

## ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

### ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγ-  
γράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὄρους  
ἄσων ἔθνων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε. ἐν  
μὲν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείονος μέρους,  
διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐς τήνδε τὴν  
θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς στηλας  
περιπλέοντι νήσων ἄρχουσι πασῶν, καὶ ἡπείρων  
ἄσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὧν εἰσὶν  
ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτοι Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι περὶ τὴν θάλα-  
σσαν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα Λιβύων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρ-  
χηδόνας, καὶ τούτων ὑπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς  
Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νομίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν  
Νουμιδίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λίβυες ὅσοι περιοικοῦσι  
τὰς Σύρτες μέχρι Κυρήνης, Κυρήνη τε αὐτὴ  
καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν  
Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσι, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη  
πόλις ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ Αἰγύπτου,  
Αἰγυπτὸς τε αὐτὴ μέχρι Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ἑσίων  
ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλουσίου  
διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ περιόντι  
Συρία τε ἡ Παλαιστίνη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

### PREFACE

1. INTENDING to write the history of the Romans, I  
have deemed it necessary to begin with the boundaries  
of the nations under their sway. They are as  
follows: In the ocean, the major part of those who  
inhabit the British Isles. Then entering the  
Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules and cir-  
cumnavigating the same we find under their rule all  
the islands and the mainlands washed by that sea.  
The first of these on the right hand are the  
Mauretians of the coast and various other African  
nations as far as Carthage. Farther inland are the  
nomad tribes whom the Romans call Numidians and  
their country Numidia; then other Africans who  
dwell around the Syrtes as far as Cyrene, and Cyrene  
itself; also the Marmaridae, the Ammonii, and those  
who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great  
city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt,  
and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as  
eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

2. Here turning our course and passing round,  
we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

μοῖρα Ἀράβων, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοίνικες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ Φοινίκων ὑπερθεῖν ἢ τε κοίλῃ Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνω Παλμυρηνοὶ τε καὶ ἡ Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Εὐφράτην καθήκουσα, Κιλικίαι τε Σύρων ἐχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδοκαὶ Κιλικῶν ὄμοροι, καὶ μέρος Ἀρμενίων, οὓς καλοῦσιν Ἀρμενίαν βραχυτέραν, παρά τε τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον ἄλλα ὅσα Ποντικά Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα γένη. Σύροι μὲν δὴ καὶ Κιλικίαι ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφορῶσιν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ καὶ Καππαδοκαὶ ἐς τε τὰ Ποντικά γένη καθήκουσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλυμένην Ἀρμενίαν μείζονα, ἧς Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄρχουσι μὲν ἐς φόρου κομιδὴν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τοὺς βασιλέας, ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλικῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καταβαίνουντι ἔστιν ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος· ὃ τε γὰρ πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνιος καὶ ἡ Προποντις καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἐκ δὲ λαϊᾶς τὸ Παμφύλιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφω) ποιεῖ χερρόνησον, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες, Πάμφυλοι τε καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Καρία μέχρι Ἰωνίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυννοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, ἐν δὲ μεσογείῳ Πισίδαι τε καὶ Λυδοί. τσαῦτα ἔθνη τὴν χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πάντων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

3. Περᾶσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ Θρακῶν ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον. ἀπὸ δὲ

## PREFACE

of Arabia. The Phoenicians hold the country next to Palestine on the sea, and beyond the Phoenician territory are Coele-Syria, and the parts stretching from the sea as far inland as the river Euphrates, namely Palmyra and the sandy country round about, extending even to the Euphrates itself. The Cilicians come next to the Syrians, and their neighbours are the Cappadocians, and that part of the Armenian country called Lesser Armenia. Along the Euxine are other nations called by the common name Pontic, subject to the Roman rule. The Syrians and Cilicians border on the Mediterranean, the Armenians and Cappadocians extend to the Pontic nations and to the interior as far as Greater Armenia, which is not subject to the Romans in the way of tribute, and its people appoint their own kings. Descending from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Ionia we find the great peninsula bounded on the right by the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Aegean, and on the left by the Pamphylian or Egyptian sea, for it is called by both names. Some of the countries embraced in it look toward the Egyptian sea, namely: Pamphylia and Lycia and after them Caria extending to Ionia. Others look toward the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, namely: the Galatians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In the interior are the Pisidians and Lydians. These are the nations which inhabit this peninsula and all are under Roman rule.

