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APPRIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY
I

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INTRODUCTION

The historian, Appian, was a native of Alexandria, Egypt. All that we know about him as an individual is gleaned from his own writings and from the letters of Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. It is supposed that he was born about A.D. 95 and that he died about A.D. 165. A fragment of his works found in recent years speaks of a war against the Jews in Egypt in which he had an adventure. This was probably the war waged by the Emperor Trajan to suppress the Jewish insurrection in that country, A.D. 116. In the preface to his history he says that he reached a high station in his own country and afterwards became a pleader of causes in the court of the emperors at Rome (probably as advocatus fisci) until he was appointed procurator by them. In order to be qualified for the latter office he must have been a Roman citizen of equestrian rank. The time of writing the preface is indicated as 900 years from the founding of the city, which would be during the reign of Antoninus Pius. A letter of Fronto to Antoninus is extant asking the appointment of his friend Appian as procurator, not to gratify his ambi-
tion, or for the sake of the pay, but as a merited distinction in his old age. Fronto vouches for his friend's honour and integrity. Appian says also in his preface that he had written an autobiography from which persons wishing to know more about him could obtain information. This work was not known to Photius in the ninth century, although Appian's historical works were all extant at that time.

Appian's plan is sketched in section 14 of his preface. It was not chronological but ethnographical, being in detached parts, corresponding to the wars carried on by the Romans with other nations and among themselves. The earliest detailed account of his works that has reached us is that of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 891. He wrote an encyclopedia of literature entitled the Myriobiblon, containing notices of 280 authors whose works were then extant. Those of Appian which he recorded were twenty-four in number, of which eleven have come down to us complete, or nearly so, namely: the Spanish, Hannibalic, Punic, Illyrian, Syrian, Mithridatic, and five books of the Civil wars. Extracts from other books have been preserved in two Byzantine compilations made by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus about A.D. 950, one entitled Concerning the Embassies and the other Concerning Virtues and Vices. Each of these books contains extracts from Appian and other ancient historians on the subjects named. Those of Appian from the former of the two compilations were first collected in a slovenly manner by Fulvio Orsini (Ursinus) in Rome and published in Antwerp in 1580. Those from the latter were reproduced with great fidelity by Henry de Valois at Paris in
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1634, from a MS. belonging to his friend Peiresc. A few detached sentences have been found in the lexicon of Suidas and elsewhere. The history terminates at the death of Sextus Pompeius in the year 35 B.C., shortly after the division of the Roman world between Antony and Octavian.

The first publication of any of the works of Appian in modern times was a Latin translation by Petrus Candidus, private secretary to Pope Nicholas V. in 1452. The first printing of the Greek text was done by Carolus Stephanus at Paris in 1551. The most important critical revision and collation of the manuscripts was made by Professor J. Schweighäuser, of the University of Strassburg, published in 1785. The text used in the present translation is in the main that of Professor L. Mendelssohn, of the University of Dorpat, Russia, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1879-82. An important edition is that of Didot, Paris, 1877, which has a Latin version facing the text.

As the events recorded in Appian's history took place long before his own time, it is important to know what authorities he used. He makes mention of Polybius, Paulus Claudius, Hieronymus, Caesar, Augustus and Asinius Pollio as authors, in a way which implies that he is quoting from them. He mentions casually the names of Varro, Fabius Pictor, Cassius Hemina and Rutilius Rufus, but not in terms which imply any use of their works. He does not mention the writings of Livy, Sallust, Dionysius, or Diodorus, although the works of all these authors must have been within his reach. We are not without the means, however, of testing his narrative by those of other ancient writers. This has been a
favourite hunting ground of German scholars for more than a century, and many learned treatises on the sources of Appian have resulted from their labours. That of Professor Schwartz, of the University of Göttingen, in the Classical Encyclopedia of Pauly-Wissowa, is the latest and best, and is a monumental work of its kind, but its author is more successful in demolishing the conclusions of his predecessors than in pointing out the true sources himself. He inclines to the opinion that they were Latin chiefly if not exclusively, and that for the republican era they were the official annalists whom he describes as "high born amateurs in whose hands historiography was placed," and says that "whenever they turned their leisure to give information to a public, ignorant and incompetent for criticism, to these amateurs, lying, particularly in a patriotic cause, was permitted even more than to the rhetorician."

Appian was a narrator of events rather than a philosophic historian. His style is destitute of ornament, but in the rhetorical passages, which are numerous, it is animated, forcible and at times eloquent. Occasionally he rises to the dignity of the best writers of the ancient world. The introduction to the history of the Civil Wars is an example of this kind. Here the events leading up to the tragedies of the Gracchus brothers move forward with a dignified and measured tread which has been imitated by many later historians but surpassed by none. It is the only account of the agrarian controversy by an ancient author giving both sides of that question.

The first book of the Civil Wars is perhaps the most valuable of the Appian series, since it spans the
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"twilight period" between Polybius and Cicero. Next to this in point of value is the history of the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage. It is the only detailed account of those events which has come down to us, and it is dramatic in a high degree. The source of this part of Appian may have been the lost books of Polybius, from whom a quotation is given in section 132 of the Punic Wars.

Appian has been severely censured for want of accuracy in details. According to modern canons of criticism accuracy is the first and indispensable requisite of the historian, but it was not so in the ancient world. General conformity to facts was, of course, necessary, but in most cases the aim of the ancient writer was to make an interesting book or to furnish a setting for the political ideas, or the moral principles, which he entertained. Appian was neither better nor worse in this respect than the average historian of his time. Professor Schwartz says truly that Appian's account of the struggle between Antony and the Senate in book iii. of the Civil Wars is not history but "historical novel writing," but he adds that "with all its disfigurations and inventions the great lines are worked out correctly and keenly, the inventions contributing in part to that very end." This criticism may be safely applied to a large part of Appian's writings.

It was the habit of ancient historians to put speeches into the mouths of their leading actors in order to present the ideas that moved peoples or political parties or factions, and sometimes to deliver the author's moral lectures to mankind. Thucydides did so, and his example, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, was "a fatal legacy to two thousand years of
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history-writing after him.” Appian followed the fashion. The speeches which he delivered in this way are the best part of his work in point of style. We feel that here we are listening to the practised debater, the trained pleader of causes in the imperial courts. Professor Schwartz even puts the edict of proscription of the triumvirs (book iv, sec. 8–11 of the Civil Wars) in that category, although the author says that he has translated it from Latin into Greek.

In conclusion it may be said that the writings of Appian embrace matter of exceeding interest that no student of Roman history can afford to overlook.

To Theodore Lyman Wright, Professor of Greek in Beliot College, the translator is deeply indebted for helpful service in the revision of his work, and for numerous suggestions for bettering the phraseology.

H. W.

NOTE

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY
ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγγράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὥρους ὅσων ἔθνων ἀρχουσί Ῥωμαίοι. εἰς ἄρ' ὀνδεὶ. ἐν μὲν τῷ ὀκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείονος μέρους, διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στῆλῶν ἐς τὴν ὅτι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντι τε καὶ ὅπι τὰς αὐτὰς στῆλας περιπλέοντι νῆσων ἀρχουσί πασῶν, καὶ ἡπείρου ὃσα καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὃν εἰς ἐν δὲ ἐξιὰ πρῶτοι Μαυροσίων ὁσι περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὃσα τε ἄλλα Διβυών ἕθην μέχρι Καρχεδόνος, καὶ τούτων ὑπέρθε Νομάδες, οὕς Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι Νομινδάς καὶ τὴν χώραν Νομινδίαν, ἐτεροὶ δὲ Λίβυες ὁσι περιοικοῦσι τὰς Σύρτεις μέχρι Κυρήνης, Κυρήνη τε αὐτῇ καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ ᾿Αμμώνιοι καὶ ὅτι τὴν Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσι, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ὑν ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ ᾿Αἰγύπτου, Ἀἰγυπτός τε αὐτῇ μέχρι Ἀἰθιόπων τῶν ἐὼν ἅνα τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλοούσιον διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τοῦ πλούν καὶ περιώντι Συρία τε ᾿Η Παλαιστίνη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν
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 circumnavigating 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 Mauretanians 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 Marmoridae, 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
μοῖρα ᾿Αράβων, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοίνικες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Φοινίκων ύπερθεν ἦν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐὐφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνω Παλμυρηνῶν τε καὶ ἦν Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Ἐὐφράτην καθήκουσα, Κιλίκες τε Σύρων ἐχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι Κιλίκων ὦμοροι, καὶ μέρος ᾿Αρμενίων, οὗς καλοῦσιν ᾿Αρμενίαν βραχυτέραν, παρὰ τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον ἀλλὰ ὀσὶν Ποντικά Ρωμαίων υπήκοοι γέννη. Σύρων μὲν δὴ καὶ Κιλίκες ἐς τὴν τὴν θάλασσαν ἄφορῶσιν, ᾿Αρμενίῳ δὲ καὶ Καππαδόκαι ἐς τὰ Ποντικὰ γένη καθήκουσαν, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην ᾿Αρμενίαν μείζονα, ᾿Ως ᾿Ρωμαίοι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀρχοῦσι μὲν ἐς φόρου κομιδήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τοὺς βασιλείας. ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν καταβαίνοντι ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος: ὁ τε γὰρ πόντος ὁ Εὐξεινος καὶ ἡ Προποντίς καὶ ὁ ᾿Ελλήσποντος ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἐκ δὲ καὶ τὸ Πάρμυλιον ἢ ἀγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφω) ποιεῖ χερρόνησον, καὶ εἰς αὐτήν οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Ἀγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες, Πάρμυλιοι τε καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶς Καριά μέχρι ῬΩΜΑΙΑΣ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν ᾿Ελλήσποντον, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυνοῖ καὶ Μυσῖς καὶ Ῥώγης, εὖ δὲ μεσογείως Πισίδας τε καὶ Λυδοῖς. τοσάῦτα ἔθνη τὴν χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πάντων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαίοι.

3. Περάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἔθνων ἀρχοῦσιν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐυρώπῃ, καὶ Ῥώμης ὦσι περὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον. ἀπὸ δὲ
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
᾿Ιωνίας κόλπος ἔστι θαλάσσης ὁ Αἰγαῖος, καὶ ἔτερος ᾿Ιονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθ-μός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ῥακλείων στηλῶν. τούτο μῆκός ἐστιν ἀπ᾿ ᾿Ιωνίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλω Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα τοσάντα, ἥ τε Ἑλλάς πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὡς πρόσοικα ἄλλα Ῥακών καὶ Ῥιλυρῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἑβηνη, αὐτὴ τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ θάλασσῇ μέχρι Κελτῶν, ὡς αὐτὸ Γαλάτας προσαγο-ρεύουσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὡς ἑβηνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἀφορὰ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥήνου ποταμῶν ὅκηται, ἸΒηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτιβηρίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὰς Ῥακλείους στήλας τελευτῶντας. καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐφ᾿ ἐκάστου δηλώσω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὃταν ἐς ἑκάστον ἐθνὺς ἡ γραφὴ περίεν, νῦν δὲ, ὥσον ὁροὺς μεγάλους τὴν ἀρχὴν περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν εὑρήται, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιοδεύσων μοίρᾳ τε Μαυρουσίων ἄν εἶν τῶν παρ᾿ Ἀλθίοψι τοῖς περὶ ἐσπέραν, καὶ εἰ τι θερμότερον ἢ θηριῶδες ἄλλο Αἰβύνης μέχρι Αἰθιώπων ἄρχην, ταῦτα μὲν Αἰβύνης Ῥωμαίων ὅροι, τῆς δὲ Ἄσίας ποταμός τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καὺκασσον ὅρος καὶ ἐρμανίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχῆς, καὶ Κόλχοι παρὰ τὴν Εὐξείνον θάλασσαν ὅκημένου, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πελάγους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑὐρώπῃ ποταμὸν δύο, Ῥήνος τε καὶ Ἰστρος, κατὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆν 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, Ἱστρος δὲ ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν πόντον καταδίδοι. περάσαντες δὲ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, οὐς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὁροὶ μὲν οὕτω κατ’ ἤπειρον, ὡς εὐγυμναὶ ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς. 5. νῆσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλασσῆς εἰσίν, αἴ τε Κυκλάδες ἢ Σποράδες ἢ Ἱάδες ἢ Ἐξωνάδες ἢ Τυρρηνίδες ἢ Γυμνησίαι ἢ ὅσαι ἄλλαι υμομάζουσιν ἐτέρως, περί τε Διβύην καὶ τὸ Ἰόνιον ἢ Λεγυπτίον ἢ Μυρτῶν ἢ Σικελικῶν ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ὅσα τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων υμομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Εὐβοία καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ ἐὰν τε ἄλλη μικροτέρα τε καὶ μείζων, ἅπαντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα. 6. Τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ὄντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ καὶ μόλις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατειργάσαντο βεβαιῶς. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλεύσιν ἐξρώντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέως, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ προστάταις ἀρχουσιν ἐτησίοις. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ μέγα ἠθένη ἢ ἀρχῇ, καὶ ἕκεινως τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸτε ὑπηγάγοντο. Γάμος 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
Καίσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατυνόμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐσ ἐοικαὶ ἄσφαλῆς, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφύλαξε, μόναρχον δ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πάσι. καὶ ἔστιν ἴδε ἡ ἄρχη μέχρι νῦν ύφ’ ἐν ἄρχοντι, οὐς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν ὀρκὸν αἰδούμενον τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορα δὲ ὄνομαξουσιν, ὁ καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων στρατηγῶν ὄνομα ἴν’ εἰσι δὲ ἐργῳ τὰ πάντα βασιλείς.

7. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐγυρτάτω διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἡ τε πόλις μᾶλιστα κατεκοσμήθη, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡξύρθη, καὶ πάντα ἐν εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ καὶ εὐσταθεὶ ἐρήμηθαν ἐσ ἐυδαιμονίαν ἄσφαλῆς. καὶ τοῦ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἐθνέσι ὑποτάσσοντες μᾶλλον προσέλαβον, καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύναντο. ὅλως τε δ’ εὐβουλίαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐχοντες σῶζειν ἐθέλουσιν μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐς ἀπειρον ἐγερεὶς ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄνδρα οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐσομένους. ἐθνέσι τε ἁλλοις, ἀπειροις τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ διδάσκει τοὺς βασιλέας, οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐδόμενοι καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐν προσαναλίσκουσιν, αἰδούμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπι-ζημίους ὑποτα σαι ἐποθέσθαν. τὴν τε ἡ ἁρχὴν 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
κύκλῳ περικάθηνται μεγάλοι στρατοπέδοι, καὶ φυλάσσονται τὴν τοσῆνδε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἄσπερ χωρίον.

8. Ἀρχή τε οὐδεμία "προῆλθέ πω μέχρι νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο μεγέθους καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἕλληνων, εἰ τις ὁμοιὰ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δακε-δαιμονίων καὶ Ἡβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἕλλαδος ἡγεμονίαν συναγάγοι, πολλὰ ἀν ἐτής φανεῖν. οὐ τε ἁγώνες αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχής περικτήσει μᾶλλον ἡ φιλοτιμία πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἔλευθερίας πρὸς ἀρχὴς ἄλλας ἐπιούσας. οἰ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ἀρχής ἐτέρας ἐλπίδι προσέπταισαν ἢ εἰ τις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διηλθεί, μικρὰ καὶ ὁδε δράσας εὐθὺς ἐπανῆει. οἷος τε ἡ Ἕλληνικὴ δύναμις, καίπερ ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἁγώνευσαν, οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐγένοται ἀδούλωτον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀήττητον κατασχεῖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξι κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως αὐτῶν.

9. "Ἡ τε τῆς Ἀσιας ἀρχὴ ἐργῶν μὲν περὶ καὶ ἄρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν Ἑυρωπαίων παραβάλλεται διὸ ἁσθένειαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν τῶν ἑθῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει καὶ ἢδε ἡ γραφὴ προϊόντα: ὀλίγαις γὰρ μάχαις Ἑρωμαῖοι τοσούτων τῆς Ἀσιας ἐθνῶν κατέσχον ὅσων ἐτέρας κρατοῦσι, καὶ τάῦτα 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 Διβύην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐξετρίφθησαν. Ἀσσυρίων τε αὖ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκοιτο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἐτῶν, ὡσα ἐστὶ 'Ρωμαίοις ἐς τὸν παρὸντα χρόνον, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἐς ἡμισοῦ νομίζω τῆς δὲ ἡγεμονίας ἀπαντᾶν, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν ἐνακοσίων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Ἐυφράτην καὶ ἐς 'Αιθιόπας τοὺς ἀνὸς δι' ᾿Αγύπτου καὶ Ἐράβον ἐπὶ τὸν ἑώρω ὥκεανον ἢ ἀρχὴν διεξερχεῖται, καὶ ὥρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὥκεανος ἀρχομένου τε καὶ τυμένου τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἡγεμονεύουσι τῆς ἐντὸς οὕσης καὶ νῆσων ἅπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὥκεανῳ Βρεττανῶν. Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν ἢ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὃ Ἐφαρμοῖς κόλπος ἤ τί που ἄλλο σμικρὸν τῆς 'Αισθής ἐν ἡταλάσσῃ τοῦ τρὶς Ἐράβων κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκεράτουν) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτων πέλαγός ἐστιν;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ ᾿Αμύντου καὶ πάνω σμικρᾶ ἦν, καὶ ἐστὶν ὅπως ὑπῆκουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνου μὲν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐχεμένοι οὐ μεμπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχωρα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου μεγέθει τε καὶ πληθεῖ καὶ εὐτυχία καὶ ταχυρεῖ αὐτὴν ἕξαβάσα τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ ἄλλο γὰρ ἐς ἀπειροῦ καὶ ἀμυνήτου ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν δραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέκειν ἀστραπῆ λαμπρᾶ· ἦς γε καὶ διαλυθεῖσα ἐς πολλὰς σατραπεῖας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέλαμπτε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοῖς
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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
ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνοις ἦν στρατιὰ τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἴκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ὑππέων τέσσαρες, καὶ ἑλέφαντες πολεμισταί τριακόσιι, καὶ ἄρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὅπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μέχρι πεντήρους τε πεντάκοσιι καὶ χίλιαι, καὶ σκέυη τριμετρικὰ διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγὰ τε χρυσόπρυμα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου τομῆν, ὅς αὐτὸς διαπλέοντες ἐπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὅκτακοσια, χρημάτων δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλαντῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παρασκευῆς τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγόν τε καὶ καταλιπὼν ὁ δεύτερος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς μετ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον, δς καὶ πορίσαι δεινότατος ἐκ βασιλείων καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπεῖων ὑπὸ τούτων ἀποδεόντα. ἄλλα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιάσαντων ἐς ἀλλήλους. ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ συστελλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὧν γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν ἐνίοτε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑτέρας

1 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.¹ Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king² 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

¹ The sum must be greatly exaggerated. Various attempts have been made to explain the error.
² Ptolemy Philadelphus, d. 247 B.C.
τέσσαρες, ἀπώλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ λιμοὶ τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖσ καὶ στάσεισ, ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιπλήντοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἔως ἐπτακοσίος ἐτεσι κακοπαθοῦντες τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τόδε προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὁμαντό διὰ τῆς εὐβουλίαν.

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
ἐθνῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ φερεπονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλόντων ἀρετὴν ἢ εὐτυχίαν, ἢ εἴ τι αὖ ἄλλο συγκύρημα συννήχθη, καταμάθοιμι.

13. Νομίσας δὴ ἄν τινα καὶ ἄλλον οὗτως ἑθελήσαι μαθεῖν τὰ 'Ῥωμαίων, συγγράφω κατ᾽ ἑθνος ἐκαστον ὅσα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐξαίρω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐκεῖνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πᾶσι περισσὸν ἤγουμιν καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσσω. καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι μὲν ἢν ἢν, ὡσπερ ἄνθρωποι ἄπασιν, ἐκάστῳ, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δύο· καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἢς οὐ καὶ τρίτον ἤρξατο τισων ἐς ἐπιγνώσιν ἐκ πάθους ἡ ἀρετὴς προστίθεσθαι, καθά καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισων ἐπὶ τὰ ὄνομα ἃς ἤσαν ἐπικλήσεις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐστι μὲν ὅπου καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γνώρισμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἃ κυριότατα ἠγοῦνται, προσαγορεύσω.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βίβλων οὖσῶν αὐτὰ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέον εἶναι Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικάς, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργον διήρηνται. καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἢ μὲν πρώτῃ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔπτα γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ἢβ' ἕαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφω Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλικὴν. ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, χωρὶς γε τῆς παρὰ τῶν κόλπων τῶν Ἰόνιων· ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἢδε λέγεται ἡ ἐξῆς
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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
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Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικὴ. τελευταῖος δὲ ἔθνει, Σαυνιτικῶν, οὗ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκηνται, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ χαλέπῳ ὁ γηδονικοῦτα ἔθεσι συνεπλάκησαν, μέχρι καὶ τούσδε, καὶ ὁσα σφίσιν ἐγγὺς ἐθνη συνεμάχει, καὶ Ἑλληνικὸς ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσίν, ὑπηγάγοντο· καὶ ἔστιν ἢδη, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύνκρισιν, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Σαυνιτικῆς. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, τούτων ἑκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιγράφονται, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Κελτικῆς τε καὶ Σικελικῆς καὶ Ἰβηρικῆς καὶ Ἀνυβαϊκῆς καὶ Καρχηδονικῆς καὶ Μακεδονικῆς καὶ ἑφεξῆς ὁμοίως. τέτακται δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄλλη μετ᾽ ἄλλην ὡς ἑκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἑτέρου λαβεῖν συνέπεσεν, οἴκα καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἐθνὶ μετὰ πολλὰ ἐτερα γεγένητα. ὡσα δ᾽ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἅλλην ἑστασιάσασαν καὶ ἑπολέμησαν ἐμφύλια, φοβερῶτερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενόμενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν στάσεων διήρηται, τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριον τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς Πομπηίον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς Ἀντωνίον τε καὶ τὸν ἑτέρου Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἑπίκλην, πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρα, τὰ δ᾽ ἐς ἅλληλοι, αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρας στασιάσαντων. οἳ τινὶ τελευταῖος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ὄντι καὶ Ἁγνυττος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς μοναρχίαν περιῆλθεν.

15. 'Οδε μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἑκαστα τῶν ἔθνων, ἢ ἐς στρατηγοὺς τὰ ἐμφύλια, διήρηται· ἢ δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὅσην ἐχουσιν, ἢ πρόσωπον ὑπὶ καρποῦνται καθ᾽ ἑκαστὸν ἔθνος, ἢ ἐι τι προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπινείους φρουράς, ὅσα τε τοιοτότροπα ἅλλα, 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.
αὐτῶν συγγράφοντα. τίς δὲ ὧν ταῦτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσασι καὶ αὐτὸς προέφηνα, σαφέστερον δὲ εἰπεῖν, Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἕκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἡξίωσαν. καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδῆ 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.¹

¹ See Introduction.
BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

FRAGMENTS
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ.

1. Ἀρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείαν τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπνου, ὃς ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ ἦκμαζε πολέμων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἐς τινὰ τῆς Ἐτοιμίας αἰγιαλὸν, Λώρεντον ἔπικαλουμένου, ἐνθα καὶ στρατόπεδων αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίων τῶν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Φαύνου ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως, ὃς καὶ την ἐν τῇ Ἀινεία τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Λαουινίαν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἐκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναίκος Λαουίνιοι ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτω δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντας ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἄρχην ο Ἀινείας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Λατίνου Φαύνου Λατίνους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτω δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Λαούνιαν τὴν ἐπονόμασε ὑπὸ Ῥουττούλων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναρτεῖται πολέμου νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνείας, καὶ τὴν ἄρχην διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθεῖς, ὃς ἐγεννήθη
BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

I. FROM PHOTIUS

1. Appian begins his history with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, who flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at a part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping-place is shown to this day, and the shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four hundred stades in circuit. Here Aeneas built a town, which he named after his wife Lavinium. Three years later, at the death of Faunus, Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom by virtue of his marriage relationship, and he called the aborigines Latins, from his father-in-law, Latinus Faunus. Three years later still, Aeneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king. He was succeeded in the government by Euryleon, surnamed Ascanius,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK I

tὸ Ἀινεία ἐκ Κρεοῦσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικὸς. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λαούνιας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθηναὶ φασὶ, τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2. Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλβης οἰκίσιν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐκτισε τόλιν, Ἀλβης καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Λαούνιου τὸν λαὸν μετόκισεν) ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σίλουνιος. καὶ Σιλουνίου παῖδα Ἀινείαν Σιλουνιόν φασιν, Αἰνείου δὲ Λατῖνον Σιλουνιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυνος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιβερίου, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλον. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῶ· οὐ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀουεντίνου, Ἀουεντίνου δὲ Σίλουιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Ῥωμύλον.
καὶ τὸν δὲ βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ ἀφελόμενος καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἐγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουνιάν ἑρειαν, ἦν ἄπαις διαμεῖνη, καθίστησι· τὸν μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχὴν, δὲ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ Ἐγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουνιάν ἑρειαν, ἦν ἄπαις διαμεῖνη, καθίστησι· τὸν μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχὴν, νεώτερος δὲ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἐγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουνιάν ἑρειαν, ἦν ἄπαις διαμεῖνη, καθίστησι· τὸν μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχὴν, νεώτερος δὲ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν.
the son of Aeneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

2. Ascanius died four years after the founding of Alba (for he also built a city and gave it the name of Alba, and settled it with a colony from Lavinium), and Silvius succeeded to the throne. They say that this Silvius had a son named Aeneas Silvius, and he a son named Latinus Silvius, and he a son named Capys, and he a son named Capetus, and he a son named Tiberinus, and he a son named Agrippa, who was the father of the Romulus who was struck by lightning, and who left a son Aventinus, who was the father of Procas. All of these bore the surname of Silvius. Procas had two sons, the elder named Numitor, and the younger Amulius. When the elder succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, the younger took it away from him by force and violence. He also killed Egestus, his brother's son, and he made Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, a vestal, so that she might remain childless. Notwithstanding a conspiracy against his life, Numitor himself was saved because of the gentleness and clemency of his character. Silvia having become pregnant contrary to law, Amulius cast her into prison by way of punishment, and when she had given birth to two sons he gave them to some shepherds with orders to throw the babes into the neighbouring stream called the river Tiber. These boys were Romulus and Remus. On their mother's side they were descended from Aeneas, while their paternal lineage was unknown.
II

'Ο μὲν πρώτος τόμος τῶν ἑπτά βασιλέων, Ῥωμύλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, "Αγκου Ὄστιλιον καὶ Ἅγκυ οὗτος τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἕπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερούιου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεις περιέχει. ὃν δὲ πρώτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστὴς γεγονώς, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς, ὁμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὄν ἄλλοι φασίν, ἡφαιστη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἤττον βεβασιλευκώς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε ξύσας . . . ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βιον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ψυχεῖ τοι ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ ἑκτὸς ὀμοίως σφαγῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βιον. ὁ δὲ ἑξάδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη: ἐξ οὗ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυτέλθη τα τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη. id. p. 15 b 22.

III

Ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπισχνεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον. Suid. vv. Τάτιος ετ φυλάξασα.

IV

Κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἐστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχώσθη. Suid. v. λιθάζω.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

II. FROM THE SAME

My first book contains the deeds of Rome’s seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Ancus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (a descendant of Numa), Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius, a son of the other Tarquinius. The first of these was the founder and builder of Rome, and although he governed it rather as a father than as an absolute monarch, he was nevertheless slain, or, as some think, translated. The second, not less kingly, but even more so than the first, died at the age of . . . The third was struck by lightning. The fourth died of a disease. The fifth was murdered by some shepherds. The sixth too was murdered. The seventh was expelled from the city and kingdom for violating the laws. From that time kingly rule came to an end, and the administration of government was transferred to consuls.

III FROM SUIDAS

Having kept careful watch against her father’s return, she (Tarpeia) promises Tatius to betray the garrison.

IV. FROM THE SAME

At the command of Tatius they threw the gold at the girl until she succumbed to her wounds and was buried under the heap.

1 An obvious error for ‘Tullus.’

33
"Οτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς 'Ρωμύλουν Τατίουν αἰ 'Ρωμαίων γυναίκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διήτησαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χειρᾶς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἵδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ύβριστικὸν ἐσ αὐτὰς ἀμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἴκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενῶς καὶ μιαρῶς πολέμου, ἢ πρώτας ἀνελεῖν αἰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορία καὶ οἴκτο τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνόσκομεν ἤδη μὴ καθ' ύβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα 'Ρωμαίους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες 'Ρωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου ἱερὰν γενομένην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφος, Τάτιον τε καὶ 'Ρωμύλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἀλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, ἢ στὶ 'Ρωμαιῶν μετοικίζεσθαι ἐπ' ἵση καὶ ὁμοία. U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) p. 334.
V. From "The Embassies"

When Tatius waged war against Romulus, the wives of the Romans, who were daughters of the Sabines, made peace between them. Advancing to the camp of the parents they held out their hands to them and showed the infant children already born to them and their husbands, and testified that their husbands had done them no wrong. They prayed that the Sabines would take pity on themselves, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their daughters, and either put an end to this unholy war between relatives, or first kill them in whose behalf it was begun. The parents, moved partly by their own difficulties and partly by pity for the women, and perceiving that what the Romans had done was not from lust but necessity, entered into negotiations with them. For this purpose Romulus and Tatius met in the street which was named from this event *Via Sacra* and agreed upon these conditions: that both Romulus and Tatius should be kings, and that the Sabines who were then serving in the army under Tatius, and any others who might choose to come, should be allowed to settle in Rome on the same terms and under the same laws as the Romans themselves.
Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ’ ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγγειλεν Ὁστίλω. Suid. v. ἰδιοξένως.

Οἱ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι τὰ πάντα θέμενον. id. v. βλάσφημος.

Συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν Γάβιοι δικαιώσω. id. v. δικαιοῦν.

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Ὁ δὲ Ὁράτιος λελωβημένος ἢν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἐτυχεν οὔτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν. Suid. vv. ἀχρηστία et Ὅράτιος.

Οἱ ὕπατοι τὰ ὅρκια προύτεινον, καὶ ἐς πάντα ἐφάσαν ἐνδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι. id. v. προσήσεσθαι.
VI. From Suidas

The general, learning this fact from one of his personal friends, communicated it to Hostilius.

VII. From the Same

Some blamed him [Tullus Hostilius] because he wrongly staked everything on the prowess of three men (the Horatii).

VIII. From the Same

[The Romans thought] that peace might be made [by Tarquiniius] on such terms as the Gabini considered just.

IX. From the Anonymous Grammarian

[Tarquiniius] bought the three books [from the Sibyl] at the price previously asked for the nine.

X. From Suidas

Horatius [Cocles] was a cripple. He failed of reaching the consulship, either in war or in peace, on account of his lameness.

XI. From the Same

The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquiniius.
Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθιζε. Κλαύδιος δὲ, ἀνὴρ Σαβίνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός, οὐκ εἶα τοὺς Σαβίνους παρασπονδεῖν, ἐως κρινόμενος ἑπὶ τῶδε ἐφυγεν ἐς Ῥώμην μετὰ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ δούλων πεινακισικιλῶν. οῖς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν ἐς οἰκίας ἐδοσαν καὶ γῆν ἐς γεωργίαν, καὶ πολίτας ἔθεντο. τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐργα λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν Σαβίνων καὶ φυλὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν.


Λατίνοι ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευον ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς... οἱ δὲ Λατίνοι ἐγκλήματα εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὀντας ἐνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς. Suid. νν. ἐνσπονδος et πάρεσις.
XII. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

TARQUINIUS incited the Sabines against the Roman people. Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus, opposed any violation of the treaty, and being condemned for this action, he took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and a new tribe, the Claudian, was named after him.

XIII. FROM SUIDAS

The Latins, although allied to the Romans by treaty, nevertheless made war against them. They accused the Romans of despising them, although they were allied to them, and of the same blood.
Β

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ

I

Οὐολούσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμαις τῶν γειτώνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους. Suid. v. κληρούχον.

II

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Μάρκιον μετιόντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειρότονησεν, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδίως αὐτοῦ. id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

III

Ο Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ρωμαίων, φυγὴν καταδικασθείς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο. id. v. πιμπραται.

IV

"Οτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἦκοι, τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενοι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρήσεσθαι βουλήθεις. id. v. ἀλλαξάμενος.

1 So Küsker and Schw. for MSS. ἦ.
BOOK II

CONCERNING ITALY

I. From Suidas

The Volsci, in nowise terrified by the misfortunes of their neighbours, made war against the Romans and laid siege to their colonies.

II. From the Same

The people refused to elect Marcius (Coriolanus) when he sought the consulship, not because they considered him unfit, but because they feared his domineering spirit.

III. From the Same

Marcius, being inflamed against the Romans when they banished him, went over to the Volsci, meditating no small revenge.

IV. From the Same

He said that he came having renounced country and kin, holding them of no account, and intending to side with the Volsci against his country.
1. Ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Οὐολούσκου καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἦπείλει τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσοιτο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξεπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ῥωμαίων πρεποῦσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολούσκων ἀκρωμένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτοῖς ὑπεμίμησην ὡς ὅν χρὴ ἀμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ δυν ἐς αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο οἷς Οὐολούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἀν Ἦν τις τῆς ἡγία τοῦ Ἐχουσι Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδώσει, καὶ καταλύσει πολίτας ἐς συνεργάσιν τῶν Δατίνων. ἔως δὲ ἄν ἐχοῦσι τὰ τῶν κρατοῦτων ὡς κρατούμενων, εἰ ὄριν τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐσοῦται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσοντας ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδοι. τραπεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Δατίνους ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, εἰλε τὰς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δὲ ἀντειπώντος ἐπεμπὼν ἐτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνά-
V. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. When Marcius had been banished, and had taken refuge with the Volsci, and made war against the Romans, and was encamped at a distance of only forty stades from the city, the people threatened to betray the walls to the enemy unless the Senate would send an embassy to him to treat for peace. The Senate reluctantly sent plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace befitting the Roman nation. When they arrived at the camp of the Volsci and were brought into his presence and that of the Volscians, they offered him an amnesty and permission to return to the city if he would discontinue the war, and they reminded him that the Senate had never done him any wrong. He, while accusing the people of the many wrongs they had done to him and to the Volsci, promised nevertheless that he would bring the latter to terms with them if they would surrender the land and towns they had taken from the Volsci and admit them to citizenship on the same terms as the Latins. But if the vanquished were to keep what belonged to the victors, he did not see how peace could be made. Having named these conditions, he dismissed the ambassadors and gave them thirty days to consider. Then he turned against the remaining Latin towns, and having captured seven of them in the thirty days, he came back to receive the answer of the Romans.

2. They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms. When he refused again, they sent ten others to beg
ξὶον ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδὲ εὖ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ᾽ ἐκουσίους ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδούμενόν τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προσώπων ἄξιωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτόντων. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἰμερῶν ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπέμπουν, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν εσταλμένους, ἀντὶ τοῦ Μάρκιον δεησομένους: ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐφ' ἐκείνη τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, ἦ μηδ' αὐτῷ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐπιλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελών ὡς ἀνώθεν ἀμυνόμενοι Μάρκιον.

3. Οὐαλερία δὲ ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τῇ τὴν μητέρα του Μάρκιον Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναίκα Οὐολουμνίαν, πένθιμα ἁμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσαι, συνεξελθεῖν αὑτὰς καὶ παραθέτειν την τούτοις ἐπιτρεποῦσης ἐξήεσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἀχρον ἀφελέοντον ὅ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τὴν ἐπιτολμίαν τῆς ἡπτής Ὀλυμπίας, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐστὶ καὶ Ρωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεποῦσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἀπελώροις ἐπικαλοῦσθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐστὶ καὶ Ρωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεποῦσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἀπελώροις ἐπικαλοῦσθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεποῦσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἀπελώροις ἐπικαλοῦσθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος.
him not to do anything unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honour of his country and the reputation of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and piled up stones and missiles on the walls to drive off Marcius from above.

3. But Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, brought a company of women to Veturia, the mother of Marcius, and to Volumnia his wife. All these, clad in mourning garments and bringing their children to join in the supplication, implored that they would go out with them to meet Marcius, and beseech him to spare them and their country. Accordingly, by permission of the Senate, they went forth, women and alone, to the camp of the enemy. Marcius admiring the high courage of the city, where even the women-folk were inspired by it, advanced to meet them, sending away the rods and axes of the lictors, out of respect for his mother. He ran forward and embraced her, brought her into the council of the Volsci, and bade her say what she desired.

4. She said that, being his mother, she, as well as he, was wronged in his banishment from the city; but that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a
ἦτισαν ἱκανὴν, ὅπερ τε τὸ σοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἶα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην· οὐδὲν εἶναι φίλιον, ἂν ἄδικῇ, οὔτε ἐχθρὸν εὖ ποιοῦν· οὐκ ἐξασθεὶς ὁρᾶν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεπάντων. τιμάς τε ὅσων ἠξίωτο, καὶ ὅρκους οὔτε ἐφεύρει, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοις τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

5. Ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπεξῆλθε, θεοὺς γενεθλίως ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἢδη πρεσβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἑστάλθαι κακοίς, ἐπὶ Τατίου

1 Suggested by Schw. in his app. crit. instead of the MSS. ἀδικουμένων.
CONCERNING ITALY

sufficient penalty, so much of their territory had been laid waste and so many of their towns demolished; and that now they were reduced to the Roman's last resource, supplication, and were sending as ambassadors to him consuls and priests, and his own mother and wife, and seeking to remedy the wrong by amnesty and recall. "Do not," she said, "cure an evil by an incurable evil. Do not be the cause of calamities that will smite yourself as well as those who have wronged you. Whither do you carry the torch? From the fields to the city? From the city to your own hearthstone? From your own hearthstone to the temples of the gods? Have mercy, my son, on me and on your country as we plead." After she had thus spoken Marcius replied that the country which had cast him out was not his, but rather the land which had given him shelter. No man, he said, loved one that wronged him, or hated one that did him good. He told her to cast her eyes upon the men there present with whom he had exchanged the pledge of mutual fidelity, who had granted him citizenship, and chosen him their general, and had intrusted to him their private interests. He recounted the honours bestowed upon him and the oath he had sworn, and he urged his mother to consider their friends and enemies hers also.

5. While he was still speaking, she, in a burst of anger, and holding her hands up to heaven, invoked their family gods. "Two processions of women," said she, "have set forth from Rome in times of great distress, one in the time of King Tatius, the

Vb

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίου. Suid. v. ἐδικαίου.

VI

Ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιέπαινι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τούτο Ῥωμαίοις πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ὑνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλεθρίας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται. Suid. νν. ἐλεεινὸς et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.
CONCERNING ITALY

other in that of Gaius Marcius. Of these two Tatius, a stranger and downright enemy, had respect for the women and yielded to them. Marcius scorns so great a delegation of women, including his wife, and his mother besides. May no other mother, unblessed in her son, ever be reduced to the necessity of throwing herself at his feet. But I submit even to this: I will prostrate myself before you.” So speaking she flung herself on the ground. He burst into tears, sprang up and caught hold of her, exclaiming with the deepest emotion: “Mother, you have gained the victory, but it is a victory by which you will undo your son.” So saying he led back the army, in order to give his reasons to the Volsci and to make peace between the two nations. There was some hope that he might be able to persuade the Volsci even to do this, but on account of the jealousy of their leader Attius he was put to death.

Vb. FROM SUIDAS

Marcius did not think proper to gainsay any of these [demands].

VI. FROM THE SAME

(The Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their misfortunes as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For what befell them was a great misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky.
Τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθὴς ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ὑπὸ ἁγωνίας, καὶ ἐφευγον ἑπιθυμῶς τὰ σῶματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατηγῷ. ἄπειρον ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ. 

1. "Ὅτι σημείων γενομένων ἐκ Διὸς ἀγδῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἀλωσιν, οἱ μάντεις ἔλεγον ἐκλειστεῖσθαι τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἅλωσιν, ὡς ἔλθουσιν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐκεῖνον ἀνήνεκτο τῇ δεκάτῃ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐξελέσθαι. ἢ μὲν οὖν βουλή τοὺς λαβόντας ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Οὐηιεντίας ἔκλεισθαι καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ σὺν ὀρκῷ τῷ δέκατῳ ἐκλάθοιτο, ὅτι τῇ δεκάτῃ καθ᾽ αὑτούς καὶ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἕδη πεπραμένης, ὡς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθέεισθαι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τῶν δραμάτων ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ κατεχόμενος ἐκ τῶν χρυσάρχων ἐν τῷ Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ Χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ἀρκεῖον τοῦ Καρχηδόν τῆς Καρχηδόν τῆς Θῆρας, μέχρι τῶν μὲν χρυσῶν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκικῷ πολέμῳ κατεχόμενος, καὶ ἦν βάσις.

2. Αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἑδόσει τὸν πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλκῆς, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν
VII. From the Same

The army showed a mutinous spirit towards the general (Appius Claudius), against whom they bore a grudge. They fought badly on purpose, and took to flight, putting bandages on their bodies as though they were wounded. They broke camp and tried to retreat, putting the blame on the unskilfulness of their commander.

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. Bad omens from Jupiter were observed after the capture of Veii. The soothsayers said that some religious duty had been neglected, and Camillus remembered that he had forgotten to appropriate a tenth of the spoils to the god who had given the oracle concerning the lake. Accordingly the Senate decreed that those who had taken anything from Veii should make an estimate, each one for himself, and bring in a tenth of it under oath. Their religious feeling was such that they did not hesitate to add to the votive offering a tenth of the produce of the land that had already been sold, as well as of the spoils. With the money thus obtained they sent to the temple of Delphi a golden bowl which stood on a pedestal of brass in the treasury of Rome and Massilia until Onomarchus melted down the gold during the Phocaean war. The pedestal is still standing.

2. Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some
ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξημίωσε πεντήκοντα
μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὕδ' ὅτι πρὸ τῆς
dίκης αὐτῷ παις ἐπεθνῆκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα
οἱ φίλοι συνεισήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρισθῇ τὸ
σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς
tὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετώκησεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν
Ἀχίλλειον εὐχήν, ἔπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλ-
λον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸδε οὐ
πολὺ ὤστερον. Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλα-
βόντων ό δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέφυγε καὶ
dικτάτορα αὕτης εἴλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς

IX

"Ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν
ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσωσε καὶ
tιμῶν μεγίστων ἠξιώθη. ὤστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην
πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν
ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωσάντος, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα εὐχημοῦμενος πᾶσιν
ηφίει τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προϊὼν
δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδον. καὶ ταῖς
δημοκρατίαις ἐπαιρομένους ἐβουλευσεν ἡδὴ χρεών
ἀποκοπὰς κοινῶς, ἢ τοῦ δήμου ἢξῖον τοῖς δανεί-
σαις ἀποδόναι, τῇ γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἐτὶ
time set against him, fined him 500,000 sesterces,\(^1\) B.C. having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep indignation he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles, that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came to pass very soon, for when the Gauls captured the city, the people fled for succour to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.

IX. From the Same

Marcus Manlius, the patrician, saved the city of Rome from a Gallic invasion, and received the highest honours. At a later period, when he saw an old man, who had often fought for his country, reduced to servitude by a money-lender, he paid the debt for him. Being highly commended for this act, he released all his own debtors from their obligations. His glory being much increased thereby, he paid the debts of many others. Being much elated by the success of his demagogue tricks, he even proposed that all debts should be cancelled, or that the people should sell the lands that had not yet been distributed and apply the proceeds for the relief of debtors.

\(^1\) Schw. observes that the number is exaggeratedly large, and the text undoubtedly corrupt.
BOOK III
THE SAMNITE HISTORY
FRAGMENTS
Γ'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΥΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. "Ωτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορούνιος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ύπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομάς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἴδε Καμπανοῖς ἄβροδιαῖτοι καὶ πολυτελεῖσιν οὕσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους έαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἐκαστοί τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμον προσαγαγεῖσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἀν ἐπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὄδευσων ἐμαθεῖ τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλισε, καὶ ἀφῆκεν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηρότερους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ῥώμῃν ἐπὶ τινα χρείαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χιλιάρχον τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ὃ εἰρητο ἀφανῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἕκατεροι δ᾽ ὑπώπτευεν με-

1 An error for Μάρκιος = C. Marcius Rutilus, cons. 342 B.C.
I. When the Roman generals Cornelius and Corvinus, and the plebeian Decius, had overcome the Samnites they left a military guard in Campania to ward off the Samnite incursions. These guards, partaking of the luxury and extravagance of the Campanians, were corrupted in their habits and began to envy the riches of these people, being themselves very poor and owing alarming debts in Rome. Finally they took counsel among themselves to kill their entertainers, seize their property, and marry their wives. This infamy would perhaps have been carried out had not another Roman general, Mamercus, who was marching against the Samnites, learned the design of the Roman guards. Concealing his intentions, he disarmed some of them and dismissed them, as soldiers entitled to discharge for long service. The more villainous of them he ordered to Rome on the pretence of important business, and he sent with them a military tribune with orders to keep a secret watch over them. Both parties of soldiers suspected that their design had been
μηνύσθαι, καὶ περὶ Ταρρακίνην ἀφίστανταί τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δεδεμένους ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ ὀπλίσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἦλαυνον ἐς Ῥώμην ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι γεγονότες.

2. Ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπῆντα Κορούνιους, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὠρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἠρεμεί, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἐτὶ, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμίγνυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ ὁδυρμοὶ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἴν ός ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις ἁμαρτεῖν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αὐτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμη. ὃν ὁ Κορούνιος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὁδυροῦν ἁγασθαι πολιτικοὶ καὶ τοσοῦτον φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῷδε ἄνδρὼν δύνατο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμερίας ἐν ὑπονοια τιθέμενος, μὴ οὖν ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ἡ πιστὸς, ἀτε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκεῖνων, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσον αὐτῶν αἰτιώμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἐφῃ περὶ μειῶνων καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσειν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλις κατ᾽ οἰκείων τοσῶν. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεὶσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὀπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατήσθαιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Val. p. 549.
disclosed and they broke away from the tribune near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working in the fields, in the slave-prisons, armed them as well as they could, and marched on Rome to the number of 20,000 in all.

2. About one day’s march from the city they were met by Corvinus, who went into camp near them on the Alban mount. He remained quietly in his camp, watching the course of events and did not consider it wise to attack. However, the two bodies of men mingled with each other privately, and the guards acknowledged with groans and tears, as among relatives and friends, that they were to blame, but declared that the cause of it all was the debts they owed at Rome. When Corvinus understood this he shrank from the responsibility of so much civil bloodshed and advised the Senate to release these men from debt. He exaggerated the difficulty of the war, questioning whether he had the power to overcome such a large body of men, who would fight with the energy of despair. He had strong suspicions also of the result of the meetings and conferences, fearing lest his own army, who were relatives of these men and not less oppressed with debt, should be to some extent lacking in fidelity. If he should be defeated he said that the dangers would be greatly increased; if victorious, the victory itself would be most lamentable to the commonwealth, being gained over so many of their own people. The Senate was moved by his arguments and decreed a cancellation of debts to all Romans, and immunity also to these revolters, who then laid down their arms and returned to the city.
APPARIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK III

II

"Οτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ο ύπατος τοιούτος ἤν τὴν ἀρετὴν. τούτῳ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἁμελής εἰς αὐτὸν. καὶ ἐν ἄγροις αὐτὸν εἰχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενον τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἔρειν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ παῖς ὅδε Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτοντος ξιφίδιον, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἡξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς δὴ τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενον ἐπέκλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἠπείλει τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ὀμόσειεν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀμόσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν. ο ὅτι Μάλλιος ἦκεν ἐκείνου λαμπρὸς ἤν, ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιόσῳ ὡς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο. id. p. 550.

III

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατείχε, μετὰ δὲ, οὐ φέρων ἐτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντῆλασε τῶν ὑππον. Suid. v. ἐρέθισμα.

IV

1. "Οτι Σαυνίται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ρωμαῖοι δὲ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Δανιών ὑγιδούκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἴλουν, καὶ ἀνδρας εξ 62
II. From the Same

Hear now the bravery of the consul Manlius Torquatus. His father was a miser, and did not care for him, but kept him at work with slaves in the fields and left him to partake of their fare. When the tribune Pomponius prosecuted him for numerous misdeeds and intended to mention among others his bad treatment of his son, young Manlius, concealing a dagger under his clothes, went to the house of the tribune and asked to see him privately, as he had something of importance to say about the trial. Being admitted, and just as he was beginning to speak, he fastened the door and threatened the tribune with death if he did not take an oath that he would withdraw the accusation against his father. The latter took the oath, dismissed the accusation, and explained to the people what had happened. Manlius acquired great distinction from this affair, and was praised for being such a son to such a father.

III. From Suidas

With jeers he challenged him to single combat. The other [Manlius, the consul’s son] restrained himself for a while; but when he could no longer endure the provocation, he charged at him.

IV. From “The Embassies”

1. While the Samnites were raiding and plundering the territory of Fregellae, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and
αὐτῶν χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀνελόντες ἀπανεστησάν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐστὶ Ρώμην ἑπρέσβευον οἱ Σαυνίται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αἰτίους τούτῳ πολέμῳ γεγονότας ἀνηρρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου περιουσίας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτοὺς ἤ βουλή πάνω νομίζουσα τετρυσθαί, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἰ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἢ παρητοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδὲ ἁκοῦσαι, ὡς ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἐφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς φιλίαν συνάξουντες. λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆςαν ὄργῃ, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν ἐκεῖνος τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἐτὶ παρὰ Σαυνίτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀσπονδοὺ καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἐως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δὲ ἐνεμέση τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ύστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνίτων καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤχθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐς γὰρ στενῶτατον χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνίται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Ποντιόν καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ὡς συναίνει εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβευέιν ἐτὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ
the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them out of the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of some men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold said to be taken from their store. Therefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, and, in so far as they had any objections to make, they made them in a tone of remonstrance and appeal, or proposed to refer the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they would not endure even to hear anything more on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter.

2. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable and implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. Heaven, however, resented this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win such gratitude of the Romans as opportunity rarely offered. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him at all unless they were prepared to surrender their arms
Ὅπλα καὶ αὐτοὶς παραδοίεν. θρῆνος οὖν ἡν οία πόλεως ἀλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν έτει ἀλλας ἡμέρας, ὅκυνοντες ἀνάξιον τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι: ὡς δ' οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὁ τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ νεότης ὑπὸ πέντε μυριάδων, ἣν ὄκυνον φθειρόμενην ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκάλουν, εἴτε κτείνειν εἴτε πωλεῖν εἴτε φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἐλοιτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀτυχοῦντων ὑβρίσαι.

3. Ὅ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Καυδίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀμάξης. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, "ἐν ἐστίν, ὦ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἤ κολάσεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσσουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἣς τίνιν τίνις πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μήτ' ἐνυβρίσας μήτ' ἀφελόμενος μηδεν, ἵνα σῶν ἡ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰς δ', ὡς ἀκούω, φιλοτιμότατοι, ἀλλὰ μόνας εὐεργεσίας ἴπτώμενοι διαγωοῦνται σοι περὶ τῆς τῆς χάριτος. έχεις ἐνεχυρον τίνις τήν εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἵνα δέ σε ταῦτα μη πείθη, κτείνον ἀπαντᾷς ὀμαλῶς, μηδ' ἄγγελου ὑπολιπὼν. λέγω δ' ἔκεινα μὲν αἰρούμενος, ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀναγκαία. 'Ῥωμαίου γὰρ ὅπιον ὑβρισθέντες ἄμυνονται σε πάντως: ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκλογήν αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μεῖζον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὐροὶς βλάβους νέων ὁμοῦ πέντε μυριάδων."
and their persons. Thereupon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him, whether he elected to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep them for ransom, not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate.

3. Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: “My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure,—either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Know that the first and greatest of all victories is to treasure up success. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so as to secure for yourself the debt of a great benefit conferred. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honour. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in respect of this deed of kindness. It is in your power to make this benefit a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow, and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time.”
‘Ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν. "ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐθαυμάζω. προεῖπας γὰρ ἐρεῖν ὑπερβολὰς ἑκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσούτους, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀφαίρησομαι δι’ ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὐδ’ αὐτῷ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ, Ἐ网站地图\ŋ φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δὲ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ὃν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦτοι τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω, ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δὲ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ὃν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦτοι τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω, ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δὲ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ὃν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦτοι τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω, ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία.
4. When he had thus spoken his son answered: "I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of heaven and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I will not do it. Thoughtless leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter from the Samnites' point of view, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed as though they were benefactors? Therefore let us discard the two extremes—the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of the world, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed
καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοῖς ἐθνικῶς συνθῆσομαι, τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐπιλέξειμαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὦμηρα τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐως ᾧ ἔπασ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίζῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἤγονύμαι νευκηκότος τε ἔργα ποιῆσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπων, Ἡρωμαίους τε ἀγαπήσειν ὦσα καὶ αὑτοῖ, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἔστι ἄλλοις ἐδρασαν.”

5. Ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσε τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπῆνης ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπῆλαύνει. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἰ τις εἰρήνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρεῖ. τοῖς δὲ παρῆν οὕτως ὥς ἐπὶ ἀσπονδου καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοῖς ὡσ ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, “ἡμεῖς αἰὲ Ἡρωμαίοις ἐσπευδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἓν αὐτοὶ διελύστε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἰτ’ ἀδθισ αὐ φιλία ἡμῖν γενομένη, Ἡσαπολίταις ἐποιεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσι, καὶ οὐκ ἤγονύμεν ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἢν ὑμῖν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐν τε ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐδ’ ἐρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἐχοῦντες ἄλλοτρίας, καὶ κληρονομοῦν ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἄλλα
to put upon others. Then I will establish peace between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance, until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have acted in a way worthy of a victor and a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others.”

5. While Pontius was speaking the old man burst into tears, then seated himself in his carriage and went back to Caudium. Pontius then summoned the Roman envoys and asked them if they had any fetial priest\(^1\) with them. None, however, was present, because the army had marched to undertake an irreconcilable, implacable war. Accordingly he commanded the envoys to make this announcement to the consuls and other officers of the army and to the whole multitude: “We lived in perpetual friendship with the Romans, a friendship which you yourselves violated by giving aid to the Sidicini, our enemies. When peace was concluded again, you made war upon the Neapolitans, our neighbours. Nor did it escape us that these things were part of a plan of yours to seize the dominion of all Italy. In the first battles, where you gained the advantage on account of the unskilfulness of our generals, you showed us no moderation. Not content with devastating our country and occupying positions and towns not your own, and planting colonies in them, you, further, on two occasions, when we sent

\(^1\) The *fetiales* were a Roman college of priests, who sanctioned treaties when concluded, and who demanded satisfaction of an enemy before a declaration of war.
καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἥμιν δίς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωροῦντοι, ὑπερήφανα ἥμιν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπευδομένους ἀλλ' ἐαλω-κότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἀσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ' ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῶν συνοικοῦντων. ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἐδεῖ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἥμιν ὑμῖν ἄσπονδα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσιν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας τῆς ποτὲ μημονευόμενον, δίδωμι ἑκαστὸν ὑμῖν σὺν ἰματίῳ σώον ὑπὸ θυγατέρων ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ' ἥμιν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδὲ ποτὲ ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύσειν.

6. Ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρῆνος ἐπὶ πλειστῶν θανάτου γὰρ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι χείρονα τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ θυγατέρων ὑποθέσειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰππών ἐπήθοντο, ἀδύναται ἐδοκίμωσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστος. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας αὐτά ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὑμῖν ὑμῶν ὅ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοὶ, δύο ὄντες Ποσ- 

τούμος τε καὶ Οὐετούριος, καὶ ταμίαι δύο καὶ 

ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλίαρχοι δώδεκα, σύμ- 

παντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἠρχον. 

γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας 

τι τοῦ διατειχίσματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν 

γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἄλλο ἐπιθείς, ἐξε- 

πεμπὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκαστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦτο. καὶ τινα 

ὑποζύγια ἐδώκει αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας,
embassies to you and made concessions, arrogantly increased your claims, demanding that we should surrender our entire empire, and acknowledge your allegiance. You treated us as a conquered race, not as a nation with whom you were negotiating. Thereupon you decreed this irreconcilable, implacable war against your former friends, descendants of the Sabines whom you made your fellow-citizens. On account of your insatiable cupidity we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you despised), and mindful of our former relationship and friendship, will permit each one of you to pass under the yoke safe and sound with one garment, if you swear to give up all of our lands and strongholds and withdraw your colonies from the same, and never wage war against the Samnites again."

6. When these terms were communicated to the camp there was wailing and lamentation, long and loud, for they considered the disgrace of passing under the yoke worse than death. Afterwards, when they heard about the knights who were to be held as hostages, there was another long lament. Yet they were compelled by want to accept the conditions. Accordingly they took the oaths, Pontius on the one side, and the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, on the other, together with two quaestors, four division commanders, and twelve tribunes,—all the surviving officers. When the oaths had been taken, Pontius opened part of the barricade, and having fixed two spears in the ground and laid another across the top, caused the Romans to go under it as they passed out, one by one. He also gave them some animals to carry their sick, and
καὶ τροφῆν, ἂχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἴδος τῆς ἄφεσεως, ὁ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ξυγόν, ὑπενδίξειν ὡς δοριλάτως.

7. Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρήνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ οἱ γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχρῶς περισεσσωμένους ὡς ἀποθανόντας, ὅτι τὴν ἐπιτύρφυρον ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιούτου ἔτη, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλου, ἔως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ αφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ γυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπεθῆσαν. τοὺς δὲ ἀρχούσας ἡμέρας μὲν ἔστηθον ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἐπρασσόν δὲ οὐδέν. Μ. Ρ. 338.

V

Δεντώτῳ κατὰ ξῆλον ἀρετῆς εἶπετο νεῶν λογάδων πλήθος ὡς κατακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα ἔργα ἔτοιμα. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Σουίδ. Ρ. ξῆλος.

VI

1. "Ὅτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολύ πλήθος Τυρηνοῖς συνεμάχοντας κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι οὗτοι ἐνσπονδοί μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ.
provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This method of dismissing prisoners, which the Romans call sending under the yoke, seems to me to convey the reproach of having been captured in battle.

7. When the news of this calamity reached the city there was wailing and lamentation like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. The senators discarded their purple-striped tunics. Feasts, marriages, and everything of that kind were prohibited for a whole year, until the calamity was retrieved. Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city by night. The consuls entered by day, as the law compelled them, and wore their usual insignia, but they exercised no further authority.

V. FROM SUIDAS

On account of admiration for his bravery a multitude of chosen youths numbering eight hundred were in the habit of following Dentatus, ready for anything. This was an embarrassment to the Senate at their meetings.

VI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic tribe, aided the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were serving as mercenaries against the Romans. Although they bore the herald's staff, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and
καὶ διέρριψεν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνήρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὑπάτως τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν ἐλάσει, ὡς δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνω σπουδὴ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθῆρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ὑνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε, πλὴν Βριτομάριον, ὅν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἤγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

2. Οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὁσοὶ ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ἄνηρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἄνῃροι, ὀργιζόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοὶ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρώντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἠδὲ παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 343.

VII

1. "Ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἔθεατο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τις ἐν Τάραντι δήμαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαῖς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθηκῶς, μὴ πλεῖώ Ῥωμαίοις πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας, παροξύνας τε ἐπεισεν ἐπαναχθῆναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναὸς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντίνοι.

