The University of California, Santa Barbara

Bonding with the Invader: Forming the Sicilian Perspective of Carthage & Rome Through Diodorus Siculus' Βιβλιοθήκη

By

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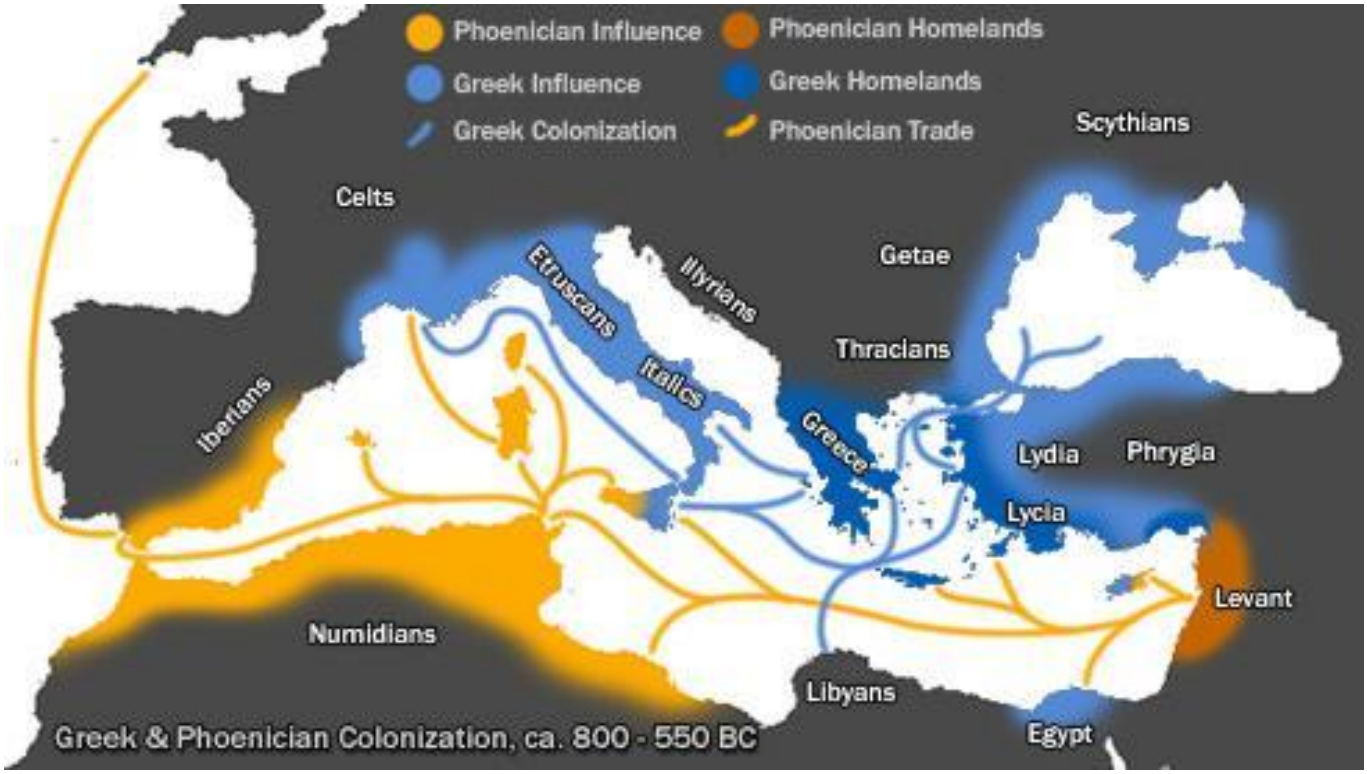
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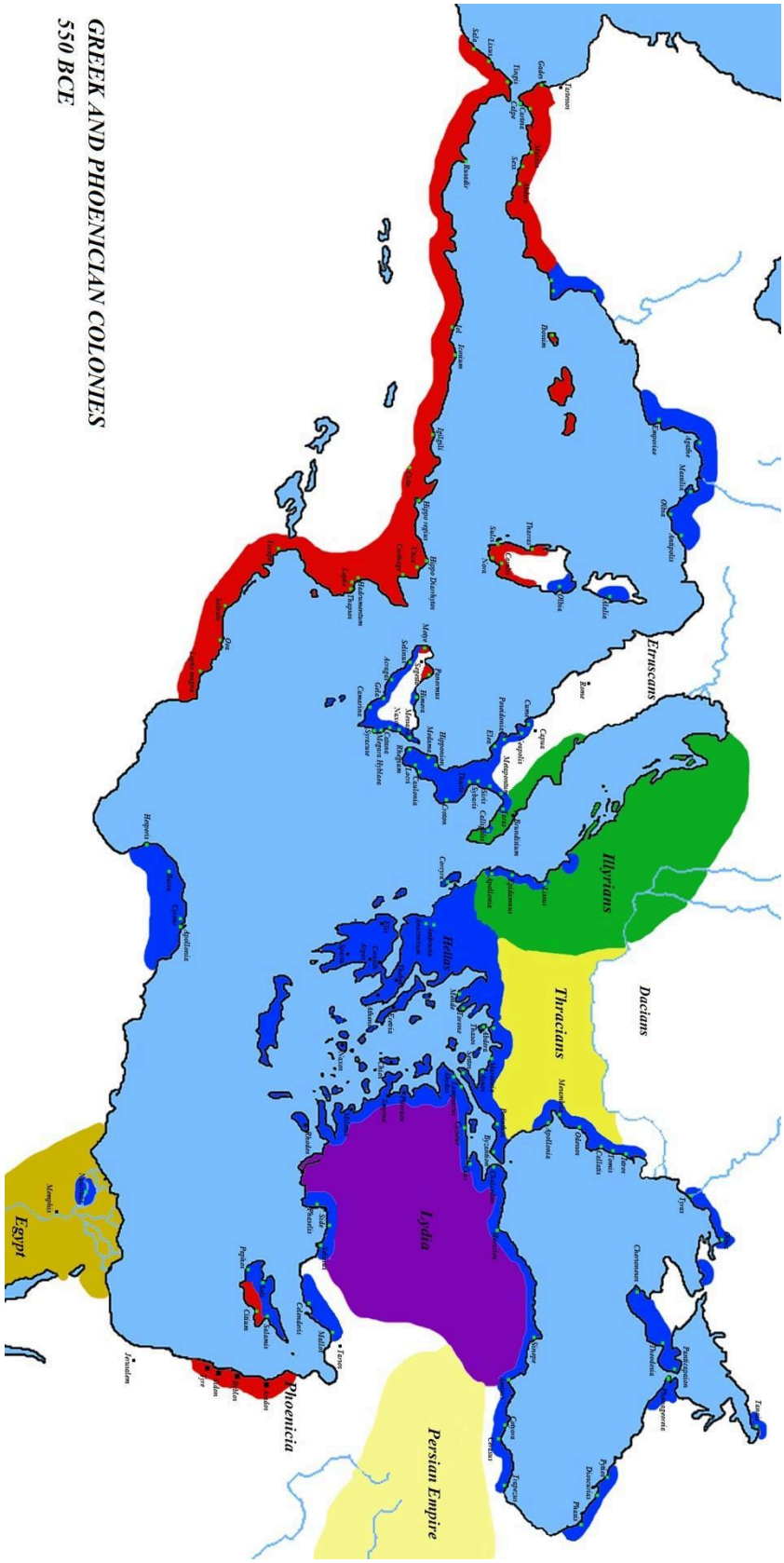

