FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

25 "Oti ties stratēias tôn Galatow autia autē ἐγένετο. Oi Klouqinou polēmor ὑπ' auton kakow-thēntes prōs tou ʿRωμαιou kastēphugou, ἐπιτίδα ouk elaxhisth σχοντες, ἐπειδὴ tois Oūněntais1 kaioter omofílois oðsin ou synhrantou, pántos tuvai ὀφελίαν par' autōn eurhșesthai. Ὑδ de ἐκεῖνοi tēn epikourian ouk ἐφηφισαντο, πρέσβεις de prōs tou ʿΓαλάτας πέμπαντες εἰρήνην 2 autois éprostou, taútηn parā mikron (ἐπὶ γὰρ μέρει τῆς χώρας προτείνετο σφιστο) ἐποιησαντο, συμπεσοῦτες2 de tois barbárois ek tōn lóγon eis máxhnu tōn ʿRωμαιow prēsβeis prōs-paρēlazou. Oi ou ʿΓαλάται χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ tē ἀντιτάξει autōn enegkhontes, to μὲν πρῶτον ἀνταπῄσεων τινας eis tēn ʿΡώμην, αἰτιώ-menoi touis prēsβeis: et' ἐπειδὴ μῆτε τι-

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(1) ou ᾗ Ἐὐρωπαίων Γαλάται, ὅν ou ʿΑσιάται νομίζονται ἀπακοι . . .
(2) et toutois de λόγισαντες ou Klouqinui metα tōn ek ʿΡωμησ πρέσβεων ἐπέθεντο tois Γαλάταις.

1 Oūněntais Bk., βένταis Mss.
2 συμπεσοῦτες Rk., συμπεσοῦν Mss.

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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

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

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

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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 Caecidian 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

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4. πλείστον γάρ τοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην φέρει, ὅτι καὶ παραδότα τις τὴν ρώμην τῆς γνώμης σφόν βεβαιοὶ καὶ ἀλλεὶς παραποίησαν καὶ ἐκείνην προσδιο-
θῇ εἶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοίς προὐπήρχεν1 ἀπειροὶ 2 μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πολλὰ ὑμῖν βιαῖως κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐταξίας, ἢν ἀν μᾶθωσιν, ἀμαρτάνουσι καὶ τὴν τοῦ φυσικότατος ἵσχυν προστατεῦον. υἱὸ
ὁν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσφάλησαν.—Μ. 47 (p. 154).
5. ὁμοιοὶ Ῥωμαίοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ οὕτως καὶ πολυρκούμενοι ἐπιδέχασθαν πλὴν παρὰ τοῦ

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στάντες οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν ἥξιον ἠμβάλασαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη γνώντες τὸ γεγονός ἐν ἀγαθῷ οὕτως, καὶ ἀποροῦντες οὕτως ἐν τοῖς τεῖχοις ἠλεκτρὴν ἔθετο οὕτως πάλαι τῆς πόλεως ἔκλεισαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκλει-
πάντας ἐφευροῦσαν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, μόνοι δὲ ὅρθούν-
κοστὰ ἀνήρεις, οὓς οἱ μὲν ἰρεῖς εἶναι φασιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους Ῥωμαίου καθ' ἡλικίαι καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ γένους ἐνδύουσαν ἱερὰς ἡ πολυτελε-
στάτας στολὰς . . .

(4) οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τῇ ὑπεραλήθει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐπέσοντο καὶ οὕτως ἔπεσαν . . .

(5) ἔτη καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσέβαλον· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑπιχειρήσεις ἡμέρας οὐδέν ἔμειν,

1 αὐτοῖς προὐπήρχεν Bk., αὐτῆς προσεπήθη Μs.
2 ἀπειροὶ Bk., ἀπειρα Μs.

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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 impetu-
osity 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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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.

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7 "Οτι ο αυτος παρακαλούμενος την ἠγεμονίαν ἐγχειρισθηκαί ουχ ύπηκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγουν τε ἢν καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτὴν λήψεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ που νόμιμος ἀκριβὴς τε ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο ὅτσε καὶ ἐν τηλικοῦτῳ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνῳ διὰ φροντίδος τὰ καθήκοντα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ δικαιοίν παραδειγμα τοῖς ἐπετα παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν.—V. 14 (p. 582).

(6) χαλεπῶς ἀνερπύσας μόλις τε ἀναρριχησάμενος . . .
(7) οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μεθ’ ἡμέραν διώντες [καὶ καταμαθώντες θεῖον ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτολίῳ Plut., Comill. 36, 1] (τοῦτο δ’ ὑπετόπισαν ἕκ τῇ ἄπερρογοντίᾳ τῆς πέτρας θραυσώματος καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἄ τοι ὅπως, ἡ πολλή ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἤρ, τῆς μὲν ἀνεπαλαμβάνετο, τῆς δὲ συμπτυλημένης), ἐκείθεν αναβήκατο νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύαντο. καὶ ἐπεκείρησαν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ δυσχερῶς μὲν, αὐχέσαν καὶ ἐλαθοῦν ἄν . . .
(8) μικρὸν ἐξέλυτον ἀν αὐτὴν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπείθοντο οὔτε τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὔτε τῇ γεροντίᾳ παρακαλοῦσα καὶ συμβουλευόντοι μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τῷ ἄστῳ, ἃ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἡ δέ ἐσέσωστο, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ πάντων περὶ τούτου βουλευόμενων ἐκατοντάρχος φρουράν ἁγιον τιμᾶ καὶ παρ’ αὐτήν τῇ ἐκκλησίαν διων τυχαίος, “ἐνταῦθα στῆτε” πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπομένους ἐβοήθησον, “ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δεῖ ὑμᾶς μεῖναι.” θεία γὰρ προνοία ἐνόμισαν ταῦτ’ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τοῦ μεταναστεύσας 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.

(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
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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.
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.
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