

Book 14

The following events are contained in the fourteenth book of Diodoros' *History*:¹

404/3

In Athens, the bringing to an end of the democracy and the setting up of the Thirty (**chs. 3–4**)

Illegal actions of the Thirty against their fellow citizens (**chs. 5–6**)

How the tyrant Dionysios constructed a citadel (on Ortygia) and apportioned out the city and its territory among the masses (**ch. 7**)

How contrary to expectation Dionysios regained his tyranny as it was beginning to fall apart (**chs. 8–9**)

How the Lakedaimonians managed affairs throughout Hellas (**ch. 10**)

The death of Alkibiades (**ch. 11**)

403/2

The tyranny of Klearkhos the Lakonian in Byzantion and its overthrow (**ch. 12**)

How Lysander the Lakedaimonian failed in his attempt to overthrow the descendants of Herakles (**ch. 13**)

How Dionysios enslaved the people of Katane and Naxos and transplanted the Leontinians to Syracuse (**chs. 14–15**)

The foundation of Alaisa (Halaesa) in Sicily (**ch. 16**)

402/1

The Lakedaimonians' war against the Eleians (**ch. 17**)

How Dionysios constructed the wall at the Six Gates (**ch. 18**)

¹ The following list of contents is handed down in our manuscripts, the earliest of which is from the tenth century. Similar lists (*prographai*) exist for most extant books. Whether they originated with Diodoros, as was the case with Polybios (*Histories*, 11.1–2; Walbank, *Commentary*, 2.266), or were the work of either Alexandrian or Byzantine scholars is not easily determined. These lists are quite eclectic and do not constitute a comprehensive list of topics in each book. Missing topics are added in italics. Relevant chapters are indicated in bold. The dates provided are Diodoros'.

401/0

How Kyros made a campaign against his brother and was killed (**chs. 19–31**)

Further crimes of the Thirty; Thrasyboulos brings about their fall and restores democracy at Athens (chs. 32–33)

The Eleians surrender to Sparta; the Spartans expel the Messenians from the Peloponnese, some going to Sicily, some dying in Kyrene (ch. 34)

400/399

How the Lakedaimonians came to the aid of the Greeks in Asia (**chs. 35–36**)

The foundation of Adranon in Sicily and the death of the philosopher Sokrates (**ch. 37**)

399/8

The construction of the wall for Khersonesos (**ch. 38**)

Pharnabazos persuades the King to appoint Konon as admiral of a fleet to fight the Spartans; Pharnabazos and Tissaphernes lead an army against Ephesos; they are opposed by Derkylidas; a truce is concluded (ch. 39)

The people of Rhegion decide to go to war with Dionysios and persuade the Messinans to join them; the Messinans have a change of heart and both conclude peace with Dionysios (ch. 40)

Dionysios' preparation for war against the Carthaginians and his manufacturing of weapons, during the course of which he invented the catapult missile (**chs. 41–44**)

398/7

How the war got started between the Carthaginians and Dionysios (**chs. 45–47**)

397/6

How Dionysios took by siege Motye, a conspicuous Carthaginian city (**chs. 48–53**)

396/5

How the people of Eggesta set fire to Dionysios' encampment (**ch. 54**)

How the Carthaginians crossed over to Sicily with 300,000 men and began to make war on Dionysios (**ch. 55**)

Dionysios' retreat to Syracuse (**ch. 55**)

Campaign of the Carthaginians to the Strait (of Messina) and their capture of Messina (**chs. 56–58**)

The great naval Battle between the Carthaginians and Dionysios and the Carthaginian victory (**chs. 59–62**)

Pillaging of the temples of Demeter and Kore by the Carthaginians (**ch. 63**)

Punishment by the gods of the temple robbers and destruction of the Carthaginian forces by a plague (**chs. 63, 70–71**)

The naval battle between the Syracusans and the Carthaginians and the victory of the Syracusans (**ch. 64**)

Theodoros' harangue to the people on the subject of freedom (**chs. 65–69**)

Syracusan hopes of liberty dashed by action of Spartan general (**ch. 70**)

How Dionysios outmanoeuvred the 1,000 most insubordinate of his mercenary troops and brought about their massacre (**ch. 72**)

How Dionysios besieged the forts and encampment of the Carthaginians (**ch. 72**)

How Dionysios overwhelmed the Carthaginians by siege and set fire to many of the enemies' ships (**ch. 73**)

Simultaneous defeat of the Carthaginians both by land and by sea (**ch. 74**)