3. Crossing from these coasts they rule other nations around the Euxine, the Mysians of Europe and the Thracians who border that sea. Beyond

Ἴωνίας κόλπος ἔστι θαλάσσης ὁ Αἰγαῖος, καὶ ἕτερος Ἴονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν. τοῦτο μῆκός ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἴωνίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ τῷ παράπλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα τσαῦτα, ἢ τε Ἑλλάς πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὅσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἔθνη, αὐτὴ τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δὴ πάντων ἐθνῶν οὕσα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴονίου παρήκουσα ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὓς αὐτοὶ Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴνδε τὴν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἀφορᾷ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥήνον ποταμὸν ὄκηται, Ἰβηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τελευτῶντες. καὶ τούτων περὶ καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου δηλώσω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἢ γραφὴ περιῆ. νῦν δέ, ὅσον ὄροις μεγάλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν εἴρηται, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιοδεύοντι μοῖρά τε Μαυρουσίῳ ἀν εἴη τῶν παρ' Αἰθίοφι τοῖς περὶ ἐσπέραν, καὶ εἴ τι θερμότερον ἢ θηριώδες ἄλλο Λιβύης μέχρι Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ἐφῶν. ταῦτα μὲν Λιβύης Ῥωμαίοις ὄροι, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμὸς τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχή, καὶ Κόλχοι παρὰ τὴν Εὐξείνου θάλασσαν ὄκημένοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πελάγους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποταμοὶ δύο, Ῥήνός τε καὶ Ἰστρος, μάλιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὀρίζουσι, καὶ τούτων Ῥήνος μὲν ἐς τὸν

Ionia are the Aegean sea, the Adriatic, the straits of Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining Thracians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest country of all, extending from the Adriatic and bordering the greater part of the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the country of the Celts (whom the Romans call Gauls), some of whom face the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain and Celtiberia on the Northern and Western oceans as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to deal with each nation. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire along the sea.

4. On the landward side the boundaries are the part of Mauritania adjoining western Ethiopia and the tropical region, infested with numbers of wild beasts, which extends as far as eastern Ethiopia. These are the Roman boundaries in Africa. Those of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the kingdom of Greater Armenia, the Colchians who dwell along the Euxine sea, and the remainder of that coast. In Europe two rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, for the most part bound the Roman empire. Of these, the Rhine empties into the Northern

βόρειον ὠκεανόν, Ἰστρος δὲ ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καταδιδοί. περάσαντες δὲ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνον ἄρχουσιν ἐνίων, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, οὓς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὅροι μὲν οὗτοι κατ' ἠπειρον, ὡς ἐγγύτατα ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· 5. νῆσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰσίν, αἶ τε Κυκλάδες ἢ Σποράδες ἢ Ἰάδες ἢ Ἐχινάδες ἢ Τυρρηνίδες ἢ Γυμνησιαί ἢ ὅσας ἄλλας ὀνομάζουσιν ἑτέρως, περὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ τὸ Ἴόνιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μυρτώον ἢ Σικελικὸν ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ὅσαι τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Εὐβοία καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη μικροτέρα τε καὶ μείζων, ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα. καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον περάσαντες, ἠπείρου μεγάλης μείζονα, τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ, οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εὐφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἦν ἔχουσιν.

6. Τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ὄντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμόχθως τε καὶ μόλις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατειργάσαντο βεβαίως. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλεύσιν ἐχρῶντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων, ἀριστοκρατία τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ προστάταις ἄρχουσιν ἑτησίοις. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ξενικῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε ὑπηγάγοντο. Γαίος τε

ocean and the Danube into the Euxine. On the other side of these rivers, however, some of the Celts beyond the Rhine are under Roman sway, and beyond the Danube some of the Getae, who are called Dacians. These, with the nearest approach to accuracy, are the boundaries on the mainland.

5. All the islands also of the Mediterranean, the Cyclades, Sporades, Ionian isles, Echinades, the Tuscan isles, the Balearic isles, and all the rest, whatever their different names, that are off the coast of Libya and in Libyan, Ionian, Egyptian, Myrtoan, Sicilian, and other Mediterranean waters, by whatever names called, also those which the Greeks by way of distinction call the great islands, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small—all are under Roman rule. Crossing the Northern ocean to Britain, which is an island greater than a large continent, they have taken possession of the better and larger part, not caring for the remainder. Indeed, the part they do hold is not very profitable to them.

