FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zeuxippus 8, 21.

21. In the following year the Romans became openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and this war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and severer in its exploits and its disasters. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a son of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. For Hamilcar said he was rearing all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, and when he saw that this one had by far the best nature, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them; accordingly he was engaged in giving him a careful training, particularly in warfare, at the time of his own death, when the boy was fifteen years of age. Because of his youth Hannibal was unable to succeed him to the generalship; upon the death of Hasdrubal, however, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, and at once took possession of the army in Spain, and after being acclaimed general by the soldiers, brought it about that the command was confirmed to him also by those in authority at home. After accomplishing this he required a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people,
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Zosimus 8, 21.

dwelling not far from the river Iberus, and a short distance from the sea, were dependents of the Romans, who held them in honour, and in the treaty with the Carthaginians had made a special exception of them. Hence, for this reason Hannibal began war with them, knowing that the Romans would either assist the Saguntines or prevent them if they suffered injury. From this motive, then, as well as because he knew that they possessed great wealth, which he particularly needed, and from various other considerations that promised him advantages against the Romans, he made an attack upon the Saguntines. Spain, in which the Saguntines dwell, and all the adjoining land is in the western part of Europe. It extends for a great distance along the inner sea, past the Pillars of Heracles, and along the Ocean itself; furthermore, it includes the regions inland for a very great distance, even to the Pyrenees. This range, beginning at the sea called anciently the sea of the Bebryces, but later the sea of the Narbonenses, reaches to the great outer sea, and contains many diverse nationalities; it also separates the whole of Spain from the neighbouring land of Gaul. The tribes were neither of one speech, nor did they have a common government. As a result, they were not known by one name: the Romans

Tactes in Lynophr. Alex. 516.

Διὰς δὲ Κοκκειαοὺς τοὺς Ναρβονισσάους Βέ-βρυκαν, λέσσει τρισάγιον ὅσον τὸν τούτον, καὶ τοὺς Ναρβονισσάους ὑπῆρες τὸν Πορρούμιον ὄρος, τὸ δὲ ἔρειον χωρὶς ἦλθεν καὶ Αἰθρίαν καὶ Λαμίαν.

"For άντι Qntr (ed. Zon. 9, 7—p. 193 fml.), άντι αποι Min. 56
μὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν Ἕλληνιστοι, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες Ἦλλη- 
ρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἔλλης αὐτοῖς ἐπεκαλέσατο.
Οἱ μὲν δὲ Σανχύδων δοῦν ἐπολεμησάτο, καὶ ἐπετίμησαν πρὸς τοὺς περαικίαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἃρμασον ἐπεκαλύωσαν, ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν ἀνέβατο ἔκρυσαν, οἱ δὲ Ἡρῴδης πρόσβαζεν πρὸς χελώναν πίνακας μὲ πολλὰς τῶν Σανχυ-
δίων εἴδον, καὶ εἶ μὲ πόδια, ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-
χρίδαν πλεύσας εἰδὼς καὶ καταγράφας αὐτῶ 
ἐπηγάλησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀνιβές ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχορίων 
πέρας τοὺς ὑπὸ εὐθὺς τὴν καταγράφας τοῖς πρό-
σβεσιν ἤθη πλήρων οὐδὲ παραιτερικαὶ πλέον 
αὐτῶ πήραν τῶν στρατευτῶν, πάντως ποι ἔργασαν χωρὶς ἀποδημήσατο, καὶ παρῆναν ὑποταγητοί ως τάγματα, τρίς καταγράφεις ἔργη πάροικοι, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἀναμνήσει, τὸ στρα-
τεύμα τῇ παρατίνης ἀνεπάγεται. οἱ μὲν δὲ τοῖς πι-
στευόμενοι αὐτῶ πρὸς τὴν Καρχερίδαν ἐπηγάλ-
ταις δέ ἐκκαθήρησαν αὐτοῖς τῶν Καρχερίδων εἰρήνη, ἐξ ὑποτάσσεται πρὸς τοὺς Ἃρμασον ἐνθισθομένους.
οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀριστέρων προσεκαθήρησαν τοὺς μὲν Σαν-
χύδον δικείταξαν, τοὺς δὲ Ἡρῴδης τὰ μηδὲν σήμε 
προσέκαθον πολυεργομένους ἠθεοῦν, καὶ τέλει ἐνεπίθεσαν οἱ πολεμάρχαι, ὡς ἀπειθεῖται.
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀνιβές εὐπαθὴς τὰς προειρήμα 
τῆς πετρεχαῖας ἐποδείχθη. πολλῶν δὲ πτερόγοι 
καὶ κλαύσεων τιτρευκομένων ἐκ τῶν τῶν Ἅρμα-
δίων, καὶ ποτα τῶν Καρχερίδων καταευθείας τοῖς περίπολοι καὶ κατα τὰ μήκη εὐεξεῖν τόλμη 
σίανε τοὺς Σανχύδον καὶ ἀπειθεῖ 
σέλεος ἤθε 
αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀπειθεῖσθαν, οἱ 
Καρχερίδων δὲ ἐνδόσασα ἰδαμάστατο, οὐκ ἀπα-

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called them Spaniards, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iberus.

These Saguntines, then, upon being besieged, sent to their neighbours and to the Romans, asking for aid.