1 Something has probably fallen out after πυθόμενοι.
flung the parts away, alleging that his own father had been slain by the Romans while he was waging war in Etruria. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, abandoned his campaign against the Etruscans, dashed with great rapidity by way of the Sabine country and Picenum against the towns of the Senones, and devastated them with fire and sword. He carried their women and children into slavery, and killed all the adult youths except a son of Britomaris, whom he tortured terribly and led in his triumph.

2. When the Senones who were in Etruria heard of this calamity, they joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome. After various mishaps these Senones, having no homes to return to, and being in a state of frenzy over their misfortunes, fell upon Domitius [the other consul], by whom most of them were destroyed. The rest slew themselves in despair. Such was the punishment meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

VII. From the Same.

1. Cornelius went on a voyage of inspection along the coast of Magna Graecia with ten decked ships. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nicknamed Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium, and so stirred their passion that he persuaded them to put out to sea and attack Cornelius, of whose ships they
μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἐς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι "Ἐλληνες ὀντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεὶσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεισα αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἐγεγένητο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖσι αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀφῆκαν.

2. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Τάραντα πέμπουσι, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὕς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλὰ θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ᾽ οὓς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἀντὶ τοὺς διηρπάκεσαν αὐτοὺς, ἢ τὴν ἐξελυσαν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποπεσασάντος, σφόδρα ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αὐτούς τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπῆγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐξελυοῦσιν εἰ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐλληνίσασιν ἐσκυπτοῦσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταγαγοῦσι τῷ πρεσβευτῷ τῇ πόλις ἀνεσύρασι καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιξαν ὡς ἐπὶ γελοίῳ, ἐκπλυνεῖτε, ἐφε, "τοῦτο αἵματι πος τοιούτοι ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν." καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀποκριναμένων ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ο ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὑβρίς ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος συν ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις, (3) καὶ ὁ δὴΜοῦ ἀγανακτῶν Ἀἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλε.
sank four and captured one with all on board. They also accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans overpassing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison under a flag of truce.

2. When the Romans learned of these events, they sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand that the prisoners who had been taken, not in war, but as mere sight-seers, should be surrendered; that the citizens of Thurii who had been expelled should be brought back to their homes; that the property that had been plundered, or the value of what had been lost, should be restored; and finally, that they should surrender the authors of these crimes, if they wished to continue on good terms with the Romans. The Tarentines made difficulties about admitting the embassy to their council at all, and when they had received them jeered at them whenever they made a slip in their Greek, and made fun of their togas and of the purple stripe on them. But a certain Philonides, a fellow fond of jest and ribaldry, going up to Postumius, the chief of the embassy, turned his back to him, drew up his dress and polluted him with filth. This spectacle was received with laughter by the bystanders. Postumius, holding out his soiled garment, said: "You will wash out this defilement with much blood—you who take pleasure in this kind of joke." As the Tarentines made no answer the embassy departed. Postumius carried the soiled garment just as it was, and showed it to the Romans.

3. The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Aemilius, who was waging war against the Samnites,

VIII

Ὅτε μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον οἱ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ῥήγου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐδοκοῦν τις ἀποκατάστασιν καὶ παισίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν οἱ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς ὁπεροίσπασαν πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάτα καὶ περιτριβήσαντες ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν οἱ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς οὐ πρεποῦσα πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάσια τῇ ἐνοπλῇ ἐτασσεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν ἀρίζετο, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσαις Ἀγάθις ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιτάγμασι κάμουντες οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἄπεδέρασκον. καὶ οἱ βασιλεὺς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλεε καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν ἢπάθωντο σαφῶς. Val. p. 553.
to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh, for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and make him our leader in this war." This was done.

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

After the shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrived at the harbour of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, utterly worn out by exercises and tasks to which they were unaccustomed, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly.
1. "Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, μὴ τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν Ῥηγίνων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὑρωχομένους ἐν ἑορτῇ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀκουσίαις συνῆσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφερον ὅτι Ῥηγίνοι τὴν φρουρὰν προέδίδοσαν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατῳκημένοις, οὗ πρὸ πολλοῦ κάκεινος ἤς ἰδίους ἔντον ὅμοια δεδρακόσιν.

2. Ἀλγήσαντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ᾿Εορτῇ Ῥηγίνῳ ἰατροῖς ἀπιστοῦντα, μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ῥηγίνος ἀνὴρ, μετωκηκώς ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ῥηγίνος ἤν ἀγνοούμενος. οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ συντόμῳ φαρμάκῳ ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρίσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι, καὶ λαθὼν ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δ᾽ ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὀδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὗρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

3. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἱερά τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥηγίνων λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς ἀιτίους
1. Some Roman soldiers were stationed in Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were feasting on a holiday, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of outrage on their hosts not long before.

2. Suffering from an affection of the eyes and distrusting the physicians of Rhegium, Decius sent for a medical man who had migrated from Rhegium to Messana so long before that it was forgotten that he was a Rhegian. The latter persuaded him that, if he wished speedy relief, he should use certain hot drugs. Having applied a burning and corrosive ointment to his eyes, he told him to bear the pain till he should come again. Then he secretly returned to Messana. Decius, after enduring the pain a long time, washed off the ointment and found that he had lost his eyesight.

3. Fabricius was sent by the Romans to re-establish order. He restored the city to those Rhegians who still remained, and sent the ringleaders in the mutiny
τής ἀποστάσεως ἐς ἉΡώμην ἐπεμψεν, οἷς μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρήξαν ἀταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς, οἷα πηρός, ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. ιδ. ιβ.

X

1. "Οτι ο Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ρωμαίους ἐλπίζων ἐς διαλύσεις τὸτε μάλιστα ἐνδώσει, ἐπεμφεν ἐς Ρώμην Κινέαω τὸν Θεσσαλόν, δόξαν εἰς λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀρετὴν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄγωνι μετρισματικῶς κατελογίζετο, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσατοι μήτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσυχασμένου στρατόπεδον ἐδίδου δ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήμην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρον, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιει, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐδειγμένους. Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σανουτάζεις καὶ Δαυνίοις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἀποδοῖει ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες, καὶ γιγνομένων ἐφι τοῦτων Πύρρον ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλῶτους ἄνευ λύτρων.

2. Οἱ δ' ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλείστον, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἐως Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καῖκος ἐπικλησθεὶς, ἤδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοὺς παισίν αὐτῶν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, "ἡχθῶμην,"

1 MSS. ἐπιμελῶς, which can hardly be right.
back to Rome. They were beaten with rods in the forum, then beheaded, and their bodies cast away unburied. Decius, who, being blind, was negligently guarded, killed himself.

X. From "The Embassies"

1. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, having gained a victory over the Romans and desiring to recuperate his forces after the severe engagement, and expecting that the Romans would then be particularly desirous of coming to terms, sent to the city Cineas, a Thessalian, who was so renowned for eloquence that he had been compared with Demosthenes. When he was admitted to the senate-chamber, he extolled the king for a variety of reasons, laying stress on his moderation after the victory, in that he had neither marched directly against the city nor attacked the camp of the vanquished. He offered them peace, friendship, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, provided that they included the Tarentines in the same treaty, left the other Greeks dwelling in Italy free under their own laws, and restored to the Lucanians, Samnites, Daunii, and Bruttians whatever they had taken from them in war. If they would do this, he said that Pyrrhus would restore all his prisoners without ransom.

2. The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said:
εἶπεν, "ὅτι μὴ βλέπων νῦν δ' ὅτι ἀκούω. τὰ γὰρ
tοιαῦτα ὑμῶν βουλεύματα ἥξιον μὴθ' ὅραν μὴτ'
ἀκούειν, οὖ δὲ ἐν ἀτύχημα ἀθρώς οὖτως ἑαυτῶν
ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τούτο δράσαντα αὐτὸν τε καὶ
τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθε φίλους
ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων
κτήματα Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τί
tοῦτ' ἔστιν ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι;
cαι ταῦτα τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δούλειας τολμᾶσιν
ὁμομάζειν." ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ὄμοια τούτως ὁ
"Ἀππιος εἰπὼν καὶ ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον,
eἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, εἰ
Ἰταλίας ἀπελθοῦντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μήτε
φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε σύμμαχον μήτε Ῥωμαίοις
dικαστῇν ἢ διαιτητῇν.

3. Καὶ ἡ βουλή ταῦτ' ἀπερ καὶ "Ἀππιος εἰπεν
ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέα. Δαιούνῳ δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη
καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὖτως, εἰ τις ἀντὶ τῶν
ἀπολωλότων αὐτῶν ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν
ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἐτι παρὼν, καὶ
θεώμενοι αὐτοὺς ὀδούμενοι ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφὰς,
λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθόντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι
πρὸς ὑδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἱ δὲ οὐ
Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πύρρου αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος,
ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας
πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐτερος ύπατος τῷ Δαιούνῳ
Κορουγκάνιος ἤκεν ἐκ Τυρρήνιας μεθ' ἡς ἐἰχε
παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταλλα περὶ τῆς
Ῥώμης πυνθανομένῳ Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι
πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὁλῇ, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυ-
mάσαντος μεταλαβῶν φάναι, "βασιλέων μᾶλλον
"I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Has a single misfortune made you in a moment so forget yourselves as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give the heritage of your fathers to the Lucanians and Bruttians? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator of the Romans.

3. The Senate made answer to Cineas in the very words of Appius. They decreed the levying of two legions for Laevinus, and made proclamation that whoever would volunteer in place of those who had been lost should put their names on the army roll. Cineas, who was still present and saw the multitude jostling each other in their eagerness to be enrolled, is reported to have said to Pyrrhus on his return: "We are waging war against a hydra." Others say that not Cineas, but Pyrrhus himself said this when he saw the new Roman army larger than the former one; for the other consul, Coruncanius, came from Etruria and joined his forces with those of Laevinus. It is said also that when Pyrrhus made some further inquiries about Rome, Cineas replied that it was a city of generals; and when Pyrrhus wondered at this, he corrected himself, and said, kings rather
ἡ στρατηγῶν.” Πύρρος δ', ὦς οὔδὲν εἰρηναίον οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπῆνῆτον, ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἥπειρετο, πάντα δηδών. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγυίαν, βαρεῖαν δ' ἔχον ἥδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἤγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διήρει.

4. Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἥξιον λύσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεὶν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ο δὲ σπευδομένος μὲν ἐφι, καθάπερ προ- εἰπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἕαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσούτους. ἔξενιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἤγουμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθώμιλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγου καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς "Ηπειρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεὶν ἐνετέθεν ἥδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δώσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασαμένοις. ἐπιγελάσας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὖδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὴν δ' ἐμήν," ἐφι, "παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὔδεις οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔσεις σὺ, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἐμαυτῷ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον." οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὔτω φασίν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μοι τῆς φύσεως 'Ηπειρώτα μεταλαβόντες ἐμῇ σοῦ προβήσουσιν.
than generals. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no expectation of peace from the Senate, he pressed on towards Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

4. Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and such others of his allies as they had taken. He replied that if they were ready for peace, he would, as Cineas had said in his proclamation, release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. However, he entertained them in a kingly way and hearing that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would bring about a treaty of peace, he would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who arranged the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer at all as to public matters, but said: "Neither your friends nor you, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear." Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."
5. Ὅποτέρως δ᾽ οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κροιών τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπεμπεν ἄνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ’ ὃ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἀδ᾽ ο Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολε- λύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἑορτάσαντας ἐπανήκειν ἐς αὐτὸν. τούτους ἦ βουλή, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἑορτά- σαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθέλεσθι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ ΠΣ πολεμητεὰ πάντως αὐθις ἐδόκει. U. p. 345.

XI

1. Ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἤδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ- ἐπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ῥωμαίων κατ-
5. Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus again thought that war was unavoidable.

XI. FROM THE SAME

1. While Pyrrhus was perplexed by the Roman complication he was also disturbed by an uprising of the Molossians. At this time too Agathocles, the king of Sicily, had just died, and as Pyrrhus had married his daughter Lanassa, he began to look upon Sicily, rather than Italy, as his natural possession. Still he was loath to abandon those who had summoned him to their aid, without some kind of arrangement for peace. Seizing eagerly the occasion of the sending back of the traitor who had deserted from him, he testified his gratitude to the consuls for thus saving his life, and also sent Cineas to Rome to make the same acknowledgments, and to surrender the prisoners by way of recompense, instructing him to procure peace in whatever way he could. Cineas brought a large number of presents both for men and
πολλὰ δὲ γυναιξὶ, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόδωρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἵσχύειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

2. Οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις: καὶ φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναίκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ' αὐτῷ, καθά καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνευ δώρων ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτόι πολυτελῶς ἐξένιζον, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἵμαλωτοὺς ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετὰ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων ... ἐκ δικαίων τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐτεὶ τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῦ ἐξέλασαντων ἐκ Σικελίας. id. p. 348.

XII

1. "Οτί Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐτεὶ τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῦ ἐξελασαντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρὺν ἐπὶ τε ξενίας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶν ἐκ Πήγιου διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, φορτίστε δὲ καὶ ὁλκάσι πολὺ πλείοσιν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διαναμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναύς ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπλουσὶ ἐποίησαν, πλὴν

1 The text appears to be defective here.
women, hearing that the people were fond of money and gifts, and that women had had large influence among the Romans from the earliest times.

2. But they warned each other against the gifts, and it is said that no man or woman accepted anything. They gave Cineas the same answer as before. If Pyrrhus would withdraw from Italy and send an embassy to them without gifts, they would agree to fair terms in all respects. They treated the embassy, however, in a sumptuous manner, and in their turn sent back to Pyrrhus in exchange all the Tarentines and others of his allies whom they held as prisoners. Thereupon Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with his elephants and 8,000 horse, promising his allies that he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, for the Carthaginians had driven him out of Sicily.

XII. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

1. After the battle and the armistice with the Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily, promising he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sank seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except
δώδεκα μόνων, αἰς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἐτίνυτο
Δοκρῶν τοὺς ἐπιζευρίους, ὅτι φρουράν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φρουράρχον αὐτῆς, ὑβρίσαντας ἐσ αὐτούς, ἀνηρίκεσαν. ὅμως δ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων τε καὶ συλῶν ὁ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκώψας τὴν ἀκαιρον θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι πλούτου ἄποιουν εὐβουλίαν.

2. Ἀναχθέντα δ’ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμῶν ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέρριψεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Δοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὡστε καὶ Πύρρον ὅψε τῆς ἄσεβείας αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνη, καὶ θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεον πολλαῖς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ ἀπαντώντων ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἔξερριψεν, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσαντας ἢ λέγοντι συνθεμένους, ἢ διακονισμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἐκτείνεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπετράχει κακῶς. Val. p. 554.
twelve. Escaping with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. He massacred and plundered them with savage cruelty, not even sparing the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying jestingly that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labour.

2. He put to sea laden with his spoils, and was overtaken by a storm, which sank some of his ships with their crews, and cast the others ashore. But all the sacred things the waves brought back safe into the harbours of the Locrians. Wherefore Pyrrhus, perceiving too late the consequences of his impiety, restored them to the temple of Proserpina and sought to propitiate the goddess with numerous sacrifices. As the victims were unpropitious he became still more furious, and put to death all those who had advised the temple-robbing, or had assented to it, or had taken part in it. Such is the story of Pyrrhus' disaster.
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ

1. Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εῖλον ἀνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπετρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξῆλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὖθις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπὶ αὐτῶν ὅγδοεκοῦσα γεγονὼς ἔτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ᾽ ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοϊντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοί, Κελτικοὶ ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτὸς Γάιος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιῶν ἀπῆνε τοὺς τις καὶ στρατηγήματι τοιοῦτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται: ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλωσιν οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δὲ ἀφιέντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθείη τὰ δόρατα: βαλόντων δὲ τῶν υστάτων ἀναπηδᾶν ἀπαντᾶς ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοῇ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας ἱέναι: καταπλήξειν.
BOOK IV

FROM THE GALLIC HISTORY

I. An Epitome of Appian's Book "De Rebus Gallicis"

1. The Gauls took the initiative by attacking the Romans. They took Rome itself, except the Capitol, and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and expelled them. At a later period, when they had made a second invasion, he overcame them again and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being then in his eighty-first year. A third army of Gauls which invaded Italy was in its turn destroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to spring up together, and with a cheer close speedily with the
γάρ ὡδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶν ἀφεσιν καὶ ἐτ' αὐτὴ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχείρησιν,
tά δὲ δόρατα ἣν οὐκ ἀπεοικότα ἀκονίοις: ἥ-
Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦν υψοὺς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ
ἡμῖσυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τούδε
καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρίς γε τῆς αἴχημ. καὶ οἱ Βοιο
οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατι.
2. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἕνικα Ποπίλλιος,
cαὶ μετ' ἐκείνων τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ
Καμίλλου νιός. ἐστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτών καὶ
Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μάριο
υπατείων πλεῖστον τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τε
ἡλικία μάλιστα φοβερότατον χρῆμα Κελτών ἔς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τινᾶς
ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατ-
ἐκοψεν' ἐφ' οὔς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεῖς ἄπαντας
diéftheire. τελευταία δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἔς
Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίων πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ
Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυριάσι
τε γὰρ ἄνδρων ἄγριων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἐτεσίν ἐν
οῖς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἐς χείρας ἠλθον, εἰ τις ύφ'
ἐν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίων πλεῖστοι, καὶ
τούτων ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐζώγρησαν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ
πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔθνη δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις
ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ
προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ
Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὀλίγη
κομιδῇ στρατιάν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς,
cαὶ δόδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μία μάχῃ κατέκανε,
πεντεκόσια μόνος τῶν ἱδίων ἀποβάλων. καὶ
ταύτα μέντοι ἐπραξέ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος
ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιών καὶ παραθαρ-
enemy. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by an immediate charge, would terrify their adversaries. The Gauls used spears not unlike javelins, pila, as the Romans call them, four-sided, half of wood and half of iron, which was soft except for the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans.

2. Another Gallic force was defeated by Popillius, and after this Camillus, son of the former Camillus, defeated the same tribe. Afterwards Aemilius Pappus won some trophies from the Gauls. Shortly before the consulships of Marius a most numerous and warlike horde of Celtic tribes, most formidable in bodily strength, made incursions into both Italy and Gaul, and defeated some of the Roman consuls, and cut their armies in pieces. Marius was sent against them and he destroyed them all. The latest and greatest war of the Romans against the Gauls was that waged under the command of Caesar, for, in the ten years that he held command there, they fought with more than 4,000,000 barbarians, taken all together. Of these 1,000,000 were captured and as many more slain in battle. They reduced to subjection 400 tribes and more than 800 towns, which had either revolted from their allegiance or were conquered for the first time. Even before Marius, Fabius Maximus Aemilianus with a very small army waged war against the Gauls and killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only fifteen of his own men; and he did this although suffering from a recent wound, passing down the
ρύνων, καὶ διδάσκον ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμιτέουν, τὰ μὲν ἐπ’ ἀπήνης φερόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βάδην χειραγωγούμενος.

3. Καῖσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλουντίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δὲ αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἐμπροσθεν Πίσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεὶ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος τοῦ Δαβινυδὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ Τρικούρους ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἐπεῖτα τοὺς μετ’ Ἄριονύσσου Γερμανοὺς, οἳ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζουν τῶν μεγίστων ὕπηρχον καὶ τὸ ἢθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δὲ ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλπει, καὶ πόα ἐχρόντω παρὰ τῶν ἀπορίας τροφῆς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δὲ, ὡς ἐσικευ, οὐ φερέρουν θάλπει, καὶ πόα ἐχρῶντω παρὰ τῶν ἀπορίας τροφῆς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δὲ, ὡς ἐσικευ, οὐ φερέρουν θάλπει, καὶ πόα ἐχρῶντω παρὰ τῶν ἀπορίας τροφῆς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δὲ, ὡς ἐσικευ, οὐ φερέρουν θάλπει, καὶ πόα ἐχρῶντω παρὰ τῶν ἀπορίας τροφῆς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις.

4. Μετὰ τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς καλομένους Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμῷ τινα περῶσι, τοσοῦτος ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτρέψαντο, ἄρτι στρατοπέδου ἐξ ὀδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσαν.
ranks and encouraging his troops, and showing them how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others.

3. Caesar began his war against them by gaining a victory over some 200,000 of the Helvetii and Tigurini. The latter at an earlier period had captured a Roman army commanded by Piso and Cassius and sent them under the yoke, as is related in the annals of Paulus Claudius. The Tigurini were now overcome by Labienus, Caesar's lieutenant, and the others by Caesar himself, together with the Tricorii, who were aiding them. He also overcame the Germans under Ariovistus, a people who excelled all others, even the largest men, in size; savage, the bravest of the brave, despising death because they believe they shall live hereafter, bearing heat and cold with equal patience, living on herbs in time of scarcity, and their horses browsing on trees. But it seems that they were without patient endurance in their battles, and fought under the guidance, not of intellect and science, but of passion, like wild beasts, for which reason they were overcome by Roman science and endurance. For, although the Germans charged them with tremendous force and pushed the whole of the legions back a short distance, the Romans kept their ranks unbroken, out-maneuvered them, and eventually slew 80,000 of them.

4. Afterwards Caesar fell upon the so-called Belgae as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies. The Nervii, however, defeated him by falling suddenly upon his army as it was getting itself into camp after a march. They made a very great
τοὺς δὲ ταξιάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθάρησαν, ἐξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλοβρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὕσυπετῶν δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοι τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σοῦκαμβροῖς δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἰππεῖσι τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἰππεῖς τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐτρεφθαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἐδοσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

5. Ἑπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν νῆσον, ἠπείρου μείξονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον ἔτι. Ἑπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἄμπωτεως: ἄρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἥπτετο τῆς θάλασσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλεύετο, ἠρέμα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαίῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν.

衡

"Ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἔπτα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνύσταται μοῖρα Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἱκανὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἄλλης γῆς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλπείου ὄρους ἤπειρος τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ Κλουσίνοις, εὐδαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν, ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσίνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπονδοὶ γεγονοῦσες ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς κατέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πρέσβεις συνέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβί-
slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. Caesar himself took refuge on a hill with his body-guard, where the enemy surrounded him; but, being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion, they were destroyed, although they were 60,000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones. Caesar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tencteri, armed and unarmed together. The Sigambri with 500 horse put to flight 5,000 of Caesar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

5. Caesar was also the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine. He also passed over to Britain, an island larger than a very large continent, and still unknown to the men of Rome. He crossed by taking advantage of the ebb tide. For as it began to affect the sea, the fleet was impelled by the waves, slowly at first, then more rapidly, until finally Caesar was carried with great swiftness to Britain.

II. From "The Embassies"

In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt on both banks of the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as
ous τρεῖς, οἱ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἔμελλον προσαγορεύσειν ἀνίστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς 'Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὔπω ἐπὰν τὰ 'Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλουσίνους ἐνῆγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ 'Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνείλε τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Κλουσίουν. U. p. 349.

III

"Ὅτι ο τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ κατάπληξιν, ὃ Κελτῶν ἀπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπτεν ἐς 'Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύουσι γεγονόσι, ἵναι τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότον τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ἐπολέμησαν. ήτει τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότον τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ἐπολέμησαν, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι 'Ῥωμαίους κοινὸν νόμου ἐπολέμησαν. οἱ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίοι συνεγίγνωσκόν μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἀμαρτείν, αἰδοὶ δὲ οἶκον διαφέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονοῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτησίον ἀρχὴν χιλιάριον.
ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate a country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared neither the threats nor the arms of any man, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii, who had come as ambassadors, urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief of that band, stripped his body, and carried his arms back to Clusium.

III. FROM THE SAME

After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, refused to receive the Roman embassy, and subsequently, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans, selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii
χοις, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύοντας τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἱδή. τοῦ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ἤκειν αὐτοὺς, ἄν ἐτί μηνίωσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὁ Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ᾽ ἐκεῖνω, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἀξιόντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάσασθαι τοῦτο ἐς τοῦτο πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἠλαυνοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. id. p. 350.

IV

Ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται γράμματα διοίσεων διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Suid. v. ὑφίσταται.

V

"Ὅτι Καιδίκιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνίσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ξημίας. ο δὲ ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸν ἐτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ἤνηξάμην ἐπιποθῆσαι με Ῥωμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτῃ ἦλπισα τὴν ἐπιπόθησιν αὐτοῖς ἐσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιοτέραν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμον ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν." Val. p. 557.

VI

"Ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἠρέμου ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἐνδον παραστησόμενοι. καὶ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτώλιον

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military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still angry. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an outrage, and, being indignant at it, they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause with them in the war. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome.

IV. FROM SUIDAS

He (Caedicius) promised to carry letters through the enemy's ranks to the Capitol.

V. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

When Caedicius bore the decree of the Senate to Camillus, by which he was made consul, he exhorted him not to cherish anger against his country on account of the harm it had done him. The latter, interrupting him, said: "I could not have prayed to the gods that the Romans might some time long for me, if I had known what that longing was to mean to them. Now I pray the nobler prayer that I may render my country a service equal to the calamity that has befallen her."

VI. FROM THE SAME

When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest
κατέβαινεν ἱερεύς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δὴ τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἐστίας νεῶν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολέμων, αἰδεσθέντων ἡ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὐδαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐλόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὡδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος. id. ib.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ οἶνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁδην ἐνεπίμπλαντο οἱ Κέλτοι, τήν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρποὺς, τῶν ἁλλῶν ἁγονον καὶ ἄφυα. τα τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ύγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἁδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἁδύνατα πάμπαν ἐγίγνετο· ὑπὸ τε ἱδρῶτος καὶ ἄσθματος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως. id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἁδην.

VIII

Οὗς γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαῖοι, "οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν βοηθοῦν βαρείαν ἱέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὀπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἴωροντες. ὅν τὸ ἀτολμὸν ὤρωντες, καὶ τὸ σώμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίεσθε τῷ ἔργῳ." Suid. v. ἱέντες.
named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed with the sacred utensils through the ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and the sanctity of his appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us.

VII. From the Same

The Gauls filled themselves to repletion with wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature, and inhabiting a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other produce. Thus their bodies, being large and delicate and full of flabby flesh, grew, by reason of excessive eating and drinking, heavy and corpulent, and quite incapable of running or hardship; and when any exertion was required of them they speedily became exhausted by perspiration and shortness of breath.

VIII. From Suidas

He (Camillus) showed them naked to the Romans and said: “These are the creatures who assail you with such terrible shouts in battle, and clash their arms and shake their long swords and toss their hair. Behold their lack of hardihood, their softness and flabbiness of body, and gird yourselves to your work.”
IX

Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὄραν, καὶ τοὺς πονοῦμένοις ἑτέρους νεαλεῖς ἑπιτέμπειν ἀεὶ. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμὴν ὁμοιομαιούμενοι ἐφευγον ἀτάκτως. id. v. νεαλής.

Χ

Ὅδε δὲ Κελτὸς ἄγανακτῶν καὶ λιφαιμῶν ἐδιωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπεισόδοινος. ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος ἀεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε πρηνὴς ο Κελτός. καὶ δεύτερον τοῦτο μονομάχιον ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλαύχουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

XI

"Ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἤ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν ἐνεκάλεσοντας ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφόροι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἄγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ διεφθάρτο, τά τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριψεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσου ὁ Κορυνήλιος ἐν ὄδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνως σπούδη διὰ Σαβίων καὶ Πικεντίων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε
IX. FROM THE SAME

The people beheld the battle from the walls, and constantly sent fresh troops to support those who were growing weary. But the tired Gauls, having thus to engage with opponents who were fresh, took to disorderly flight.

X. FROM THE SAME

The Gaul, furious and exhausted with loss of blood, pursued Valerius, eager to grapple and fall with him. But, as Valerius kept continuously retiring, the Gaul at last fell headlong. The Romans felicitated themselves on this second single combat with the Gauls.

XI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

The Senones, although they had a treaty with the Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, and accordingly the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the herald's staff in their hands, and wore the inviolable garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, made a forced march against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword.
ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἡμεραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἡβή πάντας ἐκτεινεν ὀμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἀοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαρι δὲ μόνον ἤγεν αὐξχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμη. ὠστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐς τὰ πατρίδας ἐς ἠδιαφύγουσιν, συνέπεσον ἐς τὴν Χείμαρας ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἠττώμενοι σφῶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἢδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. Υ. p. 350.

ΧΙΙ

"Οτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔξαιτοντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδίδοντας, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Γυαιοῦ Δομετίου. ὁ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἀντυγχάνει πρεσβευτής Βιτοῖτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἐσκευασμένοι τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρεῖποντο αὐτῶ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες: δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι. μουσικός τε ἀνήρ εἶπετο, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν Βασιλέα Βιτοῖτου, εἶτ’ Ἀλλόβριγας, εἶτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ύμνῶν οὐ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανείς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν συγγνώμωμη αὐτῶν τοῖς Σαλύων δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν. id. p. 351.
He reduced the women and children to slavery, killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for the future. Britomaris alone he took with him as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones, having no longer any homes to escape to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

XII. From the Same

The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by the Romans, took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnaeus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants also adorned, and by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as bodyguards. A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.
"Οτι τῶν Τεύτων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολύ-ανδρος ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ἱππομαῖων ὑπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις, ἣ μάλιστα ἐστιν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειρούντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αὐτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ἱππομαῖων ξένοις ἄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ᾽ οἱ Ἱππομαῖοι ξένοις, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκῃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔτην ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτωνες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαί τε τὴν ἡ Ἱππομαῖους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀφέξεσθαι, ὁ δὴ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς προσβεῖς, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅδ᾽ ὠν ἱγμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἠγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτῶς διαδραμῶν, ἂδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἐνετείλατο μακρότεραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν.
XIII. From the Same

A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no movement in this direction he marched against them himself, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would abstain from molesting them. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then cut across by the shorter, and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, who were still resting, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans only escaped in small bands into the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul.

i.e. amici, as opposed to socii. See Heitland's Roman Republic, vol. ii, section 428.
XIV

Ὁ δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἅψαυστείν ἐκέλευεν, ἕως ἡμέρα γένηται, πολύχρυσα εἶναι δοκῶν. Suid. νν. ἅψαυστως et Κίμβρος.

XV

"Ὅτι ἔθνη δύο Τυγύριοι καὶ Ἐλουητίῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος πυθόμενος διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐστὶ ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσάμενοι ἐπὶ διαπείρα τοῖς πολεμίοις υπὲρ σπονδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὃμηρα δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκριναμένοι δὲ εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενος φθάσαι τὴν ὃμαιχμίαν αὐτῶν, ἔτι μὲν τοὺς Τυγύριοὺς ἔλασσον ὅντας ἐπεμπεῖ Λαβιηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπει τοὺς Ἐλουητίους ἐχώρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβιηνῷ τὸ ἔργον εὑμαρές, ἄδοκήτοις Τυγύριοι περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπυιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεξόμενος καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀσυνταξίᾳ. U. p. 352.

XVI

"Ὸτὶ Ἀριστοκράτων, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥήμων, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἰδούων ἐπολέμει πλοίοις οὕσι Ῥωμαίων. τότε μὲν δὴ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθείν, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰδούων, καὶ φίλος ἥξισε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ ψηφισαμένου. id. p. 353.
THE GALLIC HISTORY

XIV. FROM SUIDAS

He ordered them to leave the bodies of the Cimbri intact till daylight because he believed they were adorned with gold.

XV. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion into the Roman province of Gaul. When Caesar heard of this movement, he built a wall along the river Rhone about a hundred and fifty stades in length to intercept them. When they sent ambassadors to him to endeavour to make a treaty, he ordered them to give him hostages and money. They replied that they were accustomed to receive these things, not to give them. As he wished to prevent them from forming a junction he sent Labienus against the Tigurini, who were the weaker, while he himself marched against the Helvetii, taking with him about 20,000 Gallic mountaineers. The work was easy to Labienus, who fell upon the Tigurini unawares on the river bank, defeated them, and scattered the greater part of them in disorderly flight.

XVI. FROM THE SAME

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, crossed to this side before Caesar's arrival and made war against the Aedui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from the Aedui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Caesar being himself consul and voting for it.
"Ὅτι ᾿Αρεύοουστος ὁ Τερμανῶν βασιλεύς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων αὐθίς συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἥξισεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὗ συνέλθοντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἐδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐστράτευεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν μετ’ ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ’ ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν. id. ib.

"Οτι Οὐσιπέται, ἔθνος Τερμανικόν, καὶ Ταγχρέαι δοκοῦσι πρότεροι σφητέροι ἱππεῖς ὀκτακισχίλιους τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐς πεντακισχίλιους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναγείας ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσάμενους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Ἑνοίδους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἐκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχίλιους, ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ
THE GALLIC HISTORY

XVII. FROM THE SAME

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, who had been voted a friend of the Roman people, came to Caesar to hold a colloquy. After they had separated he wished to have another. Caesar refused it, but sent some of the leading men of the Gauls to meet him. Ariovistus cast them into chains, and therefore Caesar threatened him and led his army against him; but fear fell upon the army on account of the military reputation of the Germans.

XVIII. FROM THE SAME

It is believed that the Usipetes, a German tribe, and the Tencteri, with 800 of their own horse, put to flight without provocation about 5,000 of Caesar's horse: that Caesar detained the ambassadors whom they subsequently sent: and that what befell resulted for them in so sudden and complete a disaster that 400,000 of them were cut to pieces. One writer says that Cato in the Roman Senate proposed that Caesar should be surrendered to the barbarians for this deed of blood perpetrated while negotiations were pending. But Caesar in his own diary says that when the Usipetes and Tencteri were ordered to go back forthwith to their former homes, they replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi, who had driven them away, and that they were waiting for their answer; that while these negotiations were pending, they set upon his men with 800 of their horse, and by the suddenness of the attack put to flight his 5,000; and that when they
τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπη-
σας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρί-
σεων. id. ib.

XIX

Εὐθὺς ἦρεθιζον τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκήσαι,
ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων
ἐτὶ παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον. Suid. ν. παρορκήσαι.

XX

Δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι ὑπέστρεφεν
εἰς τοῦπίσω. id. ν. δείσαντες.

XXI

"Ὅτι ὁ Βριτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἴδούους Ῥωμαίων
ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς
φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιὰν ἔφθακέναι. Mai, Scrip-
torum veterum nov. collect. t. 2 p. 367."
sent another embassy to explain this violation of good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before giving his answer.

XIX. From Suidas

Straightway they stirred up the Britons to violate the oath, complaining that while a treaty with them was in force the army was still present.

XX. From the Same

Caesar apprehending an attack on [Quintus] Cicero turned back.

XXI. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

Britores seduced the Aedui from their Roman allegiance. When Caesar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.
ΉΣΑΝ ήταν άλυπαπεῦ. πὸ, οὔ γεοιταν. "Μπορεί να είναι ότι η πρόκληση που θέλει να αναλάβει είναι η πρόκληση που θέλει να αναλάβει είναι η πρόκληση που θέλει να αναλάβει είναι η πρόκληση που θέλει να αναλάβει είναι η πρόκληση που θέλει να αναλάβει.

Τότε η ζωή ήταν καλή. Ο θάνατος ήταν κακός. Η ζωή ήταν καλή. Ο θάνατος ήταν κακός. Η ζωή ήταν καλή. Ο θάνατος ήταν κακός. Η ζωή ήταν καλή. Ο θάνατος ήταν κακός.
BOOK V
OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS
FRAGMENTS
EK TΗΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ

Ε'

I

"Οτι ἀποροῦντες Ῥωμαίοι τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρηματων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυπήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἐκαστὸν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐς Πτολεμαῖοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίον τοῦ Δάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρῶμεν. τῷ δὲ ἣν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδόνιους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ᾽ ἔχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλοιν. U. p. 354.

II

1. "Οτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δἰς ἐν τῇ γῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δἰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ἡ δὴ καὶ πάνω προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποροῦντες ἠδή καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἠτουν ἀνοχὰς χαρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπον τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥήγλον τοῦ
BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

I. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

Both Romans and Carthaginians were destitute of money; and the Romans could no longer build ships, being exhausted by taxes, yet they levied foot soldiers and sent them to Africa and Sicily from year to year, while the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, seeking to borrow 2000 talents. He was on terms of friendship with both Romans and Carthaginians, and he sought to bring about peace between them; but as he was not able to accomplish this, he said: "It behoves one to assist friends against enemies, but not against friends."

II. FROM THE SAME

1. When the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea, where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius...
ὕπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἴκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρύσθαι τὰ Karχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρήμενεν ἡ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Karχηδόνα ἐκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἐκτειναν οἱ Karχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσ-μένα πάντοθεν ἐστῶτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύναιτο ἐπικλήνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνέθεντο.

2. Καὶ ἤν ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Karχηδονίοις εἰσί, Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέ-ρων νῆσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίους δὲ ἦ Ἰέρων τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράννῳ πολέμου Karχη-δονίους μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἕνω-λογεῖν, ποιημέν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ἑνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσι εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἐπτακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Karχηδονίοις πόλεμος, ἐτεινὸν εἰκοσὶ καὶ τέσσαραν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆσες ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπτακισχιλιαί, Karχηδονίων δὲ πεντα-κόσιαι. Σικελίας δὲ οὔτω τοῦ πλέονος Ῥωμαίοι κατέσχον, ὅσον Karχηδόνιοι κατείχον φόρους τε
Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans.

2. The conditions were these: All Roman prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians were to be delivered up; Sicily and the small neighbouring islands to be surrendered to the Romans; the Carthaginians not to initiate any war against Syracuse or its ruler, Hiero, nor to recruit mercenaries in any part of Italy; the Carthaginians to pay the Romans a war indemnity of 2000 Euboic talents in twenty years, in yearly instalments payable at Rome. (The Euboic talent is equal to 7000 Alexandrine drachmas.)

So ended the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, having lasted twenty-four years, in which the Romans lost 700 ships and the Carthaginians 500. In this way the chief part of Sicily (all of it that had been held by the Carthaginians) passed into the possession of the Romans. The latter levied tribute on the

* The Euboic talent is equal to about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.
αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον ἐπεμποῦν ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἀγαρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ᾽ ὧν αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνε-πεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

3. Καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίους τὸν τε μισθὸν ἕτον τὸν ἐτι ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχασ. ἔτους δὲ καὶ Λίβνες, ὑπήκοοι ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὁρῶντες ἐχαλέπαινόν τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τρισχιλίων, οὐς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὕνεκα. διωθομένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκεντέους, κατέλαβον ἀμφότερα Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ὅ ἡ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνας ἐθεῖ πολιοὶ ἀβρακασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τὰ τοὺς Καρχηδόνων πάντα ἐλεημόσυνα. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμοῦμενοι συμμάχουσι ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβνας Ῥωμαίοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο, καὶ Ῥωμαίοι στρατιάν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπεμπόσιον ἐγέροντο, ἀγορὰν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγαγον ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ Ἐλλάδος ἐπάγαγον ἐπεμπόσιον, καὶ Καρχηδόνωνοι ἐγκρατῶς ἐξειλοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου.
Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges among their towns, and sent a praetor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had cooperated with them in this war, was declared to be their friend and ally.

3. When this war was ended the Gallic mercenaries demanded of the Carthaginians the pay still due to them for their service in Sicily, together with the presents that Hamilcar had promised to give them. The African soldiers, although they were Carthaginian subjects, made the same demands, on account of their service in Sicily, and they did so the more arrogantly since they saw that the Carthaginians were weakened and humbled; they were angry also on account of the killing of 3000 of their own number whom the Carthaginians had crucified for deserting to the Romans. But when the Carthaginians refused their demands, both Gauls and Africans joined together and seized the city of Tunis, and also Utica, the largest city in Africa after Carthage. Making this their base, they began to stir a revolt in the rest of Africa, brought over to their side some Numidians, and received into their ranks a vast number of fugitive slaves, and pillaged the Carthaginian possessions in every direction. Being thus pressed by enemies on all sides the Carthaginians appealed to the Romans for aid against the Africans. The Romans did not send them a military force, but allowed them to draw supplies from Italy and Sicily, and to recruit mercenaries in Italy for this war only. They also sent deputies to Africa to arrange peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously.

"Οτι Σικελοὶ καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλον τι καὶ τόδε τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ’ ὃ καὶ τοῖς προδοσίαις ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ὀμόστηθι Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπιστευον χωρὶς ὅρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων συνέθετο καὶ ὀμοσε μήτε πεζοῦς καὶ ἰππεὰς πεντακισχιλίους. Val. ib.

"Οτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπιστευον χωρὶς ὅρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωροῦντων οἱ, συνεθετο καὶ ὁμοσε μήτε φρουρήσει τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς. id. ib.
Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans, and accused their countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general.

The Sicilians, who had been for a long time embittered against the Roman general Marcellus, on account of his severity, were still more excited against him because he had gained entrance to Syracuse by treachery. For this reason they joined themselves to Hippocrates, and took an oath together that none of them would make peace without the others, and sent him supplies and an army of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse.

Marcellus was in such bad odour that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauromenians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.
1. "Οτι Κρήτη εξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἑδόκει Μιθριδάτη βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθο- φορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ρωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λησταίς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένους ὑπὸ Μάρκου ᾿Αντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τάδε ᾿Αντώνιος, καὶ οὗ πράξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δ’ ὦμως διὰ τὴν πράξιν Κρητικὸς. καὶ ἦν ὦδε πατὴρ Μάρκου ᾿Αντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ύστεροι Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ ᾿Ακτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ρωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρῆτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσαν ἐκδοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς Λασθένη τὸν πολεμήσαντα ᾿Αντωνίῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ λῃστικὰ πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα Ρωμαίων εἶχον αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅμηρα τριακόσια καὶ ἀργυρίου ταλαντα τετρακισχίλια.

2. Οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ἥρεθι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Μέτελλοσ. καὶ νικά μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Δασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κυνοσσὸν Πανάρης Μέτελλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτὸς. Μετέλλον δὲ Κυνοσσὸν περικαθημένου, ὁ Δασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ὧπο τῆς Κυνοσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρῆτες ἐς Πομπήιον
VI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. The island of Crete seemed to be favourably disposed towards Mithradates, king of Pontus, from the beginning, and it was said that the Cretans furnished him mercenaries when he was at war with the Romans. It was believed also that, in order to gratify Mithridates, they supported the pirates who then infested the sea, and openly assisted them when they were pursued by Marcus Antonius. When Antonius sent legates to them on this subject, they made light of the matter and gave him a disdainful answer. Antonius forthwith made war against them, and although he did not accomplish much, he gained the title of Creticus for his work. He was the father of the Mark Antony who, at a later period, fought against Caesar Augustus at Actium. When the Romans declared war against the Cretans, on account of these things, the latter sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. The Romans ordered them to surrender Lasthenes, who had carried on war against Antonius, and to deliver up all their pirate ships and all the Roman prisoners in their hands, together with 300 hostages, and to pay 4000 talents of silver.

2. As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Cnossus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Cnossus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which he had filled with money, and escaped from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great,
Μάγνον, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ ληστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἐφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψειν. ὁ δὲ ἁσχόλως τότε ἐχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μέτελλον, ὡς οὐ δέον ἐτι πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξανίστασθαι τῆς νῆσου παραλήψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθὼν. ὁ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτὴν, Δασθένει συνθέμενος ὁμοία Πανάρει. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὁδὲ δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος. U. p. 371.

VII

"Ὅτι Κλάδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ ποῦλχερ ἐπίκλημ, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν εὐπρεπῆς, τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἡρα. καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἐτὶ ὑπὸ ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου παρελθεῖν ὁμοία γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναις γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθήματι. Val. p. 558.
who was conducting the war against the pirates, and against Mithradates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island.

VII. From "Virtues and Vices"

The patrician Clodius, surnamed Pulcher, which means handsome, was in love with Caesar's wife. He arrayed himself in woman's clothes from head to foot, being still without a beard, and gained admission to Caesar's house as a woman in the night, at a time when the mysteries [of the Bona Dea] were celebrated, to which only women were admitted. Having lost his guide, and being detected by others by the sound of his voice, he was hustled out.
BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN
ΟΑΡ.

Ζ

ΙΒΗΡΙΚΗ

Ι

1. Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διήκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανον, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιώντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανον. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περικλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὄρων καὶ ἱθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τούδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανον οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμισὺ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαίοι οὔτε τὰ ἕθη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους πειρώνται τούδε τὸ ὦκεανον. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀπιστοῦ ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους
BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN

I

1. The Pyrenees mountains extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by Celts, who are now called Galatians or Gauls, the western part by the Iberians and Celtiberians, beginning at the Tyrrhenian sea and extending in a circle by way of the Pillars of Hercules to the Northern ocean. Thus the whole of Iberia is sea-girt, except the part bordered by the Pyrenees, the largest and perhaps the most precipitous mountains in Europe. Of this circuit they use for sailing the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They do not traverse the Western and Northern ocean, except in crossing over to Britain, and this they accomplish by availing themselves of the tides, as it is only half a day’s journey.¹ For the rest, neither the Romans nor any of the subject peoples navigate that ocean. The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length

¹ The time is incredibly short. The error may be accounted for by the mistaken ideas of the ancients as to the relative positions of Spain and the British Isles. See Tacitus, Agr. 24.
Ἀπιάννος Ῥωμανὸς ἱστορίας, βιβλίον Βέκτιον

1. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ τοσομοὶ πολλοὶ ἰέννυσι ναυτίποροι.

2. Οἱ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκήσαι πρώτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν αρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαῖων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπέρβαντες, αὐτοὶς συνοικησάντας, ὁδεν ἅρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὅνομα ἐρρύη. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορία διαπλέοντες, οἰκήσαι τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἰλληνίσες τοις ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσοῦ καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεία πλέοντες, ἐμμείναντο καὶ τῶνδε τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίας: ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθώνιον βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρίας ἂν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἢ νῦν Καρπησσοῦ ὀνομάζεται. τὸ τε τοῦ Ἱπακλέους ιερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικες μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἐπὶ θαμινὰς, ὅ τε θεοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀθηβαιός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταύτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθέλεθως.

3. Τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐδαίμονα οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαῖων ἠρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν ἔχον ἴδι, τὸ δ' ἐπέρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαιοὶ σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἀ μὲν εἰχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἐσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνω πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενα τὰ ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἰλον ἐκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδόνιοι τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἰβηρίασ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.

2. What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not my purpose to enquire closely, as I am writing only Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phoenicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpessus. I think also that the Phoenicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phoenician type, and their god is the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquarians.

3. This favoured land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they already occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and after-
καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῦραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχουν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ὡς λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ρωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ρωμαίοι τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχής ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφήν.

4. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ρωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος πόλεμος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὁδὲ περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ὧ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας, οἱ δὲ τῆς Διβύης ἐπόρθουν. ἦρξαντο δὲ αὐτῶν μεθ᾽ ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδων μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἔλυσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ᾽ ἐκ τοιᾶσδέ προφάσεως.

'Αμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τὸτε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Διβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς υπέσχετο δώσειν, ἀς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανήλθεν ὡς Διβύη, ὑπαιτοῦντων ἐκεῖνων ὁ Διβύκος Καρχηδονίοις ἐξῆπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ὧ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Διβύων ἐπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ρωμαίοις ἐδοσαν ποινὴν ὅπως τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ Διβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοῖσδε τὸν ἐξήρων ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσοῦτο συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὅποι τῶν δημοκοπτῶν κάτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτῶν Βάρκα θυγατέρα.
wards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book CHAP. 1 will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the relations between the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history.

4. The first war which the Romans waged against the Carthaginians was a foreign war for the possession of Sicily, and was fought in Sicily itself. In like manner this second war concerning Spain was waged in Spain, although in the course of it the combatants invaded and devastated both Italy and Africa with large armies. This war began about the 140th Olympiad by the infraction of the treaty which had been made at the end of the Sicilian war. The grounds for the infraction were as follows.

Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, while commanding the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, had promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries and African allies, which they demanded after he returned to Africa; and thereupon the African war was kindled. In this war the Carthaginians suffered severely at the hands of the Africans, and also ceded Sardinia to the Romans as compensation for injuries they had inflicted upon Roman merchants during this African war. When Hamilcar was brought to trial for these things by his enemies, who charged him with being the author of all the calamities of his country, he secured the favour of the chief men in the state (of whom the most popular was Hasdrubal, who had married Barca’s daughter), by which means he both managed to evade punishment and also, when a
CAP. ἐξων, τάς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγίας ἐπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεθῆναι μετ' Ἀννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς εὐθύνας τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.

5. Παυομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἀννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαίς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος δὲν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν 'Ασδρούβαν ἐξων οἱ συνόντα, διηλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἕλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὑν οὐδὲν ἄδικοντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιουμένοις ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκρίας (ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διήρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδοῖε ποιοῦντα, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς υπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου), μέχρι Ἰβηριῶν αὐτὸν οἱ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ όσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοὶ, κτείνουσιν ὅδε. ξύλων ἀμάξας ἄγοντες, αἰς βοῦς ὑπέζευξαν, εὑποντο τὰς ἀμάξας ὁπλισμένου. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἵδουσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος: ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοτο, οἱ μὲν Ἰβηριὲς αὐταίς βουσιν ἔχησαν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ ἐξοτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντη φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἰβηριὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτὸν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.
disturbance with the Numidians broke out, secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship.

5. At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. Taking a number of wagons loaded with wood, they yoked oxen to them, and themselves followed in arms. When the Africans saw this they fell to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. But when they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons, with the oxen still yoked to them, and drove them against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid.
6. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἣδη τοῖς ἔξ ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ ἀρεσκομένοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἔπεμπον ἐς 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑΝ, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων ἀπέφηναν 'Ασδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστὴν, ὠντα ἐν 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑ. ὁ δὲ 'Αννίβαν τὸν οὖ πολὺ ὅστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίας, παῖδα τε ὠντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γυνώμενοι ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑ, νέον ὠντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ τὰ πολλὰ πειθοῖ προσῆγετο, πιθανὸν δὲ ὁμιλῆσαι, ἐς τα τὰ βίας δέομενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς ἔστη τοῦ μάλιστα τέμνων τῆς Πυρήνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ μέσην ποὺ μάλιστα τέμνον τῆς 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑΝ, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστὼς ὡδὸν ἴμερὼν πέντε, ἐξήσων ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὴκεανον.

7. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ΕΙΒΗΡΟΥ ὠντες, καὶ ὡσοὶ ἄλλοι Ἐλλήνες περὶ τα τὸ καλομενον 'Εμπόριον καὶ ἴπτη τῆς 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ ὄκον ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ρώμην. καὶ ὡς ὄνται, ἐωτοῖ τοῖς ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαιρέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφότεροι ὢνον ἐνιαίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν 'ΕΙΒΗΡΙΑ τοῦ ΕΙΒΗΡΑ ποταμοῦ, καὶ μίτε Ἐρμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπη-
6. The Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and destined soon after to become famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed his lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal won over most of the Spanish tribes by persuasion, for he had a winning manner, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Ebro, which divides Spain about in the centre, and flows into the Northern ocean at a distance of five days' journey from the Pyrenees.

7. The Saguntines, a colony of the island of Zacynthus, who lived about midway between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro,¹ and all the other Greeks who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Emporiae and in other parts of Spain, having apprehensions for their safety, sent ambassadors to Rome. The Senate, who were unwilling to see the Carthaginian power augmented, sent an embassy to Carthage. It was agreed between them that the limit of the Carthaginian power in Spain should be the river Ebro; that beyond that river the Romans should not carry war against the subjects of Carthage, nor should the

¹ A curious error. Saguntum is considerably south of the Ebro.
ΟΑΡ. κόοις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἑπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἑλληνας αὐτοῦμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.

8. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὃμως διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναίρετο. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν ἢ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ παρ ὁντα κομιδῇ νέου, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἱσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῶν καὶ Ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὃσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολίται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν εἴδοσιν, ως ἐμαθοῦν αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀνнιβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιῶτας ἐδώκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὁ τε δῆμος ἄμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν εὔγνυτο, μνησικακῶς τοῖς διώκομενοι τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἑπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόμενας, ἐς τὸ κοινὸ ἔσωσιν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πετορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσοιτο τοὺς πατρὸς ἐχθροὺς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

9. 'Ο δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἄρχην ἐφ' ἕαυτον οὖσαν ἐπιβουλής· οὐδ' ἧξιον τὴν ἐχθραν, ὡσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἔσαι καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὖδ' ἐπὶ τῷ
Carthaginians cross it in arms; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. And these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage.

8. Some time later, while Hasdrubal was governing that part of Spain belonging to Carthage, a slave whose master he had cruelly put to death killed him secretly during a hunting expedition. Hannibal convicted him of this crime and put him to death with dreadful tortures. Then the army proclaimed Hannibal, who, although still very young, was greatly beloved of the soldiers, their general, and the Carthaginian Senate confirmed the appointment. But those of the opposite faction, who had feared the power of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, when they learned of their death, despised Hannibal on account of his youth and prosecuted their friends and partisans on the old charges. The people took sides with the accusers, bearing a grudge against those now prosecuted, because they remembered the old severities of the times of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and ordered them to bring into the public treasury the large gifts that Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had bestowed upon them, as being enemy's spoils. The prosecuted parties sent messages to Hannibal, asking him to assist them, and admonished him that, if he should neglect those who were able to assist him at home, he himself too would become an object of contempt to his father's enemies.

9. He had foreseen all this and he knew that the prosecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor for ever be
Καρχηδονίων κοινόν μέχρι παντός εἶναι, ῥαδίως ἐς ευθυγείτας πρὸς ἄχριστίαν τρεπόμενων. ἔλεγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὥν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅρκῳ οὐκ ἑπὶ ἐμπύρων ἀσπειραῖος έχθρος ἐσεθαι 'Ῥωμαίοις, οτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ χρονίοις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλὼν, καὶ καταστίσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεεὶ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἤν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὖθις ἀναρριψείει, οὐ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδοκεῖ Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίς καὶ φόβοις ἐσεθαι μακρὸς, αὐτὸς δὲ, εἴτε καταρθωσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχον μακροῖς (οὐ γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις), εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν ὡσειν.

10. Ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐσεθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἰβήρα διαβαίνῃ, Τορβολήτας, οἱ γείτονες εἰσὶ Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἳ καταβοῦν ὡς τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέχοντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικοῦντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπιτρέπει, αὐτὸς τε ἐς ὁπορρῆτοις ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἕφιστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίους ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. οἷς τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλουν, ἐως ἢ βουλή προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. οὐ δὲ
at the mercy of the fickleness of the Carthaginians, who without scruple repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into embarrassments and fears, he would place himself and his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain at peace. But if he could stir up a fresh war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the empire of the world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and even if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him glory.

10. Considering then that to cross the Ebro would constitute a brilliant beginning, he persuaded the Turuletes, who are neighbours of the Saguntines, to make complaints to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were cooperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind, until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. And when he got the
GaP. ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὖθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπτετο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μὲν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ 'Αννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ δὲν διαφέρονται, 'Ρωμαίοις ἐφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσι·

ης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ῥήμηρα διαβᾶς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἑφίστη. ἐλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

11. Ζακανθαίοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν Ἄννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκελευσόντων, οὐ πειθομένοι δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς τόις πρέσβεσιν πλεύσαντες ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνεπέμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβάλλοντοι, ὁ Ἄννίβας ἀπηγόρευε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἠτίωντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους τῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίοι πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥώμην κριτῶν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐφασαν χρήσειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. τοῖς Δίκης ἀναγεγράφθαι, καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμοις καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἐτ
opportunity, he arranged that the Turbuletes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and invited the latter to send ambassadors. On their arrival he invited both sides to state their differences in his presence; but the Saguntines replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed the Ebro with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed numerous guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

11. The Saguntines, oppressed by this sudden and unheralded attack, sent an embassy to Rome. The Senate commissioned its own ambassadors to go with them. They were instructed first to remind Hannibal of the agreement, and if he should not obey to proceed to Carthage and complain against him. When they arrived in Spain and were approaching his camp from the sea, Hannibal forbade their coming. Accordingly they sailed for Carthage with the Saguntine ambassadors, and reminded the Carthaginians of the agreement. The latter accused the Saguntines of repeatedly wronging their subjects. When the Saguntines offered to submit the whole question to the Romans as arbitrators, the Carthaginians replied that they did not need an arbitration because they were able to avenge themselves. When this reply was brought to Rome some advised sending aid to the Saguntines. Others favoured delay, saying that the Saguntines were not inscribed as allies in the agreement with them, but merely as free and autonomous, and that people in
καὶ τοὺς πολιορκομένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

12. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περικάθητο συνεχῶς (εὐθαίρεια γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούσαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὁπλιζομένης τε καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχῶς νευσαν ὃς ἄχρειον Ἀννίβα γενέσθαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἐλόμενοι τὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξεδρομοῦν ἐτὶ νυκτός ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένους ἐτὶ καὶ συνεχῶς τοιοῦτον ὑπονοοῦντων· ὅθεν αὐτοὶ ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὑπολοίπους, ὀθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξεδρομοῦσαν, ἀνίστασθαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἀικιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁπλιζομένης καὶ τὸ τέλος πολλοῖς, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντεῖς. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρῶσαν τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουσαν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγῶν, αἱ δὲ ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαῖοι, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατῇ γεγομένῃ. Ἕλθεν δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἀικιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὕπο ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁπλιζομένης καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαῖοι, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατῇ γεγομένῃ. Ἕλθεν δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἀικιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὕπο ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁπλιζομένης καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαῖοι, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατῇ γεγομένῃ. Ἕλθεν δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἀικιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὕπο ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁπλιζομένης καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαῖοι, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατῇ γεγομένῃ.

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a state of siege were still free. The latter opinion prevailed.

12. The Saguntines, when they despaired of help from Rome, and when famine weighed heavily upon them, and Hannibal kept up the blockade without intermission (for he had heard that the city was very prosperous and wealthy, and for this reason did not relax the siege), issued an edict to bring all the silver and gold, public and private, to the forum, where they melted it down with lead and brass, so that it should be useless to Hannibal. Then, thinking that it was better to die fighting than starve to death, they made a sally by night upon the lines of the besiegers while they were still asleep, not expecting an attack, and killed some as they were getting out of bed, and arming themselves with difficulty in the confusion, and others in actual conflict. The battle continued until many of the Africans and all the Saguntines were slain. When the women witnessed the slaughter of their husbands from the walls, some of them threw themselves from the housetops, others hanged themselves, and others slew their children and then themselves. Such was the end of Saguntum, once a great and powerful city. When Hannibal learned what had been done with the gold he was furious, and put all the surviving adults to death with torture. Observing that the city was on the sea, and not far from Carthage, with good land in the neighbourhood, he re-populated it and made it a Carthaginian colony, and I think it is now called Spartarian Carthage.¹

¹ Appian here, as elsewhere (p. 169), confuses Saguntum with New Carthage. We know from Pliny that New Carthage was called 'Spartaria' from the abundance of Esparto grass in the neighbourhood.
13. Ρωμαίοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπον, οἷς εἰρήτῳ ἐξαίτειν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἀμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπραξαν ὡδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν λέγεται δ᾽ οὕτω γενέσθαι. ο μὲν πρεσβευτῆς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἐφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, "ἐνταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὡς Καρχηδονίοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω ὑμεῖς ὁ πόλεμον ἐπηγγέλλεις." οὶ δ᾽ ἐφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἃ βούλει δίδου." προτειναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὡμοῦ πάντες, "δεχόμεθα," καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα πᾶσαν ὧδε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λειμαμένων. ο μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐθνὰ τὰ ἀγχοὺ πάντα ἐπιών υπῆγετο, ὡς πεῖθουν ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν κατεσκέπητο. καὶ διήλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ...

14. ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Διβύὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐσεθαί (οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Διβύς ποτὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσι, οὐδ᾽ ὑπενόουν), Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρῶνιον Δόγγον ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Διβύην ἐξεπεμπον (καὶ ὃσα Δόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων
13. The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: "Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose." They replied: "No: do you give us whichever you like." Thereupon he offered them war, and they all cried out with one accord: "We accept it." Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was now free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighbouring tribes and brought them into subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, without disclosing his object, which was the invasion of Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

14. [The Romans, thinking that] Spain and Africa would be the scene of the war (for they never even dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus
CAP. στρατηγοὶ περὶ Διονυσίου ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχη-
δονιακῇ βίβλῳ συγγέγραται), Πόπλιον δὲ Κορ-
νήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἐστελλον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νέων
ἐξηκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων ἐπτα-
κοσίων, καὶ προσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συννέπεμπον Γναῖον
Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν. τούτων δὲ μὲν
Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος
Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ὑπερβάντα, δεύοις μὴ ἁδοκήτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις
ἐπιπέσοι, παραδόν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν στρατιῶν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ
πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἐπέραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ ὅτι
τε καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τούδε τοῦ
πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάντα
περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν
Ἀννιβαϊκῆς.

15. Γναῖος δὲ οὐδὲν, ὅ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπέραξεν
ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηρίας, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελ-
φὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγούσης τῆς
ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς Ἐμμανίβαν ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐφέρθησαν,
κεφαλαίους ἀντιστρατηγοῦντο μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι
μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου
πολεμοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπὸ
αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων
οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ
tῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοῦ ἐκούσαν μετετίθεντο: καὶ

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and the other Roman generals did in Africa has been related in my Punic History. They also ordered Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain with sixty ships, 10,000 foot, and 700 horse, and sent his brother Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio with him as legate. The former (Publius), learning from Massilian merchants that Hannibal had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, and fearing lest he should fall upon the Italians unawares, handed over to his brother the command in Spain and sailed with his quinqueremes to Etruria. What he and the other Roman generals after him did in Italy, until, at the end of fifteen years and with exceeding difficulty, they drove Hannibal out of the country, is set forth in the following book, which contains all the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, and is therefore called the Hannibalic book of Roman history.

15. Gnaeus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him pro-consul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios carried on the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they
16. Θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὐθίς ἐξεπεμπτόν ἐς 'Ιβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἑλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγοὺς, Μάγωνα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν έτερον, δς Γέσκωνος ἤν υἱός. καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὡς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Διβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἑλεφαντῶν ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνες ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Δίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπίωνον ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὀρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολώνι. ένθα αὐτῷ προσιὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ’ ὀλύγων ἐς κατασκοπήν στρατοπέδου, ἔλαθε πλησίας τῷ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδὲν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἄδελφον ἐπὶ σίτον ἐπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἐτερον Διβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πνεύμονος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξεδραμεν ὡς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν εὐξόων ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε προτέρους ἀνηρήκεσαν ἡδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἐως ἐσέδρας ἐς τινα θυργον καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνεπηρήσαν οἱ Δίβυες, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων κατεκαυθή μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

17. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, άνδρες ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπετόθησαν Ἰβηρίας, ὡςοι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐς Ρωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενον δ' οἱ ἐν ἀστεὶ βαρέως τε ἴνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἄρτι ἀφιγ-
were as persuasive in winning allies as in leading armies.

16. The Carthaginians, having made peace with Syphax, again sent Hasdrubal into Spain with a larger army than before, and with thirty elephants. With him came also two other generals, Mago and another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. From this point the war was more difficult for the Scipios. They were successful, nevertheless, and many Africans and many elephants were destroyed by them. Finally, winter coming on, the Africans went into winter quarters at Turditania, Gnaeus Scipio at Orso, and Publius at Castolo, where he received news of Hasdrubal’s advance. Sallying out from the city with a small force to reconnoitre the enemy’s camp, he came upon Hasdrubal unexpectedly, was surrounded by the enemy’s horse and killed, with all his men. Gnaeus, who knew nothing of this, sent some soldiers to his brother to procure corn, who fell in with another African force and became engaged with them. When Gnaeus learned this he started out instantly with his light-armed troops to assist them. The Carthaginians, who had already cut off the former party, made a charge on Gnaeus and compelled him to take refuge in a certain tower, which they set on fire, and burned him and his comrades to death.

17. In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labours, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were dismayed. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and
μένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἔπει πεντίν
εξεπεμπεῖν τὸν Βελινίναν μετὰ χιλίων ἵππων καὶ
πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῶς. οὐδενὸς δὲ
καὶ πάσαιν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον,
ἐς βραχὺ Ρωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὀρέσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις
κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν ὦν οἱ ἐν ἀντίθετοι
πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐπαράσησον· καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ
Ἀννίβιον πορθοῦντο τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ
οὔδε οἱ Λίβυες ἐς τὰ ἔτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν.
ἢθεν οὔδε ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένως
αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δεει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τοῦ
τόλμηται ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγόταται.

IV

18. Προφήσεως οὖν ἠμέραν ἐν ἡ καταβολή συνεχόμενον ἡμέρα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὔδενος παραγγέλ-
λοντος ἐτὶ πλείων ἐχθροῦτο φόβος, καὶ σιωπὴ
σκυθρωπὸς ἐπείχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς Κορηλίου
Σκυμπίου τοῦ Ποπλίου Κορηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος
ἐν Ἰβηρίας νόσος, νέος μὲν ὄν καὶ μικρὸς (τεσσάρων
γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας ᾗν), σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος
εἶναι νομίζομενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐξ ἐκείνου οἰκοδο-
μενος ἀμφιτῆρος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ
τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὀδυράμενος ἐπείπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναί
τιμωρός ἐκ πάντων πατρί καὶ θείῳ καὶ πατρίδι.
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὡσπερ
ἐνθοὺς, ἐπαναγειλάμενος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι
μόνην ἄλλη ἐπὶ αὐτῇ καὶ Διβύῃν καὶ Καρχηδόνα,
τοῖς μὲν ἐδοξεί κοινολογήσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν δὲ

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with him Claudius [Nero], to Spain, with a fleet and 1000 horse, 10,000 foot, and adequate resources. As nothing of importance was accomplished by them, the Carthaginian power increased until it embraced almost the whole of Spain, and the Romans were restricted to a small space in the Pyrenees. This news again caused increasing panic among the Romans, who feared lest these same Africans should make an incursion into northern Italy while Hannibal was ravaging the other extremity. The result of this was that, although they desired to, they were unable to evacuate Spain, because of the fear that the war there would be transferred to Italy.

Accordingly a day was fixed for choosing a general for Spain. When nobody offered himself the alarm was greatly augmented, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly, until Cornelius Scipio, son of the Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, still a very young man (he was only twenty-four years of age), but reputed to be a man of judgment and spirit, came forward and made an impressive speech concerning his father and his uncle, and after lamenting their fate said that he, above all men, was marked out to be the avenger of his father, his uncle and his fatherland. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one inspired, promising to subdue not only Spain, but Africa and Carthage in addition. To many this seemed like the light-headed talk of a young man,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. δὴ μον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ἤρεθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξιν τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἄλλα προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὁμοία: καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδόν ὁ γενήσεται, προκαλεῖτο ὁμοία. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὸν συνεκάλητον ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα δὲ ἐς όλην ἄλλην, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ ἔκεισθαν, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

19. Παραλαβών τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὗς ἡγεν ἐς ἔν συναγαγῶν, ἔκαθερε, καὶ διελέξθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα δὲ διεδραμεν ὡς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Δίβνιας καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοὶ ήκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπιώνως κατὰ θεόν. οὗ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθανόμενος δὲ ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρεστερικοῖς, μακρὰν ἵσταμενοι στομάχισι, ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων, ἀνα δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππους πεντακισχιλίους ἐπὶ δισχίλιος, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὄπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεὼν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὀμήρων τῶν ἔξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ
but he revived the spirits of the people (for those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older men however said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and made another dignified speech in the same vein. He declared that his youth would be no impediment, but added that if any of his elders wished to assume the command he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. For it was impossible that he should take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He also received money and equipment and twenty-eight war-ships, with which he sailed to Spain.

19. Taking the forces already there, and joining them in one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he pretended that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2,500 horse, but that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all
καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἔστι Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων
Καρχηδονίων, ἐκρινε πρὸ τοῦ ἐς τούτους ἐπι-
δραμεῖν διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ
μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς,
καὶ ὡς ὁρμητήριον ἀσφαλὲς ἐς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης
ἔγων ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἄργυρεῖα καὶ
χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλούτων πολὺν ἔχουσαι
καὶ τοὺν διάπλουν ἐς Διβύνη βραχύτατον.

20. 'Ο μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο Λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος,
οὔδεν προειπὼν ὅπη χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου
dύνασθος ἢγε τὴν στρατιὰν δ' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς
ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμὴ ἔφι,
τῶν Διβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας,
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιοῦσαν, κλίμακάς
tε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντη περιτεθεῖς, χωρίς ἐνὸς
cέρους, ἢ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἤν βραχύτατον,
ἐλος δ' αὐτῶ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυσε, καὶ
d' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον.
νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πλη-
ρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοὺς λυμέσι τῆς
πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἅι σή ἢν αὐτὸν
αῖ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιες (ὑπὸ γὰρ δῇ μεγαλο-
ψυχίας ἦλπις πάντως αἱρήσει τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ
ἐν τῆς στρατιῶν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς,
tοὺς μὲν ἀνωθὲν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύουν τοῖς πολεμίοις,
tοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ἅθειν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.
Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίων ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις
ὁς ἐκπηδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς ἡ, μετὰ μόνων
ξιφῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι),
tοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἄνηγεν. καὶ
πολλὰ καὶ ὅτε μηχανήματα καὶ λύθους καὶ βέλη
Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum (but then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines, its wealth, and its fertile territory, would afford him an impregnable base for operations against Spain by land and sea, and would secure for him the shortest passage to Africa.

20. Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches, and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and missiles in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbour so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for in his great-hearted courage he thought that he would certainly capture the city), before dawn he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, to sally out at a favourable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and sent the others to man the parapets. He, too, stationed numerous
καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἶχε τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένη καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἁφίέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἶ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευη καὶ δύναμις, ἔχρωντο προθύμως ἀπασίν.

21. Ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἔκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ἐξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπτυππον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὡθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἦσσω δ᾽ ἀντέπασχον, "μέχρι τοῦ φιλοπόνου καὶ ταλαιπώρου ἐς τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῶν Ρωμαιῶν ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολὴς γενομένης ἦν ὅπου ὁ πόνος πολὺς καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἢ τὸ βραχὺ τῆς τοῦ τεῖχους ἡμέρας, καὶ τὸ ἤλος προσέκλυτον, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν ἀμβλυτικὸς γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐς μαστούς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἴδὼν, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πνεύμων, ὡς ἐχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, "νῦν ὁ καιρὸς, ὃς ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχος μοι θεὸς ἄφικται. πρόσιτε τῷ μέρει τῶν τῶν τεῖχων. ἢ θάλασσα ἦμιν ὑποκεχώρηκεν. φέρετε τὰς κλίμακες, ἐγώ δὲ ἡγήσομαι."
machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and made active preparations. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some from machines, and some from slings; and every other available resource and means of attack was eagerly employed.

21. Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords, and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they did much damage, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. Then the fortune of the day turned, and those who were on the walls began to be distressed, and the ladders were put in place against them. Then the Carthaginian swordsmen ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe trouble to the Romans, until Scipio the general, who was encouraging and cheering on his men in every quarter of the field, noticed the sea retiring on the southern side, where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one’s breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: “Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you.”
Καὶ πρῶτος ἁρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερε τε καὶ ἀνέβαλεν, οὗτοι τινὲς ἄναβάντως ἄλλον, μέχρι περισσὸντες αὐτὸν οἴ τε ὑπασπισμένων τοῖς, ἀνέβαινεν, οὔπω τινὸς ἀναβάντος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοίως κλιμακεῖς προσετίθεσάν τε καὶ ἀνεπτήδον. Βοὴς δὲ καὶ ὄρμης ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὁμοίως οἱ "Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἳ ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς εἰστήμες εξοτρύνει, ἐκελεύσει καὶ διαφέρου ὡς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἔτεροι τε περιφερομένης ὁμοίως διετάρασαν τε καὶ καθαλόμενοι τινες ἀνέφεκαν τῷ Σκιπίων τὰς πύλας. οὗ ἐσεπήδησε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμων. καὶ τῶν ἐνδόν οἱ μὲν ἔσ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασαν, οὔτε Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλεσε. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἀκραν σὺν ὀλίγων ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκράν εὐθύς ἐπιόντος, ὁδὲ δὲ ἐκείνης ἐκείνης δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένους τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἐξέχων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

23. "Ο δὲ τὸλμη καὶ τύχη πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἐλούν ἠμέρα μιᾶ, τετάρτη τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπήρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ ἠθέντα ἑκαστὰ δρᾶν, αὐτὸς τε ὡστὸς εἶπε καὶ οὕτως ἐξογιοπόιει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐπειτὰ βίον, ἄρξαμενος ἐξ' ἐκείνου. πολλὰκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ "Καπιτώλιον ἔσηκε μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὡσπερ τά παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔστι τῆν εἰκόνα τήν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνον.
22. He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armour-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and themselves began to mount. Amid shouts and clamour on all sides, giving and receiving blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and buglers, and ordered them to sound a rousing blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Thereupon some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. The inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these had been cut down, he quickly retreated with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately attacked. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered.

23. Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired in all his actions. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life, from that time on. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of
ἀποδόθη τα μέρη τοῦ πολέμου. τοὺς τε Σκιπιώτες ἀναμνησάς ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δὲ ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρώτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλωσ κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἐθυεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρίδος εὐνομίας έκ πόνων πολλῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγησαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. IV προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ ἀγοράς φέρουνται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὄμοι καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεύον παραλαβῶν, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ νάψι μακράς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγοράν ποικίλην, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, ὅμηρα τε Ἰβηρίων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προεύ- ληπτο, ἐθὺν τής ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπήνευε, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τῆς στρατιαν ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιώτων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνησάς ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρώτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλωσ κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἐθυεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρίδος εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγησαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. V 24. Ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Ἐρασίδον ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀμφιθύμων ἐς ύψος ἐγείρας τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτός τε ἐπικών καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἐκαστὰ περιτέμπων ὑπῆγε το, καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο.
the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Capitol, all the others being taken from the CHAP.
Forum. In the captured city he obtained great Forum. In the captured city he obtained great IV stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, and vast stores, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three stores war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the Romans themselves. On the been captured from the Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days’ thanksgiving, because after so many trials their The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days’ thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. The city held a three days’ thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit. were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

V

24. Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and CHAP. ordered that the wall should be raised to the proper V height, where the ebb-tide left it bare. He then ordered that the wall should be raised to the proper height, where the ebb-tide left it bare. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing by force conciliate where he could, and subduing by force the places which still held out. There were two the places which still held out. There were two
Καρχηδονίων δ᾽ οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπὸν καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω παρὰ Κελτίβησιν ἐξενολογεῖ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐτὶ βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἀξιῶν Καρχηδονίωις ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιὰς ἐλευσο-μένης αὐτικα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ᾽ ἐστερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπτε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθείη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γην τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τίνα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσειν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαϊτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἡσσατο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαϊτύκην ἐλαβεῖ ο Σκιπίων.

25. Ὅ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἐτί οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρία συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὅμοι πᾶσιν ἀμυνοῦμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνήλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβηρίων, οἷς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὡν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακε ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐπιπαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηυλίξοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὥδε δὲ ἐκοιμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπιπέας ἐπιδιώχησε, καὶ Δαίλιον μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἐπέμπεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ Μασ- 

σανάσσην ἐτράπηκε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεί, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῶν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωροῦντων, εἰτ' αὐθις ἐπελαυνόντων ὡς δὲ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμετάστρεπτε διώκειν αὐτοὺς, τὰ δόρατα προ- 

βαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων 176
Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighbouring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he himself made an incursion into the territory of Lersa, which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Baetica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was at once defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Baetica also.

25. Now this Hasdrubal collected all the remaining Carthaginian forces in Spain at the city of Carmone, to fight Scipio with their united strength. Hither came a great number of Spaniards under Mago, and of Numidians under Masinissa. Hasdrubal had the infantry in a fortified camp, while Masinissa and Mago, who commanded the cavalry, bivouacked in front of it. Against this disposition of the enemy Scipio divided his own cavalry, and sent Laelius to attack Mago, while he himself opposed Masinissa. For some time Scipio was in a critical and difficult position, since the Numidians discharged their darts at his men, then retreated, and then wheeled and returned to the charge. But when Scipio ordered his men to level their spears and pursue without intermission, the Numidians, having no chance to turn around, retreated to their camp. Thereupon Scipio desisted from the pursuit and encamped.
ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν εὐσταθῶς ἦπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα δύναμις ἔπτακισμύριοι πεζοί καὶ ἵππεὶς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑλέφαντες ἐξ καὶ τριάκοντα. Σκιπίων δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχευ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρῆτο πάνως.

26. Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἦπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἠγεῖτο Σκιπίων: θυσάμενος δὲ, καὶ εὔθυς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεῖς πάλιν ὡσπερ ἐνθρίσκει, ἐφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἥκειν τὸ σύνθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἡ πλήθεις στρατοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἐργῶν κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἔς τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις. καὶ λέγων ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οδὸς μεθ᾽ ὁρμῆς καὶ βοῆς αὐτὸθέν ἐπιστράφη, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθεούς ὅρων καὶ βοῶν. καὶ η στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκεῖνον φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεύρο κάκεισε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἐτοιμοῦ ἦρθίζοντο. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ πάν εἰχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ᾽ εἶασε τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐτὶ ὃν θεόληπτος, ἐφ᾽ ἐδεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπήγεν ἀδο-
in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number, and that was why he hesitated for some time, and did not offer battle, but contented himself with skirmishing.

26. When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, still Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the customary divine sign had appeared to him and conjured him to attack the enemy. It was better, he said, to trust in heaven than in the size of his army, because his former victories were gained by divine favour rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead. Turning suddenly round with a quick movement and a loud cry, he pointed them out and exclaimed that this was another sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one inspired. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished, he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardour to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "After these signs we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led
κήτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας Σιλανῷ,
toὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδοῦσι.
27. Ἀσδροῦβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσ-
σης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων
.MONTH τών ἱππεῶν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτῆς
τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθὶσμένους
καὶ ἔπελαινεν· ὅς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα
οὐδὲν ἢν ἐτύχέως ἐσφαλμένης:
καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν
ῖππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδὶ παραδοὺς, καὶ παρὰ
tοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτούς ἐπιθεοῦτος
to τῇ ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ
βοής. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ
ἱππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων

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them against the enemy, who were not expecting them, giving the command of the horse to Silanus and of the foot to Laelius and Marcius.

27. When Scipio made this sudden advance against them, the two armies being only separated by ten stades, Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa quickly armed their men amid confusion and tumult, although they had not yet taken their food. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry, however, were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: "Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril." Then, when those who were near saw, and those who were distant heard, what danger he was in, all in like manner were moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general's safety, and with a cheer charged furiously upon the enemy. The Africans, unable to resist this charge, gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.
28. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, οἱ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοίς εἶπετο, βλάπτον τι καὶ λυπῶν ὀσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὄχυρον τι χωρίον προύλαβον, ἐνθα καὶ ὑδωρ ἦν ἄφθον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὔδεν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἦκε, Σκιπίωνα δ᾽ ἦπειγον ἐπεράις κρείαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἄπελπυτε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔπηει τήν ἄλλην Ἴβηριαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὕθις ὑποχώροντων, ἐς ἔπι τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἄφικόμενοι ἔς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὁ ἀνεξεύγνυεν ἡς Ἱαπιδώνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμιλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ἄκεαν淀粉 στρατηγῶν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἄδελφος ᾿Αννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλειν. ο δὲ ἔπαι σαίς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ἄκεαν, τὴν Πυρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ᾽ ἢν εξευολογήκει ᾿Ιταλίας καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾿Ασδρούβας ὡδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἄνθρωπον, ἕπειγετο.

29. Λεύκιος δ᾽ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιὼν ἐφραγε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἀστεί Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦν πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς ἔσεσθαι. Λαῖλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προὔπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς Ρώμης ἐπανιὼν ἐφραγε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἀστεί Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦν πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς ἔσεσθαι. Λαῖλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προὔπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς ἔσεσθαι.
28. After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed, dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. But when they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he himself went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, broke camp and rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians.

29. Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Laelius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship between himself
αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἄν ἐπίσωσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δόμα ἐλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἄτερα. αἰσθό-
μενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενος τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος
ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνιοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ Βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ἢ ἔπρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεὼν δύο σὺν τῷ Δαιλίῳ.

30. Καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἰς εἶχον μακραὶς ἐπανήγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἱστίῳ χρώμενοι παρέ-
πλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἄδεως καὶ κατήχθη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξενιξεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ἱδία καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς
Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὖθις αὐτῷ κατείχεν, ἐως ἐν βεβαιῷ τῆς θαλάσσης γένειτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ μὲν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἢλθε κυνδύνον Σκιπίων, καταγόμενος τε καὶ πλέων· λέγεται δ᾽ ἐν Σύφακος ἐστιωμένος συγκατακλειθῆναι τῷ ᾿Ασδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ᾿Ασδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρώμενος κατα-
πλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν ὤντος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστιωμένος φοβερὸς ἦν.

31. Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνι τινες Κελτι-
βήρων καὶ ᾿Ιβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, ὡν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ ᾿Ασδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ᾿Ασδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρώμενος κατα-
πλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν ὤντος ὁ ἀνήρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστιωμένος φοβερὸς ἦν.
and the Scipios, and to ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. Scipio heard of this, and judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Laelius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person.

30. When he was approaching the shore, the Carthaginian envoys, who were still with Syphax, sailed out against him with their war-ships, without Syphax’s knowledge. But he spread his sails, outran them completely, and reached the harbour. Syphax entertained both parties, but he made an alliance with Scipio privately, and having given pledges sent him away. He also detained the Carthaginians, who were again lying in wait for Scipio, until he was a safe distance out to sea. So much danger did Scipio incur both going and returning. It is reported that at a banquet given by Syphax, Scipio reclined on the same couch with Hasdrubal, and that the latter questioned him about many things, and was greatly impressed with his dignity, and afterwards said to his friends that Scipio was formidable not only in war but also at a feast.

31. At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards from the towns which had gone over to the Romans, were still serving with Mago as mercenaries. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He hemmed in 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When
CAP. συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, οἵθεν ἀποροῦντες ἀπάντων ἐπερεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς "Ἀννώνα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀννώνα στρατηγῶν ὑντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἐτὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀκρομένου, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ἀργύριον κατανεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὴν πεδίου χωρίον οὐ γὰρ ἄρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἔς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, "ἀξία μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, οἱ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ᾽ ἡμῖν, εἴλεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς στρατεύειν. δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσων, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι." ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθύς ὅμοι πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισὺ τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἡμισὺ πρὸς Μάγώνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἀρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ "Ἀννώνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἔξηκοντα μακραίς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἀννώνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπτει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περισκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

32. Καὶ Μάγών μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγόσθαι, πολεμικός δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχοντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἶπετο· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνεβάλεν ἐς Ἰλυργίαν πόλιν, ἢ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος.
they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered all of them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain, he said: “You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your countries have subjected themselves to us. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow you to go unpunished.” At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued, in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, after a stubborn resistance, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno’s disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions.

32. While Mago lay here inert, Silanus was sent by Scipio to receive the submission of the city of Castax, but as the inhabitants received him in a hostile manner he encamped before it, and communicated the fact to Scipio, who sent him some siege engines and prepared to follow, but turned aside to attack the town of Ilurgia. This place had been an ally of the Romans in the time of the elder Scipio, but


APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. VI

δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ύπο-

δεξαμένη Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἐτὶ φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις

ἐξεδεδόκει. ὡν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσ-

σαρσιν ὡραις ἐξειλεῖν αὐτὴν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν

αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχῶν ἐώς ἔκρατησεν.

καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος,

ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἐκτεινον ὡμαλῶς καὶ

παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶς

ἐξεδώκει. ὧν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσ-

σαρσιν ἔξειλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν

αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχῶν ἕως ἐκράτησεν.

καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος,

ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἐκτεινον ὡμαλῶς καὶ

παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶς

ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα

ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν

πόλιν ἔφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχε, διδοὺς ἐτὶ

τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγγυνάι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν

αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς

ἐμποδὸν οὐσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνε-

χείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ τοῖς δὲ

μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν

ἐπέτρεψεν ἐπὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι

ἀγαθῆς· αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεζεύγνυε,

Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθ-

μόν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύναιτο.

38. Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἤν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις ἀεὶ

ἐμμείνασα ὡμαλῶς· οἱ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς

περικαθημένου, συγγυγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ῥωμαίοι

λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδίαν, τὴν περιουσίαν

σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ἕξιλα περι-

θέντες αὐτὴ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γυναῖκα ἐπεθήσαν

ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὄρκωσαν

toὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἤ πόλις ἀλισκηται, τὰ γυναῖα

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at his death had changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to a Roman army with the appearance of continued friendship, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could.

33. There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill.
καὶ τοὺς παιδας ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρας τῶν θεούς, ἐξεδραμοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν Μάρκιον ὁμαχῶν, ὦν υφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὦθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψυλῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπείδας ἐτρέψαντο. ὑπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγας, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἔγγον ἦρα, εὔ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ἱωμαιοι δ' ὅμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρους ὑποτάσσεσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἀπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑπέρρυψαν, ἀκερδῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἔργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ σικόπεδα αὐτῶν.

VII

34. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διῴκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁσοὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἤργανειοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἄξιον ἦσαν παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἐκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνος τίνες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἐπειθοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐλαβον, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλόμενοι καὶ
the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay Chap. themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed his light-armed troops and cavalry. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. But the Romans eventually overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the Astapians, refrained from wantonly injuring their houses.

VII

34. After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to secede to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under
CAP. ταξιάρχους, καὶ τάλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ᾽ ἐαυ-
τῶν ἔτασσοντο καὶ συνώμυνον ἄλληλοις. πυθό-
μενος δ᾽ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσις ὁτι διὰ τὴν νόσου αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπείθωσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ᾽ ἀπασιν ἐπιστολῆν ἄλλην ὡς ἡδη συνηλλαγ-
mένοις, ὃτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἥκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

35. Ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώ-
pτευον, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἡξίουν καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὁδευον ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὅμως. προσι-
όντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα, καὶ ὡς ἀπ᾽ εὐνοιας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαι τε καὶ δῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρ-
χους τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκαστὸν ἀφανῶς ἢ ἐφ ἐφήρεις ἤχειν, καὶ τὰ εὐκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἢν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακάλνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγ-
γέλματος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἢρτι φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἤτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέ-
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military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged the others to try to win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to the whole army, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he would immediately discharge his debt to them, and ordered them to come to New Carthage at once and get their provisions.

35. Upon reading these letters, some thought that they were not to be trusted. Others put faith in them. Finally they came to an agreement, and all set out to New Carthage together. When they approached, Scipio enjoined upon those senators who were with him that each should attach himself to one of the leaders of the sedition as they came in, and, as if to admonish him in a friendly way, should then make him his guest, and quietly secure him. He also gave orders to the military tribunes that each should have his most faithful soldiers in readiness at daybreak unobserved, with their swords, and station them at intervals in convenient places about the assembly, and if anyone should create a disturbance, to draw their weapons and kill him at once, without waiting for orders. Shortly after daybreak, Scipio himself was conveyed to the tribunal, and sent the heralds around to summon the soldiers to the place of meeting. The call was unexpected, and they were ashamed to keep their sick general waiting. They thought also that they were only called to get their rewards. So they came running together from all sides, some without

37. Ἄνδειβιλις δὲ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμε τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτώ δισμυρίων ἐδείτο προσπέμψας. καὶ ο Ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ἕξις ἔπερασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φίλιαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος.
their swords, others dressed only in their tunics, as they had not even had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste.

36. Scipio, having a guard around himself that was not observed, first accused them of their misdeeds, and then added that he should hold the ringleaders alone responsible. "These," said he, "I shall punish with your help." He had scarcely said this when he ordered the lictors to divide the crowd in two parts, and when they had done so the senators dragged the guilty leaders into the middle of the assembly. When they cried out and called their comrades to their aid, every one who uttered a word was killed by the tribunes. The rest of the crowd, seeing that the assembly was surrounded by armed men, remained in sullen silence. Then Scipio caused the wretches who had been dragged into the middle to be beaten with rods, those who had cried for help being beaten hardest, after which he ordered that their necks should be pegged to the ground and their heads cut off. He proclaimed pardon to the rest. In this way was the mutiny in Scipio's camp put down.

37. While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into part of the territory under Scipio's sway. When Scipio marched against him he made a brave resistance and killed some 1,200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations.
ομοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἃν εὐς Διβύην στρατεύη.
ἐπραξὲ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνήρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ
tοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἄσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος
στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἡγημύντω Μασ-
σανάσσῃ. Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρος
ἐκνίξε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα
ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ 'Ρωμαίους προσλαβεῖν,
ἐδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παίδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἄσδρούβου
πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν
Ἄσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἑπέκρυπττε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην
αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπ-
ιῷ. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
παρόντων τὰ ἐν ᾿Ιβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγνας
καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα
ην, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος
οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

38. Στρατηγοῦς δὲ ῾Ιβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ
ἐνθυ τὰ εἰλημμένα ἐπεμποῦν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι,
μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ
ἐκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀρμοστὰς ἢ ἐπιστάτας
αὐτῶς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ
Σκιπίων ὅλην ἱλείων στρατιάν ὃς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη καταλι-
πών, συνφύκει τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἢ ἀπὸ
tῆς ᾿Ιταλίας ᾿Ιταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστὶ
Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις
ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς
Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε
καὶ καταγέμον τῆς πολλῶν ὅμοιοι καὶ
χρημάτων καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ λαφύρων ποικίλων.
καὶ η ὑπὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειος ἐξειδεχόμεθα μετὰ δόξης
ἀοιδήμον τοῦ καὶ παραλόγου διὰ τε νεότητα καὶ
ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. ού τε φθο-
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with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was pricked with love of the girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. But Masinissa learned the facts and made an alliance with Scipio. And so Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned.

38. From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send praetors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. But he left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this is the native place of Trajan and Hadrian who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honours upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who
CAP. VII νοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν όμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἑθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατόν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοὶς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἐκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τά τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἔζημισαν, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν παρέίλουτο, καὶ ὄμηρα ἦτησαν, καὶ φρουρᾶς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πείρα ἐς τούτο ἔληγε.

VIII

39. Χρόνῳ δ' ύστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαίοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδουν ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίτπωρ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν. αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἴβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιος τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἔλουιος, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἐτι τῆς κυνήσεως γυγυσμενής, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὄν ἐτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνεσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριστερής, ὡςτε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἀριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι ρήτορα γεγενησθαι Δημοσθένη.

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envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realised in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honour of a triumph. But as soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons, and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The tribes that took sides with Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio’s departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end.

VIII

39. Subsequently, when the Romans were at war with the Gauls on the Po, and with Philip of Macedon, the Spaniards attempted another revolution, thinking the Romans now too distracted to heed them. Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius were sent from Rome as generals against them, and after them Minucius. As the disturbance became greater, Cato was sent in addition, with larger forces. He was still a very young man, but austere, laborious, and distinguished by such sagacity and eloquence that the Romans called him Demosthenes for his speeches, for they learned that Demosthenes had been the greatest orator of Greece.
CAP. VIII

40. Ὅσ δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγηγέρατο, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναξεν, ὡς δὲ ἐμελλε συνενεχήσεσθαι μάχη, τὰς ναύς ἃς ἔχειν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τούτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι νεῦων ἀποροῦμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὔτε σωτηρίαν, ταῦτ᾽ εἰτὸν αὐτίκα συνεβάλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὡσπερ ἔτερον, τὸν στρατὸν ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ᾽ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπηδίζοντο παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτου δ᾽ αὐτής ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν ἐτὶ οὐσῆς, καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐς τινα λόφον ύψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρωσεν, τὸ ἔργον ὅμοι πάν ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐδείχθη, τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλούμενοι, ὀρμησαν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθρούς καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε τῆς νίκης. διόξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τὸν στρατοπέδου καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ᾽ ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνηθίσαντο συμπλεκόμενοι καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀνέπαυσαν τὴν στρατιὰν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐτυπρασκεν.

41. Πρεσβευόντων δ᾽ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὑμηρὰ τε ἦττησεν ἀλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἐκάστους περιέπεμπτε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρα μιᾶ πάντας ἀποδοῦναν καὶ ὄριζε τῇ ημέρᾳ, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν πορ-
40. When Cato arrived in Spain at the place called Emporiae, the enemy from all quarters assembled against him to the number of 40,000. He took a short time to discipline his forces. But when he was about to fight he sent away the ships which he had brought to Massilia. Then he told his soldiers that they had not so much to fear from the superior numbers of the enemy (for courage could always overcome numbers), as from their own want of ships, so that there was not even safety for them unless they beat the enemy. With these words he instantly joined battle, having inspired his army, not with hope, as do other generals, but with fear. As soon as they came to close quarters he flew hither and thither exhorting and cheering his troops. When the conflict had continued doubtful till the evening and many had fallen on both sides, he ascended a high hill with three cohorts of the reserve, where he could overlook the whole field. Seeing the centre of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a charge and a shout, and began the victory with his own hand. He pursued them the whole night, captured their camp, and slew a vast number. Upon his return the soldiers congratulated and embraced him as the author of the victory. After this he gave the army a rest and sold the plunder.

41. Now envoys came to him from all sides, and he demanded further hostages, and to each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the
καὶ τὰς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἁπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη σφῶν, ἀυτῆς ἡμέρας ἢ τὰ γράμματα λύβοιεν: εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδιομόν ἦπείλει. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἤπειρον Μαχητάς, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἶτε μόνοις εἰθ᾽ ἀπασὶ ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καιρὸν τε οὐκ ἔχουσε περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἑληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβομένου, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλέως ἐκαστοῦ προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τείχη καθηροῦν μετὰ σπουδῆς: ἐν οἳ γὰρ ἄπαξ ὑπακούειν ἔδοκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὐτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμοῦ μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὡς ἕνως στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθηροῦν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

42. Ὅλυμπιάσι δ᾽ ὕστερον τέσσαρις, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἴβηρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λύσσονες, οἳ περὶ τῶν Ἴβηρα ὁμηροῦσα. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπατος Φούλουσος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχης. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν. ὁσοὶ δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ὑπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἅλης ἐβιώσαν, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἢ νεόκτιστος τε ἡν καὶ ὄχυρα, καὶ ηὔξετο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὅρμωμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρημένων.
farthest town. The letters commanded the magistrates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the very day they received the order. If they postponed the day, he threatened to sell them into slavery. They, having been lately vanquished in a great battle, and not knowing whether these orders had been sent to them alone or to all, were much perplexed, for if it were to them alone, they felt that they were but objects of scorn, but if it were to the others also, they feared to be the only ones to delay. Wherefore as they had no time to send to each other, and were apprehensive of the soldiers, standing over them with the despatches, they each severally decided to consult the interests of their own safety. And so they threw down their walls with all speed, for when they had once decided to obey they were eager to gain credit for carrying out the work expeditiously. Thus the towns along the river Ebro in one day, and thanks to a single stratagem, levelled their own walls. Being less able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained longer at peace.

42. Four Olympiads later,—that is, about the 150th Olympiad,—many Spanish tribes, having insufficient land, including among others the Lusones, who dwelt along the river Ebro, revolted from the Roman rule. The consul Fulvius Flaccus attacked and defeated them, and the greater part of them scattered among their towns. But those who were particularly in want of land, and lived a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that Flaccus should deliver to them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for each
καὶ ἑκάστου σάγουν τε καὶ ὅππον καὶ ἔφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐφη σάγους οἷσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἑλήξουτο. χρῶται δὲ δισπλοῖς ἰματίοις παχέσιν, αὐτὲς χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἠγούνται.

43. Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάρασων δὲ πόλιν, ἡ Ῥωμαῖων ἡ φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν· καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώσεθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπειγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιμοῦντος δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολέμιους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μηνύσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἰλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Τράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκών, ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη. τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθε τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάρασων διαδραμὼν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίστοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκαρτηρήσαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπηλθὲ μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν· δισμύριοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἵκετρίαις, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκήτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῶ, καὶ συννετάραξαν. ὁ δὲ εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἰτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ
of their dead in the late war, and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighbouring barbarians on the road. These people wear a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fasten with a clasp after the manner of a military cloak, and they call it the sagum.

43. Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means even of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his daring plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish sagum and secretly mingled with the enemy's foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and slipped through into Caravis, and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers retired. About the same time the inhabitants of Complega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus' camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon
πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνάψαν, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇ ἐπίκοιν ἐκρίβεισι, καθ’ ἂν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσονται φίλοι: ὦρκους τε ὡμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ύστερον πόλεμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι’ ἂν καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν Ῥώμη διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

IX

44. Ἐτεσί δ’ οὖ πολλοὶς ύστερον πόλεμος ἀλλος ἢγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπάς ἐκ τοιάσδε προ-
φάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὐτὴ τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνώκιζεν· ἀνατριχίζειν τε ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο. Τίθους τε ὠρον γένος ἀλλο συνυπάγκαζεν· ταῦτα. ή δὲ σύγκλητος πυθόμενη τό τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ἔδει τούς ὀρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαι τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ’ αἱ Γράκχου συνθήκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τεῖχους ἐλεγον ἀπηγορεοῦσθαι Κελτιβήρων ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τεῖχίζειν τὰς ύπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφατον Ῥωμαίων ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ Γράκχου. καὶ τῷ ὄντι
them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and made himself master of Complega and those who dwelt in the neighbourhood. He gave a place in the community to the poorer classes, and apportioned land to them, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a splendid triumph.

IX

44. Some years later another serious war broke out in Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Sempronius Gracchus. It persuaded the inhabitants of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighbouring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed in the time of Gracchus, and also ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this too was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify those which already existed. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves.
45. Ὁ στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης· διὸ ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἐγνωσαν, οὕτω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελεσάντες ἐφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρακάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονται τε, καὶ Κάρον αὐτῶν Σεγηδαῖον, πολεμικόν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν. ὁ δὲ τρίτη μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας δισμυρίων πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίων ἔστιν λόχμη πεζῶν πάνω τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔγνωσαν, οὗτοι Σεγηδαῖοι, προσιόντα ταῖς ὑποδέχονται τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν εἰς ἀστεος ἐκτεινεν ἐς ἐξακισχιλίων, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτων δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῆς νίκης γενόμενης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἐπεδραμον, καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἐκτειναν καὶ ὑποτερονος ἀμφ' αὐτῶν, οὔκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγώγυμεν τὸ ταῦθα ὃτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὰν ἄγουσιν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἀλῳ ἐκὼ ἀρξεῖν ἐς ἐκάινου μάχης παρὰ τὴν τήν ἡμέραν.

46. Ἀρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς Νομαντίαν, ἡ δυνατώτατη πόλις ἦν, συνελέγαντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἄμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ἦροντο· Νωβελίων δ' αὐτῶν τρισὶν ἡμέρας ἕστερον ἐπελθόν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δὲ οἱ
subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always adds that they shall continue only during the pleasure of the Senate and Roman people.

45. Accordingly Nobilior was sent against them as general with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged them to receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 5000 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they passed by. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him, and in their turn killed no less than 6000 Romans, including Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valour. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so.

46. Immediately, that very night, the Arevaci assembled at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here, after being joined by 300 Nomad horse, sent to him
ΚΑΠ. Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὗτάς Μασσανάσσης ἐπεπόμενα, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὡπίσω τὰ θηρία λαυθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο· καὶ ἸΑΚ. ΚΕΛΤΙΒΗΡΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ἸΠΠΟΙ ΣΦῶΝ ΟΥ ΠΡῚ ἘΩΡΑΚΟΤΕΣ ἘΛΕΦΑΝΤΑΣ ἘΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΣ ἘΘΟΡΥΒΟΥΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΦΕΥΓΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεῖς ἡγημονία την, καὶ ἐκβοήσας πάντων ές τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνήγα τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἐτὶ φίλου ή πολέμου. οὐ τε ἄλλοι ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοήν διαταραχθέντες ομοία πάντες ἐδρὼν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτον. ὅπερ αἱ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασιν πάσχειν ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ τῶν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἀτακτός· ἦν οἱ Νομάντινοι κατιδότες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθοντες, καὶ διώκοντες ἐκτείναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα ἐλαβον. ΚΕΛΤΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΝ ἘΣ ΔΙΣΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ.

47. Καὶ ο Νοβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβὼν, ἀγορᾶ μὲν τῖνι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀξεῖνιον πόλιν σεσωρευμένη, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κανταῦθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπανήλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἸΠΠΑΡΧΟΥ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐς τῷ γενομένῳ ἐθνος ἐπεμπεν, ἰππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνεπέραν
by Masinissa, and ten elephants, he moved against the enemy, placing the animals in the rear, where they could not be seen. Then, when they came to close quarters, the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before in war, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior took the animals right up to the city walls, and fought bravely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no longer any distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, wounding them and tossing them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are frightened. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans then took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

47. Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon some stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there too, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, a cavalry officer, to secure the alliance of a neighbouring tribe and to ask for cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was return
αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὺς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίῶν ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶντες πτασμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὄκιλις, ἐνθα ἢ ἄγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἣν τὰ Ῥωμαίῶν, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρες. καὶ ο Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχείμαζε, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἄγοραν ἔχων ἐνδον, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολύς χαλεπότητι, ὥστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύου ἀπώλλυντο.

48. Τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπιόντος έτους Νωβελίων μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀγών πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους. ἰππέας δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διήλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὄκιλιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσει. ἐπιτυχὴς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὅτι τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὁμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαν τριάκοντα λαβών. Νερόβρυγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἡρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑποσχοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς συμμαχοῦσιν ἐπέτιθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων. εἶτα ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἀγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενου, περὶ τε τῶν
ing with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, went over to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold.

48. The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved through them with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was an effective general, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime in another quarter they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carrying off some of the baggage animals. They then came with the 100 horsemen, and claimed to have fulfilled their contract, explaining the attack on the rear-guard as an error committed by certain of their people who were ignorant of the agreement.
CAP. ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοούν- 
tας τὰ ὀμολογημένα ἁμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκατόν ἱππέας ἔδησε, 
tοὺς δὲ ἱπποὺς αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν 
tὴν λεῖαν dieiλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέ- 
dευσεν. Νεργόβριγες δὲ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς 
μηχανημάτων ἃμα μαὶ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες 
ἀντὶ κηρυκείου, ἤτοι συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη 
δώσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ 
Τίτθοι δεηθέεν ὅμω. 
ων τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προβήμως ἔπρεσβευστο, 
kαὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἡξίουν, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα 
μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν 
ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωρεῖν τοις ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων 
pεπολεμημένων.

49. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ κατέρων πρέσβεις ὑπ’ ὅ 
Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλως, ἰδία δ' 
ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις: 
ἔβουλε τῷ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, 
δόχαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. 
τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς χρηστῆς, ἐς τὸν 
πόλεμον ἐσελθόντες ἐξελέγοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολε- 
μίων, ώς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμην, ἀποδοκιμάζουσα 
δ’ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ Χαλεπῶς, ἁμαρτησάντες 
τὲς καταγραφὰς καί τινας ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας 
στρατείας καί τινας ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας 
στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε
Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a herald's staff, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. This petition was opposed by some of the other natives on whom they had made war.

49. Marcellus sent ambassadors from each party to Rome to carry on their dispute there. At the same time he sent private letters to the Senate urging peace. He desired that the war should be brought to an end by himself, thinking that he should gain glory from this too. The ambassadors from the friendly faction, on coming to the city, were treated as guests, but, as was customary, those from the hostile faction lodged outside the walls. The Senate rejected the proposal of peace, and took it ill that these people had refused to submit to the Romans when asked to do so by Nobilior, the predecessor of Marcellus. So they replied that Marcellus would announce the Senate's decision to them. They at once enrolled an army for Spain, now for the first time by lot, instead of the customary levy, for since many had complained that they had been treated unjustly by the consuls in the enrolment, while others had been chosen for easier service, it was
CAP. Συναγαγείν. Ὁ νῦν ἐστρατήγησε Δικύσιος Λεύκολλος ὑπατος, προσβευτὴ χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδόνα μετ' οὗ πολὺ ἐλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὑστερον.

50. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὧδεύει, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τὸν τε πόλεμον προεἰπε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὑστερὰ αὐτοῦ σύναγγειν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ρῶμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτίβηρων ἱδία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ υπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τὸτε, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστώθη τοῖς ὑστερον γενομένους, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπευγό- μενος ἀρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργό- βριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἔπι Νομαντίαν ἐγκώσει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχὼν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἐως ὅ τῶν Νομαντίων στρατηγός Λιτέννων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μάρκελλῳ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνεδίωκον ἐφι Βελλόους καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Ἀρονακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μάρκελλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀσμενὸς ἀκούσας ὁμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ἔτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφήκεν ἑλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλόων τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἔληγεν ὀντὸ πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

51. Ὅ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρῆσθος χρηματισμῷ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἠτερον γένος Κελτίβηρος ἀνεβάλεν, οἳ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσί, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίζομας γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίως Ἡρωίδως πεπολεµη-
decided now to choose by lot. The consul Licinius Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his second in command Cornelius Scipio, who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage, and later of Numantia.

50. While Lucullus was on the march Marcellus notified the Celtiberians of the coming war, and gave back the hostages in response to their request. Then he sent for the chief of the Celtiberian embassy in Rome and conferred with him privately a long time. From this circumstance it was even then suspected, and was strongly confirmed by later events, that he sought to persuade them to put their affairs in his hands, because he was anxious to bring the war to an end before the arrival of Lucullus. For after this conference 5000 of the Arevaci took possession of the city of Nergobriga: and Marcellus marched against Numantia, encamped at a distance of five stades from it, and was driving the Numantines inside the walls when their leader Liteno halted and called out that he would like to have a conference with Marcellus. This being granted, he said that the Belli, Titthi, and Arevaci put themselves entirely in Marcellus' hands. He was delighted to hear this, and having demanded and received hostages and money from them all, he let them go free. Thus the war with the Belli, the Titthi, and the Arevaci was brought to an end before Lucullus arrived.

51. Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vacciae, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbours of the Arevaci, although he had no warrant from the Senate, nor had they B.C. 151
κότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Δεύκολλον ἁμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν καλούμενου Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἢ καὶ δεόμενος ἢ τὶ πολέμου χρήζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἁδικουμένοις βοηθοὶ, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἐνευμενεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογούντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς λουποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοὶς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Δεύκολλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη καὶ τότε ἐφευγοῦν οὐκ ὅτε μενεμάχοι, περὶ τὲ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὁδομενέων ἀνηρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους.

52. Τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφάνωσάμενοι τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὖθις ἠρώτων τὸν Λεύκολλον ἂν εἴεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμήρα τε καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευεν οἱ συστρατεύειν. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἠξίου φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἶρητο γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη. καταλαβόντως δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Δεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβῆθην. οἱ μὲν δὲ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκίους ἐπικαλοῦμενοι, καὶ Ρωμαίους ἐς ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὡμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἄνδρῶν κατὰ πῦλας ἀποκρήμνους.
ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for, and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani, whom the Vaccaei had maltreated, they retired for the time inside their walls, but sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. There was also a pitched battle, in which the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage for a long time, until they had expended all their darts. Then they fled, not being accustomed to withstand an onset, and while jostling each other at the gates about 3000 of them were slain.

52. The next day the elders of the city came out wearing crowns on their heads and bearing olive-branches, and again asked Lucullus what they should do to establish friendly relations. He replied that they must give hostages and 100 talents of silver, and place their cavalry at his disposal. When all these demands had been complied with, he asked that a Roman garrison should be admitted to the city. When the Caucaei assented to this also, he brought in 2000 soldiers carefully chosen, to whom he had given orders that when they were admitted they should occupy the walls. When this was done Lucullus introduced the rest of his army and ordered them at the sound of the trumpet to kill all the adult males of the Caucaei. The latter, invoking the gods who preside over promises and oaths, and upbraiding the perfidy of the Romans, were cruelly slain, only a few out of 20,000 escaping by leaping
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. IX. Διαφυγόντων ὅλιγων· ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξεν, καὶ δόξης Ρωμαίους ἐνεπιμπλημενα ἀκακής. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρώτερας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἀ δύναυτο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα λεῖτοιεν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον οὐρείν.

53. Ὁ δὲ πολλήν γῆν ἔρημον ὀδεύσας, ἐς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐνθα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπερ δισμυρίους συνεπεφύγεσαν, ἵππεις δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ᾽ ἀνοίας προοκαλεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ὅνελίδει πάνα Ἐκυκλείαν αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοίῃ. ὁ δ', σίου ἀπαντες οἱ ἀμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἐκείρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χόματα ἰγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ' οὕτω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμινὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔξυππευν ἑς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προοκαλεῖτο Ρωμαίων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἑθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ᾽ ὑπακούοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γυγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὁν ὑπερήλγησε τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὁν.

54. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἔπηρε Ρωμαίους, νυκτός δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατείχον· οἱ γὰρ ἵππεις, ὅσοι τῶν
down the sheer walls at the gates. Lucullus sacked the city and brought infamy upon the Roman name. The rest of the barbarians collecting together from the fields took refuge among inaccessible rocks or in the most strongly fortified towns, carrying away what they could, and burning what they were obliged to leave, so that Lucullus should not find any plunder.

53. The latter, having traversed a long stretch of deserted country, came to a city called Intercatia where more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had taken refuge together. Lucullus very foolishly invited them to enter into a treaty. They reproached him with the slaughter of the Caucae, and asked him whether he invited them to the same kind of a pledge that he had given to that people. He, like all guilty souls, being angry with his accusers instead of with himself, laid waste their fields. Then he drew a line of siege around the city, threw up several mounds, and repeatedly set his forces in order of battle to provoke a fight. The enemy did not as yet respond, but fought with projectiles only. There was a certain barbarian distinguished by his splendid armour, who frequently rode into the space between the armies and challenged the Romans to single combat, and when nobody accepted the challenge he jeered at them, executed a triumphal dance, and went back. After he had done this several times, Scipio, who was still a youth, felt very much aggrieved, and springing forward accepted the challenge. Fortunately he won the victory, although he was small, and his opponent big.

54. This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were haunted by numerous
BARBARIANS, WHEN THEY HEARD THAT LEUKOLLOS, HAVING ADVANCED TO THE TIPS OF THEIR ARMY, HAD NOT ENTERED THE CITY OF LEUKOLOUS, HAVING SEEN WITH SORROW AND GREAT FRIGHT, AND HAVING COME TOGETHER, THE ROMANS WERE GREATLY ALARMED. INDEED MANY INтолΕΑ ΑΝΩ, καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγωῶν χωρὶς ἁλῶν ἑψόμενοι σιτούμενοι κατερρήγνυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μέν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ δ᾽ οὗ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς τία δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος οὐκ ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνῳκοδόμουν. πάνυ δ᾽ ἐκατέρων κακοπαθοῦντων (ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἡπτετο) Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσεσθαι παράπσονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἈΜΟΧΕ ΔΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΝ. ΠΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ άΡΓΥΡΟΝ ΛΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΒ ΑΥΤῶΝ, ΟΥ ὙΠΟΧΡΕΩΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΠΜΑΤΑΝ ΤΙ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ἘΝ ΟΠΗΡΑ. ΧΡΥΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ άΡΓΥΡΟΝ ΔΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΑΥΤῶΝ, ΟΥ ΔΗ ΧΑΡΙΝ, ἙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ὍΛΗΝ ΣΠΡΙΗΑΝ ΠΟΛΥΧΡΥΣΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΩΡΓΥΡΟΝ, ΕΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ, ΟΥΚ έΛΑΒΕΝ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΧΟΥΝ, ΟΥΔ ΕΝ ΔΟΞΗ ΤΑΥΤ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΚΕΛΤΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΤΙΘΕΝΤΑΙ.
terrors. A body of the enemy’s horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned, and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance, while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from watching and want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and quantities of venison and rabbits’ flesh boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when their mound was completed and by battering the enemy’s walls with their engines they had knocked down a section, they rushed into the city, but were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where most of them perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. He was believed because of his reputation for virtue, and brought the war to an end on the following terms: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver which Lucullus demanded, and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver, he got none. In fact they had none, and these particular Celtiberians do not set any value on those metals.
55. Ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ἦμε πόλιν, ἢ δόξαν τε ἄρετῆς εἰχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτήν· οθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσαν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον, μέχρι σιτολογούντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱππεῦσιν ἦν ὄργανον τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυον. ἄπορον δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος ἄνεβην, τετράγωνον ἐν τούτῳ στρατὸν ἄφων, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλάντων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, οθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτός ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ την Τυρδιανοῦ χώραν διελθὼν ἱππεῖεν καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ρωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷ δε ὀυδὲ ἐκρίθη.

56. Τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἱβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἱ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Ποινίκου σφῶν ἡγούμενον τὰ Ρωμαίων ὑπήκοα ἐλήξοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούριον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Ποινίκος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβών ἐπολιόρκει Ρωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασὶν Ἄννιβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινάς ἐκ Διβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθήναι Βλαστοφόι-
55. He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congresed, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. But, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. Being unable to get food, Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of an oblong, and still pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Douro. From thence the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccaei, which was waged by Lucullus contrary to the authority of the Roman people, but he was never even called to account for it.

56. At this time another of the autonomous nations of Spain, the Lusitanians, under Punicus as leader, were ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their praetors, Manilius and Calpurnius Piso, killed 6000 Romans, and among them Terentius Varro, the quaestor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the people called Blastophoenicians, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people settlers from Africa, whence they were called Blastophoenicians.
CAP. νικας. Πούνικος μὲν οὖν λίθῳ πληγεῖς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνήρ φ' ὁνομα ἦν Καίσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρος Μουμμίω, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἤπτωμενος ἐφυγεν. Μουμμίω δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τὴν τε λείαν τὴν ἤρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἴκειον στρατόπεδον ἄνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβε τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεία πολλὰ, ἀπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετῶθασον.

57. Μούμμιος δ᾽ ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἐντὸς στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιώς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἰ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκίτος αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ᾽ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κάκεινοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκάσιοι σφῶν ἴσην ἤγουμενον Κοινέους ἐπόρθουν, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις ἴσαν ὑπῆκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἶλον Κονίστοργιν. παρὰ τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ὁρακλείους τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Διβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὁκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἐπόμενος ἐννακισχιλίους πεζοῖς καὶ ἴππεῖσι πεντακισίους ἐκτεινε τῶν μὲν δηούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἐτέρων τινῶν, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐξέλυσε τὴν Ἡκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ὡς ἐπισυλήκεσαν, ἐκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ δια-
Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Caesarus. This man joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards, which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia.

57. Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. Having waited for the barbarians to pass by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured, he fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. The Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucaenus, being also incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured a large city of theirs, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the ocean, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocile. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocile. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty, he slew all of them too, so that not one escaped to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers.
Καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν, 58. ἐκδέχεται δ’ αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἄτιλιος, ὁς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἐπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν ἐξείλεν, ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ’ ἐγγὺς καταπληξάμενος ἀπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἕνα τοῦ Οὐεττῶνος ἐθνος, ὁμόρον τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὡς δ’ ἀνεξεύγυνε χειμάσων ὁ Ἄτιλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καὶ τυχαὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόους ἐπολιόρκουν ὅσου ἐπειγόμενους ἐξείλειν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρουνος Γάλβας ὁ Ἄτιλιος διάδοχος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέφανον, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχον. τρεψάμενος δ’ εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πόλεμοι, ἐπεκεῖτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμοις. Ὁθὲν ἀσθενοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως σύσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδότας αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνονσιν ὡς ἐπτακισχίλιοι. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἁμφ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἐνθα οἱ διαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους διήλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχείμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

59. Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφισματος πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάσων ἠσθενε τοὺς Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων καὶ περιτέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων,
The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

58. He was succeeded in the command by Marcus Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracae. This so terrified the neighbouring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, the successor of Atilius, hastened to relieve them. Having marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy's ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he recovered the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

59. Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccaei without authority, was then wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighbourhood he sent out his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them.
Ἀριτ. ἐκτείνε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. περὶ τε Γάδειρα τῶν πορθμῶν ἐτέρων περῶντων ἐκτείνεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συμφυγόντας ἐς τινα λόφου ἀπετάφρευσε, πληθὸς τε ἐλαβεν ἄνδρων ἀπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιών κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτῶν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὁσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβεβή-κεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συναχθεσθαί ὡς δι᾽ ἀπορίαν ληστεύουσι τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσι. "τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον," ἔφη, "καὶ πενιχρῶν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει; δώσω δ’ ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἀγαθήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικίῳ, διελὼν ἐς τρία."

60. Οἱ μὲν δὲ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήεσαν οἱ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρὶα διήρει, καὶ πεδίου ἐκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθόν. ὡς δ’ ἤκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τά ὀπλα, θεμένους δ’ ἀπετάφρευσε τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινας ἐσπέμψας ἀνείλεν ἀπαντας, ὠδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστεις ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχ-θείς ἀνείλεν, ἀγρυσσύντας ἐτὶ τὰ πάθη τά τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστία μὲν ἀρα ἀπιστίαν μετίον, ὃν ἀξίως δὲ Ἐσπαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὅλγοι δ’ αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὃν ἥν Οὐρίατθος, ὃς μετ’ οὐ
He killed about 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill, and he drew a line of circumvallation around it, and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded Lusitania and gradually devastated it. Galba did the same on the other side. When some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the very treaty which they had made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, and then transgressed, he received them favourably, and made a truce and pretended even to sympathise with them because they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break treaties. "For," said he, "poorness of soil and penury force you to do these things. But I will give my poor friends good land, and settle them in a fertile country, in three divisions."

60. Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place appointed by Galba. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country, until he should come and assign them their places. When he came to the first division he told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, lamenting and invoking the names of the gods, and the pledges which they had received. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery, imitating barbarians in a way unworthy of a Roman. A few escaped, among them Viriathus,
οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομίσεως, ἀλίσθεντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄπο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἀγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβὼν, ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέτεσε προομεύουσι, καὶ πολλὺς ἄνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὴν χώριον, οί κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐκρηγ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὅπερ εἴχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἐπέμεινον καὶ ἐπέσεν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνέτιζεν ἂδικα. Οὐρίατθος δ’ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγὼν, τότε συνὸν

**APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI**

**CAP. X**

πολὺ ἥγησατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ύστερον γενόμενα ύστερον λέξο. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Δευκόλλου φιλοχρηματότερος ὃν, ὄλγα μὲν τινα τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδον, καὶ ὄλγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὃν ὅμοι τι Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασίν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπισκέπτοντα διὰ κέρδη. μισούμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

**XI**

**CAP. XI**

61. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Δευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομίσεως, ἀλίσθεντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄπο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἀγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβὼν, ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέτεσε προομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὴν χώριον, οί κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐκρηγ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὅπερ εἴχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἐπέμεινον σὺν ἰκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνέτιζεν ἂδικα. Οὐρίατθος δ’ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγὼν, τότε συνὸν 232
THE WARS IN SPAIN

who not long afterward became the leader of the Lusitanians and killed many Romans and performed great exploits. But these things happened at a later time, and I shall not relate them now. Galba, being even more greedy than Lucullus, distributed a little of the plunder to the army and a little to his friends, but kept the rest himself, although he was already one of the richest of the Romans. But not even in time of peace, they say, did he abstain from lying and perjury in order to get gain. Although generally hated, and called to account for his rascalities, he escaped punishment by means of his wealth.

XI

61. Nor long afterward those who had escaped the villainy of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had in all about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out, of falling into the hands of the Romans. So difficult was the position in which they were placed. They therefore sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was being made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them

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62. Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι γενομένων, ἡρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ μάχη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ ὑππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται, κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὅδους ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἑνθά αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐμφανίσκοντας ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν ἴππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐετίλιος αὐτοὺς δείσας διώκειν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐπειδήσας τῷ γενομένῳ τραπεῖσ ἐμάχετο. οἱ δ' ἀκυρώσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσθάλτων οὔτως ἐμάχοντας καὶ ἐκ πολλὰ διηρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενομένῳ τραπεῖσ ἐμάχετο. οἱ δ' ἀκυρώσας ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενομένῳ τραπεῖσ ἐμάχετο. οἱ δ' ἀκυρώσας ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενομένῳ τραπεῖσ ἐμάχετο.
of the bad faith of the Romans, and how often the latter had set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, he said, they should not fail of an escape from the place.

62. Excited by the new hopes with which he inspired them, they chose him as their leader. He drew them all up in line of battle as though he intended to fight, but gave them orders that when he should mount his horse they should scatter in every direction and make their way as best they could by different routes to the city of Tribola and there wait for him. He chose 1000 only whom he commanded to stay with him. These arrangements having been made, they all fled as soon as Viriathus mounted his horse. Vetilius was afraid to pursue those who had scattered in so many different directions, but turning towards Viriathus who was standing there and apparently waiting a chance to attack, joined battle with him. Viriathus, having very swift horses, harassed the Romans by attacking, then retreating, again standing still and again attacking, and thus consumed the whole of that day and the next dashing around on the same field. As soon as he conjectured that the others had made good their escape, he hastened away in the night by devious paths and arrived at Tribola with his nimble steeds, the Romans not being able to follow him at an equal pace by reason of the weight of their armour, their ignorance of the roads, and the inferiority of their horses. Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various
τοὺς τήδε βαρβάρους ἔξηρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ
πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὅκτῳ
ἐτὸς Ρωμαιόις ἐπολέμει.

63. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάτθον πόλεμον,
sφόδρα τε ἐνυχλήσαντα Ρωμαιοὺς καὶ δυσεργό-
tατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἰ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίνετο.
Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἠλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ’ Οὐρίατθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν
ἐπικρύψας ἐφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος
τοῦ Οὐετίλιον αὐτὸς τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς
ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ρωμαιόις ἑκατέρωθεν
ἐκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐξώγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας
ἐώθουν. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν
ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑ ὑπέρπαχυν ὁρῶν, ἔκτει-
νεν ὡς οὐδενὸς άξιον. "Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ
μυρίων ἐξακισχιλίων διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσὸν,
ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν, ἢν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλη-
ναν πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἄργαν-
θόνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὡς τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἑκατον ἐς πεντήκοντα φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς
tὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἵπετο
tῷ Οὐετιλίῳ, συνέτασσεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας·
παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισ-
χιλίους συμμάχους, καὶ λαβών, προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ
tοῦ Οὐριάτθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἐκτεινεν, ὡς μὴ
ἀγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἥσυχαζεν
ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ
Ῥώμης.

64. Οὐρίατθος δὲ τὴν Καρπητανιαν, εὐδαίμονα
χώραν, ἑπτὼν ἄδεως ἑλεηλάτει, ἔως ἤκεν ἐκ
tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reinforcements from different quarters and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years.

63. It is my intention here to relate this war with Viriathus, which was very harassing and difficult to the Romans, and to postpone any other events which happened in Spain at the same time.

Vetilius pursued him till he came to Tribola. Viriathus, having first laid an ambush in a dense thicket, retreated until Vetilius was passing by the place, when he turned, and those who were in ambush sprang up. On both sides they began killing the Romans, driving them over the cliffs and taking them prisoners. Vetilius himself was taken prisoner; and the man who captured him, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he was old and fat, and considering him worthless, killed him. Of the 10,000 Romans, 6000 with difficulty made their way to the city of Carpessus on the seashore, which I think was formerly called by the Greeks Tartessus, and was ruled by King Arganthonus, who is said to have lived an hundred and fifty years. The soldiers, who made their escape to Carpessus, were stationed on the walls of the town by the quaestor who accompanied Vetilius, badly demoralized. Having asked and obtained 5000 allies from the Belli and Titthi, he sent them against Viriathus, who slew them all, so that there was not one left to tell the tale. After that the quaestor remained quietly in the town waiting for help from Rome.

64. Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania in security, and ravaged it until Caius
CAP. 

Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἵππες χίλιους ἐπὶ τριακοσίους. τὸτε δ’ αἰθὶς ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἐπέμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὖς ἐπιστραφεῖς ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐκτεινε χωρίς ὀλέγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβᾶς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὅρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, ᾿Αφροδίτης δὲ ἐπωνύμως, ἐνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἔχειμαξεν, οὐθαρρῶν οὐδαμοῖ προϊέναι. ὁ δ’ Οὐρίατθος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιζήτησεν τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ’ ὄν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

65. Ὡν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἐπέμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δὲ, Ῥωμαίων ἀρτι στρατόν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεκτυκισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον καταγραφεῖν ἐπέτρεπτος. ὁ δὲ, Ῥωμαίων ἀρτι στρατόν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεκτυκισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν ὡς οὕτω μάχης ἅρχου, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειν, ἐς Ῥαδείρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμὸν, ὃ ἡ συμμάχων στράτου ἀλλον αὐτῆς ἡκεν ἐς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχουν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεκτυκισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὕτω μάχης ἅρχου, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειν, ἐς Ῥαδείρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμὸν, ὃ ἡ συμμάχων στράτου ἀλλον αὐτῆς ἡκεν ἐς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχουν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεκτυκισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὕτω μάχης ἅρχου, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειν, ἐς Ῥαδείρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμὸν.
Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent about 4000 men to pursue him, but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed the crops.

65. When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army for himself. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He asked for additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon some of his wood-cutters, killed many, and
καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιπούς. τοῦ δ' ύποστρατήγου συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὐθίς ὁ Ὀυρίατθος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. δὲ δὲ ὄλῳ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἐτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἱκροβολίζετο, πειράματα τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐντιθεῖς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους ἀεὶ τοὺς γυμνοὺς περιίστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ' ἱππεῶν αὐτός, οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένωσι τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται δεύτερος ὁδὲ τὸν Οὐρίατθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτὸν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ὧν ὄνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διώκων ἐκτεινε πολλούς. καὶ ἐκείμαζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἡν ἐπὶ στρατηγῶν τοῦ εἶν τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀἱμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ρώμην ἀπῆρε, διαἀδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν Κοίντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὐλοῦ.

66. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ὀυρίατθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄν οὕς καταφρονός ἐτὶ καταφρονῶν, Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλούς, ἐθυν μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαιῶν. καὶ πολέμοι ἄλλοι οἷς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντίνου ἡγοῦνται, μακρὸν τε καὶ ἐπίτου τῷ Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενοι, καὶ συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἐν μετ' Ὀυρίατθον. Ὀυρίατθος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐτέρῳ
struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also and captured much booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his forces repeatedly and offered battle. Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, but he skirmished frequently with part of his forces, making trial of the enemy’s strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry, as he had seen his father Paulus do, when serving with him in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman general to put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, of which he plundered one and burned the other. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Baecor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba, this being already the second year of his command in this war. Having performed these labours, Aemilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus.

66. After this Viriathus, no longer despising the enemy as he had before, detached the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war after one of their cities. I shall include this war also as a sequel to the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in the further part of Spain with Quintius, another
στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαιῶν Κοϊντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἵσσωμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄφροδισίου ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐκτευνε τῶν Κοϊντίου ἐς χίλιους, καὶ σημειά τινα ἤρπασε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκη φρουρὰν ἑξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν χώραν ἑλήξετο, Κοϊντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἀνδρὰ Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

67. Τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπιόντος ἐτους Κοϊντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαιῶν ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίους. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικύπη τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκην ἠπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιόντα ἐς Ἰτύκκην κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἑξακισχιλίου ἀνδράσιν ἐπίοντα οἱ μετὰ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ κόμης μακρὰς, ὑπεστῆ τῇ γενναίῳ καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἀπράκτον. ὡς δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀβίντο, καὶ ἐκ Διβύης ἑλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἰππείσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ἀχύρου μέγα, καὶ προεπεχείρετο τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἦτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ὕδω ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τούτῳ ὁ
Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Chap. Venus mountain. From this he sallied, and slew about 1000 of Quintius' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Itucca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintius did not render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him.

XII

67. At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the brother of Aemilianus, came to succeed Quintius in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Itucca with his army in divisions, Viriathus, at the head of 6000 troops, attacked him with loud shouts and barbaric clamour, his men wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus
Οὐρίατθος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τῶδε, οὐκώμων μόλις αὐτὸν υφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύνων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιός τε, ὁ Δαιλίου κηδεστής, λαμπρῶς ἤρίστευε, καὶ νυξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρᾳ θαμινὰ ἐπιών, καὶ οὔ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν Σερουιλιανὸν ἐς Τύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.

68. Τότε δὲ ἥδη τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἱ τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστρατευεὶν ἐς Κούνεους, ὃθεν ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὕθις ἦπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λήσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἔθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἁγώνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τὴν τε λείαν μετ᾽ ὑπὸ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις ἐἴλευ Εἰσκαδίαιν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὄβόλκολαν, φρουρούμενας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐρίατθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνοσκεν ἄλλας: αἰχμάλωτα δ᾽ ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδωκε. καὶ Κούνόβαν μὲν των λήσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβὼν, καὶ
observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 CHAP.
of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also, where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Laelius, showed splendid bravery, and the Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make frequent incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Ituca.

68. Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Baeturia and plundered five towns which had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunei, and thence to Lusitania once more against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men, attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured their booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolocola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, he spared him alone, but cut off the hands of all of his men.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XII

Φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου, 69. τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίατθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἀμα ἐφ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ρύψαντες ἐφευγον. τὴν τε ἅλλην στρατιὰν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ, τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίατθος ἐδίώκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς χρημνοὺς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίατθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὑβρίσεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάμιτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο Ρωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθῆκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν. Οὐρίατθος εἶναι Ρωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῷ πάντας ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὅτε μὲν ὁ Οὐριάτθου πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαύσθαι, χαλεπώτατος τε Ρωμαίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσία καταλυθεῖσ. 70. οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ᾽ ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συνκειμένα: ὁ γαρ ἀδελφὸς Σερουιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπῖων, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλε τὰς συνθῆκας, καὶ ἐπέστειλε Ρωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεὶν τὸν Οὐρίατθον ὡς δ’ αὖθις ἡνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐκρινε λύσασι τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὖθις Οὐριάτθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπῖων Ἀρσάν τοῦ πόλιν ἐκλιψάντος Οὐριάτθου παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Οὐρίατθος φεύγουσι τα καὶ τὰ ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπητανίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων.

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69. While following Viriathus, he invested Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans against some cliffs, from whence there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an end by a conspicuous act of generosity, he made an agreement with them, which was ratified by the Roman people. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman nation, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been brought to an end by this act of generosity.

70. The peace however did not last, even for a short time, for Caepio, brother of Servilianus who had concluded it, being his successor in the command complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly, and, when he made further agitations, and continually sent letters, it decided to break off the treaty, and again declare open war against Viriathus. When war was definitely declared, Caepio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and overtook Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) in Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his.
ὁθεν ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μέν τινα φάραγγα ἀφανὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπίεναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λοφὸν ὄξων παρεῖχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δ’ ἦσθετο τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεί γεγονότων, ἐξίππευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὥσς σὺν μηδ’ αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὑποδέραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεῖς τὰ ἐκεῖναν ἐδέχατο.

71. Καὶ ξίλῳ τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάτθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν λῃστὴρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα περμφθείς ἀπέγνω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρὰς, ὥσπερ οὗ Τάγος τε καὶ Δήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὥσς, οἷα δὴ ληστηρία, μεθισταμένους δυσεργὲς ἤγομενοι εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ καταλαβεῖν, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν· ὡς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐς ἑκάστην πατρίδα δυνεύσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδέχατο τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀπαντα, συμμαχομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ὑμναίκων καὶ συναναιρομένων, καὶ οὗ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ’ ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεῖσθαι. εἰτὶ δ’ οὗ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅρη μεθ’ ὅν ἐδύναντο ἄνεπιδον καὶ αὐτοὶς δεομένοις συνεγίγνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅντα ἐμερίζετο.
Viriathus, therefore, deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Caepio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields.

71. Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Durius, and Baetis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while they moved swiftly from place to place as free-booters do, and yet disgraceful to fail in doing so, while it was no very glorious task even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With this design he began destroying everything that came in his way, the women fighting and perishing in company with the men, and dying without a cry. Some, however, of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, portioning out their goods.
72. Καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλά μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλά δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦς ἐνδιδόντων ὀμηρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Δήθην μετήκει, πρῶτος οδὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆκαί. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἐτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθόν, Βρακάρων αὐτῶ φερομένην ἀγορᾶν ἀρτασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τούς Βρακάρους, οἱ εἰσὶν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἀμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑπλισμέναις καὶ οὐδὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προβήμως ἐθηνηκοῦν, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι αὐτῶν οὐδεῖς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαιροῦσαι τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δὲ τίνες τῶν πόλεων αἱ τότε μὲν τῷ Βροῦτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ύστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βροῦτος κατεστρέφετο αὖθις.

73. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἡ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῶ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστάσα ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων αὐτῶν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλάβριγων καὶ παρακαλούντων αὐτῶν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλάβριγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τῷ Χρήζου, πρῶτα μὲν τούς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίου ἔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα ἔχον, καὶ ὅμηρα ἑπὶ τούτους, εἰτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκλίπειν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦ θυπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγουσιν ὃς καὶ ἀποστάσειν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῶ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τῷ δεινῷ, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅνειδῶν ἑλῆξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππόπους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ χρήματα ὃσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἢ εἰ τις ἄλλη δημοσίᾳ παρασκευή,
72. He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and demanding many hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They are a very warlike people, and among them too the women bore arms with the men, who died with a will, not a man of them showing his back, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children also with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus at the time, but soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to submission again.

73. One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled and gave him trouble was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants, as usual, begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed this order as well, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he let the matter end in reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general resources, he gave them back their
ΟΡΙΑΤΘΟΣ δὲ ΚΑΙΠΙΩΝΙ περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὔδακα καὶ ΔΙΤΑΛΚΩΝΑ καὶ ΜΙΝΟΥΡΟΝ, οἱ διαφθαρέντες ἑκείνου ζῆλον ὑπὸ λῃστηρίων ἀρξάμενοι γίγνεσθαι.

74. Οὐρίατθος δὲ Καιπίωνι περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὔδακα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἱ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιπίωνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον. καὶ ἐκτειναν ὅδε. ὅλιγοψυνότατος ὃν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἔκτειναν ὅλιγοψυνότατος ὃν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἔκτειναν ὃν. ὃν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὸν Αὔδακα φυλάξαντες αὐτὸν, ἀρχομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ παρῆλθον ὃς τὴν σκηνὴν ὅς ὁδὸς ἐπείγοντο, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὡπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγήν ὅς γὰρ ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ᾽ αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καϊπίωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἤτουν. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτικα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἄδεως ἐχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὁν ἔτους, ἐς Ρώμην αὐτοὺς ἐπέμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐρίατθον καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἐμάθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἐνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγή τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγοῦντων τε ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμοῦ.
Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him.

74. Viriathus sent his most trusted friends Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus to Caepio to negotiate terms of peace. The latter bribed them by large gifts and promises to assassinate Viriathus, which they did in this way. Viriathus, on account of his excessive cares and labours, slept but little, and for the most part took rest in his armour so that when aroused he might be at once prepared for every emergency. For this reason it was permitted to his friends to visit him by night. Taking advantage of this custom, those who were associated with Audax watched their opportunity and entered his tent on the pretext of business, just as he had fallen asleep, and killed him by stabbing him in the throat, which was the only part of his body not protected by armour. The blow was so sure that nobody discovered what had been done, and the murderers escaped to Caepio and asked for the rest of their pay. For the present he gave them permission to enjoy safely what they had already received: as for their demands, he referred them to Rome. When daylight came the attendants of Viriathus and the remainder of the army thought he was still resting and wondered at his unusually long repose, until some of them discovered that he was lying dead in his armour. Straightway there was wailing and lamentation throughout the camp, all of them mourning for him and fearing for their own safety, thinking what
earer ἐν οἷς εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἷον στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαν- 

tas οὐχ ἦρισκον, ὑπερῆλγυνεν.

75. Οὐρίατθος μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμή-
santes ἐπὶ ύψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἐκαῖον, ἱερεῖα τε 
polλά ἐπῆσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἑλάς οἱ τε 
πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν 
ἐνοπλοὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῆνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι 
τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ. καὶ τῆς 
ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγώνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν 
ἡγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον 
katέλιπεν Οὐρίατθος, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν 

βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ᾽ ἐς 

ἀπαντα πρὸ ἀπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς 

kέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, 

ἀεὶ παρακαλοῦντων· δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀρι-

στεύσασιν ἐδίδου. οθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον 

ἐργον καὶ οὐδένι πω στρατηγῶν εὐμαρός ἐγγενό-

μενον, ἔτεσιν ὅκτω τούδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγῆς 

στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἢν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ 

ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἄξυτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν 

Τάν-

ταλον ἐλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφε-

ρουτο, ἤν Ἀυνίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς 

αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρου-

σθείσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκείθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαϊτιν ποταμὸν 

περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ 

Τάνταλος αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίων
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dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. And what pained them most of all was that they could not find the perpetrators of the crime.

75. They arrayed the body of Viriathus in splendid garments and burned it on a lofty funeral pile. Many sacrifices were offered for him. The infantry and cavalry ran in troops around him, in armour, singing his praises in barbarian fashion, and they all sat round the pyre until the fire had gone out. When the obsequies were ended, they had gladiatorial contests at his tomb. So great was the longing which Viriathus left behind him—a man who, for a barbarian, had the highest qualities of a commander, and was always foremost in facing danger and most exact in dividing the spoils. He never consented to take the lion’s share, although always asked to do so, and even the share which he did receive he divided among the bravest. Thus it came about (a most difficult task and one never achieved easily by any commander) that in the eight years of this war, in an army composed of various tribes, there never was any sedition, and the soldiers were always obedient and ready for danger. After his death they chose a general named Tantalus and made an expedition against Saguntum, the city which Hannibal had overthrown and re-established and named New Carthage,¹ after his own country. When they had been repulsed from that place and were crossing the river Baetis, Caepio pressed them so hard that Tantalus became exhausted and surrendered himself and his army to Caepio on condition that they should be treated as subjects. The latter took from them all their arms and gave them

¹ See note on p. 157.
ΣΧ. XII

ΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΕΝ ὩΣ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙΣ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ. Ὅ ΔΕ ὌΣΛΑ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟῦΣ ἈΦΕΙΛΕΤΟ ἈΠΑΝΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΓΗΝ ἘΔΩΚΕΝ ἸΚΑΝΗΝ, ἩΝΑ ΜΗ ΛΗΣΤΕΥΟΙΕΝ ἘΞ ἈΠΟΡΙΑΣ.

ΣΧ. XIII

76. ἘΠΑΝΕΙΣΙ Δ' ἘΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΟΥΑΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ Ἡ ΓΡΑΦΗ, ΟὗΣ ΟὐΡΙΑΤΘΟΣ ΜΕΝ ᾿ΗΡΕΘΙΣΕΝ ἘΣ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΝ, ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΟΣ Δ' ΑΥΤΟῖΣ ΜΕΤΕΛΛΟΣ ὌΠΟ 'ΡΟΜΗΣ ἝΠΙΤΕΜΦΒΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΛΕΟΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΟΥΑΚΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ἘΧΕΙΡΩΣΑΤΟ, ΣΟΥΝ ἘΚΠΛΗΞΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΕΙ ΘΕΡΙΖΟΥΟΙΝ ἘΜΠΙΠΤΤΩΝ, ΤΕΡΜΕΝΤΙΑ Δ' ΑΥΤῊ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΑ ΕΤΙ ᾿ΕΛΕΙΤΟΝ. ᾿ΗΝ Δ' ᾿Η ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙΣ ΔΟῦΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΡΑΓΧΙΩΝ ἈΠΟΚΡΗΜΝΟΙΣ, ἩΛΑΙ ΤΕ ΑΥΤῊ ΠΥΚΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΕΚΕΙΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΜΙΑ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΣ ᾿ΗΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟΝ, Ἡ ΤΑΦΡΩΝ ἘΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΛΔΩΝ. ΑΥΤΟΙ Δ' ᾿ΗΣΑΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ἩΠΠΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΖΟΙ, ΠΑΝΤΕΣ Δ' ἌΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΚΤΑΚΙΣΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣΟΪΔΕ ᾿ΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΜΒΟΣ ὩΤῊ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΣ ΜΕΓΑ ᾿ΗΝΟΧΛΗΣΑΝ ΤΑ ῬΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΜΕΤΕΛΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΧΕΙΜΩΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΡ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΩ [ΑΥΛΦ] ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΑΣ ΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΕ, ΤΡΙΣΜΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΠΕΖΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ ἩΠΠΕΙΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑ ΠΕΓΥΜΝΑΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ, Ό ΔΕ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΣ ΤΗ ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΥΟΝ ΦΧΕΤΟ ΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ἩΠΠΕΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΘΕΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΝΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ. ἘΠΑΝΕΛΘΩΝ ΟΙΝ ΠΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΝΟΜΑΝΤΙΝΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ὙΠΕΧΩΡΟΥΝ ΚΑΤ' ὍΛΙΓΟΝ ΟΙΝ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΣΤΗΛΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΡΑΓΧΙΩΝ Ὁ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΣ ᾽ΟΥ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

sufficient land, so that they should not be driven to robbery by want. In this way the Viriathic war came to an end.

XIII

76. Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Caecilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army, and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them with alarming suddenness while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of the two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The men were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, although their numbers in all were only about 8000. Although so few, they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, all admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. He therefore returned and drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades.
77. Καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν ἐπεισοδίως τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλίαρχου οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέφαντο, καὶ τρίτη πείρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἢς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῖς ὑπαίτις κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἕως τοῦλοι, καὶ ἀμα ἐφ’ ἑφ’ ἐπιστρέφον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἣς ἤγους ὑπεκάθαντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὕπ’ νυκτός. οθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνιας Μαλίας ἕλασεν, ἢς ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντίνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιὲς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπήιῳ. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅμηρα αὐτῆς, μετήλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἢν ἔδησαν Λήσταρχος ὅνομα Ταγγίνοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἱχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ’ ἢν φρουρόματος ἐν τοῖς λησταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἱχμαλώτων ὁδείς ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλω διεστίρων.

78. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμὸν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρίς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὄχετεύοντας ἰσώχλουν. ἐβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἐως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἔτεροις ἐπι-
77. When he saw his forces defeated day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. Here too he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedetania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away.

78. Pompeius, coming back to the siege of Numantia, endeavoured to turn the course of a certain river into the plain in order to reduce the city by famine. But the inhabitants harassed him while he was doing his work. They rushed out in crowds without any trumpet signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and even hurled darts at those who came to their assistance.
δραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, 'Οππιών
τε χιλιάρχου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο
μέρος τάφρον ὁρύσσουσι Ρωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες
ἐκτειναν ἐς πετρακοσίους, καὶ τῶν ἱγούμενον
αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ σύμβουλοι παρ-
ήσαν ἐκ Ρώμης, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας (ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη
diolelūthei strateneumoréou) διάδοχοι νεοκατά-
γραφοί τε καὶ ἔτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι.
μεθ' ὅν ο Πομπηίος αἰδούμενος τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα,
καὶ ἐπιειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἄναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε
χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιώται
κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ
πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν
ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἐκαμών, καὶ
diaphteroun éniov. μέρους ὃ ἐπὶ σιτίων οἰχομένου,
kryfántes énédraan oi Nomantínou par' auto tô
Ῥωμαίον στρατόπεδον ἱκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες,
ἔως οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐπεξήγησαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς
énedraas ἀνιστάμοντο καὶ Ρωμαίοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ
tòu plēthous, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον
οἱ δὲ Νομαντίνου καὶ τοῖς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν
ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς.

79. Καὶ ο Πομπηίος τοσοῦτος κακοίς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων
ἀνεξεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἱρος
προσδοκῶν ἦξειν οἱ διάδοχοι. καὶ δεδῶς κατηγο-
ρίαν, ἐπιστράτευσεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ
πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες
ἡδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀριστων καὶ γῆς ἀργία καὶ
τροφῶν ἀπορία καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ
260
from the camp, and finally shut the Romans up in their own fortification. They also attacked some foragers and killed many of these also, and among them Oppius, a military tribune. They made an assault in another quarter on a party of Romans who were digging a ditch, and killed about 400 of them including their leader. After this certain counselors came to Pompeius from Rome, together with an army of new recruits, still raw and undisciplined, to take the places of his soldiers, who had served six years. Pompeius, being ashamed of his disasters, and desiring to wipe out the disgrace, remained in camp in the winter time with these raw recruits. The soldiers, being exposed to severe cold without shelter, and unaccustomed to the water and climate of the country, fell sick with dysentery and some died. A detachment having gone out for forage, the Numantines laid an ambuscade quite near the Roman camp and provoked them with showers of missiles, until the Romans, losing patience, sallied out against them. Then those who were in ambush sprang up, and many officers and privates lost their lives. Finally the Numantines encountered the foraging party on its return and killed many of those also.

79. Pompeius, having met with so many misfortunes, marched away with his senatorial council to the towns to spend the rest of the winter, expecting a successor to come early in the spring. Fearing lest he should be called to account, he made overtures to the Numantines secretly for the purpose of bringing the war to an end. The Numantines on their side, being exhausted by the slaughter of many of their bravest men, by the loss
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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

παρὰ προσδοκίαιν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἕς Πομπηίον. ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἩΡωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθηκας ἑτέρας ἩΡωμαίων ἀξίας), λάθρα δὲ ὑπισχέτο ἄ ἐμελλε ποιήσειν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὁμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἦτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἐλαβεί. ἦτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα: ὃν μέρος αὐτίκα ἐδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπηίος ἀνέμενεν, παραγενομένον δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Ἰαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν διαδόχον, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχρὰς τε καὶ ἄνευ ἩΡωμαίων γενομένας, ἤρνετο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἠλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τῷ τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπό τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ χιλιάρχοις αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπιλιος αὐτούς ἐς ἩΡώμην ἐπεμπε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπηίος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἐδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντῖνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπιλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Δούσονας, οὕδεν δ' ἐργασάμενος (ἡκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὁστίλιος Μαγκίνος) ἀνέζευξεν ἐς ἩΡώμην.

80. Ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις συμβαλὼν ἤττατό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφυγεν. λόγον δὲ ψευδοὺς ἐμπεσόντος ὁτι Νομαντῖνοις ἔρχονται θοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροι τε καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι, δεῖσας

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of their crops, by want of food, and by the length of the war, which had been protracted beyond expectation, also sent legates to Pompeius. He publicly advised them to surrender at discretion, saying that he knew of no other terms worthy of the Roman people, but privately he promised them what he would do. When they agreed and surrendered unconditionally, he demanded and received from them hostages, together with the prisoners and deserters. He also demanded thirty talents of silver, a part of which they paid down, while he agreed to wait for the rest. His successor, Marcus Popillius Laena, had arrived when they brought the last instalment. Pompeius being no longer under any apprehension concerning the war, since his successor was present, and knowing that he had made a disgraceful peace and without authority from Rome, began to deny that he had come to any understanding with the Numantines. They proved the contrary by witnesses who had been present at the transaction, senators, and his own prefects of horse and military tribunes. Popillius sent them to Rome to carry on the controversy with Pompeius there. The case was brought before the Senate, and the Numantines and Pompeius contested it there. The Senate decided to continue the war. Thereupon Popillius attacked the Lusones who were neighbours of the Numantines, but having accomplished nothing (for his successor in office, Hostilius Mancinus, arrived) he returned to Rome.

80. Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumour that the Cantabri and Vaccaei were
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Ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεὶς οὕτε κατεσκευασμένου οὕτε ὄχυρωμένου, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεὶν ἀπειλοῦντων εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ἑἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἵση καὶ ὁμοία. Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμοῖα τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀστεί πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἐφερον ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχύστας πάνω σπονδάις, καὶ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ἀἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ἔστεδεν Ἑβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγγίνου δ᾽ ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τῶδε μὲν ἐσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων οἱ δὲ Ἀἰμίλιοι, ἀναμένων καὶ ὁδὲ τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ὡς ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ θριάμβου, φιλοτιμίαν ἐξήεσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον), Οὐακκαίων κατεψεύδετο ὡς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἣ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἑστὶν, οὐδὲν ἔξαμαρτούσαν ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιορκεῖ, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα τῆς Ἑβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὡς μοι προείρηται, κηδεστὴν ὁμοία τοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἐπείσειν.

81. Κατέλαβον δ᾽ αὐτούς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις, Κίννας τε καὶ Καικίλιος, οἱ τὴν βουλήν ἐφασαν ἄπορεῖν εἰ τοσοῦτο πτασμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἑβηρία γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἐτέρων ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορεὺδον Αἰμίλιον Ὁυακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. δὲ ἀρξάμενος τε ἡδη
coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and spent the whole night in darkness, fleeing to a desert place where Nobilior once had his camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification, and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to do so on terms of equality between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. But when these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Aemilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. Numantine ambassadors followed him thither; but Aemilius, becoming tired of idleness while he too awaited the decision from Rome (for some men took the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honour of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccaei of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his kinsman by marriage, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking.

81. Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Caecilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Aemilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccaei. But he, having actually begun the war,
CAP. τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ’ ἀγνοεῖν ἡγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ’ ὦτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιάν. Ὁ συναπακκαίος τοὺς Νομαντίνους παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάξενυῖν τοῦ πολέμου φοβεράν ὑπολαβόν, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὀλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὡς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγνυτος καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ’ αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἔξειλεν Αἰμίλιος. καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἅληθε νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύουσαν ὑδε περιέσωξε.

82. Μακράς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὔσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ υποζύγια πάντα ἐφθαρτό, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἁπλάνακτος ἐπέθυμησιν. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ, Αἰμίλιος οἱ καὶ Βροῦτος, εἰς ἐκεῖνον πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἡσσώμενοι δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκεῖναι ἀναζευγνύναι. χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθεοντες ἐπέσπευδον ἀπαντάς ὑπὸ τοῦτο πρὸ ἐω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τὰ τε ἀλλα πάντα καὶ τους τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλειπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι καὶ ἰόντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς ἀναχωρῆσεως γυνομένης καὶ
thought that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was co-operating with him, and that the Vaccaei had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Further, he considered that to abandon the war would in itself be dangerous, and would practically involve the breaking away of all Spain, if the Spaniards despised the Romans for cowards. He therefore sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and wrote almost in the above words to the Senate. After this he began to construct engines and to collect provisions in a place which he fortified. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambuscade, but adroitly spread a rumour among his men that Aemilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

82. The siege of Pallantia being long protracted, the food supply of the Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Aemilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time, but being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left behind everything, and even the sick and wounded, who clung to them and besought them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and confused and much like a flight,
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φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτοῦν ἐξ ἡνὸς ἐπὶ ἐστέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβοῦσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτον ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἀσιτοὶ τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

83. Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον. παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἤδιστης ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπέζησε. Μαγκίνω δ᾽ ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῦς πρέσβεις τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίησεν πρὸς Μαγκίνον, ἐπεδείκνυσιν ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπῆιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγὸν, ὡς ἄργον καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά τι, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ κάκεινον ἡσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῶν θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους. οἵ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τὸνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀλέκονας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐφη φησίν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐφη φησίν, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δὲ ὁμοίως Πομπῆιος ὡς περὶ τὸνδε κρίθεις καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκίνων δὲ ἐγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, ἀνευ σφῶν αὐσχρας συνθήκας πεποιημένον, τοῖς Λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὁμοία χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἰκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκίνων μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβερίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς Νομαντίνοις; οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς αἱρεθεὶς Καλ-πούρνιος Πίσσων οὐδ᾽ ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίνων, ἀλλ᾽
the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, hungry and exhausted, threw themselves on the ground in groups, wherever they were, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Aemilius.

83. When these things were known at Rome, Aemilius was deprived of his command and consulship, and when he returned to Rome as a private citizen he was fined besides. The dispute before the Senate between Mancinus and the Numantine ambassadors was still going on. The latter exhibited the treaty they had made with Mancinus; he, on the other hand, put the responsibility for the treaty on Pompeius, his predecessor in the command, who, he said, had handed over to him a lazy and ill-provided army, owing to which Pompeius himself had often been beaten, and so had made a similar treaty with the Numantines. Consequently the war had been waged under bad omens, for it had been decreed by the Romans in violation of these agreements. The senators were equally incensed against both, but Pompeius escaped on the ground that he had been tried for this offence long before. They decided, however, to deliver Mancinus to the Numantines for making a disgraceful treaty without their authorization. In this they followed the example of their fathers, who once delivered to the Samnites twenty generals who had made a similar treaty without authority. Mancinus was taken to Spain by Furius, and delivered naked to the Numantines, but they refused to receive him. Calpurnius Piso was chosen general against them, but he did not even
CAP. XIV τῆς Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλών, καὶ μικρὰ δηώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλουπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

84. Ἐν δὲ Ρώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, μακρὸ καὶ δυσχεροῖς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἥροντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἐλέοντα αὖθις ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἄτι νεότερος τῆς νεομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας. ἡ οὖν βουλή πάλιν, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένον Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἄτους αὖθις θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο, ἐκαλεσάμενος μὲν εὖ ἐλαβεῖν πολλῶν τε πολέμων οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθελοντάς δὲ τινάς, ἐκ τοῦ πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἀρχιμυθητήματος εἰς χάριν οἶδαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ τῆς Ἱβηρίας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεως καὶ τρυφῆς, εὐδοκὸς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσῃ πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.
march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania.

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84. The Roman people being tired of this Numantine war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when this same Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reenact it the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army from the active-service-list, because many wars were being waged at the time, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain; but with the Senate’s consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends, whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he himself went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline.
85. Ελθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξῆλαυνε καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ μάντεις καὶ θύτας, ὅσι διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιώται περιδεείς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς· ἐς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπείπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ίερεῖον ἐς μαντείαι πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὃν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθήματος. καὶ σκέιος ὃν ἐξῆλθον ἐς διάιταν ἐχειν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὁ βελοῦ καὶ χύτας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματος ἐνός, τὰ τε συτία αὐτοῖς ὀριστὸ κρέα ξεστα ἐς ὑπὸ ἐνει. κλίνας τε ἀπείπεν ἐχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπείπε δὲ καὶ οὐδὲνοντας ἵμιονοις ἐπικαθέξεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾶν ἐφὶ παρ’ ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἀν τοῖς ἀλείμμασε καὶ λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἤλειφον, ἐπισκόπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὡς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρήζουσι τριβόντων. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλεν ἄθροως, εἰθίζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἴδω καὶ φόβοι, δυσπρόσιτος ὃν καὶ δυσχερῆς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἐλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τὰ καὶ καταφρονητικὰ, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωτὰ μὲν εὐπειθῆ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐτοιμα.

86. Οὐ μὴν οὖν ὡς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς ἀναγείρω τοὺς πολεμίους. τὰ οὖν ἀγχότατο πεδία πάντα περιομέν, ἐκάστης ἠμέρας,
85. When he arrived he expelled all traders and harlots; also the soothsayers and diviners, whom the soldiers were continually consulting because they were demoralized by defeat. For the future he forbade the bringing in of anything not necessary, even a victim for purposes of divination. He also ordered all wagons and their superfluous contents to be sold, and all pack animals, except such as he himself permitted to remain. For cooking utensils it was only permitted to have a spit, a brass kettle, and one cup. Their food was limited to plain boiled and roasted meats. They were forbidden to have beds, and Scipio was the first to sleep on straw. He forbade them to ride on mules when on the march; “for what can you expect in a war,” said he, “from a man who is not even able to walk?” They had to bathe and anoint themselves without assistance, Scipio saying sarcastically that only mules, having no hands, needed others to rub them. Thus in a short time he brought them back to good order. He accustomed them also to respect and fear him by being difficult of access and sparing of favours, especially favours contrary to regulations. He often said that those generals who were severe and strict in the observance of law were serviceable to their own men, while those who were easy-going and bountiful were useful only to the enemy. The soldiers of the latter, he said, were joyous but insubordinate, while those of the former although downcast, were obedient and ready for all emergencies.

86. In spite of all this he did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the
Ἀλλο μετ᾽ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἦγειρέ τε καὶ καθῆρει, καὶ τάφρους ὄρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τεῖχη τε μεγάλα ὠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐς ἑσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὀδοιπορίας, ἴνα μὴ τις ὡς πάλαι διασκιδνῷτο, ἤγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεὶ, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἐκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι. περιών τε τὴν ὀδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας ἐδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἰστασθαι, καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτέραν ἴλην περιτρέχειν οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διήρηντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοὺς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοὺς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὃρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

87. "Ὅτε δ᾽ εἴκασεν ὃδυ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἂγχοι τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφύλακας δὲ, ὡσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διηρεῖ ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὀλοκληρωμένον πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ᾽ ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐτὶ περισκοπῶν αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὁρμήν, ἐς ὃ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἐχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σίτου ἐκειρεῖν ἐτὶ ἀλυρόν. ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῷ ταῦτα
neighbouring plains and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of oblongs, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he pitched camp he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy after the march around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed and mapped out the time within which these tasks must be finished.

87. When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labour, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, nor, in fact, did he divide his army in any way, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who already despised the Romans. Nor did he attack the enemy, because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching the opportunities which it offered, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the still unripe grain.
CAP. ΧΙΒ έξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐδει βαδίζειν, ὡδὸς μὲν ἣν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέζθαι. ὁ δὲ ἐφή τὴν ἐπάνω ἐπὶ δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τὸ τοῦ πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὁμομένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων: "οἱ δὴ ἵμετεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανάσιων ὡς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερής τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἀγών, τὸν ἐκάλεσαν τότε τῶν πολεμίων ἄνωκτον, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμωμένοι καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων, "οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἑπεικερδές." εἶναι δ᾽ ἀλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὅλιγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελῆ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακιν-δυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ᾽ ἐφή καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσει τὰ πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξήει τότε καὶ κατακαίων. 88. Ἐν δὲ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντιας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἕκρυψαν οἱ Ἰαλλάντιοι, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν "οἱ δὲ Ρουτίλιον Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππότας ἴλας λαβόντα ἀναστείλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ὁ Ῥοῦφος 276
When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, many advised him to take a short cut, which led past Numantia to the plains. "But," he said, "what I fear is the coming back, when the enemy will be unencumbered, and will have their town to start from and retreat to, while our troops will return from their foraging laden and tired, bringing with them animals and wagons and burdens. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. He himself joined the excursion beyond the camp, and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccaei, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it.

88. In a certain plain in the Pallantian territory called Complanium the Pallantians had concealed a large force just below the brow of a hill, while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives.
μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἴπετο, καὶ
φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπίδα, ἐνθα τῆς
ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἵππεας μήτε
dιώκειν μήτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐτι, ἂλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ
dόρατα θεμένους ἐστάναι καὶ ἐπιοίντας ἀμύνεσθαι
μόνων. ο δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἴπετο κατὰ σπουδήν,
cal ὡς ηὔρε τῆν ἐνέδραν, ἔς δύο διείλε τοὺς ἵππεας,
cal προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἐκατέροις παρὰ μέρος
ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὀμοῦ
πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἔς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον,
ἄλλ' ἂει κατ' ὅλων προστιθέντας ὑπὸ καὶ
ὑποχωροῦντας. οὔτω μὲν τοὺς ἵππεας ἐς τὸ
πεδίον περιέσωσεν ἀναξευγνύοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμός ἢν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορος τε καὶ
ἰλιώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνίδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι. ο
δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε
καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων διὰ τὸ δύψος
καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσων, διὰ τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ
ηὐρίσκετο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως
περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δέ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια
ὑπὸ τῆς δύψης ἀπόλουτο.

89. Καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὗς παρε-
σπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ
εὐφόρων ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς
tην Νομαντίνην χειμάσων, ἐνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογό-
thας ἐκ Διβύης ἀφίκετο, ο Μασσανάσσου υἱωνός,
ἀγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομέ-
νους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονίτας. ἂεὶ δὲ
τι δηών, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθὼν, ἔλαθε περὶ
When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Directly Scipio saw Rufus running up the hill, contrary to his orders, he was alarmed and followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies, and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford and muddy, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer and less exposed to ambushes. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst.

89. While passing through the territory of the Caucaei, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him from Africa with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighbouring country, the enemy
κόμην ἐνεδρευθείς, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα 
πηλοῦ περείχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ᾗ, καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐν ἐκείνη λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. ὁς οὖν 
στρατιάς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν 
κόμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ 
ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν 
στρατιάς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν 
κόμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἐστῶς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ 
σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι 
χιλίους, τοὺς ἑπεύσων ἐνοχλούμενοι ἐπεβοήθει. 
τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδρα- 
μόντος, ἐπεβοήθει τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεβοήθει. 
τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδρα- 
μόντος, ἐπεβοήθει τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεβοήθει. 
τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδρα- 
μόντος, ἐπεβοήθει τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεβοήθει.

90. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἄγχοτατο τῆς Νομαντίας 
δύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν 
ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαν- 
τίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλομένων 
αὐτῶν ἐς μάχην ύπερεώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῶν 
ἔξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένους συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον 
ἡ συγκλείσας αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν λιμῷ. φρούρια 
δ' ἑπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν . . . ἐπιγράφας 
ἐκάστοις οὕς ἐδεί πέμπειν. ως δὲ ἤλθον, ἐς μέρη
THE WARS IN SPAIN

laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards outside, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who tried to beat them off. Scipio, who happened to be standing in the front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. And when the greater part of those who were in the village had run out, he put the enemy to flight. He did not pursue the fugitives, however, but returned to the camp, a few having fallen on either side.

XV

90. Nor long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one, while he himself commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven forts around the city, he began the siege and wrote letters to each of the allied tribes, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided Scipio builds a wall round the city

B.C. 133
πολλὰ διείλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν
ἐπιδιείλεν· εἴθ’ ἤγερμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστῳ
μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρα-
κοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἤν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς
Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ
τοῦ χαρακώματος ύπερ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τούτῳ
dιήρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἐκατον. καὶ προεί-
ρητο, εἰ τι εὐνοχλοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημεῖον ἐξαί-
ρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ύψηλοῦ,
νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες
αὐτὸς τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὡς δ’ ἔξειρ-
γαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἰχεν
ἰκανὸς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐτέραν τάφρον ὄρυσεν
οὐ μακρὰν ύπερ ἑκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ
περιείπην, καὶ τείχος φικοδόμει, ὅτι τὸ μὲν
πάχος ἄντος δὲ ὄκτω, τὸ δὲ ύψος δέκα χωρὶς
τῶν ἐπάλξεων. πῦργοι τε πανταχόθιναι αὐτῷ
diὰ πλέθρου περιέκειτο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπ-
tουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτείχισαι, χώμα αὐτῇ
περιέπεθηκεν ἵππος τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ
ύψος, ὡς ἄν εἰη καὶ τὸ δὲ ἀντὶ τείχους.

91. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὥσπερ πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμὸν
dοκεῖ, περιετείχισε πόλιν οὐ υγομαχοῦσαν· τόν
tε Δόριον ποταμόν, συμμφερομένον τῷ περιτε-
χίσματι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χορήσμοιν
ἐς τὸ ἁγορᾶς κομιδῆν καὶ διαπομπῆν ἁνδρῶν, ὡς
καὶ τῷ αὐτῶν κολυμβητηταῖ τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικρὸις
ἐλάνθανοι, ἡ ἱστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἰη τὸ πνεῦμα,
ἐβιάζοντο, ἡ κάποια κατά τὸ ρέμα, ζεύξαι μὲν
οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατύν ὅντα καὶ πάνω ῥοώδη,
φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεῖς
ἀπήρτησε καλῶδιοι δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐξ ἕκατέρου
them into several parts, and also subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should harass them anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he and Maximus might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades, and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

91. Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. The river Durius, which took its course along the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving or concealing themselves in small boats, some breaking through with sailing-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built a tower on each side in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them...
CAP. φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγώτα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἄει περιστρεφόμεναι ούτε διανηχομένους οὕτ᾽ ἐπιπλέοντας ούτε ὑποδύνοντας εἰὼν λαθεῖν. τούτῳ δ᾽ ἦν οὐ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμυγμυμένου μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι γίγνοιτο ἔξω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγοράς τε καὶ μηχανής πάσης.

92. Ὡς δ᾽ ἦτοιμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλου, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐπάλξεις παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια παρέκειντο. καὶ σφενδονήται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πᾶν, οὐ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἀγείλλον ἄλλοι παρ᾽ ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι μηνύσειν αὐτῶν τὰ γίγνομεν, κατὰ δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξόμενον θεᾶσθαι, ἢν τὸ μὲν κάννημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. της δὲ στρατιᾶς οὐσίς σὺν τοῖς ἑπιχωρίοις ἐς ἐξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἢμισιν διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαία, εἰ τη δεήσει, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἀμελλοῦν, ὅτε χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτως ἐμφεδρεύειν ἐτεροι μύριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστοις 284
floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, and were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired, namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind.

92. When everything was ready and the catapults, ballistae, and other engines were placed on the towers, the stones, darts, and javelins collected on the parapets, and the archers and slingers in their places at the forts, he stationed messengers at frequent intervals along the entire wall to pass the word from one to another by day and night to let him know what was taking place. He gave orders to each tower that in any emergency the one that was first attacked should hoist a signal and that the others when they saw it should do the same, in order that he might be advised of the commotion quickly by signal, and learn the particulars afterwards by messengers. The army, together with the native forces, now numbering some 60,000 men, he arranged so that one-half should guard the wall and in case of necessity go to any place where they should be wanted; 20,000 were to fight from the top of the wall when necessary, and the remaining 10,000 were kept in reserve. These too had their several places assigned to them, and it was not permitted to change without orders. Each man was to
διετέτακτον καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξήν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ τεταγμένου εὐθὺς ἀνεπῆδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθεῖν.

Οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτον. οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη κατὰ μέρη, ταχεία δὲ αὐτή καὶ καταπληκτική τῶν ἁμυνομένων ἡ ὄψις ἥν, σημαίνων τε ύψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἱρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεότων, καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀνατητών ἐς τὰ τείχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργων ἐξοτρυνοῦντων, ὥστε τὸν κύκλου ὅλου εὐθὺς ἀπασιν εἶναι φοβερώτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλου οἱ Σκιπίων έκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήγηεν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν εὑρίσκειν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἐς προσιόυσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτ᾽ ἐπικουρίας. ΗΡΗΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ δὲ ἀνὴρ Νομαντῖνος, ὁ Καραύνιος ἐπίκλησις ἦν, ἀριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεί διήλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτὴν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ᾽ ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐς τὰς 'Αρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, δεόμενοι Νομαντίνωις συγγενεύσιν ὑσσιν ἑπικουρεῖν. τῶν δ᾽ ἸΟΒ οἱ μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπαν δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ὑν εὐδαιμον, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων,
spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio.

93. The Numantines made several attacks here and there upon those guarding the walls. Swift and terrible was the appearance of the defenders, the signals being everywhere hoisted, the messengers running to and fro, those who manned the walls springing to their places in crowds, and the trumpets sounding on every tower, so that the whole circuit of fifty stades at once presented to all beholders a most formidable aspect. This circuit Scipio traversed each day and night for the purpose of inspection. He was convinced that the enemy thus enclosed, and unable to obtain food, arms or succour from without, could not hold out very long.

94. But Rhetogenes, surnamed Caraunius, the bravest of all the Numantines, induced five of his friends to take an equal number of servants and horses, and cross the space between the two armies secretly, on a cloudy night, carrying a folding scaling-bridge. Arriving at the wall he and his friends sprang upon it, slew the guards on either side, sent back the servants, drew the horses up the bridge, and rode off to the towns of the Arevaci, bearing olive branches and entreatting them, as blood relations, to help the Numantines. But some of the Arevaci, fearing the Romans, would not even listen to them, but sent them away immediately. There was a rich town named Lutia, distant 300 stades from Numantia, whose young
ἈΠΙΑΝΟΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ, ΚΩΝΤΟ ΒΟΚΚΟ

Ἁς οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντίνους ἐσπουδά

κεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνείηγον, οἱ

πρεσβύτεροι δὲ ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὁγδόης ὥρας πυθόμενος ἐξῆλαυνε

αὐτίκα σὺν εὐξώνοις ὑπὸ τυχοῦσι, καὶ ἦμα ἐς

τὴν Λοτίαν φρουραὶ περιλαβὼν ἦτει τοὺς

ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἔπει δὲ ἐξωρμῆκεν τῇ

πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἐλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν

πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ

δείσαντες προσήγον αὐτοὺς, ἐς τετρακόσιοις γενο-

μένουσι: ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε

τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὖθις ἕως τῆς

ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

95. Νομαντίνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε

ἀνδρας ἐπέμπον ὑπὸ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἰρητο

μαθεῖν εἰ μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παρα-

δοὺσι αὐτοὺς. Αὔαρος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος

πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν

Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπείπεν ὃς οὔδὲ

νῦν ἁμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ

ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε

κακῷ. "διὸ καὶ μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ὁ Σκιπίων, ἡ

ξιὸν ἐστὶ σέ, τοσῆς ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, ἑαυτῆς

σφίσι χρήσεται τὰς νευφύχους τοῖς ἀνδρικοῖς, καὶ

προτεῖναι τὰ ἐν κακῶν ἡμῖν, καὶ καὶ δυνησό-

μέθαν ἐνεγκεῖσθαι, ἂρτι πειρόμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὡς

οὔκ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπι οῖ, τὴν πόλιν ἐς

παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρα κελεύοις, ἢ μαχομένην

ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι. "ο μὲν Αὔαρος ὡδὲ εἶπεν, ὁ

δὲ Σκιπίων (ἡσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων

tὰ ἐνδον) ἐφῇ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ κατὰ
men sympathised with the Numantines and urged their city to send them aid. The older citizens secretly communicated this fact to Scipio. Receiving this intelligence about the eighth hour, he marched thither at once with as many light-armed troops as possible. Surrounding the place about daylight, he demanded that the leaders of the young men should be delivered up to him. When the citizens replied that they had fled from the place, he sent a herald to tell them that if these men were not surrendered to him he would sack the city. Being terrified by this threat, they delivered them up, in number about 400. Scipio cut off their hands, withdrew his force, rode away, and was back in his camp at dawn the next day.

95. The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the policy and bravery of the Numantines, and added that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Therefore above all, Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and manly race and to extend to us, as a choice between evils, the humaner terms, terms which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests now not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city by offering us fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must
CAP. XV  σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὁπλοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὃν ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὀντες ὁργὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὕπο τῶν συμφορῶν ἡγριωμένου τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διωκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

96. Μετὰ δ᾽ οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μὲν, ὡστερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἔψοντες ἐλυιχμῶτο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκώγιουν ἔψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρεῖοι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνους τῶν νοσούντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἠγριωμένους μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθηριωμένους δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἡμέραν ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας οἵ περὶ πόλεως παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.
surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings and thinking that perhaps they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio.

96. Soon after this, all their eatables being consumed, having neither grain, nor flocks, nor grass, they began, as people are sometimes forced to do in war, to lick boiled hides. When these also failed, they boiled and ate the bodies of human beings, first of those who had died a natural death, chopping them in small bits for cooking. Afterwards being nauseated by the flesh of the sick, the stronger laid violent hands upon the weaker. No form of misery was absent. They were rendered savage in mind by their food, and their bodies were reduced to the semblance of wild beasts by famine, plague, long hair, and neglect. In this condition they surrendered themselves to Scipio. He commanded them the same day to bring their arms to a place designated by him, and on the following day to assemble at another place. But they put off the day, declaring that many of them still clung to liberty and desired to take their own lives. Wherefore they asked for a day to arrange for death.

97. Such was the love of liberty and of valour which existed in this small barbarian town. With
CAP. ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπὶ εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οία μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οίας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ὑποστάντων, οἴον δὲ ὅντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἔξερχομαι αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενοι, προκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. ὃ δὲ ἴνα ἄρα στρατηγικῶτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χείρας οὐκ ἱδίον θηρίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαξόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναι τε δυνατὸν ἴνα ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

Ἅμοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῄλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορώντι, καὶ ἐργα πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν: οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῦς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρώντα, ἔτερος ἑτέρως ὢν καὶ ἑτέρως ὢς ἑτέρως ἐξήεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χωρίον, δυσορατοὶ τε καὶ ἴλλοκοτοὶ πάμπαν ὅφθηναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἴνα ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπου μεστὰ, ὠδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπῶτατον, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἤδε καὶ οὐχ ἤσσον δυσώδης. ἔφαγαν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑλεεινοὶ μὲν ἄπο τῶν, φοβεροὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἐκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

Ἐπιλεξάμενος δ᾽ αὐτῶν πεντῆκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἐλὼν στρατηγόν ὅδε Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων 202.
only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! What treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had invested them with an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured.

Reflecting upon their small numbers and their endurance, their valiant deeds and the long time for which they held out, it has occurred to me to narrate these particulars of the Numantine history. First of all, those who wished to do so killed themselves, in various ways. Then the rest went out on the third day to the appointed place, a strange and shocking spectacle. Their bodies were foul, their hair and nails long, and they were smeared with dirt. They smelt most horribly, and the clothes they wore were likewise squalid and emitted an equally foul odour. For these reasons they appeared pitiable to their enemies, but at the same time there was something fearful in the expression of their eyes—an expression of anger, pain, weariness, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh.

98. Having chosen fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities,—Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness as a city and as an imperial power,
CAP. διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὕτω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτὸς, εἴτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἀκρος ὃν ὄργην καὶ φιλόνεικος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἴθ᾽ ὡς ἐνιοῦ νομίζουσι, τὴν δόξην ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοὶς. καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανὸν τε καὶ Νομαντίνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὑποπτόν, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημίωσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

XVI

99. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ, ὡς ἐθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπέμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὡστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ἦρεθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Paras, Κίμβρων δ᾽ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμούμενης τὸν δεύτερον, δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἐπέμπον ὑπ᾽ ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμελλόν ὁπὴ δύναιτο καταθῆσεται. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελα-θέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν

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and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small CHAP. and with a sparse population, on his own respons- XV sibility, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed it either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was a man of passionate nature and vindictive towards captives, or, some hold, because he thought that great calamities are the foundation of great glory. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbours and transacted certain business in the other cities, censuring or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home.

XVI

99. The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates to settle the war as best they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed
омерος δε, μεγάλην πόλιν αει δυσπειθη Ρωμαιως γενομενην, εξ ερυμον αναηγαγεν ες το πεδιον, και εκελευσεν οικειων ατεχιστους. Κολενδαν δε προσκαθισας ενατω μηνι παρελαβεν εγχειρισαςαν εαυτην, και τους Κολενδεας απαντας μετα παιδων και γυναικων απεδοτο.

100. Πολιν δ' ετεραν της Κολενδης πλησιουν ουκουν μυγαδες Κελτιβηρων, ους Μαρκος Μαριος συμμαχησαντας αυτω κατα Λυσιτανου, της βουλης επιτρεποσης, φοικει προ πεντε ενιαυτων. εληστευν ουκ εποριας ουτου και κρινας αυτους ο Δειδιος ανελειν, συνθεμενουν αυτω των δεκα προσβεων ετι παροντων, εφη τωσ επιφανεσι αυτων θελειν την Κολενδεων χωραν αυτως προσορισαι πενομενοις. ασπαζομενους δε όρων εκελευε, το δημο ταυτα μετενεγκοντας, ήκειν μετα γυναικων και παιδων την χωραν μερισομενους. ἑπει δ' αφικοντο, προσεταξε τοις στρατιωτας έκ του χάρακος εξελθειν και τους ενεδρομενους έσω παρελθειν ως απογραψομενος αυτων ένδοι το πληθος, εν μερει μεν άνδρων εν μερει δε παιδων και γυναικων, ίνα επισημασαι ποσην χωραν αυτοις δεοι διελειν. ως δ' παρηλθουν ες την ταφρον και το χαρακωμα, περιστησιας αυτοις τον στρατον ο Δειδιος εκτεινε παντας. και επι τοις Δειδιος μεν και έθραμβευσε, παλιν δε των Κελτιβηρων αποσταντων Φλακκος επιπεμφθεις εκτεινε δισμυριους. εν δε Βελγηθη πολει ο μεν δημος ες απόστασιν ορμων την βουλην

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Termes, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from its strong position into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it eight months after he had invested it, and sold all the inhabitants with their wives and children.

100. There was another city near Colenda inhabited by mixed tribes of Celtiberians who had been the allies of Marcus Marius in a war against the Lusitanians, and whom he had settled there five years before with the approval of the Senate. They were living by robbery on account of their poverty. Didius, with the concurrence of the ten legates who were still present, resolved to destroy them. Accordingly, he told their principal men that he would allot the land of Colenda to them because they were poor. Finding them very much pleased with this offer, he told them to communicate it to the people, and to come with their wives and children to the parcelling out of the land. When they had done so he ordered his soldiers to vacate their camp, and these people, whom he wanted to ensnare, to go inside, so that he might make a list of their names within, the men on one register and the women and children on another, in order to know how much land should be set apart for them. When they had gone inside the ditch and palisade, Didius surrounded them with his army and killed them all, and for this he was actually honoured with a triumph. At a later period, the Celtiberians having revolted again, Flaccus was sent against them and slew 20,000. The people of the town of Belgida were eager for revolt, and when their senate hesitated they set fire to the senate-house and burned the senators. When
οἰκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ
Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἐκτείνε τοὺς αὐτίους.