The nighttime deception² of the Carthaginians with the collaboration of Dionysios, without the knowledge of the Syracusans, for a bribe of 400³ *talents* (**ch. 75**)

The misfortunes that befell the Carthaginians as a result of their impiety against the divine (**chs. 76–77**)

The refounding by merger of the cities that had been destroyed throughout Sicily (**ch. 78**)

How Dionysios took some of the cities of the Sikels by siege and brought others into alliance (**ch. 78**)

How he arranged a treaty of friendship with the despots Agyris of Agyrion and Nikodemus⁴ of Kenturipa (**ch. 78**)

2 All manuscripts read δόλος ("trick," "deception"), and this reading is defended by Bonnet in the Budé, even though it is awkward. Suggested emendations are στόλος ("voyage") by Wesseling and δρασμός ("flight") by Vögel in the Teubner. Vögel's suggestion is adopted by Oldfather in the Loeb.

3 In the narrative of this event in ch. 75 the figure given is always 300.

4 In the text of ch. 78 the name is Damon.

How Agesilaos, king of the Spartiates, crossed over into Asia with an army and ravaged the territory that was under Persian control (**ch. 79**)

Spartan embassy to Egypt; Pharax besieges Konon at Kaunos; Konon is relieved by Pharnabazos and Artaphernes and is welcomed at Rhodes (ch. 79)

How Agesilaos was victorious in a battle (*at Sardis*) against the Persians under Pharnabazos⁵ leadership (**ch. 80**)

Concerning the Boiotian War and what was done in it (**ch. 81**)

Defeat and death of Lysander at Haliartos (ch. 81)

395/4

How Konon was appointed *strategos* by the Persians (**ch. 81**) and rebuilt the walls of the Athenians (**ch. 85**)

Alliance of Athens, Thebes, Corinth and Argos against Sparta and outbreak of the Corinthian War; allied campaigns in Thessaly and Phokis (ch. 82)

Spartan victory against the allies at Nemea; recall of Agesilaos from Asia; defeat of Spartan fleet and death of Peisander at Knidos by Konon and Pharnabazos (ch. 83)

Spartan victory at Koroneia; Konon and Pharnabazos liberate many islands from Spartan control and sail to Corinth; death of Aëropos of Macedon; conclusion of Theopompos' Hellenika (ch. 84)

394/3

Tiribazos lures Konon to Sardis and arrests him (ch. 85)

How the Lakedaimonians were victorious against the Boiotians in the vicinity of Corinth and this war was named "The Corinthian War" (**ch. 86**)

The people of Rhegion, angered that Dionysios is fortifying Messina, settle his opponents at Mylai and attack Messina, but are defeated (ch. 87)

How Dionysios, who had stolen his way into Tauromenion at great personal risk, was thrown out (**chs. 87–88**)

Exile of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and death of Pausanias, king of Macedon (ch. 89)

393/2

How the Carthaginians were defeated by Dionysios near Bakaine⁶ (**ch. 90**)

⁵ In ch. 80 Agesilaos' opponent is Tissaphernes.

⁶ The name of this place is given as Abakaine in ch. 90 and elsewhere in Diod. and other authors.

Italiots form an alliance against Dionysios; fighting around Corinth and Iphikrates' defeat of a Spartan infantry unit by peltasts (ch. 91)

Argives take control of Corinth; Iphikrates is recalled to Athens and replaced by Khabrias; Amyntas of Macedon, driven out by Illyrians, donates territory to Olynthos (ch. 92)

Roman capture of Veii by Marcus Furius Camillus; Roman dedication to Delphi hijacked by pirates, but restored by Timasitheos, the general of the Lipari Islands (ch. 93)

392/1

Campaign of Thrasyboulos in Hellespont and Lesbos; after defeating the Methymnians, he sails for Rhodes (ch. 94)

The Carthaginian expedition into Sicily and the conclusion of hostilities (chs. 95–96)

391/0

Oligarchic revolution at Rhodes; Spartan fleet occupies Samos and Rhodes; Agesilaos ravages the Argolid (ch. 97)

Evagoras becomes king of Salamis on Cyprus and wins control of most of the island; Artaxerxes is persuaded by opposing Cypriot states to campaign against Evagoras (ch. 98)

390/89

How Thibros⁷ the Lakedaimonian general was defeated and killed by the Persians (ch. 99)

Thrasyboulos sails to Aspendos, where he is killed (ch. 99)

Dionysios, planning to go to war against the Greeks of Italy (Italiots), decides to attack Rhegion first; Italiot league sends ships to Rhegion, which are attacked by Dionysios; a storm wrecks many of Dionysios' ships and he barely survives (ch. 100)

The people of Thourioi attack the Leukanians, but suffer a huge defeat; survivors, fleeing to the sea, are rescued by Leptines, Dionysios' brother; Dionysios is not pleased and replaces Leptines by Thearides (chs. 101–102)

⁷ Undoubtedly an error. The correct name, Thibron, is in Diod.'s text and throughout the narrative of these events by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.8.18–19).