But Hannibal checked any local movement, while the Romans sent ambassadors to him commanding him not to come near the Saguntines, and threatening, in case he should not obey, to sail to Carthage at once and lay accusation against him. When the envoy's were now close at hand, Hannibal sent some of the natives who were to pretend that they were kindly disposed to them and who were instructed to say that the general was not there, but had gone some distance away into parts unknown; and they advised the Romans to depart as quickly as possible, before their presence should be reported, lest in the disorder prevailing because of the absence of the general they should lose their lives. The envoy's, accordingly, believed them and set off for Carthage.

And when an assembly had been called, some of the Carthaginians counselled maintaining peace with the Romans, but the party attached to Hannibal affirmed that the Saguntines were guilty of wrongdoing, and that the Romans were meddling with what did not concern them. Finally those who urged them to make war won the day.

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of the siege was conducting vigorous assaults, in which many of his men fell and many more were wounded. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in battering down a portion of the wall, and had been doing enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and drove them away. As a result the besieged were strengthened, and the Carthaginians gave

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The Romans were at the height of their military power and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Thus, unlike most people, who are led by unalloyed good fortune to audacity, but by way to discouragement. Yet they did not leave the city till they had captured it, though the siege dragged on to the eighth month. Many untoward incidents happened during that time, one of which was the dangerous wounding of Hannibal. The place was taken in the following manner. They brought to bear against the wall an engine much higher than the fortifications, and carrying heavy-armed soldiers, some visible, some concealed. While the Saguntines, therefore, were vigorously fighting against the men they saw, believing them to be the only ones, those concealed from view dug through the wall from below and found their way inside. The Saguntines, overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the event, ran up to the citadel and held a conference, to see whether by any reasonable concessions they might be saved. But as Hannibal held out no moderate terms and no assistance came to them from the Romans, they begged for a cessation of the assaults, on the plea that they wished to deliberate a little about their present situation. During this respite they gathered together the most highly prized of their treasures and cast them into the flames; then such as were incapable of fighting took their own lives, and those who were in their prime advanced in a body against their opponents, and fighting zealously, were cut down.

22. On their account the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war; for Hannibal, after adding
strong fear to forbearance, they at this time had
a very different experience in these matters. For
the greater their successes, the more they were
sobered; against their enemies they displayed that
daring which is seen in the brave, but toward one
another they showed the forbearance which goes
hand in hand with good order. They used their
power for the exercise of safe moderation and their
orderliness for the acquirement of true bravery;
and they did not allow either their good fortune to
develop into arrogance or their forbearance into
cowardice. They believed that in the latter case
soberity was ruined by bravery and boldness by fear;
whereas with them moderation was rendered more
secure by bravery and good fortune surer by good
order. It was due to this in particular that they
carried through so successfully the wars that came
upon them and administered both their own affairs
and those of the allies so well.

All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps
revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they
preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as
leaders, but because they hated the power that ruled
them and welcomed the untried. The Cartha-
ginians had allies against the Romans from every one

nous allies to his force, hastening toward Italy.

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of the tribes that then existed; but all of them taken together were scarcely Hannibal’s equal. He could comprehend matters most clearly and plan out most promptly every project that he conceived, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, sureness is the result of deliberation and instability the result of a hasty disposition. He was most resourceful (?) in the suddenest emergencies, and most steadfast with the greatest degree of reliability. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future after off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails.
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4. Τοιαύτως οὖν ὥστε τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενον ἀντίστροφον καὶ τὸ σώμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτῃ, παρωκεῖσθαι, δοσθ᾽ ἃναυχειρίζετο μαλακὸς καταργάζεσθαι, καθὼς τὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐσχήδια ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ τὸν καταργοῦσιν ἐπεξερήσει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰν πλὴθυντά τοῦ τροχήθη ἐξαιρέσθαι ὡστε ἐνεσταθῇ ἄλλ᾽ ἐν ἐσφάλματι καὶ τὸ πλάσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐλαττών, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰρκος ἐκτέρτος, ἐλάμβανεν, ταῖς τε ταλαιπωρίαις ἀσχετικοῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἀπροπηνίαις ἐφρονιστηθεῖσιν.  

5. Οὕτως οὖν ἐκαθὼς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σώματος ἄρχον τοῦτο τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διαχωρίσει ἐπιτάσσειν ἐκρήματι, τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐξ μίκρον τὸ συμμέρους σφέες πιστῶς ἤκουσαν ἄμεθο, αὐτὸς τοῖς τούτοις τοῖς τρόποις αὐτῶς προφεβεσθεὶς καὶ ἐκ ἐκείνων, ταῦτα ὑπότευκεν, ὡστε πλέον μὲν ἀπάτησας τοὺς κατορθίσας, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἐπιβαλλεθεὶς σφαλήσαι, καὶ πολέμους τῶν τῶν πλησικετῶν ἐνόμων καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεϊκοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅμοφωλοις ἔργοις ἐγκεκρίμενοι, οἷοι ἀκούσαν τοῖς ἐργαὶ τῆς χειρίσεως αὐτῶν ἑκατονθέντων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ βοηθούμενοι σφῆνα σφαλεῖσθαι ὅπως ἀκούσαν τῶν ἑνόμων τραύχεται μεγεχειρίζετο, προποτεψεἰς τῇ μᾶλλον ἢ προτεῖνει ἀμείωτον ἐγγέγονεν, καὶ ἔρει εἰσαγεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ᾽ οἷοι ἐκ ἐφεύρον.  

7. οὗτοι εἶναι ἄξονοι τὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰπὼν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ φύσει πραξιμένων.  

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