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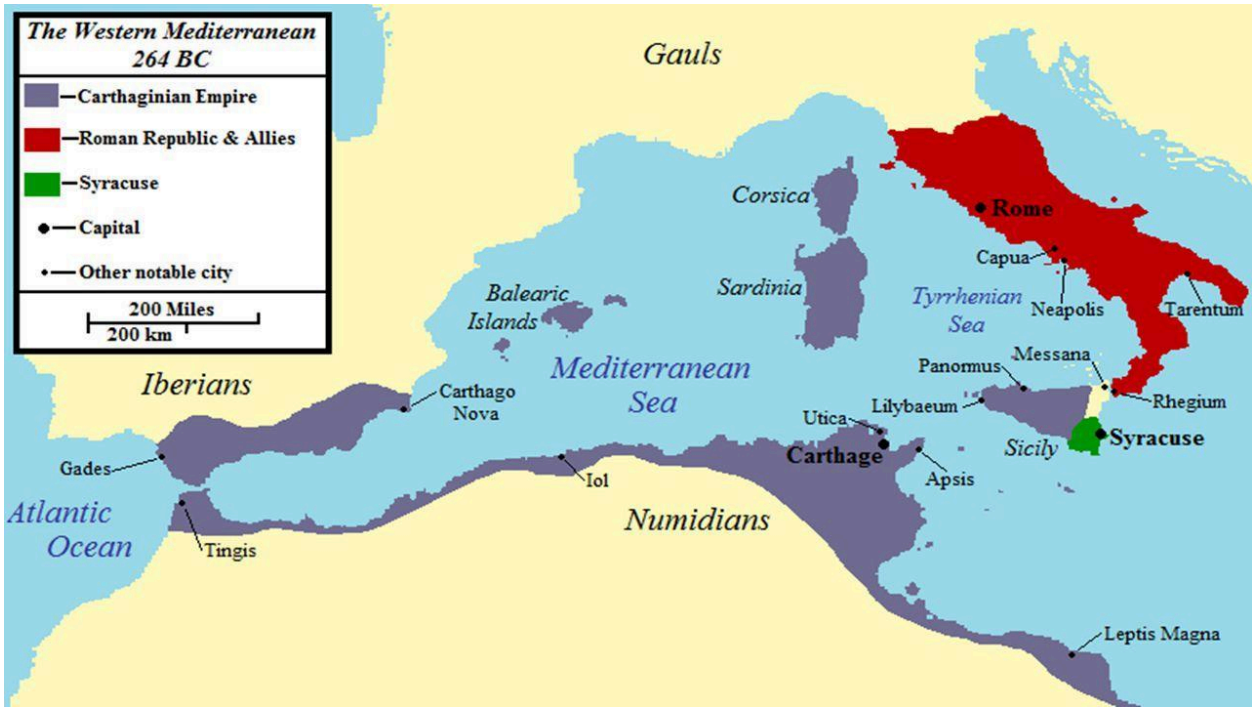

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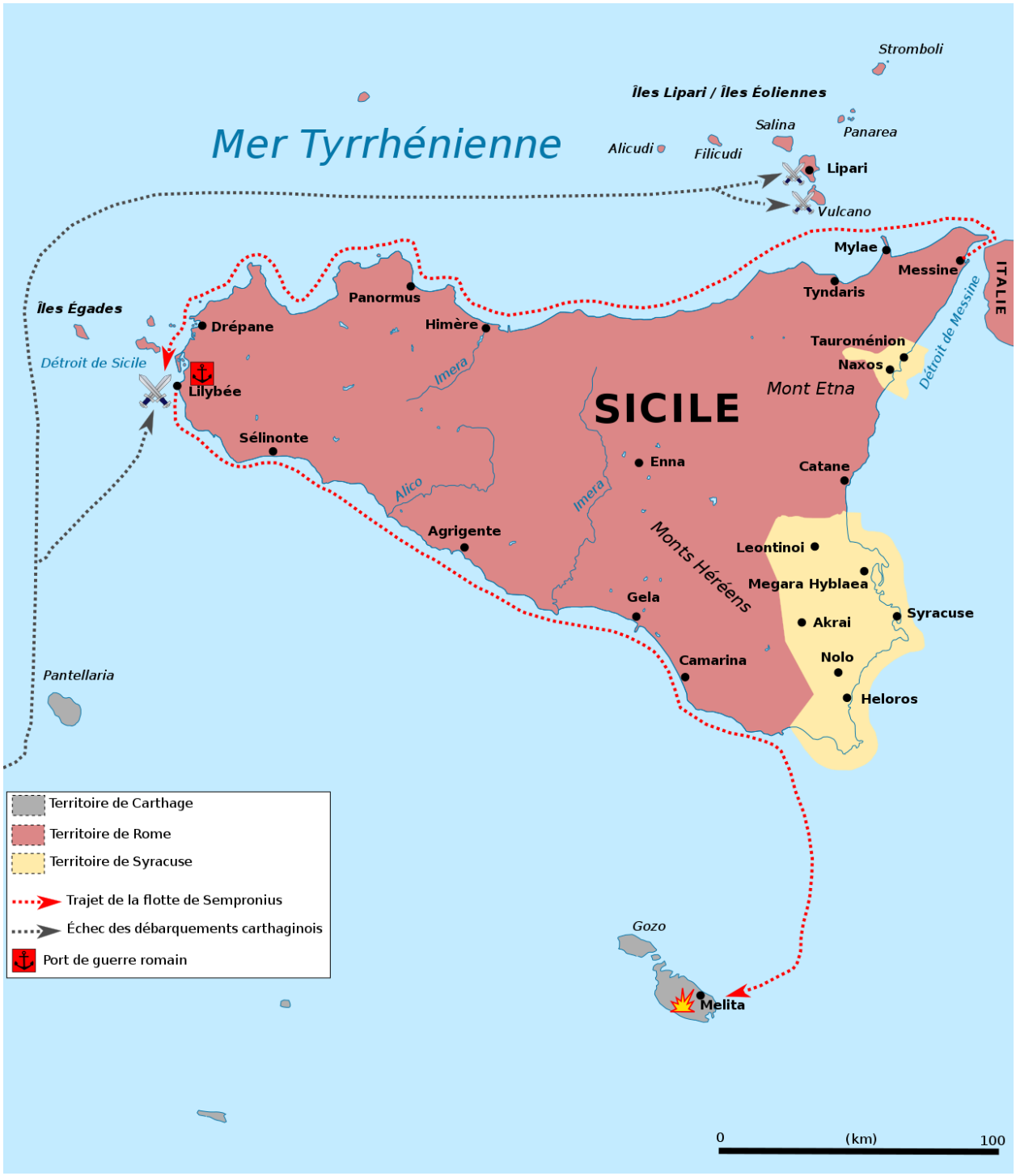

Introduction

While describing the methodology behind his work, Polybius, the first individual to record the history of Rome in detail, states that he utilized "the various opinions and appreciations of their rulers entertained by the subjects…" as a crucial source for the writing of *The Histories*.[1] The Greek historian evidently believed the sentiments of Rome's subjects to be essential for an evaluation of the imperial state. Unfortunately, modern historians of Roman history have neglected the different perceptions the people of the empire must have held about their subjugators. Only the relatively recent works of Fergus Millar and Bettie Forte have attempted to construct a picture of Roman history founded, in part, by the relations between the imperial state and its subjects, and by the latter's thoughts and emotions concerning Rome and its style of ruling.[2] Forced by the body of extant evidence, however, both of these authors devoted their work solely to the study of the Greek subjects of Rome. Especially important is Forte's work, which "attempted to give a new account of Greco-Roman relations based upon archeological as well as literary evidence and pro-Roman as well as anti-Roman material."[3] Unlike the work carried out by prior historians, *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them* conducted an extensive study of the symbiotic relationship between both states by combining an analysis of the ancient texts and, most importantly, and the presentation of the most recent material evidence available displaying the Greek point of view. However, as Forte herself admits, her work does not offer a comprehensive image of the manner in which all of Rome's diverse subjects perceived the imperial state.[4] In fact, her analysis is even lacking in its presentation of Greco-Roman relations. Due to the nature of the evidence from the region and its accessibility at

