7, 20.

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

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

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.

tous embaLeiv mou ferontas ton lamón, estasiasan. oí men gar tous eupórous ós perí tôn sítou kakkou-
ghountas án aitía peopoínto, oí de tous péntas ós tis gin mou bouloiménoi ergázeisthai. idon de
tóto Spouríos Mállyios,1 ánher íppeis plousios,
turannídi épikexéirhike, kai sítou ek tis perikhórou
príamevos pollois mén epewnizoun pollois de kai
próika éidísoun, kow toúton sygkonous prossokeismá-
menos, ópila te eppóisato kai frourous kai ekkrá-
tsev an tis poleos, ei mú Minoúkios Agyourínos,
ánher evpatríðhis, épí tis sítodóxia tetaghmenos kai
aitiómeneis épí tis sítodeía, eláchtrizele tis boulh
tó prattómenon. h de geresía mahóusa to mú-
nyma diktatóra paraantika ev tó syneidése ánneipe
ton Kúntiou tôn Lóúkion tôn Kikiváton kai taúta
parhíka ónta: óngdoekontouýtis gar hí, kákei
tin hmerán pásan análwosan súngkathménei, ós
ti dei bouleuvomeini, Ína mú to hegousos ekforítseih.
nuktós de o diktatór to Kapitólion kai ta louta
ta epikairótata dia tónn íppeión prokatalebón, ésothen épí tôn Mallion épemixe Gáinon Seronúlion
ton ípparhkon, ós di' állo tis ekéinou metakaló-
menos. de, úposthéantas tis toú Mallión kai
diamélkontos, deíasis mú upó toú plóthous
exarptasbí (híde gar súngretrekon), ékteine tò
ánbora, h autounomoussáis h toúto kekelenuóméno
prós tò diktatóros. thoryvbhventos de épí toútor
tó plóthous ó Kúntios dérmgorhías kai sótou
sfrísi paraachón kai mú tina éteron h kolásas
h épaitiasámeneis tòn thóribon épanse.

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

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the river, and they fell to quarrelling. The one class charged the prosperous with unfairness in the handling of the grain, and the other class charged the poor men with unwillingness to till the soil. Spurius Maelius, a wealthy knight, observing this, attempted to set up a tyranny, and buying corn from the neighbouring region he lowered the price of it for many and gave it free to many others. In this way he won the friendship of a great many, and procured arms and a bodyguard. And he would have gained control of the city, had not Minucius Augurinus, a patrician, appointed to have charge of the grain-distribution and censured for the dearth of grain, reported the proceeding to the senate. That body, on receiving the information, nominated at once and at that very meeting Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, though past his prime,—he was eighty years old,—to be dictator. But they spent the whole day sitting there, as if engaged in some discussion, to prevent news of their action from getting abroad. At night the dictator made the knights occupy the Capitol and the remaining points of vantage, and then at dawn he sent Gaius Servilius, master of the horse, to Maelius pretending to summon him for some other purpose. But as Maelius suspected something and delayed, Servilius, fearing that he might be rescued by the populace, who were already running together, killed the man, either on his own responsibility or because ordered to do so by the dictator. At this the populace broke into a riot, but Quinctius addressed them and by providing them with grain and refraining from punishing or accusing any one else he stopped the riot.
"Ότι πρὸς Φαλίσκους οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πολλὰς μάχας μαχεσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες καὶ δράσαντες, τῶν μὲν πατρίων ἱερῶν ὀλιγώρησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ ὡς καὶ ἐπαρκέσοντά σφισιν ὄρμησαν. φιλεῖ γάρ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν συνήθους, κἂν θείον ἢ, καταφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον θαυμάζειν. παρ' ἑκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἄτε μὴ δὲν ἐστὶν ποινοῦ ὑποθέτωντες οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἐπειτα χρηστὸν οὐδὲν προσδέχονται, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξένου πάν ὅσον ἀν ἐθελήσωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καινοτομίας ἐπιξίουσιν.—M. 43 (p. 153).

23, 4 Ἐσ γὰρ τούτῳ φιλοτιμίας κἀκεῖτο καὶ φιλονεικίας ἄλληλως ἀφίκοντο, ὡστε μηκέτι καθ' ἐν πάντας, ὡσπερ εἰσθαναί, ἄλλ' ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἑσπέρ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἀρχεῖν, ἀφ' οὗ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο· τὸ τε γὰρ οἰκεῖον, οὐ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν σκοποῦντος, καὶ βλαβηῆαι πη τὸ δημόσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν συνάρχοντα εὐδοκιμῆσαι ἐθέλοντος, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερὴ συνέβαινεν.—M. 44 (p. 153).

5 "Οτι δημοκρατία ἔστιν οὕτως τὸ πάντα τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς τυρχάνειν, ἄλλα τὸ τὰ ἂν κατ' ἄξιαν ἐκαστὸν φέρεσθαι.—M. 45 (p. 154).
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 Boissevain believes we may retain the reading of the Ms. and refer this statement to the year 428 (cf. Livy 4, 30, 9).
Ποστούμιον δὲ νεικηκότος τοὺς Λικουνοὺς καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν ἐλύντος αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ ἔκειν ὁι στρατιωταὶ εἰς προνομῖν ἐξεχωριθῆσαν μὴτε τι τῆς λείας αἰτήσαντες ἔλαβον, τὸν τε ταμίαν τὸν διατιθέμενον αὐτὴν περιστάντες ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ τὸν Ποστούμιον ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἥτοιντα τοὺς αὐτόχειρας προσαπέκτειναν, καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν προσένεμαν ἐαυτοῖς τῆς ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τότε τυγχάνουσαν. κἂν ἐπὶ πλείστων ἡ στάσις διηρκεσεν, εἰ μὴ πόλεμος αὐθισ Ῥωμαίοις παρὰ τῶν Λικουνῶν ἐπενήνεκτο. φοβηθέντες γὰρ διὰ τούτο ὡσύχασαν, καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν φόνων εἰς ὅλους ἐλθοῦσαν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους στρατεύσαντες μάχη αὐτοῖς νεικήκασι. διὸ τίν πε λείαν αὐτοῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ διέδοσαν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς πεζοῖς, εἶτα καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐφηφίσαντο ἀμισθί γὰρ μέχρι τὸτε καὶ οἰκόσιτοι ἐστρατεύοντο τότε δὲ πρῶτον μυσθοφορεῖν ἡρξαντο.  

Πολέμου δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Οὐιέντας συστάντος, ἔως μὲν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπολέμουν ἐκεῖνοι, πολλάκις αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν προσγενομένων δὲ αὐτοῖς συμμάχων ἐπεξῆλθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἦ πρὸς τῷ ὅρει τῷ Ἀλβανοῦ οὗ ἡ λίμνη, ὑπὸ τῶν περίξ αὐτῆς περικλειομένη λόφων καὶ μὴ ἑχοῦσα ἐκροήν, κατὰ τὸν τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν Οὐιεντῶν καιρὸν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔπλημμυρεν, ὡς ὑπερεκχέισαι καὶ τῶν ὄρων 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
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Ζωνάρας 7, 20.

διὰ τούτου θείον σημαίνεσθαι, ἐπερήψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τούτου χρησόμενοι. ἦν δὲ τὶς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Οὐρένταις Τυρσηνοῦ ἀνήρ μαντικός, ἐς ταύτων οὖν ἦ τε Πυθία καὶ ἢ ἐκείνου μαντεία συνέδραμον καὶ ἄμφω γὰρ ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἴπον ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πλημμυρήσαν μὴ ἡς θάλασσαν ἐμπέσῃ, ἀλλ' ἀναλώθειν ἐτέρωθι, καὶ τίνας ἱερουργίας διὰ τούτῳ γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πύθιος οὐτε τίς θεῖον οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτὰς ποιήσουσι διεσάφησεν, ὁ δὲ Τυρσηνὸς ἐὼκει μὲν εἰδέναι, οὕδεν δὲ ἐδήλουν. οἳ γοῦν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, οὗτων ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖ, τεταγμένου Ὑσμαῖοι, φιλίαν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑποκριθέντες, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ βαρρεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδουν καὶ ἀδεώς ἐπέτρεπον ἐκφοιτάντως καὶ οὕτω συλλαβόντες αὐτῶν πάιντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἴνα γιάκασαν, ἐξειπτεῖν. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην ἐκείνου τάς τε θυσίας ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν λόφον διέτρησαν καὶ τὸ πλεονάζον ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ πεδίον κρυπτῇ διώρυχι μετωχέτευσαν, ὡσθ' ἄπαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναλύσκεσθαι καὶ μὴ τι καταρρέειν εἰς θάλασσαν.

Ζωνάρας 7, 21.

21. Ἀρτε μὲν οὖν τούτῳ ἐγένετο καὶ δικτάτωρ ἡρέθῃ Μάρκος Φούριος Κάμιλλος. ὃς προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦνευς, ὑπόγειον ὁρώξατο δίδονον πόρρωθεν ἀρχάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φέρουσαν, παρεσκευασμένου δὲ ἡδὸν τοῦ ὑπονόμου, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν ἕθελονταί, παραλαβὼν κακείνους προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ τεῖχος ἐκύκλωσε τῶν 190
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.

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
Δ' έντως περὶ πάντα τῶν περίβολον σκεδασθέντων, ἃτι οὐ τῆς λείας δεκάτην ἐξελὼν ἀκόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέθετο τῷ Ἁπόλλωνι, εὐχήν τούτῳ πρὶν ποιησάμενος. ἀνέθετο δὲ καὶ κρατήρα χρυσοῦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμου πεποιημένων. ἀνθ' οὖ τιμή αὐταῖς παραχρήμα ἐψήφιστο· ἡ δὲ ἦν τὸ ἐπὶ ὀχμάτων αὐτὰς ἐσ τὰς πανηγύρεις φοιτάν, αὐτοποδία βαδίζονται πρώτον ἐς αὐτάς. τῷ δὲ Καμίλλῳ προσώχθησεν ο δήμος καὶ ἐνεμέσης, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαρράξεσθαι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καιροῖ παρελθόντος ἐξειλετο τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δ' ὅτι [τὰ τε ἄλλα σοβαρός ἔθριαμβευσε καὶ Plut., Camill. 7] πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων λευκῷ τεθρίππῳ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψεν.

'Η δὲ τῶν ἐπινικίων πομπῆς, ἢ καὶ θρίαμβον ἑκάλουν, τοιὰδε τις ἐγίνετο. ὅτε τι κατωρθώθη μέγα καὶ ἐπινικίων ἐπάξιοι, αὐτοκράτωρ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατηγός ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁνομάζετο, καὶ κλώνας δάφνης περιέδει ταῖς ῥάβδοις καὶ τοῖς δρομοκήρυξι τοῖς τὴν νίκην καταγγέλλουσί τῇ πόλει κομίζειν ἐδίδουν. ἐλθὼν δὲ οἰκάδε τὴν γεροσίαν συνήθροιζε καὶ ἤτει ψηφίσασθαι οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια. καὶ εἰ ἐτυχε ψήφον παρά τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἐβεβαιώντο αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιομνία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἦν ἐτι, ἐν ἣ τυχήνων ἐνίκησε, ταύτῃ καὶ πανηγυρίζων ἐκέχρητο, εἰ δ' ὁ χρόνος παρελήλυθε τῆς ἄρχης, ἀλλ' τι πρόσφορον αὐτῇ ἐλάμβανεν ὄνομα· ἰδιώτη γὰρ νικητῆρα πέμψαι ἀπείρητο.
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
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ἐνσκευασάμενος δὲ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ σκευῇ, καὶ περι-
βραχιόνια λαβὼν, στέφανον τε δάφνης ἀναδησά-
μενος καὶ κλάδου κρατῶν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τὸν δῆμον
συνεκάλει καὶ ἐπαίνεσας τοὺς συστρατευσα-
μένους αὐτῷ καὶ κοινὴ καὶ ἰδία τινάς, ἑδωρεῖτο
μὲν σφίσι χρήματα, ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ κόσμῳ, περι-
βραχιόνιά τε τίσι καὶ δόρατα ἁσίδηρα παρείχε,
καὶ στεφάνους τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροὺς
ἐδιδοῦ, τούνομα τε ἐκάστου καὶ τῆς ἀριστείας
φέροντα τὸ ἐκτύπωμα. Εἰ γὰρ τείχους τις πρῶ-
τος ἐπέβη, καὶ τείχους ὁ στέφανος εἰδος ἐφερεν’ ἦ

Τζετζές, Ἐπιστ. 107, p. 86.

Εἰς δίφρον τὸν θριαμβούκην ἀναβιβάσαντες
σινώπιδιῳ ἡ κιναβάρει τὸ πρόσωπον ἀντὶ αἰμα-
τος, ὡς μὴ ἐρυθριᾷ, περιχρίονσι καὶ βραχιον-
στήρας. ἐμβάλλουσι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ δάφνινον
στέμμα καὶ δάφνης κλώνα δίδουσι τῇ δεξιᾷ. περι-
τιθέασι δὲ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον ἐξ ὑλῆς ὅποιας,
ἀνάγραπτα φέροντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἡ ἐπεπόνθει.

Τζετζές, Χιλ. 13, 43–50.

Τὸν θριαμβεύοντα χρίσαντες κιναβάρει ἡ καὶ
σινωπίδιῳ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρματος ἱστῶσι καὶ στέφανον
δὲ χρύσου τῇ κεφαλῇ τιθοῦσιν, ὅποσα κατειργά-
σατο φέροντα τυπωθέντα, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ δίδοσιν
δάφνινον τοῦτο κλάδον, καὶ βραχιονιστήρας δὲ
ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πάντας ἀριστεύσαντας
στεφάνοις στεφανούσιν, ἐξ ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ὑλῆς
μὲν γραπτοῖς ταῖς ἀριστείαις.

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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.
καὶ ἔξεπολιορκησέ τι, καὶ τοῦτο κάκεινο εἰκόνιστο. ἐναυκράτησε τις, ναυσίν ὁ στέφανος ἐκεκόσμητο· ἱπποκράτησε τις, ἱππικόν τι ἔξετετύπωτο. ὁ δὲ πολίτην τινὰ ἐκ μάχης ἢ ἔτερου κυνόμου ἢ ἐκ πολιορκίας σώσας μέγιστὸν τε εἰχὲ τὸν ἐπαινὸν καὶ ἐλάμβανε στέφανον γινόμενον ἐκ δρόσος, ὦς πολὺ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ὡς ἐντιμότερος προτετίμητο. καὶ οὐ καὶ ἄνδρα μόνον ἀριστεύσαντα ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὅλοις παρείχετο. καὶ τῶν λαφύρων πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς στρατευσαμένους διανενέμητο· ἦδη δὲ τινὲς καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ διέδοσαν καὶ ἐδαπάνων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἐδημοσίευσαν, καὶ εἰ τι περιελέπτο, εἰς ναοὺς, εἰς στοὰς ἢ καὶ τι ἐτερον δημόσιον ἔργον ἀνηλισκόταν.

Ταῦθ' ὁ πομπεύς ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἀρμα ἀνέβαινε. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀρμα οὐτ' ἀγωνιστηρίῳ οὔτε πολεμιστηρίῳ ἢν ἐμφερέσ, ἀλλ' ἐς πύργου περιφεροῦς τρόπον ἔξειργαστο. καὶ οὐ μόνος ἢν ἐν τῷ ἀρματὶ, ἀλλ' ἂν γε καὶ παῖδας ἢ καὶ συγγενεῖς τινας εἰχέ, κάκεινον τὰς μὲν κόρας καὶ τὰ ἄρρενα τὰ νεογνά ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνεβίβαζε, τους δὲ ἀδροτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς τε ζυγίους καὶ τοὺς σειραφόρους ἀνετίθετο· εἰ δὲ πλείους ἦσαν, ἐπὶ κελητών τῷ πομπεῖ παρισπεύνοντες συνεπόμπευν' τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ωχεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐστεμμένοι δὰφυν 196
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
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πάντες ἐβάδιζον. οἰκέτης μὲντοι δημόσιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παροχεῖτο τοῦ ἀρματος, τὸν στέφανον τὸν τῶν λίθων τῶν χρυσοδέτων ὑπερανέχων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, "οπίσω βλέπε," τὸ κατόπιν δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς προσκόπει τοῦ βίου, μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαρθῆς καὶ ὑπερφρονήσης. καὶ κῶδων ἀπήρτητο καὶ μᾶστιξ τοῦ ἀρματος, ἐνδεικτικά τοῦ καὶ δυστυχῶς αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι, ὡστε καὶ αἰκισθήναι ἢ καὶ δικαιωθήναι βανεῖν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τινι ἀτοπήματι καταδικασθέντας βανείν νενόμιστο κωδωνοφορεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲς βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχρημπόμενος μᾶσματος ἀναπίμπληται. οὔτω δὲ σταλέντες εἰσήγοντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχουτες προτεπομόμενα ἄφον τὰ σκυλά τε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια, καὶ ἐν εἰκόσι τὰ αἱμάλωτα φρούρια ἡσκημένα, πόλεις τε καὶ ὁρῇ καὶ ποταμοὺς, λίμνας, θαλάσσας, τὰ τε σύμπαντα ὡσα ἐκλόγεσαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν μία ἡμέρα ἢ ἐξαρκοῦσα πρὸς τὴν τούτων πομπὴν εἰ δὲ μῆ, καὶ ἐν δευτέρα καὶ τρίτῃ ἐπέμπτε, προδιελθοῦσιν δ᾽ ἐκείνους οὔτως ὁ πομπεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν κομισθεὶς ἂγοράν, καὶ τῶν αἱμαλῶτων τινὰς εἰς τὸ δεσμώ-

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Οἰκέτης δὲ δημόσιος τοῦ ἀρματος ἐστῶς ὀπίσθεν ἀνέχει τὸν στέφανον, λέγων ἐκείνῳ πρὸς σὺς: "βλέπε καὶ τὸ κατόπιν." κῶδωνες δὲ καὶ μᾶστιξ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῦ ἀρματος ἀπηγορηται.

Tzetzes, Chil. 13, 51-53.

Καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρματος δημόσιος οἰκέτης | ὀπισθεν τούτων ἱσταται τὸν στέφανον ἀνέχουν | καὶ λέγων τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ ὅυς: "καὶ τὸ κατόπιν βλέπε."
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."
"Oti tηn tωn Φαλήσκων πόλεων πολιορκοῦντες οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι ταύτη προσκαθήμενοι διετρίβησαν, εἰ μὴ τοιόνον τι ἐγένετο. γραμματιστής τις ἐν αὐτῇ παίδας οὐτ' ὁλίγους οὐτ' ἀφανεῖς παιδεύων, εἴθ̣' ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι πάντας σφάς ἔξω τε τοῦ τείχους ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἔξηγαγεν (τοσούτων γὰρ ποὺ τῆς ἄδειας αὐτοῖς περίῆ καὶ τότε συμφωνεῖν) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον ἑκό.

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τήριον ἀπαχθῆναι καὶ βανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἀνήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ τινας ἑκεῖ τελετάς πληρώσας καὶ προσαγαγὼν ἀναθήματα, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἑκεῖ δειπνήσας στοαῖς, πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὡδαίς μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων ἄπηρχετο. τοιαύτα μὲν ἦσαν πάλαι τὰ νυκτῆρια; αἱ δὲ στάσεις αἱ τε δυναστείαι πλείστα ἐνεωτέρισαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Zonaras' account of the siege of Falerii (7, 22), based on Plutarch, contains the following fragments from Dio: εἰ δὲ καὶ, ὡς ἦδη ἱστόρηται, ὁ δῆμος ἐμύσει τὸν Κάμιλλον, . . . καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐνίκησαν μαχεσάμενοι . . . οὐδὲν ἦμυνον . . . κὰν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πολιορκίας εἰ μὴ τὶ συμβέβηκε . . . ἡ δὲ ὀργὴ τινα ἡ κέρδους ἐλπίδι . . . πάσαν

Tzetzes, Epist. 107, p. 86.

Εἶτα τρις κυκλῶν τὸν τόπον περιτρέχει καὶ τους ἀναβαθμοὺς ἐπὶ γόνασιν ἀνέρπτει καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἕκει ἀποτίθεται. εἶτα μετὰ θυμελικῶν οἰκαδε ἀπέρχεται.
The Romans, who were besieging the city of the Faliscans, would have consumed much time encamped 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

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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.
μυσε, πάσαν οί την πόλιν δι' αυτῶν παραδιδόναι λέγων· ού γὰρ περιοίσειν ἔτι τους ἐνδού, τῶν
3 φιλτάτων σφίσι εἶχομένων. οὐ μέντοι καί ἐπέρανέ
τι· ὁ γὰρ Κάμιλλος τής τε ἄρετής ἀμα τής τῶν
Ῥωμαίων καί τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
ἔνθυμηθεῖς οὐκ ἡξίωσεν ἐκ προδοσίας αὐτῶν
ἔλειν, ἀλλὰ καί τῷ χείρε ἐς τοῦπόησο τοῦ προδώτου
δήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς παισίν ἡπα-
γαγεῖν οἴκαδε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ Φαλίσκοι
οὐκέτ' ἀντέσχον, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καί δυσάλωτοι
ὅντες καί ἐκ περιουσίας τῶν πόλεμον διαφέροντες,
ὁμος ἐθελονται ἡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, βαυμαστήν
τινα φιλίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκήσαντες ἔζειν,
οὗγε καί πολεμίου οὗτο δικαίου ἐπεπέφαντο.—
V. 11 (p. 578).

4 Ὁ οὖν Κάμιλλος ἐπιφθονότερος ἔτι καί μᾶλλον
ἐκ τούτων τοίς πολίταις γενόμενος, ἐγράφη τε ὑπὸ
tῶν δημάρχων ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῆς τῶν
Οὐηνίων 2 τὸ δημόσιον ὕφελήσασ, καὶ ἐκουσίως
πρὸ τῆς δήκης ὑπεξέσχεν.—V. 12 (p. 578) = Suid.
s.v. ὑπεξέσχεν.

Zonaras 7, 22.

ἐπε παραδιδόναι τήν πόλιν διὰ τῶν παύδων . . .
φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐθελονταλ τῷ Καμίλλῳ παρέ-
δοσαν . . . φθοιρθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ πλέον κατηγορηθῇ
ὡς μηδέν τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν ὄφε-

1 After παύλοι the Ms. has ὑπαξέσχερα, deleted by Rk.
2 Οὐηνίων Bk., Bierw Ms.
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
6. Oútw hār aútōn ou té plēthos mônou, ou' ósoi filotimían tivá prós tìn áξiwsin aútōn eíxov, állá kai oi pánv filoi suneveiws te aútō óntes ĝbáskainov òste múd' ápokrúptesvai. déoménov gār aútōn tōn mēn kai suneagwísasvai oi, tōn dē tīn ge ἀπολύουσαν θέσθαι,1 ... álonti d' aútō χρηmótoν te timíssein kai tīn katadbíkìn svnektí-
sein ὑπέσχοντο. dīa mēn dē tauta evchîn te ὑπ' õrhîs ἑποιήσατο χρεῖαν aútōu tīn pōlīn svkeîn,
kai prōs tou's 'Routōlous prīn katagwryខήναι2 metēstē.—M. 46 (p. 154).

Zonaras 7, 22.

λῆσας χρηmótoν, aútōs d' ēk tou'ton svfetepi-
sámévov. ou'tw dē ὕργίζοντο kai aútōu, ós múd' oiktov aútov tīn labeîn éπi tī svmbásh
aútō svmfórav: téðn̄ke hār aútov nɔsísas
ō ēteros tōn nîov ... prōs 'Routōlous met-
estη.

1 Lacuna after ðēsvai: recognised by Bk.
2 katagwryខήναι is perhaps a mistake on the part of the exeqtor for katadbíkìasvai.
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

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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 καταδίκασθαι ("before sentence was passed upon him") would seem to be the proper reading.
"Οτι της στρατείας των Γαλατῶν αϊτία αυτή ἐγένετο. οἱ Κλουσίνου πολέμορ ὑπ’ αυτῶν κακωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κετέφυγον, ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντες, ἐπειδή τοῖς Οὐημένταις καίπερ ὁμοφύλοις οὐχιν οὐ συνήραντο, πάντως τινα ὠφελιαν παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρήσεσθαι. ως δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας πέμψαντες εἰρήνην 2 αὐτοῖς ἔπραττον, ταύτην παρὰ μικρόν (ἐπὶ γὰρ μέρει τῆς χώρας προετέινετο σφισίν) ἐποιήσαντο, συμπεσόντες 2 δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐς μάχην τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις προσπαρέλαβον. οἱ οὖν Γαλάται χαλέπως ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει αὐτῶν ἐνεγκόντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνταπέστειλάν τινας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, αἰτίωμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις· εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι-

Zonaras 7, 23.

(1) οἱ δ’ Ἕλερωπαιοι Γαλάται, όν οἱ Ἀσιάται νομίζονται ἀποικοι .

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

1 Οὐημένται Bk., βένται Mss.
2 συμπεσόντες Rk., συμπεσόν Mss.
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 Gauls 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 Gauls 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 Gauls, 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 Gauls, of whom the Asiatic Gauls are thought to be an offshoot, . . .
(2) Meanwhile the people of Clusium with the Roman ambassadors lay in wait for the Gauls and attacked them.
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μωρία σφίσαν ἐγένετο καὶ χιλιαρχοί πάντες ἀπε-
δείχθησαν, θυμοῦ τε ἐπληρώθησαν, ὄντες καὶ
ἀλλος ὀργὴν ἀκροί, καὶ Κλονσίνους ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ
θέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμήσαν. — U 2 (p. 373).

3 Ὅτι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις δεξαμένους τὴν τῶν Γα-
λατῶν ἐφοδιών οὐδ' ἀναπνεύσαι ὑπηρέστημεν, ἀλλ'
αὐθημερῶν ἐσὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὁσπερ
ἐίχον καταστάντες ἐπταίσαν: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ
ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλήθος
καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, τὴν τε φωνήν τε-
νικόν τε τε καὶ φρικώδες φθεγγομένην ἐκπλαγέντες,
tῆς τε ἐμπειρίας ἄμα τῆς τῶν τακτικῶν ἐπελά-
θοντο, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰς ἀρετάς προῄκατο.

Zonarhis 7, 23.

(3) καὶ τοσούτω τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὅστ' ἐπελθεῖν
αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει μὴ προμαθόντων Ῥωμαίοις τὴν
ἐφοδιών, τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον προαγγεῖλαι αὐτοῖς
τὴν ἐφοδιών λέγεται. Μάρκος γὰρ Καίδικος πυκτὸς
ποι βαδίζων φωνῆς ἦκουσε λεγούσης "Γαλάται
ἐρχονται," εἰρήκατος δὲ τούτῳ Μάρκου τῷ δήμῳ
καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [ἐν παιδία τῶν λόγων ἐποιοῦντο
καὶ γέλωτε Plut., Camill. 14], ἔως αὐτάγγελοι οἱ
Γαλάται σφῶν πλησίον ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ σπουδὴ
ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἀτάκτων ἄγωνισάμενοι αἰσχρώτατα
ήττημα. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπτόκασι,
pολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ξενησαχοῦσε καταλαμβανόμενοι,
πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ἐσ τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν Τίβεριν
συνώσθησαν καὶ ἐβθάρησαν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκέδα-

1 συνώσθησαν B cott., συνωθήσθησαν C, συνωθήσθησαν Δ (?)
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-stricken 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

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(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
πλείστων γάρ τοι πρὸς ἄνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην φέρειν, ὅτι καὶ παροῦσά τις τήν ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης σφόν βεβαιοί καὶ ἐλλείπουσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσδιαφθείρει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς προὕπηρχεν ἀπειροὶ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πολλὰ θυμῷ βιαῖος κατορθοῦσιν, οί δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐταξίας, ἢν ἄν μάθωσιν, ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος ἱσχύν προσαπολλύουσιν. υφ' ὦν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐσφάλησαν.—Μ. 47 (p. 154).

"Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ οἴντες καὶ πολιορκούμενοι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας πλὴν παρὰ τοῦ

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σθέντες οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ. οἱ δὲ εἰς τῇ Ῥώμη γρόντες τὸ γεγονός ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀπογρόντες οὔτε τῶν τελευτῶν φυλακὴν ἐθεντὸ οὔτε τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ἐκλείσαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκλιμπάνοντες ἐφευγοῦν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. μονοὶ δὲ ὀγδοὶ-κοντα ἄνδρες, οὓς οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶναι φασίν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους Ῥωμαίους καθ' ἥλικιαν καὶ πλούτου καὶ γένους ἐνδύουσε ἱερὰς ἡ πολυτελε-στάτας στόλας . . . (4) οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τῇ ύστεραιᾷ ἥλθον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, . . . ἐπέσκοποι καὶ οὐκ εἰσῆσαν . . . τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ θαρσήσαντες εἰσεπήδησαν καὶ εἴλον τὴν πόλιν.

(5) εἰτα καὶ τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ προσέβαλον ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐπεχειροῦντες ἥμερας οὐδὲν ἤνυνον,

1 αὐτοῖς προὕπηρχεν Bk., αὐτῆς προσαπάθθεν Ms.
2 ἀπειροὶ Bk., ἀπειρία Ms.
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

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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
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δαμνίσκαν οὐδεμίαν εἶχον. τὸ γὰρ δὴ θεῖον, καὶπερ ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ 1 ὄντες ἐθεράπευσαν οὕτως ὡς τε, ἐπειδὴ τί τῶν ἱερῶν ἔχρην ὑπὸ τῶν ποντιφίκων ἀλλοθί που τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι, Καίσων Φάβιος, ὃν ἡ ἱερουργία ἰκνεῖτο, κατέβη τε ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτῶλιον στειλάμενος ὡσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολέμων διεξελθὼν τὰ τε νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε καὶ αὐθημερον ἀνεκομίσθη. θαυμάζω μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ότι αὐτοῦ, εἰτ' οὖν διὰ τούς θεοὺς εἶτε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἁρετὴν, ἐφείσαντο· πολύ γε μὴν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν θαυμάτι ποιοῦμαι καθ' ἐκάτερον, ότι τε ἐ στούς πολέμους μόνος κατελθεῖν ἔτολμησε, καὶ ὁτι δυνηθεὶς ἀναχωρήσαι ποι ἀσφαλῶς οὐκ ἥθελησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶλιον αὖθις ἐκών ἐπὶ προὗτον κίνδυνον ἀνεχόρησεν, ἐπιστάμενος μὲν ὅκνοντας αὐτοῦς τὸ χωρίον, ὃ μόνον ἐτι τῆς πατρίδος εἶχον, ἐκλιπεῖν, ὅρῶν δὲ μηδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκ- φυγεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιορ- κοῦτων τούτῳ ποιήσαι. — V. 13 (p. 581).

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. . . καὶ υπὸ μέθης ἐσφάλλοντο· οἷνῳ γὰρ ἐντυ- χώνεται πολλῷ ἀκρατέστερον ἔχρωντο αὐτῷ, μὴπω πρῶτερον πόματος τοιοῦτου γενσάμενοι.

1 κακοῦ Bk., κακφ MS. 2 ὃν Bk., οὖ (i.e. οὗ) MS.
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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 pontifexes 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.

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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.
Ζονάρας 7, 23.

(6) χαλεπῶς ἀνερπύσας μόλις τε ἀναρρίχησάμενος...

(7) οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν διώντες [καὶ καταμαθόντες οθεν ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Πλοτ., Καμιλλ. 26, 1] (τοῦτο δ’ υπετόπασαν ἕκ τε τῶν ἀπερρογότων τῆς πέτρας θραυσμάτων καὶ τῆς πόσας, ἡ πολλὴ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἦν, τῆς μὲν ἀνεσπασμένης, τῆς δὲ συμπεπτιμένης), ἐκείθεν ἀναβῆναι νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτῶι ἔβουλεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ δυσχερῶς μέν, ἀνήσαν δ’ ὅμως, καὶ ἐλαθοῦν ἀν...

(8) μικροῦ ἐξέλιπον ἄν αὐτῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπείθοντο οὔτε τοὺς ἐν τέλει οὔτε τῇ γεροσοσίᾳ παρακαλοῦντι καὶ συμβουλεύοντι μὴ ἐκλυπεῖν τῷ ἀστυν, δ’ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἡδὴ ἐσέσωστο, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντων περὶ τοῦτον βουλευόμενων ἐκατόνταρχος φρούραν ἄγων τινα καὶ παρ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας διών τυχαῖος, “ἐνταῦθα στῆτε” πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶ ἐπομένους ἐβόησεν, “ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεῖ ὑμᾶς μεῖναι.” θείᾳ γὰρ προνοίᾳ ἐνόμισαν ταύτ’ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τοῦ μεταναστεύσαι ἀπέσχοντο,
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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.