6. Although holding the empire of so many and such great nations the Romans laboured five hundred years with toil and difficulty to establish their power firmly in Italy itself. Half of this time they were under kings, but having expelled them and sworn to have kingly rule no longer, they henceforward adopted aristocracy, and chose their rulers yearly. In about the two hundred years next succeeding the five hundred their dominion increased greatly, they acquired unexampled foreign power, and brought the greater part of the nations under their sway. Gaius

Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατυνάμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ἀσφαλῆ, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφύλαξε, μόναρχον δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι. καὶ ἔστιν ἡδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μέχρι νῦν ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι, οὗς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν ὄρκον αἰδούμενοι τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορας δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὃ καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων στρατηγῶν ὄνομα ἦν εἰσὶ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πάντα βασιλεῖς.

7. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐγγυτάτω διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἡ τε πόλις μάλιστα κατεκοσμήθη, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἠυξήθη, καὶ πάντα ἐν εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ καὶ εὐσταθεῖ προήλθεν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀσφαλῆ. καὶ τινα καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθνεσιν οἷδε οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προσέλαβον, καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύναντο. ὅλως τε δι' εὐβουλίαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχοντες σώζειν ἐθέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἄπειρον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγὼ τινας εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι, καὶ οὐ δεξάμενον βασιλέα ἄνδρας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρησίμους ἐσομένους. ἔθνεσί τε ἄλλοις, ἀπίροις τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ διδάσσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεόμενοι καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνίοις προσαναλίσκουσιν, αἰδούμενοι καίπερ ἐπιζημίους ὄντας ἀποθέσθαι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐν

[Julius] Caesar having got the upper hand of his rivals possessed himself of the sovereignty, which he strengthened, systematised, and secured, and, while preserving the form and name of the republic, made himself the absolute ruler of all. In this way the government, from that time to this, has been a monarchy; but they do not call their rulers kings, out of respect, as I think, for the ancient oath. They call them imperators [emperors], that being the title also of those who formerly held the chief command of the armies for the time being. Yet they are very kings in fact.

7. From the advent of the emperors to the present time is nearly two hundred years more, in the course of which the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved towards a lasting prosperity. Some nations have been added to the empire by these emperors, and the revolts of others have been suppressed. Possessing the best part of the earth and sea they have, on the whole, aimed to preserve their empire by the exercise of prudence, rather than to extend their sway indefinitely over poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians, some of whom I have seen at Rome offering themselves, by their ambassadors, as its subjects, but the emperor would not accept them because they would be of no use to him. They give kings to a great many other nations whom they do not wish to have under their own government. On some of these subject nations they spend more than they receive from them, deeming it dishonourable to give them up even though they are costly. They surround the empire with great

κύκλω περικάθηται μεγάλοις στρατοπέδοις, καὶ φυλάσσουσι τὴν τοσὴνδε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ὥσπερ χωρίου.

8. Ἀρχὴ τε οὐδεμία προήλθε πω μέχρι νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο μεγέθους καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τις ὁμοῦ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔλλαμπρυνεσθαι μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν συναγάγοι, πολλὰ ἂν ἔτη φανείη. οἱ τε ἀγῶνες αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς περικτήσει μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἄλλας ἐπιούσας. οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐλπίδι προσέπταισαν ἢ εἴ τις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διήλθε, μικρὰ καὶ ὅδε δράσας εὐθὺς ἐπανήει. ὅλως τε ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ δύναμις, καίπερ ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὐ προήλθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ δεινοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ἀδούλωτον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀήττητον κατασχέειν ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ πάνν μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξαι κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως αὐτῶν.

9. Ἡ τε τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ ἔργων μὲν πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδ' ἐς τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν παραβάλλεται δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει καὶ ἦδε ἡ γραφὴ προϊούσα· ὀλίγαις γὰρ μάχαις Ῥωμαῖοι τοσούτων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν κατέσχον ὅσων ἔτι κρατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ὑπερμαχομένων, τὰ

armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single stronghold.