[1] Polyb. 3.4.6-7.
[2] For a review of the scholarship on Greco-Roman relations up to the point of her writing, see Forte, 1972; pg.1-3.
[3] *Ibid*., pg. 3
[4] *Ibid.,* pg. 3; For her discussion of Rome's early contacts with Sicily and the evidence see pg.5-12.

the time of Forte's writing, the author greatly disregards the perspective of those Greeks that inhabited the Western Mediterranean in areas such as Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and Sicily. Since the publishing of *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them* in 1972, there has been an increasing awareness among ancient Greek historians to discuss affairs that occurred beyond the Greek mainland and Anatolia. Nevertheless, the lack of Western Mediterranean perspectives in Greek affairs is still not uncommon among scholars of the Hellenic world. Most surprising and troubling, however, is the deficient amount of studies carried on – or through the aid of – the Sicilian evidence, which provides a unique insight into all areas of Greek history, in particular into Greek interaction with the Rome.

An understanding of Sicilian history and the material and literary evidence stemming from the island are of an invaluable importance to the historian of Greco-Roman affairs. Although the constraints upon the current work limit the length to which Sicilian history may be discussed, a short discussion will suffice to prove the island's importance within Greek and Roman history. The history of Greek Sicily commences with the initial settlement of Greek migrants at the start of the Archaic period (c. 750-480 B.C.).[5] Throughout the Archaic and Classical (c. 480- 323 B.C.) periods, Greek Sicily experienced a series of developments that shaped the island's economic, social, and political spheres for centuries to come. Apart from the Greek migrants, Sicily welcomed outsiders from Phoenicia, Carthage, and other regions of the Mediterranean that came to interact with the already populous aboriginal inhabitants. Thus, the island became home to ethnically diverse populations that often differed in cultural customs and political and economic practices. As one of the most prominent modern historians of Ancient Sicily, Franco De Angelis, has described:

[5] All dates in this thesis are B.C., unless stated otherwise.

> "Ancient Sicily as a while must be viewed as a land influenced by the dynamics of multiple cultures and networks, which made the island simultaneously part of frontier and world history, shaped all at once by local, regional, and global phenomena."[6]

These same phenomena that shaped it during the Archaic and Classical period persisted in highly influencing Sicily during the Hellenistic period (c. 323-146 B.C.), and the island continued to forge its own identity distinct from that of the more monotonous mainland.[7] However, it was also during this period that Rome's imperial power began to play a crucial role within the island – adding a new sphere of influence to the diversity of Sicily's culture. Ultimately, Rome's military might and its imperial ambitions gradually took hold of the island, and all of Sicily came under Roman control by the end of the First Punic War in 241. Outside of the Italian Peninsula, Sicilian territory was under the possession of Rome longer than any other area of the ancient Mediterranean.[8] Moreover, the island was a crucial source of resources for the growth of the Rome's economy, military, and culture. Not only did Rome protect and exploit Sicily for its fertile fields and great supply of grain, but it also prized and plundered the island for its Greek culture.[9] Thus, it is evident that Sicily has a great history of cultural interaction, and must provide a unique perspective into Greek relations with other ethnic groups such as the Carthaginians and the Romans. The fact that scholars have yet to sufficiently utilize evidence from the island to analyze such interactions is astonishing and must be corrected.

One of the aims of this thesis is to help highlight the great insight embedded within Sicilian evidence for the future study of Greek history and Greek interactions with other ancient Mediterranean cultures. Although the availability and density of the material evidence from

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[6] *Ibid.,* pg. 3.
[7] *Ibid.,* pg. 3-4.
[8] Sacks, 1990; pg. 117.
[9] *Ibid.*

Sicily is much greater today than it was during the time of Forte's writing, its very nature limits the use of it by scholars outside of a specialized field such as epigraphy, numismatics, or archeology. Therefore, the present study will be based on the literary works of Sicilian authors, primarily that of Diodorus Siculus. It is clear that such an undertaking does not render a complete analysis of what the Sicilian evidence can provide for Greek historians. Nevertheless, the literary texts serve as an important beginning to raise awareness of the crucial information within the Sicilian perspective. The reasons – and the problems attached to them – behind the choice to rely on Diodorus Siculus as the primary source will be discussed below (see chapter two), but it suffices to say that his work is the only extant piece of historical research stemming from the island. Through the analysis of the author's diction, this thesis will exhibit the sentiments Sicilians such as Diodorus held towards the Carthaginians and the Romans. The study of Greek and Sicilian relations with Carthage is of particular importance.

Very little of the knowledge historians hold about Carthage derives from primary evidence originating from the North-African city. Instead, scholars have long depended on the textual and material sources of other ancient cultures to draw conclusions about the various aspects of Punic society. The greatest interest has been placed on evidence stemming from the Roman world due to the perceived association of Carthage as Rome's greatest adversary during the Middle Republic.[10] Unfortunately, due to the nature of the relations among the two states, most of these sources portray Carthage in exaggerated negative terms that hinder their validity and limit the amount of information scholars may use to create an accurate image of Punic culture. Therefore, in order to capture as many historically valid details about Carthage, it is necessary to obtain a perspective that is not contaminated by Roman propaganda. Given the fact that Carthage possessed influence over a large area of the island, and was often seen as an

[10] Barcelo, 1994; pg. 1-2.

imperial threat by the inhabitants of Sicily, Diodorus' text is crucial not only for a better understanding of the Punic state, but also for a greater awareness of Greek Sicilian relations with other cultures before Roman intervention. As it will be demonstrated, Diodorus' portrayal of the Punic state differs drastically from that of the Roman sources. The Sicilian author depicts a Carthage that is militarily and ethically strong, and he is not afraid of praising certain qualities of the Punic state over those of Rome. In fact, Diodorus portrayal of Carthage following the beginning of Roman meddling in Sicily is more positive than his depiction of the Roman state.

Chapter four, and a greater part of this thesis, focuses on Diodorus' portrayal of Rome and its citizens. Apart from the entries that list the annual consuls and a few other references, mention of Roman affairs is completely absent from Diodorus' work until book xxii.[11] It is there that the Sicilian author commences his account of the First Punic War, which concluded with Roman control over Sicily. From that point on, the role of Rome in Diodorus' history increases drastically as the author recounts events such as the Achaean War that helped expand Rome's imperial power. An analysis of these two events is particularly important for an understanding of Sicilian sentiments towards the Roman state and its citizens. These affairs transformed Rome into an imperial threat for all of Greece – the same way Carthage had been for Sicily and the Achaemenid Empire for the mainland. A close reading of Diodorus' text will produce a better understanding of the perceptions held by the conquered towards the Romans and how such sentiments differed to those of previous "barbarians" that had attempted to invade their respective lands.

Thus, the present work has several objectives. First, it seeks to bring attention to the work of Sicilian historians, – primarily Diodorus Siculus – which has long been disregarded by scholars of, both, Greek and Roman history. Next, through an analysis of Diodorus' work, the

[11] Sacks, 1990; pg. 117-119.

thesis will analyze the author's portrayal of Sicilian sentiments towards their Carthaginian and Roman invaders. Such a survey will add to scholarship in a number of different fields, including Sicilian history; Carthaginian history; Greco-Roman relations; and the study of the subjects of Roman imperialism. These are all scholarly fields that have not received a satisfactory degree of attention given their immense importance to the field of history.