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(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
(9) καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτῷ προσβαλών. ἀπαθὲς κακῶν αὐθημερον τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸ ἀνέσωσατο. ἐθριάμβευσεν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄγουν τὰ ἐπινικία· καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἤρετο.

(10) παραλαβὸν οὖν αὐτὸν τὸ πλήθος ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· καὶ κατέσχον αὐτό. διὸ καὶ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ἡρέθη ὁ Κάμιλλος. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐς μέγα δέος ἐμπεπτωκότων καὶ ἀπορούντων τί ἀν πράξαι, δοῦλος τῆς αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν ζώντα τὸν Καπιτωλίουν σφίσε παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο· λαβὼν οὖν ὅπλας καὶ τάξεις αὐτοὺς ἀφανῶς ἐνεδρεύειν ὑπὸ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς αὐτόμολος τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσκεκυρηκεί, ἐπῆνει τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως καὶ βοήθειαν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων αὐτῷ ἐπηγγέλλετο. καὶ ταῦτα ὁ διαλεγόμενος ἀνήγαγεν τὸν ἄνδρα πόρρω τῶν περιεστικότων, ὡς δὴ τὶ κοινολογούμενος αὐτῷ ἰδιαίτερα, καὶ ἡρέμα κατ' ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου προσημείωσα πρὸ τοῦ κατοίκου· καὶ ἑκάστου ὑπόστατο· ὡς καὶ συλληφθεῖς ἀποκεκόμιστο πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον. οὗ δὲ τὰς τε ἀριστείας κατέλεγε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον τοῖς τε δικαζομαι καὶ τοῖς περιεστῶσιν ἐδείκνυ, ἀποττον οὖν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσπεφευγότων πολίτων ἀνεμίσηθεν, ὡς ἐνευθεῖα κατακλάσθαι τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὴν ψήφον.
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.
"Οτι του Καπιτωλίου κατέγρω ο δήμος, και η τε οίκια αυτού κατεσκάφη και τα χρήματα ἐδήμευθη, το τε όνομα, και ει δη που εἰκόνιη, ἀπηλείφθη καὶ διεφθάρῃ καὶ νῦν δὲ πλὴν τῆς κατασκαφῆς πάντα ταύτα γίγνεται ἐπὶ τοίς τῷ κοινῷ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ἐκριναν δὲ καὶ μηδένα ἐυπατρίδην ἐν τῇ ἁκρῇ κατοικεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἑκεῖνος ἐνταυθοὶ οἰκῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἢ δὲ δὴ συγγένεια ἡ τῶν Μαλλίων ἀπείπε μηδένα σφῶν Μάρκου, ἕπειπερ οὕτως ὁ ὁμομάζετο, προσκαλείσθαι.

2 Καπιτωλίους μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον τὸ διαλλᾶσσον κὰν τοῖς τρόποις κἀν τῇ τῷχῃ ἔσχεν τὰ τε γὰρ πολέμια ἀκριβώσας εἰρήνειν οὐκ ἦπιστατο, καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ ἐσεσώκει κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, εὐπατρίδης τε ὅν οἰκέτου ἔργον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολεμικὸς νομοθετεὶς ἐν ἀνδραπόδου τρόπῳ συνελήφθη, κατὰ τε τῆς πέτρας αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἥς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπεώσατο ἑρρίφη.—V. 15 (p. 582).

3 "Οτι ὁ Καπιτωλίους κατεκρημνίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οὕτως οὕτ' ἀλλο τι κατὰ χώραν ὡς πλήθει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μένει. καὶ αἱ εὐπραγχεῖ συνχοῦς ἐς συμφορὰς ἀντιρρόπους προάγουσιν ἐξαιροῦσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδίας τῶν ὁμοίων, τοῦ τε πλείονος ἀεὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον σφαλέντας καταβάλλουσι. —Μ. 48 (p. 155).

1 πάντα ταύτα Bk., πάντα Ms. 2 οὕτως Rk., οὕτοι Ms. 3 αἱ added by Dindorf.
The people sentenced Capitolinus to death, his 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.
"Οτι προς Τουσκουλανούς ἐστράτευσε Κα-
μίλλος, θαυμαστὴ δὲ τινι προσποιήσει δεινὸν
ουδὲν ἔπαθον.1 καθάπερ γὰρ οὔτ’ αὐτοὶ τε πλημ-
μελήσαντες οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄργην σφισὶ
ἐχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ὡς φίλων παρὰ φίλους ἰὸντων
ἡ καὶ ἐφ’ ἐτέρους τινάς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων στρατευ-
όντων, οὔτε τι μετέβαλον τῶν καθεστηκότων οὐθ’
2 ὅλως ἐταράχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνου πάντες ἐπὶ τε
ταῖς δημοουργίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐργοῖς ἐν
εἰρήνῃ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, εἴσω τε τὸν στρατὸν
ἐσεδέξαντο καὶ ἕνια αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τᾶ τε ἅλλα
ὡς φίλους ἐτίμησαν. ἦν 9 ὅπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
οὐχ ὅτι κακὸν τι2 αὐτούς ἐδρασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν
πολιτείαν μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐσεγράψαντο.—V.16 (p.582).
3 Δίωνος ξ’ βιβλίῳ "Τουσκουλανοὶ"3 δὲ χείρας μὲν

Zonaras 7, 24.

Εἴτα πολλῶν πολέμων κατά τε τῆς Ῥώμης
αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῆς πόλεων κυρι-
θέντων, ἐπεξελθόντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
diὰ τε τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ δὲ ἐτέρων, ἢδη ἐκείνων
ὕπεργράσαντος, τοὺς τε πολέμους κατέπαυσαν,
καὶ εἰρήνη βαθεῖαν ἔσχον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, πρὸς
ἄλληλους δὲ ἐστασίαζον. Μάρκος γὰρ τις Φάβιος
ἐνπατρίδης, θυγατέρου διὸ τυγχάνον πατήρ, τὴν
μὲν πρεσβυτέραν Δικηνώφ τινι Στόλωνι κατηγ-
γύησε πολὺ αὐτοῦ καταδεικτέρῳ, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν
Σοιλπικίῳ Ῥούψῳ, ἀνδρὶ ὀμοτίμῳ, συνάκισε.

1 ἔπαθον Val., ἔπαθε Ms.
2 τι added by Bk.
3 Τουσκουλανοῖ Bk., κουλανοῖ 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 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
"Otiph yunih, tou 'Roofou χιλιαρχουντος kai prattountos tie2 ev tih agora deimosiou, epeidh ekeinos afiketo kai tin thuraan o raβdonuxos kata ti ethos arxaioun ekrouse, eβetarachei pror touto, ouw proterou toiohtou tino papeiramene, kai dieπtothe. gelwos ouvn ep authe sychrou kai parapar2 tis adelphi kai ton allon geinomevou, kai skofotheisa ows idioitikis tin arxikon pragmaton dia to ton andra autheis mepote ev hegeomnia tini eβiπatathei ouvsa, deivno epoιhtato, oia pio ton allous te kai tais yunai dexi mikroφυξias syμβainiwn pefivke, kai ou proterou anheke duskolainousa prin patan tin polin thorvbisei, ois pio smikra kai ta tuchonta polloan tis kai megallon akoun aitia genevetai, othan bhoνf te tis auta kai zelotupwos lambovna.—M. 49 (p. 155).

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χιλιαρχουντος ouv tou 'Roofou kai ontous ev agora, pros tin yunaiak aitouh y adelphi aitheis paragenevnei. afikomewn o ekeinou tin thuraan o raβdonuxos kata ti ethos arxaioun ekrouse. dieπtothei de pro tou patanou y yunih ouw toy ton papeiramenei kai gelwos ep touto kai parapara tis adelphi kai tou parontou egenveto, kai ows idioitikes eπkofthei. tih de ev deivno to pragma πepoihto, kai tou andra ees arxini paraggeilai heβiβexen. o gounu Stolow upo tis yunaiakos parakinnhseis Loukioi tini seπtiof, andri ton

1 yunih, tou 'Roofou Vinkesteyn, tou rbofou yunih Ms. 2 ti added by Bk. 3 o raβdonuxos is repeated in the Ms. after arxaios; Mai deleted. 4 thorvbisei Mai, therapevsei Mai.

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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.

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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
"Oti deinon en kakois prosochika swterias anapeiasai tina pisteusai kai tois paraologous.—M. 50 (p. 156).

'Alia gar ti tou tis politeias kosmon stasia-zeontes parileunon, ousa' uper on tois polemois prin tois megistous anprounto, taut' en t'w chrin ho sym-panta os eipein ouk astasiastos men, ou menv tois kai xalepous kakaktiasthai.—M. 51 (p. 156).

"Oti Pouplios, tov politon stasiazonton prois allholous, oligon toutous synhllazev. Lukinon ghar Stolona ipparchon proseiletou kaiper en tou plhous onta. 2 oter kaiwotombeen tovs men eupatridas eluphseeen, tovs de allous oustos uphageto ooste mheketi tis upateias tw uesterop 3 etei anupoiasthai, all' easa tovs xilarchoi airethnai. ek gar toutou kai es talla anupieizantai ge tina allholois iswos an katllalhsean, ei mpiper o Stolou o demarchos touoitou ti eipon, os ouk an pioein 4 ei mi phagoien,

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omios, tad tou pragmatos koinosamevos, amfow demarchhsei katebiasato, kai tov kosmon tis politeias synexeov, os kai eti tiessaroiw eteisw anarxisan genesthai tw dhmow tas gar tov eupatridw arxairesias enepodiou.

1 'Roualos, which follows politon in the Ms., was recognized by Bs. as due to the excerptor. 2 ipparchon ... onta Bs., following Reimar (proseiletou kaiper en tou plhous onta ipparchon), proseiletou onta ipparchon Ms. 3 uesterop Bk., ester Ms. 4 en pioein Reim., apostoe Ms.
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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,\(^1\) 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\(^2\) and so persuaded 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

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Καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἄν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ τις ἀρχελαῖος κεκόμηστο [ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλαύνειν Κελτῶς Plut., Camill. 40]. ἄπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφέντες διάφορον [δικτάτορα τὸ πέμπτον τὸν Κάμιλλον εἶλοντο ibid.], καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστράτευσαν. οὐ μάχη μέντοι κοινῆ, μονομαχία δὲ γέγονε πρότερον. Τίτος γὰρ τοῖς Μάλλιοις ἀνήρ ἐυπατρίδης, προσκεκρουκὼς τῷ πατρί, παρημελέοτο καὶ διετριβεῖν ἐν ἁγρῷ εἶτα τῷ πατρί διηλάγη, καὶ χιλιάρχοι στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῷ τε προκαλομένῳ Κελτῷ πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἀντέστη καὶ νικήσας αὐτὸν τὸν στρεπτόν αὐτὸν χρυσοῦν ὑπέταξεν, καὶ Τουρκονάτος φορῶν αὐτὸν ἐπεκέκλητο. συμμεῖάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἱπτηνότο οἱ Κελτοῖ, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμῆς ἀπέσχοντο, τὴν δὲ Ἀλβανίδα ἐλεηλάτουν. εἴσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαρράσαι τὴν χώραν, ὅς κατακορεῖσ γενόμενοι βρωμάτων καὶ μέθης εὐπεριχειρητότεροι εἰεν, ἐπέθεντο σφίσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διεφθείραν καὶ τὸ σφῶν εἰλον στρατόπεδον. ο δὲ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν.
'Εκτοτε οὖν οἱ μὲν χιλιάρχοι, οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν
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them to relinquish nothing, but to carry through as indispensable reforms all that they had taken in hand.

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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 assailing 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.
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υπάτων ἐγίνοντο, ἐσχολάκασιν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐνίοτε μὲν εὐπατρίδαι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ. νόσου δὲ ἐνσκηψάσης τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος τέθηκε καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστα θανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡμιάθησαν.

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25. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τι συμβήναι πάθος περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἱστόρηται. διαστήνα γὰρ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Παλατίνου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἔξατινα, μήτε σεισμὸν προηγησάμενον μήτε ἀλλού τινός, οἷά συμβαίνειν εἰσδέ ψισικῶς ἐπὶ τοιούτως παθήμασι. καὶ ἦν τὸ χάσμα διαμένον ἐπὶ μακρῶν, οὔτε συνεχόμενον οἷός δὴ ποτε οὔτε μέντοι πληροῦσεν, καὶ ταῦτα χοῦν τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς αὐτὸ συμφοροῦντως πολὺν καὶ λίθους καὶ ἀλλήν ὅλην παντοταπῆν. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους χρησμὸς ἐδόθη μὴ ἄλλῳς τὸ διεστὸς συνελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κρεῖττον αὐτῶν καὶ δὰ οὐ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἱσχύοσιν εἰς τὸ χάσμα ἐμβάλλουσιν οὕτω γὰρ ἑκεῖνο τε παύσεται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐσται δύναμις ἀκατάλυτος. ἐμενεν οὖν καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀποροῦν ἀποροῦμενον, ἀσαφῶς τυχχάνοντος τοῦ χρησμοῦ. Μάρκος δὲ Κούρτιος,

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

Δίουν δὲ Κάσσιος Κοκκειανός, ὁ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συντάξας, ἐκ θεομηνίας φησὶ γενέσθαι χάσμα περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ μὴ ἐπιμένειν. χρησμὸν δὲ δοθέντος ἐπιμύσαι τὸ χάσμα ἐὰν ὁ κράτιστον Ῥωμαίοις ἐμβάλωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, Κούρτιος τοῖς ἱππεῖσι εὐγενῆς, οὔδενὸς ἄλλου συμβαλεῖν τὸν 228
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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 Οὐκ ἦστιν οὐδὲν ξῖφον θυντὸν οὐτ' ἀμεινον οὐτ' ἵσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. ἡ οὐχ ὀράτε ότι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κάτω κέκυψε καὶ ἐσ τὴν γῆν αἰς βλέπει, πράττει τε οὐδὲν ὁ μὴ προφής καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἔχεται (οὗτοι καὶ υπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως 3 ἐς ταύτα κατακέκριται), μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀνώ τε ἐρωμεν καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ ὁμιλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπερφρονοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ θεοῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ὀμοίους οὖσιν ἡμῖν σύνεσμεν, ἀτε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ποιήματα αὐτῶν οὐ γήνα ἄλλον ὁμάνα ὄντες; ὥσ' οὐ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα εἰδὴ καὶ γράφομεν καὶ πλάττομεν; εἰ γὰρ δεῖ δὴ τὶ καὶ θρασυνόμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐτ' ἐνθ' εὐπατρίδος, νεός τὴν ἥλικιαν, ὀραίοτάτος τὴν μορφῆν, ρωμαλεώτατος τὴν ἵσχυν, ἀνδρείοτατος τὴν ψυχήν, φρονήσει διαπρεπῆς, τὸν νοῦν συνεὶς τοῦ χρησμοῦ, παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον ἐδημηγόρησε λέγων "τί τῶν λογίων ἀσάφειαν, ὁ Ῥωμαιοί, μᾶλλον ἡ ἀμαθία ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίζομεθα; ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ξητούμενον τε καὶ ἀπορομενον. οὐ γὰρ τι ἀνευχον ἐμψύχου λογισθήσεται βέλτιον, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐννοι καὶ ἐμφρονοι καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον τὸ ἄνοιν ἁλογόν τε καὶ ἀφρον προτιμηθήσεται. τί γὰρ ἂν τὶς ἀνθρώπου προκρίνειεν, ἃν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῆς γῆς βαλόντες διάστασιν αὐτὴν συναγάγομεν; οὐκ ἦστιν οὐδὲν ξῖφον θυντὸν οὐδ' ἀμεινον οὐδ' ἵσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπον. εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ καὶ θρασυνόμενον εἰπεῖν, 1 οὐτ'-οὐτ' Βκ., οὐδ'-οὐδ' Μσσ.

2 Punctuation is that of Be.; previous editors ended the question with ἔχεται.

3 μᾶλλον supplied by Be.
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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

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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
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνθρωπος οὐδέν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἡ θεὸς σῶμα θυητὸν ἔχων, οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἡ ἀνθρωπος ἀσώματος καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἄθανατος. ταῦτα τοι καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ξόων προφέρομεν καὶ οὔτε τι πεζόν ἔστιν ὃ μὴ τάχει καταληφθέν ἢ ἱσχύν δαμασθέν ἢ καὶ τέχναις τις συλληφθέν δουλούμεθα, οὔτ' εἰνδρον οὔτ' ἀεροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ μηδ' ὀρώντες ἀνέλκομεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὦρανοῦ μηδ' ἐξικνούμενοι κατασύρομεν.—


Zonaras 7, 25.

οὔτ' ἀνθρωπος οὐδέν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἡ θεὸς σῶμα θυητὸν ἔχων οὔτε θεὸς ἄλλο τι ἡ ἀνθρωπος ἀσώματος καντείθεν ἄθανατος, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῆς θέας δυνάμεως ἀπηρτήμεθα. ταῦτα ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτω φρονῶ, ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τῇ γνώμῃ προσθέομαι ταύτῃ. καὶ μὴ τις οἰήσαι τοι ἡ κλήρον ποιήσομαι ἢ κόρην κελεύσω θανείν ἢ μειράκιον· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ἐμαντὸν υμᾶς ἐπιδίδωμι, ἢν σήμερον αὐτίκα κήρυκα πέμψῃ τε καὶ πρεσβευτῇ τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς, ἐσόμενον ὑμῖν αἰς προστάτην καὶ σώμαχον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κούρτιος τὰ ὁπλα ἐνειδίδυσκετο, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἑπέβη. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περιάλγεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς, καὶ κοσμήματα τινα συμφορήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνον αὐτῶις ἐκόσμουν ὡς ἥρωα, οἱ δ' τινα καὶ ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐνεβάλλον. ἀρτὲ δ' ἐστι αὐτὸ ἐνήλιατο

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

χρησμὸν δυναμένου, αὐτὸς ἐρμηνεύσας ἵππου ὁμού καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγειν, εὐθέως ἀνέβη τε τὸν

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naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god
naught else than a man without body and conse-
quently 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.

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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
ὁ Κούρτιος ἐφιππός καὶ ἡ τῆς γῆς συνήχθη διάστασις, καὶ οὐδὲς οὐκέτι οὔτε τὸ χάσμα οὔτε τὸν Κούρτιον οθεάσατο. ταῦθ' οὔτω τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἱστόρηται· εἰ δὲ τῷ μυθῶδῃ κραθείς καὶ μὴ πιστά, ἐξεστίν οἱ μὴ προσέχειν αὐτοῖς.

Τοῖς Ρωμαίοις δὲ πόλεμοι αὖθις καὶ παρὰ Γαλατῶν καὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἔθνων ἐπηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρούσαντο πάντας, τῇ μὲν ὑπάτους, τῇ δὲ δικτάτορας νηφιζόμενοι. οὗτος καὶ τι τοιούτων συμβέβηκε. δικτάτωρ ἐλέχθη Δούκιος Κάμιλλος, Γαλατῶν κατατρεχόντων τα ὑπὸ Ῥώμην. ὃς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρμήσας γρώμην εἶχε τρίβειν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπονοία χρωμένους· ῥάν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρον ἀπορία τροφῶν ἐκτρυφώσειν ἦλπισε. Γαλάτης δὲ τις εἰς μονομαχίαν τινὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων προεκαλέτο. καὶ ἀντέστη αὐτῷ Οὐαλλέριος Μάρκος χιλιαρχῶν, ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου ἐκείνου ἔγγονος. καὶ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἡ μάχη προέβη ἀμφότερος ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ περιτεχνησεὶ προεφερεν, ο δὲ Γαλάτης τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ ἐθαυμαστώθη ὅτε τῷ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου κράινε κόραξ ἐφιπτάμενος καὶ κρῶζων εἰς τῶν βάρβαρων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ τὴν τῇ ὀφνὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπετάρασε καὶ τὴν ὀρμήν ἐνεπόδιζε, μέχρις οὗ

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

ἐπὶ τὴν καὶ ὡς εἰχέν ἐλάσας ἥρωκώς κατὰ τὸν φρικώδους ἐκείνου βόθρου ἐφέρετο. καὶ εὐθέως κατενεχθέντος τὸ χάσμα ἐπέμευ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνωθεν ἀνθεσιν ἔβαλλον. κακὸς τοῦτον καὶ Κούρτιος ὁ λάκκος ἐκλήθη.
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.
Ζώναρας 7, 25.
κατειργάσθη, διὸ ἁγανακτήσαντες οἱ Γαλάται ὅσ ὑπὸ ὅρνιθος ἡλαττωμένοι, θυμῷ αὐτικά συνέμειαν
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ κακῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν. ο ὃς Ὁσίαλλέριος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόρακος συμμαχίας
Κορούνιος ἐπωνομάσθη.
Εἰσέπεται δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων στασιασάντων
καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου γενέσθαι μείλλοντος, κατ-
ηλλάγησαν οἱ στασιάσαντες, νόμων τεθέντων μὴ
ἀκοντά τινα τοῦ καταλόγου ἀπαλέιφεσθαι, μήτε
tὸν χιλιαρχήσαντα ἐκατονταρχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-
tους καὶ ἀμφο ἐξὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους
καθίστασθαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μῆτε δὸ ἁμα ἀρχαῖς
μῆτε τὴν αὐτὴν δἰς ἐντὸς δέκα ἀρχεῖν ἐτῶν.

Ζώναρας 7, 26.
26. Δατίνοι δὲ καίπερ ἐνσπονδοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ὄντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ πόλεμον ἦραντο, ἐν φρονή-
ματι γεγονότες ὅτι τε νεότητι ἡκμαζὸν καὶ τὰ
πολεμικὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀεὶ σὺν αὐτῶς 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."

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. Boissetain would refer it to the invasion (μετεξεθήρεις?) 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.
Horai zoon (eis hagre, eipere tines allloi, taca toon
"Romegaion frounigmaita hpiostantoro), all' oipos
apoteukontes1 auton prophasin egklhmato'n os
adikoumenoi labhson.—M. 53 (p. 156).

Zonaras 7, 26.

"Hskento. Oi de tou'to grvontes e'xhllon, upaton ton
to Toureqonantor to tritoon elomenei kai ton Dekion,
kai emafesanto autoi'd kratei'ann makh, krisin
tin hmeran ekinein ekateroi nomizontes akribhe tis
spheteras tychis te kai tis aeretis. Edoze de
perifanestera h'maxh kai dii ti symbevnikos.
tous hag,' Lattinon ois upatoi kai omoukeioun kai
omofwnous 'ois 'Romegaion orwontes efozithasan
mu ton stratios tôn tines sfalwsi, to te oikeion
kai to pol'mion mu bastaia diagnivoskountes. Kai
dia tou'to proeipon sfisi tata alla paratperei
akribwos, kai kath' eauton mhdena mdevel ton
enantion symbalein. Tou'to de to paraggelema ote
men e'therasan, o de tou Toureqonanton pa'is,
strateno'menos en tois uppeusi, kai pemvtheis prw
kataipson ton enantion, parieidein, ouk anvadheia
all' melto filotimia. Epe ei hag,' o upparechos ton
Lattinon idon auton prosoiota prw monomachian
proekelesato, kai mh deizomenon ta'thnh dii tnh
prhrrhshin, paro'xwnei eipwv, "ou su melto
Toureqonantou vido eli; ou semwnei t' sto streppfo
to patros; h prw men Galatias andhrwpon
phoreus e'rrwseie kai andrizeste, tois de dein
Lattinon h'mas fotheiseste; ti oin archein hmwn
azwonte; ti de' ows khiron ou'mon epitasseste;"

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1 apoteukontes Mai, epeteukontes 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 plaugy Gauls, but fear us Latins? Why, then, do you presume to rule over us? Why

4 Ἡν μὲν δὴ παντὶ καταθανές ὅτι περισκοπῆσαντες τὴν ἐκβασιν τῆς μάχης1 πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἐστησαν οὐ μὴν ἐξῆλεγξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τορκονάτος, μή τε οἰδούντων σφίσιν ἔτε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους πραγμάτων νεωτερίσωσιν οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πάντα τραχύς, οὐδὲ οἷος ἐς τὸν νιὸν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τάλλα ἤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐβουλοῖ καὶ εὐπόλεμοι ὁμολογητοὶ2 εἶναι, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμιῶν λέγεσθαι ὅτι τὸ τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε, καὶ εἰ καὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἥγετο, πάντως ἂν αὐτοὺς νικήσαι ἐποίησεν.—Μ. 54 (p. 157) (ἡν . . . ἐς τάλλα ἤν) and V. 18 (p. 585) (ὅτι ὁ Τορκονάτος οὐ τὰ πάντα τραχύς . . . ἐποίησεν).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἐκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ τῆς παραγγέλσεως ἐκὼν ἐπελάθετο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἐνίκησε, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα μέγα φρονὸν ἐκόμισε τῶν πατρί. καὶ ὅς ἄθροίσας τὸ στράτευμα, "γενναίως μὲν," ἐφη, "ὁ παῖ, ἐμαχέσω, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ σε στεφανώσω ὅτι δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν οὐ παρετήρησας, καίτοι καὶ ὅς νῦς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ὁς στρατιώτης ἀναγκαζόμενος, διὰ τούτῳ σε δικαίωσώ, ἵνα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀριστείας ἄθλον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνηκουστίας τίμημα λήψῃ." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἁμα τοῖς τε στεφάνοις

1 μάχης Bs., τύχης (7) Ms. 2 οἰδούντων Βk., δούντων Ms. 3 ὁμολογητο Val., ὁμολογεῖτο Ms.

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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
"Ωτι οἱ Ρωμαίοι καὶ περ ἀχθέμενοι τῷ Τορκυάτῳ διὰ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ ὅτως ὥστε καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων μαλλιανὰ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οὐνομάσαι, καὶ διότι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τεθυνηκότος μὲν ἐκείνου τεθυνηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ συνάρχουτος ἐώρτασεν, ὅμως ἐπείξαντός ποτε ἐτέρου σφαῖς πολέμου καὶ αὐθεσ αὐτοῦ ἐς τετάρτην ὑπάτειαν προεχείρισαντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκείνοις ἀρξαὶ ἐτ’ αὐτὸν ἥθελησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξωμόσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅτ’ ἀν ἐγὼ ὑμῶν ἀνασχοίμην οὐθ’ ὑμεῖς ἐμοί.—Μ. 55 (p. 157).

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τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἀπέτεμεν.

Εἴτε δὲν αἱ ἁμφῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ὁμοίως φανέν ἔδοξε λέγειν τῶν ἐναντίων κρατήσεως, ἀν ὁ ἐτέρος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιδίηθε πεθανούσῃ συνέθεντο θείον εἶναι, καὶ πεισθήναι δέ δεν αὐτῷ ὡμολόγησαν. ἡμιφυσήτησαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὕτως ἀν σωθεί, ἀλλ’ ὅσ’ ἀν μᾶλλον ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιδίηθεν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδικαιολογήσαντο. καὶ τέλος ἦρεσε σφίσι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ παρατάξασθαι, καὶ ὅποτερον ἀν ἐκείνων ἐλαττῶθη, τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τεταγμένον ἀποθανεῖν. τοσαύτη δ’ ἦν φιλοτιμία αὐτοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ὡς εὐχεσθαι ἐκαστόν τῶν ὑπάτων ἡττηθήναι, ἵνα τύχῃ τῆς ἐπιδόσεως καὶ τῆς εὐκλείας τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς. συμβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ
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."

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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
7 "Οτι φησιν ο Δέιων "θαυμάζω μὲν γὰρ εἰ
dοθάνατος ο τοῦ Δεκίου τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσε καὶ
tοὺς μὲν νικῶντας ἠττησε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ κρατουμένους
νίκην ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω δὲ ὁ
tούτ' ἐγενέτο. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πραχθέντα τισίν
ἐπιλέξωμαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη πολλοὶς τοιαῦτα
συνενεχθέντα ἵσμεν), οὐ δύναμαι τοῖς λεγομένοις
8 ἀπιστήσαντι ὅταν δὲ δὴ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἐκλογί-
σωμαι, καὶ πᾶν ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίσταμαι. πῶς γὰρ
ἀν καὶ πιστεύσει ς τις ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπι-
δώσως τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὴν σωτη-
ρίαν ὀμοίως καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν μεταβαλέσθαι;
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ ποτὲ καὶ δὲ ἀς αἰτίας οὕτως
ἐχει ζητεῖν ἄλλοις μελῆσει."—M. 56 (p. 157).

Zonaras 7, 26.

ισοπαλὼς ἡγωνίσαντο, εἴτε τὸ κατὰ τὸν Δέκιου
κέρας μικρὸν τὶ τοῖς Δατίνοις ἐνέκλινεν. ο
γνοὺς ο Δέκιος ἐαυτῶν ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
ἐκδόντα τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐνέδυ τὴν περιπόρφυρον. καὶ
οἱ μὲν οὕτω φασίν ἐφ' ἱππον ἀναπηδήσαντι αὐτῶν
καὶ εἰσέλασαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων
ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου πολιτικοῦ
σφαγῆναι· τέως δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Δεκίου
τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἡ νίκη καθαρός συνηρέχθη, καὶ οἱ
Δατίνοι πάντες ἐτράπησαν, οὐ πάντως δὲ διὰ τὸν
θάνατον τοῦ Δεκίου· πῶς γὰρ ἀν τὶς πιστεύσειεν
ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοιασδέ τελευτήσα τοσοῦτον πλῆθος
ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν φθαρῆναι, τὸ δὲ σωβήναι καὶ

1 θαυμάζω μὲν γὰρ el Dind., θαυμάζωμεν el γὰρ Ms.
2 ἂν supplied by Bk.
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
"Οτι ἀνθυπαγόμενοι τοὺς Λατίνους ἐσ εὑνοιαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐδωκαν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι μεταλαμβάνειν ὅν γὰρ ἀπειλοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ μετέδοσαν καὶ διὰ τὸσούτους κινδύνους ὑπέστησαν, ταῦτα τὸτε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν αὐτεπάγγελτοι τούτους ἐφηφί-
σαντο, τοὺς μὲν τῆς συμμαχίας, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνεόχισαν ἀμειβόμενοι.—Μ. 57 (p. 158).

"Οτι διαγράψαι πρὸς Πριουερνάτας ἐποιή-
σαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἔρωτήσαντες τι παθεῖν τοιαῦτα δρῶντες ἄξιοι εἴεν οἱ ἀπεκρίναντο θαρσοῦντος ὅτι ὅσα χρή τοὺς ἔλευθεροις οὔτος τε καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦν-
τας εἶναι. πυθομένου τε αὕθις τοῦ ὑπάτου "καὶ τί ποιήσατε ἀν τῆς εἰρήνης τύχητε;" ἔφασαν ὅτι, ἃν μὲν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶν αὐτὴν λάβωμεν, ἵσυχά-
σομεν, ἃν δὲ ἀφορητόν τι προσταχθῶμεν, πολεμῆ-
σομεν. θαυμάσαντες δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν ὅπως τὰς σπουδὰς πολὺ βελτίως σφίσι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδοσαν . . .—Μ. 58 (p. 158).

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νικήσαι περιφανῶς; οἱ μὲν οὖν Λατῖνοι οὕτως ἦττησον, ὁ δὲ γε Τουρκοῦτας καὶ τὸν νῦν ἀπο-
kτείνας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος τεθνήκότος ἑώρασεν ὃμως τὰ ἐπινίκια.

Εἰτ' αὕθις αὐτοῖς τε τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπαναστά-
tος κατεπολέμησαν, καὶ ἑτερα ἐθνή μάχαις ὑπε-
tαξαν, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπάτους κεχρημένουι, ποτὲ δὲ δικτάτοροι.

1 Πριουερνάτας Bk., πριβεννάτας (?) Maa., Πριβερνάτας Mai.
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 Privenum, 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....