8. No empire down to the present time ever attained to such size and duration. As for the Greeks, even if we reckon as one the successive periods of Athenian, Spartan, and Theban supremacy, which followed that most glorious epoch of Greek history, the invasion of Darius, and further include with them the Greek hegemony of Philip, son of Amyntas, we see that their empire lasted comparatively but few years. Their wars were waged not so much for the sake of acquisition of empire, as out of mutual rivalry, and the most glorious of them were fought in defence of Greek freedom against the aggression of foreign powers. Those of them who invaded Sicily with the hope of extending their dominion failed, and whenever they marched into Asia they accomplished small results and speedily returned. In short the Greek power, ardent as it was in fighting for the hegemony, never established itself beyond the boundaries of Greece; and although they succeeded wonderfully in keeping their country unenslaved and undefeated for a long period, their history since the time of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, the son of Philip, is in my opinion most inglorious and unworthy of them.

9. The empire of Asia is not to be compared, as to achievements and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined

δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐξετρίφθησαν. Ἀσσυρίων τε αὖ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὐτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκοιτο τῶν ἑνακοσίων ἐτῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, τό τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἐς ἡμισυ νομίζω τῆσδε τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπαντᾶν, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τε δύσεων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὠκεανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω δι' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφου ὠκεανὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ διεξέρχεται, καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὠκεανὸς ἀρχομένου τε καὶ δυομένου τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἡγεμονεύουσι τῆς ἐντὸς οὐσῆς καὶ νήσων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν. Μήδοις δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἢ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὁ Παμφύλιος κόλπος ἢ καὶ μία νῆσος ἢ Κύπρος ἢ τί που ἄλλο σμικρὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν θαλάσῃ· τοῦ τε Περσικοῦ κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦδε ἐκράτουν) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτου πέλαγός ἐστιν;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πάνυ σμικρὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐστὶν ἂν ὑπήκουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνου μὲν καὶ τάλαιπωρίας ἔγεμεν οὐ μεμπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχωρα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ ταχυεργίᾳ διαλάμψασα ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐς ἀπειρον καὶ ἀμίμητον ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέοικεν ἀστραπῇ λαμπρᾷ· ἥς γε καὶ διαλυθείσης ἐς πολλὰς σατραπείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέλαμπε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοῖς

in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, a period which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire, I think, was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt up country to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean, so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. But the greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included only the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of that is open sea?

10. Again, the history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighbouring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own

ἑμοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνοις ἦν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἴκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ἵππέων τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολεμισταὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἄρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὄπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μυριάσι τριάκοντα. καὶ τὰδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς πεζομαχίαν, ἐς δὲ ναυμαχίας κοντωτά, καὶ ὅσα σμικρότερα ἄλλα, δισχίλια, τριήρεις δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας μέχρι πεντήρους πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, καὶ σκευὴ τριηρετικὰ διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγὰ τε χρυσόπρυμνα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου πομπήν, οἷς αὐτοὶ διαπλέοντες ἐπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὀκτακόσια, χρημάτων δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλάντων Αἰγυπτίων. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παρασκευῆς τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγῶν τε καὶ καταλιπῶν ὁ δεύτερος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς καὶ πορίσαι δεινότατος ἦν βασιλέων καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλοουργότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέοντα. ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους· ὧ δὴ μόνοι ἄρχαι μεγάλαι καταλύονται.

11. Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὴν περίκτησιν αὐτῶν ἀρετῆ καὶ φερεπουῖα καὶ ταλαιπωρία πάντα ὑπερῆραν, οὔτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενοι μέχρι βεβαίως ἐκράτησαν, οὔτε συστέλλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς· ὧν γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνίστε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑτέρας

<sup>1</sup> So Schw. for MSS. μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον.

country [Egypt] alone had an army consisting of 200,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 300 war elephants, and 2,000 armed chariots, and arms in reserve for 300,000 soldiers more. This was their force for land service. For naval service they had 2,000 barges propelled by poles, and other smaller craft, 1,500 galleys with from one and a half to five benches of oars each, and galley furniture for twice as many ships, 800 vessels provided with cabins, gilded on stem and stern for the pomp of war, with which the kings themselves were wont to go to naval combats; and money in their treasuries to the amount of 740,000 Egyptian talents.<sup>1</sup> Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king<sup>2</sup> of Egypt second in succession after Alexander, a monarch remarkable for his skill in raising money, for the lavishness of his expenditure, and for the magnificence of his public works. It appears also that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors through civil war, by which alone great empires are destroyed.