Diodorus Siculus as a Source – Virtues and Faults

The Virtues

Most of the information known about Diodorus exists embedded within statements made in the Βιβλιοθήκη. Early in book one of his universal history, Diodorus reveals that he is a native of Agyrion, a *polis* on the island of Sicily.[12] This fact immediately distinguishes Diodorus from all other Greek historians whose work has survived extant to this day, for he grew up in the area

[12] Diod. 1.4.4.

of the Greek world that enjoyed political and cultural interactions with a diverse group of non-Greek populations. Such proximity signifies that Diodorus must have grown up surrounded by Sicilians, Carthaginians, Italians, Greeks of other ethnicities and other individuals from diverse backgrounds. Most importantly, he would have had the opportunity to hear stories of previous relations between various states as portrayed by representatives from each particular culture. Diodorus demonstrates his knowledge of the affairs between a diverse body of political entities by dedicating an important portion of his work to the discussion of events beyond the Greek mainland. Unlike his Greek predecessors, large portions of Diodorus' work emphasize matters in Persia, Egypt, Italy, and, of course, Sicily. The author's statements on Sicily and Rome – in particular – are of the utmost importance: they reflect the perception of a Sicilian historian that not only knew members of both of these groups of his time better than any of his predecessors; but Diodorus possibly also had the access to information about prior events that previous historians lacked due to their disassociation with Sicily. Especially important is Diodorus' familiarity with Rome and its citizens.

Following the tradition established by Herodotus and other historians preceding his work, Diodorus devoted years of his life to traveling throughout the Mediterranean while conducting research for the Βιβλιοθήκη. In book one, the author claims to have spent thirty years in total traveling in Europe and Asia and writing for the purposes of his work.[13] In following statements, he reveals that he commenced his period of residence in Egypt in the year 60, and implies that he arrived in Rome before 45 – where he lived for a considerable time due to the easy access to the rich sources available. Moreover, he claims to have become familiar with the language of the Romans – Latin – "by reason of our contact with the Romans in Sicily," and marks "the abundant supply which Rome affords if materials pertaining to the proposed study" as extremely

[13] Diod. 1.4.1.

important for the success of his undertaking.[14] These revelations increase the validity of Diodorus' narrative as a whole. Like historians before him, he most likely utilized his travels to become acquainted with local sources of evidence for he events he included in his work. Therefore, Diodorus would have learned information about many non-Greek speaking societies beyond just the Romans. In Asia, he would have gathered knowledge about the Achaemenid Empire, from which – as demonstrated below – he would draw serious comparisons with Carthage and Rome. Thus, if it were only based on his diligence while conducting research, Diodorus would be an ideal source for a Greek perception of Rome throughout time. Unfortunately, the historian is also the victim of important defects that have drawn much criticism against his credibility.

The Faults

The most prominent of such criticisms is the often-conspicuous bias that is present throughout Diodorus' discussion of Sicilian events. For example, scholars have argued that Diodorus' description of Carthage as a potentially lethal threat to Sicily is often exaggerated due to the author's vigorous patriotism and his zeal to aggrandize the island's legacy to the level of Athens or Sparta.[15] Such glorification – is it argued – is most evident in the number of troops Diodorus assigns to various Carthaginian invasions, and in his claim that "Gelon's victory happened to take place on the same day as Leonidas' final battle against Xerxes at Thermopylai."[16] Although Diodorus occasionally makes statements of poor historical validity, not all of his remarks about Carthage can be dismissed as unreliable. Greek historians long

[14] Diod. 1.44.1; Diod. 1.4.2-3.
[15] Green, 2006; pg. 77.
[16] Diod. 11.24.1.

before Diodorus had portrayed Carthage as a powerful political and economic entity in the Mediterranean – certainly capable of being a major threat to the Sicilian *poleis*. Therefore, even if Diodorus exaggerates in the details, the overall theme of Carthage as a powerful threat that he emphasizes must be acknowledged as being attested by previous historians. Moreover, the fact that Diodorus includes details that are absent from his predecessors' works does not signify that they lack historical validity. As Peter Green concludes, scholars have too frequently relied on the fallacious assumption "that the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides is always *by definition* to be preferred over that of a late source such as Diodorus."[17] Based on Diodorus' place of origin and on the information he provides on the methodology involved in his research, it is not unlikely that he would have obtained evidence that differed from that of other historians. Most importantly, when referring to Sicilian and Roman affairs, such knowledge could even be more reliable than that offered by historians that were contemporaries of the events but were not present on the island during their occurrence. Although he wrote centuries after the events he describes, Diodorus grew up perfectly comprehending the significance of Sicily's relationship with Rome and Carthage – and he, better than any other historian, understood the island's perception of both of these states. Thus, although scholars must carefully navigate through the *Biblotheke* in order to avoid its author's exaggerations, Diodorus' work is still a necessity if we wish to completely understand a Greek perception of the non-Greek world.

Much has been discussed with regards to the many other flaws associated with Diodorus as a historian. Although an overview of the full scholarship conducted on the ancient author would be ideal, it is best for the constraints imposed on this work to limit the discussion to the work done by Kenneth Sacks. An understanding of the arguments proposed by Sacks through his work *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* will not only provide a brief summary of the

[17] Green, 2006; pg. 36.

criticism of Diodorus as a historian but will also offer the best reasoning for the dismissal of much of those condemnations.

Sacks traces back the origins of many of the critiques against Diodorus' work to the scientific positivism of the nineteenth-century. According to him, for over a century and a half, scholars have asserted that the Βιβλιοθήκη does not reflect Diodorus' own ingenuity and ability to conduct research.[18] They argue that the work is purely the result of Diodorus' use of more critical historians as his sources. According to such a judgement, it is almost impossible to assign any degree of independence in thought to Diodorus, who simply summarized, reprinted, and even plagiarized the work of his predecessors. Although this claim can be justified for those portions of the text which can be proved to belong to ancient historians other than Diodorus himself, it has also resulted in misguided speculation when Diodorus' source is not obvious. Even under such circumstances, rarely is Diodorus given any credit for the discussions of politics, historiography, and natural and moral philosophy present throughout his work. Sacks' arguments offer a reappraisal of such a poor understanding of Diodorus' work. The author's main priority is to prove that Diodorus himself, influenced by contemporary political and aesthetic considerations, is responsible for much of the nonnarrative material and determined the overall shape and main themes of the Βιβλιοθήκη.[19] By focusing on a close analysis of the history, Sacks uses the text itself to provide evidence that satisfactorily argues against the perceptions previously held by scholars against Diodorus' universal history.

The author divides his argument into three different areas of investigation. The first one concerns certain conventions found in historical writing among the authors that preceded Diodorus. Prologues (prooemia), organizational markers, speeches, and polemics against earlier

[18] Sacks 1990; 3.
[19] *Ibid.,* pg. 5.

authors were traits traditionally found the work of ancient historians. As with everything else found within the Βιβλιοθήκη, scholars have considered these sections of the text to derive from Diodorus' sources and not from the author's own creativity. However, through an analysis of the prooemia found at the beginning of almost every book of the Βιβλιοθήκη, and of the crucial roles Diodorus assigned to chance, benefit, and the decline of empires as the main drivers behind historical causality, Sacks argues that the understanding of how the text was composed ought to be reconsidered. According to him, since the themes explored within these two conventions are internally consistent and also intersect with ideas developed throughout the narrative of the work, they should be considered to be largely the result of Diodorus' skills as a historian.[20] The second area of investigation deals with five different themes of historiography embedded within the Βιβλιοθήκη. Although Sacks acknowledges that these are also represent in the work of Diodorus' sources, he argues that the Greek historian modified such ideas to better suit his own notion of history and to reflect circumstances contemporary to the author.[21] Once again, given the consistency in which sentiments throughout the text are intertwined, it is difficult to assume that Diodorus simply copied and compiled the work of older traditions. Furthermore, Sacks compares Diodorus' diction with that of the surviving fragments from his sources, and concludes that "while paraphrasing, Diodorus freely invents asides on politics, philosophy, and historiography."[22] The conclusions made in these two sections are crucial for a reassessment of Diodorus as a reliable historian. They prove that the author did not simply copy the work of others, but created a document substantially reflecting the intellectual and political attitudes of the late Hellenistic period. Such a revelation is particularly important with regards to the manner in which Diodorus discussed Roman affairs.