389/8

How Dionysios put Rhegion under siege (**chs. 108, 111**)

How the Greeks throughout Italy combined together into one political union and arrayed themselves against Dionysios (**ch. 103**)

The Italiots are defeated at the Battle of the Eleporos River (**ch. 104**)

How Dionysios, after his victory in battle and his capture of 10,000 prisoners, let (the prisoners) go without ransom and conceded to the cities the right to live under their own laws (**ch. 105**)

The capture and razing to the ground of Kaulonia (**ch. 106**)

388/7

Capture of Hipponion and the transfer of their citizens to Syracuse (**ch. 107**)

Dionysios sends Thearides to Olympia with a delegation, including several four-horse chariots, expensive pavilions and professional performers of his poetry; people are at first impressed, but disaster results (**ch. 109**)

387/6

How the Greeks concluded the Peace of Antalkidas with Artaxerxes (**ch. 110**)

The capture of Rhegion and the misfortunes that befell the city (**ch. 112**)

Celtic tribes invade Tyrrhenia; mini-history of Tyrrhenia; Roman ambassador at Clusium kills Celtic chief; Celts demand recompense, granted by Senate, but rejected by popular assembly (**ch. 113**)

Sack of Rome by the Gauls with the exception of the Capitol (**chs. 114–117**)

Introduction: Book 14.1.1–2.4

1.1. It is understandable, I suppose, that all men object to hearing critical statements against themselves. Indeed, even those who are so thoroughly aware of their own wrongdoing that denial is impossible are, nevertheless, very angry when found fault with, and attempt to talk their way out of the accusation. So, it is absolutely necessary for everyone to be careful not to commit any base act, but especially necessary for those who aim for leadership or have experienced some outstanding good luck. 2. For, since the way of life of such men is totally open to view on account of their distinction, it cannot hide its own lack of understanding. So, let no man, who has achieved any prominence, hope that, if he commits great crimes, he will get away forever unpunished. Indeed, even if he escapes the reckoning of punishment during his lifetime, he should expect that the truth will catch up with him later on and will proclaim in an outspokenly frank way [with *parrhesia*] details that have been unspoken for a long time. 3. Consequently, it is a harsh reality for bad men that they leave behind after their own death an undying impression of their whole life for future generations.⁸ For, even if it is no matter for us what happens after our death, as some philosophers keep babbling,⁹ nevertheless, the life we have lived beforehand is rendered much worse for all time, if it is remembered for evil. Shining examples of this fact can be gathered by the readers of individual parts of this book.

Diodoros introduces the moralizing theme of this book, which is essentially “the evil that men do lives after them”

2.1. For example, amongst the Athenians, thirty men, who seized power unconstitutionally out of their own desire for gain, involved their country in great misfortunes and, although they were quickly thrown out of power, have left behind undying¹⁰ disgrace for themselves. Furthermore, the Lakedaimonians, after acquiring for themselves the undisputed rulership of Greece, were later deprived of it, when they began to behave unjustly towards their allies. For,

8 This is the interpretation of Diod.’s meaning here by modern translators, e.g. Oldfather (Loeb), Bonnet (Budé), Green (Landmark), but another less likely meaning has been suggested: “Consequently, it is difficult for base men to leave behind after their own death an immortal (i.e. godlike) impression of their whole life for future generations,” although this involves Diodoros in an inconsistent usage of the word *athanaton* (see n. 10), which would be uncharacteristic.

9 Presumably Diod. is referring disparagingly to the views of the philosophers called Atomists, like Demokritos and Epikouros, who deny the immortality of the soul, in contrast to the different conclusion reached by Sokrates in the *Phaidon*.