101. Τοσάδε μὲν ηὗρον ἄξια λόγον Ὁρμαίοις ἐς
tότε πρὸς Ἰβηριας ἀυτοὺς γενόμενα: χρόνῳ δ' ὑστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν ᾿Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ
Κίννα, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατό-
πεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διηρημένων, Κόιντος
Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς
Ἰβηρίας ἀρχεὶν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε
Ὀρμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν
tῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου κατα-
λέξας, ἦλαυνεν ἐς ᾿Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονή-
ματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τάλλα ὃν ἐς θρασύτητα
περιώνυμος, ὅστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἐλέσθαι
tους παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρα-
tηγοῦς, Κακυλίου τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ
στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπῆίον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ
ἔτερου στρατοῦ, ὅτα τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστη δύναιτο,
ἐξωθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασία τότε
μάλιστα ὅπου. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασι-
ωτῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ Περπέριας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ
Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγοῦ ἐπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως,
Περπέριαν δ' ἐκτείνε μάχη Πομπῆίος, καὶ ὁ
πόλεμος ὃς ὅτο θορυβίμος δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα
Ὀρμαίοις, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλῶσει
tὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

102. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ
αἱρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὡστε καὶ πολεμεῖν
οῖς ἐνδεήσειν, ὡσα τῶν Ἰβηρίων ἐσαλεύετο ἦ
Ὀρμαίοις ἐτι ἐλευπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα
ὑπακούειν. καὶ τινα αὐθισ ἀφιστάμενα'Οκταούιος
Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death.

101. These are the events which I have found most worthy of mention in the relations of the Romans with the Spaniards as a nation until that time. At a later period, when the dissensions of Sulla and Cinna arose in Rome, and the country was divided by civil wars into hostile camps, Quintus Sertorius, one of Cinna's party, who had been chosen to the command in Spain, stirred up that country against the Romans. He raised a large army, created a senate of his own friends after the manner of the Roman Senate, and marched towards Rome full of confidence and high courage, for he had been renowned for daring elsewhere. The Senate in great alarm sent against him their most famous generals, first Caecilius Metellus with a large army, and then Gnaeus Pompeius with another army, in order to repel in any way possible this war from Italy, which was terribly distracted with civil strife. But Sertorius was murdered by Perpenna, one of his own partisans, who proclaimed himself general of the faction in place of Sertorius. Pompey slew Perpenna in battle, and so this war, which had greatly alarmed the Romans, came to an end; but I shall speak of this more particularly in my account of the civil wars of Sulla.

102. After the death of Sulla, Gaius Caesar was sent as praetor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he brought under subjection by force of arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son
Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλημι, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἐβουλὴ, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ’ ὕσον δοκιμάσειν.
Octavius Caesar, surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a governor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate, and the third by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

Appian is in error here. Two were imperial, one senatorial.
BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR
Ἡ'

ΑΝΝΙΒΑΙΚΗ

1

1. "Οσα δὲ ᾿Αννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐς ᾿Ιβηρίας ἐς ᾿Ιταλίαν ἐσβαλών, ἐκκαίδεκα έτεσιν οἷς ἐπέ-
μεινε πολεμῶν, ἐδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμα-
 iov, ἐως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοι τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ
tῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ
Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ᾿Ιταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ
dηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ ᾿Αννίβᾳ γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς
αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν,
ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ ᾿Ιβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ
dεδήλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁ σον ἐς
ἀνάμνησιν.

2. ᾿Αμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπικλῆσις ἦν, ᾿Αννίβου
τοῦ δὲ πατήρ, ἑστρατήγηκε Καρχηδόνιον ἐ̇ν Σικελία,
ὅτε Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλων
ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδίως ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς
Νομάδας αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγός πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν.
γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῶδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν
θεραπεύσας ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεάς, ἤγαγεν ἀνεν
τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδόνιον ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε
τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς ᾿Ιβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλά
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BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

I

1. What Hannibal the Carthaginian did to, and suffered from, the Romans during the sixteen years that he persisted in war against them, from his first march from Spain to Italy until he was recalled by the Carthaginians (their own city being in danger), and driven out by the Romans, this book will show. What Hannibal's real reasons for that invasion were, as well as his public pretext, have been very clearly set forth in my Spanish history, yet I shall mention them here by way of reminder.

2. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for the possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before the time of rendering his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favour of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπιθυμίᾳ πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὑμαροὺς ἔργον. Ζακανθαιοὶ δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, κατα-φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχηδονίους ὁρὸς Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν καὶ τόδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχη-
δονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἐν τινι μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἔπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται, ὃ εἰκήδευε τῷ Βάρκα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, οὐ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνηρήκει.

3. Τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τούσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβηρών ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὁ δὲ, Βάρκα μὲν νεός ὄν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδὴ, καὶ ως μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τάδε συγγράφῳ, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηρῶν τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἔκεινων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε καταφρονοῦντων ὡς ἔτι νέον, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄργουμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἶ τὸ ἁσφάλεις ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φύσεως περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς

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thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favour of the multitude, so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory he acquired a great reputation, and the Carthaginians were filled with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, thinking that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they should not cross the river Ebro, and a clause to this effect was inserted in the treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death.

3. After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal’s wife, a very young man whose early years had naturally been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. But the enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage persecuted the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth, and he, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country’s fears, began
μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ᾽, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρήσαι χρόνιον τε Καρχηδονίοις ἐσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι πταίσας, τὸ γε ἐγχείρημα οὔσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἐτί παῖς ὁρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὐ ποτ’ ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζε τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεῖς ὅτι Ῥωμαίοι κρύφα τὴν Ῥωμαίοις πάντων ἐπάνω ἡβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰ τὸ Ἐμνέθην τὸν Ἰβηρα ἐπράξαν, αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

4. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ῥωμαίου ἐπραξαν, ἡ Ῥωμαίοι ἡγήθη οἵτινες ἐπιλεξάμενοι δὲ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἕτερων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥωμαίοις παραδοῦσι Ασδρούβα τῷ ἄδελφῳ, τὰ Πυρηναία ὁρῇ διέβατεν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐκακομυρίους καὶ ἵππας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἑπτά καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὀνούμενοι, τοὺς δὲ πείθου, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδε εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Αλπεῖα ὁρῇ, καὶ μηδεμίαν μήτε δίοδον μήτε ἀνόδουν εὐρών (ἀπόκρημα γάρ ἐστιν ἱσχυρῶς), ἐπέβαινε κακείνοις ὑπὸ τόλ-
to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and Carthaginians, once begun, would last a long time, and that the undertaking in itself would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross the Ebro in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext, he procured certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by also accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Ebro and destroyed the city of Saguntum with all the inhabitants of military age. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken.

4. What Hannibal himself and what the other Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, about 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road through or over them (for they are exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless boldly began to climb them, suffering greatly
μῆς, κακοπαθῶν χιόνος τε πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ κρύ-
ους, τὴν μὲν ὑλὴν τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν
dὲ τέφρας σβεννὺς αὖθις καὶ οὔτε, καὶ τὴν πέτραν
ἐκ τούδε παφαράν γιγνομένην σφύρας σιδηραὶς
θραύμων, καὶ ὅδων ποιῶν ἢ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν
ὁρῶν ἐντριβῆς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος ᾿Αννίβου. τὸν
dὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειποσῶν ἡπείγετο μὲν, ἐτὶ
λαυθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν,
ἐκτὸς δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς ᾿Ιβηρίαν ἀναστάσεως
μηρὶ, πλείοστος ἀποβαλὼν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν
ὁρῶν κατέβαινε.

II

5. Καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασία,
pόλει Κελτικῆς. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξελὼν, τοὺς
μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαξεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς
ἀλλης Κελτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμῶν ᾿Ηριδανὸν τὸν νῦν
Πάδουν ἐλθόμενον ἐλθὼν, ἐνθὰ Ῥωμαίοι Κελτοὺς τοὺς
καλομένους Βοιοὺς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.
ὁ δ᾽ ὕπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος
Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν ᾿Ιβηρίᾳ πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ
tῆς ἐσβολῆς ᾿Αννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ἐπύ-
thετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὅδε ᾿Αννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ἐπύ-
thετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὅδε Ἰναῖον Κορνήλιοι
Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐς ᾿Ιβηρίαν πράγμασι καταλι-
pῶν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἐθεὶ ὁδεῖν τοις καὶ
συμμάχους ὅσους δύνατο ἀγείρων ἐφθασεν ἐπὶ
tὸν Πάδου ᾿Αννίβαν, καὶ Μάλλιον μὲν καὶ
῾Ατίλιον, ὃς τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουσ, ἐς Ῥώμην
ἐπεμψεν ὡς ὃν δέον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ στρατηγεῖ ὑπάτου
παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς
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from the cold and the deep snow. He cut down and burned wood, quenching the ashes with water and vinegar. Having thus rendered the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance even after he had actually arrived in Italy. With great difficulty, six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses, he descended from the mountains to the plain.

II

5. After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Po, where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he, like Hannibal, left his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence, and collecting as many allies as possible, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, on the ground that they had no right to command when a consul was present, and taking their forces drew them up for battle.
μάχην ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἵππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κύκλωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐφευγοῦν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντες τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἐπέρα, τὸ δὲ ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἡ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ᾿Αλπείων ὀρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκειν Κελτοῖς ἔξηρε τὸν ᾿Αννίβαν ὡς ἀμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχη λαμπρὰ χρώμενον. ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὶ ἄμφω δυναμένοις ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοεῖς καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιίίόν τα ἔθνη πρεσβύτην ὅρωντες, ἐτὰ νέον, ἐτὰ μεσαπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐτερου ἐς ἐτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρώνιος δὲ ὁ ἑτερος ὑπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὅν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σικελίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπισφάλεις ἐμελλον ἀπαντες ἐς μάχην ἤξειν. ποταμὸς δὲ ὣν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, οῖν Ῥωμαίοι πρὸ ἕω, χειμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὐσης καὶ ύετου καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενου μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. ᾿Αννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆγεν.

7. Παράταξις δὲ ὁ ἐκατέρως... τὰ κέρατα κατεξήν, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. ᾿Αννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἵππευσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἑλεφαντας,
with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. Night coming on, they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po by bridges which they afterwards demolished. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river.

6. This exploit, following almost immediately on the passage of the Alps, at once exalted Hannibal’s fame among the Cisalpine Gauls as an invincible commander and one most signally favoured by fortune. Moreover, being surrounded by men who were doubly easy to dupe, being barbarians and also filled with awe of him, he frequently changed his clothes and his hair, continually devising new fashions. When the Gauls saw him moving among their people now an old man, then a young man, and again a middle-aged man, and continually changing from one to the other, they were astonished and thought that he partook of the divine nature.

Sempronius, the other consul, being then in Sicily and learning what had happened, embarked his forces, came to Scipio’s aid, and encamped at a distance of forty stades from him. They were all to join battle on the following day. The river Trebia separated the hostile armies, which the Romans crossed before daylight on a raw, sleety morning of the spring equinox, wading in the water up to their breasts. Hannibal allowed his army to rest on till the second hour and then marched out.

7. The order of battle on each side was <as follows. The Roman cavalry were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot-

Battle of Trebia
CAP. 11. τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζοὺς: τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας ἐκέ-  
λευσεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἕως αὐτὸς 
τι σημήνη. γενομένοι δὲ ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ 
μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντε 
αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὀδημήν, ἐφευγοῦν οἱ 
δὲ πεζοί, καὶ τοῖς ὄντων κρύον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν 
καὶ τὴς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ 
όντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ τόλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἔπεπήρθον 
καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα 
ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλεισεν ἕως αὐτός. 
θεσάμενος δὲ ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι 
τοὺς πολέμους. ἐσκεδασμένοι δὲ ἀρτί τῶν 
Ῥωμαίκων ἵππεων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν 
μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθοῦντων καὶ δεδιότων 
τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγῆ πανταχόθεν ἤν ἐς τὰ 
στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν 
ἵππεων καταλαμβανόντων ἃτε πεζοὺς, οἱ δὲ 
ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος. τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου 
τὴν χιόνα τὴν τῆς νύχαντος οἱ ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας, καὶ 
οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὅπλα 
ἐδύναντο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμόμενος καὶ παρα-
καλὼν ὁλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τρωθεὶν διαφθαρῆναι, 
μόλις δ᾽ ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερύμενος. ἐπίνειοι 
dὲ ἐς τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ὃ προσβαλὼν ὁ 
῾Αννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακόσιους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. 
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολεμίστηκεν, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν 
Κρεμῶν καὶ Πλακεντία, Ῥωμαίων δὲ περὶ Πάδουν. 
8. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαίοι πυθομένοι, καὶ 
τρίτον ἄδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδουν (ἵππηντο γὰρ δη 
καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ ᾿Αννίβου), στρατιὰν τε παρ 
αὐτῶν ἀλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς ὀστὶ περὶ τὸν 
Πάδουν ὃς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς
soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans, terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy's infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to outflank the enemy. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many were cut off by the enemy's horse, who naturally overtook foot-soldiers, and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armour. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia to which Hannibal laid siege, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po.

8. When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen
συμμάχους ἐτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπεμπον, τοὺς δ’ ἐς Σαρδόνα κάκεινην πολεμομέμνην, τοὺς δ’ ἐς Συκελλάν. ὑπὲρ τῶν Τυρηνίαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρώνιον αἱρεθέντες ὑπατοί, Σερούιλιος τε Γαύιος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὅπερ ἐν Σερούιλιος ἐπὶ τῶν Πάδον ἐπεισδέχοντας τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος (ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν ἀνθύπατον αἱρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέτελε πολέμου), Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίως τε πεζοῖς καὶ τριακοσίους ἱππεύσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπερ καὶ μόνην ἄν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰταλίων ἐπὶ Πόντῳ ἐστὶ οὐκ ἑδοὺ τῶν Ἰταλίων ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐνοίκησαν οἵ τε Κελτοί τῆς Ῥώμης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἰόνιου ἀκτῆς, διότι καὶ τῷ Ἰόνιῳ ἐπὶ Τυρηνίαν ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. διὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰταλίων ἑξελεύσαντος κάκεινα ἐπιθέμενοι τῆς Τυρηνίας οὐκ ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἐστὶν καὶ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἐστὶν καὶ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἐστὶν καὶ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοὺ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑδοumont autou πανω εἴεισαν, οὐ 316
legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also), and some to Sicily. The greater part were dispatched against Hannibal under Ca. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po, where he received the command from Scipio, and the latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

9. Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced towards the neighbourhood of Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no
παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστρατευον δὲ ὁμως ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ Κεντῆμοι αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησαν τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὄμβρικοις ἐς τὴν Πλειστωνινων λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἵ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰλειστινὴν χωλίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰλειστινὴν χωλίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰλειστινὴν χωλίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰλειστινὴν χωλίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰλειστινὴν χωλίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατον ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην.
force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, they enrolled an army of 8000 out of those who were left, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius also, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal’s movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had won his way to office by demagogue’s tricks), he hastened to engage with Hannibal.

10. The latter, well aware of his eagerness and inexperience, adopted a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenes] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy’s camp in the early morning, delayed a little, to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labour. When the ambush revealed itself, he was caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy, and was killed, with 20,000 of his men. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal’s lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased.
CAP. θέλοιεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνοὺς. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐίχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ὅνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσει τῷ κέρδει, προὔβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἡδὴ τῶν γυμνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδου στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου, καὶ τετρακισμυρίως ἔπει Τυρρηνίας ἐπενεχνόμενον, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἦδη τοῖς ὀκτακισιχλίοις τὰ στενά προειληφότος.

11. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἔστειλεν τὴν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὄχθων εἰπεταξεν εἰς τὴν περὶ περίοδος. οὐδὲνιαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δεῖ αὐτῶν ὅμως ἐπερμπτε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νῦκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιέκειναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ᾽ ὅτε δύναιντο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστῶτων ἐκατέρω, πάνω προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἀνέθεν ὀφθη τε καὶ ἡλαλάζειν. Ῥωμαίων δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἐπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ᾽ ἐλθηθησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι τῷ τῇ περὶ τεῖχος ἐπελήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέρουντας ὀπλιζον, ὁπλων μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν
When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. But he kept all the Romans prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. Servilius, the general on the Po, had already heard what had happened, and was hastening to Etruria with 40,000 men, while Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned.

11. When Hannibal saw the Plestine marsh and the mountain overhanging it, and Centenius between him and them commanding the passage, he inquired of the guides whether there was any way round. When they said there was no path, but that the whole region was rugged and precipitous, he nevertheless sent the light-armed troops, under the command of Maharbal, to explore the district and pass around the mountain by night. When he judged that they had had time to reach their destination he attacked Centenius in front. While the engagement was in progress, Maharbal was seen pushing forward strenuously on the summit above, where he raised a shout. The Romans thus surrounded at once took to flight, and there was a great slaughter among them, 3000 being killed and 800 taken prisoners. The remainder escaped with difficulty. When this news reached the city they feared lest Hannibal should march against them at once. They collected stones upon the walls, and armed the old men. Being in
ἈΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. ἱερῶν καταφέροντες, ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο· δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἴλοντο Μάξιμον.

III

CAP. III. 12. Ἀννίβας δὲ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἱόνιον αὕτης ἐτράπτη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὀδεύσης ἐπόρθει, λειαν τε περιήλαυν πολλήν. Σερονίλιος δ’ ὑπατος ἀντιπαριῶν αὐτῷ κατήρεν ἐς Ἀρίμων, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν· ἐνθά τὴν στρατιὰν συνείχε καὶ τοὺς ἐτί φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυσεν, ἐως ἀφικόμενοι Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερονίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὑπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ἔχειν δικτάτορος ἡμερίνου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ἤμει, πολλάκις ἐκεῖνον προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ’ οὔδενα ἐνα, παραψίλάσσου καὶ ἐπικεῖμενος. ὁ δὲ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλομένης, τροφῶν ἕπορει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὕτης περιῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλοῦμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ’ οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ῥοῦφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἐς ἑαυτῷ, ἔγραφε δ’ ἐς Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοῖη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ’ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινουκίος ἤγομουμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκει τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβα, καὶ δόξας πλέον ἐχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέ-
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus.

III

12. But divine Providence turned Hannibal away toward the Adriatic again, where he ravaged the seacoast as he went and gathered much plunder. The consul Servilius, marching parallel with him, came to Ariminum, being distant from Hannibal by one day's march. He retained his army there and tried to hearten those Gauls who were still friendly to Rome. When Fabius Maximus, the dictator, arrived, he sent Servilius to Rome, for he was no longer either consul or general after a dictator had been chosen. Fabius followed Hannibal closely, but did not come to an engagement with him, although often challenged. He kept careful watch on his enemy's movements, and lay near him and prevented him from besieging any town. After the country was exhausted Hannibal began to be short of provisions. So he traversed it again, drawing his army up each day and offering battle. But Fabius would not come to an engagement, although his master of horse, Minucius Rufus, disapproved of his policy, and wrote to his friends in Rome that Fabius held back on account of cowardice. When, however, Fabius had occasion to hurry to Rome to perform certain sacrifices, the command of the army fell to Minucius, and he had a sort of fight with Hannibal, and as he thought he had the best of it he wrote more boldly to the...
CAP. στελλε τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αὐτώμενος οὐκ ἔθελοντα νικῆσαι. καὶ ἡ βουλῇ, ἔπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη τοῦ Φαβίου, ἵσον ἱσχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ὑππαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὲ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλίθων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐκάτερος εὐχοῦτο τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἑκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινουκίος μάχη διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἐσεθαὶ προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπεμοῦσαν ἐστήσας τὴν ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὠδὲ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐνεμυρώσας τῆς διαβολῆς: ὁ δὲ Μινουκίος αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦσα ἀπειριάν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄλλα τεχνίτης ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὐ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὑστερὸν πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὧν εὐχερὴς οὐδ᾽ ὧν εἰς μάχην ἐνεργεῖ εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. Φάβιος μὲν ὑστερὸν ὑστερὸν ἐπανεκρούετο, οὐκ ὧν εὐχερῆς οὐδ᾽ ὧν εἰς μάχην εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

14. Στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσῃ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς θάματι ἀντὶ ὑπὲρε ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτέρου. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὃς ἤσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν
Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him.

13. They accordingly divided the army and encamped near each other; and each held to his own opinion, Fabius seeking to wear out Hannibal by delay and meanwhile to receive no damage from him, while Minucius was eager for a decisive fight. Shortly afterward Minucius joined battle, and Fabius meanwhile, foreseeing what would happen, drew up his own forces without moving. In this way he was enabled to receive Minucius when he was beaten, and to drive Hannibal's men back from the pursuit. Thus did Fabius alleviate Minucius' disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognising his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time to fight against a consummate military genius is when necessity compels. This maxim, at a later time, was often remembered by Augustus, who was slow to fight and preferred to win by art rather than by valour. Fabius continued to watch Hannibal as before and prevented him from ravaging the country, not coming to an engagement with his whole army, but merely cutting off stragglers, well knowing that Hannibal would soon be short of supplies.

14. They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was ignorant, but Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, while he himself encamped with the rest of his forces on a strong hill on the other side of Hannibal. When Hannibal
CAP. μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἐδείσε μὲν ὡς οὗ ποτε πρότερον· οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἡ πρόκρημα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδὲ ἦλπιζε Φάβιον ή τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσθαι διά την τῶν χωρίων ὑποκρίτητα. διέδει δ᾽ ἐχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχίλιους ῥήτας κατέσφαξεν, ἵππα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεοτερίσειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολύ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοῖς κέρασιν ἀυτῶν δάδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι tας δάδας ἐξάψει, καὶ σιγήν βαθειάν εἶχεν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ᾽ εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημα, ἄ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἴ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμενα, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτὰς, ἀνεπήδων ἐκεῖ ἐπιγενέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν νέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέονται περὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημα, ἄ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἴ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμενα, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτὰς, ἀνεπήδων ἐκεῖ ἐπιγενέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν νέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέονται περὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημα, ἄ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἄννιβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγήν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἄκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἰκάζει αἰνεὶ τι στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἄννιβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενον, συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενον, ἀπεικονίζεται τῷ Πύρσθῳ καὶ τῷ Κριδήνῳ ἡ ἐκεῖνα τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενον, ἀπεικονίζεται τῷ Πύρσθῳ καὶ τῷ Κριδήνῳ ἡ ἐκεῖνα τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενον, τῷ Ἄννιβας, φεύγειν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἀνω διὰ τῶν κριμάτων βιαζόμενων, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνεπῆδων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνεπῆδων ἀνεπήδων ἀνεπήδων ἀνεπήδων· ὁ δὲ ἦκεν ἐκατάλλας αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς 326
discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but he was surrounded by insurmountable precipices; nor could he hope to overcome Fabius, or those defending the pass, on account of the strength of their position. In this desperate situation he put to death his prisoners, who numbered about 5000, lest they should turn upon him in the hour of danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle quickly up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran recklessly and furiously up the mountain side, falling down, and springing to their feet again.

15. The Romans on either side, when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened away to the place where they saw the lights, thinking that there they would catch Hannibal in difficulties. But he, when he saw them coming down from the pass, made for it
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. III

αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἀνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβῶν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνά-
μενος ἐσήμημε τῇ σάλπιγγι: καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄντεβοήσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἱφνίδιον ἑξέφηναν. Ῥωμαιοὶ μὲν δὴ τότε ὑσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοὸς ἐλαύ-
νουτες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἄδεως διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτὸς τε περίην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειρόθης, ἣ σιτοῦ πλὴρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἄδεως ἐχείμαζεν.

16. Ὅ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἶπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχῶν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὐφίδου. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ μηνῶν ἐφ’ οὔς αἰροῦνται Ρωμαιοὶ τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοι Σερούλιος τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἁρχὰς ἑπανήσαν, καὶ ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ρώμην ἀπῆκ, γίγνονταί δὲ τίνες ἐν τῶδε τῷ χειμώνι Ἀννίβα καὶ Ῥωμαιῶν ἀκρο-
βολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἤν. ὁ δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἂεὶ τὰ γεγιγμένα Καρχηδονίοις υπερεπαίρων, τότε δὲ ἀπολολοτῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν ἤτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἑχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώποι τὰ ὑπερεπαιρόντων ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικώντων οὐκ αὐτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς 328
with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately lighted a fire. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived, but the remainder of Hannibal’s army and those who drove the cattle advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal beyond expectation rescue himself and his army from danger. Thence he advanced hastily to Geronia, a city of Iapygia, which was well stored with provisions, captured the town, and wintered there in safety and abundance.

16. Fabius, still pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. But the six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans having now expired, the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their office and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans, in which the latter were generally successful, and showed greater courage. Hannibal, although in his despatches to the Carthaginians he invariably exaggerated his achievements, now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who jeered at all his doings, now too replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταῦτ᾽ ὀδυρόμενος ἐγραφεῖν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτοῦ ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ᾽ ὀσης δύναιτο στρατιὰς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ὅποι δὴ ὅτι πάσα καὶ Ῥωμαίοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν.

17. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἡττῆς τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἀθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες ἐνδόν ὄντα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν θέρους δεῖν πάντα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν. ὑπάτους τε αἱροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Δεύκιον Διμιλίου τοῦ Ἰλλυρίου πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχυμένου. καὶ αὐτοῖς παραπέμποντες ἔξιόντας ἔδειντο κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχην, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἄργῳ τῆς ἀργοῦ δηομένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἐχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπτακισμύριους ἵππεας δ᾽ ἐξακισχίλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κῶμη τῶν καλουμένης Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντι-εστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὃν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὐ ποτὲ φέρων ἄργαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτῶν ἐνοχλούσης ἐξέτασε συνεχῶς.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

home to their own people. The Carthaginians followed their suggestion and sent neither soldiers nor money. Hannibal, lamenting this, wrote to his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, asking him to make an incursion into Italy at the beginning of summer with what men and money he could raise, and ravage the other extremity so that the whole country might be wasted at once and the Romans exhausted by the double encounter.

17. Such was the situation of Hannibal's affairs. The Romans, however, distressed by the magnitude of the disasters to Flaminius and Centenius, and considering such a succession of surprising defeats unworthy of their dignity, and that a war within their own territory was in itself intolerable, were furious against Hannibal, and levied four new legions in the city to serve against him, and hurried the allied forces from all quarters to Iapygia. As consuls they chose Lucius Aemilius, who had acquired military fame in the war against the Illyrians, and Terentius Varro, a demagogue who had won popular favour by the usual high-sounding promises. When they sent the consuls forward they begged them as they were leaving the city to end the war by battle, and not to exhaust the city by delay, by continued service, by taxes, and by hunger and idleness due to the devastation of the fields. The consuls on taking command of the army in Apulia had altogether 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, and they encamped near a village called Cannae. Hannibal encamped opposite them. He was by nature ready to fight and ever impatient of idleness, but now more so than ever because he was troubled by lack of supplies, for which reason he continually offered battle. He feared
APPION'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

Cap. ἐς μάχην, δεδιῶς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθοιντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθείεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἄγορᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προῦκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους. 18. γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν υπομένειν ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένος πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ. Τερέντιον δ', οἷα δημοκόπτου, μνημονευεῖν ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξιόδωσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρίναι τὴν μάχην ὑέχεως. τούτου Αἰμιλίου μὲν προσετίθησεν Σερούλιοις ὁ πέρυσιν ὑπατός ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἄγορᾶς καὶ τῶν καλομένων ἢ πεπέρας ἰμιλίου τῆς στρατιάς ἀντεχόντων δ' ἐτε τῶν ἐτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκτρύχονται ὑπεκρίνετο ήπάτας, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακῆς ἐκάνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύσ. ὦ δὲ Ἰωτάστερος ἀνθέρων ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιάν ὡς ἐπὶ φεῦγοντα τῶν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμιλίου ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιάν ὡς ἐπὶ φεῦγοντα τῶν Ἀννίβαν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμιλίος ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὑπεκρίνετο ἤδη τῷ Τερέντιῳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπαισίον ἑλεγεν εἰναι. ὁ δὲ ἐπανήει μὲν, αἰδοῦμενος οἰωνίζετο ὁ δὲ κόμας ἐν ὑφεὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐγένετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφηρμένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγαγανάκτει.
also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he kept challenging the enemy.

18. The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Aemilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general and army schooled by successful war. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, and wished to bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, supported the opinion of Aemilius, but all the senators and so-called knights who were officers in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Aemilius even then protested, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens, according to the Roman custom, by himself, and sent word to Varro, just as he was starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the troops shared his indignation.
CAP. IV 19. Αννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτικά ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ύπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, οὐδὲ τούτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐς τὸ στρατήγιμον ἐσδραμὼν, παρόντων ἐτὶ τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἄτιατο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανερὰν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὁμοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἢ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ἰηλοτυπίαν. οὔτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶσιν ὑπ' ὄργῃς ἡ στρατιά περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἴπε τοῖς ἐνδοῦν συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δὲ, πλὴν Σερουίλιον, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἴξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασσεν αὐτὸς ἰηούμενος: παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ' ἴσθετο, καὶ τὸ τε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν (οὐ γὰρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέτακτο), τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικροῦ ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἔχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἰππέας ἐκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκε- σαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ Λαιῷ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἔπει δεξιά, χιλίους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκαστὸς ἐχὼν ἰππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὑπὲρ τι πονοίη. οὗτοὶ μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι: 20. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μὲν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημ-βρίαν εὐρον ξοφώδη τὸν χῶρον εξ ἐθος ἐπιπνύστα, 334
19. Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forthwith to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but even this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of the senators, centurions, and tribunes that Aemilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy towards himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent overheard him and joined in the censure of Aemilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that position. Hannibal perceived the movement but did not come out of his camp because he was not yet ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Aemilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

20. Hannibal first of all, knowing that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly...
κατὰ νότον τὸ πνεῦμα ἔμελλεν ἔξειν ἔπειτα ἐς ὁροὺς περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγώδες ἔπτεας προενήδρευσε καὶ ψίλους, οἷς εὔρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔπιθη, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἀνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὕπὸ τοὺς χιτῶσιν ἀλλαξάνεις ἐπεξεργασίας, οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν. 

σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν κἀκεῖνος ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν "Αννώνα, τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἰχε κατὰ δόξαν Λιμιλίου τῆς ἐμπειρίας. 

δισχίλιοι τε ἔπιπεις ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῶ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἐτέρους ἔχθον χίλιους ἐπίδρευεν ὅπη τὶ πονοῦμενον ἱδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ὅτα τὸ πνεῦμα θάσσον ἐπέλθοι. 

21. Γενομένων δὲ πάντων ἐντρεπῶν ἐκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέδρεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἡττῆς, ὡς ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ περί σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, ο δὲ Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φαλάγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμοῦτες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλλήλων κατηρχοῦν, μετὰ δὲ
about noon, chose a position where he would have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. He also armed 500 Celtiberians with daggers under their clothes (in addition to their long swords) which they were to use at a signal from himself. He too divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Aemilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse, and Maharbal had 1000 others, in reserve for emergencies. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner.

21. When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to remember their parents, wives, and children, and the defeat which they had suffered. They were admonished that in this battle they would be fighting for existence. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and stone-throwers advanced and began the battle. After them the
CAP IV

toútous aí φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος
tε καὶ πόλοι ἢ μὲν πολὺς ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων
ἐκατέρων. ἐν δὲ σημαίαις μὲν ὃ Ἀννίβας τοῖς
ἵππευσι κυκλούσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ
tῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤσπερ ἀστίδας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναν-
tες ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἡγονίζοντο ὁμος ὑπὸ προθυμίας,
καὶ μάλισθ᾽ οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ.
Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς
ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ βαρβαρικῇ, νομί-
sαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους
εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.

22. Διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς τῆς πείρας, ὁ
Ἀννίβας τὸ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς
πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας
αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δώρα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ φανερά
ὦρεγον ὡσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες. καὶ ὁ Σερουῖλιος
αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα
παρείλευ, ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὡς φέτο, τοὺς χιτῶσιν
ἔστησεν ὁπίσω. οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδείκνυσιν
καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὐδὲ ὑπώπτευεν ἐν χιτῶσι
ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἵ τε
ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαινόντο, καὶ
τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς
Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις ποταμοῦ φερόμενον, ὃ καὶ
μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους.
legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side fighting furiously. Meanwhile Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received their onslaught also without flinching and without fear.

22. When Hannibal saw that this manoeuvre too had failed, he gave the signal to his 500 Celtiberians. These passing out of their own line of battle went over to the Romans, holding out their shields, spears, and the swords they wore openly, as if deserters. Servilius commended them and at once took away their arms and stationed them in the rear, in their tunics alone as he supposed, for he did not think it wise to put deserters in chains in the sight of the enemy, nor did he have any suspicion of men whom he saw with nothing but their tunics, nor was there time to take counsel in the thick of the fray. Then some of the African cohorts made a pretence of flight toward the mountains, uttering loud cries. This was the signal to those concealed in the ravines to turn upon the pursuers. Straightway the light-armed troops and cavalry that had been placed in ambush showed themselves, and simultaneously a strong and blinding wind rose, carrying dust into the eyes of the Romans, which quite prevented them from seeing their enemies. The impetus of the Roman missiles
CaP. τὴν ἀντίπνοιαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῆ, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ' ἀφίέναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἦδη ποικίλως ἠθορυβοῦντο.

23. Τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὁρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρῶτους ἀνήρουν ὃν ἦσαν ὄπισω, μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνους, ἀρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδων ἀφειδῶς: καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλείστον ὁυτοὶ μάλιστα, ἀτε πάντων ὄντες ὄπισω. τὸ τε κακὸν ἦδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλοις ἦν, πονομένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων. οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδυναντο διὰ τῶν ἐπικειμένων σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου οὐδ᾽ ἐπεγίγνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἄπαντα δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς ἴνα χλει, καὶ οὐκ ἐίχον οὐδ᾽ εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαίνον, ἀλλ' οἶνον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτα, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακόσιους εἰδότες ὡτὶ ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ' ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκλώσθαι, τραπέντες ἐφευγούν ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνους οἱ τοῦ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὃν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμιλίον
was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy’s was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy’s weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds.

23. At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the promised opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made an onslaught on the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished a very great slaughter, inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. The Romans were now in great and manifold trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon these last on account of the pressure of the enemy in front, and because it was no longer easy to distinguish these assailants, since they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, and the ambuscades more numerous than they were. They did not even know that the 500 were 500, but thought that their whole army was surrounded by cavalry and deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing, where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Aemilius. Around these the bravest of
καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὁ σον ἄριστον ἵππεών τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

24. Καταθορόντες δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοὶ, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεξομάχοντο τὸ ἵππευσι τοῖς ἰππεύσι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίδοι κεκυκλωμένου καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχία καὶ ἄπονοις λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίδοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅτε μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονήσαν, ὅτε δ᾽ ἐπιπλήσσοντος καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νευκηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽, ἐξοχότες μὲν αὐτοὶ ὁ Ὀλυμπίδος καὶ ὁ Ὀλυμπίδος περιήγαν, πολλὰ δρόμων τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὃμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει. ἐπει δ᾽ ἐπεσον αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγαν, ὅτι μὲν, ἐνθαπέρι οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγασι, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὀντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οἴδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους, οἷς ὁ Ὀλυμπίδος φυλακήν ἐπέστησεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐς Κάννας, πρεῖ δισχίλιους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἐκαυτοὺς οἴδε οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ὀλυμπίδοι. ὀλίγου δ᾽ ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκέπασαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὤλας.

25. Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάννας Ὀλυμπίδοι τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ώραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὄρων, οὕσης δ᾽ ἐτὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίδοι ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ· ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς τᾶς ὁραὶ τε καὶ συμφορῶν ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐπελεύσαν, καὶ

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the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about 10,000.

24. The generals and after them all the others who had horses dismounted and fought on foot with Hannibal's cavalry, who surrounded them. They charged the enemy with fury and performed many brilliant exploits, the fruit of military experience, aided by courage and despair. But they fell on all sides, Hannibal circling round them and encouraging his soldiers, now exhorting them to make their victory complete, now rebuking and reproaching them because, after they had scattered the main body of the enemy, they could not overcome the small remainder. As long as Aemilius and Servilius survived the Romans stood firm, although giving and receiving many wounds, but when their generals fell they forced their way through the midst of their enemies most bravely, and escaped in various directions. Some took refuge in the two camps where the others had preceded them in their flight. These were altogether about 15,000, whom Hannibal straightway besieged. Others, to the number of about 2000, took refuge in Cannae, and these surrendered to Hannibal. A few escaped to Canusium. The remainder were dispersed in groups through the woods.

25. Such was the result of the battle between Hannibal and the Romans at Cannae, which was begun after the second hour of the day and ended within two hours of nightfall, and which is still famous among the Romans as a disaster; for in these few hours 50,000 of their soldiers were slain and a great many taken prisoners. Many senators who were present lost their lives and with them all...
Το Απίανον Ρωμαϊκό Ιστορικό, Τόμος VII

Επ’ αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχοὶ τε ἦν αὐτῶς καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀριστοί δύο. Ὅ λατοτάτος τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτίως ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ ἕρωμαίοι δύο ἐτείς ἣδη περὶ τῆν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβα πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

26. Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ στρατηγήμασιν ἐξενεγκαμένος ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγήμασιν τέσσαρες, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθείσιν αὐτομολείν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμένους, εὑθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπήει, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνῃρημένους φίλῳς, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὖ χρήζων ἐτέρας τουῦσδε νίκης. ὅ καὶ Πύρρον φασὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἑπείρου βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίων κἀκεῖνον ἐν Ἰταλία κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ὑγίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείξονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὑτῶν ἑσπέρας ἑλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὑποποίου καὶ κόπον πλήρεις ὑπόζων, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοῦς διερρημένους ἐπιείρατο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγόν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διεδραμεν.

Υ

27. Ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκεῖους
the military tribunes and centurions, and their two best generals. The most worthless one, who was the cause of the calamity, had made good his escape at the beginning of the rout. The Romans, in their two years' war with Hannibal in Italy, had now lost, of their own and their allied forces, about 100,000 men.

26. Hannibal gained this rare and splendid victory by employing four stratagems in one day; the force of the wind, the feigned desertion of the Celtiberians, the pretended flight, and the ambuscades in the ravines. Immediately after the battle he went to view the dead. When he saw the bravest of his friends lying among the slain he burst into tears and said that he did not want another such victory. It is said that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made the same exclamation before him, when he too gained a victory over the Romans in Italy, with like loss to himself. Those of the fugitives who had taken refuge in the larger camp, in the evening chose Publius Sempronius as their general, and forced a passage through Hannibal's guards, who were tired and drowsy. These men, to the number of about 10,000, made their way to Canusium about midnight. But the 5000 in the smaller camp were captured by Hannibal the following day. Varro, having collected the remains of the army, sought to revive their fainting spirits, put them under the command of Scipio, one of the military tribunes, and himself hastened to Rome.

27. When the disaster was announced in the city, the men thronged the streets, uttering lamentations.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτικα ἕως οὐκοςμένους ἀλοφύρωντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἱκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαί ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχαίς ἰλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἰ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσι. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν ἔργων, δούλους δὲ ἐς διδακτικές τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἡλευθέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἀστικὰ πάντας ἔργαζεται καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὡς, τινὰς παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ᾿Αννίβας μέλλουσαν παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ὥς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιον τε Μάρκολλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν ᾿Αννίβου ἐς τὸν Φάβιον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἐγὼν καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐκακοῦντας ἐς τῶν πολιτῶν ἑν τῷ συμμάχους, γενομένους ἀπαντάς ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας, ὁ τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὁ τι πράξεσθαι ἔργας μέλλοντα παρεφύλασσεν. Αὐτῷ δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἔς ῾Ρώμην πρεσβεύοντας ἐρμῆνευσάθεται περὶ σφῶν, εἰ τὸν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀστείον λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρέθεντας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὃν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖοι Σεμπρώνιος, ὁρκώσαντας ἐς τοὺς μεταφεύλασις, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἀλόντων, περιστάντας τὸν Βουλήτη- ριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκατοστοι ἄτοις χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο.
for their relatives and calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as being soon to fall into the enemy's hands. The women prayed in the temples with their children that there might sometime be an end to the calamities of the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with what had already happened. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present position of affairs. They freed about 8000 slaves with the masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also, in spite of the situation, collected a certain number of allies. Further they changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many citizens and allies as he could collect, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and marched to Teanum where he waited to see what Hannibal would do next.

28. Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, and Hannibal exacted an oath from them that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the
CAP. σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυνε καὶ συνεδεῖτό· τῶν δὲ Βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦσιν ἐπὶ τοσαίας συμφοραῖς ἄλλοις τοσούσδε βλαβήναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔσταν δεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐθίζειν τῶν ἠλέῳ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ νικῶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὅν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἐκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Βουλή τοῖς συγγενεῖσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἐπὶ κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐχ ἔσταν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πιστεύσαν, τὸ δ' ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωτὸν εἶν, πρὸς τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἐσεθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξει 'Αννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρώνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς 'Αννίβαν ἐπανήκαν. ὁ δ' ἐστι μὲν οὐς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἠνίκησαν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὁ δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφάνειάς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θεατῶν τοῖς Δίβυσιν ἡνάγκασε, πατέρας τε νήσις καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείποντα ὑπεροψίας ὁμῆς.

29. Μετὰ δὲ τούτ' ἐπιών τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετηλίνοις μηχανήματα προσήχθησαν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δ' τόλμης μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τὰς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπιμπράσαν, οὐχ ἦσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδρὶζομένων.
Senate to allow them to do so, and the people joined them with their own prayers and tears. Some of the Senators thought it was not wise, after such great calamities, to expose the city to the loss of so many more men, or to disdain free men while giving liberty to slaves. Others thought that it was not fitting to accustom men to flight by such compassion, but rather to teach them to conquer or die in the field, knowing that even the fugitive’s own friends would not be allowed to pity him. Many precedents having been adduced on either side, the Senate finally decided that the prisoners should not be ransomed by their relatives, being of opinion that while so many dangers were still impending present clemency would tend to future harm, while severity, although painful, would be for the public advantage hereafter, and at the present time would startle Hannibal by its very boldness. Accordingly Sempronius and the two prisoners who accompanied him returned to Hannibal. The latter sold some of his prisoners, put others to death in anger, and made a bridge of their bodies with which he passed over the stream. The senators and other distinguished prisoners in his hands he compelled to fight with each other, as a spectacle for the Africans, fathers against sons, and brothers against brothers. He omitted no act of disdainful cruelty.

29. Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performed many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the
καθ' ἑκαστὸν ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ Ἀννων ἐπέστησεν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννωνος ἐφεσωρόν ἀλύπως ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνησκοντας. τὸ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ τότε ἐδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ' ὑποστρέφειν δυνάμενοι διεφθάρασαν ἀπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀλίγον τῶν δραμέν δυνηθέντων. τούτων διερρίθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνήγων, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὁκτακοσίους κατηγαγόν τε καὶ συνώκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τῶν πόλεων αὕθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

30. Τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἳ ἐμισθοφόροιν Ἀννίβα, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν ἐν ᾿Ιβηρίᾳ, τοσοῦτοι ἐκεῖνοι εὐγνώμονες ἐς τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν, ἀναμιγνύμενοι μετέπειθον αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἡ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς τῷ Ἀννίβα πιστον, ὑποπτεύομενον τε ὑπ' ἕκεινον καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτὸν. κάκιον οὖν ἐπρασσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τούτῳ.
women were no less manly than the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering that theirs was the happier lot; for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after again performing many splendid acts of bravery, being unable in their starved and exhausted condition even to return, they were all slain by the Africans. Hanno possessed himself of the town, but even so a few escaped from it, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, admiring their loyalty to Rome and their astonishing zeal.

30. As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to counteract the others. These, whenever encamped near Hannibal, mingled with their fellow-countrymen and sought to win them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while even the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as he suspected them and they him. Hannibal's fortunes therefore began to decline from this point.
31. Ἀργύριππα δ诚 ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνία, Ἡν Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καὶ τις ἐκγονος ἐναι τοῖ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολος τε τῷ φρόνιμῳ καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἀξίος, ὁ Ρωμαιῶν περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ὡταν ἠττησθε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυνας ἀπὸ Ρωμαίων. τοῦτο δὲ αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἐλαθεν ὡς Ρώμην διπτεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἐφη δύνασθαι τῷ ἀμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὖθις ὡς Ρωμαῖοι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ δὲ οὐ λίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οὗ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς ἠλᾶτο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἐρυθροὺς ἐνδόντων εἶλε Πάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὁ σους ἥπερ Λιβύων, φρουράν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

32. Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων Κονωνεὺς ὥδε προύδωκεν. κυνηγετεῖν εἴθιστο ὁ Κονωνεὺς, καὶ φέρων ἀεὶ τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιούφῳ συνήθης ἐκ τούτῳ ἐγεγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἐν πολεμομένη χώρα, νυκτός ἐφη δεῖν κυνηγετεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβα καὶ στρατιῶτας λαβών, τοὺς μὲν ἐκρυπεῖν ἐν λόχῳ τῶν πτησίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δι᾽ ὅλιγον, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι,
31. There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, who was said to be a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such an ancestor, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannae drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal was suffering reverses, he rode secretly to Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by others to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, established a Roman garrison in the city.

VI

32. Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the commander of the garrison, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring in his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night, and he then made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town, while others he ordered to follow at no great
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CAP. θώρακας ἐνδοθεν ύπεξωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγήτας ἐσκευασμένους. κάπρον τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὡσπερ ἢς, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοιξάντας αὐτὶκα διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἑπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσεπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεφύγον τῷ ᾿Αννίβα. ὁ δὲ ἐσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτη, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἑταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἐτι φρουρομένην ἐπολι-όρκει.

33. Ὁ δὲ μὲν Κονωνεὺς ῥώματα προύδωκεν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τῷ τινὶς προσεχόρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἡμιστὺ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐχὼν ἠλθε. βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργῶν πολλῶν ἤπόρον, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν ᾿Αννίβαν. ἦπότως δὲ καὶ ὁ ᾿Αννίβας. πύργους τε οὐν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρέπανοις ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ πεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ καὶ γείνοντες μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περίασον ἑαυτὸν τῦτον καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμά ποτε λάβρον ἔθεαν τοῦ ᾿Αννίβαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ ᾿Αννίβας τῇς τῆς πείρας περιετείχισε τῇς πόλιν,
distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breast-plates and swords underneath. Then he set a wild boar on poles, and came by night to the gates. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him entered and slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind burst in with their comrades, admitted the detachment from the thicket, and opened the gates to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines laid siege to the citadel, which was still held by the Romans. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus.

33. The Romans who held the citadel were about 5000 in number, and some of the Tarentines came to their aid. The prefect of the guard at Metapontum joined them with half of his force, and they had an abundance of missiles and engines with which they expected to drive Hannibal easily back from the walls. But Hannibal also had a plentiful supply of these things. Accordingly he brought up towers, catapults, and pent-houses with which he shook some of the walls, pulled off the parapets with hooks attached to ropes, and laid bare the defences. The garrison hurled stones down upon the engines and broke many of them, turned aside the hooks with slip-knots, and making frequent and sudden sallies constantly threw the besiegers into confusion and returned after killing many. One day when they noticed that the wind was violent some of the Romans threw down firebrands, flax, and pitch upon the engines, while others darted out and put fire under them. Hannibal, despairing of his attempt,
χωρὶς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσση μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τούτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἀννων τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ιάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.

34. Λιμένες δὲ εἶσι τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνέμοι εἰκ πελάγοις ἐστελέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύρας, ὥν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροί σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δὲ ἐκώλυσαν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὡθεὶν ἦπορον ἄγορὰς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἐως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδὸν, ἢ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιόν θάλασσαν, ὅρυξαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἐτερον ποιμασθαί. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχον τε ἄγορὰν, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμὼν ἐνα μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἑκεῖνοι ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δὲ ἦποροι. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἐλαβον αὐτὸ τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν ἀπάσαι. πρεβευμένων δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς ᾿Αννίβαν. καὶ ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ὅσους εἶχε Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυνεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας ᾿Αννων ἀνέψαν. καὶ Θούριοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἐλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχιδονίοις αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἢ δ΄ ἐν τῇ πόλει.
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threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then entrusting the siege to Hanno he withdrew into Iapygia.

34. The port of Tarentum is on the north side as one sails in from the sea through a narrow passage. This passage was closed by bridges which were now under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they brought in their own provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they harassed the Roman garrison, who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. Thus the Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the crews. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate the ransoming of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavouring to save Tarentum for the Romans, unexpectedly themselves fell into the power of the
35. Metapontinou δ', εξ οὗ σφόν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἡμῖν τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα φχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἄννίβα προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὶ Metapontinων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δέει μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυνδέστερα τὰ Ἄννίβου. τοῦ δ' εξίης ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινὲς ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἷς Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δὲ τις ἐκ τῶν ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὁν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδίδουσ αὐτὸν ἐπεισεν ἐς τι χωρίον ἔθοντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοουσί, καὶ δούναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὖδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἶπετο μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτῶν εξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ο μὲν Φλάουιος εξίππευσε οὐκ ἐκείνους, ο δὲ Γράκχος συνεις τῆς προδοσίας καθῆλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν πλὴν τριῶν, οὐς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἄννίβας, πολλὴν ποιησάμενος ὀργεῖτο Λαβεῖν ξώντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγάμενος ὅμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὅστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπεμψεν.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σίτον πολὺν ἐσώρευε, 36. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι
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Carthaginians. The Roman garrison in Thurii escaped secretly by sea to Brundusium.

35. The Metapontines, after their prefect had taken half of his force to Tarentum, slew the remainder, who were few in number, and went over to Hannibal. Heraclea, which lies midway between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed their example, being moved by fear rather than inclination. Thus Hannibal was again in the more favourable position. In the following year some of the Lucanians also revolted from Rome, and Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, marched against them. But a certain Lucanian named Flavius, of the party that still remained faithful to the Romans, who was a friend and guest of Gracchus, treacherously persuaded him to come to a certain place to make an agreement with the Lucanian generals, who had, he said, repented, and to exchange pledges with them. Suspecting nothing, he went to the place with thirty horsemen, where he found himself surrounded by a large force of Numidians in ambush. Flavius rode over to them, and Gracchus, discovering the treachery, leaped from his horse along with his companions, and after performing many noble deeds of valour was slain with all the others, except three. These were the only ones captured by Hannibal, although he had exerted himself to the utmost to take the Roman proconsul alive. Although he had basely entrapped him, nevertheless in admiration of his bravery in the final struggle he gave him a funeral and sent his bones to Rome. After this he passed the summer in Apulia and collected large supplies of corn.

36. The Romans decided to attack the Capuans,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. Καπναιοίς ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν Ἄννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους λαθῶν, οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας έδιδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβὰν ἐγνώσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὗθυς ἄνεχώρουν, ὅτα δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπναιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὃυρομένοις δὲ πέρι τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἐπη πολὺν ἐχειν σῖτον ἐν ᾿Ιαπυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὡσάκις θέλοιεν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ υποξύγια μόνον οὐδ᾽ ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναίκας καὶ παιδία ἐπεμπον ἀχθοφορῆσοντα τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτήν ἐς Ῥωμαίων ᾿Αννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενέων, οὗς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ ᾿Αννίβου παρόντος ἀπάντων κατεφρόνουν. 37. Συνέβη δὲ ᾿Αννίβαν μὲν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ᾿Αννωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ’ ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγοῦντοι ὑπάτοι, Φουλουίου τε καὶ Κλαυδίου ᾿Αππίου, τὸν ἅτερον αὐτοῖς πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰς θέρης, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οία ἀπαρασκεύους διαφθείρας, καὶ τὸν σῖτον Βενεβενέως δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ᾿Αννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἀρτάσαι, καὶ Καπύην ἐτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς ᾿Αννίβου περιταφρεῦσαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλω, καὶ τούδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἀλλο ποιή-
and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Iapygia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Iapygia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared, because the Beneventines were still in alliance with Rome. But at this time, owing to the presence of Hannibal, they despised everybody.

37. It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many, as they were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal’s camp and plundered his baggage, and, while Hannibal was still in Lucania, dug a trench round Capua, and surrounded the entire city with a wall. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of
CAP. σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατο-
πέδου. έπάλξεις δὲ ἦσαν αὐτοὶς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπναῖους πολιορκομένους αἱ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐξοθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἢ τε ὡς ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικρότεραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα: εἶν ὡς πολλὰ ἐγίγνοντο πείραι καὶ συμβολαί καθ᾽ ἐκάστη τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀλληλοὺς τῶν ἀριστών. καὶ τὰς Καπναῖους, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίας Κλαύδιου Ἀσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοὺς Καπναῖους τείχεσιν ὃ "Ασελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὡρμῇ, καὶ διαπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους. 38. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτος παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ᾽ ἣν ἐς Λευκα-
νοὺς, »μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιῳδεῖν πτόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὔκαιρον ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων γεγομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς, μηδ᾽ ἐπινοῶν ὡς ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμπειεν ἢ σύτοις οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντῃ περιλαμβά-
νουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἦπειγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κἀκεῖνος ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπὶ τῇ τῆς Καπύης ἀναστήσειν ἢ αὐτὸς τῇ Καπύης μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνω δὲ σπουδῆς δειλίθων ἐδυν πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐν δινηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν,
this and used the space between the two walls as a camp. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside, and the appearance was that of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, and in it many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureas had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape, retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to turn his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, rode out at the opposite gate and joined the Romans on the further side, and was thus marvellously saved.

38. Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to prevent so large and important a city from falling into the Romans’ hands. He accordingly attacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of walls which completely surrounded them, he hastened towards Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping thus to draw their generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something himself more important than Capua. Moving with the greatest celerity through many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him, while others
39. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἔθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἵκανον (ὅ γάρ ἐχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἤν), πολεμίων δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἀφώ, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀνεπήδων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἀστυ δρόμον. βοῆς δὲ παμμυγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰς δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δὲ τι πολίχνιον Ῥωμαίοι ποτὲ ἐπιτειχίσι οντες Αἰκανοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν σὺν χρόνῳ δ’ ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἀμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ ὡπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρουν. τοσῆδε προθυμία βραχὺ πολίχνιον ἐκ τοσῶν ἀποκινῶν ἐχρῆσατο μόνη, οἶδ᾽ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθώνα μικρὰ πόλις ἡ Πλαταιέων ἐδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

40. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἀππίος μὲν Καπῦ παρέμενε, κάκεινος ἤγούμενος ἐλεῖν Καπῦν, Φουλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλῆκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσου ἔχων τὸν Ἀννίμα. τῷ δ’ Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

dared not even try, he encamped at the river Anio, CHAP. two and thirty stades from Rome.

39. The city was thrown into consternation as never before. They were without any adequate force of their own (what they had being in Campania), and now this strong, hostile army came suddenly against them under a general of invincible bravery and good fortune. Nevertheless, they did what they could in the circumstances. Those who were able to bear arms manned the gates, the old men mounted the walls, and the women and children brought stones and missiles, while those who were in the fields flocked in all haste to the city. Confused cries, lamentations, prayers, and mutual exhortations on every side filled the air. Some went out and cut down the bridge over the river Anio. The Romans had at one time fortified a small town to control the Aequi, which they called Alba after their mother city. Its inhabitants in the course of time, either because of carelessness of pronunciation or corruption of language, or to distinguish them from the Albanians, were called Albenses. Two thousand of these Albenses hastened to Rome to share the danger. As soon as they arrived they armed themselves and mounted guard at the gates. Such zeal did this small town, alone out of so many colonies, exhibit, just as the little city of Plataea hastened to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon to share their danger.

40. Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, as he too believed that he could capture the place. Fulvius Flaccus, the other, marched with unresting haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing
γέφυραν εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἐδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρώδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνίδρευε, Νομίδας ἵππεας ὑπολυπών, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀυλῆς ἑρείσαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδηνοῦν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβησαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν· οὔτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ὡς ἐνήδρευε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδήνον, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβησαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἁπαντιάν· οὔτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ὡς ἐνήδρευε, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθὼν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἑδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δ᾽ ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὡς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δεῖσας, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἐλεγεῖν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλύσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἑνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο· οὐ γὰρ ὃ γε σὺν Φούλουίῳ στρατὸς ἢν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος. ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρεῖπετο, κωλύων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

VII

41. Ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ό Φούλουιος ἐσπερας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἐφθανεν ἐγείραι, τάφρον δ᾽ ὅρυξάμενος καὶ διαστήματα
between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side, but even so Hannibal laid a trap for him. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with a bodyguard of three men secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of forces and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valour and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end, lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius, however, followed him as he retreated, preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps.

VII

41. Hannibal, having waited for a moonless night, and a position where Fulvius, at the close of day, had not had time to throw up a wall, but had ceased
ΠΑΡ. ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν, ἀντὶ τεῖχους ὡσύχαζεν, ἔς τε λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἔπεμψε λαθὼς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἠσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον ὡς ἐρημοῦ ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐλέφασι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλούιον στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διὰ τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναυτο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐπεμένει καρτερὸν, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ὅνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ρωμαίοις στρατηγὸς οὐτί Φουλούιος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπάντα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τὸ δὲ μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατηγῆμα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν· οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ πάντα περιθέοντας κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησαν· οὐ τε γὰρ ἐλέφαντος ἔσήλεθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ ἀναγούσας ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι᾽ αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτε τοῦτο ἔγινεν.

42. Φούλουιος δὲ ἀεί τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τούτο ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἶθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ οἰκείας συνεσεῖς, εἶτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμη προσπεσῶν, εἶτε παρ᾽ αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθών, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὡσὺ ἐπεστήσεν ταῖς ἐς τὸ λόφον ἄγοντας όδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτον ὄχι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἄλλο.
operations after merely digging a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall, quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should attempt to occupy the hill, believing it to be deserted. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When the Indians should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighbouring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamour striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the pitch-dark night appalled them, and when they heard orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they proceeded to do so.

42. But Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general
᾿Αννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακάς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μὴ τις ἐφόδος ἐξωθεὶν ἀλλή γένοιτο, ἐβοηθῶμει μεθ᾽ ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπαντα ἔχειν ἀ- σφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. διὰδας τε ἢπτε καὶ πῦρ παντα- χόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανῆς ἢν ἢ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλυγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνω καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὁργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέουσς μεταβα- λόντες, εὐμαρῶς οία ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διε- φθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλεφάντες οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφὴν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνᾶς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντες τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ πάνω ἑρισμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρᾳ περιῆν τοῦ ᾿Αννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανὰς.

43. Ὅ δ᾽ ᾿Αννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Δευκανοὺς διελθών ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἢν οὐ συνήθους, ἐρωμένην τε εἰχεν ἄγριος ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ὀλίγου ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ᾽ ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανῆει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον ἀμφω καρτερῶς, ἐπειγό- μενοι χείμῳνος ἐλείν τὴν πόλιν, ἐως Ῥωμαίος ἠρεμεῖ. Καπυαίοι δὲ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλει- ποισών καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀλλῶν ἐπεισαγομένων,
but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. He himself stationed strong guards on the mounds to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn round, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies, until, enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders, trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems.