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[20] *Ibid.,* pg. 5-6.
[21] *Ibid.,* pg. 6.
[22] *Ibid.*

Sack's third area of investigation is dedicated to Diodorus' attitude towards Rome and the influence it played on the shape and bias of the Βιβλιοθήκη. Once again, the author supports the argument for this section purely through a close analysis of the original text. By comparing the work present in Diodorus' to that of the historians Polybius and Posidonius – two Greek authors commonly accepted as his sources for most information regarding Sicilian and Roman affairs – Sacks determines that there are various contradictions present in the Βιβλιοθήκη's depiction of Roman Imperialism. For instance, there are instances in which Diodorus offers clear signs of admiration for the military success Rome had achieved. In other occasions, however, he minimizes the role Rome played in the Mediterranean, and foreshadows the possible decline of the imperialistic city. However, Sack also concludes that these contradictions are not strictly the result of Diodorus' random compilation of passages from previous historians. Instead, he attributes the negative sentiments towards Rome to Diodorus himself. Sacks acknowledges that most of the admiration towards Rome included in the text must reflect the work of Diodorus' sources – but the analysis he made of the works of Polybius and Posidonius did not provide any evidence that these authors were also used for the negative characterization of Rome. Therefore, Sacks is willing to assign these sentiments to Diodorus, who would have desired to portray Roman affairs according to circumstances contemporary to his time, and not to that of previous historians.

Conclusions

For over one hundred and fifty years, the problems embedded within the Βιβλιοθήκη have been exaggerated to the extent that the great historical importance offered by Diodorus' work has been blatantly ignored. Fortunately, a new trend in scholarship – led by Kenneth Sacks – has begun to reverse the negative opinions held towards the ancient author; thus, allowing for

the recognition of Diodorus as capable historian, and for his work to serve as key source for any modern scholar researching the Hellenistic world. Following Sacks' conclusions, Diodorus can no longer be held to have been an ignorant collector of the historical works completed by more competent authors. On the contrary, it is clear that he was capable of creating themes and conclusions that connected the entirety of his work. Moreover, he was aware of the political and social climate of his time and developed the shape of his narrative around such circumstances. Therefore, if Diodorus is understood to be a historian that speaks from his perspective, the importance of the entirety of the Βιβλιοθήκη becomes even greater. The work can now be regarded as presenting the point of view of a historian like no other in the ancient Greek world. Especially important is Diodorus' opinions on Carthage and Rome – for he is the earliest surviving source for the history of that state.

Diodorus and Carthage

Our main evidence for a Carthaginian invasion of Sicily simultaneous to that of Xerxes into the Greek mainland comes from an account provided by Diodorus. Book eleven of the

Βιβλιοθήκη contains the author's narrative of the Persian Invasion of 480 and 479, which includes his account of the events that occurred simultaneously in Sicily. The author's detailed report provides one of the first instances in which the Greek *poleis* of the West faced an invasive Carthaginian threat. Thus, an analysis of the account will provide evidence for the sentiments with which the Classical Greeks regarded their North African neighbors. Most importantly, Diodorus' account offers the perfect scenario for a comparison between Greek perceptions towards both, the invading Carthaginians in the West, and Xerxes' Empire attacking from the East. Through the use of this narrative, it will become clear whether Carthage was simply regarded as the Achaemenid Empire of the West – imperial, violent, and extremely dangerous – or if the Greeks continued to hold a more magnanimous or informed cognizance towards the Punic civilization.

Diodorus first introduces the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily immediately as he commences book eleven of the Βιβλιοθήκη. Diodorus attributes the launching of a joint two-front undertaking by Carthage and the Achaemenids to the Persian Mardonios.[23] According to the author, Mardonios' intentions were to lead Persia into a great military expedition, and his immediate target became the Greeks, who he believed had always been a force hostile to the Empire.[24] Mardonios persuaded Xerxes to launch a second expedition against Greece, and the momentum of his determination to obliterate the Greeks galvanized the Great King into seeking Carthaginian aid. Unfortunately, Diodorus does not provide many details of the negotiations that formalized the alliance, but he simply reported that Xerxes sent envoys to Carthage with the terms for a mutual expedition.[25] The Carthaginians are said to have agreed to the King's specific petition to raise a large force, which is described to have included mercenaries from Italy and

[23] Diod. 11.1.3; See also Hdt. 7.6 – 7.
[24] Diod. 11.1.3.
[25] Diod. 11.1.4.

Spain, and citizen-soldiers from Libya and Carthage itself.[26] Diodorus' narrative accounts for a Carthaginian force of over 300,00 men and a fleet of 200 vessels that required three whole years of nonstop preparations to be raised. Following this short introduction to the Carthaginian assault, the ancient author proceeds to focus on the Eastern front. In fact, he does not return to the narrative in Sicily until after he has finished his account of the Persian invasion – thus, first setting up the traditional portrayal of a conflict against barbarian forces to which he could then compare the struggle in opposition to Carthage.

Once Diodorus returns to the narrative of Carthaginian affairs, the historian offers details that provide crucial insight into the Greek perception of the North African civilization. He begins the account of the actual invasion with a description of the gathering of the forces on both sides, and the crossing of the Carthaginians into Greek territory. Diodorus states that the Punic forces were led by Hamilcar, the grandson of the founder of the Magonid Dynasty.[27] The author then proceeds to repeat the number of units that encompassed Carthage's forces, to which he added a separate fleet of 3,000 warships from those previously given above. Diodorus follows this by mentioning an event of extremely similarity to another occurring a few years back in 492. According to him, Hamilcar lost the craft transporting his horses and chariots as his forces were struck by a storm during the crossing of the Libyan Sea.[28] Diodorus' description of a storm attacking the invading Carthaginian troops immediately brings into mind many other accounts of assailing forces being repealed by the seas as they made their way towards Greek territory – most famous of these, however, is that of Mardonios' fate two years prior to the first Persian Invasion of 490. After putting an end to the Ionian Revolt (499 – 493), Mardonios was left in charge of Western Anatolia by Darius. Herodotus recounts that, although Mardonios professed his

[26] Diod. 11.1.5.
[27] Diod. 11.20.1.
[28] Diod. 11.20.2.