11. Through prudence and good fortune has the empire of the Romans attained to greatness and duration; in gaining which they have excelled all others in bravery, patience, and hard labour. They were never elated by success until they had firmly secured their power, nor were they ever cast down by misfortune, although they sometimes lost 20,000

<sup>1</sup> The sum must be greatly exaggerated. Various attempts have been made to explain the error.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus, d. 247 B.C.





τέσσαρες, ἀπόλλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ λιμοὶ τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ στάσεις, ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιπίπτοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἕως ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸδε προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὤναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν.

12. Καὶ τὰδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς, μεγίστης δὴ τῶν προτέρων οὔσης πολὺ μείζων. ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνοντά με, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐντελῆ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰδεῖν ἐθέλοντα, ἀπέφερον ἡ γραφὴν πολλάκις ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας ἐπὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Μακεδονίαν ἢ ἐπὶ πρεσβείας ἢ συμμάχιας ἐς ἄλλα ἔθνη γενομένας, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνήγεν ἢ Σικελίαν ὥσπερ ἀλώμενον, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἀτελῶν ἐτι ὄντων μετέφερον, ἕως οὗ τὰ μέρη συνήγαγον ἐμαντῶ, ὅσάκις ἐς Σικελίαν ἐστράτευσαν ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἢ ὀτιοῦν ἐπραξαν ἐς Σικελίαν, μέχρι κατεστήσαντο αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν παρόντα, ὅσάκις τε αὐτὸν Καρχηδοῖσις ἐπολέμησαν ἢ ἐσπέισαντο, ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρεσβείας ἐδέξαντο παρ' ἐκείνων, ἢ ἔδρασαν ὀτιοῦν ἢ ἔπαθον πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἕως Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος προσέλαβον, καὶ αὖθις ᾤκισαν αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνα, καὶ Λιβύην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. καὶ τότε μοι κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, βουλομένῳ τὰ ἐς ἑκάστους ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καταμαθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν τῶν

men in a single day, at another time 40,000 and once 50,000, and although the city itself was often in danger. Neither famine, nor frequently recurring plague, nor sedition, nor all these falling upon them at once could abate their ardour; until, through the doubtful struggles and dangers of seven hundred years, they achieved their present greatness, and won prosperity as the reward of good counsel.

12. These things have been described by many writers, both Greek and Roman, and the history is even longer than that of the Macedonian empire, which was the longest history of earlier times. Being interested in it, and desiring to compare the Roman prowess carefully with that of every other nation, my history has often led me from Carthage to Spain, from Spain to Sicily or to Macedonia, or to join some embassy to foreign countries, or some alliance formed with them; thence back to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer, and again elsewhere, while the work was still unfinished. At last I have brought the parts together, showing how often the Romans sent armies or embassies into Sicily and what they did there until they brought it into its present condition; also how often they made war and peace with the Carthaginians, or sent embassies to them or received the same from them, and what damage they inflicted upon or suffered from them until they demolished Carthage and made Africa a Roman province, and how they rebuilt Carthage and brought Africa into its present condition. I have made this research also in respect to each of the other provinces, desiring to learn the Romans' relations to each, in order to understand the weakness of these nations or their power of



ἔθνῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ φερεπονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλόντων ἀρετὴν ἢ εὐτυχίαν, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἄλλο συγκύρημα συννηχῆθη, καταμάθοιμι.

13. Νομίσας δ' ἂν τινα καὶ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐβέλῃσαι μαθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, συγγράφω κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον· ὅσα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἑτέροισιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐξαίρω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐκείνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πᾶσι περισσὸν ἡγούμην καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσω. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα Ῥωμαίων πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἓν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ἐκάστω, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δύο· καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ καὶ τρίτον ἤρξατό τισιν ἐπίγνωσιν ἐκ πάθους ἢ ἀρετῆς προστίθεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἦσαν ἐπικλήσεις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅπου καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γινώρισμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἃ κυριώτατα ἡγούνται, προσαγορεύσω.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βιβλῶν οὐσῶν αἰτὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέον εἶναι Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικῶν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργων διήρηνται. καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἢ μὲν πρώτη τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφω Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλικήν. ἢ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, χωρὶς γε τῆς παρὰ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἴόνιον· ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἤδη λέγεται ἢ ἐξῆς

endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance contributing to the result.