43. When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman
ἐνεχείρισαν έαυτοὺς τοίς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ ὁσοὶ Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ᾽Αννίβοις ἐτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. ᾽Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὁσοὺς ἡρὸν αὐτομολοῦντας, χειρὰς αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον. Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς Ὀρμήν ἐπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπεδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αὐτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφεῖλον μόνον. εὐφορος δ’ ἐστὶν ἐς σιτον ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πάσαν. πεδίας γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ὁρμαίων ἐπανήγκτο, καὶ μέγα τούτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιήρητο.

44. Ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς ᾿Ιταλίας, ἀνηρ ἐς πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἑθίσας αὐτῷ τὴν λῆξεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τούτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγονός καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἦλγε τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβριζόντων συνθέμενος. οὐν τῷ Ὁρμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν, ἐκάστοτε τινὰς ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσήγην ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐπέθεσεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέον εγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνέβη, καὶ παρὰ Ὁρμαίων ἀλλην ἐπηγάγετο. ᾽Αννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὑστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτοὺς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ὁρμήνῃ, οἱ δὲ Τισιάται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ ᾽Αννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ
generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city, while from the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile corn-land, being a plain. So Capua was once more restored to the Romans and the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them.

44. In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia (which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behaviour of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and destroyed the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to Rhegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned
ἈΠΙΑΝ'Σ ἩΡΩΙΚΗΣ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΙΣΤΙΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ἔκαυσε, ΤῊ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΦΡΟΥΡΑΝ ἘΠΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ἈΛΛΗΝ.

45. Ἰαπύγων δ᾽ ἐν πόλει Σαλαπία, Λιβύων ὑπηκόων, δύο ᾿Ησυχίας ἀνδρῶν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλουν δ᾽ ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρω. τούτοις Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Αἰβύων ἤρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαῖον. ἔως μὲν οὖν ᾿Ηκμαζε τὰ ᾿Αννίβου, ἐφ᾽ ἦσυχίας ῾Ην ὁ Βλάτιος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἐπειθεὶς ό Βλάτιος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ υπὲρ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτοῦ συμφρονησαι μόνης, μη ἐπὶ πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βίᾳ λαβόντων, ἀνήκεστον. ό δ᾽ ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυε τοῦτο ᾿Αννίβας. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ό ᾿Αννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλάτιον δ᾽ ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συνοφανεῖσθαι διὰ τήν ἐχθροῦ λέγοντος: ό καὶ τέως ἀρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκείν λόγον τοιόντε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγόρῳ διὰ τήν ἐχθραν ἐσομένω. ᾿Αννίβας δ᾽ οὔτε ἀπορρίψαι τὸ ἐργον οὔτε τῷ παρ᾽ ἐχθροῦ πιστεύσαι μισῶν ἀξιών, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεψόμενος ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἐπὶ ό Δασίῳ, τούς ἄλλους λαθῶν, "οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τὴν πατρίδα;" ό δὲ καὶ τούτ' εὐθὺς ἐκβοίσας ἐρμήνευεν.

46. Καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοτιστος εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ τεχνώτου. "τούτο δ᾽ ἐφ᾽, "τὸ νῦν ἐπιβουλευμα
those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

45. In Salapia, a city in Lapygia subject to Carthage, were two men pre-eminent by birth, wealth, and power, but for a long time enemies to each other. One of these, named Dasius, sided with the Carthaginians, the other, Blatius, with the Romans. While Hannibal's affairs were flourishing Blatius remained quiet, but when the Romans began to recover their former supremacy he endeavoured to come to an understanding with his enemy, simply for the sake of their country, lest, if the Romans should take it by force, some irreparable harm should befall it. Dasius, pretending to agree with him, communicated the matter to Hannibal. Hannibal took the part of a judge between them, Dasius acting as accuser and Blatius defending himself, and saying that he was slandered by reason of his accuser's personal enmity. And it was because he had foreseen this all along, that Blatius ventured to make such a proposal to an enemy, knowing that their private enmity would cast discredit on his accusation. Hannibal thought that it was not wise either to shelve the matter altogether or to put too much faith in an accuser who was a personal enemy; so he dismissed them, saying that he would consider the matter by himself. As they were going out by a very narrow passage Blatius said to Dasius in a low tone, "Are you not willing to save your country, good sir?" Dasius immediately repeated the words in a loud voice, thus letting Hannibal know.

46. Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present
ὙΠ: καὶ THS πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ τις ἦν, ρώσεται με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἦν πρότερον ἐχθρὸς περὶ τούτῳ διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστω καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἔκεινα γεγενημένων, κινδυνεύων ἐτὶ καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνοῦμενος, αὖθις ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ᾽ ἔθαρρησεν εἴπετιν, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,” ἔφη, “χρηστὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ύπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐτὶ δυνατὸς ἦν; τί δ᾽ ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;” ἀ μοι δοκεῖ προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐνυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καταφρονών ἀρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ μὴν Ὀμβρίζεται συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἤτει μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καταφρονών ἀρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καταφρονών ἀρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καταφρονών ἀρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου.
scheme,” he said, “will relieve me also from all former suspicion, if there was any. For who would either previously have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to speak thus again to one who was his betrayer and accuser in the first case, and especially in the judgment-hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to repeat his words again as before? Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well-disposed, how would he be able to co-operate with me in saving the country after what has happened? And why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?” I think that Blatius foresaw all this when he whispered again to Dasius, and that by this course he brought his enemy into greater discredit, and even persuaded Hannibal to disbelieve the former accusations. Nor did Blatius, even after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly untrustworthy. Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blasius replied without hesitation: “I will ride to one of the Roman camps (indicating the one that was furthest distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring thither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city.”

47. Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome, a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate,
ἘΠ τὸν υἱὸν ὅμηρον, ἱππέας ἥτει χιλίους, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἠπείγετο κατὰ σπουδὴν, τὸ μέλλον ἐσεθαί προ- ὁρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὄρων, ἐξαστεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἦδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας ὦν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὀντὶ τὸ πορρωτέρῳ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οὔχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, κατα- φρονῶν ὅτι φθάστηκεν ἐπανελθὼν, καὶ "νῦν μὲν," ἔφη, "παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτο- φώρῳ στρατιάν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει." καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβὼν τινας, ἐπανῆγεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὐπω τοῦ Βλατίου πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δὲ ἐνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Διβύων ὄλιγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύ- λασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ πῦλας τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνων Δασίου μόνας εἴσαεν ἀνεφῇκαί. καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνας μέρος ἀπαν ἐχεῖν ἀνυπόπτως τὰ δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἐξετε- τάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πῦλας εἴδεν ἀνεφγμένας, ἢσθη νομίσας προ- λαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθῶς. ὁ δὲ ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμ- ὧντας, ὅθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομῆν διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἐχοντας. ὅλγοι δ᾽ αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.
he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as at last having confidence in him. Supposing, therefore, that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. “And now,” said he to Hannibal, “I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city.” Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side there was nothing to excite suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did Blatius overcome Dasius, for the third time meeting plot with counterplot.
48. Καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἔρωνίαν ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἐλαθεν ἐσπέρας ἐγγύς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπεῖπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρῆγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἐσωτερικὴν γεγονός, τοὺς μὲν ὑπερέος ἐπικειμένως ἐπικειμένως τῷ Ῥωμαίών στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤμονοντο έκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ’ εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἷος ὀλίγος ποθὲν αὑτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεξῷ τὴν πόλιν περιήγη, κατασκεπτόμενος ἃμα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόν ἐπελπίζων, ἐς ἐπελπίζων, ἐως ἐπῆλθε τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἰτε προϊδόμενος εἰτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλούμενος αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ’ ἐπιπτὸν ἡδή λάβοις καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ ἀπεδαφοῦν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτάκισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτοῖς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔπιπτον λάβοις αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀννίβου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

49. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο Ῥωμαίοι μὲν τῇ Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδήουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῇ Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίοις μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλησ μόνης, καὶ Ἀτέλλαιος μετοίκισεν ἐς Θουρίους, ὅταν μὴ τῷ Βρεττίῳ καὶ Δευκανῶν καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἔνοχοι φίλοι τὸν πολέμο. καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐς τῇ Ἀτέλλη μετοίκισεν ἐς τῇ Ἰαπύγων ἐς τῇ Αὐλωνίαν τῇ
48. While Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent his cavalry to attack the Roman camp. The Romans hurried from their beds and defended themselves, in disorder, naturally, but with boldness, for they believed the enemy to be a few men who had come on the scene from somewhere or other. Meanwhile, Hannibal, with the infantry, was marching round to the other side of the town, in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, when he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder jumped up on to a mound in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

49. After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Iapygians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellaei. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Iapygia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, invading the territory still subject to Hannibal, they took Aulonia and overran B.C. 209
ΘΕῸ: εἷλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὅλων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἦρα γυναικὸς, ἢς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἐπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῶν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγονος τὰς μηχανὰς τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὐκαίρου ἐς πολέμους χωρίου καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

50. ᾿Αννέβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν, ὡς ἐμαθενε εἰλημμένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν, ἐνθά αὐτὸς Κλαύδιος τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἐλών, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κριστῖνος ἁντιστρατοπεδεύουντες ὑπὲ ἐτόλμων ἀρχεῖν μάχης. λείαν δὲ τινὰ ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδών, καὶ δόξας ἀχθόμενος εἶναι τοὺς ἀγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τριάκοσίων ἑπτεῶν σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἦγειτο, θυμικὸς δὲ τῶν ἀγοντας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικός αἰ. ἀφεὶ δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Διβύων φανέτων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν ὑπεραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἦρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς ἐπομένων αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοινωσθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ ᾿Αννέβας ἐπιστάς, ὡς ἐδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὡς στρατιωτῆς, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὡς στρατηγός. καὶ τῶν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιελών, τὸ μὲν σῶμα
the territory of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender to the Romans, who brought their engines up to the part of the wall where he was in command. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

50. Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus, took the field against him, not venturing, however, to offer battle. But Marcellus, happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger. Suddenly, a large body of Africans appeared and attacked him on all sides. Those Romans who were in the rear at once took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but ridiculed him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with dis-
51. Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἑπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγίδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι πόλλον συντροφίας περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίου ἐπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιά Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχετο, καὶ οἱ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. ἀρτι δὲ εἰλήφθη Κριστίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἀπαντᾶς ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγίδος Αννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἦν μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίη τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασόμενα ποιῆσειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑποδέξασθαι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσίόντος τοῦ Αννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὐς Ῥωμαϊκοὶ ὑπὸ πλοίως ἐσκεύασαν, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἐκέρδοσαν ὅσοι Μαρκέλλος προσίόντος ἑπιμέναν ἐς ἀνέμευστες, ἔσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἔμελλον, αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος ἑπίκαιρον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑπιμέναν ἐκτείνοντα πρὸς τὰς κατετίτρωσκεν, καὶ δευτέρας ἑς τῆς πόλεως, ἔσσαν ὅ τ᾽ ᾿Αννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεῖσθαι ἀπεχώρει.

52. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ᾿Ασδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς ᾿Αννίβου, τὴν στρατιάν ἴς ἐξενάγησεν εν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διεβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἀλπεια ὁρη, ὡδοποιημένα πρότερον ὑπὸ ᾿Αννίβου, διώδειεν δύο μησίν, ὃσα τέως ᾿Αννίβας ἐξ διήλθεν. ἐσέβαλε
tinguished honours, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp.

51. Being angry with the Salapians, Hannibal sent a Roman deserter to them with a letter stamped with the signet ring of Marcellus, before the latter’s death had become generally known, saying that the army of Marcellus was following behind and that Marcellus gave orders that the gates should be opened to receive them. But the citizens had received letters a little before from Crispinus, who had sent word to all the surrounding towns that Hannibal had got possession of Marcellus’ ring. So they sent Hannibal’s messenger back in order that he might not by remaining there learn what was going on, and promised to do as they had been ordered. Then they armed themselves and having taken their station on the walls awaited the stratagem. When Hannibal came with his Numidians, whom he had armed with Roman weapons, they drew up the portcullis as though they were gladly welcoming Marcellus; but after they had admitted as many as they thought they could easily master, they dropped the portcullis and slew all those who had gained entrance. Upon those who were still standing around outside the walls they hurled missiles from above and covered them with wounds. Hannibal, having failed in his second attempt against the city, now withdrew.

52. In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal
τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἀγων πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ῥπτέας δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἑλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπέμπε, δηλών ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλόντων, οἱ ὑπάτοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ’ οὔτω μάχεσθαι κεκρικὼς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεὶν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξας περὶ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὔπορον ἠλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερριμένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας, ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἁμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις συντασσομένους ἐτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους ἐλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπῆλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἄν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάνναις τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ κι καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γενόμενον· στρατηγοί γὰρ οἱ ἐκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐτῶτα μάλιστα ἐπ᾽ ἰσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμαλώτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε κάκεινοις συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαισὺλος ἐκράτουν ἐκάτεροι. οὕτω παραλλαξὶ ἡ πόλις εὐτυχιῶν καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειράτο. Κελτιβήρων δ᾽ ὅσοι διέφυγον ἔκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ’ ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.
six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and fifteen elephants, and sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans, and the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learning the number of his forces, combined their own troops in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but was anxious to join his brother. So he retreated, broke camp at nightfall, and wandered among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, until at daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

53. It seems to me that God gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was in a way parallel to it. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and an approximately equal number of men. In both cases the number of prisoners taken was large, and each side also captured the other’s camp and a vast quantity of war material. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.
54. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσῇ δι’ ἀπειρίαν ὁ ἄδερφος ἀιφνίδιον ἀπολογεῖται δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχουν ἐν ποιον ἀτρύτους ἔξ ὃ Ἡρωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπτωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπῶν ἔθνους ὑπάρχον ἴν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἀνεκχώρειν ὡς ἐτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφιξομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οἱ δ’ ἔπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναῦς ἐκατὸν στρατιὰν καὶ χρήματα, ὁτι δὲ λοιποὶ δ’ ἐρετικοὶ παραπέμποντος αὐτάς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνευκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακράς ναυσὶ κατέδυσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰκοσιοῦς, ἐξήκοντα δ’ ἐλαβεν. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενος τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεφεύγον ὡς Μάγνως αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐσεθαι περιορισμένου, οὐδὲν ὁ Οὐδέ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ἀπετείμποντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἀπογνωσθήσεται, αὐτῶν ἀρκετὰ, ὡς Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὔπω γεγονεῖ, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ἀποτείμποντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἀποκλίνεται, αὐτῶν πάνω πολλάς, τάς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεως μετάκισεν εἰς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευόμενος ἀπόστασιν, πολλάς τε τῶν ἄνδρῶν αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο. οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ἀπετείμποντος, ἀπογνωσθήσεται, αὐτῶν πάνω πολλάς, τάς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεως μετάκισεν εἰς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευόμενος ἀπόστασιν, πολλάς τε τῶν ἄνδρῶν αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

55. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ρώμη γίνονται μὲν ὑπατοὶ Δικίνιος τι Κρᾶσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκυπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ Ρώμη γίνονται μὲν ὑπατοὶ Δικίνιος τε Κρᾶσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκυπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ
54. Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labours of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he withdrew to the Bruttians, the only people that remained subject to him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had no rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his warships, sank twenty and captured sixty of them, while the remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred their strong towns to the plains on the ground that they were planning a revolt, and despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

55. In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Of these Crassus confronted Hannibal in Apulia,
Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννίβα περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὗ ποτὲ Καρχηδονίους οὐδ’ Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀμφὶ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Διβύην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειειν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρῆς τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὁκνοῦντας, ἧρεθα στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Διβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. ἐνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Δοκροῖς ἄφω τοῖς ἐν ᾿Ιταλία, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβος καὶ τὴν φρουράν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημμυρίῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Διβύην διέπλευσεν. Πλημμύριος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὑβρίν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Δοκροὺς ἐκλυπών, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ιερόν. καὶ τὸν τοῖς Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ιερόν. καὶ τὸν τοῖς Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν πόλεως, τὸ λεῖπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμιείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

56. Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσενίτιαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἑξ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γενομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείως ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς Ἰππεισινοῦντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτό ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην.
while Scipio advised the people that they would never rid themselves of Hannibal and the Carthaginians who harassed them in Italy, except by sending a Roman army into Africa and so bringing danger to their own doors. By persisting strenuously and persuading those who hesitated he was himself chosen general for Africa and sailed forthwith to Sicily. Having collected and drilled an army there he sailed suddenly against Locri in Italy, which was garrisoned by Hannibal, and after slaying the garrison and putting the town under the command of Pleminius, embarked for Africa. Pleminius visited upon the Locrians every kind of outrage, licentiousness, and cruelty, and ended by actually robbing the temple of Proserpina. For this the Romans put him and his companions in wrong-doing to death in prison, and gave the property they left to the Locrians to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess. All the rest of the plunder that they could find they restored to the goddess, and what they could not find they made good out of their own public treasury.

56. During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter had appeared in Rome, the decemviri who consulted the Sibyline books said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the Mother of the Gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome.

1 Probably equivalent to "portents in the sky." Jupiter was a sky-god.
CAP. ἐνεχθήναι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἥμεραν ἑορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεών, ἡ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λεγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἢ ἐφερεν αὐτὸ, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιὰ μηχανὴ σαλεύσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἐξεσθαί μίνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἐλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν, μοιχείας ἐγκλήμα ἐχούσαν ἐτὶ ἀκριτοῦ, καὶ δι' ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὐσαν, ἐπιθειάσατι τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδησασθαί τῇ μίτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἔσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχύνης καθαρεύει, Κλαυδίας ἐπικλῆσαν τὸν ἄριστου τὸ βρέτας. ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τοῦ Νασικᾶν ἐπίκλην, ἐπετόμφεσαν, νῦν μὲν ὄντα Γναίων Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὡδὲ μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίσττον ἀφικνεῖτο. 57. Ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκόν, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς. οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δὲ ἐξέβαλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρᾳ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἐνοπλὸς παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίων
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

Not long after, the news came that it had fallen, and the image of the Goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the Mother of the Gods the day on which it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that kind but had not yet been tried (being suspected of it on account of her profligate life), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibylline books to send "their best man" to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, who deprived the Carthaginians of their supremacy, was judged to be their best man, and sent. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.

57. When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to the Senate secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their goodwill. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by Hannibal's troubles in Bruttium
CAP. ἐχόντων αὐτῆν’ ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις. ἦτιατο δ’ ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ρώμην, ἀρνουμένων δ’ ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. “ἲνα δ’,” ἐφη, “μηδ’ ὑπονοήσθε,” τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἐκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀπὸ ὅπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὁμοία τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιδῶν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίους μάλιστα εὕνους ἐξελόμενους, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῇ φρούραν καταλιπών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετόκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὐκαίρων ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἐαυτῷ καὶ ὄρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθεμενος.

58. Καρχηδονίων δ’ αὐτὸν μετακαλοῦντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἔπικουρεῖν κινδυνευούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδοίκει τοῦ τοσοῦτο πολέμου πρῶτον ἐμβαλὼν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐγνώκει δ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ὁμος ἐπεσθαί, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης. τῶν δ’ ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἄλλοτρίων καταφρονῶν, ἐγνω διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλουτίσας,
the Petelians, as he had expelled them and given the town to the Bruttians. He accused the latter of sending an embassy to Rome, and when they denied it pretended to believe them, but in order, as he said, that there might be no ground even for suspicion, he delivered their principal citizens over to the Numidians, who were ordered to guard each one of them separately. He then disarmed the people, armed the slaves, and stationed them as guards over the city. He also visited the other cities and did the same in them. But in the case of Thurii he selected 3000 citizens, who were particularly friendly to the Carthaginians, and 500 others from the country, but gave the goods of the remainder as spoils to his soldiers. Leaving a strong garrison in the city he settled these 3500 people at Croton, which he judged to be well situated for his operations, and where he established his magazines and his headquarters against the other towns.

58. When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he feared that he should be charged with having caused so great a war by his original attack on the Romans in Spain. Nevertheless, he determined to obey, as necessity compelled him, and accordingly he built a large fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against his calum-
65: εὔνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπουδεῖν, 'Ασδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὑψόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ δοῦλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναντο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαξεν. τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἥκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουροὺς, σφαγή τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ύβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πᾶντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἑαλωκυίαις, ἐγίγνοντο.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὐ γεγυμνασμένους, ἔπειθε πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὐτῷ συστρατεύσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἵποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὥκνουν. ἀθροίσας οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ὡς δή τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψων, περιέστησε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἥδουντο συστρατιώτας πολλά συνευργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκότισεν ἀπαντάς, τοῦ μὴ τοιοῦτο ἀνδρὰς ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποὺς
niators in Carthage. But being ashamed to commit such a breach of faith himself, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being overcome by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter ensued, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured.

59. Hannibal himself, knowing that the Italians in his army were extremely well-drilled soldiers, sought to persuade them by lavish promises to accompany him to Africa. Those of them who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly expatriated themselves and followed him. Those who had committed no such wrong hesitated. Collecting, therefore, those who had decided to remain, as though he wished to say something to them, or to reward them for their services, or to give them some command as to the future, he surrounded them with his army unexpectedly, and directed his soldiers to choose from among them such as they would like to have for slaves. But when some had made their selections accordingly, though others were ashamed to reduce their comrades in so many engagements to servitude, Hannibal shot down all the rest of the men with darts in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men. With them he slaughtered also about 4000 horses and a
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CAP. IX

ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλήθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Διβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

60. Μετά δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, οὐδίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπὼν. οἱ δὲ Πετηλίνοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Αὐνίβας δ’ ἐπὶ Διβύης ἀνήγετο, ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτεσιν ὀμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κύνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγών, τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὡς πολεμίους ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπει εὐνοία μᾶλλον ἡ χρεία χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐπὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὡς πολεμίων.

61. Αὐνίβου δ’ ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐθνεῖσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγειν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῶν προθυμότατοι οὕτως ἐγεγένητο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ ὁπλα, εἰ τινὰ ἢν ἔτι χωρὶς ὄν Ἀννίβας ἀφήγητο. ἔστι τοῦτο μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐλευθέροις οὕσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς πρὸ διά τοῦτος καὶ στρατηγικής τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν ἔθνων ἤγερον ἕμφως τῶν ἐπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, ὅλα θεράποντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἢν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἁμαρτήματος ἐσβολῆς.

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large number of pack animals, which he was not able to transport to Africa.

60. Thereupon he embarked his army and waited for a wind, having left a few garrisons on the land. These the Petelians and other Italians attacked, slew some of them, and then ran away. Hannibal put out for Africa, having devastated Italy for sixteen successive years, and inflicted countless evils upon the inhabitants, and reduced them several times to the last extremity, and treated his own subjects and allies with contumely as enemies. For, as he had made use of them before not from any good-will but from necessity, now that they could be of no further service to him he scorned them and considered them enemies.

61. When Hannibal had departed from Italy the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except to the Bruttians, who remained most loyal to him to the end. From these they took away a considerable part of their land, and also their arms, if there were any that Hannibal had not taken. They were also forbidden to be enrolled in the military forces thereafter, as being not even free persons, but were required to attend as servants upon the consuls and praetors, when they went to govern their provinces, for the performance of official duties. Such was the end of Hannibal’s invasion of Italy.
BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS
1. Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Διβύῃ Φοίνικες ἠκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἁλώσεως 'Ιλίου, οἰκισταὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρος τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζουσι, Διδώ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἣς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρων τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ εξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἔπεγνυ, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὡς τοῖς Πυγμαλίωνοις τυραννίδα ἐφευγόν, ἄφικνεῖται πλέουσα Διβύης ένθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. εξωθούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων ἔδεοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἐφευγόν, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Διβύης ἐνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. εξωθούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων ἔδεοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἐφευγόν, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Διβύης.
I. The Phoenicians founded Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling-place as an ox-hide would encompass. The Africans laughed at the paltriness of the Phoenicians' request, and were ashamed to deny so small a favour. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the subtlety they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phoenicians, cutting the hide round and round into one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).
Χρόνῳ δ', ἐντεύθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, ναυσὶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οία Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἄδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλής θαλάσσης, ἔκδημους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσί, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ἦ τε ἀρχῇ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξιώμαχος τῇ Ελληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικήν. ἐπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ ὅσον ἡ Σικελίας ἐφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδῶ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμω καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἐς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλους στρατοὺς, οἱ μὲν ἀννίβου σφῶν ἑκατέρων ἑκατότερον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέρθουσιν ὑπὲρ εἰς ἕξης, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην Κορυνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντοσ, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφόν ἐπέτεαξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δεύτεραι τε σπουδαῖ ὅσον ἐς τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ᾽ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ, καὶ ὅσα ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλίαν
2. Later on, using this as a base and getting the upper hand of their neighbours in war, and engaging in traffic by sea, like all Phoenicians, they built the outer city round Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and a great part of the Mediterranean, carried war abroad into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that sea, and also into Spain, while they sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, each invading the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, while the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa until they deprived the Carthaginians of their hegemony, their navy and their elephants, and required them to pay an indemnity within a certain time. This second treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and decreed that it should be accursed. But they subsequently occupied a spot very near the former one with colonists of their own, because the position is a convenient one for governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what
3. Ῥήγαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Διβύῃ, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἐλύτες, καὶ στρατηγόν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ρήγλον, ὡς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἱ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἑπιότερον ἐπόρθευ. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Δακεδαμονίους στρατηγὸν ἦτον, οἰόμενοι δ' ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπουν, ὁ δ' Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνη στρατοπεδεύων ὥρᾳ καύματος περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίσπει καὶ ὑδατορία κακοπαθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ ἐσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτῶν διεύργε, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς καὶ τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξετο, ὁ δὲ συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφύσει διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίσας κεκυμνητὸς καὶ κακοπαθῶντος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικῶντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆς δὲ μὴν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὗς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἦγεν, ὁλίγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἑξωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὑπατος γεγονὼς, αἰχμαλωτος ἦν.

4. Τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἐπέμηνεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἡ ἐπανήγοραν.
Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibalic history. This book comprises the operations in Africa from the earliest period.

3. The events begin with the Sicilian war, when the Romans sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to the lack of a leader, asked the Lacedemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from heat, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighbouring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way too to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, and thinking that night would be on the side of the conquerors, drew up his forces and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself.

4. Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting, sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it
CAR. ξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτύλιος Ῥήγλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι ὶρωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς λύμην ἑτοίμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρᾳ κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν. Εαυθίππω δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἤρξε, Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεάς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἄρη Δακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Δακώνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἐδωκε τῆνδε ἐντολήν, καὶ τάδε ἤν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου ὶρωμαίων περὶ Διβύνην εὐπραγηματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας ὶρωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπεστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδηλωται. 5. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ὶρωμαίοι μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα ἤν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Δίβυνες, δ’ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνιοις ὤντες ὑπήκουοι συνεμεμαχῆκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὁσοὶ ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματα τινὰ μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἔχουσες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ ὶρωμαίοις ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ὶρωμαίοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφίκαν. ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτήρας, οἳ οἱ Δίβυνες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι ὶρωμαίοι, εἰ θέλοιες οἳ δ’ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ταῖς 408
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were not granted. Yet Regulus in private urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war with energy, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. Xanthippus’ success was the beginning of his ruin, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit of such an exploit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honour him with splendid gifts, and sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history.

5. After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. They also sent men to act as mediators. The Africans, however, refused the mediation, but said that the cities would become subject to the Romans if they would take them, but the Romans refused. Then the Carthaginians blockaded the towns with a great
πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφῃροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Διβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δὲ, ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλήστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας: τοὺς δὲ 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἐβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λαυθάνουν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολύ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αὐτοὺς διωθοῦντο, μέχρι 'Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδῶ ποινὴν ἐδοκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνήκαις ἐνεγράφη.

6. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος υπῆγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ἱβηρίας καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίως ὡς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν. καὶ τάσον τὰς σπονδὰς ἐξυπαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου. διαβάντες δὲ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἐτέρως τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἑταλίαν ἐσέβαλε: στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἙΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Τόμος τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Ῥναῖος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλου ἅμερος, λαμπρὰ ἐργα ἀποδεικνυμένης τῆς ἰσχύος πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἐπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίων Σκιπίωνος τοῦ 'Ῥωμαίων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναρέθεντος νῦν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δύσαν ἀπασιν ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἥκοι κατὰ θεον καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῆτο.
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fleets, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by famine, but were driven by want to rob the merchants who sailed by, even killing those who were Romans, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

II

6. Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by an agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty also by crossing this stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of this Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail thither, and making all believe that he was come by a divine mission and
CAP. συμβούλῳ περὶ ἅπαντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τούδε πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιπεμφθεὶσι παρεδωκεν, ἐς δὲ 'Ρώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἤξιον πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἐννίβαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίους δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

7. Τῶν δὲ πολιτευμένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἃρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῦτοι πολέμοι καὶ πορθομένης ἐτί πρὸς Ἐννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Διηνᾶς τε καὶ Κελτῶν ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλοτριαν χειρούσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαλλάξατι τῶν παρόντων οἱ δὲ φοντὸ Καρχηδονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεείς οὖν τας ἐφεδρεύειν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλομένους οὐκοι, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἐννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἐτί πρὸς Ἐννίβου ἐθελοῦτας δὲ, εἴ τινες εἴει, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν Σικελία. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελία. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐδωκαν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔθελοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἅπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.

8. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐνθόσῃς ὑπὲρ Καρχηδόνοι ὡς πολλοῦ, καὶ τινὰς ἑπτάς τε καὶ πεζοῦς, ἐς ἐπτακισκίλους μάλιστα, ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς
had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country.

7. Some of the leading men opposed this plan, saying that it was not wise to send an army into Africa just when Italy was wasted by such long wars and was still subject to the ravages of Hannibal, and while Mago was enlisting Ligurian and Celtic mercenaries for a flank attack upon her. They ought not to attack another land, they said, until they had delivered their own country from its present perils. Others thought that the Carthaginians were emboldened to attack Italy because they were not molested at home, and that if war were brought to their own doors they would recall Hannibal. So it was decided to send Scipio into Africa, but they would not allow him to levy an army in Italy while Hannibal was ravaging it. If he could procure volunteers he might take them, and he might use the forces which were then in Sicily. They authorized him to fit out ten galleys and allowed him to take crews for them, and also to refit those in Sicily. They did not, however, give him any money except what he could raise among his friends. So indifferently at first did they undertake this war, which soon became so great and glorious for them.

8. Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected about 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily,
Ἀπίανος Ῥωμαίος ἱστορία, βιβλίον ΙΧ.

Καπ. Μ. Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενεῖσιν ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἳς εὔρητο χωρὶς ὁπλῶν ἔπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ' αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράψας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιντο καλλίστοις. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προούθηκεν εἰ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὁπλῶν ἑρήμους, καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκείνους προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐκώντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἕπτους. καὶ περιηγήματι τῷ Σκιπίωνῳ τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιώτῶν, κάλλιστα ὅπλοις καὶ ὁπλῶν ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένοις, καὶ χάριν εὔθυς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐἰδότας” οἷς δὴ καὶ προθημοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.

9. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβας μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θῆραν ἐλεφάντων ἑξεπέμπουν, Μάγωνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Δυναστίνην ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπεστελλὼν ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεας ὅπτακοσίους καὶ ἐλεφαντάς ἐπτά, καὶ προσέτασον ἀντῳ μεθ' ὅσων δύναιτο ἀλλων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περιπλάσσειν ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβᾳ τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θῆρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἐκατέρων καὶ ἱππέας ἐξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἡγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομαδῶν ἔλαβε δισχίλιοι ἱππέας, καὶ ξένους.
taking as a bodyguard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to come on a certain day, provided with the best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of 300 Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people’s expense, who at once were indebted to him for this favour and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

9. When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, about 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed even then because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied about 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired
10. Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοὶ, Σύφαξ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ. Μασσαλίων δ᾽ αὐ, γένους ἄλκιμον, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσος, ὅς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὧν τί δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῶς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστη ῾Ασδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδὲνος Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἂγγελὼς τῆς θυγατέρας, καὶ παῖς τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὧν τί αὐτῷ Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὄν. ὡς δ᾽ ἦγγυσεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς ὶΒηριαν συνέθητο συμμαχήσειν ὑπὸ Καρχηδόνιος ἀντὶ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέγα ποιοῦμενοι ὡς τοῦ πρὸς ῾Ρωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ ὄντων ἐν ὶΒηρία Ὤσεροῦν τε καὶ Μασσανάσσον. Ὁ δ᾽ αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὸ τοῦ μειράκιου καὶ τῆς θυγατρᾶς, ὅβρισμένων ἄμφος ἡγεῖτο δὲ ὅμως τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδών Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανιόταν ἐς Λιβύην ἐς ὶΒηρίας ὑπὸ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποῦ ὅπῃ δύνατον ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτεῖνειν ὅπῃ δύνατον.
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mercenaries and exercised them all in a camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

10. There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in special honour by the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage and being a handsome man, of noble character, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian and Hasdrubal a Carthaginian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also pricked with love of the girl, began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and proposed to Scipio (who sailed over from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint attack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, in his turn made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. But Hasdrubal detected it, and although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to his country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. 11. 'Ο δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πάσαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἵππεας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἂν ἀργοῖς ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἥπελαύνειν ἂεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἥπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγή καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οίδε, καὶ πόνος ἔργον ἄρχεται, ποιημανών ἂεὶ, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιοῦτος ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἔξειν ἐπί θηρᾶς ἡ λεηλασίας ἐτέρων ἐθυνών· ἀπερ φότο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσσεα εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν), ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τὸν πολεμάν ἐς καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπαντῶν.

12. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἠσαν παρὰ πολὺ, μετὰ δὲ ἄμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύσωσι. Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξήρχε, καὶ ἵππως μόνον εἴχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. ὅθεν ῥᾳδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀχύρα κατακλύσαι. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβάνειν διεσκίδνη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεὶεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὁλοῖνος αὐτῶς ὑπεκρυπτεῖ τοι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῶ νυκτὸς ἡ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δὲ ποτὲ ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περί 418
11. Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power stronger by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained day and night to hurl showers of javelins, advancing and retreating and again advancing. These, in fact, are the tactics which they always employ, alternate flight and pursuit. These Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Such were the troops of whom Masinissa collected about 20,000, and kept leading them out on hunts and pillaging expeditions against other tribes, considering such things useful both in themselves and for the training which they afforded. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

12. Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous, but they marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in every toil and hardship, and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Even when he was overtaken, he often divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his
CAP. τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδεύοντων. οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐστρατήγησε λανθάνειν ὅτι οτε εἴη. οὐκ δὲν εἶχον αὐτῶν συνεχῶς προεπιειρεῖν οἱ τολέμιοι, ἀλλ' ἠμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορά δ' ἢν αὐτῷ καθ' ἐκάστην ἤμέραν, ὅποι ποτε ἔη, τι περὶ ἔσπεραν καταλαβόντα καὶ διαρπάζοντα καὶ μεριζομένοι τοὺς συνούσιους. οὐκ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ' ὡφελείας πολὺ πλεῖονας ἔχοντες.

III

3. Καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπὴ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διδυμίων, καὶ ἐς Διβύην ἀνήγεσθαι ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίων δὲ τετρακοσίων κέλητες καὶ Λέμβου πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῶ, καὶ στρατιὰν ἠκέντων ἤγεσε μὲν ἕξακισχιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ Βέλη καὶ ὁπλα καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλῆν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνως δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ υπ' ἀλλ' οὖν τυκταῖς καὶ στρατιαῖς, ἤκει, πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηχείματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνως δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενος ἐγνώσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλ' ἀλλήλων ἤκει, πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηχείματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνως δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενος ἐγνώσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλ' ἀλλήλων ἤκει, πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηχείματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν.
enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place, but his generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better.

III

13. In this way Masinissa was making war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, set sail for Africa with fifty-two warships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. Thus Scipio was sailing to Africa, but when the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should overcome Scipio. Masinissa, however, was not deceived by this scheme, and in order to dupe them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa
καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἢν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἐκ τῶν τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἔδιδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔς τι χωρίον ἄπτο τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεύσαι. ᾿Αννων οὖν ἥμερα τὸν ἵππαρχον Ἔνεπει τὸν ἰππαρχον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐλόμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος ἐπετείω ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσεως. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Διβύων γενομένων, ἢ τε πλείων...
THE PUNIC WARS

encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was encamped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of about 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

14. Now Syphax, either being moved by fear, or being faithless to all parties in turn, pretended that his country was harassed by the neighbouring barbarians, and set out for home. Scipio sent out some detachments to feel the enemy, and at the same time several towns surrendered themselves to him. Then Masinissa came to Scipio's camp secretly by night, and, after mutual greeting, advised him to place not more than 5000 men in ambush on the following day, about thirty stades from Utica, near a tower built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. At daybreak he persuaded Hasdrubal to send Hanno, his master of horse, to reconnoitre the numbers of the enemy and throw himself into Utica, lest the inhabitants, taking advantage of the proximity of the enemy, should start a revolution, and promised to follow himself if ordered to do so. Hanno set out accordingly with 1000 picked Carthaginian horse and a number of Africans. Masinissa followed with his Numidians. When they came to the tower and Hanno passed on with a small force to Utica, a part of the men in ambush showed themselves, and Masinissa advised the officer who was left in command of the Carthaginian cavalry to attack them as being a small force. He followed at a short distance, as if to support the movement. Then the rest of the men in ambush showed themselves and sur-
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

III. ἑνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, όι ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεί τούτῳ ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπῄντα τῷ Ἀννωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς φίλος ἔπανιόντι, καὶ συλλαβῶν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν ὁ Σκιπίων τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

15. Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἐσκαπτόν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ῥιβηρίας ή Σικελίας ή ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννώβου. πολυορκοῦσι δ’ αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἡ ὀνόμα ἡν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκκεκουντὸ ἐκλέψαν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σπουδοῦντο, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸν Λοχαῖον ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνέχαστον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχάντας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὖθις ἐλεηλάτει. ὁ Ασδρούβας δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐνίδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἱππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπίσθεν ὑπείμην. οἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι καὶ τείχασι καὶ κλείσαντος ἐκόλασε θανάτω. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὖθις ἐλεηλάτει. ὁ Ασδρούβας δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐνίδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἱππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπίσων. οἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ὡς ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐπιστραφεῖς πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Διβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατηράξαν.
rounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa together shot at them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened to meet Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio’s camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who was in Hasdrubal’s hands.

15. Scipio and Masinissa ravaged the country and released the Roman prisoners who were digging in the fields, having been sent thither by Hannibal from Spain, from Sicily, and from Italy itself. They also besieged a large town called Locha, where they suffered great hardships. But as they were putting up the scaling ladders, the Lochaeans offered to leave the city under a truce. Thereupon Scipio sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, angry at what they had suffered in the siege, refused to obey. They scaled the walls and slaughtered both women and children indiscriminately Scipio dismissed the survivors in safety; he then deprived the army of its booty and compelled the officers who had disobeyed orders to cast lots publicly, and punished three of them, upon whom the lot had fallen, with death. Having done these things he began ravaging the country again. Hasdrubal sought to draw him into ambush by sending Mago, his master of horse, to attack him in front, while he fell upon his rear. Scipio and Masinissa being surrounded in this way divided their forces into two parts, turning in opposite directions against the enemy, by which means they slew 5000 of the Africans, took 1800 prisoners, and drove the remainder against the rocks.
16. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐνθύς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐποῖσθε προσέβαλεν

17. Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυρανόμενος ἤκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ ᾿Ασδρούβου. ἔτι δ᾽ ὑποκρινόμενοι εἶναι φίλος ἔκατερος, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς μέχρι νῆς τε ἐτεραι ναυτηγοῦμενα πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιτο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Ἰβηρίων καὶ Δινών ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διατάν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μήτε Ῥωμαίους Ἴταλίας μήτε Καρχηδονίων Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νῆσους ἑξοῦσιν, καὶ Ἰβηρίων. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀπειθη, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἐφη συμμαχήσει. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπείρα μεταβέβαιωσε πρὸς αὐτόν, τὴν τε Μασσυλίων ἄρχην αὐτῷ βεβαιώσειν ὑπισχυόμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων

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16. Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, the ships being badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, battered the wall with rams whenever he could get up to it, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slip-knots, and deadened the force of the rams by dropping beams upon them crosswise. They also made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it.

17. Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians, were ready, and certain Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he endeavoured to arrange a settlement. His claim was that the Romans should not set foot in Africa under arms, nor the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the one which agreed. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians, and to give him in marriage which-
CAP. τριῶν ούσων δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν ἂν ἐθέλη. ἔφερε δ’ ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοθῇ τῶν θεραπευτήρων αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχυομένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἐδώκε τινι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἠλεγξεν.

18. Σύφαξ δ’ οὐ προσδοκῶν ἐτί λήσειν, φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ρωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σίτου πολύν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἴλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἕκτεινειν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἀλλήν πολλήν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἰδῆ, καὶ νῆς εὔτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὡστε ἐγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὀρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἀπαντα ὀμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαρκήσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ρωμαίοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

IV

19. Ὁν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενοι μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἐδεισε, καὶ ἦπορεί μὴ ἐς πολλά αὐτῷ διαίρομενος ὁ στρατός ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἠγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἀπαντῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ σύν-

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never of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver.

18. Then Syphax, finding that he could not deceive anybody, joined the Carthaginians openly. He captured, by means of treachery, an inland town named Tholon, where the Romans had a large store of war materials and food, and slew the garrison, who had refused to depart under a truce. He also sent for another large reinforcement of Numidians. And now, as the mercenaries had arrived and the ships were in readiness, they decided to fight, Syphax attacking those besieging Utica, and Hasdrubal the camp of Scipio, while the ships should bear down upon the ships; all these things were to be done the next day and at the same time in order that the Romans, owing to the smallness of their force, might be unable to withstand them.

19. Masinissa learned of these plans during the night from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should everywhere be too weak. He therefore forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself,
νοῦς γενόμενος εἶπε· "τόλμης καὶ ταχυτήτος ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης εξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσω-μεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὃσα δ' ἐν τῶ δὲ πλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλυγωτέρων προεπιχειροῦντων· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένη τῇ στρατιαῖς χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἀθρόᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπίξομεν αὐτῇ ἀπαισί τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄλλ' οίς ἄν ἐπιλεξόμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύονσι δ' ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἑκατον, καὶ ἐνεμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰσόμαχοι, τόλμη δὲ καὶ εὐτυχία προίχομεν. καὶ ἂν ὁ θεὸς δῷ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατήσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οίς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἢςτι πρώτων, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἥ τρόπος ἢςται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἡν ἀρέσκη, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ." 20. Συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, "ὁ μὲν καιρός," εἶπεν, "εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἢςτι οὐσίς, ὁτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἢςτι φοβε-ρώτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν νυκτὶς. φθάσωμεν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τρὶῶν δ' αὐτοῖς οὕτως στρατοπέδων, ἂν μὲν νής εἰςιν πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἢςτι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτων Ἀσδρούβας μὲν ἢςτι τὸ τὸν πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσει τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος ἄνηρ καὶ τρυφής γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ
he said: “Daring and swiftness, friends, are what we need, and to fight animated by despair. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing—that those who are inferior in numbers should be the aggressors—will terrify them. Further, we shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together, and we shall not bring it to bear on all of our enemies at once, but on those we choose to attack first. They are in separate camps, and we are their equals in strength when we take them in detail, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you my opinion.”

20. As they all agreed, he continued: “The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, when the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none of their allies will be able to give them aid in the darkness. Thus alone we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not possible to attack ships by night. But Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Of these, Hasdrubal is the very head and front of the war, while Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, a mass of effeminacy and cowardice. Come, then, let us ourselves attack Hasdrubal with all our force,
παντὸς ἵωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Ἐπικρατήσας τὸν Σύφακι, ἦν ἅρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἔξι τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρουβοῦ, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θρασυτάτῃ· τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιτέας (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης) προπέμψιν παρὰ δοξάν νυκτὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθήσημεν, ὑποδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φιλίους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ᾽ ἐπικρατοῦμεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχροφύντοντο.

21. Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπών, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὀπλίσαι τὸν στρατὸν, αὐτός ἐθύετο Τόλμη καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ώς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικὸν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὀφθήναι. τρίτης δὲ ήδη φυλακῆς ἠρέμα τῇ σάλτω, μετὰ "σιγῆς βαθύτατης στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐξέσωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπωσαν. οἱ δὲ εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ οἱ Λίβυες μετ’ ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὑπνοῦ, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουον, ὃ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γεγυμομένων εἰδότος. ἀναπη.
entrusting to Masinissa here the task of watching Syphax, in case, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are of no use in the night, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

21. Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and himself offered sacrifice to Courage and Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and all that great army moved in profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with confused shouts mingled with the blast of all the trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, caught up their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know
δῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ ὁπλιξομένους ἔτει καὶ ταρασσομένους, καὶ σκηνὰς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνήρουν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἦν ἤ τε βοὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὁψί καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερῶτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσία τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοι τε εἰλήφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἐκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦσι, ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπη τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἵππεας, οἵ κύκλῳ περιεστήκεσαν, ἐμπύπτοντες ἀπέθυνον.

22. Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἐτί, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθομένου καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἵππεων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβα, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω πολὺ ἄνθρωπος φόνον. ἀμα δ᾽ ἦμερα μαθὼν ο ἡμέρα Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἡδὶ φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δὲ εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὕτη παρασκευὴ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεζεύγνυε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπών, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανίοντα ἐπιστήσεται. ὅθεν καὶ τούδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἴλε Μασσανάσσης.

23. Καὶ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τόλμης μᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐκατόν ἄνδρας, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγων δεόντες τρισμύριοι καὶ αἴχμαλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ
exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The Africans were terrified by the cries of the enemy, by their appearance and by their actions, especially in the midst of darkness and uncertainty as to the nature of the disaster. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they hurried helter-skelter, in any direction at random, ran into the Roman horse, which had been placed round them, and were cut down.

22. While it was still night, Syphax, hearing the noise and seeing the fire, did not leave his quarters, but sent to the assistance of Hasdrubal a detachment of horse, who were suddenly attacked by Masinissa, with severe loss. But at daybreak, learning that Hasdrubal had fled and that his forces were destroyed, or taken prisoners, or dispersed, and that his camp and stores had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he fled precipitately to the interior, leaving everything behind, thinking that Scipio would return immediately from the pursuit of the Carthaginians and fall upon him. Masinissa therefore captured his camp and stores also.

23. Thus by one act of daring and in a little part of a night, did the Romans demolish two camps and two armies much greater than their own. The Romans lost about 100 men killed, the enemy a little less than 30,000, besides 2400 prisoners. Moreover, 600 horse surrendered themselves to
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. ἱππέων ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανιόντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρητοι, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὁπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ δια μιᾶς τῆς νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων κατάβαλὼν ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε πιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ιταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Δυναστίων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

24. Καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἢν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ᾽ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένοις, ἐς Ἀνδαίν κατέφυγεν, ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει: πυθόμενος δ᾽ ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἀννωνα τὸν βευμίλχαρος εἴλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἱδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλήζετο ἐς τὰς τροφὰς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὐς εἴχεν, ἀμφὶ τρισχιλίων ἵππεως, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχὼν. ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ρωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολύ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δὲ ἐπῆγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὄπλισμένου, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξιόντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἐκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναυστάθμον ἄνηγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτοῦ τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα,
Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the whole power of Carthage by this one splendid victory, distributed prizes of valour to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria.

24. While Scipio was thus engaged, Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who had been wounded in the night engagement, fled with 500 horse to the town of Anda, where he collected some mercenaries and Numidians who had escaped from the battle, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would enlist. Learning that the Carthaginians had decreed the penalty of death against him for his bad generalship, and had chosen Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, as commander, he made this an army of his own, recruited a number of malefactors, robbed the country for provisions, and drilled his men, about 3000 horse and 8000 foot, resting his hopes solely on fighting. His doings were for a long time unknown to both the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio led his troops in arms against Carthage itself and haughtily offered battle, but nobody responded. Meanwhile Hamilcar, the admiral, hastened with 100 ships to attack Scipio's naval station, hoping to forestall his return, and thinking that he could easily
καὶ τὰς οὕσας ἐκεῖ Ἡρωμαῖοι εἴκοσι τριήρεις ῥαδίως ταῖς ἐκατὸν αἱρήσειν.

25. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προὔπεμπτε τινας τὸν ἐσπλούν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι στρογγύλους πλοίοις ἐπὶ ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοία τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαι τε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ἕκαταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἡ ἡ πόλεως τοῦ πόλιος. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπό τὲ τὰ πλοίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύσαν καὶ καμοῦσαι περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀποσύσας δὲ αὐταῖς Ἡρωμαίοις ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαν τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ἤπειρον ὁ πόλεως, μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἄνδραι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰς δαψιλής, Ἰτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοι λιμώττοντες ἐλήστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ἡρωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι, πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίῳν, ἐφώρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς λῃστρικὰς ἐκώλυν. οἱ δὲ ἐκαμνὸν ἡ ἄνδρα ἐξερχόμενα τῷ λιμῷ.

26. Τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὁντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ἤτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ.
THE PUNIC WARS

destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his hundred.

25. Scipio, seeing him sail away, sent men forward to block up the entrance to the harbour with ships of burthen anchored at intervals so that the galleys could dart out, as through gates, at the right time. These ships were bound together by their yard arms and fastened to each other so as to form a wall. Scipio on his arrival, finding the work in progress, helped to complete it. When the Carthaginians made their attack their ships were battered by missiles from the Roman ships, from the shore, and from the walls, and they withdrew at evening discomfited. As they were retreating, the Romans pressed upon them, darting out through the open spaces, and when they were overpowered withdrawing again, and even took one ship in tow without any men and brought it to Scipio. After this both combatants went into winter quarters. The Romans received plentiful supplies by sea, but the Uticans and Carthaginians, being pinched with hunger, began to plunder merchantmen, until new galleys, sent to Scipio from Rome, blockaded the enemy and stopped the privateers, after which they were severely oppressed by hunger.

26. This same winter, Syphax being near them, Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman
CAP. τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἢγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορωμένος περὶ τινὶ ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μᾶχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἐκατέρωθεν, ὡστερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρόα ἡφίεσαν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπηγγεῖσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδὼν, ἔτο ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ ὅργης ὁ δὲ ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἀμφῶν γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἐνθα ἡ ἀυτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν, οὐκ ἀπεσείσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτὸν τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἐτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν νιῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπεμπε Σκιπίωνοι, ἀπέθανον ὅ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαιῶν δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τριακόσιοι καὶ αἰχμάλωτος Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τού ἡ σαν Μασσανῖοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ γένους παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο Μασσανίοις καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπῆσεν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιούμενοι τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρέφομενοι. ἀφίκοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασιλεία τοῦ Σύφακος παραδίδοντες, ἱδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἐτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικός, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγοῦμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν
army as a reinforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Laelius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he was sighted near a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. Masinissa encountered him with joy. The battle raged fiercely around the two, and Syphax’s men turned in flight and began to cross the river. Here someone wounded Syphax’s own horse, which threw its rider, and Masinissa, running up, captured Syphax himself and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax’s men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa’s 300. Four thousand of Syphax’s men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These therefore Masinissa asked Laelius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

27. After this they entered the country of the Massylians and the territory of Syphax, bringing the one again under Masinissa’s rule, and winning over the other by persuasion, or, where persuasion failed, by force. Ambassadors also came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly.
CAP. μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης·
καὶ αὐτὴν, ἐπανιῶν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτὸς, ἐν
Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορῶμεν ἀρα τὸ μέλλον.
Σκιπίων δὲ ἦρετο Σύφακα. "τις σε δαίμων
ἐβλαψε, φίλου ὑπάκεισαι, ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν
προτρέψαντα, ὑπάρχοντα, μὲν θεοὺς ὑπὸ ὄμοσας,
ὑπάρχοντα, δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ
μετὰ Καρχηδονίων αὐτὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔλεσθαὶ πολε-
μεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους ὑπὸ πρὸ τολλοῦ σοι
βεβοηθηκότων;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε, "Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρ-
ούβα θυγάτηρ, ἣς ἔγὼ ἥρων ἐπὶ ἐμῷ γὰρ
φιλό-
πατρις ὑπὲρ ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ ἰκανῆ ἄπαντα τῶν
πείσαι πρὸς ἀ βούλουσαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς
ὑμετέρας ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα,
καὶ ἐστὶν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα,
καὶ ἐς τὸ δὲ συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆς εὐδαιμονίας
κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον
γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε
ὑμῶν εἶναι ἑαυτῆς συνετὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον,
καὶ ἐτὶ συμβουλῆς ἐκ τοσῆς εὐδαιμονίας
κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον
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καὶ ἐτὶ συμβουλῆς ἐκ τοσῆς εὐδαιμονίας
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κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον
γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε
ὑμῶν εἶναι ἑαυτῆς συνετὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον,
καὶ ἐτὶ συμβουλῆς ἐκ τοσῆς εὐδαιμονίας
κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον
γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε
ὑμῶν εἶναι ἑαυτῆς συνετὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον,
καὶ ἐτὶ συμβουλῆς ἐκ τοσῆς εὐδαιμονίας
κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον
γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε
ὑμῶν εἶ

and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing apparently what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: "What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to break your faith to the gods by whom you swore and to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?" Syphax replied: "Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country, and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for now, being on your side and rid of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware of Sophonisba lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she attached to her own country."

28. So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and was acquainted with the country, and took counsel with him as Cyrus did with Croesus, king of Lydia. Laelius having returned and told him that he had heard the same about Sophonisba from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter remonstrated and related what had happened in the past with regard to her, Scipio
CAP. τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἥ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίᾳ τῶν 'Po parcav λαφύρων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. φχετο σὺν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαῖων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προὐθηκεν, ἢ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δούλευεν ἐκοῦσαν. οὐδὲν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἱππόν. ἤ δὲ τῇ τροφῇ ἐδέξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἥκουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι τγυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ᾽ ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περισώσεσαι ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

29. ᾿Ασδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἐπεμπέ τινα πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν ᾿Αννωνα κοινωνήσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ υποδεικνύσαι ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίων τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν ᾿Αννωνα κοινωνήσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνύσαι ὅτι πολλοί Σκιπίων σύνεισιν ὕποκομοι, ὃς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ υποσχέσεσι διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἐφη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν ᾿Ασδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀναστῆσας, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐγχειρήματος ὑπὸ ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρα πιστοῦ μετὰ χρυσίῳ, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος

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ordered him more sharply not to try to possess himself by force of any of the Roman spoils of victory, but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and brought her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he rode away. She shewed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her, since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa shewed her dead body to those of the Romans who had now come up, and then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, saying, to console him, that he was well quit of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax, and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died.

29. When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he Plot to send word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, burn proposing to share the command with him, and Scipio's camp intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he himself would lend a hand if he were informed of the time before. Hanno, although he intended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp,
στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς πιθανὸς ὃν ἐντυχεὶν ἐκάστῳ διέφειρε πολλοὺς, ἡμέραν τε συνιθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Ἁννων τῷ Ἀδρούβα μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ κἂν-δυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησκόμενοι, καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἀπαντὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπὶ ποὺ τί λάβρον ἡμέρας τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ Ἀππίαν τῷ Αβδοῦβᾳ, κατέπαυεν. καὶ τὸν Αὐτὸν ἐπανῆλθεν. ἀνθίζοντα τῷ πολλῷ ἡμέρας τῇ πόλις ὑλαρνησάτο, καὶ ποὺ ἐπέμψας αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. ἀνθίζοντα. 30. ἐπιτέως δὲ Ὁ Ἡμέρας τῷ Πομπήλῳ θεραπείαν ἔδωκεν. ὑπονοήσας τι πολλάς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἦν τὸν ἱερὰ τὸν ἱερὰς ἐμπρησκόμενον ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἔβαρυθυμεν καὶ μεταστροφοπεδεύσατε διεγνώκει, ἐφ᾽ όπι ποὺ ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ πᾶν ἐμαθε, καὶ ἐμὴν τῷ δέ διεστό, ἄν γὰρ τὸν Σκιπίων ὑλαρνησάτο, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔγερρυσέν πρὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. οὔθεν ἔσατο τῷ μὲν δὲ μεγαλὸν ἐκείνον φαίνετο, καὶ οὗτος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκείμενον, ὁ Ἀδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν τῇ θεραπείας τῷ πολλῷ, ὡς ὑποτείκετο συμβαίνει καὶ ἀνεχθεῖ. καὶ ἀντὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ κατέπεμψεν πρὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. οὐκ ἦν τῷ μὲν δὲ μεγαλὸν ἐκείνον, καὶ κατέπεμψεν πρὸ τοῦ νεκρῶν, εἰκάσετο τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ ἀνεχθεῖ. καὶ ἀντὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ κατέπεμψεν πρὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. οὐκ ἦν τῷ μὲν δὲ μεγαλὸν ἐκείνον, καὶ κατέπεμψεν πρὸ τοῦ νεκρῶν, εἰκάσετο τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ ἀνεχθεῖ.
who, insinuating himself in a seductive manner, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. Meantime, while Scipio was sacrificing, the victims revealed to him that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any blazing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

30. At this juncture a Spanish servant of one of the Roman knights, suspecting something of the conspiracy, pretended to be one of the accomplices and in this way learned all about it, and told his master. The latter brought him to Scipio, and he convicted the whole crowd. Scipio put them all to death and cast their bodies out of the camp. Knowledge of this coming quickly to Hanno, who was not far off, he did not come to the rendezvous, but Hasdrubal, who remained in ignorance, did. But when he saw the multitude of corpses he guessed what had happened and withdrew. And Hanno slandered him and told everybody that he had come to surrender himself to Scipio, but that the latter would not receive him. Thus Hasdrubal was made more hateful to the Carthaginians than ever. About this time Hamilcar made a sudden dash on the Roman fleet and took one galley and six ships of burthen, and Hanno made an attack upon those who were besieging Utica, but was beaten off. As the siege had lasted a long time without result, Scipio raised it and moved his engines against the town of Hippo. As he accomplished nothing there
ὡς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ληξόμενος.

VI

31. Καρχηδόνιοι δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἴροῦνται στρατηγῶν αὐτοκράτορα Ἄννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἐπεμπτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπιστέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἀμα δὲ ταύτ᾽ ἐπρασσοῦν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοις πάντως ἄν ἐνός τυχεῖν, ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξειν, ἡ χρόνον διατρίψειν ἐως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἄννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν ὄντες ἀνοχὰς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην' οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευοι, καὶ τειχῶν ἔκτος ἑστάθμευον ἐς τὰ τυχεῖν, καὶ συγγνώμης συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τὸν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὅσακις συνθοίντο καὶ παραβαίειν, ὡσα το Ἄννίβας δράσεις δεινὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις συμμάχους ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ' οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυον ἔσεσθαι, τῆς ᾿Ιταλίας τοσοῦτο πολέμωσιν ἐκτετρυχωμένης, τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδεῖν ἐπεξήγησαν, ἐπιπλευσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἄννίβου τε ἐς Ῥωμαίας καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄνων ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

32. Ὁ Ἐφ' οίς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλή συμβούλους ἐπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὄν ἐμελλε κρινεῖν τε
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either he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others.