objective as being the punishment of Athens and Eretria for aiding the Ionian cities' revolt against the Empire, the true intentions of the Persians were already to subjugate the poleis of the mainland.[29] Mardonios gathered an immense force including fleets and land armies at the Hellespont, and then proceeded to sail and march towards the targeted cities. The fleet proceeded to sail close to the shore of the mainland in an attempt to round Mt. Athos. However, Herodotus describes that a strong wind came against the Persians, destroying an immense amount of their ships. Ultimately, the great damage caused by the storm to the Persian fleet forced Mardonius to lead the expedition back to Asia.[30] The large degree of similitude between these two accounts reveals some information about the manner in which the Greeks of Diodorus' time perceived the Carthaginian invasion that had taken place in 480. By drawing analogies to what Herodotus described as the first Persian attempt to subdue as much of mainland Greece as possible, Diodorus depicts the Punic attack as presenting as much of a threat to Greek liberty. Although the author does not explicitly use terms suggesting a struggle between liberty and enslavement in this specific section, he does imply that such a matter was at stake in his introduction to the Carthaginian invasion. When he describes the terms used by Xerxes to win the support of Carthage, Diodorus includes the condition imposed by the Great King that the Carthaginians should "subdue those Greeks living in Sicily and Southern Italy."[31] Thus, Diodorus clearly perceives of the Carthaginian expedition as a dangerous threat against Greek liberty – a theme that most likely reflected the influence of Roman ideology towards the Punic state. His addition of a scene involving the invading forces being struck by a storm would have immediately reminded his readers of the many similar accounts offered by Herodotus, especially of that involving Mardonios – who was, again, attempting to subjugate the Greek mainland. Moreover,

[29] Hdt. 6.44.1.
[30] Hdt. 6.44.2 – 6.46.
[31] Diod. 11.1.4.

the fact that the Carthaginians under Hamilcar were not totally destroyed by the storm that attacked them added a greater degree of danger and might to their expedition. Diodorus is implying that, unlike in previous occasions, not even the power of the sea – and perhaps even that of the gods associated with it – was enough to halt the bellicose approach. Thus, the author's inclusion of the account in which the Carthaginian forces were attacked by a storm was a direct parallel to various events that took place during both Persian Invasions as recounted by Herodotus. Through the use of such parallelism, Diodorus reflects the fear through which Greeks had perceived of the Punic invasion – which, throughout his narrative, the ancient historian depicted as being even more threatening than prior Persian expeditions.

Diodorus provides numerous other details in his narrative of the Punic invasion of Sicily from which conclusions on the Greeks' sentiments towards Carthage can be drawn. After a few days of rest and repairs following the damage caused by the storm, he narrated Hamilcar finally leading his forces against the city of Himera.[32] Having settled, Diodorus mentions that the Punic forces killed many of the Himerians that stood against him, thus, causing a great panic within the city.[33] Consternation over the city's survival encouraged its guards to seek help from Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse. Gelon had long been prepared for action, and he rapidly led his force of 50,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry into Himera.[34] Once he had won the citizens of Himera over, the Greek tyrant successfully carried out a stratagem to kill Hamilcar and attack his forces. Diodorus describes the battle as being fierce at first, until rumors of Hamilcar's death encouraged the Greeks to assail their opponents with an increasing fury.[35] The ancient historian also mentions that the news of their general's fate greatly disheartened the Carthaginians, who – he stated –

[32] Diod. 11.20.3.
[33] Diod. 11.20.5.
[34] Diod. 11.21.1.
[35] Diod. 11.22.3.

gave up all hope of victory and fled. Diodorus concludes the narrative of the battle by stating that Gelon gave orders that no man was to be taken alive – resulting in over 150,000 Carthaginians dying in the battlefield.[36] He then argues that the Sicilian tyrant gained a reputation that spread widely among all of Greece. Diodorus mentions that there was no record of no man before Gelon who had made use of such a clever stratagem or had killed as many barbarians in a single day.[37] The respect and admiration Gelon won for himself through his victory over Hamilcar reveals some information with regards to the Greeks' perception of Carthage. Following the statements made by Diodorus, it is clear that the entirety of the Greek world was astonished by the success of Gelon's forces. However, his victory would not have come as a surprise had the Carthaginians not been perceived as an incredibly dangerous threat – perhaps even superior in might to the Sicilian defenders. Therefore, the good regard the tyrant. Gelon is said to have been enjoyed following his defeat of the Carthaginians reveals both, the importance the Greeks attributed to a powerful enemy like Carthage; and the new image the Punic city had attained. Carthage was now being represented in imperial terms that Classical authors had not included in their works. Diodorus' narrative continues with several more statements that offer a lot to the knowledge of the Greek sentiment towards the Punic world.

In the immediate aftermath of Gelon's triumph over the Carthaginians at Himera, Diodorus Siculus makes several assertions that elevate the status held by Carthage in the eyes of many Greeks. First of all, Diodorus states that many authors before him have compared the battle of Himera with that fought by the Greeks at Plataea against the Persians in 470. Moreover, he adds that Gelon himself had been compared to the Athenian hero Themistocles.[38] Most importantly, Diodorus also argues that the Sicilian victory over the barbarians raised the spirits of

[36] Diod. 11.22.4.
[37] Diod. 11.22.5 – 6.
[38] Diod. 11.23.1.

the Greeks in the mainland. He mentioned that both sets of Greeks had originally been dumbfounded by the vast size of the opposing forces, but the mainland Greeks were encouraged by the news of the Sicilian victory and overcame the Persian invasion. These statements reveal how great of an impact the Sicilian victory had over all Greeks. In a following section of his narrative, the historian mentions that "the Carthaginians had thus, contrary to all expectation, suffered a major disaster…"[39] Therefore, he calls to attention the fact that the Sicilians were not expected to defeat the overpowering Carthaginians, whom were believed to be an extremely powerful threat – who even Xerxes had thought could easily subjugate all of Sicily. The fact that the Sicilian victory encouraged the mainland Greeks also reveals that the latter group held the Carthaginians in an important status, for they, at least, compared them to the Persian threat they were currently facing. Thus, an analysis of Diodorus' narrative once again proves that all of the Greek world believed that Carthage was a force to be reckoned with – a nation so strong, that a victory against her was intensely celebrated and encouraged others to overcome inferior barbarians.

Diodorus and Rome

The First Punic War

Diodorus commences his account of the First Punic War with a statement that adds great weight to the rest of the author's narrative and the heavy criticism of Roman morality embedded within it: "Sicily is the noblest of all islands, since it can contribute greatly to the growth of an empire."[40] He follows such a remark by recounting the negotiations between a Roman herald and the allied leaders of Carthage and Sicily held before the outbreak of the war in 264 – through

[39] Diod. 11.24.3.
[40] Diod. 23.1.1.

which he contextualizes the otherwise odd comment on Sicily and presents his first critique of Roman avarice. According to Diodorus, the Sicilian general, Hiero, and his Carthaginian colleague, Hanno, had formed an alliance to defend Sicily from a possible attack from the Romans.[41] Together, the generals successfully laid siege to the city of Messana, which was settled by Italian mercenaries and, thus, had loyally adhered to its allegiance to Rome. Unfortunately, Diodorus' report of the message sent by the Roman consul Appius Claudius is partially lost, with the only surviving statement being "but Claudius announced publicly that he would not fight Hiero."[42] The structure of the sentence allows for the interpretation that it was preceded by contradictory remarks, perhaps even referring to a plan by the Roman consul to deceit the Sicilian general. In fact, Hiero's response to the herald directly accuses Claudius of unscrupulous behavior. He first argues that the Mamertines (as the citizens of Messana were called) had seized control of their homeland in "such an impious (ἀσεβέστατα) manner" that they deserved the treatment they were currently enduring. Most important, however, is Hiero's reasoning for why the Romans should not aid the Mamertines:

> "Romans, harping as they did on the word *fides*, certainly ought not to protect assassins who had shown the greatest contempt for good faith; but if…they should enter upon a war of such magnitude, it would be clear to all mankind that they were using pity for the imperiled as a cloak for their own advantage, and that in reality they coveted Sicily."[43]

The Sicilian general cleverly invokes the concept of *fides*, or trust, which was a crucial characteristic to possess for any Roman wishing to lead a virtuous life. His argument conditions whatever decision Claudius might take: on the one hand, the Romans could not support the Mamertines and disregard the *fides* protecting their alliance; or they could dismiss Roman *fides*