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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, 18^b \( \Delta \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \n
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

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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.
τούσιν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐγκαίρου συγγρώμης αὐτοῖς τε πολλάκις μεταβάλλονται, ἀλλος τε καὶ ὅταν εἷς ἀνδρείας καὶ μὴ κακουργίας, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ μὴ πονηρίας τι ποιήσωσι (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ δουλώσαι καὶ σωφρονίσαι φρόνημα γενναίου οὐ- λογος φιλανθρωπία), καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐθελοντάς ἀτε καὶ τὸ σεσωμένου ορώντας μεταρρυθμίζουσιν πειθεῖται γὰρ πᾶς ἡδίων ἡ βιabilitéται, καὶ ἐκούσιος ἀκούει τοῦ νόμου 1 βούλεται μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνάγκη, ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ οἰκεῖον σ πονδαζεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος ὡς καὶ ἀνελέυθερον ἀπωθεῖται.

—Μ. 59 (p. 159).

4 "Ὅτι τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐστὶν ἔργον οὐ τὸ φονεύσαι τινα (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων καὶ ἁσθενεστάτων πολλάκις γίγνε- ται) ἀλλὰ τὸ φείσασθαι τινος καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τινα, ὁ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἡμῶν 2 ἀκούτος γέ σου δύναται.

5 Βούλομαι μὲν ἡδή πεπαύσθαι λέγων· τό τε γὰρ ψυχίδιον μου κέκμηκε καὶ τὸ φθέγμα ἐνδίδωσι, τά τε δάκρυα τὴν φωνὴν ἐνίσχει, 3 καὶ ὁ φόβος τὸ στόμα συνδε. ἄλλοι οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀπαλλαγῶ τὸ γὰρ πάθος, ἂν γε μὴ ἄλλο τι 4 δοξὴ σοι, μὴ ἐνδοι- αστὸς μοι 5 προφαίνομεν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μοι σιωπῆσαι, ἄλλος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θ' ὁ τι ποτ' ἀν τελευταῖον εἴπω τής σωτηρίας μοι τοῦ παίδος ἐσομένης, ἀναγκάζει με πλεῖον ὡς περ ἐν εὐχαίς λαλεῖν.—Μ. 60 (p. 159).

1 τοῦ νόμου Βκ., τῶν νόμων Μσ. 2 ἡμῶν Βκ., ἡμῖν Μσ.
3 ἐνίσχει τ. Ηερώ., ἐνίσχει Μσ. 4 ἂν γε μὴ ἄλλο τι Ταφέλ, ἂν . . ἄλλο (?!) Μσ. 5 ἐνδοιαστῶς μοι Βκ., δο . . . Μσ.
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.
6 Τὸ τε γὰρ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣς περιεβέβλητο ὄκνει καταλύσαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐμέλλε τοῦ Ῥοῦλλου φέλεσθαι (τὴν γὰρ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου ἑώρα), ἐκεῖνο τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχῶν χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιστρέψαι 1 μᾶλλον, ὅστε εἶ ἄδοκήτου αὐτῷ συγγροῦ, ἦθελησε. τὸ τε οὐν πρόσωπον συντρέψας καὶ τὸν δήμον δριμὺ
7 ὑποβλέψας τὴν φωνὴν ἐνέτεινε καὶ εἶπε. καὶ σιωπὴ μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠσύχαζον, ἀλλὰ οἶον τε φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτῷ 2 τε ἐπι-
στένοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τονθρόμοντες ἐν μὲν
οὐδὲν λαλοῦντες ἐξηκούντο, σωθήναι δὲ δὴ τὸν
ἲππαρχον ἐπιθυμεῖν ὑποπτεύοντο. ἵδον δὲ ταῦθ'
ὁ Πατρίσιος καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ 3 καὶ νεοχώρωσοί τι,
τοῦ τε πάνυ ἀρχικοῦ, ὅπερ ἔστη ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ μεῖζον τοῦ καθήκοντος προσεπτοίητο, ὑφήκε,
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μετριάζων ἐς τε φιλίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
προθυμίαν αὐθίς σφᾶς ἀντικατέστησεν, ὡστε
συμβαλόντας τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνδρίσασθαι.—Μ. 61
(p. 160).
8 "Οτι νικηθέντες οἱ Σαυνίται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς

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καὶ ἡττήσας αὐτοὺς ἐνάγκασεν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις
συμβῆναι αἰς ἐκείνοις ἐβούλετο. ἀποθεμένου δὲ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν αὐθίς.

Τπὸ δὲ Κορηλίου Ἀὐλοῦ δικτάτορος καὶ πάλιν
πολέμηθέντες καὶ ἡττηθέντες διεκηρυκεύσαντο

1 ἐπιστρέψαι Polak, ἐπιστρέψαι Ms.
2 αὐτῷ Mai., αὐτῷ Ms.
3 μὴ added by Mai.
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. 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

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the Samnites and by defeating them compelled them to agree to such terms as he wished. But when he had resigned his command they again rose in arms.

They were attacked anew by the dictator Aulus Cornelius, and being defeated, made proposals for

1 Dio probably inserted at this point the speech of Papirius; but the Ms. of the excerpts gives no indication of a lacuna.
τε αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσους εἶχον αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες σφησι, καὶ τίνος Παπίου, ἃνδρὸς ἐσ τὰ πρώτα τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶς ἄξιομενον καὶ τὴν ἀιτίαν τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν φερομένου, τὴν τε οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ, ἐπειδὴ φθάσας ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο, διαρρήψατες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπιστοὶ τε γὰρ δόξαντες εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς παράκρουσιν τοῦ ἄει κρατοῦντός σφόν σπενδεσθαι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐχ εὐροντὸ τι συμβατικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσπονδόν σφιαὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασαν. οἱ γὰρ Ρωμαίοι, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες, ἀκηρυκτὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο.— U° 1 (p. 374). Parts also in Suidas s.vv. παράκρουσιν, οὐχ ὅσον, ἀκηρυκτεἰ; cf. also s.v. ἄξιομενον.

Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ ἄνθρωπείου γένους θαυμάσειν ἄν τις, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ τὰ τότε γενόμενα· οἱ τε γὰρ Ρωμαῖοι ύπεραυχήσαντες, ὥστε μήτε κήρυκα ἐτε ὕπ’ εἰρήνη παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν προσδέχεσθαι ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσελπίσαι καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰρήσειν, παθή-

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πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τε ὅσους εἶχον πέμψαντες αὐτῶς, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου Ῥουτούλῳ, ἀνδρὶ δυνατῷ παρ’ αὐτῶς, ἐπιγράφοτες· οὐ τὰ ὀστὰ, ἐπεὶ φθάσας ἕκεινος διεχειρίσατο ἑαυτῶν, διέρριψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης ὡς ἀπιστοί, ἀλλ’ ἀσπονδοῦν σφίσιν ἐψηφίσαντο πόλεμον, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες. ὑπεραυχήσαντες οὖν οἱ Ρω-

1 Παπίου Leunol., Παπίου Mss.
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 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 arrog-
ματι δεινῷ περιέπεσον καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνη οίᾳ οὐ πώποτε ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλοις τε ύπερδείσαντες καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι ποιησάμενοι πανσυδία τε τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐξώγρησαν καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ τὸν ξυγὸν ὑπήγαγον ἐς τούτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τύχη περιέστη.—Μ. 62 (p. 161).

11 Αἱ εὐεργεσίαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον προαιρέσει εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, οὐκ ὡργῆς, οὐκ ἀπάτης, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων γίγνονται, ἀλλ' αὐθαίρετοι παρ' ἐκουσίας καὶ προθύμου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτελοῦνται καὶ διὰ ταύτα χρή τοὺς μὲν πλημμελήσαντάς τι ἐλεεῖν νοθετεῖν παιδευεῖν, τοὺς δὲ εὗ ποιήσαντας θαυμάζειν φιλεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι. καὶ ὅταν γε ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν έκάτερον γένηται, πολὺ ποὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἡθείς ἡμῶν2 προσήκει τῶν ἀμεινόνων μνημονεύειν ἢ τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46 (Μ. p. 535).

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μαῖοι καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰρήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, δεινῷ παθήματι περιέπεσον. ὑπερδείσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σαυνίται καὶ ἐν συμφορᾷ ποιοῦμενοι τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀπεγνωσμένοι μαχόμενοι, καὶ λοχήσαντες ἐν τινὶ χώρᾳ κοιλοτέρᾳ καὶ στενῇ, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον εἶλον

1 αὐτῶν Bk., ἀνθρώπων Mss.
2 ἡμῶν Α, όμῶν 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

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¹ See note on p. 259.
“Ότι αἱ διαφοραὶ εὐεργεσίαις παῦνται· καὶ ὡσ ἄν τις ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔχθρας ἐλθὼν σωτηρίας ἀντὶ τιμωρίας παρὰ δόξαν τύχη, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνην τε ἔκῶν καταλύει καὶ ταύτης ἁσμένος ἡττᾶται· ὡσ τοῦ ἄλλου πως διενεχθέντων οἱ ἐκ φιλίας ἐς ἔχθραν χωρήσαντες μισοῦσιν ἄλλη- λους, ἐπὶ πλείον καὶ τῶν ἄλλως πως εὐεργητηθέντων οἱ ἐκ διαφορᾶς εὐ παθόντες φιλοῦσι τοὺς πεποιηκότας. καὶ Ὦματοι οὐν βούλονται μὲν καὶ μᾶλα πολέμω 1 κρατιστεύειν, προσέτι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμῶσι, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἴνα γα- κασμένοι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς γενναιότητῃ τὸ κρατεῖν ἐπικερδαίνουσι, σπουδάζοντες ἀεὶ τὰ ὄμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις καθ’ ὑπερβολὰς ἁμύνεσθαι.—Μ. 63 (p. 161).

13 Μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντὰς τι ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ φρονεῖν, μεῖζον δὲ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς εὐεργητῆσαντι τί ἀμείβεσθαι ἐχεῖν.—Μαξ. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536).

14 Πεφύκασι γὰρ 2 πάντες ἀνθρώπου πλέον ἀλγεῖν ὅπως ἀν ἀτιμασθῶσιν ἡ χαίρειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἄν εὐερ- γετηθῶσι, καὶ ρᾷ γε ἐπέξερχονται τοῖς τι λυπήσασι σφας ἢ ἁνυποργοῦσι τοῖς εὐ ποιή- σασι, τῇ τῇ 3 κακοδοξίαν του τῶν σώσαντα μὴ δι’ εὐνοίας ποιήσασθαι παρ’ οὔδεν πρὸς τὰ συμ- φέροντα αὐτῶν τιθέμενοι, καὶ τῷ θυμομενῷ καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν σφὼν χαριζόμενοι.

1 μὲν καὶ μᾶλα πολέμω Bk., δὲ καὶ ἁμα πολέμω Mai, Ms. now illegible. 2 πεφύκασι γὰρ flor., δτι 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.
Τοιαύτα αυτοίς παρά τής ἐμφύτου φρονήσεως καὶ παρά τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γῆρως ἐμπειρίας οὐ τὸ αὐτικὰ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπειτὰ ἀλγείνων προσκοπῶν παρῆνεσεν.—Μ. 64 (p. 162) and πεφύκασι γὰρ πάντες—ποιήσασιν Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536).

"Οτι οἱ Καπνηνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤτηθέντων καὶ ἐς Καπνήν ἐλθόντων οὔτ' εἴπον αὐτοὺς δεινῶν οὔδὲν οὔτε ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ἵππους αὐτοῖς ἐδωκαν καὶ ὡς κεκρατηκότας ὑπεδέξαντο· οὖς γὰρ οὐκ ἤν ἐβούλοντο διὰ τὰ προγεγορότα σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν νευκηκέναι, τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας ἠλέησαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι

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καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξώγρησαν πανσυδί καὶ πάντας ὑπηγαγον ὑπὸ τὸν ξυγόν (τί δ' ἦν τὸ τοῦ ξυγοῦ ἡδὴ μοι ἀνωθέ που ἱστόρηται), οὐδένα μέντοι ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ὑπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ἅλλα ὅσα εἶχον πλὴν ἐνὸς ἱματίου ἀφεῖλοντο, καὶ γυμνοὺς σφάς ἄφηκαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαι τοῦ τε τῆς χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ συμμάχους σφίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης εἶναι. ἦν δὲ τὰ τῆς ὅμολογίας καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας βεβαιωθῶσι, τῶν ἵππεων ἐξακοσίους εἰς ὁμηρείαν κατέσχον.

Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ Σπουρίως τε Ποστούμιος καὶ Τιβέριος Καλούνιος μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὑρὸς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἀξιολογοῦται εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλθοσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται κατὰ τοὺς ἄγρους ἐσκεδά-

1 τούτους κακοτυχήσαντας Gros, τὸτεις κακοτυχήσασιν Ms.
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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

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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\(^1\) Calvius 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.
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ος τα πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν, ἀποροι πανταχόθεν ἐγένοντο, μὴ δ ὅπως ἠσθώσι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ μὴ δ ὅπως ἀχθεσθώσι ἐχοντες· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης ὑπερῆλθον, ἀπαξιοῦντες ἄλλως τε τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι, ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ ὅτι, εἴπερ τε τοιούτον συνεβεβήκει σφίσι, καὶ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπασιν ἐκινδύνευσαν, οὐκ ἄκουσιως ἤκουν ὅτι εσώθησαν.—Μ. 65 (p. 162).

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σθησαν. οὐ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθόντες οὔτε ἠσθήναι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ οὔτ' ἀχθεσθήναι ἤδυναντο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν ὑπερῆλθον, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τοιαύτα πεπόνθασι, μεῖζον σφίσι τὸ ἀλγὸς εὕμενο: λογιζόμενοι δὲ ὅσι εἰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη, καὶ περὶ πάντα ἀν ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἐπὶ τῇ σφῶν ἤδυντο σωτηρίᾳ. ἐπικρύπτοντες δὲ τέως τὸ ἢδεσθαι, πένθος ἐπεποιήκεσαν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ ἐπράξαν, οὔτ' αὐτικα οὔθ' ὕστερον, ἕως ἀντεπεκράτησαν τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους μὲν παραχρήμα ἐπαυσαν, ἐτέρους δ' ἀνθελόμενοι βουλὴν ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ ἑδόκει μὲν σφίσι μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν σύμβασιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἵν τοῦτο δρᾶσαι μὴ οὖχι πρὸς τοὺς πράξαντας αὐτὴν τρέψαντες τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅκνουν μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων καταψηφίσασθαι

1 καὶ St., καὶ Ms.
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 σωτηρίας της έαυτών πάσιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἐστὶ προνοεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐν κυνινῷ τινὶ καταστῶσι, πάν ὅτι οὐκ ὅστε σωθῆναι πράττειν.—M. 66 (p. 163).

"Οτι συγγνώμη καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων δίδοται τοῖς ἀκούσιοι τι πράξειοι.—M. 67 (ib.).


Zonaras 7, 26.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὡς ἀρχάς τινας ἀρχινούς τὰς σπονδας ἐποιήσαντο, ὄκνουν δὲ καὶ ἀφείνας, ἵνα μὴ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς τὸ παρασπόνδημα περιστῆσον, αὐτοὶς οὖν ἐκεῖνος τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπεκοινώσαντο, καὶ πρῶτο γε τῷ Ποστομύρῳ τὴν ψήφον ἐπήγαγον, ὅπως αὐτὸς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γνώμην ἀποφήγηται, αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ μὴ πάντας ἀδοξίας ἀναπλησίασαι. οὐ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐφ’ μὴ δεῖν κυρωθῆναι τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πεπραγμένα παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑκουσίως πρᾶξει αὐτὰ, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη συνεχομένως, ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐπήγαγον οἱ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐξ ἁρετῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ δόλου καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας. οἱ γὰρ ἀπανεμόνες, εἰ ἀντιπαθήθησαν, οὐκ ἂν δύναντο δικαίως ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς ἀνταπατήσασι. ταῦτα τοῖς εἰπόντος καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἡ γερουσία ἐγένετο τοῦ δὲ Ποστομύρου καὶ τοῦ Καλούνου εἰς ἑαυτῶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναδεχομένων,
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 οἱ Σαουνίται ὁρῶντες μήτε τὰς συνβῆκας σφίσει τηρουμένας μήτε ἅλλην χάριν ἀντιδιδο-μένην, ἅλλ' ὄλγους ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐς παραγωγὴν τῶν ὄρκων ἐκδιδομένους, δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν, ἐπεθείαζον ¹ τέ τινα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὰς πίστεις αὐτῶν προφερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπῆτον τοὺς ἅλοντας, ἐκέλευον τε αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτόν ξυγὸν γυμνοὺς ἐσελθεῖν οὔπερ ἐλεηθέντες ἀφείθησαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μάθοσιν ² τοῖς ἀπαξ ὁμολογη-θείσων ἐμμένειν. καὶ ἀντέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας, εἰτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἦξισσαν σφας μηδὲν ἡδικηκότας ἀπόλεσαι, ἢ ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν προσάψασθαι ἡθέλησαν καὶ μὴ δι' ὄλγων ἀνδρῶν κολάσεος τοὺς ἅλλους ἀπολύσαι. ταῦτ' ἐπράξαν ἐπιπί-σαντες ἐκ τούτων ἐπιεικὲς τι εὑρίσεσθαι.—
Μ. 68 (p. 163).

"Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Σαουνίταις οὐχ ὅτι χάριν τινὰ τῆς γοῦν τῶν ἐκδοθέντων σωτηρίας ἔσχον,

Zonaras 7, 26.

ἐψηφίσθη μήτε κυρωθήναι τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἐκείνους τε ἐκδοθήναι.

Ἀπήχθησαν οὖν καὶ ἀμφω οἱ ὑπατοί καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀρχοντες οἱ ἑπὶ τοὺς ὄρκοις παρουσιάσαντες εἰς τὸ Σαυνίον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὺς οἱ Σαουνίται ἐδέ-ξαντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἅλοντας ἀπῆτον ἀπαντάς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεβοῶντο καὶ ἐπεθείαζον, καὶ τέλος τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας ἀντέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκεί-

¹ ἐπεθείαζον Gros, . . . α' τον MS.
² μάθοσι v. Herw., . . . στ' MS.
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
ἀλλ᾽ ὅσπερ τι δεινόν ἐκ τούτου παθόντες ὀργῇ τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐποίησαντο, καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἀντειργάσαντο· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ νομιζομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὥς πλῆθει κρίνεται, οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη τις ἐστὶ νικάν τοὺς ἀδικομένους, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοκράτωρ ὃν τὰ τέ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συμ- ἕρεν τίθεται καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου νόμισιν ἐς τοῦ- ναντίον πολλάκις περιστησιν.—Μ. 69 (p. 163).

22 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σαυνιτῶν κρατήσαντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τὸν ξυγὸν ἀνθυπήγαγον, ἔξαρ- κεῖν σφίσι νομίσαντες τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας αἰσχύνης ἀνταπόδοσιν. οὐτω μὲν ἡ τύχη πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ περιστάσα, καὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑβρισθέντων τὰ αὐτᾶ ἀντιποίησασα, διεδειξε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ὅλον αὐτὴ δυναμένη.—Μ. 70 (p. 164).

23 Ὅτι ὁ Παπίριος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς ἐς πολιορκίαν προσή- δρευε σφίσι, καὶ τούτῳ ὑπειδίσαντός τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι οἶνῳ πολλῷ ἔχριτο, ἐφ᾽ ὅτι τὸ μὲν

Zonaras 7, 26.

ὁργῇ τὴν μάχην ἐπήγαγον. καὶ κρατήσαντες τὰ ὁμοία σφίσιν ἐποίησαν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ξυγὸν αὐτοὺς ἀνθυπήγαγον καὶ ἀφῆκαν, μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν δρά- σαντες. καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἵππεις, οὕς ὡς ὁμήρους κατέχον οἱ Σαυνίται, ἀπαθεῖς ἐκομίσαντο.

1 αὐτοῖς Bk., αὐτοῖς Ma. 2 αὐτοῖς Bk., τοῖς Ma.
268 3 ἐν βραχυτάτῳ Cary, ἐς βραχύτατον Ma.
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-

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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.
μή εἰναι μὲ μεθυστικοῦ παντὶ που δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ πρωιάτατά με ὑρθὲνσθαι και ἐκ τοῦ ὑμιάτατα καταδαρθῶν ἔστιν διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ ¹ κοινὰ ἀεὶ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὁμοίως ἐν φροντίδι ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ῥάδιος ὑπνοῦ λαχεῖν, τὸν οἶνον κατακομμῆσοντά ² με παραλαμβάνω.—Μ. 71 (p. 164).

24 Ὁτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐφοδεύων ποτὲ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ μὴ εὐρῶν τὸν Πραιστήνων στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει ὅντα ἤγανάκτησεν, εἰτα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τῷ βασιδούχῳ τὸν πέλεκυν προχειρίσασθαι· ἐκπλαγέντος τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν καταδείκτας, τῷ τε φῶβῳ αὐτοῦ ἤρκεσθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἐδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ρίζας τών παρὰ τὰ σκηνώματα οὖσας ἐκκόψα τῷ βασιδούχῳ, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς παριόντας λυπώσῃ, προσέταξεν.—Μ. 72 (ib.).

25 Ὁτι αἱ εὐπραγίαι οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολλοῖς παραμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς ἀφυλαξίαν παραγαγοῦσαι φθείρουσι.—Μ. 73 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

1. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους πλείονας αὔθις τοῖς Σαυνίταις πολεμοῦντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, Γαῖτου Ἰουνίου ἡγομένου αὐτῶν, συμφορὰ περίεπεσον. πορθοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἰουνίου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὰς ὀλας τὰς Ἀόρους τὰ προσόντα οἱ Σαυνίται ἀνεκομίσαντο, οὕτω καλουμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὀρνης εἰσπέπεσθαι εἰς αὐτὰς τῇ τῶν δένδρων πυκνότητι. ἐκεί δὲ ὄντες, ποίμνια τινα ποιμένων

1 τὰ τὰ Bk., τὰ Ms.
2 κατακομμῆσοντά St., κατακομμῆσοντά Ms.

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upon he replied: "That I am not a drunkard 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

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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 (Aornos) means "birdless."
26 "Οτι Πατίριοι δικτάτορα προεβάλοντο οἱ εν τῷ ἀστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ οἱ Ρούλλοις οὐκ ἔθελήσῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβάντα οἱ εν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ εἰπεῖν, ἐπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δεόμενοι τὰ 1 κοινὰ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας προτιμῆσαι. καὶ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπειδή δὲ νῦς ἐγένετο (νυκτὸς γὰρ πάντως ἐκ τῶν πατρίων τὸν δικτάτορα ἔδει λέγεσθαι), εἶπε τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκκλειαν ἐκ τούτου μεγίστην ἔλαβεν.—V. 19 (p. 585).

27 "Οτι "Ἀππίος ο τυφλὸς καὶ ο Οὐολούμνιος 2 διερέστηκαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους' ἄφ' οὔπερ Οὐολούμνιος τοῦ 'Ἀππίου προενεγκόντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι σοφότερος ὑφ' ἕαυτον γεγονὸς οὐδεμίαν οἱ χάριν εἰδεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ γεγονέναι οὕτως σοφότερος καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τοῦτ' ἐφη, ἐκεῖνον δὲ μηδὲν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι.—Μ. 74 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἡ φρουρῶν ἀνευ προκαθυπατάντες καὶ ψευδαυτο-μόλους υποστέμποντες, ὡς ἐφ' ἐτούχην λείαν αὐ-τοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο· εἶσω δὲ γενομένως τῆς ὀλης περιέσχον τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαισάντο κτείνοντες πρὶν τέλεων ἐκκαλεῖν.

Καὶ ἄλλοτε δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολε-μῆσαντες οἱ Σαυνίται καὶ ἤττηθέντες οὐκ ἐφη-σύχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμάχους ἄλλους τε προσ-δαὐμένου καὶ Γαλάτας, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ἐλάσσοντες ἠτοιμάζοντο. δ' οἱ Ῥωμαίοι

1 τὰ Val., ὥσ τὰ Ms. 2 Οὐολούμνιος Bk., βολούμνιος Ms.
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 Volumnnius became at variance with each other; and it was owing to this that Volumnnius 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,
"Οτι ο ομιλος περι της μαντειας παραχρημα μεν ουθ' οπως πιστευση ουθ' οπως απιστηση αυτοφ

Zonaras 8, 1.

μαθόντες ες δεος κατέστησαν, καλ σημειουν πολ- λων ες τουτο αυτους εναγοντων. εν γαρ τον Καπιτωλιφ εκ του βωμου του Διος αιμα τρισιν 
ημερας, μια δε μελι και εν ετερα γαλα θρυλλειται 
avadobhia, ει τω ταυτα πιστα· καλ εν τη άγορα 
Νικης τη άγαλμα χαλκεον ιδρυμενον επι βαθρου 
λυθιν αυτοματος ευρεθη κατω έστος επι γης· 
ετυγχανε δε έκει αποβλεπον οθεν οι Ταλαται 
ηδη επιησαν. ταυτ ουν καλ άλλως εξεφοβει τον 
δημου, πλεον δ ιπτο των μαντεων κεκριμενα 
αιτασια. Μανιος δε τις Τυρσηνος το γενος 
θαρσυνε μν αυτους, ειπον την τε Νικην, ει κα 
κατεβη, άλλε εις το προσθεν προχωρησασαν και 
βεβαιωτερον επι της γης ιδρυθησαν το κρατος 
σφισι προδηλουν του πολεμου κατ τουτου και 
θυσιας πολλας γενησεσθαι τοις θεοις· τους γαρ 
βωμους, καλ μαλιστα τους εν τη Καπιτωλιφ, 
εν φ τα νικητηρια θυσουσι, εν ταις ευπραγια 
αυτων, άλλη ουκ εν ταις συμφοραις κατ' έθος 
αιματτεσθαι. εκ μεν ουν τουτων άγαθων τι σφας 
επειθε προσδοκαν, εκ δε του μελιτος νοσουν, δι 
αυτου οι καμνουτες δεονται, καλ εκ του γαλακτος 
λυμον· ες γαρ τοσαθηρ συστειαι αφιξεσθαι οστε 
καλ την αυτοφυτου την τε αυτονομου ζητησαι 
τροφην.

Ο μεν ουν Μανιος ουτω τα των σημειων
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

εἴχεν οὖτε γὰρ ἐπίξειν πάντα ἐβοῦλετο, ὅτι μηδὲ γενέσθαι πάντα ἠθέλεν, οὕτως ἀπιστεῖν ἀπασιν ἐτόλμα, ὅτι νικήσαι ἐπεθύμηε, ἀλλ' οἶα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε εὐχῆς καὶ τοῦ φόβου ὁν χαλεπώτατα διήγην. συμβαντών δ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκάστων καὶ τῆς ἐρμήνευσιν σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἑργών πείρας ἐφήρ- μοσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πρόγνωσιν προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπεχείρει.—
M. 75 (p. 165).

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἡμήνευσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δ' ἐσύστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ μαντείας ἐκβάσης, σοφίας ἐκομίσατο δόξαν καὶ προγνώσεως: ὃς ὁ Οὐσολούμνος τοῖς Λαυνίταις πολεμεῖν ἐκελεύσθη, τοῖς ὁ Γαλάταις καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἀντικαταστήναι ὑπατοι αἱρέθεντες ἐπέμφθησαν ὁ τε Πούλλος ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μάξιμος καὶ ὁ Δεκίος ὁ Πούπλιος. οὐ πρὸς τὴν Τυρσηνίδα στουθῇ ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ 'Απιτίου στρατόπεδον ἱδόντες διπλὸ σταυρώ- ματί κατωχυρωμένον, τοὺς σταυροὺς ἀνέσπασάν τε καὶ διεφόρησαν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς στρατιώτας διδάσκον- 

1 γενέσθαι πάντα Mai, γενέσθαι πάντων Ms.
2 οὖτως Mai, ἀυτὸν ἀν Ms.
3 αὖ St., ἀν Ms.
4 τε εὐχῆς Polak, ταραχῆς Ms.
5 τὴν τοῦ Βα., τὴν Ms.
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
"Ότι οἱ Σαυνίται ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤττᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀποκινδύνευσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὡς ἦτοι κρατήσοντες ἡ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι θρήνων, καὶ τὴν τε ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπελέξαντο, θάνατόν τε

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἐτέρους χωρήσασα κατεκόπη, καὶ τὸν τε φόβον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν συντυχίαν τοῦ πάθους κατέλιπε. συμπεσόντων οὖν τῶν στρατευμάτων ὁ μὲν Μάξι- μος ῥάον τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐνίκησεν, ἔτητητο δὲ γε ὁ Δέκιος. ἐνθυμήθης δὲ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἢν διὰ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐποίησα, ἑαυτὸν ὁμοίως ἐπέδωκε, μὴ τινὶ περὶ τῆς πραξεως κοινοσάμενος. ἀρτι δὲ ἐσφακτό καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνον αἴδοι ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς θανόντος ἐθελοντο, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἕκ τοῦτον κρατήσειν, τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ τοῖς διόκοις σφᾶς γενναίως ἀντικατέστησαν. καν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Μάξι- μος κατὰ νότος τε αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε καὶ παμπολ- λοὺς ἐφόνευσεν· οί δὲ περιλιθθέντες ἀποδιδρα- σκοῦντες διεθάρησαν. Μάξιμος δὲ Φάβιος τὸν μὲν τοῦ Δεκίου νεκρὸν κατέκαυσε σὺν τοῖς σκύλοις, τοῖς δὲ εἰρήνης δεθεῖσι σπονδᾶς ἐποίησατο.

Τῷ δ’ ἔξῆς ἔτει αὖθις τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπολέ- μησεν Ἀτίλιος Ῥήγουλος. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἰσορροπῶς ἑμάχοντο· εἶτα κρατησάντων τῶν Σαυνίτων αὖθις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντιπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἐλόντες αὐτοὺς ὑπήγαγον ὑπὸ τῶν ξυγῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἄφηκαν. Σαυνίται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν θρήνων, ὡς ἦν κρατήσοντες ἡ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι, θάνατον

278 ¹ 'Ἀτίλιος Pinder, ἀτίλιος AC, ἀτίλιος B'. 
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-
προειπόντες ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν οἶκοι καταμένη, καὶ ὄρκοις σφᾶς φρικώδεσι πιστωσάμενοι μὴτ' αὐτῶν τινα ἐκ μάχης φεύξεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπεχειρήσοντα τούτο ποιήσαι φονεύσειν.—Μ. 76 (p. 165).

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άπειλήσαντες τῷ ὦκοι μενοῦντι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ ἐρημοῦν ὄν στρατιωτῶν τὸ Σαύνιον ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις εἰλόν τινας. ὄθεν οἱ Σαυνίται τὴν Καμπανίαν λυπόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπείρησαν, καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ τῶν ὑπάτων συμμάζαντες ἐκ τινος ἢττηντο στρατηγήματος, καὶ φεύγοντες δεινῶς ἐπταισάν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέβαλον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πόλισμα ὡς ἐπεβοήθουν. ὃ δὲ ὑπατος τὰ τε ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε καὶ τὰ ἁθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδημοσίωσε, ὃ δ' ἐτερος ὑπατος κατὰ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στρατευσας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς δι' ὀλίγου, σύτον τε καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσπράξας, τὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιωταῖς διδόος, τὰ δ' εἰσήγεγεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς.

Συμβεβηκότος δὲ λοιμὸν ἵσχυρον, οἱ Σαυνίται καὶ Φαλίσκοι καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τῇ τῶν νόσου καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ὑπάτους οὐ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἤρημτο, ὡς μὴ πολέμων ὄντων, παρεκίνησαν. μαθόντες οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουνίῳ μὲν Βρούτῳ τῶν Καρουῖλων, Κυνώτῳ δὲ Φαβίῳ τῶν πατέρα τῶν Ρούλλου τῶν Μάξιμου ὑποστρατήγους ἢ πρεσβευτὰς συνεξέπεμψαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βρούτος Φαλίσκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρσηνῶν ἐληίζετο, Φάβιος

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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.