VI

31. The Carthaginians, depressed by their ill success, chose Hannibal general with absolute powers, and sent their admiral with ships to hasten his coming. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Scipio to negotiate for peace, thinking to gain one of two things, either peace or a delay until Hannibal should arrive. Scipio consented to an armistice, and having thus gained sufficient supplies for his army allowed them to send ambassadors to Rome. They did so, but the ambassadors were received there as enemies and required to lodge outside the walls. When the Senate gave them audience they asked pardon. Some of the senators adverted to the faithlessness of the Carthaginians, and told how often they had made treaties and broken them, and what injuries Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans and their allies in Spain and Italy. Others represented that the Carthaginians were not more in need of peace than themselves, Italy being exhausted by so many wars; and they showed how dangerous the future was, since Hannibal from Italy, Mago from Liguria, and Hanno from Carthage would instantly move against Scipio with large armies.

32. The Senate therefore could not decide what to do, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he
καὶ πράξειν ὃ τι δοκιμάσεις εἰς νόσος εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον λιγολατος αὐτὸν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τοῖς αὐτοῖς τάλαντα καὶ ἑκκάσια ἐσενέκειν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἐχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην Μασσυλίους τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὁρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὥμνυεν. Μασσανάσση δὲ Ῥωμαίοις χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγῖδα χρυσῆν ἐπέμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

33. Γεγομένων δ᾽ ἐτι τούτων ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἀκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχύεργιαν ύφορόμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ᾽ ἐτι τὰς σπονδάς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιτο, ἐν εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους ἐσομένας, ἐς Ὄδρυμητον Διβύς κατήγητο πόλιν, καὶ σίτου συνέλεγεν, ἐπὶ τε ωνην ἵππον περιέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων ᾿Αρεακίδων ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισ—χιλίων ἵππεας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἱ Σύφακος οὕτε τότε ἐγίγνοντο Μασσανάσσου, κατηκότους ὑποπτεύσας τοὺς δ᾽ ἰπποὺς διέδωκε.
should advise, and then do whatever he should deem best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty ships of war; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called "Phoenician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 1600 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans sent to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a Roman dress, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armour.

33. In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, suspecting the faithlessness of the people to their rulers, and their hastiness. Further, he did not believe that a treaty would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not long remain valid. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses, while he made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the Areacidae. He also shot down 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters, because having formerly been Syphax's men they had afterwards joined Masinissa, and he suspected them. Their horses he distributed.
τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνάμεις ἐτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υίος ἐτερος, ἐτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν υπῆγετο, τὰς δ’ ἐβιαζετο. Νάρκην δ’ ἐνηδρευσεν ὧδε. ἄγορα ἵρωμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ’ ἐδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἐπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οις εὐρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ’ ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχούσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

34. Οὕτω μὲν εάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων ἄρτι τὰς συνθῆκας πεποιημένους, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἐτι παρόντος, ὡς τῶν ἱδίων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνεστροφῶν, ἄγοραν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ’ ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτήν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παρανοοῦσης μὴ λύειν συνθῆκας ἀρτι γεγενημένας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθῆκας ἐπεμέφισαν ὡς ἁδίκως γενομένας, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἐφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἤξιον πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ’ ἤτει δίκας ὡς φίλους ἀμαρτόντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἐως ἁφίκωντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν Ἀννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδροῦβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προὔπεμπον δύο τριήρες ἐτερου δἐ Ἀσδροῦβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπείσαν, ἵρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀκραν, ὅταν ἀποστώσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις, ἐπιθέσθαι
among his own troops. Mesotylus, another chief-tain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Vermina, another son of Syphax, who still ruled the greater part of his father's dominions. He gained some of Masinissa's towns by surrender and some by force, and took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way. Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends, and when he thought the time had come to attack them, he sent in a large number of men carrying concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound, and then to set upon all they met, and hold the gates for him. In this way was Narce taken.

34. The common people of Carthage, although the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio was still there, and their own ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio's stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of the threats of their own council, who admonished them not to violate a treaty so recently made. But the people found fault with the treaty itself, saying that it had been unfairly made, and that hunger was more unpleasant than treaty-breaking. Scipio did not deem it wise to begin war after the treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends who were in the wrong. The people even attempted to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid] rescued them from the mob and escorted them with two galleys. Some others, however, persuaded Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the promontory of Apollo, to attack Scipio's envoys when
ΠΑΡ. τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἐφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐξῆλαντο τῆς νεώς ἤδη λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσούτων ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

35. Ὁν οἱ ἐν ἄστει "Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐτὶ παρῆσαν, ἐκέλευσαν ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο. Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναυάρχῳ, πυθομένῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, "οὐδὲν ὅμοιον," ἐφη, "ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπότεμπε ἀπαθείς." μαθοῦσα δ᾽ ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὁνείδιζε τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς οὐκ εὐ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένη, καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοι τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενοι, τὸν ᾿Αννίβαν ἐκάλουν ὠεθ ἧς ἔχει στρατιάς.

36. Ὁ δὲ όρῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, ᾿Ασδρούβαν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. ᾿Ασδρούβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου τὸν στρατὸν ᾿Αννίβα, καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἡς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίωις ἐθάρρη, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἰργεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐποροῦντας οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.
the escort left them. This he did, and some of them were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, but by using their oars got just in time into the harbour of their own camp and sprang from the ship when it was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners.

35. When the Romans at home learned these things they ordered the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were still there treating for peace, to depart immediately as enemies. They accordingly set sail, and were driven by a tempest to Scipio’s camp. To his admiral, who asked what he should do with them, Scipio said: “We shall not imitate Carthaginian bad faith; send them away unharmed.” When the Carthaginian Senate learned this they chided the people for the contrast between their behaviour and Scipio’s, and advised them even now to beg Scipio to adhere to the agreement and to accept reparation for the Carthaginian wrong-doing. But the people had been finding fault with the Senate itself a long time for their ill success, because it had not sufficiently foreseen what was for their advantage, and being stirred up by demagogues and excited by vain hopes, they summoned Hannibal and his army.

36. Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal accordingly had his sentence repealed, and delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he did not even then dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Scipio then blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while they were poorly supplied from the land, which was un-
ἈΠΙΑΝΩΝ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ, ΒΟΟΚ ΒΩΙ

валεπορος δια των πολεμων γενομενης. των δ' αυτων ημερων Αννιβαοι και Σκιπιώνοι επιμοναχαι γηγεται peri Ζαμαν, εν Σκιπιων επλεονετει και ταις επιουσαις ακροβολισματα ήν ες άλλη
λους, εως αισθόμενος ο Σκιπιών Αννιβαοι παροιμως τε απορομενουν και περιμενουν αγοραν φερομενην, νυκτος επέμψε Θέρμων χιλιαρχον επτο τους αγοντας αυτην. και λόφον ο Θέρμων εν στενη 
διόδῳ καταλαβων, εκτεινε των Λιβων ες πτηρα- 
κισχιλους και ηξωγηθεσε ετερους τοσουσδε, και 
την αγοραν ηκε φερον τω Σκιπιωι.

37. 'Ο δ' Αννιβαος ες εσχατον αφτυγμενον αποριας, 
και το παρον επινοων ὅπως δυναιτο διαθέσθαι, 
πρέσβεις ες Μασσανάσσην ἐπεμπεν, ὑπομνη-
ςκων τε της εν Καρχηδονι διατριβῆς και παιδεύ-
σεως, και παρακαλων ετι οι συναγαγειν ες 
συνθηκας Σκιπιωνα: τα γαρ προτερα του δήμου 
και των ανοητοτερων του δήμου άμαρτήματα 
γενέσθαι. ο δε τω ουτι τεθραμμενος τε και 
πεπαιδευμένος εν Καρχηδονι, και το αξιωμα της 
πολεως αληθεμενος τε και φιλος ουν ετι πολλως 
εκειθεν, εδειθη του Σκιπιωνος και συνηγαγε 
αυτους αυθις ες τουσδε συνθηκας οστε 
Καρχη-
δονιους τας τε ναυς και τους άνδρας, ους ἐλαβον
Ρωμαιοι αγοραν φεροντας, ἀποδουναι, και τα 
ηρπασμενα ἀπαντα, η των ἀπολωλωτων τιμην 
ην αν ὀριση Σκιπιων, ποινην τε του αδικιματος 
χηλια ταλαντα ἐσενεγκειν, τάδε μεν ήν τα συγκει-
μενα, και γενομενων ανοχων μεχρι αυτα μάθωσι 
Καρχηδονιοι, ο μεν Αννιβαος ες άελπτου περι-
εσωζετο,
sown owing to the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed about 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

37. Hannibal, being reduced to extremity for want of provisions and considering how he might arrange for the present, sent messengers to Masinissa reminding him of his early life and education at Carthage, and asking that he would persuade Scipio to renew the treaty, saying that the former infractions of it were the work of the mob, and of people more stupid than the mob. Masinissa, who had in fact been brought up and educated at Carthage, and who had a high respect for the dignity of the city, and still had many friends there, besought Scipio to comply, and brought them to an agreement again on the following terms: That the Carthaginians should surrender the men and ships which they had captured bringing provisions to the Romans, also all plunder, or the value of it, which Scipio would estimate, and pay 1000 talents as a penalty for the wrong done. These were the terms. An armistice was concluded until the Carthaginians should be made acquainted with the details; and thus Hannibal was saved in an unexpected way.
CAP. VII

38. Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλή τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δήμον ἐμμεῖναι τοὺς ἐγνωσμένους, τὴν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγομένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἄγορᾶς. οἱ δὲ, ὅπως ἄφορος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σφῶν δι' ἐαυτοὺς τὰντα ὑποτιθέμενοι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι ἡς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι νυκτὸς ἐνδείχεται, ἵνα δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶδε προσπελάσαται, κρυπτεσθάι τε τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει. οἱ δὲ, ὅπως ἦσαν τοῦτο, καὶ τὸν νέκυν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ περιέργεουσι ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεττάθη, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Αὐγώνος, καὶ τὸ τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ὑπὸ δικρίνεται καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ἀνήρητον καὶ ἀυτῶς ἀποθανόν υβρίζετο.

39. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβα λύσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρίναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὲ πέμψας ἐλυσε τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθου τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσῶν εἶλε, καὶ
38. The Carthaginian council warmly welcomed the agreement and exhorted the people to adhere to its terms, explaining all their evil plight and their immediate want of soldiers, money, and provisions. But the people, with the usual folly of a mob, thought that their generals had made this arrangement for their own private ends, so that, relying upon the Romans, they might hold the power in their own country. They said that Hannibal was doing now what had been done not long before by Hasdrubal, who had betrayed his camp to the enemy by night, and a little later wanted to surrender his own person to Scipio, having approached him for that purpose, and was now concealed in the city. Thereupon there was a great clamour and tumult, and some of them left the assembly and went in search of Hasdrubal. He had anticipated them by taking refuge in his father’s tomb, where he destroyed himself with poison. But they pulled his corpse out even from thence, cut off his head, put it on a pike, and carried it about the city. Thus was Hasdrubal first banished unjustly, next falsely slandered by Hanno, and then thus driven to his death by the Carthaginians, and thus loaded with indignities after his death.

39. Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to decide the war by a battle as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio at once attacked and took the great city of Parthus.
πλησίον Ἦννίβακω μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεξεύγυνε, τρεῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατασκόπους ἐπιπέμψα, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐλαβὲ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐκτείνειν, ὥσπερ έκ τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἦννίβα περὶ ἑκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἦξίωσεν ἐτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγεν Καρχηδονίους ἄγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνη διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθείη, Σικελίας δὲ μόνων ἀξιότεροι ἦσαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νῆσων ὅσων ἀρχοῦσι κρατεῖν, ἐσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίας. ὁ δὲ "πολύ," ἐφη, "κέρδος Ἦννίβα τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς Ἕντιτας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος." καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἐτι πρὸς αὐτὸν. διαπειλησάμενοι τε ἀλλήλοις ἀνεξεύγυνου ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

40. Πόλις δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦν Κήλλα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυῆς ἐς στρατοπεδεῖαν, ὅπερ ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἦννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἐπεμπτε τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὖθυς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἐχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ’ αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀπολήφθεις ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὄλυγον καὶ ἕθελεν ἐπινοῦν ἐπιμόχθως, ἀθεράπευτοι τε καὶ ἁσίτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς

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and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, having sent three spies into the Roman camp. Scipio captured them, and did not put them to death, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army being drilled. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter asked for a further parley with Scipio, and when it was granted said that the Carthaginians were discontented with the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. “Hannibal’s escape from Italy would be a great gain to him,” said the other, “if he could in addition obtain these terms from Scipio.” He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp.

40. The town of Cilla was in the neighbourhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, conceived the idea of seizing this hill, sent a detachment forward to mark out his camp, and at once started to march forward as though he were already in possession of it. But Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, he was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without
ἐνιοί, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὃν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἀμα ἐφ' κεκηκόσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. ἀννίβας δ' ἡχθετο μὲν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλά πεισόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. οὗθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασσεν αὐτίκα ἀνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισ-μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ογδοήκοντα. ἵστη δὲ πρότους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερῶτα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Δίγνες, τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. ἡ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

41. οὕτω μὲν ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίων δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἵππεσὶς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ρωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντα-κόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἰππεῦσι εξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ ὅτε τὰξις ἐπέταττεν όμοιος 'Αννίβα, λόχους δ' ὁρθιός ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ὡς μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ ἵππεις εὐχερῶς διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ προ-μάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οὐ δύλα παχεά δισῆχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρω-μένα, ἐμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς αὐτοὺς.
THE PUNIC WARS

removing their arms. Scipio, observing this, moved against them at dawn while they were exhausted with marching, with want of sleep, and want of water. Hannibal was troubled, since he did not wish to join battle in that plight. Yet he saw that if he should remain there his army would suffer severely from want of water, while if he should retreat he would revive the spirits of the enemy, who would press him hard and would inflict severe loss on him. For these reasons it was necessary for him to fight. He speedily put in battle array about 50,000 men and eighty elephants. He placed the elephants all along the front line at intervals, in order to strike terror into the enemy’s ranks. Next to them he placed the third part of his army, composed of Celts and Ligurians, and mixed with them everywhere Moorish and Balearic archers and slingers. Behind these was his second line, composed of Carthaginians and Africans. The third line consisted of Italians who had followed him from their own country, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, since they had the most to apprehend from defeat. The cavalry were placed on the wings. In this way Hannibal arranged his forces.

41. Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines, and placed all his cohorts lengthwise, so that the cavalry might easily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes about two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, to throw at the oncoming elephants by hand,
CAP. ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγειλτο δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιντο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετέταχον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἵππεας τοὺς μὲν Νομάδικους ἐπέστησε τοῖς κεραῖσι, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδμὴν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἑτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄρμην ὑπομείνειαν οἱ πεζοὶ. παρ᾽ ἔκαστον δὲ τῶν ἵππεων τῶν ὑπηρέτης ἣν πολλὰ ἀκόντια, φέρων, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἱππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ᾿Οκταουιῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἦστην αὐτὸς τε καὶ ᾿Αννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἑχοντες ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέτας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πολούμενον ἰδοειν, οἷς ἔστι τὴν πρώτην τῶν δεκακισχιλίων ἐκατονταυρίας, ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους ὧπλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

42. Ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐτοιμὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπιστέρχους ἐκάτερος, ὃ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὄψει τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὐς οἱ Ἀρχηγοὶ μαρτυροῦσι παρεστήθησαν ὀσάκις ἑλούν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἡ καὶ πρότερον τῶν ἔχθρῶν πλειώνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇ ἡ γῆ. εἰ δ᾽ ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικησασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβοις ἡ δεός ἡ ἀμφιβολία, πόσῳ ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζε γε64
like catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts, and to run round and continually hurl javelins at them, and to get near them and hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry; but his Numidian horse he stationed on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. And as the Italian horse were not so, he placed them in the extreme rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed, Laelius commanding the right wing, and Octavius the left, while both he and Hannibal took their stations in the centre, out of respect for each other, having a body of horse with them, in order to send reinforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had himself armed in Sicily.

42. When everything was ready each general rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the sight of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended every time they violated the treaties. He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valour, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces.
τάν τῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πάσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἔχθρων αὐτόθεν ἐστῶς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρους ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγώνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὑδίοις ὑπερεπῆρεν, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα ἀρχειν ἀπάντων ὄν ἐπεκράτουν, Σκιπίων δ’ ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ’ ἀναχώρησις ἐστὶν ἀσφαλῆς, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχῇ μεγάλῃ προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐκλεία.

43. Οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ὑδίους ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα συνήφησαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ’ ἀντηχεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατήρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερότατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων περιθέοντες δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἰππεῖς ἐσηκούτιζον ἀνθρόως, μέχρι πρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἣδη ἐχοῦτας ἀπῆγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται, καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἄμφι τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας. οἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοῦτο ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὁπλίσεως, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἐως ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς, ὅπισώ τεταγμένους καὶ
and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, and of their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over armies composed entirely of Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, from where he stood, the smallness of the enemy’s force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would for ever rule over all the vanquished. Scipio said that there was not even any safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labours, a speedy return home, and glory forever after.

43. Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal first ordered the trumpets to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. But the Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them, until being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their riders took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings; but those in the centre trampled down the Roman infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armour, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were
κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους, ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτος τε αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τυτρωσκόντων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἶδε ὑπεχώρουν.

44. Καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρὰς θηριῶν, ὁ ἄγων ἐνγίγνετο μόνων ἄνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἑναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσαθῆν ὥσσως δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ᾿Αννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν συνετάσσατο τὴν μάχην, τὸ δὲ λαῖον, ἐνθα Ρωμαίων μὲν Ῥωμαίων Οκτάουιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολέμων Κελτόι καὶ Λίγυες ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκατέρως. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τῶν χιλίαρχων ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων 'Αννίβας δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ λαῖον συνέστησε, ἐς τοὺς Δίμνας καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἀμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Διβώνων. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρῆσθη μεθ' ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἁγώνα συνιόντων, ἔρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρω λαμπρά καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τῇ ἐνέφη εὐς, σφοδρὸν καὶ ὀξεός ὥστος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

45. Μακρὰς δὲ καὶ ἄκριτον τῆς μάχης οὕσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὄρμων ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἱκόντισαν ὄρμον, Σκιπίων μὲν ᾿Αννίβας τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ' ᾿Αννίβας ἐτυχε τοῦ ἵππου.
in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run round and shoot at the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the foremost elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and inflicted wounds upon the elephants from all sides, so that these also withdrew.

44. The field being cleared of these beasts the battle was now waged by men and horses only. The Roman right wing, where Laelius commanded, put the opposing Numidians to flight, and Masinissa struck down their prince, Massathes, with a dart, but Hannibal quickly came to their rescue and restored the line of battle. But on the left wing, where Octavius commanded and the hostile Celts and Ligurians were stationed, both sides were in difficulties. Scipio sent the tribune Thermus thither with a reinforcement of picked men, but Hannibal, after rallying his left wing, flew to the assistance of the Ligurians and Celts, bringing up at the same time his second line of Carthaginians and Africans. Scipio, perceiving this, moved parallel to him with another body of troops. When the two greatest generals of the world thus met, in hand to hand fight, there was, on the part of the soldiers of each, a brilliant emulation and reverence for their commanders, and no lack of zeal on either side, the two armies fighting and cheering vehemently and keenly.

45. As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers and rushed upon each other in order by personal combat to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time, and Scipio pierced Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal hit Scipio's
καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὄπισθεν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβὰς ἐπερευνώσας ἐτέρον ἵππον αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἱππόνημον ἥκοντις. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχε καὶ ὅτε, τὸν δὲ ἱππόνημον ἢγγὺς ἐβαλεν. ἤκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσους πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὅραντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενοι, καρτέρωτερεν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐπρέπε, καὶ ἐντόκος ἐνδιώκοντας ὑπὸ παραππευόμενος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ καὶ δεομένον στήναντες καὶ τῆς μάχης αὖθις ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἐτὶ ἐπείθοντο. ὁ πολεμίους οὐν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰταλικὸς τοὺς ἤκοντες Ἰταλικοῖς, ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐτὶ καὶ ἀπεμούντας, ἤγευν ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐπεισόδημος Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἔπισας ὑπερμαχόμεναι ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφῶν συνεστώς, οὔτε ἐὰν μάχης ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντες αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν μάχην.
Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal.
ἈΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VII

Ἀννίβου συνεστῶτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ Μασσανάσσης ἡκόντισε βαλῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἐτυχεὶ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὁρμά, τὸν τε ἐπελαύνοντα οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέα βαλῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐθίς οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐπετύχατο, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππέα καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔτερον δ’ ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ’ ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδεισε περὶ τῶν Μασσανάσσης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱππόν ἐπείγετο καὶ ἦρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὐθίς ἐπὶ ἱπποφερόμενον ἐτέρου, τὸ τραύμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὁ τε ἀγών ἤ τις αὐθίς αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρπερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκατέρων, ἐως ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἰβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κάκεινος ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αὐθίς οὐ συνιέντες, τῇ δ’ ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγῆν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγώνα μεθῆκαν καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ἡρώων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ’ ὅπῃ τύχοντα ἐκατέρων. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ἑρμαιοὶ δ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἔδιωκον ἀπάκτως, οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.

47. ὁ δ’ ἐπανήθη πεφραγμένος Ἰβηρῆς καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων αὐθίς ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ἑρμαιοὺς ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
took place. These too rushed fiercely upon each other, and Masinissa drove his spear into Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal then, as before, wounded his antagonist's horse. Masinissa, being thrown, sprang towards Hannibal on foot, and struck and killed a horseman who was advancing towards him in front of the others. He received the darts of the rest in his shield—made of elephant's hide—one of which he pulled out and hurled at Hannibal, but missed him again, killing, as Scipio had done, the horseman next to him. While he was pulling out another, he was wounded in the arm, and withdrew from the fight for a brief space. When Scipio learned this, he feared for Masinissa and hastened to his relief, but he found that the latter had bound up his wound and was returning to the fight on a fresh horse. Then the battle was again doubtful and very severe, the soldiers on either side having the utmost reverence for their commanders, until Hannibal, discovering a body of Spanish and Celtic troops on a hill near by, dashed over to them to bring them into the fight. Those who were still engaged, not knowing the cause of his going, thought that he had fled. Accordingly, they abandoned the fight of their own accord, and broke into disorderly rout, not following after Hannibal, but helter skelter. This band having been dispersed, the Romans thought that the fight was over and pursued them in a disorderly way, in their turn not perceiving Hannibal's purpose.

47. Presently Hannibal returned protected by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle which considerably out-
Ἀπιάνος καταβεβηκότων ὀθεν αὐτῶν ὁ δυσχέρως περιεγίγνετο. Ἀπήβας δὲ καὶ τὴς διὰ τῆς πείρας τελευταῖας γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἐθεωρεὶ ὡς σαφῶς ἀπογνοούσαι ἀπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδιωκον ἵππεῖς ἀλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνοι ὡς τοῦ τραύματος, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμαλωτῶν Ἀπήβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νυξ ἐφεύγει, καὶ σκότος μετ' εἰκοσιτεταχτῶν ἵππων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ὡς ὅνομα Θῶν, ἐνθα Βρεττίων ἐγνώ καὶ Πιήρων ἵππεας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ήττης συμπεφευγότας. τείχος οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πιηρὸς ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυεργῶν, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοφυλῶν Σκιπίωνι, μη ἐς συγγνώμην ὡς εξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγαγόσων αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καθὼς ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἑνὸς ἵππων, ὃ πάλιν ἐπὶ σταδίους δ᾽ ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχίλιοι δύο νυξὶ τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἧκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἦδρυμητῶν, ἐνθα τι μέρος ἐν αὐτῷ στρατιάς σιτοφυλακοῦ, περιπέμπτων δ᾽ ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

VIII

48. Σκιπίων δὲ νίκην ἀριστήν νενικηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἀχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπιμπρή διαξωσάμενος αὐτὸς, ὡςπερ εἰώθασι ὅρμαιων οἱ στρατηγοὶ, χρυσίου δ᾽ ἐς Ὅρμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀργυρίου δισεκέλιτα καὶ πεντάκτοια καὶ ἐλέφαντα εἰργασ-
numbered those who had come down from the hill, so that he overcame them without difficulty. When this last effort had failed, Hannibal fled, having now manifestly abandoned all hope. Many horsemen pursued him, and among others Masinissa, although suffering from his wound, pressed him hard, striving eagerly to take him prisoner and deliver him to Scipio. But night came to his rescue and under cover of darkness, with twenty horsemen who had alone been able to keep pace with him, he took refuge in a town named Thon. Here he found many Bruttian and Spanish horsemen who had fled after the defeat. Fearing the Spaniards as impulsive barbarians, and apprehending that the Bruttians, as they were Scipio’s countrymen, might deliver him up in order to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy, he fled secretly with one horseman in whom he had full confidence. Having accomplished about 3000 stades in two nights and days, he arrived at the seaport of Hadrumetum, where a part of his army had been left to guard his supplies. Here he began to collect forces from the adjacent country and recover those who had escaped from the recent engagement, and to prepare arms and engines of war.

VIII

48. Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself for sacrifice, and burned with his own hands, as is the custom of the Roman generals, the less valuable spoils of the enemy. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory,
καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεόν ..., τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενοι τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιείλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ ἰδία τοὺς ἀριστεύσασιν ἔδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἔστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιών ἔχειροδοτο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Διβύης μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλους ἐς χεῖρας ἔθεσαν, τούτου καὶ ἰδία. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσην δ' ἐτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἰβηρες ἡπτομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

49. Οὔπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ἐξολογοῦντι ἐτι Κελτούς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἢ ἐς Διβύην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δὲ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἁλόντως καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων, στρατιῶν ἀλλήλως καὶ ἐπιποὺς καὶ ναὸς καὶ χρήματα ἐπέμπουσιν τῷ Σκιπίωνῳ. οἱ δὲ ἠδὲ ηῇ τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἄνω ἔπεμπε τὰ ὀκτάοιον, ταῖς δὲ ναοὺς αὐτὸς ἐπέπλευσε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἡδον Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνῳ, διὸ ἠγούσι τῷ Αννου τοῦ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος. οἱ δὲ κηρύκειοι ὑψηλῶν ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς περέας, καὶ τὰς χειρὰς ὁρεγοῦν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἰκετῶν πρότην. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐκέλευσέν ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν προκαθ-
and the most distinguished of the captives in ships, Laelius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valour, and crowned Masinissa again. He also visited the cities and received their submission. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa still more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa.

49. Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was still collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his mercenaries for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. He had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal’s defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the leaders were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore the herald’s staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their
Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἐρήμετος ἐδίδακεν. ὅμως ἐρήμετος ἐδίδακεν. οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ οἴμων ἔστιν ἐδίδακεν. καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελεύοντων ὁ τι θέλοιεν, ἀναβάλλων ὑπερήμετος ἐμφρόνεις, καθαρεύειν ἀμαρτημάτων διπλανών ἐπεκτάλειτε τοὺς γὰρ πρόσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὐς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρίς ἁμαρτεῖν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπεμπομεν. χρῆ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἀπάντων, οἳ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἠτέθησαν καὶ λαβόντες προδύναμις ἐμμυνον. εἰσι δ᾽ αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον εὔποιστρέπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ἄει παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραῥησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὔποιστρέπτοις ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀν καὶ ἡμέως ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ᾽ ἐπισειχίν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλονται ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν τὴν παραolulu
THE PUNIC WARS

business in high state. They threw themselves on the ground weeping, and when the attendants had lifted them up and bade them say what they wished, Hasdrubal Eriphus spoke as follows:

50. "For myself, Romans, and for Hanno here, and for all sensible Carthaginians, let me say that we are guiltless of the wrongs which you lay at our door. For when our country, driven by hunger, did violence to your legates, we rescued them and sent them back to you. You ought not either to condemn the whole people of Carthage who so recently sought peace, and when it was granted eagerly took the oath to support it. But cities are easily swayed towards the worse, because the masses are always controlled by what is pleasing to their ears. We too have suffered from this, having been unable either to persuade or to restrain the multitude by reason of those who slandered us at home and who have prevented us from speaking freely to you. Romans, do not judge us by the standard of your own discipline and good counsel. If any one esteems it a crime to have yielded to the persuasions of these rabble-rousers, consider the hunger and the necessity which suffering imposed upon us. For it could not have been a deliberate intention on the part of our people, first to ask for peace, and give such a large sum of money to obtain it, and deliver up all their ships of war except a few, and surrender the bulk of their territory, and send ambassadors to Rome to give and receive oaths, and then wantonly to violate the agreement before our embassy had returned. Surely some god was our ruin, and the tempest that drove your supplies into Carthage; and besides the tempest, hunger carried us away, for people who are
ΑΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VIII λιμός ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλωτρών φρονήσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὑντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλῆθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

51. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολόγομεν, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτώντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ’ ἀμαρτώντων παράκλησις· ἐφ’ ἦ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἐλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν αἰσθωνται διὰ τὰς αἰφωνίδους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς ἐξῆς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οὐ καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πόλις, ἢ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσί καὶ χρήμασιν ὑμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἵππικῳ, καὶ υπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθίζασα, καὶ Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νῆσσι καὶ θαλάσσῃς τοσίσοις ἀρξασα, καὶ υμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφιβολούντων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, νὰ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς υπηκόοις, δῶν πάντων υμῖν ἀφίσταται, τῆς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς υμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προτετυχόσι κακῶς. ἀ χρηθεωροῦντας υμᾶς, καὶ την ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς νέμεσιν ψυχοςομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρησθαί ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖω, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ τύχῃς ἄξια πράσσειν, τὰς τοῦ δαιμονίου μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἀναμαρτήτης διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τούς θεους ἀναμαρτήτης ἡ τὰ ἐμέτερα υμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡ ἐμέτερα πάντας.

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in want of everything do not form the best judgments respecting other people's property. A disordered mob, stricken with calamity, cannot be expected to account for its actions.

51. "But if even so you consider us guilty, not unfortunate, we confess our fault and for this very reason entreat you. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. Entreaty makes the fortunate more ready to extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were powerful enough to wrong others. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for a very long time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her elephants, her horses, her subjects, all of which she surrenders to you, but in yourselves, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which presides over them, and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may both be blameless before the gods and also win the praises of all mankind.
52. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἱ τοσόνδε μετάνοιαι καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἄγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ’ ἄναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ’ ἀμαρτοῦσι τὸ προ- παθεῖν καὶ μεταγνώναι. Βεβαιοτέρους τε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς νεονουθημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ’ ἄξιον Καρχηδόνιοι ύμᾶς ὡμότητα καὶ ἀμαρτίαι διπικαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐπέρων ἀμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἰ συμφοραί, τοῖς δὲ εἰ πράσ- σουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἔστιν. οὐδ’ εὐκλεῖς, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἡμᾶς ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ περισσωτέρως. ἔστε δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ύμεῖς τῶν ύμετέρων συμ- φερόντων κρίται, ἡμεῖς δ’ ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σω- τηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἄξιον ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ύμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἡ μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ύμὰς ἐπῆρεν ἁμαρτίας καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθῆκαις, ἂν ἀρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσοῦ ἐν τοῖς εὑρίσκετε τοὺς ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν τῆς ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους.”

53. Τοσαῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ πολυ. ὡς δ’ ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὁδ. “ἔστε μὲν σωφρόσιν συγγνωμόν ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτόντες σὺνοι φανερῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μὴτε ἔξαρνεῖσθαι.
52. "There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their prudence, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. For the misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from helplessness, while to the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. You are the better judges of your own interests, but we, with regard to our preservation, remind you of two things above all, the ancient dignity of the empire of Carthage and your own universal moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. As for the terms, if after all you grant us peace, it is superfluous for us to discuss them, since we place ourselves entirely in your hands."

53. At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: "You do not deserve any pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and now finally even abused our envoys in such a public and lawless manner that you cannot deny or dispute that you are worthy of..."
μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστε τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μηδὲ ὄνομα "Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἀν, εἰ ύμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε, ἀλλὰ ύμεῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ποθ' ὑμῖν ὄνομα ποιήσωμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ύμῶν, ἐτί ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμη, παρεσπονδυκώτων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἀμαρτότων, ἢ τε πόλις ἀπέλυσε, κἀγὼ καταχθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ἦδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέτεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρή δ' ύμᾶς καταγγυνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὃ τι ἄν λάβητε, κέρδος ἥγεισθαι. λέξω δ' ἂ μοι δοκεί, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἢ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

54. Δίδομεν ύμῖν καὶ ἐτὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, ἢν τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδῶμεν Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἑρπάσατε πρῷ ὄντας τῆς ἀπολωλοτῶν τιμῆς, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἢς Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τρίακοντα ἡμέραις ἐκ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ τὸ εἴς ἡμέρας Μάγωνα χρῆ Δυντῆς ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ύμᾶς ἔξαγαγεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσα τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσί, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὅμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάστοτες ἐτούτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοικὴ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοῦς, καὶ μήτε ἑνενεκιλοθεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Δυντῶν ἐτι, μήτε Μασσανάσση ἡ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίῳ φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τυπὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ γε τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ύμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσην ἐντὸς τῶν ἑων Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐμοὺ διαπλέοντος ἐς Διβύνην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι
the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? You take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. But we will never imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. You ought, condemning yourselves, to consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

54. "We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge in case of doubt, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions shall be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Within sixty, Mago shall evacuate Liguria, and your garrisons shall be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phoenician trenches and their hostages shall be surrendered. You shall pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboic talents a year for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You shall retain your city and as much territory inside the Phoenician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You shall remain friends of
CAP. VIII
φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἦν ἀρέσκῃ ταῦτα τῇ Βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δὲ, 'Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Διβύης πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἕκατὸν ἣμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἦν ἔθελητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς 'Ρώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἥμιν αὐτῖκα ὦμηρα πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἕκατὸν παῖδας, οὐς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀλλὰ τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν, καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὦμηρα.”

IX

CAP. IX

55. Ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μή περὶ τινῶν ἅπαθοντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἄπαντων, τὸ δ᾽ ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλεγομόνοι μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὃν ἔχουσι, τοσήμενοι οὖσαν, ἡπείθουν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τῶν σιτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ἱπποκράτειος ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἄνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἡπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ᾽ ἐγνωσαν Ἁννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἢδη πεζοὺς ἐξακισχίλιους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ᾽ ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ᾽ ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιοτῶν μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἢ ἐπιτρήψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ
Rome and be her allies on land and sea. All this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages, whomever I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages."

IX

55. When Scipio had finished speaking the envoys bore his conditions to Carthage, where the people debated them in the Assembly for several days. The chief men thought that it was best to accept the offer, and not, by refusing a part, to run the risk of losing all; but the vulgar crowd, not considering the instant peril rather than the enormous loss of property, refused compliance. They were angry that their rulers, in time of famine, should send provisions away to the Romans instead of supplying their own citizens during the armistice, and they banded together, threatening to plunder and burn the houses of every one of these men. Finally, they decided to take counsel with Hannibal, who now had 6000 infantry and 500 cavalry stationed at the town of Marthama. He came and, although moderate citizens feared lest a man so fond of war should excite the people to renewed exertions, solemnly advised them to accept peace. But the people,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. τόνδε ὑπ' ὄργης μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἥπελει, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ρωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογινότας.

56. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σίτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπορίον τι ὑπὸ ἶννίβου σεσωρεύσθαι, ὠλκάδας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεπεμπον καὶ νᾶς μακρᾶς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὁ τι ἂν ἥ τύχη κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἦ Ρωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκόντες. ἑπεὶ δὲ ἀνεμός τε καὶ χειμὼν τὰς ναῦς συνέτριψαι, ἀπογινότας ἀποτέλουν ἐμπορίον τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντο, καὶ ὑπομεῖναι τοῖς Ζκιπίων, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαν ἐς ὑώμην. καὶ ὁ Ζκιπίων ἐπέμπτε τοὺς συμβουλεύουσαν κυροῦν τὰ συνειμενα. λέγεται δὲ τούτῳ ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβών, καὶ πυθόμενος Ἰναίον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ἐπιτεύχειν πάντων καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας, τὴν δόξαν ὅπου ἐθέλων ἑτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτε βραδυνοῦν τῷ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ συνθήκαται.

57. Οἱ δὲ πάνιν μὲν ἦδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἢ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην ἔχειν ἤγεμονιαν· τοὺς κυροὺς δ' ἐστασίαζον, τοὺς μὲν ὀργῆς ἀλειστοῖς γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοτρίας συμφοραῖς τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἦδη, καὶ ἄξιοντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τῷ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διιστιδεσθαι. ὑπαναστᾶσι δὲ τις τῶν
mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves.

56. The remaining Carthaginians, hearing that a large quantity of provisions had been stored by Hannibal at a certain post, sent a number of transports and warships thither, being resolved, if they could obtain food, to march out and endure whatever fate decreed, rather than voluntarily to be slaves of the Romans. But after a storm had shattered their ships, despairing of everything, they accused the Gods of conspiring against them, assented to the agreement with Scipio, and sent an embassy to Rome. Scipio also sent men to advise the ratification of the agreement. It is said that he made this proposal both because he thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city and because he had heard that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, was waiting to succeed him in his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself.

57. There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them in the past, and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But the senators differed as to what should be done. Some were still exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians, while others now had pity on them, wishing to behave nobly themselves in the hour of another’s misfortune. One of Scipio’s
Σκιπώνος φίλων εἶπεν· "οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὡμότερα πράξωμεν, οὗ Καρχηδονίων ὡμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν ἃ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ἕστερον, ἢ πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἢ καὶ νήσων ἢρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ, ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἕργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἐτί μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τῶν τού πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τα πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνο. εἰ δὲ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐστὶ τούτῳ τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερῶτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἀρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δράσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περὶ τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακῶς ἀνθρώπως ἐπιπονώτατον, δ' πάντας ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμοῖς.
friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men—lest it be said that we, who charge the Carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and while always exercising moderation in small matters neglect it in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot even escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, a city which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were combative it was necessary to contend against them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as most wild beasts spare fallen bodies. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the Gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, it is in itself the most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were fighting gloriously for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions they blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a thing capable of depriving man of all his rational faculties."
58. 'Εγὼ δ’ οὖν ἔρω μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων
(οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον), οὐδ’ ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦς
ἀλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τοῦδε παραβῆναι. δ’ ἐπὶ
tοὺς ποιοῦτοις ποιοῦντες οἱ ἄτερες ἦμων ἐς τόδε
tύχης προῆλθον, εἰδότας ἦμᾶς ἀναμνήσασω. τῶν
gὰρ γειτόνων ήμῖν τεύνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ
πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπουδᾶς συνεχῶς
λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ
Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τοὺς τε αὐτ’ ἐκείνους
περιοικοῦντας ήμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους
καὶ Καμπανούς, καὶ Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ
tῆς ᾿Ιταλίας ἐς σπονδάς ὑβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον.
καὶ τὸ ᾿Ιταλικὸν γένος τρὶς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθήκων
καταφροῦσαν, ἔτεσι δ’ ὑγιοίκοντα μεγίστους
ήμιν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ
τους ἄλλους ὡς Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ
tῆς ᾿Ιταλίας. οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἔναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς
᾿Ιταλῶν ᾿Αννίβα προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν,
οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οὐ μέχρι τέλους αὐτὸ συνηγωνί-
σαντο, ἀλλὰ γῆ μόνη ξημώσαντες ἐλάκασαν ἔχειν
τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβεῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν
ήμιν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη
μᾶλλον ἣ νοουθετεῖν.

59. Τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλά-
ξωμεν τὴν φύσιν, ή χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦ-
μεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὐτή; δ’ αὐτὸ
μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπὶ φειδοῦς ἄξια. ἀλλ’
ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ἠμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ
ἐπερον, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντες. ἀλλ’ ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν
ὐφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὡν νηές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς
58. "I will say nothing in defence of the Carthaginians; they do not deserve it. Nor do I forget that they violated other treaties before those which are now under review. But what our fathers did in like circumstances (by which means they arrived at this summit of fortune) I will recall to your minds, though you know it already. Although all the neighbouring peoples round about us often revolted and were continually breaking treaties, our ancestors did not disdain them, neither the Latins, nor the Etruscans, nor the Sabines. Afterwards, when the Aequi, the Volsci, the Campanians, also our neighbours, and various other peoples of Italy, committed breaches of their treaties, our fathers met them calmly. Moreover, the Samnite race, after betraying friendship and agreements three times and waging the most desperate wars against us for eighty years, were not destroyed, nor were those others who called Pyrrhus into Italy. Nor did we destroy those Italians who lately joined forces with Hannibal, not even the Bruttians, who remained with him to the last. We only took from them a part of their lands and allowed them to keep the remainder, considering it at once righteous and expedient to our prosperity not to exterminate whole races, but to bring them into a better state of mind.

59. "Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the possession of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations, almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment?"
CAP. δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὀψ ἱσχύουσι, παραδιδόσαι, καὶ τάλαντα καὶ Τόμην ἐλέφαντας οἷς ἐλέφαντας ἐλέφαντας ἐπεὶ τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἔτη ἐπείτης ἐπαινῶ τὸν Ἐὐβοῖκα μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ πόλεων ἁπάσων ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσα ἀρχούσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἔτη ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Ἐυβοῖς, καὶ ἔργο μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χάρις τῶν Φοινικίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἔργο μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τὸν Σκιπίων οἱ πολεμήσασις κριτὴς. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἕρωτος ἐπανεύρω τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὡμᾶς ἀξίων φείσασθαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μεταβολῆς, οἷς ἐσίν ἐτὶ νῆς, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλαὶ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλέφαντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνήρ ἤδη στρατιάν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Διονύσων ἐτέρους ἠγανεί πολλοὺς, καὶ Οὐερμικὰς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλούς. καὶ Ἑρμήν καὶ Λικύιων ἐτέρους ἠγανεί πολλούς, καὶ Οὐερμικὰς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλούς. καὶ Ἓν ἀπογνώσθηκα τὰ παρ᾽ ἢμῶν, ἀριστείδῶς ἀπασιχρήσονται. καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μεταβολῆς, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀναφθόνον ἔστιν.

60. ᾿Α καὶ Σκιπίων ἔσείκεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστείλας μὲν ἢμῖν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπέν δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ βραδυνότατοι συνθήσομαι. εἰκός δ᾽ ἐκείνοι καὶ τάδε ἀμείνον ἢμῶν εἰκονομικῶτας καὶ πλέον τις συνορᾶν, ὡμαῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἔνθα φιλόπολις καὶ στρατηγόν ἐξαίρεσιν, διὸ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὁρμωμένους παραξενεύει τε, καὶ
They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phoenician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I myself praise Scipio for the magnitude and multitude of these things, and you I ask to spare them considering the enviousness of heaven and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants. Hannibal, that most skilful captain, still has an army; Mago is leading another considerable force from the Celts and Ligurians; Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes; and they have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these assurances recklessly. And nothing is more dangerous than recklessness in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and jealous.

60. "It seems that Scipio too was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, adding that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose that in these matters too his judgment is better than ours, and that, being on the spot, he sees more than we. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that unique general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favour of that either; and when he could not obtain
CAP. IX. στρατιάν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἂξιοι, ὅτι ῥαθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δὲ τις ταῦτα μὲν ἴσχυε τι καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἢδη σπονδῶν φιλακής αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, εξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας: οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δὲ αὐθίς ὡς ἀποστήναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὕξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερον ἐστὶ νῦν μὲν γὰρ εξ ἀπογυνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὑστερον δὲ ἀεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἀλλάς δὲ κακῶν ἐξουσι καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οὗ τε περίοις πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἀεὶ.

61. Εἰ δ' ἀρα τις καὶ τῶν πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὁπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδέχεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μόνον σκοτεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσειν, τί καὶ χρησιμοθετεῖ τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτὴν, ἢν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ ναὸς ἠρπασαν; ἀ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἂξιούσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἦ τούτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσιν.
an army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved for us a success far beyond our expectations. And it is this which is so astonishing, that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of conscience all the more since their lack of conscience has brought about their fall. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. Now they will fight with desperation, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbours, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there to watch over them.

61. “If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio’s command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that even the favours of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it—supposing we do take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having
CAP.  ΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΨΟΓΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΜΑΣΣΑΝΑΣΧΗ ΘΕΕΙΝ ΔΩΣΟΜΕΝ; ΑΛΛ’ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ΟΥ ΧΡΗ ΣΤΕΡΡΟΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΟΥΔ’ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΑΜΕΤΡΟΣ, ΗΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ ΤΩ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΕΙΝ. ΑΛΛ’ ΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΑΝΗΣΟΜΕΝ; ΑΛΛ’ Η ΦΥΛΑΞΟΥΣΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΝ ΑΝΑΛΩΣΕΙ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΓΑΡ; ΩΣ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΙΚΟΙΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙΣ, ΔΕΗΣΩΜΕΘΑ. ΑΛΛ’ ἈΠΟΙΚΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙΨΟΜΕΝ ΕΣ ΜΕΣΟΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΣΔΕ ΝΟΜΑΔΑΣ; ΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΙΣΧΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΕΙ ΔΕΙΝΑ ΠΕΙΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ, ΗΝ Δ’ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ, ΕΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΛΛΩΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΕΙΣΟΥΝ ΦΩΣΕΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΟΙ, ΧΩΡΑΝ ΤΟΣΗΝΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ. Α ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΑ ΜΟΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΙΚΗ ΟΙ ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΔΕΧΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΙΣ. ΠΕΙΘΩΜΕΘΑ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ.”

62. Ο ΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΙΠΕ, ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ, ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΕΝΤΛΟΥ ΣΥΝΩΓΕΝΗΣ ΣΟΤΕ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΎΠΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΤΕ ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΕΞΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΩΝΤΟΣ, ΑΝΤΕΛΕΓΕΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ. “ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΣ, Ω ΆΝΔΡΕΣ, ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΌΣΟΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΗΝ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΦΑΙΝΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΦΥΛΑΞΑΣΘΑΙ ΧΡΗ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΧΥΝ ΠΡΟΑΝΕΛΕΙΝ, ΕΠΕΙ ΜΗ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΘΑ. ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΘΗ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙΡΩΣ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΆΠΟ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΦΩΣΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΟΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ, ΕΝ Ω ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΡΟΙ, ΠΡΙΝ ΑΘΗΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΣ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΞΗΘΗΝΑΙ. ΟΥ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕΡΙΦΥΓΟΙΜ, ΟΥΔ’ ΑΜΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΜΟΙ.
regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him inordinately strong, but it should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Shall we collect rent from their land? The expense of military protection would eat up the rent, for we shall need a strong force, being surrounded by numerous tribes, all of them barbarians. Are we going to plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? If the barbarians are too strong for them, they will have no peace, while if they overpower them, they will hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so great and so much more fruitful than ours. These are the very things, it seems to me, which Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general."

62. When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio's successor, replied thus: "In war, gentlemen, that which is expedient is alone advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power in time since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and poor, and before they again accumulate strength and resources. Not that I would evade the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of
δοκῶ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οὶ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνυβρί-ξουσιν ἐς ἀπαντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρα-καλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχωσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συν-θήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἑστὶν αὐτοῖς αίδως οὔτε λόγος ὅρκων οὔς οὔτος ἄξιοι περισώζειν διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγώ δ' αὐτοῖς ἱγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν, ἴνα δῶσι ποτε δίκην τῆς ἁσεβείας οἱ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Διβύη, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπαντας, ἀεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ παράρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἐδρον. ὃν τὰ ἀλλότρια υμῖν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἴνα εἰδῆτε πάντας ἐφησθησόμενοι Καρχηδονίοις, εἰ δίκην δοῦν.

63. Οὕτω Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἐνσπονδοὺ καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἢβηδὸν έκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὕτω Νουκερίαν ὑπή-κοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ λαβόντες, καὶ ὀμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἰματίοις ἐκαστόν ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεία συνεκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεία ἀπέπνιξαν, τὸν δὲ δήμοι ἀπίόντα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀρχαρανῶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχωσαν. Μάρκον τε Κορνήλιον ἐπατοῦ ἡμε-τέρου ὅρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἡγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκε-ψόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Διβύην ἐκ Σικε-
want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity are unjust and insolent to everybody, but are suppliants in adversity, and then, if successful, break treaties as soon as they are made. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths—these people whom this gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the Gods and the censures of men. I think that the Gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish at last for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, in dealing with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking oaths, and committing outrageous and savage acts. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment.

63. "The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and then filled up the wells with earth. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick, and then seized and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa.
Τίς έστιν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ᾽ ἑτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν ριον οὐδ᾽ ἥμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὡςπερ ἐφι Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσι; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἡ δεξιά. τίς σπονδή, τίς ὅρκος ὃν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν; μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησίν, αὐτούς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁμοτήτα, φησίν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὁμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἅξια. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν
with twenty-two of our ships. They put another general of ours, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, by stratagem and by perjury, against our cities and armies, and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. They cast our men, whom they had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. They had them trodden under foot by elephants. They made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and beseeching us, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty.

64. “What pity, therefore, or what moderation is due from others to these Carthaginians, who have never exercised moderation or clemency towards anyone, and who, as Scipio says, would have expunged the very name of Rome if they had vanquished us? But the right hand, he says, is a sure pledge. How so? What treaty, what oath, have they not trampled under foot? We should not imitate them, this gentleman says. What treaty can we violate when we have not yet made any? But we should not imitate their cruelty, he says. Ought we then to make the most cruel people in the world our friend and allies? Neither of these things is desirable. Let them surrender at discretion, as is the
CAP. IX

αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νεικικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέ-
τρεψαν, σκεφτομέθα δ᾽ ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὁ τι ἄν δῶμεν,
eἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι.
dιαφέρει δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερον ὡδε. μέχρι μὲν
συντίθενται, παραβῆσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι,
πρόφασιν ἀεὶ τινα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν
αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι τα δ᾽ ἀμφίλογα εὐπρο-
φάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τα
ὀπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν
γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν
ιδίον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβῆσεται,
ἀγαπήσονι δ᾽ ὅ τι ἄν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς
ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἔτερος δοκεῖ, τας
γυνῶς ἔχετε συγκρίνειν εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται
Καρχηδονίοις χαρίς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν
ὑμῖν; εἰγὸ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἡμῶν κυρίοις περὶ τῶν
tῶν κρίνων, τὴν ἴδιον ἔποιον, ἢ νομίζω
συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει.

65. Τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ο Πόπλιος εἴπεν· ἦ δὲ
βουλὴ κατʼ ἄνδρα παρ᾽ ἐκάστου ψήφου ἦτε, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον.
ἐγίγνυστο οὖν αἱ συνθήκης, τρίται αἰδε, Ὁρωμαίοις
καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μύλιστα τοὺς Ὁρωμαίους ἐναγα-
γέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὐνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε
ὡς ἄρκον Ὁρωμαίοις ἐστὶν ἐνυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφε-
λέσθαι Καρχηδονίοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς γὰρ οἱ
καὶ τὸν νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ὡς Ὁρωμαίους σφρονι-
σμὸν ἐθελήσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτῶς
φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπτεῖν, ἢν μὴ ποτε ἐξυβρίσειν
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custom of the vanquished, and as many others have surrendered to us, and then we will see what we will do. Whatever we accord to them they will then take in the light of a favour and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that they were overreached, for doubtful points always provide plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gift bestowed upon them by us. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, why did he send word to you at all? For my part, I have given to you, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand, the opinion which I think will be for the advantage of the city.”

65. After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio was thought to have urged this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbour and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless
CAP. IX ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ. καὶ τόδε οὕτω φρονήσατι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὑστερον ἐξεῖπε τοῖς Ρωμαίοις Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξύμενοι κατὰ Ρόδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε θριαμβεύων, ἐπιφανεστάτα ἐκ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

66. Καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τούτῳ. ἐστεφάνωται μὲν ἀπαντες, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταὶ καὶ καθῷρων ἀμαξαὶ, πῦργοι τε παραφέρονται μυμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἀργυρος ἀσήμαντος τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἰ τε τοιούτωτον ἀλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἦ τοὺς πόλεις ἦ σύμμαχοι ἤ τα υπ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδα. Βοες δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούσδε λευκοῖ, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδοχών φοινικοὺς χιτώνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς, πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένου τε καὶ στεφάνης χρυσῆς ἐπικείμενως ἴσα τε βάινουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ὑδής καὶ μετ᾽ ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοῖς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι (οἴμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δὲ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ᾽ αὐτῷ θυματηρῶν πλήθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμίαμαις, ἐφ᾽ ἀρματος καταγεγράμμενος ποικίλως, ἐστεπται μὲν ἀπὸ 506
by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That chap.
Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly declared to the Romans when he reproached them for undue severity towards the Rhodians. When Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a triumphal entry into Rome far more splendid than that of any of his predecessors.

66. The form of the triumph (which the Romans still continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind: then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of harpists and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march in regular order, keeping step with song and dance. They are called Lydi because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak reaching to the feet and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were dancing in triumph over the enemy. Next came a number of incense-bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious
ἜΣ
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χρυσοῦ λιθῶν πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ᾽ ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων, καὶ σκήπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἥν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρμά παίδες τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηόρων ἐκατέρωθεν ἡθεοὶ συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἰδαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ᾽ ἔκεινος ἡ στρατιὰ κατὰ τε ἱλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πάσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα, οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπίκεινται, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐς μὲν ἐταίνοντι, οὓς δὲ σκόπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν; ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἱστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

Χ

67. Καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηριάς, λήξας δὲ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος σπουδάς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς εὐκόνες καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίους τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπέβαινε γης πολλῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένη ποτε ἐαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο συμπράσ-

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stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga inwoven with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on the trace-horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armour-bearers. After these came the army arranged in squadrons and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple, according to custom.

67. Thus the second war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty concerning Carthage itself, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent
οὕτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονιων ὁ Μασσανᾶς, καὶ συνθῆκαι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἱ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδῶν εἰρηνεύουσα ὡμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἐκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

68. Καὶ εὐθὺς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωζίζμαιον, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιξον, οἷς δ᾽ ἦρεσκε Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ᾽ ἑκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἀννων, τῶν δὲ αἰρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀννίβας ὁ ψὰρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ὃ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων οἱ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα νιφὸ πρὸς ἔτερων Ἱβήρων συγκεκλεισμένω, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον οὗτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ τὴν χώραν περιώντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνουμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐκτείνε τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λεῖαν περιήλθασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις Λίβνας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐτεροὶ πρέσβεις ἐπήλθουν ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὀμοίως εἰρητο Μασσανάσση βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἳδε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ ὅσα προειλήθησθι, μετὰ τέχνης, ὁδε. εἴπον μὲν οὔδεν οὐδὲ ἦκουσαν, ἢν μὴ τι ὡς ἐν δίκη Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ δ᾽ ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας

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arbitrators, but told them to favour Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the territory of the Carthaginians, and they made a treaty with him also which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with unbroken peace, advanced greatly in population and power by reason of the fertility of her soil and her advantageous position on the coast.

68. Very soon (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favoured Masinissa. Each had leaders of eminent reputation and bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction: Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favoured Masinissa; and Hamilcar surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country), to attack the subjects of Masinissa, who were encamped on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty, and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians. Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they stood between the two litigants and
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69. Καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἐπέμπουν ἑτεροὺς τε καὶ Κάτωνα, ὥστε εἰς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἠξίουν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἅπαντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ υπώπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρῶτον ἤδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρήζειν δικών οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὡσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τῇ δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ηὔξητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ὁράμην, ἐφραζόν οὐκ ζηλοῦτον μάλλον ἡ φόβοι γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσότῳ καὶ γεώτρως εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης, καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὐ ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐσεθαί πρὶν ἐξελείν Καρχηδόνα. ὁν ἡ Βουλὴ
stretched out their hands, and this was their way of commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate the matter, but they delayed until they conjectured that the Carthaginian interests were almost entirely ruined.

69. They then sent the envoys, and among others Cato. These went to the disputed territories and asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was seizing more than his share and who always had confidence in the Romans, consented; but the Carthaginians were suspicious, because they knew that the former ambassadors had given unfair decisions. They said therefore that there was no need to have a dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, and that they only complained about transgressions of it. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what valuable resources it possessed. They entered the city too and saw how greatly it had increased in power and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before; and when they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, a great and hostile city, near at hand, and growing thus easily. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed.
πυθανομένη ἔκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἐτὶ δ᾽ ἔχρηζε
προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον.
Κάτωνα δ᾽ εξ ἐκείνου φασίν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ
γνώμη λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιττώνα δὲ
tὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἄξιον, Καρχηδόνα εἶν,
ἐς φόβον ἁρα καὶ τόνδε Ῥωμαίων ἐκδιαιτωμένων
ήδη.

70. Καρχηδονίων δ᾽ οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ
Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας εξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαρά-
κοντα μᾶλλον ὄντας, καὶ ψήφον ἐπήνεγκαν
φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαι
ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι.
οἱ δ᾽ εξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέ-
φυγουν, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλην. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παιδῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα
Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικύψαν, ἂξιῶν καταδέχεσθαι
τοὺς δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιούσι
τὰς πύλας ο βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν
δῆμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύ-
σειαν. Τολόσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἀμβολιαὶ ὁ
Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐκτεινέως, αὐτὸν
δὲ ἐθορύβησε, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάςει
τάσει ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὅροσκοπα.
καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ
Καρχηδονίων πεζῶς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντα-
κισχιλίοις, ἱππεῖς δὲ κατάδρασις, ἐπιπέθωσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις,
Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατη-
γοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευσεν.
καὶ πλησιώσασιν αὐτοῖς Ἀσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας
ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τι
τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτο-
μολίαν ἐπεφές ἀγοντες ἐξακισχιλίους, οἱς ἐπαρθεὶς

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When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war, but still needed a pretext, and meanwhile concealed its determination. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must not exist. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion, that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her.

70. The democratic faction in Carthage drove out the leaders of the party favouring Masinissa, to the number of about forty, and also carried a vote of banishment, and made the people swear that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished men took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the captain of auxiliaries shut them out, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. As Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city horse under Hasdrubal, who was then their captain of auxiliaries, marched against Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa’s lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this
Cap. Χ. Ἄσδρουβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ’ ὀλίγων οἰα φεύγων, ἐως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἄγορας ἀπορία. τότε δ’ ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐς τοῖς πεδίοις: ὁ δὲ Ἄσδρουβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

71. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλόν ἐς χειράς ἤζειν, Σκιπίων δ’ ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ύστερον ἐλὼν, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Λευκόλλω Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππεὰς ἀπαντᾶν ἐπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παίδων τισίν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ’ ἅμ’ ἕῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασε, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη, ὡς ἵππευων δ’ ἐτί καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνῶν τὸν ὅθ’ ἐπον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἡττ’ Νομάδες, καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ μαχόμενος εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντως μακροβιώτατοι. αὐτίον δ’ ἵσως ὁ τε χειμῶν ὡς πολὺ κρύος ἐχων, [ὑφ’ οὐ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαίνως ὡσπερ Αἰθίοπας τέ καὶ Ἰνδοὺς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἢδε ἡ γης φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθριῳ καὶ πόνωι εἰσὶν ἂνει. ὀλίγοις τε ἤ ὅσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἄπλη τε καὶ εὑτελής. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβάς ἐπ’ ὅπου διεικόσμει τὸν στρατόν, καὶ Ἄσδρουβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ὅδεν αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλῆθος. ἢδε γὰρ καὶ τῶδε πολλοὶ προσελη-
accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa, laying a trap for him, retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his camp in the open plain, but Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position.