[41] Diod. 23.1.2.
[42] Diod. 23.1.4.
[43] Diod. 23.1.4.

with the well-being of the greater Western Mediterranean and defend their loyal allies – while also giving the impression of being greedy for imperial power in the process. The fact that the Romans decided to carry on with the war most definitely demonstrated their villainous greed to the readers of Diodorus. By overlooking Hiero's arguments, it is as if they simply acknowledged their interest in conquering Sicily and increasing their imperial wealth through any means possible. However, regardless of any evident financial and military potential the Romans might have recognized Sicily to possess, it unlikely that they – or Hiero – could predict the immense value it would provide to Rome's growth as an empire. Therefore, Hiero's accusations of Roman avarice, impiety, and unreliability must have come from a later source who had witnessed the island's influence on Roman might. As stated above, Kenneth Sacks successfully demonstrated that Diodorus himself often crafted the speeches contained in the Βιβλιοθήκη. According to that conclusion, it follows that Diodorus had input in crafting the speeches made by Claudius and Hiero in the negotiations preceding the First Punic War. Diodorus' production of the statements made by both leaders would explain the insight into Sicilian influence on Rome's future embedded within them. Most importantly, it would also signify that Hiero's attacks on Roman morality must reflect those shared by the historian himself. Just a book before, Diodorus recounts the events immediately prior to the outbreak of the war, which include Hiero confiscating Mamertine land and giving parts of it to Agyrium.[44] As mentioned before, the latter was the home state of Diodorus, and, given its prior alliance and the benefits it received from the general, must have also been a supporter of Hiero against Rome. Thus, Diodorus had more than enough reasons to express its dislike of Roman imperial policies during the first Punic War. First of all, he must have disliked the fact that Rome decided to support the "utterly godless" (ασεβεστατων) Mamertines, against whom his hometown of Agyrium had supported Sicily in extremely fierce

[44] Diod. 22.13.1.

military struggles. Moreover, it is very likely that the Mamertines regained their lost land at the conclusion of the war – causing even greater displeasure from Diodorus against Rome's defense of Messana.[45] Most importantly, Diodorus clearly believed Roman avarice to have been the main cause for the state's support of the Mamertines and the disastrous events that ensued. His comment at the beginning of his account of the war sets the stage for the negotiations that follow immediately and Hiero's attack of Roman morality. Having personally witnessed the many benefits Sicily provided for Rome's wealth and military might, Diodorus understood that the conquering of the island must have been an influential inducement for Roman succor of the Mamertines – especially when such aid signified the instigation of a war against adversaries of the magnitude of Carthage and Sicily. In fact, Diodorus' attacks against the moral character of Roman citizens – especially those in high positions of power – are recurrent throughout the account of the First Punic War and reveal the author's antagonism against the imperial state.

Diodorus' diction when criticizing Roman generals and other individuals of high political and/or military command makes it evident that the Sicilian author despised the arrogance and greed with which the Roman state led affairs during the First Punic War. As demonstrated above, Diodorus believed Roman avarice to be a prominent cause of the state's willingness to embark on a military struggle as dangerous as war against the Carthaginians. The author once again demonstrates such condemnation for acquisitiveness acting as a primary factor in Roman decision making while discussing the spoiling of an enemy city by Roman forces in the year 253. Partially obscured by lacuna, the account commences with Roman soldiers having already captured the gate keeper of the city of Thermae. Diodorus relates that the keeper sought to make a pact with the general of the Roman army, through which he pledged to open the gates of the

[45] Sacks, 1990; pg. 129.

city for the entire soldiery as long as he was promised freedom.[46] Having come to an agreement, both parties met at the established time of the night to carry on with the treacherous deed. Diodorus reports that the Roman commander had originally sent a thousand men to enter the city. However, he then states that the leaders (οἱ πρώτιστοι) among the group ordered the keeper to close the gate as soon as they had entered and "to allow no one else to enter, since they wished to carry off the wealth of the city themselves."[47] Diodorus does not offer any detail about the events that immediately followed the betrayal of the city, or the opposition the Roman leaders faced; instead, he abruptly finishes the account by mentioning that these men were killed and suffered a death worthy of their avarice (ἄξιον τῆς πλεονεξίας θάνατον).[48] Even more unequivocal than his previous comments, this remark makes it apparent that Diodorus was heavily critical of Roman morality, especially the rapacity demonstrated by those with high political and military command. The frankness and suddenness with which the final sentence of the account is delivered reveals that the author desired to make an explicit point: the excessive avarice of the Romans had resulted in as abrupt end to their lives. The fact that Diodorus characterizes their murders as worthy of their moral character further exemplifies his aversion to their greedy actions. Furthermore, Diodorus' attacks against the morality of Roman generals during the First Punic War was not limited to their avarice, but he was also critical of what he categorized as their arrogance and cruelty when dealing with opposing military forces.

Diodorus' criticism of Roman moral character during the First Punic War is the most evident when he discusses certain decisions taken by the generals Atilius Regulus and Fundanius Fundulus. Through the accounts of key events involving these two individuals, the Sicilian author furthers his critique of Roman morality beyond avarice and into the realm of other crucial

[46] Diod. 23.19.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*

spheres such as religion and the treatment of foreigners. The first instances of such condemnations occur in book twenty-three, where Diodorus discusses a series of important victories for the Roman cause and the handling of such favorable momentum by Atilius Regulus. Once again, the author's critical comments are embedded in negotiation speeches made by the leaders of the Carthaginian and Roman armies. In this case, the former are said to have been in such a situation of distress that they sought to devise terms of peace with Atilius in 256. Diodorus does not describe with great detail the petition of the Carthaginians, but simply mentions that they "urged the consul to treat them with moderation and in a manner worthy of Rome."[49] The account continues with a statement that contrary to the Carthaginians' wishes, Atilius proposed terms to the Punic state that framed not peaceful relations, but a scenario more comparable to slavery. Diodorus directly blames Atilius' decision on the fact that "he was elated by his success and took no account in the vicissitudes of human forture."[50] Such a claim serves as a first attack of Atilius' moral character, and sets the stage for the events that proceed immediately after. According to the text, the Carthaginians attempted to continue the negotiations and voice their dissatisfaction. The Roman general, however, was less than willing to listen to the Punic leaders and ordered them to depart and submit to his power. Most remarkable are Diodorus' concluding statements for the account:

> "Now in so acting the consul both failed to observe the custom of his country and to guard against divine retribution, and in a short time he met with the punishment that his arrogance deserved (ἀξία περιέπεσε τιμωρία)."[51]

Diodorus' vocabulary in this passage is extremely similar to the account given above regarding the Roman leaders and the rapacious scheme against the city of Thermae that cost their lives.

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[49] Diod. 23.12.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Ibid.

Once again, the author identifies the consequences – which he further categorizes as a punishment – of a leader's immoral behavior as well-deserved. In a following passage, Diodorus describes such consequences as being the entirety of the First Punic War – its great length, the battles fought by the Romans, and the many lives the city and its allies lost.[52] Thus, Diodorus again assigns blame for a disastrous event to the immorality of the Romans, in this case represented through the consul Atilius Regulus. The author's comments on Atilius help demonstrate his negative opinion of Roman ethics, and these become even more clear after an analysis of his depiction of another Roman consul, Appius Claudius.