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...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
"Ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ρώμαιοι ὅτι ὁ ὑπατος Φάβιος ἤττήθη ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ τούτων μεταπέμψαντες εὐθυνον. κατηγορίας τε αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενομένης (καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δόξῃ ἐπὶ πλείου τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐβαρύνετο) ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἔδοθη, ὁ δὲ γέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπελογήσατο, κατα-

Zonaras 8, 1.

dὲ τῆς σ' Ῥώμης πρὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ληξέσθαι τὴν Καμπανίδα πυθό-
μενος ὑπείγετο. προσκόποις τὲ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐντυχῶν, καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωροῦντας σφᾶς θεασά-
μενος, πάντας τε τοὺς 1 πολεμίους ἐκεῖ τυγχάνειν ἐνόμισε καὶ φεύγειν ἐπίστευσε· κάκ τούτου
σπεύσας αὐτοῖς συμβαλειν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ
μὴ ἐκείνου δοκῇ, προεχώρησεν ἀσυντάκτως. καὶ περιπεσοῦν ἄθροίς τοῖς πολέμιοις πανσυδί ἀν
dιεφθάρη, εἰ μὴ νῦς ἔγενετο. πολλοὶ δὲ οὖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τεθανόμενοι, μήτ' ἱατροῦ μήτ' ἐπιτηθείον
tινὸς παρόντος, διὰ τὸ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν σκευοφόρων αὐτοὺς ἑπειδῆναι ὡς αὐτίκα νικήσοντας· καὶ
πάντως ἀν καὶ τῆς ύστεραίας ἀπόλουτο, εἰ μὴ
οἱ Σαυνίται τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐγγὺς εἶναι
νομίσαντες ἐδεισάν τε καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν.

Πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῷ ἁστει δεινῶς
ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν ὑπατὸν
eὐθύνειν ἥβελον. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ τούτου πατὴρ

1 toûs supplied by Bs.
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-
ριθμήσας δὲ τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα, καὶ προσυποσχόμενος μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράξειν τῆς τε ὁργῆς σφας παρέλυσεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν ἠλικίαν τοῦ νίεος προβαλόμενος· καὶ συνεξελθὼν εὑρίσκει τοὺς Σαννίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐπηρμένους κατέβαλεν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν εἶλεν. οἰ δὲ Ρωμαῖοι διὰ τούτο ἑκεῖνον τε ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν νίδον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρξαι ἐκείλεσαν, ὑποστρατήγησαν καὶ τότε τὸ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ ὅσα πάντα μὲν αὐτῷ διώκει καὶ διήγειν οὐδὲν τοῦ γῆρως φειδόμενος, καὶ τὰ γε συμμαχικὰ προθύμως οί, μνῆμη τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοῦ ἔργων, συνήρετο: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνδηλοὶ ἢν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ

Ζοναράς 8, 1.
καταριθμήσας τὰ τε οἰκεῖα καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθῆματα, καὶ ὑποσχόμενος μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξειν ἀνάξιον τοῦ νίδον καὶ τὴν τούτου νεώτητα πρὸς τὸ αὐτόχριστον προβαλόμενος, τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα παρέλυσεν. καὶ οἱ συνεξελθὼν μάχη τοὺς Σαννίτας ἐνίκησεν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν εἶλε τὴν τε χώραν ἐπορθήσας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἠλάσει καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐδημοσίωσεν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς κατένευσε. διὰ τοι ταῦτα οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἑκεῖνον τε ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν νίδον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρξαι ἐκείλεσαν, ὑποστρατήγησαν καὶ τότε τὸ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ ὅσα πάντα μὲν αὐτῶς διώκει καὶ διήγει μηδὲν τοῦ γῆρως φειδόμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνδηλοὶ ἢν δὲ

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1 προβαλόμενος Γτοβ, προβαλλόμενοι Μβ.
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-consult, 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-consult, 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
πράγματα ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ οὖντος ἐν τῇ συμβούλου καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχου μέρει τῷ παιδὶ συνὼν αὐτὸς τῇ ἐμετρίαξε καὶ τῇ δόξαι τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνῃ ἔπροστάθη.—V. 20 (p. 585).

32 "Ὅτι οἱ ... στρατιώται μετὰ Ποστομίου ἐξελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ὄδον τε ἐνόσησαν καὶ ἔδόκουν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἄλσους τομῆν πονεῖσθαι. ἐπ' οὖν τούτων ἀνακληθεῖν ἐν ὀλγωρίᾳ κάνταῤῥά αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λέγων οὐκ ἐαυτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ ἀλλ' ἐκείνης αὐτῶν ἀρχειν."—M. 77 (p. 166).

40 "Ὅτι Γάωνος Φαβρίκιος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅμοιος ἦν Ἀριβίνῳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀδωροδοκίᾳ πολὺ προέχων ἦν γὰρ ἀδωρότατος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὔτε ἤρέσκετο καὶ ἀεὶ ποτε διεφέρετο. ὅμως ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐπιτηθείωταν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν 2 τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἐνόμισεν ἐίναι, καὶ παρ' ὀλγου τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν γε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκτήσατο, κρίττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, ὅσπερ ποὺ

Zonaras 8, 1.

ἐαυτοῦ τὰ πράγματα πράττον, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαι τῶν ἔργων τῷ παιδὶ προσήπτε.

1 ἐκείνῃ supplied by Rk.
2 The words following οἱ and στρατιώται are illegible in the Ms.; οἱ σὺν τῷ 'Ιονίῳ στρατιώται ἢμα τῷ Ποστομίῳ Μαί, οἱ τοῦ 'Ιουνίου στρατιώται σὺν Π. Be., μετὰ Ποστομίου Cary.
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.

$^3$ εαυτοῦ... δρχεις Bs. Very few letters are legible in the Ms. after εαυτο

$^4$ ἀδυρομακία Val., δυρομακία Ms.

$^5$ ἅχειρομακία Val., ἅχειρομακία βηθη Ms.

$^6$ ἅμβασεν Val., ἅμβασεν Ms.
καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγύγυεται. φιλόπολις τε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὄν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ προσχῆματι ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶν, 1 ἐν τῷ ἰσῳ τὸ τε υφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ ῥ δὲ ἐτέρου τινὸς, κἂν διάφορος οἱ ᾗ, εὐ τι τὴν πόλιν παθεῖν ἐτίθετο.—V. 21 (p. 586) and M. 78 (p. 166) (κρείττων—ἐγγύγυεται).

36,33 "Οτε ἔρωτηθεὶς Γάιος Φαβρίκιος διὰ τί τῶ ἔχθρο τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε τὴν τε ἀλλήν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπήμεσε καὶ πρὸς ἐπεν ὅτι αἱρετότερον ἠστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολίτου συληθήναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πραθῆναι. 3—M. 79 (p. 166).

37 "Οτε 4 Κουρίος τὰ πεπραγμένα οί ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀπολογιζόμενος ἐφη ὅτι γῆν μὲν τοσαύτην προσεκτήσατο ὅσην οὐκ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐλάττους ἐξειργάσαμεν καὶ ἄνθρωποι τόσους ἐθηράσατο ὅσοι οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττους χώρα ἐξήρκεσαν.—M. 80 (ib.).

2 "Οτε 5 χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν δημάρχων ὁ νόμος κελεύων τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ὑπερημερίων πολλάκις μάτην ἐξετέθη, πᾶν ἀπολαβέω τῶν δα-

Zonaras 8, 2.

2. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δημάρχων τινῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς εἰσηγησαμένων, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ παρὰ

1 ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶν Rk., ἀρίστων Ms.
2 τὸ supplied by Bk.
3 The words ἔρωτηθεὶς Γάιοι, ἐπέτρεψε, αὐτοῦ ἐπήμεσε, 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 Ma.

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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

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2. After this, when some of the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the people, since this was

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 of εὐπατρίας) 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.

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νειστῶν Βουλομένων, τῶν δὲ δὴ δημάρχων άντεσιν
didόντων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἡ τούτων ἐπιψυφίσαντας τῶν
νόμων τὰ ἀρχαία μόνα λαβεῖν ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοις τούς
3 ἀποφοραίς τριέτεσι κομίσασθαι. καὶ ἐν μὲν
τῷ παραχρῆμα οἷς τῷ ἀσθενέστεροι ὁκνήσαντες μὴ
cαι τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνοιεν ἀμφότερα προσήκαντο
καὶ οἱ εὐπορότεροι θαρσήσαντες ὡς οὐδέτερον
ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἡχόσων ἐπείδη δὲ ἐπισχεῖν ὑπὸ
μεταστῶ πτη ἐμελλεῖν, ἐς τούναντιν ἀμφότεροι
αὐτοῖς περιέστη τοῖς τε ἡ ἐφελλοῦσιν οὐδέτερον
ἐκ αὐτῶν ἔξηρκεσί, καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἀγαπητῶν
ἐδόκει εἰναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων στερηθεῖν.
οὔτ' οὖν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντε ἡ στάσις διεκρίθη,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν
συνέβαλλον ἄλλοις: οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ
4 καθεστώτι προσώπῳ ἐποίουν. τελευτῶντες οὖν
οὐδὲ ἑθελόντων τῶν δυνατῶν ἕπληθος πλείω τῶν
κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐλπισθέντων σφύσιν ἀφεῖναι συνηλ-
λάγησαν, ἄλλ' ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἑκούντας αὐτοὺς
ἐώρων, ἐπὶ πλείον ὡς καὶ δικαιῶματί τινι περι-
γιγνόμενοι ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἀεὶ

Zonaras 8, 2.

tῶν δανειστῶν αὕτη ἐδίδοτο, ἐστασίασε τὸ
πλῆθος· καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς στάσεως κατη-
nύσθη ἐως πολέμωι 3 τῇ πόλει ἐσπήλθοσαν.

1 ταῦτα Niebuhr, τούτων Ms. 2 δυνατῶν Mai, δυναστῶν Ms.
3 πολέμωι Wolf, πολέμωι Ms.
BOOK VIII

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.
συγχωρούμενα αυτούς ός καὶ ἀναγκαῖα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐτίθεντο καὶ ἑτέρων ἐπωρέγοντο, ἐπιβασίαν ἐς αὐτὰ τὸ τινὸν ἰδὴ τετυχηκέναι ποιούμενοι.—Μ. 81 (p. 166).

38 "Ὅτι ὡς εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἑτέρων στρατηγῶν ἐλθόντα, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς στρατείας σφῶν ἡμέλησαν, τὴν δὲ ἱδίαν ἐκαστοὶ σωτηρίαν διεσκόπουν, οἷα πον φιλοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ μῆτε ἔξ ὀμοφύλων συνιόντες μητ’ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐγκλημάτων στρατεύοντες μητ’ ἀρχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς 2 εὐπραγίαις συμφρονοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς μόνον προορᾶται. καὶ ὁρμήσαν ἐς φυγήν, ἐπειδὴ συνεσκότασε, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἑπικοινωνήσαντες ἀθρόοι μὲν γὰρ οὐτ’ ἂν βιῶσασθαι οὔτ’ ἂν λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπόδρασιν ἐνόμισαν, ἂν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἱδία ἐκαστοὶ καὶ ὅς ἰ勠το μόνοι ποι ἀπίστι, ῥᾷν πον διαπεσεῖσθαι. καὶ οὔτω τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν δόγματι ὅτι ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν φυγὴν ποιησάμενοι . . . —Μ. 82 (p. 167).

1 κοινῶν Gros., κοινοῦ Ms.
2 ἕνα ἔχοντες Mai, ἕνα ἔχοντα ἕνα ἔχοντες Ms.
3 οὔτ’ Mai, ὅτ’ Ms.
4 τοι ἀπίστι Βσ., τη . . . Ms.
5 δόγματι Mai, δό . . . Ms. (δόξουσι Mai).
6 ἀσφαλέστατα ΒΚ., ἀσφαλέστατον 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 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 uncemented 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 "Ὅτι πυθομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Ταραντίνοι καὶ ἄλλοι1 τινὲς πόλεμον ἀρτύνουσι κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Φαβρίκιον ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, ὡπώς μηδὲν νεωτέρισσως, στειλάντων, ἑκεῖνον τε συνέλαβον, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Ὀμβρίκους2 καὶ Γαλάτας συνήν τῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα τοὺς δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον, προσαπέστησαν.—U3

(p. 375).

3 "Ὅτι οἱ Ταραντίνοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοὶ παρασκευάζοντες, ὡμοὶ ἐν σκέψῃ τοῦ φόβου3 ἦσαν· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἴσθάνοντο μὲν τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ'4 αὐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διὰ τὰ παρόντα σφίση. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο νομίσαντες γούν ἡ διαφυγεῖν5 ἡ πάντως γε λανθάνειν, ὅτι μηδ' ἐγκλημα ἐλάμβανον, ἐπὶ πλείον ἔξυ-

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Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν πολέμων οἱ Ταραντίνοι, Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Γαλάτας καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ ἄλλους προσεπερισάμενοι πλείονας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ συμβαλόντες διαφόροι μάχαι εἴκησαν καὶ ὕπατοι ἄλλοτε ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ Ταραντίνοι, καὶ τούτοι αὐτοὶ τῶν πόλεμον παρασκευάζοντες, ὡμοὶ

1 ἄλλοι Υτ., ἄλλοι τε Μss. 2 'Ομβρίκους Υτ., ὀμβρίσκους Μss. 3 φόβου Bs. (and Ms.), φαβρίου or φαλίου Ms. as formerly read by Bs. 4 ὑπ' Βκ., ὑπ' Μss. 5 διαφυγεῖν Bs., δ. α., λείω Ms. 294
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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

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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
βρισαν καὶ ἀκονταὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξε-πολέμωσαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπαληθεύσαι ότι καὶ αἱ εὐπραγίαι, ἐπειδὰν ἐξου τοῦ συμμέτρου τισὶ γένωνται, συμφορῶν σφισιν αὐτῖαι καθίστανται προαγαγοῦσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἐκφρον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθέλει τὸ σῶφρον τῷ χαύνῳ συνεῖναι) τὰ μέγιστα σφάλλουσιν, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερανθήσαντες ἀντίπαλον τῆς ἀσελγείας κακοπραγίαν ἀντέλαβον.—Μ. 83 (p. 168) and αἱ εὐπραγίαι—σφάλλουσιν Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103 (Μ. p. 536).


5 "Οτι Δούκιος ἀπεστάλη παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Τάραντα. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεατρῳ διακορεῖς οἶνου τὸ δείλης καθήμενοι, πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφαῖς αὐτῶν ὑπετοπίσαν, καὶ παραχρῆμα δι’ ὀργῆς, καὶ τι καὶ τῆς μέθης αὐτῶν ἀναπειθοῦσι, ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ μήτε χείρας ἀνταιρομένω μὴθ’ ὀλος πολε—

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οὗπω πρὸς μάχην ἀντικατέστησαν φανερῶς. ναυ-αρχοῦντος δὲ Δουκίου Ὁυαλλέριου, καὶ τριήρει προσορμίζει βοηθήσετος ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπεὶ ἅπαρτε ὀπὴ σὺν αὐτάς ἀπεστάλη, φίλου τὴν χώραν ἴγομενος, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ αὐτῶν ὑποτηπή-σαντες τὸν Ὁυαλλέριον πλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ὧν ἔδρων, μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσ-πεσόντες αὐτῷ μηδὲν πολέμου ἐλπίσαντε κατέ—

296 1 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτοῖς Mss.
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,

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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
μιὸν τι υποτοπουμένῳ κατεδυσαν κάκεινον καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ ὦ Ρωμαιοὶ χαλεπῶς μὲν, ὥσπερ οὖν εἰκός, ἔφερον, οὐ μὴν καὶ στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἡθέλησαν. πρέσβεις μὲντοι, τοῦ μὴ κατασεσιωπηκέναι δόξαι κὰκ τοῦτον θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, ἔστειλαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι οὐχ ὅπως καλῶς ἐδέξαντο, ἦ τρόπον γέ τινα ἔπιτηδείου ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν, ἄλλῳ εὐθὺς, πρὶν καὶ λόγον σφίσι δοῦναι, γέλωτα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν 7 στολὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀστικὴ, ἢ κατ' ἀγορὰν χρώμεθαί ταύτην γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, εἰτ' οὖν σεμνότητος ἐνεκα εἰτε καὶ διὰ δέος, ἢν ἐκ γε τοῦτον αἵδεσθώσιν αὐτούς, ἐσταλάμενοι ἦσαν. κατὰ συνστάσεις τε οὖν κωμάζουστε ἐτώθαζον (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔρτην ἦγον, ὅφ' ἦς καῖτοι μηδένα χρόνου σωφρονοῦστε ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ὑβρίζον), καὶ τέλος προστάσις1 τις τῷ Ποστομίῳ καὶ κύψας ἑαυτὸν 8 ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ ἐκηλίδωσε. θο-

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δυσαν ἐκεῖνον τε καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας τοὺς μὲν καθείρξαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτείναν. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ ὦ Ρωμαιοὶ ἡγανάκτησαν μὲν, πρέσβεις δ' ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν ἐπεγεκαλοῦστε αὐτοῖς καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτοῦντες. οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀπεκρίθησαν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐτώθαζον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τοῦ Δούκιου Ποστομίου τοῦ προέχοντος κηλιδώσατο τῶν πρε̄
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

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both him and many others. Of the captives they imprisoned 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
ρύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπαινούντων ὅσπερ τι θαυμαστὸν εἰργασμένου, ἐς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολλὰ καὶ ἁσελγὴ ἀνάπαυστα ἐν ῥυθμῷ τοῦ τε κρότου καὶ τῆς βαδίσεως ἄδοντων, ὁ Ποστούμιος "γελάτε," ἔφη, "γελάτε, ἐως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν" κλαυσεῖσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἔσθήτα ταύτην τῷ αἵματι ὑμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

9 'Ακούσαντες τούτ' ἔκεινοι τῶν μὲν σκομμάτων ἐπέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν τοῦ υβρίσματος οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ σῶς αὐτοὺς αφήκαν, ἐν ἐνεργείαις μέρει ἐτίθεντο.—U 4 (p. 375), §§ 5–8, and M. 84 (p. 168), §§ 8, 9.

10 "Ὅτι Μέτων, ὡς οὐκ ἐπείσε Ῥαραντῖνος τὸ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπολεμωθῆρι, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐκκλησίας

Zonaras 8, 2.

σβεων. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου, καὶ τῶν Ῥαραντίνων ἐπικαγχαξόντων, ὁ Ποστούμιος "γελάτε," ἔφη, "γελάτε ἐως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν" κλαυσεῖσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἔσθήτα ταύτην τῷ αἵματι ὑμῶν ἀποπλύνητε."

'Επανελθόντων οὖν τῶν πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πραξθέντα μαθόντες ἠληγοῦσαν, καὶ στρατεύσασι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥαραντίνους Δούκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν ὑπατὸν ἐψηφίσαντο. ὡς εἰς Τάραντα προσχωρήσασα λόγος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείους ἐπέμψε, νομίζων εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τις μέτριους αἱρῆσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀλλήλως ἡματιώθησαν καὶ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ εὐπόρων τὴν εἰρήνην σπευδόντων, τῶν δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὀλίγα ἡ μηδὲν ἐχόντων πόλεμον αἰροῦ-
BOOK IX

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

Zonaras 8, 2.

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

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"Ως ὁ Κινέων ἐλέγετο Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς πλείονας πόλεις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεῖν δόρατος, καὶ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸς, φησὶ Πλούταρχος, ἐν τῷ λέγειν, καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει μόνος ἐν τῇ δεινότητι παρισούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ ἀτοπον τῆς ἐκστρατείας οἷα ἐμφρόων εἰδὼς ἀνήρ, ἐμποδῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐς λόγους ἠλθὼν καθίστατο." 

—Μ. 85 (p. 169).

40, 5

Zonaras 8, 2.

μένων, ἐκράτησαν οἱ νεώτεροι. φοβούμενοι δὲ ὅμως, τὸν Πύρρον τὸν Ἡπειρῶτην εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐβουλεύσαντο προσκαλέσασθαι, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῷ καὶ δώρα πεπόμφασιν. Αἰμιλίος δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτει καὶ ἐφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεξήλθον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐτράπησαν, ὡστε τούς Ρωμαίους τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀδεῶς πορθῆσαί καὶ τινα χειρώσασθαι φρούρια. πολλὴν δὲ τῶν ἀλόντων τοῦ Αἰμιλίου πεποιηκότος ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν δυνατοτέρων ἐλευθερώσαντο, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τὴν τε φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντες, καὶ εἰς ἐλπίδας προαχθέντες σπουδῶν, Ἀγών τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπιτήθειοι ὅτα εἰλοτο στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἀρτὶ δ' οὖτος κεχειρο-

1 ἐφη Μαλ, ἐδεί Μα.
2 αὐτοῦ Βκ., αὐτοῦ Μα.
3 δεινὸς Ρκ., δεινὸς εἶναι Μα.
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

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*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 Boislevain suggests that the two references are due to the exceptor.
ο μὲν γάρ ἄρξειν διὰ τὴν 1 ἀνδρείαν πάσης διενοεῖτο 2 τῆς γῆς, ο̣ δὲ ἀρκεῖσθαι ικανοῖς οὕσι τοῖς οἰκείοις πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πρὸτρέπειν. 3 ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλοπόλεμον τοῦ ἄνδρος καὶ φιλόπρωτον τὴν τοῦ Κινέων νικήσαν παραίνεσιν, αἰσχρῶς ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτοῦ καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας πεποίηκεν, πολλὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ 4 δυνάμεων μυριάδας εἰν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπάσαις ἀποβεβληκότα.—V. 22 (p. 586).

3 Ὁτι ο Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς τε Ἡπείρου καλομένης ἐβασιλεύεσε, καὶ τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τὸ πλείστον, τὸ μὲν εὐρεγείας τὸ δὲ φόβοι, προσεπεποίητο. Ἀιτωλοὶ τε πολὺ τότε δυνάμενοι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδών καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ δυνάσται ἑθεράπευσθαι αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ φύσεως λαμπρότητι καὶ παιδείας ἱσχύ καὶ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων πολὺ πάντων προέφερεν, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐαυτοῦ 5 καὶ τὰς τῶν 6 συμμάχων καὶ τερ μεγάλας οὕσας ἁξιοῦσθαι.—V. 23 (p. 589).

Zonaras 8, 2.

tόνητο καὶ Κινέας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου προπεμφθεὶς ἐμποδοῦν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐγένετο.

Ο γάρ Πύρρος τῆς καλομένης βασιλεύων Ἡπείρου φύσεως τε δεξιότητι καὶ παιδείας ἱσχὺ καὶ ἐμπειρία πάντων προέφερε, καὶ τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τὸ πλείστον, τὸ μὲν εὐποιοῖς, τὸ δὲ φόβῳ, προσεπεποίητο. οὖτος τοίς τοῖς τῶν Ταραντίνων

1 διὰ τῆς supplied by Val.  2 διενοεῖτο Bk., διενείτε Ms.  3 προέτρεπεν Reim., ἐπέτρεπεν Ms.  4 αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτῶν Ms.  5 έαυτοῦ Salmasius, έαυτών Ms.  6 τὰς τῶν St., τῶν Ms.
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 Philip¹ 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.
"Οτι Πύρροσ ο βασιλεύς της Ἡπείρου τὸ τε 
φρόνημα πολλὴ μεῖζον ἐσχεν ἀτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀλλοφύλων αὐτίπαλος τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι νομιζό-
μενος, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ "Ἐλλησίν
οὐσιν, ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ ἔκεινος σὺν προφάσει
τινὶ εὑρεψεῖ προκαταλαβεῖν πρὶν τὴ δεινὸν ὑπ’
αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οὔτω γὰρ ποι ἡ τῆς εὐδοξίας
αὐτῷ ἐμελεῖν ὡστε καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου Σικελίας
ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὴ χειρόσαστο δια-
σκοπῶν, ὁκνεῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕχθρας, ἐπειδὴ
μηδὲν ἡδίκητο, προκατάρξασθαι.—Μ. 86 (p. 169).

Zonaras 8, 2.

πρέσβεισιν ἐντυχὼν, ἐρμαιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡγή-
σατο, ἐκ πλείονος τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Καρχη-
δόνος καὶ τῆς Σαρδῶνς ἐφιέμενος, ὅκνον δ’ ὁμοῖος
ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶς προκατάρξασθαι
καὶ βοηθήσειν μὲν αὐτῶς ἐπηγγείλατο, ἵνα δὲ μὴ
ὑποπτευθείη δι’ ἀπερ εἰρηται, οἰκάδε αὐτίκα ἀνα-
κομισθήσεσθαι ἐφη, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις προσ-
τεθήναι πεποίηκε τὸ μὴ περαιτέρῳ τῆς χρείας ἐν
τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ παρ’ αὐτῶν κατασχεθήναι. συνεδε-
μενος δὲ ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν πρέσβεων
ὡς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῷ συμπαρασκευάζοντας
ἐν ὀμηρεία κατέσχεν, οὐλοῦσ δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
Κιννέαν προσεπιψε σὺν στρατῷ. ἔλθοντων δ’
αὐτῶν οἱ Ταρατίνοι θαρσήσαντες τῶν τε καταλ-
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 Δοδώνην ἐμαυτεύσατο περὶ τῆς στρατείας· καὶ οἱ χρήσμοι ἐλθόντοι, ἀν ἐς τὴν Ἱταλίαν περαιώθη Ῥωμαίοις νικήσειν, συμβαλόν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βούλημα (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐξαπατήσαί τινα ἐπιθυμία ἑστὶν) οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐμεινεν.—Μ. 87 (p. 169).

Zonaras 8, 2.

λαγὸν τῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὸν Ἀγιν παύσαντες τῆς στρατηγίας ἕνα τῶν πρεσβεων ἐχειροτόνησαν στρατηγὸν. μετ’ οὗ πολὺ δὲ Μίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πύρρου σὺν δυνάμει πεμφθεὶς τῷ ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου ὑποδοχὴν κατειλήφει καὶ τῆν τοῦ τείχων φρουράν ὑφ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι ἐπὶ τοῦτος ἐχαίρουν, ὡς μήτε φρουρεῖν μήτ’ ἀλλο τι ἐπίπονον ὑπομένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τροφὰς ἐχορῆγον καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ χρήματα ἐπεμπον.

Ὁ οὖν Λιμίλιος τέως μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἐμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς τε Πυρρεῖους ἦκοντας ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ τοῦ χειμώνα προσκαρτερεῖν οὐχ οἶδο τῇ τί, ἐς Ἀπουλίαν ὄρμησεν. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι ἐν τοῖς στενοπόρῳ χώρῳ, δι’ οὗ διελθεῖν ἀνάγκην εἴχε, λογίσαντες, ἀποροῦν αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ ἐποίον τοξεύμασιν ἀκούσμαι τε καὶ σφενδοῦμαιν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους σφῶν, οὐς ἐπήγγετο, προῆγαγε. φοβηθέντες δ’ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι μὴ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσωσιν, ἐπαύσαντο.

Ὃ δὲ Πῦρρος οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμείνας ἀπήκει στρατευμά τε πολὺ καὶ ἐκκριτον ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ ἐλέφαντας εἴκοσι, ξάμα μῆπω προτέρου τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίοις ὁφθέντα· οἰδεν ἐξεπλήσσοντο καὶ ἐθαυ-
BOOK IX

Pyrrhus sent to Dodona and inquired of the oracle b.c. 280 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
"Όσι οἱ Ῥηγίνοι φρουράν ἐτήσαντο παρα Ῥωμαίοις, ἤγείτο δὲ αὐτῆς Δέκιος. τούτων οὖν οἱ πλείονες ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης βαστώνης, ἀτε καὶ ἀνειμένη παρὰ πολὺ διάτη πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι χρώμενοι, ἐπεθύμησαν, ἐνάγοντο αὐτοὺς τοῦ Δεκίου, τοὺς πρῶτοις τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἀποκτείναντες τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν ἀδεία γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο, τῶν Ῥωμαίων περὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ περὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀσχό-

Zonaras 8, 2.

μαξον. χείμωνι δὲ περιπεσὼν τὸ Ἰόνιον περαιοῦ-μενος πόλλος ἀπάλεσε τοῦ στρατεύματος, οἱ δὲ λυποὶ τῇ κλύδωνι ἐσκεδάσθησαν. μόλις δ᾽ οὖν πεζεύσας ἠλθεν εἰς Τάραντα. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς μὲν ἀκμάζοντας τοῖς ἐαυτοῖς στρατιώταῖς συνέ-tauξεν, ὅπως μὴ καθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦς λελοχισμένοι νεωτερίσωσι, καὶ τὸ βεθρον ἐκλείπει, τάχα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως μὴ ἐσ ἀυτού συνερχόμενοι νεοχωρία-σῶσι τι, ἀπείπε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς συμπόσια καὶ κόμους ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἀσκείσθαι ἐκέλευεν μᾶλλον ἡ διημερεύειν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. ὡς δὲ τινες ἀχθόμενοι τούτοις ὑπεχώρησαν, φρουροὶς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων κατέστησεν, ὡστε μηδένα ἐξείναι τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ τούτοις τε καὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν βαρυώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δέχεσθαι, μετεγίνωσκον δεσπότου καὶ συμ-

1 καὶ μᾶλλον supplied by Cary, in accordance with Foster's translation.
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 δντων, πανθ' ὁσα ἐβουλοντο πρᾶξαι. προσ-
ανέπειθε ḏ άυτους ὅτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ
tῶν Μαμερτίνων ἐχομένην ἕωρων. αὐτοὶ γὰρ,
Καμπανάι τε ὄντες καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπ' Ἀγα-
θοκλέους τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύοντος ταχέως,
σφαγὰς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν
9 πόλιν κατέσχον. οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς
tὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιήσαντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἡλατ-
τούντο τῷ πλῆθει· ἀλλ' ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Δέκιος ὡς
cαὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐπὶ προδοσία σφῶν ὑπὸ τινῶν
γεγραμμένας πλάσας ἡθροίσε τους στρατιώτας,
cαὶ ἐκεῖνας τε αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ έαλωκυνίας ἁνέγνω,
cαὶ προσπαρώξυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ὁλα εἰκὸς ἦν,
ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐσαγγείλαντος τινος ἐκ κατασκευ-

Zonaras 8, 2.

μάχου τοῦ Πύρρου πειρόμενοι. ὁ δὲ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ
πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποκλίνωσι φοβηθεῖς, τῷν
tὰ πολιτικὰ δυναμένων πράττειν καὶ προστατεῖν
tοῦ ὁμόλου τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν "Ηπειρον πρὸς τὸν
ὐίον ἐπὶ τισὶ προφάσειν ἐπεμπέ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
ἀφανῶς διώκλειν. Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ τινὰ ἐν τοῖς
ἀρίστοις τῶν Ταραγτίνων ἐξετάζομεν καὶ εἰπεῖν
πιθανώτατον προσηταιρίσατο, ἵν ὑποπτὸς τῷ
dήμῳ ὡς τὰ τοῦ Πύρρου φρονῶν γένηται· ὅς δὲ
ἐπὶ πιστεύον ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἕωρα, ἐπεμπεῖν
αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν "Ηπειρον καὶ ὃς ἀντειπεῖν μὴ θαρρῶν
ἐξέπλευσε μὲν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο.

1 προσανέπειθε Bk., προσανέπειθον Ms.
2 Μαμερτίνων Vul., μαμεθήνων Ms.
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


12 "Οτι διαβολὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνον τινὰ ἐσχον, μέχρι οὐ ἐπεξήλθον αὐτοῖς πρὸς γὰρ τὰ μείζω καὶ πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλον κατεπείγοντα ἀσχολίαν ἀγοντες παρὰ σμικρὸν τισιν αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι ἐδοξάων.—Μ. 89 (p. 170).

13 "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἥξειν τοῦ Πύρρου κατέδεικαν, ἐκείνων τε αὐτῶν εὐπόλεμον εἶναι

Zonaras 8, 3.

3. Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Πύρρος τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἐποίει· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατέδεικαν μαθόντες τοῦ Πύρρου ἐλθόντα εἰς Τάραντα τῷ τε ἐκπεπο-

[1] κατήρε Val., κατήρκε Ms.
[2] ἄν supplied by St.
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,
μαθόντες καὶ δύναμιν πολλήν καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον ἔχειν, οὕτως που συμβαίνει περὶ τε τῶν ἀγνώστων σφίσι καὶ περὶ τῶν διὰ πλείστου ὄντων μᾶλιστα ἔρυμελισθαὶ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις.—M. 90 (p. 170).

Zonaras 8, 3.

λεμώσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ ἑρυρ-λείσθαι ἐκείνου εὐπόλεμον τε τυγχάνειν καὶ δύναμιν ἔχειν ἀνανταγώνιστον. στρατιώτας τε ὁν ἑκέλεγον καὶ χρήματα ἥθροιζον φρουροῦς τε ἐς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεως διείπεμπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἑκέίναι ἄποστῶσι, καὶ τινὰς προαιροθέμενοι νεωτεροῦντας τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐκόλασαν. καὶ τινὲς τῶν Πραινετέρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀχθέντες περὶ δέλινον ὡφίαν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακή ἐνεβληθησαν, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦτον χρῆσμός ἐκεπελήματο ἐξορίσθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ποτέ ὅτι τούς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθέξοντι θησαυροὺς. καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήσμος εἰς τοῦτο ἄπεβη, ἑκέινοι δὲ γε ἀπώλοντο.

Οὐαλλέριον δὲ Λαοῦνιον ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπεστάλκασι, καὶ τι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί τοῦ στρατεύματος κατέσχον. ο ὅγινΛαοῦνιος εὔπος ἐξεστράτευσεν, ὅταν πορρωτᾶτον τὸν πόλεμον τῆς οἰκείας ποιήσαι καὶ τὸν Πύρρον καταπλῆξεν ἡλπίσεν, εἰ αὐτοῖς ἔθελοντα ἐπιούει, οὐκ ἐκείνος πολιορκεῖν προσεδόκησε. καὶ ἅπαν τῶν χωρίων τοῦ Ἰερού ἀπελευθέρωσαν καὶ ἐπικαίρον, καὶ δύναμιν τίνα ἐν τῇ Λευκάνια κατέλυσαν, εὑρίσκονταν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἑπαρῆξαν τοῖς ἑναντίοις.

1 δότων μᾶλιστα v. Herw., μάλιστα δότων 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.

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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.
Καὶ ὁ Πύρρος μαθὼν τὸν Λαούνιον πλησιάζοντα προεξώρησε, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος τρίβειν ἥθελε τὸν καιρόν, ἀναμένων τοὺς συμμαχήσοντας. καὶ τῷ Λαούνιῳ ἔπεστειλεν ὑπερηφάνως, ὡς καταπλήξεαν αὐτῶν ἐξε δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὁδε: "Βασίλειος Πύρρος Λαούνιῳ χαίρειν. πυθάνομαι σε στράτευμα ἐπὶ Ταραντίνους ἀγείν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπόπεμψον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ὅλγυν ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ· δικάσω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ εἰ τι ἀλλῆλοις ἐγκαλεῖτε, καὶ ἀκούτας τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάσω." Λαούνιος δὲ τὰδε τῷ Πύρρῳ ἀντέγραψε: "Πάνυ μοι δοκεῖσ, ὃ Πύρρε, τετυφώσθαι, δικαστὴν ἡμῖν ἕαυτῶν καθιστᾶς καὶ Ταραντίνοις πρὶν δίκην ἡμῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεραίωθης. ἢξω τε οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λήψομαι. τί γὰρ δεῖ μοι λήρου καὶ φλυαρίας, ἔξω παρὰ τῷ "Αρεί τῷ προπάτορι ἡμῶν κριθηναί;" τοιαύτα ἀντεπιστείλας ἤπειρεν, καὶ ἥψαστο διὰ μέσου τὸ ῥέωμα τοῦ ἐκεῖ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος. κατασκόπους τέ τινας συλλαβών, δείξας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπειπῶν πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην ἐχειν, ἀπέπεμψεν. ἐπὶ τούτως ὁ Πύρρος καταπλαγεῖς οὐ μάχεσθαι ἥθελεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐπο τινὲς συνήλθον αὐτῶ, ἐπιλείψειν τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἠλπίζεν ἐν πολεμίᾳ διάγονισ. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Λαούνιος ἀγιοζόμενος ἐσπευδὰ συμμῆξαι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φήμην καὶ διὰ τοὺς
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
14 'Αδύνατον γὰρ ἔστι μῆτε ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡθεσί
tεθραμμένους τινάς, μῆτε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦν-
tας, μῆτε τὰ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ 1 νομίζοντας
εἶναι, φίλους ποτὲ ἀλληλοὺς γενέσθαι.—Max. Conf.
Flor. f. 34 7 (M. p. 537).

15 Ὅτι ἡ τε φιλοτιμία καὶ ἡ ἀπιστία ἀεὶ τοῖς
tυράννοις σύνεστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη μηδένα αὐτοὺς
ἀκριβῆ φίλου ἔχειν ἀπιστοῦμενός τε γὰρ καὶ φθο-
νούμενός τις οὐδένα ἀν καθαρῶς ἀγαπήσειε. πρὸς
δὲ ἐτι καὶ ἡ τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότης ἢ τε τοῦ βίου
ἰσότης καὶ τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ τισι καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ σω-
τήρια εἶναι καὶ ἄλλες καὶ ἴβειους φιλίας 2 μόνα
ποιεῖ. ὅπου δὲ ἄν τούτων τι ἐνδείη, προσποιη
tὸν μὲν τι 3 σχήμα ἐταιρίας ὄραται, ἔρμα δὲ οὐ
dέν αὐτῆς ἐχέγγυον εὐρύσκεται.—M. 91 (p. 170) and (as

16 Ὅτι στρατηγία ἄν μὲν καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιόχρεως
λάβῃ, πλείστον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σφῶν καὶ πρὸς
ἐπικράτησιν φέρει, αὐτῇ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐν
μέρει ἐστίν 4 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλη τις τέχνη χωρίς
tῶν συμπραξόντων καὶ συνδιοικηθόντων αὐτῇ
ἰσχύει.—M. 92 (p. 171).

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ἐλέφαντας ἐκπεπληγμένων, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς
πολλὰ πρὸς θάρσος παρακαλοῦντα ἐδημηγόρησε,
kai παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἀκοντι τῷ Πύρρῳ συμ-

1 καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ B, αἰσχρὰ καὶ καλὰ A. 2 ἴβειους φιλίας
Bk., ἴβειους φιλίους palimps., ἴβειας φιλίας flor. 3 τι. Bk.,
tοι palimps., om. flor. 4 ἐστίν supplied by Bs.
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 cooperate 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.
μῆλαι. ὁ δὲ γνώμην μὲν οὐκ εἶχε μάχεσθαι, ὡς ὁ δὲ μὴ δόξη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς οἰκεῖους διαλεγχεῖς ἐπώτρυνεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. Λαούνιος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πειρώμενον κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαβῆναι ἐκωλύθη. ἐπαναγαγὼν οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ χώραν μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔμεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λείαν τάχα τινὰ ἐπέμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος πόρρω ποι βαδίσαντας περαιωθῆναι. καὶ οὗτος ἐκεῖνοι τε κατὰ νότον τοῖς πολεμίοις προσέπεσον ἀπροσδόκητοι, καὶ ὁ Λαούνιος ταραχθέντων αὐτῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ τῆς μάχης συνεπελάβετο. φεύγουσιν οὖν τοῖς ἐαυτοῖς ὁ Πύρρος ἐπικουρήσας τρωθεῖτα τὸν ἱππόν ἀπεβαλε, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τεθυμθείναι. κἂν τούτου τῶν μὲν ἀθυμησάντων, τῶν δὲ καταφρονησάντων, τὸ ἔργον ἡλλοίωτο. συνεὶς δὲ τούτο τὴν μὲν στολὴν ἐκπρεπεστέραν τῶν ἄλλων οὐσαν ἐδώκε Μεγακλεῖ, κελεύσας ἐνδύνα τὰ αὐτὴν καὶ πανταχόσε περιελαύνειν, ὡς σώζεσθαι αὐτῶν νομίσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐναντίοι πρὸς δέος, οἱ δὲ οἰκείοι πρὸς θάρσος ἀφίκονται, αὐτὸς δὲ στειλάμενος ἰδιωτικῶς συνεμέχεν αὐτοῖς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ πλὴν τῶν ἑλεφάντων, καὶ τοῖς ἅπερ πονομένοις ἐπαμύλων πλείστον τοὺς σφετέρους ὥφελσε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἔπι τοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας ἱσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο, ὡς δὲ τὸν Μεγακλέα τις ἀποκτείνας φήθη τὸν Πύρρον ἀπεκτονεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόκησιν τούτου παρεσχεν, οἳ τε Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐπερρώσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι

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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,
Πύρρον τὸν πῖλον ἀπορρίψαντος ἐστὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ μάχη περιέστη τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλείον ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα σφῶν αὐτοῦ περιέναι ἢ εἰ μηδ’ ἄρχην τεθυγεναι ἐνενόμιστο θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπατηθέντες δεύτερον οὐδὲν ἔτι πρόβυμον ἔσχον, κολουσθέντες τε αὖθις τὸ μάτημα γλάσταν καὶ ἐκ τῆς δὲ ὁλίγου μεταβολῆς σφῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ χείρονος δόκησιν οὐδ’ ὑστερόν ποτε αὐτοῦ φθαρήσεσθαι ἐξπίςαντες.—Μ. 93 (p. 171).

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ἐνέδοσαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον, τὸν πῖλον ἀπέρριψε καὶ γυμνὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιέφευ· καὶ εἰς τούναντίον περιέστη ἡ μάχη. ἰδὼν δὲ τούτο ὁ Δαουίνιος, καὶ ἵππεας ἔχων ενεδρεύοντάς που τῆς μάχης ἐκτός, κατὰ νοτον προσπεσείν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσε. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ ἀντιστρατηγὸν ὁ Πύρρος τὸ σήμειον τοὺς ἐλέφασίν ἤρεν· ἐνθα ἐκ τῆς τῶν θηρίων θέας ἀλλοκότου οὕσης καὶ τῆς βοής φρικώδους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὁπλῶν πατάγου, ὅπερ αἱ ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐποίησιν ἐν τοῖς πύργοις φερόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ σφῶν ἵπποι ἐκταραχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀποσείμενοι τοὺς ἀναβάτας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φέροντες ἐφευγον. ἀθυμήσαν οὖν ἐκ τούτων τὸ Ῥωμαίκον ἐτράπετο στράτευμα, καὶ φεύγοντες ἀνηροῦντο οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἄνδρῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων ταῖς προβοσκίσι καὶ τοῖς κέρασιν ἡ ὄδοιοι φθειρόντων πολλοὺς· καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ δὲ οὐ μείους κατηλώναν συμμπατομένους. καὶ οἱ ἕπεισι δὲ ἔφ.
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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.

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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
19 "Ότι συγχαίροντον τινῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ τῆς νίκης, τὴν μὲν δόξαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐδέχετο, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐθίς ποτὲ ὀμοίως κρατήσειν, ἀπολείψατι ἔφη. καὶ τοῦτο τ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἔστιν, καὶ ὁτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καίτοι νικηθέντας ἑθαύμασε καὶ προ- ἐκρινε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄν ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐχειροσάμην, εἰ Ῥω- μαίων ἐβασίλευον.—Μ. 94 (p. 171).

21 "Ότι Πύρρος λαμπρός τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἴνα καὶ ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτῆς μέγα ἔσχεν, ὡστε πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθημένων προσχωρῆσαι οἱ, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιορμένους τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικέσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐμφανῆ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐποι- ἡσατο, οὔτε αὐτοὶ παντελῶς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπεκρύ-

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επόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔφθειρον· οὐδ' ἀν ὑπελείφθη τις, εἰ μὴ ἐλέφασ τρωθεὶς αὐτὸς τε ἐσφάδαξαν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ οἱ ἀλλοι πρὸς ταῖς ἐκεῖνοι βοῶς ἐταράσσοντο. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέσχε τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ οὔτως οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ διαβεβηκότες τῶν ποταμῶν εἰς Ἀπολλίδα πόλιν τινὰ ῥηγοθη- σαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πύρρου στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πεπτάκασιν, ὡστε συγχαίρον- των αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης τινῶν "εἰ καὶ αὐθίς ποτὲ ὀμοίως," ἔφη, "κρατήσομεν, ἀπολούμεθα." τοὺς μὲντοι Ῥωμαίους καὶ νικηθέντας ἑθαύμασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄν πᾶσαν ἐχειροσάμην, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευον."

"Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα ἔσχηκεν ὄνομα, καὶ πολλοὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, οὐ 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᾽ ὅλγα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμελλήσει ἐπιτιμήσας ἄλλως φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα αὐτοὶς ἐγκείσθαι ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἐς φανερὰν αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίωσιν προ- αγάγῃ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνδείξασθαι ἐνόμισεν ἦτοι καταγνωσθήσεσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὐθείαν ὡς οὐ συνεὶς ὅν ἐπραξαν, ἡ καὶ ὑποπτευθῆσεσθαι ὁργὴν κρυφαίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡ κατα- φρόνησιν ἡ μίσος προεπιβουλὴν τε ἐς αὐτὸν, ὅπως μὴ προπάθωσι τι, ἐγκενήσεσθαί σφίσι προσεδόκησε. δὲ οὖν ταῦτα πράσω τε αὐτοῖς διελέχθη καὶ τῶν σκύλων τινὰ ἔδωκεν.—M. 95 (p. 172).

23 "Ὅτι Πύρρος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους συχνοὺς θυσλα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείσαι ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην συστρατεύσαι, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἢθε- λησαν, ἱσχυρῶς ἑθεράπευσε, μήτε δὴσας τινὰ μήτ᾽ ἄλλο τι κακὸν δράσας, ὡς καὶ προϊκα αὐτοὺς ἀποδώσῳ καὶ ἀμαχεὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ ἄστυ προσ- ποιησόμενος.—V. 25 (p. 590).

24 "Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐν ἀπόρρο ἑγούμενοι διὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἀτε μητώποτε τουὐτο θηρίων ἱδόντες, τὴν μέντοι θυητῆν φύσιν ἐνθυμοῦμενοι καὶ ὅτι

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σύμμαχοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ὅλγα ἐπι- τιμήσας διὰ τὴν μέλλησιν, τῶν σκύλων μετέδωκεν·

1 ἄλλως . . . ἐγκείσθαι supplied by Bs. to complete the sense.
2 προσαγάγῃ Bk., προσαγάγῃ Ms.
3 ἡ added by v. Herw.
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

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somewhat on account of their tardiness, but gave them a share of the spoils.
θηρίον οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου κρείττων ἐστιν, άλλα πάντα
dὴ πάντως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ᾿ ἱσχύν, ταῖς γοῦν σοφίας
σφῶν ἐλαττοῦται, ἐθάρσουν.—Μ. 96 (p. 172).

"Οτι καὶ οἱ στρατιώται οἱ τοῦ Πύρρον, οἱ τε
οίκοθεν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, δεινῶς πρὸς τὰς ἀρ-
παγάς ὡς καὶ ἐτοίμους καὶ ἀκινδύνους σφίσιν
οὐσίας ἤπειγοντο.—Μ. 97 (p. 172).

"Οτι οἱ Ἡπειρώται τὴν φίλιαν, ἄγανακτήσει
ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλαις δὴ τισιν ἐλπίζαι στρατεύσαντες
οὐδὲν ἐξω πραγμάτων εἰχον, ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ
πάνυ γε ἐν καιρῷ τούτῳ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις ἐγένετο.
συνιστάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
οἰκοντες ἀνεκόπησαν, ἐξ ἱσοῦ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων
καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πορθοῦντας αὐτοὺς ὅρων-
tες, τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις
ἐσκόπουν.—Μ. 98 (p. 172).

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4. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἤληπται μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἤττῃ,
tὸ δὲ γε Ἀπονίω ἱστάτευμα ἑπεμψαν, καὶ τὸν
Τιβέριον ἐκ τῶν Τυραννῶν μετεπέμψαντο, καὶ
tὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησαντο, πυθανόμενοι
ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸν Πύρρον ἐπείγοσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Ἀ-
πονίως τοὺς οἰκείους τε πραγμάτεις ἔξακεσάμενος,
καὶ τοὺς σκεδασθέντας συναιγαγον, ἤδη καὶ τῶν
ἐκ Ῥώμης πεμφθέντων ἀφικομένων, τὸν Πύρρον
παρεπόμενος ἐλύπει· καὶ τὴν Καπῦν μαθὼν ἔλειν
γλυχομένου, προκατέλαβε καὶ ἐφύλαξεν. ἀμαρτῶν
ὁ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν ἄρμησεν.
ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν οὖθ’ ἐν αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι ἰσχυσε, σπεύδων

1 ἐλαττοῦται Madvig, ἐλαττοῦται οἱ ἐλαττοῦτα Μ. 2 οἱ τε
Gros, ἐτε Μ. 3 πραγμάτων Βα., τῶν πραγμάτων Μ.
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 opportuneely 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.

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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 Bk., τούτωι Ms. 5 καὶ τὰ supplied by Ba.
"Οτι ο Πύρρος ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εν χωρίοις ἀγνώστους ἀποληφθῆ, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ φερόντων, εἰτὲ σφισιν ὅτι σαφῶς ἦ τής χώρας ὀρφή ὅσον τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαφέρουσιν τήν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ὑπῆκοον καὶ δὲ ὅταν παντοδαπὰ καὶ ἀμπελουργίας καὶ γεωργίας κατασκευὰς τε τῶν ἀγρῶν πολυτελεῖς ἔχειν, τά δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων οὐτω πεπορθήσθαι ὥστε μὴ εἰ κατωκήθη ποτὲ γεγονόσκεσθαι.—Μ. 99 (p. 173.)

"Οτι ο ἀυτῶς, ἐπειδὴ γε ἀναχωροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Λαιοῦνου πολλῆ πλείον τοῦ πρόσθεν εἰδεν, ὑδρας ἐφη δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ θῆττον ἔθάρσησεν, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρετάξατο μὲν, οὔκ ἐμαχέσατο δὲ.—Μ. 100 (p. 173.)

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τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος παρίων ὡς κακείνους προσλάβοι, ἐπεὶ ἐμαθεν αὐτοῦς τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμολογίας πεποιημένους καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτῷ ἀντιπροσώπητα τὸν τε Λαυνίον ἐφεπόμενον, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ὑπὶ αὐτῶν πανταχόθεν εν χωρίοις ἀγνώστους ἀποληφθῆ, καὶ περαιτέρῳ οὐ προεχόμηκεν. ὡς δὲ ἀναχωροῦντι καὶ γενομένῳ περὶ Καμπανίαν ὁ Λαυνιός ἐπεφάνη, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλεῖον τοῦ πρόσθεν ἦν, ὑδρας ἐφη δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξατο μὲν, οὔκ ἐμαχέσατο δὲ, ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς

1 πανταχόθεν Β., πανταξ... Μα. (πανταχώται Μαι).
2 Λαυνίου Βκ., λαμίνιον Μα. 2 The anacoluthon is pro-
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.

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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 exceptor. * ἔττον Bk., ἤγαγεν Ms. 8 ἄλα' added by Bk. 333
"Οτί ο Πύρρος πρέσβεις ύπερ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀλλοις τε καὶ τὸν Φαβρίκιον προσέναι πυθόμενος, φρουράν τε σφιστ' πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια; μή καὶ βλαϊν τι ύπό τῶν Τάραντίων πάθωσιν, ἐπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τούτο καὶ ἀπῆντησεν, ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐσαγαγόν καὶ ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς καὶ τάλλα ἐδεξιόσατο, ἐπίσας σπουδῶν τε δείσθαι καὶ ὀμολογήσας ὦν ηττηθέντας εἰκὸς ἦν ποιήσεσθαι.—U 5 (p. 376).

"Οτί τοῦ Φαβρίκιου αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἰπόντος, ὅτι Ἡρωμαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς τε ἐαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομισίμενους καὶ λύτρα ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντιδώσοντας, ὅσα ἂν ἀμφοτέρως ἡμῖν συμβῇ, διηπορήθη τε ὥστε μὴ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἐφη, καὶ μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἔβουν.

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καταπληξου πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς τοὺς Ἡρωμαίους, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας τὰς ἀσπίδας τοὺς δόρας πλήξαντας ἐκβοήσαι καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνηχῆσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινοι πολὺ μείζον ἀντεβοήσαν, ὡς ἐκπλαγῆναι τοὺς τοῦ Πύρρου, οὐκέτ' ἠθέλησε συμμίξαι, ἀλλ' ὡς δυσίερον ἑπανήγαγε. καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθα πρέσβεις τῶν Ἡρωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄφικοντο ἀλλοι τε καὶ ο Φαβρίκιος. οὕς φιλοτίμως ἐξένισε καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο, ἐπίσας αὐτοὺς σπείσασθαι καὶ ὀμολογήσας ὧς ἡττημένους ποιήσασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Φαβρίκιου τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομίσασθαι αὐτοῦντος ἐπὶ λύτρους τοῖς ἀμφοῖν συναρέσουσι, διηπορήθη ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἐφη, καὶ ἴδια μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἔβου.
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

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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
λεύετο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὅπερ εἰώθει, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον περὶ τε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς διαχειρίσεως αὐτοῦ, εἶτε κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως πως αὐτὸν . . . —Μ. 101 (p. 173).

31 "... μεταχειρίσασθαι ἡ μάχας καὶ παρατάξεις ἀσταθμήτους ἀναρρίψαι· ὡστε πεισθείς, ὥς Μίλων, ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲ ἐσ ἄλλο τι βία μᾶλλον ἡ σοφία, ὅπου γε καὶ ενδέχεται, χρῆση, ἐπεὶ Πύρρος γε πάντα τὰ πρακτέα οἱ ἀκριβῶς οἶδε καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεὼ." ταῦτ' εἰπε, καὶ πάντες ὀμογρώμονες ἐγένοντο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τοῦτων οὔτε ξημιωθήσεσθαι τι οὔτε κινδυνεύσειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν 32 ἑτέρων ἑκάτερον πείσεσθαι ἐμελλον. καὶ ο

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λεύετο, ὡς εἰώθει, περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδόσεως καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὡς τούτων μεταχειρίσηται. ὥ μὲν ὅτι Μίλων μήτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόθαι μήτε σπείρασθαι συνεβοῦλεν, ἀλλ' ἔδι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡττημένων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολέμῳ προσκατεργάσασθαι, ὥ δέ Κιννέας τοὐναντίον ἀπαν αὐτῶ συνεβοῦλεν· τοὺς τε γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀποδοῦναι συνήνει καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ χρήματα πέμψαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνεκα καὶ σπουδῶν. οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συνετίθεντο. οὔτω δὲ φρονῶν καὶ ὁ Πύρρος

1 Four pages are here wanting in the Ms. 2 Ἡ Βκ., ἐν Μς.
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

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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 οὕτω φρονῶν εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁμολογώντας ὡς ἐκῶν ὑμῖν, ὃς Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπολέμησα, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πολεμίσαντι φίλος τίς γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ποιόμας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πάντας ἀνεν λύτρων ἀφύμη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπένδομαι.'' καὶ ἰδία τούτους ἐθεράπευεν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἐαντοὺ ἀνθέλωνται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γε φιλίαν οἱ πρυτανεύσωσιν.—Μ. 102 (p. 173).

33 Ὅ δὲ Πύρρος τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσηταρίσατο καὶ τῷ Φαβρίκῳ διελέξθη ὡδε. ''ἐγὼ, ὃς Φαβρίκιος, πολεμεῖν μὲν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐτί δέομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡσ ἡν ἀρχὴ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐπείσθην καὶ δεύρῳ ἡλθον μεταγγυνώσκω, καὶ περ πολὺ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσας φίλος δὲ δὴ καὶ πάσι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἡδέως ἀν ἐγενόμην, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ σοὶ."

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εὐτύχανε. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁμολογώντας ὡς ἐκῶν προφήτης, ὃς Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐφη, ''ἐκῶν ὑμῖν ἐπολέμησα, οὕτω τῶν ὑμῶν πολεμήσαμι φίλος γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι βεβούλημαι, διὸ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτων ὑμῶν ἀνεν λύτρων ἀφύμη καὶ σπείρασθαι ἄξιῶ."

Ταύτα μὲν πάσιν εἰρήκει τοῖς πρέσβεις, καὶ χρήματα σφίσει τὰ μὲν δέδωκε, τὰ δὲ ἐπηγγεῖλατο, τῷ δὲ Φαβρίκῳ κατὰ μόνας διαλεχθεὶς "φίλος," εἶπεν, ''ἡδεώς καὶ πάσιν ἀν Ῥωμαίοις γενοίμην, μάλιστα δὲ σοί· ὡρῶ γὰρ σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ

1 ὑμῖν Βλ., ὑμῶν (?) Μα. 2 Ῥωμαίοις GroS, Ῥωμαίων Μα.
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

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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
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πάνυ γάρ σε καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἑλλόγιμον ἀνδρά ὀρῶ ὀντα. τὴν τε οὐν εἰρήνην συμπράξαι σε μοι ἀξιῶ, καὶ οἷκαδὲ ἐπισπέσθαι ἐπί τε γάρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσείω καὶ συμβούλου στρατηγοῦ τὲ σου δέομαι." ὡς Φαβρίκιος ἔπαινῳ μὲν σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν στρατεύῃ μεταγιγονωσκεὶς καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καὶ σοι πρὸς αὐτὴν, εἶγε συμφέρει ἡμῖν, σπουδάσω (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πράξαι με ἀγαθῶν, ὡς φής, ἄνδρα ὀντα ἀξιώσεις), σύμβουλον δὲ δὴ καὶ στρατηγοῦ μηδένα ποτὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας παραλάβῃς ἕμοι." οὐδὲ ἢτισοῦν ἐστὶ σχολὴ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτων τι λάβοιμι ἀν, ὅτι οὐ προσηκεὶ τὸ παράπαν πρεσβευτὴν δωροδοκεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γοῦν πότερον ἑλλόγιμόν με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἄνδρα εἶναι ἡ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαύλος εἰμι,

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ἡς εἰρήνην συμπράξαι μοι ἀξιῶ." ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐδίδου. ὦ δὲ "ἔπαινῳ σε," εἶπεν, "ὁ Πύρρη, ὅτι τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καὶ σοι αὐτῇ, ἀν ἐν συμφέρῃ ἡμῖν, καταπράξομαι. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πράξαι με ἀγαθῶν, ὡς φής, ἄνδρα ὀντα ἀξιώσεις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων ὁν δίδως τι λάβοιμι ἀν. πυπανομαι γάρ σου, πότερον ἑλλόγιμόν με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἄνδρα ἡ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαύλος εἰμι, πῶς με δῶρον

1 καὶ ἑλλόγιμον supplied by Bs. from Zon. There is a space of about ten letters in the Ms. 2 οἰκαδὲ v. Herw., οἰκαδὲ καὶ έτε τὴν Ἑπειρον Ms. 3 The Ms. has ἐμοί before ἐμοίγι, deleted by Mai. 4 οὐδ' ἤτισον ἐστι v. Herw., οὐ δὴ τι οὖν ἐστι Ms. 5 λάβοιμι supplied by Mai. 6 ἦν Gros, ἀλλ' Ms. 

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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, 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
πῶς με δώρων ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κελεύεις; εἰ τοῖς ἵσθ' ὦτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω καὶ οὐδὲν δέομαι πλειώνων ἄρκει γάρ μοι τὰ δύνα, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμῶ· σὰ δ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖν νομίζεις, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία καθέστηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε τὴν Ἑπειρον οὔτε τάλλα ὅσα κέκτησαι καταλιπτῶν δεῦρ' ἐπεραιώθης, εἰγε ἐκείνοις τε ἥρκοι καὶ μὴ πλειώνων ὄρεγον. ὅταν γὰρ τις τούτο πάσχῃ καὶ μηδένα ὄρον τῆς ἀπληστίας ποιητᾶ, πτωχότατός ἐστι. διὰ τί; ὅτι πάν τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχουν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖ, καθάπερ ἁνευ ἐκείνου μὴ δυνάμενος ἐξῆσαι. ὡςτ' ἔγογγη ἥδεως ἃν σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χίλιος μοι φής εἶναι, ἐκ τού ἐμαυτοῦ τι πλοῦτου χαρισαίμην πολλῷ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ἀθανατώτερός ἐστι τού σου, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ οὔτε τις ἐπιβουλεύει, οὐ δῆμος, οὐ τύραννος· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσο τις ἂν αὐτοῦ πλεῖσται μεταδίδῃ.

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ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κελεύεις; ἴσθι γοῦν ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκοῦμενος, καὶ πλειώνων οὐ δέομαι· σὰ δ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖς, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία καθέστηκας. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε τὴν Ἑπειρον οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα ἄχεις καταλιπτῶν δεῦρο ἐπεραιώθης, εἰ γε ἐκείνοις ἥρκοι καὶ μὴ πλειώνων ὄρεγον.”

342 ¹ οὔτε τάλλα v. Herw., οὔτε ἄλλα Μχ.
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

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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."
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37 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μεῖζον αὑξηται. τίς οὖν οὗτος ἕστιν; τὸ τοῖς ὑπάρχον σι τιν ὡς καὶ παμπληθέσιν οὕσων ἤδεως χρήσθαι, τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐχόντων ἀπέχεσθαι, τὸ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πολλοὺς ἐνεργεῖτειν, ἀλλα μυρία ἁ σχολὴν ἃν τις ἄγων εἴποι. ὡστ' ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἃν, εἴπερ ποιντώς ἀναγκαίον εἰς ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν παθεῖν, βιασθεὶς ἃν μᾶλλον ἡ φενακισθεὶς ἀπολέσθαι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἄξιοσει φιλεῖ τισι συμβαίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τὰς ἀνοιὰς καὶ εἷς αἰσχροκερδείας πολλῆς, ὡσθ' αἱρέτοτερον εἶναι τῇ τοῦ θείου πλεονεξία μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακία σφαλῆναι: ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τινὸς ἡττᾶται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ προσδιαφθείρεται: . . . , εὐταυθοὶ δ' αὐτοέντης τρόπων τινὰ αὐτὸς τις ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεται, ὅτι ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄπαξ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι διδάξας ἀόριστον τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμίαι λαμβάνει.

—M. 103 (p. 174) and ἐλλόγιμον—κελεύεις § 35 Max. Conf. Flor. f. 75v (M. p. 538).

39 Καὶ προθυμότατα ἢς τοὺς καταλόγους ἀπήντησαν, τὸ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐλλιπές ἀναστασιν τῆς πατρίδος νομίζοντες ἐσεσθαι. —M. 104 (p. 176).

Zonaras 8, 4.

Τούτων οὖν λεχθέντων οἱ πρέσβεις τοὺς αἱχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἀπῆραν. καὶ ὁ Πύρρος τὸν

1 ὡστ' Bs., ὡς Ms. 2 τῇ Bk., τῇ τῇ Ms. 3 Λακονή recognized by Bk. 4 πατρίδος Mai, πατρίδος εἶναι Ms.
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.
Κιννέαν εἰς τὴν Ὄμην ἀπέστειλε μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ καὶ κόσμου γυναικείου παντοδαποῦ, ἵνα εἰ καὶ τινὲς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀντίσχοιεν, ἀλλ' αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τοῖς κόσμοις ἀναπεισθείσαι κάκείνους συνδιαφθείρωσιν. Ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κιννέας οὐ προσήκει τῇ γεροντίᾳ, ἄλλα διήγειν ἄλλοτε ἄλλην αἰτίαν σκηντόμενος. περιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δυνάτων οἰκίας λόγους τε σφάς καὶ δώρως ὑπῆγετο καὶ ἑπειδὴ πολλοὺς φιλειώσατο, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἶπεν ὡς "Πῦρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπολογείται ὅτι οὐχ ὡς πολεμήσων ὑμῖν ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καταλαξὼν Ταραστῖνος αὐτὸν ἰκετεύοντας· ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας ὑμῶν λύτρων ἥφθηκεν ἀτερ, καὶ δυνάμενος πορθήσαι τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσβαλεῖν, άξιοί τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑμῶν ἐγγυαθηκαί, πολλὰ μὲν ὀφελήσεσθαι ἄρ' ὑμῶν ἐλπίζων, πλείω δ' ἐτι καὶ μεῖξι εὐνεχετήσει ὑμᾶς."

Ἐπὶ τούτους οἱ πλείους τῶν βουλευτῶν ἥρεσκοντο διὰ τὰ δύσρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλ' ἔσκόπτουν ἔτι πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ τε χρὴ πρᾶξαι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλέγετο, ἐπεκράτει δὲ ὅμως σπείρασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ τούτο Ἀππίος ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκομόθη ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ γήρως καὶ τοῦ πάθους οἰκουρῶν ἦν) καὶ εἶπε μὴ συμφέρειν τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πῦρρον συμβάσεις τῇ πολιτείᾳ, παρήμεσε δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Κιννέαν ἐξελάσαι 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
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40 Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ το-
σαύτην ἴσχύν ἔχει ὅστε καὶ ἐκείνους ὧπ’ αὐτοῦ-
tότε μεταβαλέτων καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον καὶ μίσος καὶ-
θάρσος τοῦ τε δέους τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν-
δόρων αὐτοῦ ἄλλους ἐπιστημον.¹—Μ. 105 (p. 176).

