FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XI

The causes responsible for the dispute between the two were—on the side of the Romans, that the

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8. At this time the Romans began their struggles oversea; previously they had had no experience at all in naval matters. They now became seamen and crossed over to the islands and to other divisions of the mainland. The first people with whom they warred were the Carthaginians. These were no whit inferior to them in wealth or in the excellence of their land; they were trained in naval science to a high degree of efficiency, were equipped with cavalry forces, infantry, and elephants, ruled the Africans, and held possession both of Sardinia and the greater part of Sicily; as a result they had conceived hopes of subjugating Italy. Various factors contributed to increase their self-confidence, but they were especially proud by reason of their position of independence, since they elected their king under the title of a yearly office and not for permanent rule; and feeling that their efforts were expended in their own behalf, they were brimful of enthusiasm.

The reasons alleged for the war were—on the side of the Romans, that the Carthaginians had assisted
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Tαραντίνοι εἶδον, τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους οὕτως ὑποθέσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀυτὰ μὲν, ὅποιον πεφύκασιν οὐ τὰ μὲν ἔργο πλεονεκτεῖν ἤν ὄντως ὁ αὐτοῦ αἰσχρόμενοι, σκῆψες ἐπιούσιον· ἢ δὲ ἀλήθεια ἡ ἄλλως ἔχει. δυνάμενοι μὲν 2  ἡγαί οἱ κατὰ τοῦ Καρχηδόνιος, αἰσχροῦντες δὲ ἡγαί οἱ Ἱερώναι, ἀλλήλους τῇ ὑφορώντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιθύμια τοῦ οἱ πλεῖοις κατὰ τὸ 3 τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅταν εὐ πράττωσιν, ἐμφυτοῖς, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προϊσθήσαν ἐς τῶν πόλεων, μιᾶν 4 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάστης τῶν οἰκείων σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ ταῦτα τῶν ἔτερων 3 προσκήτησατο νομίζοντες εἶναι· τὰ τῇ ἡγαί ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἀδύνατον τῇ ἰδιᾷ δύο δῆμοις ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει φρονήματι τῇ ὁπίσθεν, καὶ βραχύτατον ὡς 5 εἰπέν ταῖς τῆς ναυτιλίας ὁρώσης διεσπαρμένης, ἄλλοις μὲν τίνων ἄρχουν, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀπέχονται θελήσασι. τοιούτων κατὰ

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Καρχηδονίους δὲ οὕτως Ηρώνας συνεδεντο τῷ Ἰερώνῳ τῷ δ' ἀλήθεις, ὀτι τὰς ἄλλης ὑφορῶντο, καὶ μιᾶν σωτηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάστης φῶντο εἰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσκήτησαντο. οὕτω διάνοια

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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

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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 possessions lay in the possibility of obtaining also those of the others.
τύχην συμπεσόν τάς τε σπονδάς σφων διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς συνέρρηξεν.—Μ. 111 (p. 178).

"Ὅτι τὸ ἀγώνισμα λόγῳ μὲν περὶ Μεσσήνης καὶ Σικελίας, ἐργῷ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἑκάτερον ἐκείθεν ήδη κυνώμενον ἠσθάνοντο, καὶ τὴν νήσον, ἀπὸ ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν κειμένην, ἐπίβασιν τοῖς κράτησασιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀσφαλῆ παρῆ-ξεν ἐνόμιζον.—Μ. 112 (p. 179).

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μένοις αὐτοῖς συμπεσόν τι τάς σπονδάς τε διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἐξηρέθισε τὸ δ᾽ ἦν τοιοῦτον.

Οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι ἐκ Καμπανίας ποτὲ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ἄποκλαίαν στειλόμενοι, τότε δ᾽ ὕπο Ἱέρωνος πολυμακόμενοι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁπὰ σφᾶς προσήκοντας. κακεῖνοι ἐτοίμως ἐπικουρήσατο αὐτοῖς ἐρημίσαντο, εἰδότες ὅτι, ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι μὴ τεῖξονται, πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδόνες τραπέζονται, κακεῖνο τῆς τε Σικελίας ὅλης κρατήσωσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ιταλίαν εἰς αὐτῆς διαβῆσονται. ἢ γὰρ νήσος αὐτὴ βραχὺ τῆς ἱστείου διέχει, ὡς μιθέουσαι ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡπείρωτο. ἢ τὲ ὅντων νήσοις, ὅπως τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπικειμένη, ἐδόκει τοῖς Καρχηδόνες ἐκκαλέσασθι καὶ τῶν ἀντιπέρων ἀντιπυχέσσαται, ἢ γὰρ ταῦτα κατασχοῦσι καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη παρεῖχε τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ κυρεύειν.

Ψηφισάμενοι δὲ βοήθειαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Μαμερτῖνοι, οὐ ταχύς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσαν σιν ἀτινᾶς ἐπισυμβάσας αἰτίας. ὅθεν ἀνάγκη πιεζ-382

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
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.
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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-
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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 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
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

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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
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