Diodorus' statements on Fundanius Fundulus act as yet another example of his negative portrayal of Romans during the First Punic War. The author's depiction of the Roman consul is all the more important because it is immediately followed by comments on the Carthaginian commander Hanno, and the comparison of both accounts further demonstrates Diodorus' opinions on the moral character of either state. The account of significance takes place in 243, after an arduous battle between Fundanius' army and that of the Carthaginians led by Hamilcar. The text indicates that the latter sent envoys to the Roman consul to arrange the taking up the dead for burial. Although this was an accustomed practice, Fundanius refused the petition and, according to Diodorus, "bade the messengers, if they were sensible men, request a truce to recover, not the dead, but the living."[53] The author proceeds to label the consul's response as arrogant (ὑπερηφάνου), and continues with an account of the consequences that followed. Diodorus' denunciation of Fundanius as arrogant is reminiscing of his criticism of Atilius' actions described above. Most similar, – and important – however, is the Sicilian author's conclusion of the account:

[52] Diod. 23.15.1-7.
[53] Diod. 24.9.2.

> "After giving this arrogant reply the consul straightway suffered serious losses, so that it appeared to many that his boastfulness had met with due retribution from the gods."[54]

As in the case of Atilius, Diodorus invokes the gods and divine retribution when referring to the source of the punishment received by the Roman consul. It is clear that Diodorus perceived arrogance and the maltreatment of oaths and customs to be of a high degree of immorality, and saw the negative consequences endured by the Romans as being the result of divine intervention. Through both accounts, Diodorus clearly attacks the moral character of the Roman citizenry, which he held to be greedy and arrogant. Although the author limits his criticism of Roman immorality to specific individuals in his account of the First Punic War, the author is less amicable to the state as a whole just a few books later when he discusses the Achaean War.

The Achaean War

Diodorus' comments on Roman imperialism throughout his account of the Achaean War serve as his most direct and severe censure of the state's immoral brutality in times of war. The Sicilian author commences his observations on Roman imperialism in the prologue to book xxxii. However, Diodorus' first statements are not inordinately negative, but they actually praise the manner in which the Roman Imperial system once operated. Diodorus writes that although the Romans brought the world under their imperial rule through the valor of their arms, it was only through their kind treatment of the conquered that they were able to extend their rule and influence to unprecedented areas.[55] Diodorus' following statements are the most remarkable for their benevolence towards Roman imperialism – a characteristic which had previously been missing from the author's assertions on the subject:

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[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Diod. 32.4.4.

> "So far, indeed, did they abstain from cruelty and revenge on those subjected to them that they appeared to treat them not as enemies, but as if they were benefactors and friends. Whereas the conquered, as former foes, expected to be visited with fearful reprisals, the conquerors left no room for anyone to surpass them in clemency."[56]

These statements demonstrate that Diodorus was not excessively negative towards Roman affairs but was often willing to admit the virtues of the state. Nevertheless, the author rapidly makes it evident that he is not referring to the Rome of his time, but to imperial policies that had long been abandoned in favor of cruelty and terror. Diodorus immediately followed such words of praise by claiming that once the Romans "held sway over virtually the whole inhabited world, they confirmed their power by terrorism and by the destruction of the most eminent cities."[57] Thus, although he was capable of acknowledging Rome's military might and the state's clemency to the conquered, Diodorus was also more than disposed to condemn the cruel and violent events that typically followed Roman subjection over another city. Furthermore, as his account of the destruction of Corinth demonstrates, Diodorus believed Roman clemency to have been a thing of the past – long eclipsed by terror and viciousness in all except the most renown Roman citizen.

Diodorus' diction throughout his account of the Roman destruction of Corinth during the Achaean War perfectly exhibits the author's enmity towards the conquering state and its imperial policy. In contrast to the displays of hostility discussed above, in this occasion, Diodorus' account focuses on the victims of Roman immorality and not on the perpetrators. The author commences by noting the severity of the defeat – and its consequences – endured by all of Greece during the war. Diodorus remarks that prior to the Achaean War, no event in the history

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[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Diod. 32.4.5.

of men had brought such calamities to all of Greece, to the extent that no one is capable of writing or reading about the event without weeping.[58] He argues, in fact, that the Greeks' misfortunes were even greater than those that befell on Carthage – whose utter destruction had been recounted immediately before these comments. Diodorus justifies his claim with the following statements:

> "For since the Carthaginians were utterly annihilated, grief for their misfortunes perished with them; but the Greeks, after witnessing in person the butchery and beheading of their kinsmen and friends, the capture and looting of their cities, the abusive enslavement of whole populations, after, in a word, losing both their liberty and the right to speak freely, exchanged the height of prosperity for the most extreme misery."[59]

Diodorus' words are some of the strongest accusations against Roman military and imperial policies. The vividness with which the Sicilian author describes the cruel punishments suffered by the defeated Greeks at the hands of the Romans villainizes the latter. Diodorus evidently did not agree with the manner in which the Romans had treated the mainland Greeks – with whom, although he was a Sicilian, he clearly empathized. Moreover, the author's descriptions of the Romans' brutality are the closest he closest he comes to portraying them as "barbarians." Although Diodorus never utilizes the specific term against the Romans, his graphic account of the Achaean War is reminiscent of the vicious acts of violence associated with "barbarians" by the author himself. By identifying Rome with such behavior, Diodorus, at least, questions the Romans' moral character once again, and allows his reader to make comparisons with those civilizations he directly portrayed negatively.

[58] Diod. 32.26.1.
[59] Diod. 32.26.2.

Conclusion

As this thesis has demonstrated, the work of the Sicilian author Diodorus Siculus provides a great and new insight into a number of historical inquiries. First of all, an analysis of the diction utilized by the historian throughout the Βιβλιοθήκη presents a unique perspective on Greek relations with, both, the Carthaginians and the Romans. In terms of the former, Diodorus' perspective is essential for a much-necessary transformation in the manner in which scholars study Carthaginian history and culture. Contrary to the sources of Roman origin commonly used by historians, Diodorus displays a Punic state that is militarily and morally strong. The text's constant praise of the size of Carthaginian armaments and of the moral character of its leaders is completely contrary to the image of a decadent state forced upon historical narratives by the use of Roman sources. As with Greek relations with Carthage, Diodorus' text also has much to offer for historians of the Greco-Roman world. Diodorus is the only historian from outside the Greek mainland and Anatolia whose work remains extant to this day. Thus, he provides a perspective of

Rome and its citizens that is unique. This is all the more important because such a perspective comes from Sicily, whose Greek citizens were the first to come in contact – and be subjugated by – with the Romans. It is clear from the accounts of the First Punic War and the Achaean War presented by the Βιβλιοθήκη that Diodorus did not regard Rome's imperial policy in a positive light. Instead, he constantly accused Roman leaders of avarice and immorality when dealing with the defeated. Following the work conducted by Kenneth Sacks, it is fair to assume that such a perspective belongs to Diodorus himself, and not to one of the authors he utilized as sources for the universal history. Moreover, it is very likely that such sentiments were shared by the greater population of Sicily, as well. Diodorus and thousands of Sicilians lived through the exploitation of Sicilian goods and culture by Roman citizens. Furthermore, the author could have easily conversed with other inhabitants of the island while conducting research for the Βιβλιοθήκη. Through them, he might have heard stories of the First Punic War and other events in which Sicily suffered from Roman imperialism. That is part of the final point this thesis sought to prove: modern historians need to make greater use of the literary and material evidence deriving from Sicily and the Western Mediterranean that has long been overshadowed by sources from the mainland and Anatolia. Through the analysis of a single text, this thesis has demonstrated the unique perspective on many fields of study that is embedded in Sicilian evidence. The potential for more insight is even greater for the material evidence that has long lacked attention from scholars. Thus, when modern historians commence to utilize Sicilian evidence to a greater extent, multiple areas of research in the field of ancient history will benefit greatly from such a diverse, unique, and rich perspective.

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