42 "Οτι πάν τὸ τῇ γνώμῃ παρὰ δόξαν ταπεινωθέν-
καὶ τῆς βίομης ύποδιδόσαν.—Μ. 106 (p. 177).

Zonaras 8, 4.

δηλώσαι τῷ Πύρρῳ οἷαδε ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκείθεν
ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι περὶ εἰρήνης αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ περὶ
ἐτέρου ὅτου δέοιτο. ταύτα ο Ἄππιος συνεβούλευ-
σεν ὡς ἡ γερονσία οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς
ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐφηφίσαντο αὐθημερον τὸν Κιννέαν
ἐξώ τῶν ὅρων ἐκπέμψαι καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ πόλεμον
ἀκήρυκτον, ἦς ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διάγησι, ποιήσα-
σθαι. τοῖς δ’ αἰχμαλώτοις ἀτιμίαν τινὰ ἐν ταῖς
στρατεύσεως ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ οὕτε πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον
αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ ἐχορήσαντο οὔτ’ ἄλλος με τοῖς ἄθροίοις,
ὑπ’ τι ὁμοῦ οὕτε νεωτερίσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἄλλους
ἄλλη φρουρήσοντας ἐπεμψαν.

¹ περιστηραι Βκ., ἀντιστηραι Μβ.
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.
5. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι παρεσκευάζοντο ἄμφω, ἔαρος δὲ ἦδη ἑφεστηκότος ὁ Πῦρρος εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλίναν ἐνέβαλεν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν βία, πολλὰ δὲ ὁμολογία προσεποίησατο, μέχρις οὗ Ὁρμαῖοι πρὸς Ἀσκούλφο πέλει ὑπελθόντες ἀντε-στρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἐπὶ πλείους δὲ ἡμέρας διέ-τριψαν ὁκνοῦντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ὁρμαῖοι τοὺς προνεικηκότας οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, οἱ δὲ ὃς ἀπο-νενομένους ἔδεδεσαν τοὺς Ὁρμαίους. κἂν τούτῳ λογοποιοῦντων τινῶν ὅτι ὁ Δέκιος ἐπιδιόναι ἑαυτόν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον ἔτοιμα-ξοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πῦρρου δεινῶς ἐκφοβοῦντον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θανεῖν ἐκεῖνον πάντως ἀπολουμένους, συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Πῦρρος καὶ διελέχθη περὶ τούτου, συμβουλεύοντος μητὶ ἀθυμεῖν μῆτ’ ἐκπλήττεσαί τοιούτοις λόγους· μήτε γὰρ ἕνα ἀνθρωπὸν δύνασθαι θυνάκουσα πολλοὺς κατα-γωνίσασθαι μῆτ’ ἐπιφθῇν ἢ μαργανεῖαν τινὰ κρέιττο τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι. ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν καὶ λογισμοῖς ἐπικρατέσθαι τοὺς λόγους ὁ Πῦρρος τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐθάρρυσε στράτευμα. καὶ πολυπραγμονήσας τὴν στολὴν ἢ ἐχρῆσαντος οἱ Δέκιοι ἐπιδιδόντες ἑαυτούς, παρῆγγειλε τοῖς οἰ-κεῖοις, ἂν τινα οὕτως ἐσκευασμένου ἰδωσι, μή κτεῖναι αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ξοὸν συνλαβεῖν. 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
"Οτι τῷ Δεκίῳ ὁ Πύρρος προσπέμψας οὔτε προχωρήσειν οἱ τοῦτο πράξαι ἐθελήσαντι ἐφή. καὶ ξωγρηθέντα κακῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολείψαθαι ἐπηπείλησεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον ἔργου σφᾶς δεῖσθαι πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλῶς κρατήσειν.—Μ. 107 (p. 177).

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Δεκίῳ πέμψας ἐφή οὔτε προχωρήσειν αὐτῷ τοῦτο πράξαι θελήσαντι καὶ ξωγρηθέντα κακῶς ἀπολείψαθαι ἥπειλησεν. πρὸς ἀπερ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον ἔργου σφᾶς δεῖσθαι πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλῶς κρατήσειν. ποταμῶν δὲ διὰ μέσου τῶν στρατοπέδων οὐκ εὐδιαβάτου ῥέοντος, Ἴροντο πότερον αὐτὸς περαιωθῆναι βούλεται ἀδεως, αὐτῶν ἀναχωρησάντων, ἣ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦτο ποιήσαι, ἵνα ἔξι ἀντιπάλου μάχης ἀκεραίων τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσῶν ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἑλεχχος γένοιτο ἀκριβῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἦρωμαιοι πρὸς κατάπληξιν τὸν λόγον ἐποίησαν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος αὐτοῖς ἐφήκε διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν, μέγα φρονὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑλέφασιν. οἱ δὲ Ἦρωμαιοι τὰ τέ άλλα παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑλεφάντας κεραίας ἐφ’ ἁμαξῶν σεσιδηρωμένας καὶ πανταχόθεν προεχούσας ἱτοίμασαν, ἵνα τοξεύσαντες ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε καὶ πῦρ ἐμποδῶν σφίσι γίνονται. προσμίζαντες δὲ, χρόνῳ μὲν οἱ Ἦρωμαιοι τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐώσαντο δ’ οὖν, μέχρις ο

1 After ἐφη the Ms. has τούτ’ ἐστι τὸ μη συλληφθέντα ἀποκταβήναι, words manifestly due to the exceptor. Gros first deleted.
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.

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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 unmolested 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,
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Πύρρος τοῖς ἐλέφασιν οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἀμάξας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα προσβοηθήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱππον σφόν καὶ πρὶν προσμῆχαι φόβῳ τῶν θηρίων ἐτρέψατο. τῶν μέντοι πεζῷ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐλυμηνάτο. κἂν τούτῳ τῶν Ἀπούλων τινές ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν ὀρμηκότες στρατόπεδον τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο. τινὰς γὰρ τῶν μαχομένων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸν Πύρρον πέμψαντο πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπαράχθησαν, καὶ τάς τε σκηνὰς ἐσαλωκέναι καὶ ἐκείνους φεύγειν ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐνεδοσαν καὶ συνυπο αὐτῶν ἐπεσον, ὦ τε Πύρρος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλοὶ ἐτρώθησαν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἀπορίαν σφόδρα ἐκακώθησαν. οὐθὲν ἀπήρευ εἰς Τάραντα πρὶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσθῆσαν. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ διέβησαν μὲν τὸν ποταμόν ἐπὶ μάχη, ὡς δὲ πάντας ἐσκεδάσθαι ἐπιθυμοτο, εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἀνεχώρησαν πόλεις ἐπιδιώξας γὰρ διὰ τῶν σφετέρων τραυματίας οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν. εἰτα οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀπούλλαν ἐχεῖμασαν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τὰλλα τε ἦτοιματο καὶ οἰκοθεὶ στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα μετεπέμψατο. μᾶθον δὲ τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ τὸν Πάππον ὑπάτους ἤρμηνεος καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφυγμένους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μεμένηκε γνώμης.

Ἡθ δὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ὄντων, Νικίας τις τῶν Πύρρῳ πιστῶν δοκούστων ἠλθε πρὸς τὸν Φαβρίκιον καὶ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ τὸν Πύρρον δολοφονῆσεν. δυσχεράνας οὐν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκείνος (ἀρετῇ γὰρ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἥξιον τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ὡς ὁ Κάμιλλος),

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bringing his elephants to bear, not opposite their wagons, 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 Epirotes, 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,
κατεμήνυσε τῷ Πύρρῳ τὸ ἐπιβουλευμα: καὶ ὦτως αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦτον κατέπληξεν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἐαλωκότας τῶν Ρωμαιῶν προῖκα αὐθίς ἄφειναι καὶ πρέσβεις πάλιν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀποστείλαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ρωμαιοὶ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸτε ἀπάραι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκέλευον καὶ οὖτος αὐτοῖς διακηρυκεύεσθαι καὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶ πόλεις κατέπρεχον τε καὶ ἤρουν, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένετο, πρὶν δὲ Συρακοσίων τινές (ἐπικαλέσαντο τούτων, παραδείγματε οἱ καὶ ξανακυκλοφόροι καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἀναπνεύσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ προσελπίζας πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν καταστρέφασθαι, τὸν μὲν Μίλονα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατέλησεν, ἐν φυλακῇ τὸν τε Τάραντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἔπανηξον ἀπέπλευσε. καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων δεξιομενὸς αὐτῶ καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ἀναθεμένους μέγας ἐν βραχεί αὐθίς ἐγένετο, ὡστε τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους φοβηθέντας μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταχὺ πρὸς τούναντίον αὐτῷ

1 av supplied by Bk.
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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,

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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
ἐπιθυμήσαι τινα κακῶς αυτὸν δράσαι τὸν μὴ ἄν ἐθελήσῃ δύνασθαι νέμων, καὶ διὰ τούτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενους αυτὸν, τὸ μὲν τι βαρυνόμενὸς σφισίν ὁτι ὑπ’ αυτῶν ἐν κράτει τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο, τὸ δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεύων σφᾶς μὴ ὀσπέρ αὐτῷ οὖν καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ προσχωρήσωσιν, ἐξῆλασε καὶ διέφθειρεν, . . . —Μ. 109 (p. 178).

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περιέστη τὰ πράγματα τῷ πολλοῦς τῶν ἐν τέλει τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάσαι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείραι ὑποπτευομένους αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἱδόντες αὐτὸν μὴ δία οἰκείας δυνάμεις ἐρρωμένον μὴ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους δι’ εὐνοίας ἔχοντα, τοῦ πολέμου προβήμως ἀντελάβοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπιπτούντας τῶν Συρακουσίων δεχόμενοι δεινὰ αὐτὸν εἰργάσαντο, ὅπερ μὴ τὰς Συρακούσας μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκλιπεῖν.

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6. Οἱ Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τὴν ἄποψιν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου ἀνεδάρσησαν καὶ πρὸς ἁμναν τῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐτράπησαν. καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους εἰς ἄλλον καὶ ῥόπον υπερθέμενοι εἰς ἐβαλον εἰς τὸ Σαῦνιον μετὰ ὑπάτων τοῦ Ῥουφίου καὶ τοῦ Ιουνίου, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἐπάθροντο καὶ τείχη τινὰ ἐκλειφθέντα ἐλαβον. οἱ γὰρ Σαῦνιται εἰς τὰ ὅρη τὰ Κρανίτα λεγόμενα, ὅτι κραίναν πολλην ἔχουσι, τὰ τε φίλτατα καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνεκό-
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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.

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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 harboured the Syracusans who were exiled and harassed him so severely that he abandoned not only Syracuse but Sicily as well.

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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-

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μισαν. καταφρονήσαντες οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα ὅρη ἀναβήναι ἐτὸλμησαν. λασίων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ δυσπροσβάτων όντων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκλώσαν.

Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ οὐκέτι κοινῆ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπονήσαντο, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν αἰτιόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα, ἀλλ' Ἰούνιος μὲν ἔδησεν μέρος τῆς Σαυνίτιδος, Ῥουφῖνος δὲ Δευκανόις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἐλυμήνατο. καὶ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα ὄρμησεν ἀποστάντα Ῥωμαίων, μεταπεμφαμένων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, φθαρσάντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπαγαγέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Μίλωνος φρουράν, ής ἤρχε Νικόμαχος. ἀγνοήσας οὖν τούτῳ καὶ ἀμελῶς τοὺς τείχους προσιόν ἐκ πρὸς φίλους ἐπταισεν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόντων αὐτῶ. εἰτά τι ἐπίνοισας στρατήγημα τὴν πόλιν εἰλὲ δύο γὰρ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους ψευδαυτομόλους ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἐπεμψε, τὸν μὲν εὐθὺς λέγουτα ὅτι ἀπεγνωκος τὴν ἄλοισιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Δοκρίδα προδιδομένην αὐτῷ μέλλει ἀπαίρειν, τὸν δὲ εἶτερον μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἐν ὀδῷ ἐστὶ διαβεβαιοῦμεν παραφθαρμένην καὶ γὰρ ἓνα πίστων ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἀνεσκενάσατο καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπείγεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Νικόμαχος πιστεύσας τούτως (καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνήγγελλον), τὸν Κρότωνα λειπὼν ἐς τοὺς Δοκροὺς ἀπῆλε σπουδὴ δι' ἐπιτομωτέρας ῥοῦδος. καὶ ἐν τῇ Δοκρίδῃ γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ύπεπρέπει πρὸς τὸν Κρότωνα, καὶ λαθὼν διὰ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ δι' ὀμίχλην τότε συμβάσαν εἰλὲ τὴν πόλιν. μαθῶν δὲ τούτῳ Νικόμαχος ἀπῆλε εἰς Τάραντα· καὶ ἐν ὀδῷ τῷ Ῥουφῖνῳ.
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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
"Οτι τῷ Πύρρῳ ως οὖδὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι συντελέσαι ἐβούλοντο, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς θησαυρούς τῆς Φερρεφάττης, δόξαν πλούτου μεγάλην ἔχονται, καὶ αὐτοὺς συλήσας ἐσ τὸν Τάραντα τὰ σύλα ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐπεμψε. καὶ οἱ τε ἀνθρωποὶ ὅλους πάντες ὕπο χειμῶνος ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ τε ἀναθήματα ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσεν.—V. 26 (p. 590).

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περιπεσῶν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε. καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεχώρησαν.

Τῷ δ’ ἔξις ἦτε Ῥωμαίοι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Σαῦνιον καὶ ἐς Δευκανίδα καὶ Βρεττίους ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τῆς Σικελίας ἐκπεσόν καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἤδη δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύσει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Λοκροὺς ἐκομίσατο (τὴν γὰρ φρουρὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκτείναντες μετέστησαν), ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ Ρήγιου στρατεύσας ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη καὶ πλείστους ἀπέβαλε. μεταστὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶ ἐναυτία φρουσάντων δικαιώσας τινάς, παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν σιτὸν καὶ χρηματα ἔλαβε, καὶ εἰς Τάραντα ἀνεκομίσθη, κακῶς δὲ πᾶσαντες ὕπο Ῥωμαίων οἱ Σαῦνιται ἐξαναστήματο αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν. ἔλθον δὲ εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπη. τρωθέντος γὰρ πόλου ἐλέφαντο καὶ ἀποσεισαμένου τοὺς ἀναβάτας περιπλανώμενον τε κατὰ ἥττησιν τῆς μητρός, κακεῖνης ἐπὶ τοῦτο παραχθεῖσις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων θορυβηθέντων, φύρδην ἀνεμίχθησαν ἀπαντα. τέλος δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπεκράτησαν, συγκεκριμέναις καὶ ἀκτῶ ἐλούτες ἐλέφαντας, καὶ τὸ χαράκομα κατέσχον αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ
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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.

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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 ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ἘΚΕΙΝΟ ΔΗ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΟΥΝ, ὙΣ ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩ ΣΚΩΨΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΑ ἘΞΕΛΕΓΞΑΙ ΣΦΑΣ ἩΘΕΛΗΣΕΝ, ὙΠΟΣ ΤΙΜΩΡΗΣΤΑΙ, ἘΠΕΙΤΕ ἘΙΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΝ ὅΤΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΛΕΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΨΩΤΕΡΑ ΑΝ ΕΙΡΗΚΕΙΜΕΝ1 ΕΙ ΜΗΤΕΡ ὁ ΟΙΝΟΣ ἙΜΑΣ ἘΠΕΛΕΟΙΠΕΙ, ἘΓΕΛΑΣΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΦΙΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ.—Μ. 110 (p. 178).

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ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΣΟΝ ὍΛΥΝΟΙΣ ἙΠΕΥΣΙ ΔΙΕΦΥΓΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΑ, ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ἩΠΕΙΡΟΝ ἈΠΕΠΛΕΥΣΕΝ ὩΣ ΑΥΘΗΣ ἘΠΑΝΗΞΩΝ, ΤΟΝ ΜΙΛΩΝΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΦΡΟΥΡΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΑΣ, ΘΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΦΡΟΝ ἸΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΡΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΕΝΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΥ, ΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΔΟΣΙΑ ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕΝ. ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΌΥΝ ΝΙΚΙΑΝ ΟΥΤΩΝ ἘΤΙΜΩΡΗΣΑΤΟ, ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΕΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩ ΣΚΩΨΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΩΡΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΕΜΕΛΛΕΝ, ἘΡΩΤΗΣΑΣ ὁ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΙ ΕΣΚΟΠΠΟΝ, ἘΠΕΙ ἈΠΕΚΡΙΒΗΣΑΝ ΟΤΙ "ΠΟΛΥ ΠΛΕΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΨΩΤΕΡΑ ΕΙΡΗΚΕΙΜΕΝ ἂΝ ΕΙ ΜΗ ὁ ΟΙΝΟΣ ἘΠΙΕΛΕΟΙΠΕ," ΓΕΛΑΣΑΣ ἈΦΙΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ.

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΌΥΝ ἘΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΝ ΠΟΛΥ ΤΟΙΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΕΜΒΑΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΩ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΗΝ ἩΤΑΥΛΙΑΝ ΛΥΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ἙΛΛΑΔΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΣ ΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΨΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ "ἈΡΓΗΙ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕ." ΥΨΗΝ ΓΆΡ ΤΙΣ, ὩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ἘΧΕΙ, ΠΑΡΙΩΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΙΔΕΙΝ ἈΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΓΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΘΥΜΗΣΑΣΑ ἘΣΦΑΛΗ ΚΑΙ ἘΜΠΕΣΟΥΣΑ ΔΙΕΦΘΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΝ. ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΤΕΙ Ὁ ΤΕ ΦΑΒΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΠΑΠΠΟΣ ΕΤΙΜΗΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ἘΠΠΕΩΝ ἈΠΗΛΕΙΨΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΡΟΦΙΝΟΥΝ, ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΣ ὙΠΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ.
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.

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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
"Ότι 'Αγύλλαιοι ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τοὺς Ρωμαίους σφίσι πολεμῆσαι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις τε ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστειλάν πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὖν ὕψησθίναι, καὶ εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς χώρας ἐτυχον.—U 2 (p. 374).

41 Καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεῖς, ὡς τὸν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους αὐξανομένους ἔμαθε, δῶρα τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέμψε καὶ ὀμολογίαν

Zonaras 8, 6.
aίτιον δ' ὅτι σκεύη ἄργυρα λιτρῶν δέκα εἰχεν οὔτως οἱ Ρωμαιοὶ πενίαιν οὐ τὸ μὴ πολλὰ κεκτήσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι εἶναι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τούτο τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι τοῖς ἐκδημούσι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς κατὰ τι πράγμα τῇ πόλει διαφέρον ἐξιούσι τὰ τε ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄναγκαια καὶ δακτύλιος εἴ τοῦ δημοσίου ἔδιδοτο.

Τῶν Ταραντίνων δὲ τίνες κακωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίλινος ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, Νίκωνα προστησάμενοι. ὡσ δ' οὖν ἦνυσαι, τείχος τῇ τῆς σφετέρας χώρας κατέσχον, κάκειθεν ὄρμωμεν τῷ Μίλινῳ ἐπή- ἐσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο τοὺς Ρωμαιοὺς πολεμῆσαι σφίσι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστειλάν καὶ εἰρήνης ἐτυχον.

Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Φιλαδέλφος ὁ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς, τὸν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλλαχότα μαθὼν καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους αὐξανομένους, δῶρα τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέμψε καὶ ὀμολογίαν ἔποιησατο. καὶ οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθέντες πρέσβεις

1 'Αγύλλαιοι Leuncl., ἀγύλλαι 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 they¹ 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.
ἐποιήσατο. οἱ δὲν Ἑρωμαῖοι ἔσθεντες ὅτι καίτω διὰ πλεῖστον ὄν περὶ πολλοῦ σφᾶς ἐπεποίητο, πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι δῶρα παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὴ λαβόντες ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σφᾶς ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἔδεξαντο αὐτά.—U ² 3 (p. 374).

Zonaras 8, 6.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνταπέστειλαν. οἱ μεγαλοπρεπὴ δῶρα παρ' ἐκεῖνον λαβόντες εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα εἰσῆγον. ἤ δὲ δειγῇ οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλ' εἶασεν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐχεῖν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τούς τε Σαυνίτας διὰ Καρούλιον ὑπέταξαν, καὶ Δευκάνων καὶ Βρεττίων διὰ Παπείριον ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους οἱ αὐτὸς Παπείριος ἑχειρώσατο. ἀχθομενοὶ γὰρ τὸ πῆλον, καὶ πρὸς τῶν σφέτερων κακούμενοι τῶν, ὡς εἰρήται, ἐπιθεμένοι τὸν Πῆλον, Καρχηδονίους ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐπεῖ καὶ τὸν Πύρρον τεθνάναι ἐμαθον. οὐ δὲ Μῖλων ἐν στενῷ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα συνηγμένα ὅρῳν, τῶν Ἑρωμαίων ἐκ τῆς ἑπίνου ἐφεδρευόντων, τῶν δὲ τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, παρέδωκε τὸ Παπείριῳ τὴν ἀκραίαν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀβλάβῃς μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποχωρήσαι. ἔντειθεν οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὡς ἐνσπονδοὶ τοῖς ᾿Ερωμαίοις ἀπεπλευσαν, ἦ δὲ πόλεις προσεχώρησε τὸ Παπείριῳ καὶ τὰ ὕπλα καὶ τὰς ναὼς αὐτῷ παρέδοσαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλον καὶ δασμοφορεῖν ὀμολόγησαν.

Οὗτοι δὲ τούς Ταραντίνους υφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ ᾿Ερωμαίοι ποιησάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὸ ᾿Ρήγιον, ὅτι τὸν Κρότωνα προδοσίᾳ λαβόντες τὴν τε πόλιν
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 ἐχοντας, οὐς συμμάχους οἱ ἐν τῷ
Ῥηγίῳ προσεδέχοντο, ὄμολογια διεκρούσαντο,
ἐκακοπάθησαν δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὸ Ῥήγιον
σπάνει τε τροφῆς καὶ ἀλλοις τισίν, ἔως Ἰέρων ἐκ
Σικελίας σῖτόν τε Ῥωμαίοις πέμψας καὶ στρα-
τιώτας ἐπέρρωσε σφᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνεῖλεν.
ὴ τοὺς περιούσι τῶν ἄρχαιων πολείτων ἀπεδόθη.
οἱ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ ἐκολάσθησαν.
Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰέρων οὐτε πατρόθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχον
τινά, μητρόθεν δὲ καὶ δούλεια προσήκων, Σικελίας
ἀπάσης ἢρξε μικροῦ, καὶ φίλος Ῥωμαίοις ἐνομίσθη
καὶ σύμμαχος. οὔτος οὖν τῶν Συρακουσίων κρα-
τήσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πύρρου φυγήν καὶ τοὺς Καρ-
χιδονίους εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐγκειμένους τῇ Σικελία, πρὸς
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε, καὶ πρῶτην χάριν αὐτοῖς
τὴν εἰρημένην συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν
ἀπένειμε.
Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ χειμώνοις γεγονότος πολλοῦ,
ὅστε τῶν Τίβεριν ἐσπολύ τοῦ βάθους κρυστάλλω-
θήναι καὶ αὐξανθήναι τὰ δένδρα, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώ-
μῃ ἐταλαιπώρησαν, καὶ τὰ βοσκῆματα τῆς πόλας
ἐπιλιποῦσις ἐφθάρησαν.

Zonaras 8, 7.

7. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει Δόλιος τις ἁνὴρ Σαουνίτης,
ὀμηρεύον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐκδράς, δύναμιν συνελέ-
ξατο, καὶ χωρίων τι καρτερὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ κατα-
λαβὼν ἑλήστευεν. ἔφʼ ὅν Κύντος τε Γάλλος καὶ
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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
Γάιος Φάβιος στρατεύσαντες αυτού μεν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σύγκλυσας καὶ ἀόπλους τοὺς πλείωνας ὅντας συνέσχον, χωρῆσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Καρικίνους, παρ’ οῖς τὴν λείαν ἐκεῖνοι ἀπετέθειντο, πράγματα ἐσχον. καὶ τέλος νυκτὸς ὑπ’ αὐτομόλων ὑπερβαίνεις τῇ τού τείχους ἐκκυνδύνεσαν ἀπολέσθαι διὰ σκότος, οὗ ὁ ἄσεληνος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐσις, ἀλλ’ ὁτι σφοδρότατα ἐνιφεὶ ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἀθρόων ἐκράτησαν τοῦ χωρίου.

Πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα τότε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ ἄργυραὶς δραχμαῖς χρησασθαι.

Εἶτα εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλαβριάν ἐστράτευσαν, προφάσει μὲν ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχία κατέτρεχον, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ὅτι ἐβούλουτο ὑικεύομαι στὸ Βρετησίον, ὡς εὐλύμην καὶ προσβολὴν καὶ κάταρσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοιαύτην ἔχουν ὅσθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐξανάγεσθαι τινας καὶ καταίρειν. καὶ εἶλον αὐτὸ, καὶ ἄτοικους ἐπεμφάνες εἰς αὐτὸ τε καὶ εἰς ἔτερα. ταῦτα δ’ ἀνύοντες καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἰρόμενοι οὐχ ὑπερεφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύντον Φάβιον βουλευτὴν Ἀπολλωνίαται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἰούνιο κόλπῳ ἐξέδωκαν, ὅτι

1 δεὶ αἰρόμενοι Βκ., διαπρόκειον Μκ.
2 καρικίνους ΒΑ, καρικίνους Σ, καρκίνους Ω.
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
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ἐξέδωκαν, ὅτι τινὰς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὕβρισεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔδοξεν τι ἔδρασαν αὐτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἶκαδε.—V. 27 (p. 590).

Zonaras 8, 7.

πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὕβρισεν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψαν οἶκαδε ἀπαθῆ.

Ἐπὶ δὲ Κυίντου Φαβίου καὶ Λίμιλίου ὑπάτων πρὸς Οὐλοσίων αὐτῶν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ἐνσπονδοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς. οἱ ἀρχαίοις Τυρσηνῶν ὄντες ἱσχύν τε περιποιήσαντο καὶ τείχος κατεσκεύασαν ὁχυρώσαντο, πολιτείᾳ τε εὐνομομενῇ ἐκέχρησαν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ πολεμοῦντές ποτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον. ὡς δ' ἐχειρώθησαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐξωκεῖλαν εἰς ἀβρότητα, τὴν δὲ διοίκησιν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὰς στρατείας δι' ἐκεῖνων ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἑποίουντο καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ τοῦτο προῆγαγον σφᾶς ὡς καὶ δύναμιν τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ φρόνημα ἔχειν καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐαυτοὺς ἠξιωοῦν. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἔτυχον ταύτης δι' ἐαυτῶν, καὶ τὰς σφῶν δεσποinium ἡγάγωντο καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας διεδέχοντο, καὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἐνεγράφοντο καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἑλάμβανον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ σύμπαν κύρος ἔχον, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰς ὑβρεῖς τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν αὐτοῖς γνωμένας ἰταμώτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοὺς ἀντεπεδείκνυτο. οὔτ' οὐν φέρειν σφᾶς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι πολίται οὔτε καθ' ἑαυτῶς δεδυνημένοι ἀμύνασθαι, λάθρα πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν. οἱ καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων
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.
40,46

Δίων ι' βιβλίῳ "οὗτοι δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεύουσιν ὑμᾶς."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 177, 28.

Zonaras 8, 7.

νυκτὸς τὴν γερονσίαν εἰς ἱδιωτικὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθεῖν, ἣν μιθὲν ἐξαγγελθῇ, παρεκάλεσαν καὶ ἔτυχον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁς οὐδενὸς ἐπακούοντος ἐβουλεύοντο, Σαυνίτης δὲ τις παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπι-ξενούμενος καὶ νοσῶν ἔλαθε κατὰ χώραν μείνας καὶ ἔμαθεν ἀν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ἐμήνυσε τοὺς τὴν αἰ-τίαν ἔχουσι. κάκεινοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανόησαν καὶ μαθόντες τὰ δρά-μενα αὐτοῦς τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους. δι’ οὖν ταῦτ’ ὦ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν Φάβιον ἔπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐστείλαν. καὶ δὴ τοὺς τε ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ φθείρας κατέκλεισε τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν ταῦτα τρώθεις ἀπέθανεν, θαρσήσαντες δ’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεξ-ήλθον καὶ ἤπνηθέντες ἀφθονος ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο· καὶ εἰς ἄνάγκην λιμοῦ ἐμπεσόντες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς. ὁ δὲ ὦποτος τοὺς μὲν ἀφελο-μένους τὰς τῶν κυρίων τιμὰς αἰκισόμενος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τοὺς δὲ αὐθιγενεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινὲς τῶν οἰκετῶν χρηστοὶ περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐγένοντο, ἐν ἐτέρῳ κατόκισε τόπῳ.
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.
Фрагменты из книги XI

"О ты, вестник, явнее тебе это, что они, все, варьруют в своей работе, чтобы усваивать у Римлян о Кархедонских".

Zonaras 8, 8.

8. 'Εντεύθεν ἡρξαντο οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι διαποντάς ἄγωνις ναυτικῶν γὰρ ὀύτε πάνυ πεπέραντο·
θαλαττουργοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς νῆσους τὰς
τε ἄλλας ἦπεροὺς ἑπεραίωθησαν. Καρχηδονίοις
dὲ πρῶτοι ἐπολέμησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν οὐσιν ἤττοσιν
οὔτε πλοῦτῳ οὔτε ἄρετῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἡσκημένοις
tὰ ναυτικὰ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ παρεσκευασμένοις
ἱππικαίς τε δυνάμει καὶ πεζαίς καὶ ἔλεφασι,
καὶ ἄρχουσι Λιβύνων, τὴν τε Σαρδῶ καὶ τὴν
Σικελίας τὰ πλείω κατέχουσιν ὅθεν καὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν χειρόσασθαι δι᾽ ἐλπίδων πεποίητο. τὰ
τε γὰρ ἄλλα σφᾶς φρονηματίζοντες ἔπειθον, καὶ
τῷ αὐτοῦμοφ λίαν ἠτύχχαν ἐπαιρόμενοι (τὸν
gὰρ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῖς κλῆσιν ἐτησίου ἀρχής, ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἐπὶ χρονίῳ δυναστείᾳ προουβάλλοντο), καὶ ὡς
αὐτοῖς πονούμενοι προθυμότατα ὄργων.
Σκηνεῖς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου εὐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν
ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐψοθήθησαν,
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 overseas; 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
Ταραντίνοις ἐβοήθησαν, τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ὅτι Ῥωμαιοὶ φιλιάν τῷ Ἰέρωνι συνέβεντο. ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν, οία ποιν πεφύκασιν οἱ τῷ μὲν ἐργῷ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπολύμενοι τὴν δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῦ αἰσχυνόμενοι, σκήψεις ἐποιοῦντο· ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ἀλλὸς ἔχει. δυνάμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Καρχηδονίοι, αὐξανόμενοι δὲ ἢδη οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ ἀλλήλους τε ὑφεσώρωντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιθυμία του ἄει πλείονοι κατὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅταν εὐ πράττοις, ἐμφυτον, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προήχθησαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάτεροι τῶν οἰκείων σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἔτερων προσκτήσασθαι νομίζοντες εἶναι· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἀδύνατον τε ἦν δύο δήμους ἐν τε ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐν δυνάμει φρονήματι τε ὅντας, καὶ βραχύτατον ὅσοι εἴπειν ταῖς τῆς ναυτιλίας οξύτητι διεστηκότας, ἀλλῶν μὲν τινῶν ἄρχειν, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐθελῆσαι. τοιοῦτον κατὰ

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Καρχηδονίους δὲ ὅτι φιλιάν Ῥωμαιοὶ συνέβεντο τῷ Ἰέρωνι· τὸ δὲ ἀλήθεια, ὅτι ἀλλήλους ὑφεσώρωντο, καὶ μίαν σωτηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων ἐκάτεροι φοντὸ εἰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσκτῆσαιντο. οὕτω διανοοῦν·

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. 380
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.
τύχην συμπεσόν τάς τε σπουδάς σφών διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς συνερρήξεν.—Μ. 111 (p. 178).