10 The word here, again, is *athanaton*, which can hardly have a positive meaning.

leaders preserve their periods of supremacy by goodwill and just behaviour, but lose them by criminal acts that incur the hatred of their subjects. 2. A similar example is that of Dionysios, tyrant of the Syracusans. Although he was a ruler most blessed by fortune, his life was subject to constant plots and, through fear, he was compelled to wear an iron breastplate over his clothes, and after his death he left behind his life as the most outstanding example for moral criticism to all succeeding ages. 3. But we plan to make clearer reference to each of these issues at the appropriate point in the narrative. Right now we shall return to the continuation¹¹ of our history from the place where we left off, digressing only briefly for the following chronological summary. 4. In the preceding books we have recorded the things that happened after the capture of Troy up to the end of the Peloponnesian War and of the Athenian hegemony, encompassing a period of 779 years. In this book we shall carry on our continuous narrative of events, starting with the setting up of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens and leaving off at the sack of Rome by the Gauls, comprising a total of eighteen years.

404/3: Book 14.3.1–11.6
In Athens, the democracy is brought to an end and the government of the Thirty is set up

3.1. In the 708th year after the capture of Troy there was no eponymous archon at Athens¹² on account of the dissolution of their hegemony,¹³ while in Rome four military tribunes held the highest magistracy:¹⁴ Gaius Fulvius, Gaius Servilius, Gaius Valerius and Numerius Fabius; this was also the year when the ninety-fourth Olympic Games were celebrated, in which Korkinas¹⁵ of Lamia was the winner.¹⁶ 2. During this time the Athenians, overcome by exhaustion, made a treaty with the Lakedaimonians in accordance with which they had to

11 The theme of the continuity of history (*to sunekhes*) is central to Diod.'s purpose in writing. See Introduction.

12 Diod. is not exactly correct here. Pythodoros was the archon eponymous for the year 404/3 (Aristotle, *AP* 35.1; 41.1). Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.3.1) provides the information that the Athenians did not use his name, but called the year a year without an archon (*anarkhia*), but this chronographic passage in Xenophon is considered interpolated. For chronological problems in Xenophon see D. H. Thomas in Strassler (2009), 331–339.

13 This was not, of course, the reason for the *anarkhia*. At best this is a compression of the facts.

14 *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*, originally three but rising to six, were elected in place of consuls in most years from 445/4 to 367/6 as a result of the conflict between the patricians and plebeians over the consulship. Livy (4.57.12) names the tribunes for this year (Varronian 407) as: Lucius Furius Medullinus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Gnaeus Fabius Vibulanus and Gaius Servilius Ahala. Some of his names agree with Diodoros', some do not.

15 Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.3.1) gives the alternative spelling Krokinas.

16 In the single-length footrace over 600 Greek feet (*stadion*), originally the only athletic competition at the Olympic Games and the standard entry in the Olympic victor lists. For footraces at the Festival Games see Miller (2004), 31–46.

destroy the walls of the city¹⁷ and return to their ancestral constitution.¹⁸ As for the walls, they did indeed take those down,¹⁹ but they did not agree about the form of government. 3. For, those who aimed at oligarchy announced that they would share between themselves the age-old system, under which few men had complete charge of all affairs. On the other hand, the majority, who were keen supporters of democracy, championed the constitution of their fathers, which they claimed was acknowledged to be democracy. 4. After argument over these issues had persisted for several days, the adherents of oligarchy sent an embassy to Lysander, the Spartiate [the officer class in Sparta]. Their hope was that he would assist in the undertaking of their plot. It was based on the reasonable grounds that when, after the conclusion of the [Peloponnesian] War, he had been sent out to administer affairs throughout the cities, the result in most cases had been the establishment of oligarchies.²⁰ So, they [i.e. the embassy]²¹ sailed across to Samos, since Lysander happened to be residing there, after only recently capturing the city [of Samos].²² 5. When they began exhorting him to join them in their endeavour, he assented and, after he had appointed Thorax,²³ the Spartiate, as governor [*harmost*] of Samos, he sailed

17 The terms are more fully laid out by Diod. at 13.107.4. They included the destruction of the fortifications of the Peiraieus and the limitation of the size of the Athenian fleet. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.2.15) only ten *stades* (c.2,000 yards or 1,830 metres) of each of the Long Walls were to be torn down. But see Lysias 13, *Against Agoratos*, 14, where it is stated that Theramenes returned with a treaty that required that all the Long Walls be torn down instead of just ten *stades*.

18 The *patrios politeia*, a term much bandied about in the constitutional wrangling that went on in Athens from the time of the Revolution of the Four Hundred (411/0) to the end of the fifth century. See Aristotle, *AP* 29.3.