13. Thinking that the public would like to learn the history of the Romans in this way, I am going to write the part relating to each nation separately, omitting what happened to the others in the meantime, and taking it up in its proper place. It seems superfluous to put down the dates of everything, but I shall mention those of the most important events now and then. As to names, Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery, just as certain of the Greeks had surnames in addition to their ordinary names. For purposes of distinction I shall sometimes mention all the names, especially of illustrious men, but for the most part I shall call these and others by the names that are deemed most characteristic.

14. As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three together must be considered the Italian-Roman history; but the division into books has been made on account of the great number of events which they contain. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the

Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλική. τελευταίῳ δὲ ἔθνει, Σαννι-  
ταις, οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἴόνιον φκηνται, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ  
χαλεπῷ ὀγδοηκοντα ἔτεσι συνεπλάκησαν, μέχρι  
καὶ τοῦσδε, καὶ ὅσα σφίσιν ἐγγύς ἔθνη συνεμάχαι,  
καὶ Ἑλληνας ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσίν, ὑπή-  
γάγοντο καὶ ἔστιν ἡδε, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύγκρι-  
σιν, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Σαννιτική. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, τούτων  
ἐκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιγράφονται, Ῥωμαϊκῶν  
Κελτική τε καὶ Σικελική καὶ Ἰβηρική καὶ Ἀν-  
νιβαϊκή καὶ Καρχηδονιακή καὶ Μακεδονική καὶ  
ἄλληνη ὡς ἐκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἑτέρου  
λαβεῖν συνέπεσεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἔθνει μετὰ  
πολλὰ ἕτερα γηγένηται. ὅσα δ' αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν τε καὶ ἐπολέμησαν  
ἐμφύλια, φοβερώτερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενό-  
μενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν στάσεων διήρηται,  
τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριον τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τὰ δ' ἐς Πομπή-  
ιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τὰ δ' ἐς Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ τὸν  
ἕτερον Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐπίκλην, πρὸς  
τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, τὰ δ'  
ἐς ἀλλήλους, αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος  
στασιασάντων. ᾧ τινὶ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων  
ὄντι καὶ Αἴγυπτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ  
Ῥωμαίων ἐς μοναρχίαν περιήλθεν.

15. Ὡδε μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἐκαστα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἢ  
ἐς στρατηγούς τὰ ἐμφύλια, διήρηται. ἢ δὲ τελει-  
ταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὅσῃν ἔχουσιν, ἢ  
πρόσοδον ἢν καρποῦνται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ἢ εἴ  
τι προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπιναίους φρουράς,  
ὅσα τε τοιούτοτροπα ἄλλα, ἐπιδείξει. ἀρμόζει  
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἀρξασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς

former, will be called the second Italian book of Roman history. With the last nation, the Samnites, who dwelt along the Adriatic, the Romans struggled eighty years under the greatest difficulties, but finally they subjugated them and the neighbours who were allied with them, and also the Greeks of southern Italy. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the Samnite Roman history. The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on. The order of these histories with respect to each other is according to the time when the Romans began to be embroiled in war with each nation, even though many other things intervened before that nation came to its end. The internal seditions and civil wars of the Romans—to them the most calamitous of all—will be designated under the names of their chief actors, as the wars of Marius and Sulla, those of Pompey and Caesar, those of Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, against the murderers of the first Caesar, and those of Antony and Augustus against each other. At the end of this last of the civil wars Egypt passed under the Roman sway, and the Roman government itself became a monarchy.

15. Thus, the foreign wars have been divided into books according to the nations, and the civil wars according to the chief commanders. The last book will show the present military force of the Romans, the revenues they collect from each province, what they spend for the naval service, and other things of that kind. It is proper to begin with the origin of the people of whose prowess I am about to write.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτῶν συγγράφοντα. τίς δὲ ὦν ταῦτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσασι καὶ αὐτὸς προέφηνα, σαφέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἦκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤξιωσαν. καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδῇ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφή.

## PREFACE

Who I am, who have written these things, many indeed know, and I have already indicated. To speak more plainly I am Appian of Alexandria, a man who have reached the highest place in my native country, and have been, in Rome, a pleader of causes before the emperors, until they deemed me worthy of being made their procurator. And if any one has a great desire to learn more about my affairs there is a special treatise of mine on that subject.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.