"Ὅτι τὸ ἀγώνισμα λόγῳ μὲν περὶ Μεσσήνης καὶ Σικελίας, ἔρχο ὑπὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκά
tεροι ἐκεῖθεν ἡδη κινούμενον ἡσθάνουτο, καὶ τὴν
νῆσον, ᾧτε ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν κειμένην, ἐπίβασιν τοῖς
κρατήσασιν αὐτῆς ἑπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀσφαλῆ παρέ
ξειν ἐνόμιζον.—Μ. 112 (p. 179).

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μένοις αὐτοῖς συμπεσόν τι τάς σπουδάς τε διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἐξηρέδισε τὸ ὅ ἢν
tοιοῦτον.

Οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ἦκε Καμπανίας ποτὲ πρὸς
Μεσσήνην ἀποκλίαν στειλάμενοι, τότε ὃ ὑπὸ
Τέρωνος πολιορκοῦμενοι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς
Ῥωμαίοις οἰα σφάς προσήκοντας. κάκεινοι
ἐτοίμως ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴδοτες
ὅτι, ἂν τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι μὴ
tεύξωνται, πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τραπήσωνται,
kάκεινοι τῆς τε Σικελίας ὅλης κρατήσουσι καὶ ἐς
tὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς διαβῆσονται. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος
αὐτῇ βραχὺ τῆς ἥπερον διέγει, ὡς μυθεύσονται
ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ἥπεροτο. ἡ τε οὗν νῆσος, οὕτω
τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπικείμενη, ἐδόκει τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
ἐκκαλέσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἀντιπέραν ἀντιποιήσασθαι,
ἀν γε ταῦτα κατάχωσι, καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη παρεῖχε
τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ κυριεύειν.

Ψηφίσαμενοι δὲ βοήθειαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς
Μαμερτῖνοι, οὐ ταχεῖως αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησαν διὰ
tίνας ἐπισυμβάσας αἰτίας. οθεν ἀνάγκη πιεζό-
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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.

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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
μενοι οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι Καρχηδονίους ἐπεκαλέσαντο. ὦ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι εἰρήνην κατεπράξαντο πρὸς Ἰέρωνα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιώθωσι, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον, ἀνωνυμὸς σφὸν ἤγουμένον. καὶ τοῦτο Γάιος Κλαύδιος χιλιαρχῶν, ναυσίν ὀλίγας ὧπο Ἀππίου Κλαύδιου προπεμφθεῖς, εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀφίκετο. διαπλέυσαι δὲ οὐκ ἑθάρρησε, πολὺ πλειον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὄροι ναυτικὸν. ἀκατίω δὲ ἐμβὰς προσέσχε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καὶ διελέξθη αὐτὸς ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδον. αντεπόντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τότε μὲν μηδὲν πράξας ἀνεκομίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ γνώσις τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν στάσει ὄντας (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείκειν ἐβούλοντο καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐβαρύνουσο), ἐπλευσεν αὐθίς, καὶ ἀλλὰ τε ἐπεν ἐπαγγέλα καὶ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἤκει, καὶ ἐπειδὰν κατασταίεν τὰ πράγματα, ἀποπλεῦσει καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἡ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἥ, εἰ τε δίκαιον ἔχοιεν, τούτο εἰπεὶν. ὡς δὲ οὔτε
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.

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.
κρίσιν καταστήναι. ὡς δ' οὖτε τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἄτε καὶ βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες βραχὺ αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, αὐτάρκες ἐφι μαρτύριον τὴν σιωπὴν παρ' ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἄδικοὶ, δεδικαιολογήσθαι γὰρ ἄν εἴπερ τί ὑγίες ἐφρόνουν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμοῖεν παρρησία γὰρ ἄν, εἴπερ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἤροῦντο, ἀλλωστε τοις ἱσχύοις αὐτῶν παρούσης κεχρήσθαι. καὶ προσυπέσχετο σφίσι βοηθήσειν καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄν καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτήσεων τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἦν ἐπεποίημος.—Μ. 113 (p. 179).

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τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες, οὐδέν αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, "αὐτάρκες," ἐφη, "μαρτύριον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἡ σιωπή, τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἄδικούσιν, εἰ γὰρ τί ὑγίες ἐφρόνουν, ἐδικαιολογήσαντο ἂν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐφίενται ἐπαρρησίασαντο γὰρ ἄν, εἰ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων προήρημον." καὶ ἐπηγγέλλετο βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς. θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῶν Μαμερτίνων ἐπὶ τούτους γενομένου εὐθὺς ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγμον, καὶ μετ' ὁλίγον παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ βιασάμενος τὸν διάπλουν, τὸ μέν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς

1 τὴν σιωπὴν . . . ἔχειν Bk., ἡ σιωπὴ . . . ἔχει Ma.
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.

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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-
7 "Οτι Γαίος Κλαύδιος τῶν τε τριήρων τινὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεσώθη· οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον οὔτε ἐκεῖνος οὔτε οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ἦρωμαιοι ἀντελάβοντο τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτι πρῶτον πειρασάμενοι ἀυτῆς ἦττηθησαν, ὅπερ ποιοὶ διηλοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτον τι ἐγχειρισάμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες ποιεῖν, πρὸς οὖν τὸ πρόσθεν τιθέμενοι καὶ μηδ' ἄδεις ποτὲ κατορθώσειν νομίζοντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ προδυμότερον ἀυτῆς διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν, ἦνα μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀποτετράφθαι δόξωσε, μετεποιήσαντο.—Μ. 114 (p. 180).

8 "Οτι ὁ Ἀνων οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τῶν πόλεμον ποιούμενος, εἰ τε καὶ δέοι αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σπονδῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τρέψαι, μὴ κατάρχειν αὐτὸς νομισθείν, θέλων, ἀπεπεμψε αὐτῷ τὰς ναῦς καὶ

Zonaras 8, 8.
tέχνης τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τὸ δὲ πλείστον διὰ τὴν τού ῥοῦ χαλεπότητα καὶ χειρόνα ἔξαίφνης γενόμενον, τινάς τε τῶν τριήρων ἀπέβαλε καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς μόλις εἰς τὸ Ὄμην ἀπεσώθη.

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9. Οὐ μέντοι τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ Ἦρωμαιοι διὰ τὴν ἔτταν ἀπέσχοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκευάζεν, Ἄνων δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαλύσεως εἰς τοὺς Ἦρωμαίους τρέψαι βουλόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἀλούσας τριήρεις τῷ Κλαύδιῳ

1 πειρασάμενοι v. Herw. . . . μενοι Ms. 2 εἰ Br., ετ' Ms. 3 αὐτὸς v. Herw., αὐτὴς Ms. 4 ἀπέπεμψε Bk., προσέπεμψε Ms.
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
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλεῖτο, καὶ προσπαρήνει οἱ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν.—Μ. 115 (p. 180).

9 "Οτι ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, ἀπειλήν ὑπέρφρονα καὶ νεμεσθην ἠπέλησεν ἔφη τε γὰρ μὴ ἀπονύφασθαι ποτε τὰς χείρας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀπέβαλε καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον.
—Μ. 116 (p. 180).

10 "Οτι ὁ Κλαύδιος καταλαβὼν τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν τῷ λιμένι συνεστραμμένους, ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐποίησε καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐδὲν δέομαι τῶν ὀπλῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ὑμῖν διαγινώσκαι πάντα ἐπιτρέπω," ἐπεισέ σφαις μεταπέμψασθαι τοῖς Ἀννωναὶ μὴ βουληθέντος τοῖς αὐτοῖς καταβῆναι πολὺς ἔνεκειτο κατατρέχων καὶ λέγον ὅτι, εἰ δὴ τι καὶ

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ἐπεμψε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπεδίδοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην προεκαλεῖτο αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, ἠπέλησεν μηδ' ἀπονύφασθαι ποτε τὰς χείρας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους ἐσάει. ὁ Κλαύδιος δὲ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ φύσιν κατανόησας, ἐτήρησε τὸν ροῦν καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀμα φέροντας, καὶ οὔτω διεπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, μηδὲνος ἐναντιωθέντος. εὐρῶν οὖν ἐν τῷ λιμένι τοὺς Μαμερτίνους (ὁ γὰρ Ἀννων προὔποπτεύοσαν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροτόλει καθῆστο φυλάττων αὐτῶν), ἐκκλησίαν συνήχαγε, καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα αὐτοῖς ἐπεισέ μεταπέμψασθαι τοῖς Ἀννωναὶ. ὃ δὲ καταβῆναι οὐκ ἠθελεν φοβηθεὶς δὲ

390 1 eitōn Gros, ejden 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
μη οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ὡς ἀδῖκουντος αὐτῶν νεωτερίσωσιν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ’ ἀμπελῶν μάθην λεχθέντων συνήρπασέ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, συνεπαινοῦντων τῶν Μαμερτίνων.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ὅλην ἀνάγκη τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἔξελιπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὲν τὸν Ἀννώνα, κήρυκα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεμψαν τὴν τε Μεσσηνίαν ἐκλεπτεῖν κελευοῦτες καὶ ἐκ πάσης ἀπελθεῖν Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέρα ῥητήν καὶ στρατίων ἀπεστάλκασιν. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοὺς τε μισθοφοροῦντας παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἦν Ἰταλίας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῇ Μεσσηνίῃ προσέβαλον (συνήν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων αὐτοῖς) καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιορκοῦν καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐφυλασσόν, ὡς μήτε στρατεύμα μήτε σῖτος αὐτοῖς κομισθῇ. ὁ μαθῶν ὁ ὑπατος ἡδὴ πλησιάζων, ὡς εὑρέθησαν αὐτῶν πολλαχή κατὰ προφασιν ἐμπορίας ἐλλιμενίζοντας, ἐξη- πάτησε σφάς ὅπως διέλθη τὸν πορθμὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἔλαβε νυκτὸς τῇ Σικελίᾳ προσορμισάμενος. καὶ προσπλεύσας οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος αὐτίκα συνέμεξε, νομίζοις φοβερῶτατος.
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."  

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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 besieged 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.
“Οτι ο ύπατος Κλαύδιος τοις στρατιώταις προσπαρήνεσε θαρρείν μηδε επι τη του χιλιάρχου ἡττη καταπεπλήχθαι, διδάσκων αὐτούς ὅτι τε αἰ νίκαι τοῖς ἁμείνον παρεσκευασμένοις γέγονεντο καὶ ὅτι ἡ σφέτερα ἀρετὴ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τέχνης προέχουσα εἴη ἕαυτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ναυτικῶν δὲ ὀλίγου προσλήψεται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίοις μηδέποτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου σφίσων ὑπάρξειν ἔφη τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτητὸν διὰ βραχέος τοῖς τῶν νυν ἄντω προσέχουσι καὶ καθαρευτὸν μελέτη εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τῷ προσεῖῃ, ὁπὸ ἤν διδαχὴ πορισθῆναι.

—Μ. 118 (p. 181).

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αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀδρόου φανήσεσθαι. ἀντεπεξελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππικῶν ἡλιαττῶθη, τὸ δ' ὅπλιτικον ὑπερέσχε. καὶ ὁ Τέρων τότε μὲν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ἐς δὲ τὰς Συρακοῦσας ὑστερὸν ἀπεχώρησεν.

Ὁ οὖν Κλαύδιος, ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Τέρωνος καὶ τῶν Μαμερτίνων διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναδαρσάσαντων, ἐπήλθε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μονωθείσιν ἥδη, καὶ τῷ σφὼν προσέβαλε χαρακόματι ὅτι οἶον εἰν χερρονήσῳ, ἐντεύθεν μὲν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦτο συνείχεν, ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐληττὶν δ' δυσδιάβατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν αἰχένα, δ' οὕτε μόνου εἰσήσασι στενοτάτον τυγχάνοντο, ἐπεποίητο διατείχισμα. βιαζόμενοι οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐταλαιπώρησαν καὶ βαλλόμενοι

1 τοῖς στρατιώταις Βκ., τοῖς στρατιώταις Μα.
2 διδαχὴ Μαι, διδαχὴ Μα.
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.

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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
"Oti tharsoı̂santes oi 1 Δ ibnes, ós 2 ou tê phûsei tou choroû alla tê sphetéra arêtê kekrathekôtes, epêxodôn epoîhantos, ó de Klaûdios ouûs autous dediênai epoîhsean ouûs mhô 3 êxw tou 4 strotopédou parakûphai.—M. 119 (p. 181).

Συμβαίνει gár ouû 4 plîthei toûs mên en ek logismou tî dediôsin òðrhousai dia profulakaîn autou, tôs d' aprounêtous òbrasonoménoi phieîresbaî di' òbrulaçían.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539).

Tô mên sôfronôn kal katótai vàs nîkas kal geônemáin phulássei, tô d' òs toygalain ouû te perignyuetai tînoû, kán ára euvtukhîshy potê ên tîni, màsta autô ãpôllusin kán mên diassôshy tî, xêiron ùp' autou tou parâ lógon euprarhîshai geônemwn, ouû ouû orô ekeînou tô ònynatai, allà kai autô 5 prosdiafheîrîketai. Kal gár pôs pân tô parâ lógon òbrasonomémon kai dediênai álîgos ðefukên ou min gár logismos tîn te gnôshen tê pronoia bebalan kai tîn ëlpída pîstîn êk tou êxegygan autês êxow, ouû te kataptîshsein tîna

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änexôrîshsan. òî de Δ ibnes tharsoı̂santes ëpexêîlthou, kal òis feûngontas ëpidîwkonutes êxw proeîh- lúshai tôn stevoû kântaûtha ëpisstratefontes òî Òrómai autous ëtrêfshantos kai pôllous ãpê- kteînai, ùûte autous mhkêti tou stratotepëdou proeîth shen par' òson hîn en Meûshîsh ou Klaûdios.

1 or Mai, òs Ma. 2 òs supplied by Bk. 3 êxw tou B., êx. tou Ms. 4 òis B., òis òis Ms. 5 autô B., autôf Ms.
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

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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.
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οὐθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν ἐὰν ἡ δὲ ἀλόγιστος ἐμπληξίᾳ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐξαίρει κἂν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταπεινοῖς, οἷα μὴδὲν ἔρμα 2 ἔχουσα, ἀλλ' ἄει τῷ συμπίπτοντι ἐξομοιομένη.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539) and from καὶ γάρ πως (§ 15) M. 120 (p. 181).

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Ὁ δὲ βιάσασθαι τὴν πρόσοδον μὴ τολμῶν πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας καὶ τῶν Ἰέρωνα ἐτράπετο, φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπὼν. καὶ προσ-έβαλλε τε αὐτὸς τῷ ἀστεί κάκεινοι ποτε ἐπεξε-σαν καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐκράτουν, ὅτε δὲ ἐκρατοῦντο ἐκάτεροι. καὶ ποτὲ ἐν χωρίῳ στενῷ ὁ ὑπάτος γεγονὼς ἑάλω ἂν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ περισσεθήναι ἐπεμψε πρὸς τῶν Ἰέρωνα, εἰς συμβάσεις δὴ τινὰς αὐτῶν προκαλούμενος. οὕτω γάρ ἔλθοντος τινὸς πρὸς ὅν ἐμελλε συμβῆσθαι, διελέγετο τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπαπής, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπεχώρησε. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἱάδος ἀλῶναι μὴ δυναμενῆς, καὶ τῇ προσέδρειας ὑπὸρον διὰ στάντων οὕσης σιτίων καὶ διὰ νόσου τῆς στρατιάς, ἀπανέστη καὶ οἱ Συρακούσιοι εἴποντο καὶ ἐς λόγους τοῖς σκεδασμοῦντος ἦσαν, καὶ ἐστεί-σαντο ἂν, εἰ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων συμβῆναι ἤθελησεν. οὐκ ὑπάτος φρούραν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καταλιπὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον.

Ὁι Ῥωμαίοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Τυρσηνικὰ καθειστή-κει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκριβῶς εἰρήνουν, τὰ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδῶν ἐπὶ πλέον συνιστάτο, ἀμφότερος ὑπάτους ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκστρατεῦσαι ἐκέλευσαν. περαιωθέντες οὖν ὅ τε Μάξιμος

398 1 οὐθ' Mai, οὐθ' Mss. 2 ἔρμα Bk., ἔρμα Mss.
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.

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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 Otta-
Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Ὅστακίλιος Κράσσος, καὶ διὰ τῆς νήσου ὅμως τε καὶ διχῇ πορευόμενοι, πολλοὺς ὀμολογία παρεστήσαντο. ὡς δὲ τὰ πλείω φικείωντο, πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας ὄρμησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐρων φοβηθεῖς διεκηρυκεύσατο σφίζει, τὰς πόλεις τε ἃς ἀφήρηντο ἀποδίδους καὶ χρήματα ὑπισχυνόμενος καὶ τοὺς αἵμαλωτοὺς ἑλευθερῶν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τούτους σπουδῶν οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ ῥᾴδιν μετ' αὐτοῦ καταστρέψαθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐνόμισαν. συμβάντες δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων φρουρουμένας ἐτράποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπεκρούσθησαν, Ἐγεσταν δ' ἐκουσίαι ἔλαβον. διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ὁρωμαίους οἰκείωσιν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Λινείου λέγοντες γεγονέναι, προσεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φονεύσαντες.

10. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα εἰς τὸ Ῥώμην ἀπήραν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ εἰς Σάρδα τὸ πλεῖον ἐκόμισαν τοῦ στρατού, ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπίθουνται, καὶ ἡ τέλεον οὔτω τῆς Σικελίας ἐκστήσωσιν ἢ διαπεραιωθέντας ἀσθενεστέρους ποιήσωσιν. ἄλλῳ οὖτε τούτου οὔτε μὴν ἑκεῖνου ἐπέτυχον οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι τὴν τε οἰκείαν ἐφύλαττον, καὶ ἀξιώμαχον εἰς Σικελίαν δύναμιν ἐπεμψαν μετὰ Ποστομίου Ἀλβινοῦ καὶ μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Κυίντου. ἑλθόντες δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐπὶ ᾿Ακράγαντα ὄρμησαν, καὶ ταῦτα ᾿Αννίβαν τὸν Γίσγωνος ἐπολιόρκοιν. ὅ οἱ ἐν
cilius 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.

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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. On arriving in Sicily the consuls set out for Agrigentum, and there besieged Hannibal, the son of Gisgo. 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. οὐ δὲ ἐσ Ἡράκλειαν ἐλθὼν οὐ πόρρω οὐδὲν Ἀκράγαντος ἐπολέμησι. καὶ μάχαι πλείους, οὐ μεγαλαί δὲ ἐγένοντο· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὁ Ἀννών τοὺς ὑπάτους προσκαλεῖτο εἰς πόλεμον, εἰδ' ὑστερον ἐκεῖνον οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προοικέκλητο. ἐκὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀφθονόν εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τροφή, οὐκ ἐτόλμων μαχασθαί, τῷ πλῆθει ἐλαττούμενοι, λεμὸ δὲ τὴν πολὺν αἰρῆσιν ἦλπιζον ἐπειδ' ἦσε ἐσπάνζον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀποκινδυνεῦειν προεικόμενο, οὐ δὲ Ἀννών ὄκνει, ὑποπτεύσας διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνεδρευθήσεται. διὸ οἳ τὲ άλλοι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θερισμένα ήξίων ὡς ἀκμητὶ νεικικήτων, καὶ ο Ίέρων, ἀποδέμως αὐτοῖς συναιρόμενοι πρότερον, τοῦτο σίτου αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναθάρσησαι.

Ἀννών δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μάχην συνάψαι, ἐπιπάσας καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ νότον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσπεσείσθαι. ο μαθόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἱσύγαζον, ὡστε τὸν Ἀννώνα καταφρονήσαντα τῷ ταφρεύματι προσέλθειν. ἐπεμψαν δὲ τινὰς κατόπιν αὐτοῦ ἐνεδρέωσοντας. ἐκεῖνον δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀδείως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἐπανάγοντος, ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χαρακόματος αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσέμβαν, καὶ φώναν πολύν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἰργάσαντο. ο δ' Ἀννίβας ἐν τούτῳ ταῖς σκηναῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθὼν ἐξεκρούσθη ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτᾶς. ο δ' Ἀννών εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κατέφυγε, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλυόν. καὶ ο Ἀννίβας νυκτὸς ἐκδράναι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος βουλευσάμενος, αὐτὸς
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.
μὲν ἐλαθεν, οἱ δ’ ἀλλοι γνωσθέντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίων ἐκτάνθησαν. οὐ μέντοι συγγινώμης ἐτυχον οἱ Ἀκραγαντίοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα σφῶν διηρπάθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπράθησαν ἀπαντες.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνὴν διὰ τὸν χειμώνα ἀνεχώρησαν, ὠργίζοντο δ’ οἱ Καρχηδονοὶ κατὰ Αἰνώνως, καὶ Ἀμίλκαν ἀντί αὐτοῦ τὸν Βαρχίδην ἀπέστειλαν, ἄνδρα τῶν ὀμοφυλῶν πλὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τοῦ νεῶς ἐν στρατηγίᾳ κρείττουνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐφύλαττεν, Ἀννίβαν δὲ ναυαρχοῦντα ἐσ Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμψε τὰ παράλλα αὐτῆς κακουργήσοντα, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπάτους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστασηται. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ σκοποῦ καταστήσαντες γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φρουρὰς ἑκασταχόθη τῆς παραλίας, εἰς Σικελίαν ἔλθον. οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἔπραξαν ἄξιον.

ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας τοὺς Γαλάτας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οἱ μὲν ἐντελῆ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἀγανακτήσαντας, φοβηθεὶς μὴ προσχωρῆσοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διέθεσε, πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς τινὰ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλειν παραληψομένους αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ ἐνα προδιδομένην καὶ διαρράσαι αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψας, στείλας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ψευδαιταμόλους τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν προμηνύοντας ἔλευσιν ὅθεν οἱ Γαλάται μὲν πάντες ἐνεδρευότας ἐφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπέθανον.

Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων οἰκαδὲ ὁ Ἀμίλκας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθει προσπλέων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλεις τινὰς ὑπηγάγετο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ναυτικὸν συνεστήσαντο, καὶ Γάιον αὐτῶ Δουίλιον τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπάτων.
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
"Ὅτι Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἔλθοντες τῷ μὲν ἀριθμῷ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἀντίρροποι ἦσαν, ἐκατέρωθεν ἁ πρῶτον τῇ ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου παρασκευής καθιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐλπίζοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὑπ' αὐτῆς κριθῆσθαι, τὸ τε ἅθλον τῇ Σικελίαν.

Zonaras 8, 10.

ἐπέστησαν, τὸν δὲ τούτου συνάρχοντα Κορνήλιον Γαίον εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπεμψαν. δὴ τοῦ κατὰ γῆν πολέμου δὲν ἐκεκλήρωτο ἀμελήσας ταῖς προσούσισι αὐτῷ ναυσὶν ἐς Λιπάραν ἐπέλευσεν ὡς προδιομένην αὐτῷ· τούτῳ δ' ἐκ δόλου τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένετο. ὡς οὖν ἐς τὴν Διπάραν καθωρμισα, Βόδης αὐτὸν ὅ τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιστοίχισεν ὑποστράτηγοι παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Γαίου πρὸς ἀμυναν, δείσας ἐκείνος τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν, προεκάλεσατο αὐτοὺς εἰς σπονδάς· καὶ πείσας ἀνεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τροχῆρη τὸν τε ὑπατον καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὡς τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἐντευξομένους. καὶ τούτως μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀπέπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οὐδὲ ἀραμένους τὰ ὅπλα εἶλον.

Zonaras 8, 11.

11. Ἐντα Ἀννίβας μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθει, Ἀμίλκας δὲ εἰς Ἑγεσαν ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν ὡς τὸ πλείστον τοῦ πεζοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς ἡν' ὁς ἐπικουρήσαι Γαίον Καϊκίλιον χιλιάρχοι ἐθελήσαντα λοχίσας πολλοὺς ἐφόνευε τῶν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῶν μὲν ἀστυνόμων εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ τὸν Δουλίλιον ἐπέστευσαν· ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔλθὼν, καὶ καταμαθῶν τὰς
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
ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες, καὶ περὶ δουλείας ἡς μὲν μὴ πειραθῆναι νικηθέντες τὴν δὲ προσκτήσασθαι κρατήσαντες, ἀγωνιζόμενοι. προέφερον δὲ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τριηριτῶν ἄτε ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ναυκρατοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τῇ τε ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις· ὅσοι γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦσαν, τόσοι καὶ προπετέστερον καὶ θρασύτερον ἐμάχοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πείρᾳ σφίσει ὃν ἁκρίβως πάντες ὅσιεὶν ἐκλογίζονται, καὶ ὀκνοῦσιν, ἂν γε καὶ ταύτῃ σφαῖς ἡ γνώμη φέρῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀπειρατοῖς ἀλογίστως τε θαρσοῦσι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐξ ἀπροβούλιαι ἀγονταί.

—Μ. 121 (p. 181).

Zonaras 8, 11.

ναῦς τῶν Καρχηδονίων τῇ μὲν παχύτητι καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σφῶν ἐλαττουμένως, τῷ τάχει δὲ τῆς εἰρεσίας καὶ τῆς ποικιλίας τοῦ πλοῦ προεχούσας, μιχαλάκες ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ἁγκύρας τε καὶ χειρας περικόντων σιδηράς καὶ ἀλλὰ τοιαύτα κατεσκεύασεν, ὅπως ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυτῶν ἐπιρρηπτοῦντες αὐτὰ συνάπτοντο σφίσι, καὶ μεταβαίνοντες εἰς αὐτὰς εἰς χείρας ὅιοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ ὅς ἐπὶ πεζῇ μάχη τοῦτοι συρρήγγυνται. συμμίζοντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδονίοι ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ναυτῶν περιέπλεον σφαῖς, συντόνω χρώμενοι εἰρεσία, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου προσεβάλλον. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τίνα ἱσοπαλῆς ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, εἰδὼ δὲ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπικρατεστέροι γεγονότες

1 δουλείας Mai, δουλᾶν Ms. 2 νικηθέντες Mai, νικητεί Ms. 408 3 ἀπειρατοί Bk., ἀπειρότατοι 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.

Zenaras 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 ἡττηθέντων Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀλγοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπέκτειναν (πᾶσι τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς στρατευματαῖοι ποι πέμπουσι πρόσεστι φύσει τῶν μὲν πλεονεξίων προσποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐλαττώσεις ἐς τοὺς στρατηγῆσαντας ἀνωθεῖν, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προχειρότατα τοὺς πταῖσαντάς τι ἐκόλαζον), εἰ μὴ φοβηθεὶς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἠτταν ἐπερωτῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ἀκεραίων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πότερον ναυμαχήσαι οἱ κελεύονσιν ἡ μὴ, συνεπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ὃσπερ ποι καὶ προσεδόκα, ἢ τε καὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπείπε διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἐλ.

Zonaras 8, 11.

πολλοῖς μὲν κατέδυσαν, συνέσχον δὲ καὶ πολλούς. ο ὁ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ἐπτήρους ναυμαχῶν, συνηθεῖσης τῆς αὐτοῦ νῦν τριήρει τινί, φοβηθεῖς μὴ ἀλλ᾽ τὴν ἐπτήρη τε ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ μεταβὰς εἰς ἐτέραν διέφυγε.

Τὴς μὲν σὺν ναυμαχίας τούτῳ τέλος ἐγένετο καὶ λάφυρα πολλὰ ἐλήφθη τὸν ὁ ὁ Ἀννίβαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἠτταν ἀπέκτειναν ἂν, εἰ μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπηρώτησε σφᾶς, ὡς ἀκεραίων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, εἰ ναυμαχήσαι κελεύονσιν ἡ μὴ. συνθεμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ναυμαχήσαι, ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπείπεν ὅτι "οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἐλπίσας

1 προσεδόκα, ἢ τε Kuiper, προσεδοκάτο Μβ.
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 συνέβαλοντι τῆς γὰρ γνώμης, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς τύχης ἢν κύριος." —Μ. 122 (p. 182).

Zonaras 8, 11.

συνέβαλον. τῆς γὰρ γνώμης, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς τύχης ἐτύγχανον κύριος."  

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσωθη, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν ἀφηρέθη Δουύλιος δὲ τὸν πεξὸν προσλαβὼν τους τε Ἑγεστάιους ἐρρύσατο, μηδὲ εἰς χείρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου ἄθειν ὑπομείναντος, καὶ τὰ φίλια τὰ ἀλλὰ ἐβεβαιῶσατο, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς θέρους παρελθόντος ἀνεκομίσθη. ἀπάραντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀμίλκας τὸ τε Δρέπανον κεκλημένον (ἐστὶ δὲ λιμὴν ἑπίκαιρος), ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ἐς αὐτῶν τὰ πλείστον κατέθετο ἄξια, καὶ τοὺς Ἐρυκλίνους ἀπαντᾶς μετανέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψε, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καρτερὰν αὐτὴν οὐχαν καταλαβόντες ὀρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου ποιῆσονται, καὶ πόλεις ἔλε γὰρ τὸς ἐς μὲν βία, τὰς δὲ προδοσίας καὶ εἰ μὴ Γάιος Φλώρος αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν ἐκεῖ χειμάσας, τὴν Σικελίαν ἂν κατεστρέφατο ἄπασαν.

Δούκιος δὲ Σκυπίων ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ ἔπι Σαρδὸ καὶ ἐπὶ Κύρυν ἐστράτευσε (κεῖνας δὲ ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ πελάγει διέγον ἄλληλων ἀπεχονομοῖο, ὡς μίαν αὐτὰς πορρωθηκεν εἰναι δοκεῖν), καὶ προτέρα τῇ Κύρυν προσβαλὼν τὴν μὲν Οὐαλλερίαν τὴν κρατίστην αὐτῆς πόλιν βία εἴλεν, ἀπόνωσι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἑχειρώσατο. καὶ δὲ τὴν Σαρδὸ πλέων κατείδει τι ναυτικὸν Καρχεδῶνον, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ ἐτράπτει, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄφυγοι πρὶν ἢ συμμιὸται, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ πόλιν
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 Tyrrhenian 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.
"Ολβίαν ἤλθεν ἐνθα τῶν Καρχηδονίων μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιφανέντων φοβηθεὶς, οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ πεζὸν ἀξιόμαχον, ἐπὶ οἶκου ἀπήρεν.

Εὖν δὲ τῷ τὸτε χρόνῳ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἀλώντων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί δουλεύσετο καὶ οἱ Σαυνίται (συχνοὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀφίκοντο) συνέθεντο τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιβουλεύσαι. μαθοῦν δὲ τοῦτο Ἕριος Ποτίλιος ὁ τῆς βοηθείας ἄρχων προσεποιήσατο συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀκριβῶς πάν τὸ δεδομένον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἶος τῇ ἑκατομηνύσαι τὸ βουλεύμα (πάντες γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔσαν οἱ Σαυνίται), ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς βουλῆς ἀγομένης εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ καταβοθῆσαι αὐτοῦ ὡς περὶ τὸν σίτου ἀδικομένου ὄντερ ἐλάμβανον. τῶν δὲ τούτω ποιησάντων μεταπεμφθεὶς ὡς αὐτὸς τοῦ θορύβου ἐξεφηνεν αὐτοίς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἴσχυσαντας ἀπεπεμψαν, νυκτὸς δὲ συνέλαβον ἑκαστοί τῶν ἐχόντων δούλους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως ἡ πᾶσα διελύθη συνομοσία.

Τὸ δ’ ἐπιγενομένῳ θέρει ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοί ἀμα ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτο Ἀτύλιος Λατίνος ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔλθεν, καὶ Μοντέστρατον τόλιν ὕπο τοῦ Φλώρου πολιορκομένην εὐρῶν, τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐκείνου ἐχθρίσατο. καὶ προσβολάς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ ποιομένου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡμίμυντο κραταιῶς, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἐς δάκρυα καὶ ἐς οἰκομηγός προαχθέντων οὐκ ἀντέσχοι. ὑπεξελθόντων δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀμα τῇ ἑῳ τὰς πύλας ἔθελονται ὁ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνεπέτασαν.
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.

εἰσιόντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας ἐφόνευον, ἦσος ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Ἀτίλιος τὴν λοιπὴν τε λείαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι ἐκτοτε γὰρ τοὺς λοιποὺς τε ἐξώγρησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προδιαρπάσαντες κατέπρησαν.

Zonaras 8, 12.

12. Ἐκείθεν δ’ ἐπὶ Καμάριναν ἀπερισκέπτως γενόμενοι ἐσ ἡχρία προδεικησίσανα ἐνέπεσον καὶ πανοῦδι ἀν ἐφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Καλπούρνιος χιλιαρχῶν σοφία μετῆλθε τὸ δυστύχημα. ἵδιν γὰρ τῶν πέρις λόφων μόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρημνώδους μὴ προκατελημεέουν ὁπλιτας τριακοσίους παρὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἱτήσατο, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ εἰκείνου ὁρμήσεν, ἵν’ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τράπωνται, καὶ παντεύθεν οἱ λοιποὶ διαφύγωσι. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως ὡς γὰρ τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτῶν εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἐκπλαγεύσες τὸν μὲν ὑπάτον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν ὡς ήδη ἐαλωκότας κατέληπον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Καλπούρινον συνέδραμον καὶ μάχης ἵσχυρὰς γεγονοῦσα πολλοὶ μὲν κάκεινον, πάντες δ’ οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐπέσον μόνος δὲ περισσότερο τὸν Καλπούρινον τρισθεῖς μὲν, λαθὸν δ’ ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς κείμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων ὡς τεθηκός, ἐν τὰς βεοὶς εὐρεθεὶς ἐσώθη. ἐν φ’ δ’ οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐμάχοντο, ὁ ὑπάτος ἀπεκεφαλασσε διαφυγών δ’ οὕτως τὴν τε Καμάριναν καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς μὲν βίας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἰμανόλογα παρεστήσατο. ἐντεύθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Διπάραν ὀρμήσεν ὁ Ἀτίλιος. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὸν προκατέσχεν αὐτὴν
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
Δίωνος ια' βιβλίῳ ἂν ἦν ἕπειδὴ δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν ἐπέ-
μενε καὶ ὀμήχλῃ προσεγένετο, ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτομόλων

Ζοναράς 8, 12.

ὁ Ἀμίλκας, καὶ ἔπεξελθὼν αἰφνιδίως πολλῶν
διέφθειρε.

 Γάλιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος τῆς τε Σαρδούς τὰ πλεῖστα
κατέδραμε καὶ υπερφρονήσας ἐκ τούτου ὄρμησεν
ἐπὶ τὴν Διβύην. καὶ ἀπήραν μὲν καὶ οἱ Καρχη-
δόνιοι σὺν τῷ Ἀννίβα περὶ τοῖς οἴκοι δεδιότες,
ἀντιπνεύσαντος δὲ πνεύματος σφίσιν ἀμφοὶ ὑπέ-
στρεψαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσφηλε διὰ τινῶν
ψευδαυτομόλων τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὁ Ἀτίλιος ὡς ἐσ
τὴν Διβύην αὐθεὶς πλευσόμενος. σπουδῇ τε ὦν
ἀυτῷ ἐξαναχθέντι ἐπιπλεύσασα ὁ Σουλπίκιος τὰς
μὲν πλείους τῶν νεῶν ἀγνοούσας ὑπὸ ὀμήχλης ἐπὶ
πολὺ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ταραττομένας κατέδυσε,
τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς καταφυγόσας ἐς τὴν γῆν κενᾶς
ἐλευ. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὸν λιμένα
ὁρῶν, καταλιπὼν αὐτὰς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸν
Σουλκοῦν· ἔνθα στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν Καρ-
χηδόνιον προῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτοὺς μόνος καὶ ἀπώ-
λετο. ἀδεέστερον δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὴν χώραν κατα-
τρέχοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἤττηθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀννώνος,
ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ συνεχῶς
λίθοι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἔς τὴν Ρώμην ἀμα πολλοί,
ὡς καὶ χαλάζῃ ἐοικείαι, ἐπεσοῦν καὶ ἐς τὸ
Ἀλβανὸν καὶ ἀλλοθι λίθους ὀμοίως συνέβη
κατενεχθήναι.
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 \(^1\) 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 ἵσθε τὸ ¹ τὴν οἰκείαν μὴ προέσθαι ² καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν προσκήπησασθαὶ τιθέμενοι, θυμῷ καὶ ρώμῃ ἡγούμενον τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν σφέτερα καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν περιστελλόμενοι, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐθελοῦν μετὰ κινδύνων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ τε κεχείρω-
μένον καὶ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ποιοῦμενοι, πρὸς ἀμφότερα ὁμοίως ἔρρωντο. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀμείνον εἰναι νομίσαντες μηκέτε πόρρω τῶν πό-
λεμον ποιεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις προκιν-
dυνέων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀγωνίζεσθαι (πταίσαντες γὰρ οὔτεν ἀκρατισμοὶ και ἐπι-
σθαὶ καὶ κρατήσαντες εἰς ἐπιστεῖσθαι), καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῇ διανοίᾳ σφῶν τὴν ³ παρασκευὴν ποιησάμενοι, ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα.

Zonaras 8, 12.

Ὁ δ' ὑπάτοι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἑλθόντες ἐπὶ Δι-
πάραν ἐστράτευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκραν τὴν Τυνδαρίδα καλομενήν ναυλοχοῦντας ἵσθοντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων δική τῶν πλούν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ ἡμίσει τῶν ναυτικῶν τὸ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλόντος, νομίσας ὁ Ἀμίλκας μόνον εἶναι ἐξανήχθης ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπεγένοντο, πρὸς φυγὴν ἐχώρησε καὶ τῶν ναυ-
τικῶν τὸ πλείστον ἀπέβαλεν. ἐπαρθέντες δ' οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Σικελίαν μὲν ὡς ἡδί σφετέραν οὔσαν κατέλησαν, τῇ δὲ Διβύῃ τῇ τε Καρχηδόνι ἐπι-
χειρῆσαι ἐτολμήσαν. ἡγοῦτο δὲ αὐτῶν δ' ὁ τε

¹ τὸ 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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{\,\textit{ev} Bs., \textit{ov\,ev} Ms.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{\,\textit{the} supplied by Val.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{\,\textit{to added by Bs.}}\]
'Ηγούμενο δὲ αὐτῶν ὃ τε Ρήγουλος καὶ Δούκιος, ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προκριθέντες ὁ γὰρ Ρήγουλος ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ ἦν ὡστε μήτε τὴν ἄρχην ῥαδίως ἐθελήσαι δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ τῇ γυναικεῖᾳ τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι ψηφισθῆναι.—Μ. 123 (p. 183) (ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἱσῷ—ἐξεστράτευσαν) and V. 28 (p. 593) (ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἀκόλουθον—ψηφισθῆναι, ομ. ἐξεστράτευσαν).

"Ὅτι Ἀννωνά πρὸς Ῥωμαίους λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἔργῳ δὲ τριβῆς ἕνεκα ἐπεμψεν Ἀμίλκας· καὶ ὁς ἐπιβοῶντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν, ὁτι Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν Κορνήλιον ἀπάτη . . ."—Μ. 124 (p. 183).

Zonaras 8, 12.

'Ρήγουλος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ Δούκιος Μάλλιος, ἕξ ἀρετῆς προκριθέντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ τε καθίστων καὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ηυτρέπτιζον πλοῦν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἀνέμειναν αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλεύσαι σφίσσων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευασάμενοι πρὸς Σικελίαν ἡπείχθησαν, καὶ παρὰ τῇ Ἡρακλειώτιδι ἐξ χειρᾶς ἀλλήλοις ἠλθον. ἵσορρόπον δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γνωμένης, τέλος ὑπερέσχον Ῥωμαῖοι· Ἀμίλκας δὲ ἀντιστήναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα, Ἀννωνα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν ὡς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, βουλόμενοι τὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τρίβειν ἠλπίζε γὰρ στράτευμα οἱ πεμφθῆσθαι οἰκοθεν. Ἁννων δὲ, βοῶντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ὁτι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀπάτη συνέλαβον τὸν Κορνήλιον, "Ἀν τούτῳ ποιήσητε," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲν ἐτι κρείττους τῶν Λιβύων ἐπιστεί."  

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,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 12.

ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότατα θωπεύσας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθις τοῦ πολέμου εἶ-
χοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνῆς ἐπλεον, Ἀμίλκας δὲ καὶ Ἀνων διαμεθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς περισσεῖν ἐμελέτων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀνων οὖν ὑπέστη προσιόντας αὐτοὺς, προκαταπλεύσας δ' εἰς Καρχηδόνα ταύτην ἐφύ-
λασεν; ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας πυθόμενος τούτῳ κατὰ χώραν ἐμενεν. ἐκβάντες δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ Ῥω-
μαίοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρησαν. οὖς ἱδόντες προσιόντας οἱ ἐπιχώρῳ προπεξήλθον,
καὶ ἀμαχεὶ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῦ πολέμου ὀρμητήριον ἐποιήσαντο, καντεῦθεν τὴν
τε γῆν ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἐθελου-
σίας, τὰς δὲ φόβῳ προσεπεκτώντο, λείαιν τε πολλὴν ἐλάμβανον καὶ αὐτομόλους πλείστους
ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων συχνοὺς τῶν ἐν τοῖς
πρὶν πολέμους ἀλόντων ἐκομίζοντο.

Zonaras 8, 13.

13. Χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου Μάλλιος μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην σύν τῇ λεία ἀπέπλευσε, Ῥηγοῦλος δ' ἐν
tῇ Διβύῃ ὑπέμεινε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐν παντὶ
κακῷ γεγόνασι, τῆς χώρας τε πορθομένης αὐτῶν
καὶ τῶν περίκοιν ἀλλοτριουμένων, καὶ κατειλη-
θέντες εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἱσύχαζον. Ῥηγοῦλο ὅ δ' ἐξαρά
τῶν Βαγράδαν ποταμῶν στρατοπεδευμένῳ δράκων

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.

Ὁ δὲ Δίων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος . . . . . . . . . . λέγει, ὅτι Ῥηγοῦλον τοῦ ὑπάτου Ῥώμης πολεμοὺντος
tῆν Καρχηδόνα ἐξαίφνης δράκων ἐρπύσας ἐξω
tοῦ χαρακῶματος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου στρατοῦ ἑκείτο.
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.

Zonaras 8, 13.

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 Καρχηδόνιοι φοβηθέντες μη ἀλώσι, προεκπρυκεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον, ὅτως ὀμολογήσαντες τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψαντες αὐτὸν τὸ παραχρῆμα δεινὸν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἦθεν

-Zonaras 8, 13.

ἐπεφάνη ὑπερμεγέθης, οὐ τὸ μῆκος λέγεται εἶναι ποδῶν ἐκατόν πρός τοῖς εἰκοσί, καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέξη της αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κεκόμηστο δι’ ἐπιδειξιν ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον εἰχεν ὅγκον τοῦ σώματος. ὃς συνχύνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν πελάξοντας αὐτὸ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διεφθειρε. κατεργάσατο δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥηγοῦλος πλήθει στρατιωτῶν καὶ μηχαναῖς λιθοβόλοις. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὔτως ἐφθειρεν, τὸ δὲ Ἀμίλκα ἐπὶ μετέφορον καὶ ὕλοις στρατοπεδεύσαμεν χωρίον νῦκτωρ προσέμεξεν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εἰς ταῖς εὐναῖς, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐξεγερθέντας διώλεσεν εἰ δὲ τινὲς καὶ διεφυγον, τοῖς τάς ὁδοὺς τηροῦσιν ἐμπιπτόντες ὄρλυτο. καὶ οὔτω τῶν τε Καρχηδονίων μέρος ἀναλώθη πολὺ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν συγκεῖ πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις μεθίσταντο. φοβηθέντες δ’ οἰ ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀλώσι, διεκπρυκεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον, ὅτως ὀμολογία την ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψαντες αὐτὸν τὸ παρανυκτικά δεινὸν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπει δὲ πολλὰ ἀπητοῦντο

Ioannes Damascenus, De Draconibus I., p. 472.
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.
λησαν Σικελίας τε πάσης καὶ Σαρδοὺς ἀποστήναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀφῄναι τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους λύσασθαι, τὰ τε δαπανηθέντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν πόλεμον πάντα διαλύσαι καὶ χωρίς ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ἔτος συν- 
23 τελεῖν οὐδὲν ἦνυσαν. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρη-
μένοις καὶ ἐκείνα αὐτοὺς ἐλύσει, ὡτι μὴτε πολε-
μεῖν¹ μὴτε συμβαίνειν ἀνευ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ 
αὐτοὶ μὲν μὴ πλεῖοσι μιᾶς ναυσὶ μακρὰς χρησθαι, 
ἐκείνοις δὲ πεντήκοντα τριήρεσιν ἐπικουρεῖν 
όσακι ἀν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισιν, ἀλλὰ τέ των ὁμοί 
ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ποιεῖν ἐκελεύντο. ἔξ ὅπων τοὺτων 
ἀλωσίν σφων ἀκριβὴς τὰς σπουδὰς νομίζαντες 
ἐσεσθαι, πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον εἴλοντο.— 
U⁰ 4 (p. 376).

Zonaras 8, 13.

καὶ φορτικά, ὡς ἀλωσίν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ νομίζεσθαι 
τὰς σπουδὰς, πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον εἴλοντο.

"Ὁ μὲν τοῖς Ῥηγούλος μέχρι τότε εὐτυχῶν αὐχή-
ματος μεστός ἐγένετο καὶ φρονήματος, ὡστε καὶ 
γράφειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὅτι κατεσφραγισμένας 
ἐχει τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων πύλας ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου 
τὰ ἱσα δὲ καὶ οἱ συν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ 
ἐφρόνουν. ὅθεν καὶ ἐσφάλμασιν. ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ 
τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ ἕτεροι σύμμαχοι, ἦλθε δὲ 
καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ξάνθιττος. οὗτος τὴν 
αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν εἰληφὼς 
(ὅ τε γὰρ δῆμος αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα προθύμων 
ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ὁ Ἀμίλκας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει 
428 ¹ πολεμεῖν Reim., πολεμεῖν τε (τὸ Α) Mss.
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.

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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
Zonaras 8, 13.

ἐκονεύως ἐξεστησαν) τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκεύασεν εὖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εὖ οἷς ὑπὸ δέουσι ἡσαν, κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ὀμαλῶν, εὖ ὦ ἡ τε ἱππεία αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἑλέφαντες πλείστον ἱσχύσειν ἔμελλον. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἴσον ἴχαζεν, τηρῆσας δὲ ποτε τοὺς Ἡρωίους κατα-φρονητικὸς αὐλιζομένους (μέγα τε γὰρ τῇ νίκῃ φρονοῦντες καὶ τὸν Σανθίππου ὡς Γραικὸν ὑπερ-όρωντες—οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς Ἔλληνας, καὶ εἰς ὅνειδος δυσηνείας τῷ προσρήματι κατ' αὐτῶν χρόναι—τὰς στρατοπεδείας ἀπερισκέπτως πε-ποίηματο), οὕτως οὖν τοῖς Ἡρωίοις διακεμένους ὁ Ἡρωίππος ἐπελθὼν, καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν ἑλέφαντων τρεφάμενος, πόλλους μὲν κατέκυψε, πόλλους δὲ καὶ ἐξώγρησε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ῥηγούλον. καὶ ἐν φρονήματι διὰ ταῦτα ἦσαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς δὲ ἄλοντας περιέσωσαν, ἢλμη καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἡρωίων πρῶτοι εἴς αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντες κταινθῶσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους τῶν ἑαυτοῖς Ἡρωίοιν ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἴχον, τὸν δὲ Ῥηγούλον ἐν πάσῃ κακουχίᾳ πε-ποίηματο, τροφήν τε αὐτῶ  ὃσον ἀποτήμην προσήγηαν, καὶ ἑλέφαντα προσέφερον συνεχῶς, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δειματούμενος μῆτε τῷ σώματι μῆτε τῇ διαινοίᾳ ἴσον ἴχαμαζόν. ἐπὶ συχνὸν δὲ κακώσαντες οὕτως αὐτῶν εἰς δεσμωτηρίου ἐθέντο.

Τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους συμμάχους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δεινότατα μετεχειρίσαντο. οὐ γὰρ εὐπροούντες ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀ προὔπεχοντο, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀποδώσαντες. ἐκέλευσαν δὲ τοῖς κομίζουσι 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 Graecus\(^1\) (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.
 Dio's Roman History

Zonaras 8, 13.
eis ἐρήμην τινὰ νῆσον ἐκβιβάσαι καὶ λάθρα ἀπο-
πλεύσαι. καὶ τὸν Ξάνθιππον δὲ οἱ μὲν φασὶ
καταποντίζαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεύσαντι ἐπιπλεύ-
σαντας, οἱ δὲ ναῦν αὐτῶ δοῦναι παλαιὰν μηδὲν
στέγοναν, νέον καταπιττῶσαντας ἔξωθεν, ἦν
αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς καταποντισθῇ τῶν δὲ γυνώτα
τοῦτο ἐς ἑτέραν ἐμβῆναι καὶ οὕτω διασωθήναι.
ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖ εἰς ἑκεῖνον
σεσώθηναι ἐνόμισαν γὰρ ἀπολωλότος αὐτοῦ καὶ
τὴν τῶν ἑργῶν δόξαν συναπολέσθαι.

Zonaras 8, 14.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἠλιγκοῦν μὲν διὰ τὸ συμ-
βάν, καὶ πλέον ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην αὐτὴν προσεδόκων πλευρεῖσθαι. διὰ
ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο καὶ
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῇ τε Ἰτιβύη οντας Ῥωμαίοις
σπουδὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπεμψαν, Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον
καὶ Φουλβίον Πλαύτινον. οἱ ἐς Σικελίαν πλευ-
ραστες καὶ φρουρήσαντες τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὸς Ἰτιβύην
ἀρμῆκασαν καὶ χειμῶνι θηρῆντες κατηρέχθησαν
ἐς Κόροσαν πορθῆσαντες δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ
φρονμα παραδόντες ἐπέλεεαν αὐθῖς. καὶ τοῦτω
ισχυρὰ ναυμαχία πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἔγενετο.
ηγονίζοντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν παντελῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκβιβαλέον, Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐγκατα-
λειφθέντας σφῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀνασώσασθαι,
ἀγχωμάλως δὲ μαχομένωι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι ὄντες
Ῥωμαιοὶ κατὰ νότον τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔξαφνης
ἐπεπλευσαν, καὶ ἀμφιβολοὺς αὐτοὺς καταλα-
βόντες ἐνίκησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ πεζῷ οἱ
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 [Pactinus]. 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
Δίων ια' βιβλίων "οί δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναύς αὐ-
tῶν ἀναπλεούσας οίκαδε τηρήσαντες, συχνὰς χρη-

Zonaras 8, 14.

Ῥωμαίοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ εἶλον πολλοὺς· οὓς δὲ ἔλαβον πολλούς· οὓς διὰ τὸν Ῥηγοῦλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀλόντας περι-
εσώσαντο. ἀρπαγὰς δὲ τινὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐσ-
Σικελίαν ἔπλεον. χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσόντες καὶ 
pολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οίκοι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς 
περισσοθείσαις ἀπέπλευσαν.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ τὴν Κόρσουραν ἔλαβον 
καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπεραιῶθησαν καὶ εἶ μῆ τὸν 
Κολλατίνον καὶ Γναίον Κορνήλιον ἔμαθον πολλὸ 
προσπλέοντας ναυτικῷ, πᾶσαν ἀν αὐτὴν ἔχειρω-
σαντο. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ναυτικῶν τε ἀριστὸν 
tαχέως ἔξηρτον καὶ καταλόγους βελτίστους ἐπεποιή-
κεσαν, καὶ οὕτως ἔρροσθησαν ὡστε τρίτῳ 
μηνὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντακοσιοστὸν 
δ' ἦν ἐτος ἀφ' οὗπερ ἢ Ῥώμη συνέστη. καὶ τὴν 
μεν κάτω τοῦ Πανόρμου πόλιν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἶλον, 
τῇ δὲ ἄκρᾳ προσεδρέουστε ἐκακοπάθησαν, 
μέχρις οὐ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπέλυσεν ἡ τροφή, 
τότε γὰρ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις. οἱ δὲ 
Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναύς αὐτῶν οίκαδε πλεοῦσα 
τηρήσαντες εἶλον συχνὰς χρημάτων μεστάς.

Εἶτα Σερούλιος τε Πλών καὶ Γάιος Σεμπρόνιος 
ὑπατοὶ τοῦ μὲν Δελβαίου πειράσαντες ἀπε-
kρούσθησαν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Διβύνην ἐπεραιῶθησαν, καὶ 
τὴν παραλίαν ἐπόρθουν. ὡς δ' ἐκομίζοντο οἰκάδε, 
χειμῶνι ἐνέτυχον καὶ ἐβλάβησαν. διὸ νομίσας ὁ 
δῆμος ἐξ ἀπειρίας τῶν ναυτικῶν βλάπτεσθαι, τῆς
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, 
ναυοὶ δ’ ὀλύγαις τὴν Ἰταλικὴν φρουρεῖν.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ ἔτει Πούπλιος Γάιος καὶ 
Αὐρήλιος Σερούλιος ἔσ τὴν Σικελλίαν ἠλθοῦν, καὶ 
アルバム τινὰ κατεστρέψαντο καὶ Ἰμέραν’ οὐ 
μέντοι τινὰ συνέσχον τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτὸς γὰρ 
αὐτοὺς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔξεκόμισαν. μετὰ δὲ 
τούτῳ Αὐρήλιος ναῦς τε παρὰ Ἰέρωνος εἰληφὼς 
καὶ ὁσοὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἦσαν ἐκεῖ συμπαραλαβόν, 
ἐπλυνεσεν εἰς Λιπάραν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Κύντων 
Κάσσιον χιλιάρχου ¹ καταλιγών προσεδρεύσαντα 
μάχης ἀνευ, ἀπήρευν οἶκαδε. Κύντως δὲ μὴ 
φροντίσας τῆς ἐντολῆς προσεμίξετη τῇ πόλει καὶ 
πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλεν. οἱ μέντοι Αὐρήλιος μετὰ 
ταύτα ἐκείνους ἑλὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν 
Κάσσιον τῆς ἄρχης ἔπαυσε.

Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὰ δοξάντα τοῖς Ρωμαίοις 
περὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μαθόντες, ἐπέμψαν εἰς Σι-
κελλίαν, πᾶσαν ὑποτάξας τότε ἐλπίσαντες. καὶ 
ἐῶς μὲν ἄμφω παρῆσαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ Κακίλιος 
Μέτελλος καὶ Γάιος Φούριος, ² ἡρέμουν· ὡς δὲ 
πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήρευν ὁ Φούριος, ² κατεφρό-
νεσαν τοῦ Μέτελλου καὶ πρὸς τὸ Πάνορμον ἠλθοῦν. 
ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος κατασκόπους ἔλθειν 
μαθῶν ἐκ τῶν πολεμῶν, ἡθορεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει 
πάντας, καὶ διαλεχθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἄλληλων λαβέσθαι 
σφίσιν ἐκελεύεσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἐκαστοῦ ἀνακρινῶν 
ὁστὶς τε εὗ καὶ ὅ τι πράττοι, κατεφώρασε τοὺς 
πολεμίους. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ παρετάξαντο ὡς

¹ Κύντων χιλιάρχου Κάσσιον MSS., corrected by Be.
² Φούριος Wolf, φούριος MSS.
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\(^1\) and Aurelius \(^{B.C. 252}\) Servilius\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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 Mummium after the destruction of Corinth; see Zonaras 9, 31 (end).
μαχούμενοι, καὶ Μέτελλος δεδιέναι προσεποιεῖτο.
τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ πλείους ἥμερας γινομένου, οἱ Καρχη-
δόνιοι ἐφρονηματίσθησαν καὶ προσέβαλλον θρα-
σύτερον. καὶ τότε ὁ Μέτελλος σημεῖον τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις ἦρε· κάκ τούτου ἐξαπιναίως ἐκεῖνοι
κατὰ πάσας τὰς πύλας ἐπεκδραμόντες ῥαδίως
ἐκράτησαν, καὶ ἐς στενῶν αὐτοὺς κατέκλεισαν,
ὅστε μηκέτι ἀναχωρῆσαι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ δυνηθήματι
στενοχωροῦμενοι γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες
καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντες, ἔταράττοντο.
κἂν τούτῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὸ Λιβύκων προσπλεῦσαν
αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο φθορᾶς αἰτιώτατον.
Ιδόντες γὰρ τὰς ναῦς ὄρμησαν εἰς αὐτὰς καὶ ἐμβαίνειν ἐξεβιά-
ζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνέππυρον καὶ
ἐφθάρθησαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐμπελαξο-
μένου ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπώλ-
λυντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτείνοντο, πολλοὶ
dὲ καὶ ξώντες ἐάλωσαν ἄνδρες τε καὶ ἐλέφαντες.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνευ τῶν συνῆθων σφίσιν ἄνδρῶν
όντες ἡγιαίνοντο, κήρυγμα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὁ
Μέτελλος ἐπονήσατο σωτηρίαν καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς
συλλαβοῦσιν αὐτοὺς διδοῦν καὶ οὕτως προσελ-
θόντες τινὲς τοῖς σφῶν προστάτοις ἐκείνους τε διὰ
τῆς συνῆθειας ἐχειρώσαντο καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς
προσεπεσπάσαντο. οὕς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
ἐκόμισαν ἐκατόν ὄντας καὶ ἐίκοσιν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς
tὸν πορθμόν περαιώσαντες. πίθους πολλοὺς συν-
δήσαντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ξύλους διαλαβόντες σφᾶς,
ὅστε μὴ ἀπαρτᾶσθαι σφᾶς μήτε συμπίπτειν,
book 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

"Οτι φασὶ Καρχηδόνιους ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι τοῖς Ἄρωμαῖοις διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ πὼς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ ποιῆσαι τοῖς γε ἐαλωκότας κομίσαιντο. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήγουλον ἐν τοῖς πρέσβεσι πεμφθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἄξιομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν· ὑπέλαβον γὰρ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν τούς Ἄρωμαῖους ἐπὶ τῷ κομίσασθαι αὐτὸν πράξαι, ὡστε καὶ μόνον ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡ πάν.

Zonaras 8, 14.

δοκούς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐπέτειναν καὶ ἔλην καὶ γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, φράξαντές τε πέριξ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς αὐλῆ τιν ἐσοκέναι, εἰς τούτο αὐτῶν ἐπεβίβασαν, καὶ διεπόρθμευσαν οὐδ' αἰσθανομένους ὑπὶ πλέοιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέτελλος οὗτος ἐνίκησε, ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων στρατηγὸς σωθεὶς τότε, ὥστερα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκοὶ Καρχηδόνιων ἐκλήθη καὶ ἀνεσκολοπίσθη.

Zonaras 8, 15.

15. Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ διεκηρυκεῦσαν τοῖς Ἀρωμαῖοις διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ αὐτῶν τὸν Ῥηγούλον συνέπεμψαν, πᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ οἰηθέντες κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τὸ ἄξιομα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὄρκωσάν τε αὐτὸν ἡ μῆν ἐπανήξειν. καὶ

1 πράξαι Rk., ἐλπίσαι σφάζῃ πράξαι Mss.
BOOK XI

Dio, Book XI. "He feasted the people." 

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

Zonaras 8, 14.

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 Boisseevain refers this to the triumph of Metellus.

Zonaras 8, 15.

ὅς τά τε ἀλλα ὡς εἰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἑπραττε καὶ οὔτε τήν γυναίκα εἰς λόγους ἐδέξατο οὔτε τήν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε, καὶ ταῦτα καλούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ τείχους τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης, ὅσπερ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων πρέσβεσιν ἔδος εἰχὸν χρηματίζειν, τήν τε πρόσοδον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς γε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἔτησατο, . . . U° 5 (p. 377).

1 πιστεύει Reim., πιστεύει τε (τε καὶ Β) Mss. 2 ἐν Βκ., ἐν δὲ Mss. 3 μηδέτερον αὐτῶν Uta., μηδέν ἐτερον αὐτῶν Mss. 4 ἐσκληθείς Βς., ἐκβληθείς Mss.
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


Zonaras 8, 15.

dοκούσας ἄμφωιν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν αἱχμαλώτων ποιήσασθαι ἄλλαγμα." ταῦτα εἰπὼν μετέστη μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς ἀν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι βουλεύσωσιν. κελευνόντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων συμμετασχείν σφίζει τῇς διαγρώμης οὐ πρὶν ἐπείσθη πρὸ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιτραπῆναι. ο δὲ τεὼς μὲν ἐσιώταπα ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ βουλευταὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐκέλευν, εἰπεν "ἐιμί μὲν εἰς ἑξ ὑμῶν, ὁ πατέρες, καὶ μυριάκις ἀλώτερον γὰρ σώμα μου Καρχηδονίων, ἡ δ' ἰσχὺ μου ὑμετέρα ἐστίν ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἠλλοτριώτατα, ταύτην δὲ οὐδὲς δύναται μὴ οὔχι Ῥωμαϊαν εἰναι ποιήσαι καὶ ὡς μὲν αἰχμαλώτος Καρχηδονίως προσήκω, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκ κακίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ προθυμίας ἐδυστύχησα, καὶ Ῥωμαίις εἰμι καὶ φρονόν τὰ ὑμετέρα. καὶ οὖν ἔξ ἐνός τρόπου λυσιτελεῖν ὑμῖν τὰς καταλλαγὰς νομίζω."  

1 ἄλλος ἂν τις Βκ., ἄλλο γά' ἂν τι Ms.  
2 ἐκεῖνο de Boer, ἐκεῖνος Ms.  
3 ἔδυνηθη Βκ., ἔδυνηθαι Ms.  
4 At this point Boisssevin 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
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.
Δίων η' βιβλίων ὁ Ρηγοῦλος εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσέθηκε δι’ ἀς τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ἐπηγαγεν ὡς "οἶδα μὲν ὅτι μοι προὔπτος ὀλέθρος πρόκειται. άδύνατον γὰρ λαθεῖν αὐτοῦς ἢ συνεβούλευσα· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ κοινὴ συμφέρον προτίθημι. εἰ δὲ τις φήσει, τὶ ὁν ὁυκ ἐκδιδράσκεις ἢ ἐνταῦθα καταμένεις, ἀκούσεις ὅτι ὁμόμοια αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν παραβαίνῃ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὐκ' εἰ πρὸς πολέμιους γεγόνας, καὶ δι’ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τὸ δεινὸν ἐμπεδοκῆσας μὲν μόνος πείσομαι, ἀν δ’ ἐπιορκήσω, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀναπλησθήσεται."

Ἡ γερουσία δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐνεκεν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς αἴχμαλώτους ἀντιδοῦναι προτεθύμητο. γνωτε οὖν τούτο αὐτός, ἵνα μὴ τὸ συμφέρον δι’ αὐτοῦ καταπρόωνται, ἐπιλάσατο πεπωκεῖαι φάρμακον δηλητηρίων καὶ μέλλειν πάντως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ οὔτε ἡ σύμβασις γέγονεν ὅτε τῶν αἴχμαλώτων ἡ ἀμοιβή. ἀπιόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντελάβοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἡ γυνὴ· οἵ δ’ ὑπάτοι μὴ τ’ ἐθέλοντα καταμένειν αὐτοῦν ἐκ-δώσειν ἐφασαν μὴ τ’ ἀπιόντα κατασχεῖν. καὶ

1 ἵστη προέσθαι Βκ., ἐπιπροέσθαι Μπ.
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.
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οὕτω προτιμήσας μὴ παραβήναι τοὺς ὅρκους ἀνεκομίσθης. καὶ αἰκισθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἡ φήμη λέγει, ἀπέθανε. τὰ γὰρ βλέφαρα αὐτὸν περιτεμόντες, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν σκότῳ καθείρζαντες, εἰτὰ εἰς σκεῦος τι σύμπηκτον κέντρα πανταχόθεν ἔχον ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὸν καὶ τρέψαντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτως ὑπὸ κακοπαθείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας μὴ δυνάμενον πὴ κλιθῆναι διὰ τὰ κέντρα διέφθειραν. ἀ πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶ καὶ ἀνταἰκίσασθαι 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.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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