19 According to both Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.2.23) and Plutarch (*Lys.* 15.5) the walls were pulled down to the accompaniment of *auloi* (a double-reeded wind instrument). Only Plutarch has this happen after the change in the constitution has been forced upon the Athenians by Lysander.

20 Usually councils of ten men, called decarchies (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.7; 2.4.2). See 14.13.1 and n. 87.

21 According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.2.16), the embassy was sent to find out what Lysander's intentions were regarding Athens' capitulation. Although Diod. does not name the leader of this embassy, Xenophon states that it was proposed and led by Theramenes, who purposely delayed his return for three months to increase the suffering in Athens and decrease resistance. This embassy should not be confused with a separate one to Sparta, also led by Theramenes (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.16; Lysias 12, *Against Eratosthenes*, 68–70; 13, *Against Agoratos*, 9–14; and the author of the so-called Theramenes papyrus, which is now treated as F10 of the *Hellenika Oxyrhynkhia*).

22 The pro-Athenian Samians resisted Lysander longer than the Athenians. For their final capitulation (November 405), see Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.6–7. In recognition of their loyalty the Athenian democracy honoured them with a grant of citizenship. See *IG* II² 1; *TDGR2*, no. 5; *O&R*, no. 191; *R&O*, no. 2.

23 Thorax had campaigned with Lysander in the Hellespont and at Aigospotamoi (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.18–19; 2.1.28), but came to a sticky end later (Plut. *Lys.* 19.7).

Opposition of Theramenes to Lysander and the oligarchs

back to the Peiraieus with 100 ships. There he convened the Assembly and advised the Athenians to choose thirty men to lead the government and manage all business in the city.²⁴ 6. At that, Theramenes spoke out in opposition and reminded [him] of the terms of the agreement, namely that he had agreed they could use their ancestral constitution, and claiming that it was a terrible thing if they should be deprived of their liberty [*eleutheria*] contrary to the sworn oaths. Lysander replied by blaming the Athenians for breaking the terms of the agreement, in as much as they had taken down the walls later than the agreed upon date. He also levelled the most severe threats against Theramenes, saying that he would have him put to death, if he did not stop his opposition to the Lakedaimonians. 7. For this reason, both Theramenes and the assembled citizens [*ho demos*] were struck dumb with fear and compelled to dissolve the democracy by a show of hands.²⁵ And so thirty men were chosen to manage the public affairs of the city. They were in name “governors,” but in reality “tyrants.”

4.1. The People [*ho demos*], observing Theramenes’ fairness and thinking that the greed of those set over them would be checked to a certain extent by his noble character, voted him in also as one of the thirty leaders.²⁶ The first task for the men chosen was to appoint a Council and select the other officials; after that they were to write up laws by which they were going to govern.²⁷

24 There exist several other accounts of the capitulation of Athens and the tyranny of the Thirty: Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.2.1–23, 2.3.2–3, 2.3.11–2.4.43; Lysias 12, *Against Eratosthenes*, *passim*, especially 43–46, 62–78; Lysias 13, *Against Agoratos*, *passim*; Aristotle, *AP* 34.2–41.1; Plut. *Lys.* 14–15; Justin, *Epitoma*, 8–10. These sources disagree on many points, one of which is whether Lysander was the prime mover of the establishment of the Thirty or merely an interested observer. A thorough discussion of the issues can be found in Rhodes, *Commentary*, 415–482. He provides a useful chart comparing the different accounts at 416–419.

25 The sources mentioned above have very different views about Theramenes: Xenophon follows Thucydides in depicting him as traitorous to his oligarchic colleagues; Lysias represents him as a leader amongst the oligarchs; for Aristotle, he was neither of those things, but a leader of a moderate group. Only Diod., or rather his source, presents him as a champion of democracy. For a discussion about the source for Diod.’s unique view, perhaps based upon the *Hellenika Oxyrhynkhia*, see the Introduction. On the tradition regarding Theramenes see Harding (1974b).

26 The Thirty are named by Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.3.2). On their election and affiliation see Krentz (1982), 51–56; Walbank (1982); and Develin, *AO*, 184–185. According to Lysias 12, *Against Eratosthenes*, 76, Theramenes chose ten of the Thirty.

27 Xenophon, in the passage cited above, alleges that the Thirty were elected as *syngrapheis* (commissioners) with a mandate to revise the laws. There is disagreement amongst Xenophon scholars whether he agreed with Diodoros that the Thirty were elected to govern or were simply legal commissioners. See Krentz (1982), 50 and Marincola in Strassler (2009), 53.