71. They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving under Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, came to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and are the longest-lived of all those long-lived nations. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer is not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and India; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always working and in the open air, while they drink very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition, its numbers being great, since on his side also many recruits had flocked in from the
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CAP. λύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ’ ψηλοῦ καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις ύστερον, ἀγώσι συνενεχθεῖς ποικίλοις, οὕτοι δὲ ἡσθῆναι μόνον γὰρ ἕφη τόνδε τὸν πόλον ἀφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἐνδεκα. ἔλεγε τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θέαν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθράκης.

72. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ’ ἱοὺς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρείσσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὀφθῇ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἶα φίλον ἐκ πάππου περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτοὺς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ 'Εμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίῳ τάλαντα ἐλέφαντα διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ’ αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐχών τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανῇει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ὁ Ἀσδρούβας δ’ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τὸν πολέμιον ἐρρωμένῳ ἐτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ,
country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had been present at many contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 men join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two before him had seen such a spectacle: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war.

72. The battle continued from dawn till night, many falling on both sides, and it seemed that Masinissa had the advantage. As he was returning from the field Scipio presented himself, and Masinissa greeted him with the greatest cordiality, having been a friend of his grandfather. When the Carthaginians learned of this they besought Scipio to make terms for them with Masinissa. He brought them to a conference, and the Carthaginians made proposals that they would surrender to Masinissa the territory belonging to the town of Emporium and give him 200 talents of silver now and 800 talents later. But when he asked for the deserters they would not even hear of it. So they separated without coming to an agreement. Then Scipio returned to Spain with his elephants, but Masinissa drew a line of circumvallation around the hill where the enemy were encamped and prevented them from getting any food brought in. Nor could any be found in the neighbourhood, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure a scant supply for himself from a long distance. Hasdrubal considered himself strong enough to break through the enemy's line at once with his army, which was still in good health and unharmed. But having more supplies
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. ἀγορὰν 6 ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, συνθανόμενος ἁμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἴ δ᾽ ἤλθον μὲν, εἰρήτῳ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσότο, λύσαι τὴν διαφοράν, εἰ δ᾽ ἐπὶ κρεισσούνων εἴη, καὶ παροξύναι.

73. Οἱ μὲν δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἐπράξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξετρίβει καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἄσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ᾽ ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς ὕππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζύγιοις ἔθυον, καὶ ἰμάντας ἐφύτευσεν ἥσθιον. καὶ γόοσων αὐτοῖς ἰδέαι πάσαι κατελάμβανον ἐκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινητίας ἐργῶν καὶ ὀρας ἑτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἐν χωρίοι καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους. τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἐψῆσιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ ὁπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων σύνεσις οὐτ᾽ ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὐτ᾽ ἐξεκαίετο ἑπάτων ἀπορία. οὐν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολὺς καὶ περιώδυνος, συνούσιν ὀδωδόσι καὶ σημομένοις σώμασιν. τὸ τε πλείστον ἢδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον σύνεσις φίλοισιν ἐπιτίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίῳ τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τέταρτων τοῦ Μασσανάσση.
than Masinissa he supposed that the latter would offer battle. So he waited near him, hearing also at the same time that ambassadors were on their way from Rome to negotiate a peace. By and bye they came, having instructions if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

73. In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of all kinds of diseases due to bad food, want of exercise, and the season, for they were enclosed in one place and in a contracted camp—a great multitude of men exposed to the heat of an African summer. When the supply of wood for cooking failed they burned their shields. They could not carry out the bodies of the dead because Masinissa kept strict guard; nor could they burn them for want of fuel. So there arose a destructive and painful pestilence among them in consequence of living in the stench of putrefying corpses. The greater part of the army was already wasted away. The rest, seeing no hope of escape, agreed to give up the deserters to Masinissa and to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and to take back those who had been banished, although this was contrary to their oath. They were to pass out through their enemies, one by one, through a single gate, and with nothing but a short tunic for each. But Gulussa, full of wrath at the assault made upon him not long before, either with the connivance of his father or upon his
ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας ἐπέπεμψεν, οἱ οὐκ ἄμυνομένους, οὔτε ὁπλον ἤχοντας ἐς ἄμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ’ ἄσθενείας δυναμένους ἐκτενιν. ἦκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὅκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὁλίγου πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσθῆσαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

74. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδόνιων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπέσοντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, ἀυτὸν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἐτ’ ὅντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ἄν οὐδέτερον κακῶς υπενόουν: αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπῆγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ’ ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπῆγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ’ ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπῆγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ’ ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπῆγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῇ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσου πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφίππτο τῶν ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκεῖνος τῆς αἰτίας τὸν πολέμου περιφέρεστε. ἐς τῇ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις ἐπεμπον, οἱ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυναμένως αὐτοῦ
own motion, sent against them a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. Having neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, the defenceless men were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility.

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74. Such was the war between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harbouring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not saying for what it was intended but in order, they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the captain of auxiliaries, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They then sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse these men of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of
Ἀπίανος Ῥωμαίος ἰκανὸς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν ὁμοίως ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἐγκληματικόν, οἱ δὲ ἀποδείκνυσιν τί ἦτοι τὸ ἱκανόν ἡ βουλή πάλαι διεγνωκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὡς ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὐπω Ρωμαίοις ἰκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν ὁμοίως ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἐγκληματικόν, οἱ δὲ ἀποδείκνυσιν τί ἦτοι τὸ ἱκανόν ἡ βουλή πάλαι διεγνωκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὡς ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὐπω Ρωμαίοις ἰκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι.

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furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence so far offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: “You must satisfy the Roman people.” When they inquired amongst themselves what satisfaction meant, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being therefore again at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what satisfaction was required. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well, and having given this answer dismissed them.

75. While they were in this state of fear and perplexity, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having harbours with good anchorage and numerous landing-places for disembarking armies, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it), observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them at this critical moment, sent an embassy to Rome offering to give themselves up to the Romans.
καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πολέμον ὀρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευ- αζόμενη, πόλεως ὁχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνε τε τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὕτως εἰώθαι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐκβίαστατο Καρχηδονίους πολέμειν. στρατηγοὺς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξεπέμπου, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Δεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρῖνον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἱτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυαὶ δ᾽ ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἕκατον δὲ ἡμιολίαις, ἄφρακτοις δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν ἤγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἑπτάπεισον ἐπὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ἀρίστους ἅπαντας ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατείαν καὶ προὔπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τῆς ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὡρία, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρῆγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

76. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἡ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι᾽ ἑνὸς ἀγγέλου. ο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφερε τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς γοῦν ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφάς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγγίγνωσκον αὐτῶν ἀπορία καὶ συμμάχων ἐπελεύνειν ὡς ἀπωλείᾳ προσφάτω, οὐκοῦ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ προσφάτω, ὡς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐκοῦ συμμάχων, οὐ μισθοφόρους, οὐκοῦ τῶν ἀπορίας, οὐ πολιορκίας, οὐκοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐκοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ ταχεί τὸν πολέμον, οὐκοῦ προςβείς οὖν ἐτέρους ἐς τὴν δύναμιν, τὰ παρόντα
The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they are accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manilius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemiolii, besides many open boats, light ships and merchantmen. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many volunteers offered themselves for enrolment.

76. The declaration of war and the fact that it had begun reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger, who brought both the vote of the Senate and the news that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair owing to want of ships and the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war, while by themselves they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They therefore sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any
diathèσθαι. οἶς ἡ σύγκλητος εἴπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐτί οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τάλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέρας τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύη. τάδτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα: ἐν ὑπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἱδία σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

τὸ δόγμα ἐς τὸν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευσιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ βεβαίᾳ τὰ ὅμηρα παρέχοντες: οἰα δὲ ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσοῦτο, τὰς ἐπίπεδας ἐν ὧν μηδὲν ἐκλείποντες τιθέμενοι, ἐπούδα ἐπρολαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἔχον ἐν Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ὑπεκλαίοντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ ράλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἰ σὺν ὀλολυγῆ μανιώδει τῶν τέκνων ἔξηπτουτο καὶ νεὼν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγώντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῶδια δίεσπον καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐκώλυσιν. εἰσὶ δ᾽ αἰ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένεον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορᾶτο. αἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἐκκοπτον ὡς ἐπὶ πέπθειν ἐδόκοντο γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὁμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδοσιν, ἐπʼ οὐδεμιᾶσυνθήκῃ τῶν τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατε
terms they could. The Senate was convened, and told them that if, within thirty days, the Carthaginians would give to the consuls, who were still in Sicily, 300 children of their noblest families as hostages, and would obey their orders in other respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage should be preserved and they should retain their lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to the consuls that they should carry out their secret instructions.

77. The Carthaginians had some suspicion of their design, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages. But in this hour of great peril they felt that their only hope lay in carrying out the commands to the letter. So, hastily anticipating the appointed time, they sent their children into Sicily, amid the tears of the parents, the kindred, and especially the mothers, who clung to their little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away, even holding the anchors and tearing the ropes, and throwing their arms around the sailors in order to prevent the ships from moving; some of them even swam out far into the sea beside the ships, shedding tears and gazing at their children. Others on the shore tore out their hair and smote their breasts as though they were mourning the dead. For it seemed to them that the giving of hostages was a mere specious phrase, which meant really the giving up of the city, when they surrendered their children without any fixed conditions. Many of them predicted, with lamentations, that it would
CAP. XI μαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὄνησειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους: ἐν μὲν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὁμήρων ἢ ἀναγωγὴ τοιάδε τις ἡν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὑπατοὶ διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπά ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκη.

78. Διαπλεύσαντες τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἐνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἐν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κάκει πρέσβεων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε τοις προσέβαζον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τῷ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ διέπεμπον ἐς «Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκη.

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profit the city nothing to have delivered up their children. Such were the scenes that took place in Carthage when the hostages were sent away. When the consuls received them in Sicily they sent them to Rome, and said to the Carthaginians that in reference to the ending of the war they would give them further information at Utica.

78. Crossing to the latter place they pitched the camp for their infantry at the same place where that of Scipio had formerly been. The fleet remained in the harbour of Utica. When the ambassadors came there also from Carthage the consuls placed themselves on a high seat, with the chief officers and military tribunes standing near, and the whole army drawn up extending far on either side with arms glistening and standards erect, in order that the ambassadors might be impressed in this way with the strength of the expedition. When the consuls had proclaimed silence by the trumpet, a herald told the Carthaginian envoys to come forward, and they were led in through the long camp, but did not draw near to the place where the consuls sat, because they were fenced off by a rope. The consuls then ordered them to say what they wanted, and the envoys told a varied and pitiful tale about the former agreements between the Romans and themselves, about the antiquity of Carthage, its size and power, and its wide and long-enduring dominion on land and sea. They said that they did not mention these things in a boasting way, this was no fit occasion for boasting, "but in order that you, Romans, may be moved to moderation and clemency by the example of our sudden change of fortune. The strongest are they who pity the fallen, and found their hopes..."
Τύχας ἁμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιείσθε μᾶλιστα ἀνθρώπων.

79. Ἐι δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν ἀτυχημάτων οὐσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἵ τινι ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφηρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῶν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὀμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὁρκος ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κακεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο: ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἷς οὐδ᾽ ἐς χεῖρας ἠλθόμεν, τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθήκων αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγονόμενοι; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθές ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσσῃ πεπολεμήκαμεν πολλὰ γε πλεονεκτοῦντι καὶ πάντα δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύγωσι δὲ ἔχον καὶ ἀδεμίστως ἔσ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ὦ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἄπεστα περὶ τὸ Ἑμπόριον καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας, μὲχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῶν
on the consciousness of never having wronged others. Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that morality in which you claim to be pre-eminent.

79. "But even if we had met ruthless enemies, the cup of our misfortunes is already full. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into a treaty with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe it. And they, with whom we had been at war, thereafter kept faith towards us. But you, with whom we have not even come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any of the elephants which you grudge us? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. Yes, but he was always seizing our property, and we endured all things on your account. Treating with unceasing injustice ourselves and the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking them he invaded still others, until he brought our treaty with
CAP. XI. τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχειν εἰ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτοῦ ἐξεκιηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οὗ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἐτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν ἔδει νεῖν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνάντων ἐκαθόρισε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέπων χαίρετο, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οὗ τι ὄν ξημέωτε, τάτα προτείνομεν, ἐπιδεδείκται σαφῶς. οὗτος ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦς ἀμυνόμενος χειροτέρον τις, ὅσον δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὔτε μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν οὐκ ἀν ξημέωτε, τάτα προτείνομεν, ἐπιδεδείκται σαφῶς. οὗτος ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦς ἀμυνόμενος χειροτέρον τις, ὅσον δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὔτε μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν οὐκ ἀν ξημέωτε, τάτα προτείνομεν, ἐπιδεδείκται σαφῶς.

XI

CAP. XII. 80. Οἱ μὲν δὲ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρίνος δ’ ὑπαναστᾶς ἀντέλεξεν ὅθε, “τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δει λέγειν ὑμῖν, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, προσβεύεσαι ἐν Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; δ’ ὅτι ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῦν εἰς Ἡθελέων ἀντέλεξεν ὅθεν ὑπάναστας ἀντέλεξεν τὸ δόγμα δεῖ, τῇ Καρχηδόνιᾳ ἐλευθέρας ἐὰν καὶ αὐτόνυμον, κεκτημένην ἄ ἐξομισε.”

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you into confusion. If this is your pretext for the war, we even condemned those who resisted him, and sent ambassadors to you to make the necessary explanations, and afterwards others empowered to make a settlement on any terms you pleased. What need then is there of a fleet, an expedition, an army against men who do not acknowledge that they have done wrong, but who, nevertheless, put themselves entirely in your hands? That we were not deceiving you in making this offer, and that we would submit ungrudgingly to whatever penalty you impose, we demonstrated plainly when we sent, as hostages, the children of our noblest families, demanded by you, as the decree of your Senate ordered us, not even awaiting the expiration of the thirty days. It was a part of this decree that if we would deliver the hostages Carthage should remain free under her own laws and in the enjoyment of her possessions."

XII

80. So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: "Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? But what you have stated falsely about us, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. But if you are sincerely desirous
τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε·
πάντα ὅσα δημοσία τε καὶ ἱδία ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν
ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἥμιν παράδοτε.”
ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐφασαν ἐθέλειν
μὲν καὶ τοίς ὑπακούσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως
Ἀσδρούβαν, ὃθάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας
ἀνδρῶν ἣδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι
παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ
tῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται,
oi μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ συμπεμ-
φέντες αὐτοῖς Κορυνήλιος τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς
καὶ Γναῖος Κορυνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανῶς ἐπίκλησιν παρ-
elάμβανον εἴκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ βελῶν
καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἀπείρου, καὶ καταπέλτας
ἦγαν ἕξυβελεις τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχιλίους· καὶ
φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἣν λαμπρὰ καὶ
παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πολε-
mίων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπιτεθεὶς διὰ τῶν
καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως
ἀριστοτελεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιφανείᾳ ἐμελλον τοὺς
ὑπάτους ἐπὶ ἐντοπίην ἢ ἐλεον ἄξειν. ἐσαχθεῖτο
δὲ αὐτῶ κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ
Κηνσωρῖνος (ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτερος τοῦ συν-
ἀρχον) ἀναστάτας καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ
τολύ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

81. “Τής μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι,
καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔσε σπανῷ καὶ
τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρὴ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἄναγκαιοις
βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόστητης γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
ἰμηλῆτον κέλευσμα· ἐκστητε τῆς Καρχηδόνος
ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας,
of peace why do you need any arms? Come, surrender to us all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private.” When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 20,000 men and was encamped outside the very walls of Carthage. When the consuls said that the Romans would see to this, they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnaeus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and received complete armour for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and about 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with leading senators and citizens, priests and other distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and after long contemplating them with a frown spake as follows:—

81. “Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. But in cases of necessity, we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining command of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from
CAP. Ογδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τήνδε γὰρ ἦμιν ἐγνωσταί κατασκάψαι. οἱ δ᾽ ἐτὶ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοής, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἦπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλὰ τὲ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατώντες ἢ ἐκφρονεῖς ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐς μύσως πρέσβεων διερεθίζοντες. ἐς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κεφαλαίς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἦν ὁλα ἑκρόνου κειμένων. Ρωμαῖοι δ᾽ ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνωκεσάν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότωρ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύσαντο ἄγανακτοντες, καὶ δέσκετε ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῦν τὴν τόλμαν ἢ ἀνάγκην. δὰ καὶ τότε ἐπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἄγανακτεὶν μὲν ἐς ἐπαύσαντο, ἄνεκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ παιδίας καὶ γυναίκας ἐς ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες παρακλητεί πολλά. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κακεύνοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε παρμυγῆς καὶ ἐλεεῖνος σίκτος οἰμωξόντων ὄμοι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδια, μέχρι καὶ Ρωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιακρύσαι.
the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground." While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. Repeatedly and virulently they cursed the Romans, either because they wished to die, or because they were out of their minds, or because they were determined to provoke the Romans to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses. When at last the frenzy was past they lay there, crushed and silent, like dead men. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians; for when during the interval of silence the sense of their calamity came over them, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also that of their country, as though she could hear their pitiful and incessant cries like a human being. The priests also invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they too were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief, that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.
Τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσήει μὲν οἴκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δὲ ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄδυρμῶν ἐληξαν, αὐθίς ἢν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἦ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἐχουσα, οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἰκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἐναγχος διεφθαρμένων, ξενικόν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἡ φίλος ἤ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἢ ταύτα, ἐχουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηναι τὸ ἄστυ ἐνοπλοι ναυσι καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἐπτοὺς, Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἐχθρὸς ἐστιν ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβου μὲν ἐτι καὶ ἀγανακτῆσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους ἀνθίς ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ὃ Τιγίλλας ἐ ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὑπὲρ τὸις τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν· Ἐν μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἐτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὁ Ρωμαίοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογίᾳ), ἀλλ' ἦνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστὸς ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἀλογος. ἦμεις γὰρ Διβύθης ἀρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὁτι πλείστης, περὶ ἀγεμονίας ἐστιν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδωκαν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὁσοὺς εἴχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὀμομοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὄρκων, ὁμόσαιτος ἐσεθαί Ρωμαιοὺς.
82. The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, waited with stern countenances till they should weary of lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men at home, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. Nor had they mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, another enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of noisy reproaches they desisted from them, and again turned to argument. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said:—

83. "If you still have any respect for what we have said to you before, Romans, we will speak, not as though we were contending for right (since disputa- tion is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans
CAP. Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. ούδ᾽ ἐστιν ἐς ταυθ’ ὅ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγιγνώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρόφητα εἴπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ἤτεῖτε: αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ᾧμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατότερον, οὐδ᾽ ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδέν ἔτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οὐ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἀπασαν ἔξεδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, δῶν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστίν ἤμιν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, βεβαιωτής τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὁ ὑπατος, δημιουργὸς καὶ μάρτυρας ἔστε ἤμιν. ὑμηρα ἤτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγάμομεν ἤμιν. ὅπλα ἤτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, δῶν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἐκόντες μεθίενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἤμείς τῷ Ῥωμαίου ἢθεὶ καὶ πρότερῳ καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἤμιν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεὶς, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἐσεσθαι προαγορεύσι, ένε δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς κατασκαφῆν, ἢν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς ἐλευθέραν ἄφησετε ἡ αὐτόνομον, ὅς ἔλεγετε;

84. Τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίσεμεν ἀπαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσίν ἐστὶ λοιπόν, ὅδυρο-
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and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we made it before when you demanded our arms. Calamities make men verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio is our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the authors and the witnesses. You engaged in the Romans, habits and character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were delivered. We had confidence in the Romans, and you willingly give up. We asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not give up. If it is right for you to destroy Carthage itself, how can you leave it free and autonomous? If we should endure your further demands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that it should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that it should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further demands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides

8. This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you refuse to hear even about the latter, then we abandon all else and have recourse to prayers and tears, the last refuge of the unfortunate, for which
μεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλῇ δὲ η ἱκεσία δι’ ἀφθονίαν κακῶν ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόλεως παρικαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνφωκισμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὅνοματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην ὑπέρ τε τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσών δε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντων, οὕς μὴ πανηγύρισας ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἔορτάς, μὴ δὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἀδικοῦντων ἐτί καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιφυσιόμενον ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἔλεος (φατὲ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἱ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φείσασθε πολιτικὴς ἐστίας, φείσασθε ἁγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἑτι ξώσι τερπνα καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἔτι καὶ τὸς τῶν ναυν ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τους ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφανται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῶν προτίθεσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἡμῶν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσῃ. δίδομεν δὲ ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποις διδοπτίντα καὶ ταῖς ναῦσιν ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ.  ὑμῖν δὲτῶν πολεμικῶν ἀδικοῦσῃ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνά καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ δὲτι ἀδικοῦσῃ οὐδὲν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἂν ἀποκεφάλυσθαι. δίδομεν δὲ ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῶν προτίθεσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἡμῶν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσῃ. δίδομεν δὲ ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῶν προτίθεσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἡμῶν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσῃ.
there is ample occasion in the abundance of our calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name that has pervaded the whole world, in behalf of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their nightly festivals, their processions and their solemnities. Deprive not the tombs of the dead, who harm you no more, of their offerings. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare the city’s hearth, spare our forum, spare the goddess who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our ships and our arms and the elephants which you grudge us? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but, if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city.

85. Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you profess the virtue of moderation in prosperity, and claim credit for it from those whom you conquer. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of the other gods, especially those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never bear a grudge
ποιαν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρῶτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιοῦδε ἐργὴ τὴν εὐκλείαν ὑμῶν καταμιᾶντε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθήναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρά τε πρῶτος ὑμῖν ἐξ ἁπαντὸς τοῦ βίου γενησομένω. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἐλλησιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάρους, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὄ Ρωμαίοι, πρὸς ἑτέρους· καὶ σύνεις πώς κατέσκαψε πόλιν χείρας τε πρὸ μάχης καθείσαν καὶ ὀπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἐστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ' ὑμῖν ὅρκιον θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συνεχῶρησαι δ', εἴ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἐχεῖν, ἐς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεύσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἰδρῆιναι. βραχὺ δ' ὅρατε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ὑμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν· ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ' εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιγίγνεται." 86. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δήλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ενδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε "περὶ μὲν ὅν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε τότε πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γὰρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἣδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταύτα δὲ εἴ μὲν ὅς ἐχθροὶ ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἐδεί μόνον εἴπειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ' ὥφελεία κοινή,
against you or your children), do not tarnish your own good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever razed to the ground a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and Nemesis, most terrible to the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to increase our calamities beyond all cure. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time for sending another embassy to your Senate and for making our petition. Although the intervening time is short, you see that it will bring long agony to us through the uncertainty of the event. But your security is the same, whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act.”

86. So spake Banno, but the consuls showed by their stern looks during the whole speech that they would yield nothing. When he had ceased, Censorinus replied: “What is the use of repeating what the Senate has ordered? It has issued its decrees and they must be carried out. We have not even power to defer what has already been commanded. If we had imposed these commands on you as enemies, Carthaginians, it would be necessary only to speak and then use force, but since this is a
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

ΧΑΡ. τάχα μέν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὁ Γ. 87. "Ο καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὃ τε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοῖ, μάλιστα ηὐξησέ τε καὶ καθεῖλεν ἐοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἰστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὃν ἐπεμνήσθην, ὃ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Ιόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαίρεθηναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναύς παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἦπειρωταί τότε κάκεινοι γενέσθαι. ὦ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτοὺς. εὐστάθεστερος γὰρ, ὁ Γ. 548
matter of the common good (ours, perhaps, to a certain extent, but yours even more), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrongdoing and brings you thus into disaster. The sea made you invade Sicily and lose it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were detected, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also because of the sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain.

87. "Through this the Athenians, when they became a maritime people, grew mightily, but fell as suddenly. Naval prowess is like merchants’ gains—a good profit to-day and a total loss to-morrow. You know at any rate that those very people whom I have mentioned, when they had extended their sway over the Ionian Sea to Sicily, could not restrain their greed until they had lost their whole empire, and were compelled to surrender their harbour and their ships to their enemies, to receive a garrison in their city, to demolish their own Long Walls, and to become almost an inland people. And this very thing secured their existence for a long time. Believe me, Carthaginians, life inland, with the joys of agriculture and quiet, is much more equable. Although the gains of agriculture are, perhaps, smaller than those of mercantile life, they are surer and a great deal safer. In fact, a maritime city seems to me to be
μοι δοκεῖ πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἣ γῆ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ὡς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τούτ’ ἁρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασίλεια ὡς ἐπίπταν ἦν ἐν μέσω, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μέγιστα ἐγένοντο τὰ Μῆδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἔτερων.

88. Ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ύμῶν ἐτί διαφερόντων ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Διβύην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὃν ἢ ἢν ἀθέλητε, γεῖτονες ἐσέσθη, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ύμᾶς ὅψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἄφήτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλοῦστων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμμήνησκε καὶ τῶν πλῆθους ὃν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὃσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἷον γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ ῥησανρὸι τοῦτοι παροξυσμημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ύμῶν ἐστίν; ἤ τί ἀλλο πλὴν ὅθων, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελείθειν ἐς αὐτά, εἰ ποτε δύνασθε; πάθος ἐστίν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζων τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἢς οὐκ ἐνιαυτοῖς οὐχ ἐνιαυτοῖς ὑμῖν, ἢ μὴ τὴν ὅψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος ἐλεγχὸς ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτί τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφηρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακ-
more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of the solid earth. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful.

88. "But I will omit examples of monarchies, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose the one that you would like to have as a neighbour, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the sight and memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the sea empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and the harbours into which you proudly brought them, and filled your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your
τῇ εἴτε δεῖ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶν- 
δε καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον 
eιργασμένων. καὶ τί ἐτι φειδόμεθα ἐξθρῶν εἰλημ- 
μένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ 
λόγω μᾶλλον ἡ γυνώμη, μόνα δὲ ἐξήρησθε Διβύης 
ἑκέτε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, 
férete, καὶ ἔργῳ ταύτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Διβύην, 
ὅν ἔκετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάν- 
tes, ἂς ἀπέστητε.

89. Μη δ᾽ ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἑστίας καὶ 
ἀγορὰς καὶ τάφους· ὅν τάφοι μὲν ἐστων ἀκίνητοι, 
καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς 
θύεσθε εἰ θελετε ἐπίοντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. 
οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίους θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. 
ἐστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἱεροῖς εἰν καὶ μεταλ-
θόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κἀκεῖνα ἴπυ ἐσται 
πάτρια, ὁ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες 
ἡλλάξασθε Διβύην, τά τε ἐπίκτητα ἡμῖν τότε 
γενόμενα νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεὶ τε λόγῳ 
mάθετε ἢν ὡς ὑπὸ δυσμενεῖας ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ 
βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε 
προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθείητε ὅτι καὶ Ἀλβην 
ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθράν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ 
δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀποικοὶ προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ 
συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετωκίσαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ 
ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἡγὰρ ὑμῖν ἐτι 
χειρώνακτες πολλοὶ θαλασσοβίωτοι. καὶ τοῦτον
opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbour and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. In that case, why should we spare any longer our captured enemies? But if you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but with your hearts, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you made this peace with us in an honest spirit, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us.

89. "Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your hearths, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, if you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards, nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other hearths and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently that will be your country; just as you left your home in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the land then acquired your country. In brief, you will understand that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting concord and of the common security; if you remember how we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but treating the citizens with the honour due to them from their colonists, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many workpeople who gain their living by the sea. We
δεικνύουσθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ώραιών διάθεσιν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοντε εὐμαρήτως ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ’ ὅγδοικοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δ’ ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἔκατον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὅ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοὺσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. τούτῳ δ’ ἔστιν ὃ προνέγομεν, αὐτόνομον εἶναι Ἡμῖν. Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὗ τὸ ἐδαφὸς ἤγοιμεθα.’’

90. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἤσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκρίμενοι ἐπείπεν· ἃ μὲν εἶπεῖνἐπείρῳ איפεῖν, εἰρηταί· τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεί γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἀπίτε ὑμῖν· ἔστε γὰρ ἐπὶ πρέσβεις.” ὃ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ’ ἐξωθοῦμεν πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐσεσθαι προορῶντες, ἤταν αὖθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἐφασαν “τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὁρῶμεν” οὒ γὰρ οὔδε προσβεθοῦσι δίδοτε ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπανελεύσθαι μὲν πρὸς υμᾶς οὔκ εἰπίξομεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐτί λέγοντες ἀπολεῖσθαι δεόμεθα δ’ ὑμῶν, οὔχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν (ἐσμὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἐτοιμοί) ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι
have thought of this too. In order that you might easily have access to the sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We considered you to be Carthage, not the ground where you live."

XIII

90. Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable, since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. And we do not expect to return to you again, but to be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. But we make this request of you, not on our own account (for we are ready to suffer everything), but on account of Carthage itself, which may
Καρχηδόνος, εἰ δύναιτο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς υποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναῦς ἐως ὁδεύουτες ἀπῆσαν, ὡς καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ὃν προσέξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἂν ἂρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἦμιν ἀνάγκης ἁφίκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆσαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσώρινος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.

91. Καρχηδόνοι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὁπότε ἦξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχθοντο, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ' ὑπήνυτων ἐτι προσιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἄλλο ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἐκαστὸν, ὡς εἰχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ πυνθανόμενοι. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἐκαστὸν, ὡς εἰχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ πυνθανόμενοι. ὡς δὲ συνανῴμωξον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνώμωξον ὡς ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούσαντες συνανόμωξον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐιδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὁμοῖος καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιτίπτουσιν ἀθρόοι, ὁλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἐφασαν, ὅτι χρῆ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁδοποίουν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θᾶσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσίᾳ τοὺς ἀλλούς μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνόηδρευνον 556
be able, if stricken with terror, to bow before misfortune. Surround the city with your fleet while we are returning by the road, so that both seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may bear it if they can. To this state has fortune and necessity brought us that we ourselves ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland.” Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus coasted along with twenty quinqueremes and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors fled on the journey home, but the greater part moved on in silence.

91. Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now altogether, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them, while those on the walls, as they heard them, joined in the lamentations, knowing nothing, but feeling unmistakably the presence of a great calamity. At the gates the crowd almost trod the envoys underfoot, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn to pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd made room, and others even opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. After they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained
ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐξὸς περιείστηκεςαν. ὁ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελσαν πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσαν τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ εὐθὺς ἤν βοή τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐξὸς συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπήγγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ρώμην προσβεύσαν παραίτησαν, αὐθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγή βαθεία, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐθις συνεσιώτα. ὡς δὲ ἐμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ προσβεύον ἐπέτρεψαν, ἥλαλαξαν ἐξαισίων ὀδύρομενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

92. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἦν οἰστρος ἀλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσι φασὶ τὰς μανιάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινοργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ἥκιζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἱ ἔτη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρυκτῷ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐπικήλων τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἱ ἔτη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρυκτῷ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐπικήλων τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἱ ἔτη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρυκτῷ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐπικήλων τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἱ ἔτη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρυκτῷ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐπικήλων τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἐτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἱ ἔτη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρυκτῷ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐπικήλων τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν.
standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. But when they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, there was an outburst of loud lamentation, and the people rushed in among them.

92. Then followed a scene of blind, raving madness, like the strange acts which the Maenads are said to perform when under the influence of Bacchus. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favoured giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news, and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, adding that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not even being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships.
in μένας. καὶ τὰ ὄνοματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἔτι παρόντων, τούς τε προγόνους καὶ σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς δέον μήτε ναῦς μήτε ἐλεφάντας μήτε φόρους μήτε τὰ ὅπλα παρα-
δόντας ἀποθανέων σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὁπλισμένηι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὄργην ἀνέκαιοιν αἰ μητέρες αἰ τῶν ὀμίρων, οἷα τινες ἐκ πραγμάδες ἔρινυς ἐνυχθάνουσαι μετ' ὀλολυγῆς ἐκάστῳ, καὶ τὴν ἐκδοσιν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνο-
μένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὅλγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεε, καὶ τὸ τείχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

93. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἔψηφισατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἐλλοῦτο τῶν μεν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ὦ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἢν, ἐχοντα δισμυρίων ὡς σύνοδοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεσσόμενος μὴ μυστικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνέσ χάτω ζυγόνου, μηδὲ, ὅπι ἦν ἀνάγκης ἑξεκατὸ Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔπεπεμφαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων, αἰτοῦντες αὖθις ἀναδομοὶ τινὰ τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἴνα πρεσβεύσιν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐτὶ θαυμάστης ἐγήγονοι βασιλείας τε καὶ τόλμης ὀπίουν παθεῖν μάλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχύ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἑρά πάντα, καὶ εἰ τι ἀλλο εἰρύχωρον ἢν, ἐγένετο εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὡμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαυόμενοι
that had been surrendered to perfidious men. Some called their elephants by name, as though they were still there, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, without paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks, and reproached them with giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. The few who remained sane closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of catapults.

93. The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other wide and open space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked
ἐς ἢ καὶ σῖτον αἱρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὅρῳ τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἑκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικὰ βέλη χίλια, σαυνία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πενκακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὅσους δυνηθείεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν τὰς γυναίκας, τριχῶν ἐτέρων ἀπορία.

94. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρα- σκευής ἦσαν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑπατοὶ τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ὅκυρος, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὐδὲν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι, διέμελλον ἐτὶ καὶ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀντι- λέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον ἀπτεθαί τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων. ἀ καὶ τῶν Καρχη- δονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἀπτεθαί, ἐτόλμησεν ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα, ὃντας ἀνόπλους, σύνω σαφῶς ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς γυνώσκει. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ἡρωμαίοις, καὶ ἐφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἐώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντας τε καὶ οὐ κοινώ- σαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὅς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι πολέμοις ἐπότους. ὃμως δ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπατῶν ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡφη τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, όταν αἰσθηταὶ δεομένων. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἰ τινός ἥδη δεοτα. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἥδη δὲ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμενεί-
together day and night, on a fixed schedule, without pause, taking their food by turns. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and spears, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

94. While the Carthaginians were preparing for war with such haste and zeal, the consuls, who perhaps hesitated about performing such an atrocious act on the instant, and besides thought they could capture an unarmed city by storm whenever they liked, kept still delaying. They thought also that the Carthaginians would give in for want of means, as it usually happens that those who are in desperate straits, resist at first, but as time brings opportunity for reflection, fear of the consequences of disobedience takes possession of them. Something of this kind actually happened in Carthage, where a certain citizen, conjecturing that fear had already come upon them, came forward in the assembly as if on other business and dared to say that among evils they ought to choose the least, since they were unarmed, thus speaking his mind plainly. Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthaginians to their knees others should carry off the glory before his eyes, not even communicating with him beforehand as they had done in the former wars. Nevertheless, when the consuls, by way of testing him, asked his assistance, he said he would send it whenever he should see that they needed it. Not long after he sent to inquire if they wanted anything at present. They, not tolerating his haughtiness and already suspicious of him as a disaffected person, answered
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CHAP. νοντί, ἀπεκριναντο προσπέμψειν ὅτε δεηθείεν. 

ΧΙΙ 

περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνω ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἄδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης. τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Διβύης ἦν ἐτὶ πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβα, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἄγοραν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπεπε. ὀλίγων δὲ ἐς ταῦτα διατρίφθεσον ἦμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προσήεσαν ἄμφος τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάρχην ἐσκενασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

ΧΙΓ

95. Ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, 

χερρονήσῳ τε μάλιστα προσέοικυια. αὐχὴν γὰρ ἄνυφην ἀριστὸς τῆς ἰπείρου διείρησεν, ἐνία ὁ πόλεος καὶ εἰκοσὶ σταδίων ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταῦτα στεινη καὶ ἑπιμῦκης, ἡμιστάδιον μάλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἔχωρει, μέσῃ λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης... ἀπλῷ τείχει περίκρηση ὅτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἴπειρον, ἐνθα καὶ ἢ Βύρσα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῷ τείχει. τοῦτον δὲ ἕκαστον ἢν ὕψος μὲν πηχήνων τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετρώροφοι περίκρησαν, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώκοντο δὲ ἴνα ἕκαστον 

tείχους τὸ ὑψωσ, καὶ ἔν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὅντι καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευο ἐλέφαντα 

τριάκοντα, καὶ θησαυροὶ τε τριάκοντα, χιλοῦ τε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ τε 

πέρα ὅτε 

μεν ἐς 564
that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumetum, Leptis, Thapsus, Utica, and Acholla only. For Hasdrubal was still in possession of all the rest of Africa, whence he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it.

XIV

95. The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended towards the west between a lake and the sea. On the sea side, where the city faced a precipice, it was protected by a single wall. Towards the south and the mainland, where the city of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet, not taking account of the parapets and the towers, which were placed all round at intervals of 200 feet, each having four stories, while their depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided into two stories. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for
δισμυρίους, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. το- σὴ ἄρα παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ᾽ ἣ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τούδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἣν μόνη καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ ἡμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

96. Οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀχλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἐστπλοῦς ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὐρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὅτι ἀλόσεων ἀπέκλειοι καὶ ἐπίκλεσεν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις καὶ ποικίλα· τοὺ δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρηπὶς μεγάλαις ἦ τε νῆσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διεῖλητο. νεώριων τε ἐγεμον αἱ κρηπὶδες αίδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσιάς καὶ εἰκοσι πεποιημένων, καὶ ταμιεύων ἐπὶ τοῖς νεώριοις ἐς τριηρετικὰ σκεύη. κίονες δ᾽ ἐκάστου νεωσοίου πρόδρομον Ἰονικόν δύο, ἐς εἰκονα στοὰς τὴν ὅψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νῆσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νῆσου σκηνή ἐπεποίητο τῷ ναυαρχῷ, ὅθεν ἐδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναυαρχὸν ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ᾽ ἡ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἐστπλοῦς, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ὅταν ὁ τα ναυαρχὸς τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾶ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανὴς ἄφανθα ἐνδοὺ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἀκριβῆς. οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἡ τότε, οἱ δ᾽ ὕπατοι διελόμενοι τὸ ἐργον ἠσεαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
war was arranged and provided for in their walls alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbour along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning.

96. The harbours had communication with each other, and a common entrance from the sea seventy feet wide, which could be closed with iron chains. The first port was for merchant vessels, and here were collected all kinds of ships' tackle. Within the second port was an island, and great quays were set at intervals round both the harbour and the island. These embankments were full of shipyards which had capacity for 220 vessels. In addition to them were magazines for their tackle and furniture. Two Ionic columns stood in front of each dock, giving the appearance of a continuous portico to both the harbour and the island. On the island was built the admiral's house, from which the trumpeter gave signals, the herald delivered orders, and the admiral himself overlooked everything. The island lay near the entrance to the harbour, and rose to a considerable height, so that the admiral could observe what was going on at sea, while those who were approaching by water could not get any clear view of what took place within. Not even incoming merchants could see the docks at once, for a double wall enclosed them, and there were gates by which merchant ships could pass from the first port to the city without traversing the dockyards. Such was the appearance of Carthage at that time.

97. But the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to
Κηνσωρίνος δὲ χώσας τὸ τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθουμένην πολλὰ, Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἵππαρχου, προσπεσόντος, ὃ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δὲ ὁμοίως τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμὼν καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλῶν, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἕτει ταύτῃ.

98. Κηνσωρίνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἴνα εὐρύτερον εἴῃ, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὁθουμένην.
THE PUNIC WARS

fill up the ditch, surmount the low parapet overlooking it, and from that to scale the high wall. Censorinus raised ladders both from the ground and from the decks of ships against the neglected angle of the wall. Both of them despised the enemy, thinking that they were unarmed, but when they found that they were provided with new arms and were full of unexpected courage they were astounded and retreated. Thus they met a rebuff at the very beginning, in expecting to take the city without fighting. When they made a second attempt and were again repulsed, the spirits of the Carthaginians were very much raised. But the consuls, fearing Hasdrubal, who had pitched his camp behind them on the other side of the lake, not far distant, themselves fortified two camps, Censorinus on the lake under the walls of the enemy, and Manilius on the isthmus leading to the mainland. When the camps were finished Censorinus crossed the lake to get timber for building engines and lost about 500 men, who were cutting wood, and also many tools, the Carthaginian cavalry-general, Himilco, surnamed Phameas, having suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless, he secured a certain amount of timber with which he made engines and ladders. Again they made an attempt upon the city in concert, and again they failed. Manilius, after a few further efforts, having with difficulty beaten down part of the outworks, despaired even of attacking on that side.

98. Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have a broader road, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers
Ἀπιανὸν ὁρμήν τῇ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν: καὶ γάρ τι πεδίον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δὲ ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπετάξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἔτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικεμένων οἰκιῶν ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐτί μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦμεν, καὶ θρασέως ἐπεπήδων. Σκυπίων δὲ, ὃς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἔλεγε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν τότε ὁκνεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς τολλὰ διελών, καὶ στῆσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἶα, τοὺς
under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by officers as well as men, were fired by rivalry in the performance of their similar tasks, and beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. But even so the Carthaginians drove them back and began to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman engines should readily destroy by daylight the part which they had already completed, as it was newly made and still moist, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches only, to set fire to the machines. They had not time to burn these entirely (the Romans running up and preventing them), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighbouring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribune, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go down into the city. When those who entered were driven...
δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τούτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

Κυνὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνον στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεύον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέως ὕδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστους, οὐ καταπνεόμενον εἰκὸς τῆς βαλάσσης. ὅθεν οἱ Κηνσωρίνοι ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γύρνοντο πνεύμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίθεον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου εἶλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἐμελλόν γεννήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θείον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλήσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ βοτῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνσωρίνοι μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὄχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανιλίῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὄπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέσπωσ. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνων, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἐπιτίθεσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἀλλὰς, ἐνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμῶν τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῶδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισώσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.
back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succour and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the general.

99. Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the army of Censorinus, whose camp was pitched on a lake of stagnant and impure water, under high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea. For this reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, whenever the wind blew toward the Romans, towed along small boats, filled with twigs and tow, under the walls, where they could not be seen by the enemy. When they were turning the corner, and were just about to be sighted, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterwards Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal panic.
100. Ὅ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀχύρων, τεῖχός τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεὶς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγορᾶν τραπεῖς ὡς τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίους πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι διασχίσις τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε, ἐπηρέασε δὲ καὶ χορτολογοῦσιν τὸν τοῦ ἄγοραν συλλέγων. ἦγείτο δ᾽ ἂν τῶν προνομευόντων χιλιάρχοις ἐτερος παρ᾽ ἐτερον, καὶ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπηρέασε δὲ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος τε ἔδω ἐτι καὶ θρασύτερος γὰρ μάχας, καὶ ἐπηρέασε χρώμενος μικροὶς καὶ ταχέως, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἶν, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ύποκρυπτόμενος ὥστε λόχμαι ἢ φάραγξ, ὅτη τι ἀμέλομενον ἢδοι, εἵπτατο εἰς ἀφανεῖς ὡς τις ἀετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπεθανεν· ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἀρχιστ, οὐδαμοῦ οὐκ ἐπεφαίνετο. ο γάρ τοι Σκιπίων ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ἤγε τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν ἱππῶν ἐπιβεβηκότας ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυσε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον, ὁ ἄμελλε θεριζεῖν, ἐπιπεδοῦ καὶ ὀπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τὸ τοῦ κύκλου αὐτὸς ἐτέρας ὑλαις ἐπιπέδων ἂνεπερήσει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀπόσκευσμάνον ἢ ἐξεύρεσι τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαξεν.

101. "Οθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρει μόνοι. καὶ γιγνομένου τοῦτο συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ἡμέτο τῶ Σκιπίων, οἱ δ᾽ ἐτεροι χιλιάρχοι κατὰ φθόνον.
100. Manilius thereupon fortified his camp more carefully. He threw around it a wall in place of the palisade and built a fort on the sea-shore at the place where his supply-ships came in. Then, turning to the mainland, he ravaged the country with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, collecting wood and forage and provisions. These foraging parties were in charge of the military tribunes by turns. Now Phameas, the commander of the African horse,—a young and daring soldier, who had small but swift horses that lived on grass when they could find nothing else, and could bear both hunger and thirst when necessary,—hiding in thickets and ravines, when he saw that the enemy were not on their guard swooped down upon them from his hiding-place like an eagle, inflicted as much damage on them as he could, and darted away again. But whenever Scipio was in command he never even made an appearance, because Scipio always kept his foot-soldiers in line and his horsemen on horseback, and in foraging never broke ranks until he had encircled the field where his harvesters were to work with cavalry and infantry. He then, in person, rode unceasingly round the circle with other squadrons of horse, and if any of the harvesters straggled away or passed outside of the circle he punished them severely.

XV

101. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack. As this happened continually, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a
ἐλογοποίον δενίαν ἐκ πατέρων εἶναι Φαμέα πρὸς
Σκιπίωνα τὸν τούδε πάππον. Διβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς
πύργους καὶ φρούρια, ἄ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
kαταφυγώσαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλιάρχοι σπευδό-
μενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ
Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἴκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούδε οὐ
πρὶν ἡ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὖδεὶς,
tοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἄνδρειας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις δι' ὅλιγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
προσωμῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
νυκτὸς ἐπέθεσαν τῷ ἐπινείῳ· καὶ θόρυβος ἦν
ποικίλος, συνεπηχούσαν εἶς ἐκπλήξιν τῶν ἐν
ἀστει Καρχηδόνιων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν
στρατὸν ἐνδόν διδειχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ,
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἱππέων δέκα λαβὼν ἐπῆγε μετὰ
δάδων ἡμμένων, προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ
συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχει δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἐμπεσοῦσαν
παρέχειν ἀεὶ, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διχάθεντο οἱ
Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι
προσεγίγνετο. ἤν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τοὺς ἐν
κατὰ θέσιν ἄνειληπτο.

102. Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφερν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ
Ἄσδρούβαν, ἐδυσχέραινεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅρων πάντα
ἀπὸκρημνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ
report that there was an understanding between the former friendship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken refuge in towers and castles, with which the country abounded. The other tribunes, after granting them terms and letting them go free, used to set upon them as they departed; but Scipio always conducted them safely home, and after this none of them would make any agreement before Scipio arrived. So great had his reputation for courage and good faith become in a short time among both friends and enemies. After the Romans had returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined by making noises to add to the alarm. While Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse, led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course around them with the firebrands and make a show of numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of attacking here and there. This was done until the Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on both sides, became panic-stricken and took refuge in the city. This also was added to the successes of Scipio. After all he had done, men talked of him as the only worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family he had been received by adoption.

102. Manilius undertook an expedition to Nepheris against Hasdrubal, of which Scipio disapproved, because the road was flanked by mountain crags.
ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὡς δ᾽ ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένη
τοῦ ’Ασδρούβα, καὶ ἐς τὸ ῥεύμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ’Ασδρούβαν,
ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἀλλού καίροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἀλλῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ’Ασδρούβα
δεομένου. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ξῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίᾳ καὶ
οὐκ εὐβουλήν ἐγιούμενων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν τῶν καταφρονοῦντες
φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἐκείνων στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐγείραι, ἵνα ἐνε
βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ ὧν οὐκοτι καταφεύγοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλον,
καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπείλησεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαινεν
οὐν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τάλλα ὧν ἐμπειροπόλεμος,
καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ ῾Ασδρούβας ἀπῆνα, φόνος
τε ἃν πολὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων. καὶ ὁ ᾿Ασδρούβας ἀνα
δραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετα
νοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεύμα ἐν τάξει δυσπόρου δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν,
ἐς ἀταξίαν διῃροῦντο ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ ᾿Ασδρού
βας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλήθος ἔκτεινεν οὖν ἀμυνομένων
ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων
τρεῖς οὗ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

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gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him earnestly to turn back, saying that another time and other means were needed for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savoured of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio counselled, as second best, that they ought to fortify a camp on the further side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place in which they could even seek refuge. The others laughed at this also, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal withdrew into his stronghold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the scarcity and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a more brilliant attack than ever, and slew a great number of them who fled without resistance. Among the killed were three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.
103. Ο δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἄμφοτέροις τοῖς ἑξήκοντας, διαλέγεται δέν τοὺς ἑξῆκοντας ἐπηγείρει σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἰτέ αὖθις ἐπιόντας καὶ τάλων εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εὑρητὸν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπηγείρει καὶ ἀκοντίζοντάς ἀπελαύνειν, ὡσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιμόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦτον πυκνοὺς, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενός ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦσαν τοῖς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δὲ ἐφθασαν διελθεῖν τὸ Ῥέμα. καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων εἶπαν αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλεπῷς. σπεύραι δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τούτῳ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποχωροῦσαν τοῦ Ῥέματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔς τισι λόφον ἀνέδραμον, καὶ αὕτως ὁ Ασδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοοῦντων έτει Ρωμαίων, ἑως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐμαθοῦν, ἦπορον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἀπασί δι᾽ ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων εἰς ἐκαστὸν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἄνδρων παραβόλαις καὶ σημείων τόλμη παραβόλαις. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιτελεύτα- μενός τισι ἐπείρα λιαν, ἐπανοίσειν ἐφῃ ἐκείνως, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολείπεσθαι. δύο τε ἡμέρων σιτία φέρουν εὐθὺς ὃδε, δειδότοις πάνω τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ συνδοκώσαν τοὺς καταλαβεῖν. ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔπηκαν ἢσαν οἱ πολιορκοῦμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἀντικρυσμόν αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοῦς δύο χαράδρα διείργεται, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε
103. Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, by turns discharging darts at them and quickly retreating, then coming back at them and again quickly darting away, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus continuously assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter thus had time to get across the stream, and then Scipio rode away after them under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them till they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in great perplexity. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then he himself, selecting some companies of horse, said that he would either rescue them or gladly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return himself. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated
CAP. μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολυορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς οὕτω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὀδοιπορίας συντόνου. οὐ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἶδε τὸν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὗ μεθήκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δὴ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἦδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθειέντος αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὑντας.

104. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἠεύθυνε ἐς ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένοι τε καὶ περισώσαντα τοὺς ἐτέρους, μέγα ἡλίαζαν ἡδόμενοι. καὶ δαμόνιοι αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὅ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦς χιλίαρχους, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρήνει θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. οἱ δὲ ἔρευνησάμενοι τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος εὑρών (χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλιαρχοὶ, τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφοροῦντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἢδη δεδιός τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἀναζευγνύοντι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα ἐπέκειτο.
THE PUNIC WARS

from the former by a narrow ravine. The Africans thereupon pressed the siege vigorously, making signals to each other and thinking that Scipio would not be able to relieve his friends after his forced march. But Scipio, seeing that the bases of the two hills curved around the ravine, lost no time, but dashed around them and secured a position above the enemy. They, finding themselves surrounded, fled in disorder. Scipio did not pursue them, as they were much superior in numbers.

104. Thus Scipio saved these men also, who had been given up for lost. When the army at a distance saw him returning safe himself, and having saved the others contrary to expectation, they shouted for joy and conceived the idea that he was aided by the same deity that was supposed to have enabled his grandfather Scipio to foresee the future. Manilius then returned to his camp in front of the city, having suffered severely from not following the advice of Scipio, who had tried to dissuade him from the expedition. When all were grieved that those who had fallen in battle, and especially the tribunes, remained unburied, Scipio released one of the captives and sent him to Hasdrubal, asking that he would give burial to the tribunes. The latter, searched among the corpses, and, recognizing them by their signet rings (for the military tribunes wore gold rings while the common soldiers had only iron ones), he buried them, thus thinking to do an act of humanity not uncommon in war, or perhaps because he was in awe of the reputation of Scipio and thought to do him a service. As the Romans were returning from the expedition against Hasdrubal Phameas made an attack upon them while demoral-
Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταίσμα θορυβουμένου· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

ΧΩΝ

105. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδό- σοντας αὐτὴ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ’ ὃν ὁ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρον τὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπασ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις, ὡστ’ ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν ἐς ἅπαντα τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιάς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὀρμήν. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ τούτως μὲν ἐχαίρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πτασμάτων ὡς Μασσανάσσην ἐπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχείν αὐτῶν ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. οδὸν μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παίδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλὰ, γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκυπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἦει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαίρῃ τὰ ὄντα.

106. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτ’ εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχῆς, ὥς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν
ised by that disaster, and when they were entering their camp the Carthaginians sallied out from the city to meet them and killed some of the camp followers.

XVI

105. Meantime the Senate sent commissioners to the army to obtain and communicate to it accurate particulars, in whose presence Manilius and the council and the remaining tribunes bore testimony in favour of Scipio; for all jealousy had been stifled by his glorious actions. The whole army did the same, and his deeds spoke for themselves, so that the messengers, on their return, everywhere noised abroad the military skill and success of Scipio and the attachment of the soldiers to him. These things greatly pleased the Senate, but on account of the many mishaps that had taken place they sent to Masinissa to secure his utmost aid against Carthage. The envoys found that he was no longer living, having succumbed to old age and disease. Having several illegitimate sons, to whom he had made large gifts, and three legitimate ones, who differed from each other in their qualities, he had asked Scipio, on the ground of his friendship with him and with his grandfather, to come and consult with him concerning his children and the government. Scipio went immediately, but shortly before he arrived Masinissa breathed his last, having charged his sons to obey Scipio in the matter of the division of the estate.

106. Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. θεός ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀρχής τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχής ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶν δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυροὺς τε μεγάλους καὶ στρατιάν πολλήν γεγυμνασμένην, ὑπολιπέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, Καρχηδόνι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενὴς 'Ρωμαίοις ὑπολιπόντα. ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ᾽ αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῆ ὑπολιπόντα. ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ᾽ αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῆ

107. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
favour he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it greatly from Mauritania on the ocean as far inland as the empire of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a great sum of money in his treasury and a large and well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To the legitimate sons he gave in common the treasures and the revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there. Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made arbiter of peace and war. Mastanabal, the youngest, who was a man of upright life, was appointed judge to decide causes between their subjects.

107. In this way Scipio divided the government
and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he CHAP. XVI brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter in particular searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable water-course, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambuscade further on, advanced with three companions to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced on the opposite side with one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, rode on also with a single companion. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said: “Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country’s?” The other replied, “What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?” “If you have any confidence in my word and influence,” said Scipio, “I promise you both safety and pardon from the Romans and their favour besides.” Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, “I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know.” Then they separated.

108. Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nepheris, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former
στρατεία παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰίδοι
μεῖξοι ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοὶς
ἀπιούσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐν τῶ δὲ ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τις ἐκ τοῦ
Γολόσου στρατοῦ ἐφερε τῷ Ἐκτιτῶν. ὁ δ', ὡς
εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ
λύσαντες ἦρον: "ἐς τὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν
τὸ δέ τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ ἐλθὲ μεθ'
ὁσων βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι
τὸν πολεμὸν ἀφικνούμενον." ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρίς
ἀνομοίων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνήκε δ' ὁ Ἐκτίτων
εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει
μὲν περὶ τῷ Ἐκτιτῶν, μῆ τις ἀπάτη παρ᾽ ἀνδρὸς
γένοιτο πιθανώτατον πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας: εὐθεῖαν
ἀ' αὐτὸν ὅρων ἐπέμειν, ἐπιτρέψει αὐτὸς περὶ μὲν τῆς
σωτηρίας δοῦναι πίστιν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἔδηλον, συνήκε
Μανίλιος ἐπιστολὴν ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε
τῷ Σκιπίτων, συνήκε δ' ὁ Σκιπίτων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου.
occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa’s army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: “On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night.” Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio guessed that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambuscade by this very persuasive plotter; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to say anything definite about reward, and only to promise him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of a promise however, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favours he would leave that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward with his officers into the space between the armies, as though to debate about some other matters, he said, “If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. It is time for you too to consider what is for your advantage.” When he had said this, some
μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡντομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντε
πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχίλίους ἱππέας· τοὺς
δ᾽ Ἀμέων κατεκώλυσεν, δ' Δείκνος ὡς ἐπίκλησις.
109. Ἐπανότι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ
Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἄπηντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα
ἡψήμουν ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ᾽ ὑπερ-
ηδόμενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ
tὸ ἄλλα ἡγούμενος, οὖδ᾽ Ἀσδρούβαν ἔφεσθαν προσ-
δοκῶν καταπεπληγμένου, ἀνεξεύγυυεν αὐτίκα δι᾽
ἐνδεικτικού μέγαν ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα
ἐχών. τρίς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐχρήν κακοπαθοῦντα
ἐπανελθείν. ο ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν τε Φαμέαν καὶ
Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς υφ᾽ ἑκατέρω λαβὼν ἱππέας,
προσλαβῶν δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδίον
ἡπείχθη τὸ καλουμένου μέγα βαράθρον, καὶ
πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἦκε ἐρων
tῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός
οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλαπούρνιον Πίσσωνα, προ-
ἐπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ
ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ἡψήμουν
tὸν Σκιπίωνο, καὶ ἦχυντο ἐπιέναι ἐς Διβύνην
ἐπανελθείν ὡς μόνον αἰρήσοντα Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἦδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε,
Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἰρήσεων Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ
tαῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστειτο. ἡ δὲ
βουλή Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἔπινει, Φαμέαν δ᾽ ἐτίμησαν
ἄλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορτήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ὕπατον
χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλία καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχ-
μαῖς μυρίαις, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνῶν ἀργυρο-
ρωμα καὶ σκηνήν καὶ κατασκευήν ἐντελῆ· καὶ
ἐπήλπισαν περὶ πλείονων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ
πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ᾽ ὑποσχό-
of the officers went over to the enemy with their forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were prevented by Hanno, surnamed the White.

109. When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and saluted him with cheers as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away from want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They were destined, however, to have three days more of suffering in their return. Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called the Great Pit and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome in advance with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage, and many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armour, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would cooperate with them to the end of the war. He
110. Ἡκὲ δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὑπατος ἀμα ἣρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δεύκιος Μαγκίνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν. οἱ Καρχηδονίοι μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπεράσαντες, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐγγύς ἐσεὶν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαξεν αὐτωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἰππάγρετα μετῆλθεν, ἡ μεγάλη τε ἣν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ ἀναστήσαντες, ἑτέραν δ᾽ ἐγγὺς εἷλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ ὁ Πίσων ἀμύνασθαί τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τὸ γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ἄλλον ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἤνυε, διὰ δὲ ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἰππάγρετιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχοῦντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἴπτυκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

111. Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ, ἐπειδή σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδον ἀπάθεσ ἤρε, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἰππάγρετα, ἐπὶ ταυτοῖς ὁ Νομὰς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ Γολόσου προσεκεχωρηκεῖ, καὶ Μικαὕη καὶ Μαστανάβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παίδας ἑώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν, ἀνέι Ρωμαίοις ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνουτας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπηρθησαν, τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Διβύνην ἀδεῶς ἔπησαν,
promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa.

110. In the early spring Calpurnius Piso, the new consul, arrived, and with him Lucius Mancinus as admiral of the fleet, but they did not attack either the Carthaginians or Hasdrubal. Marching against the neighbouring towns they made an attempt on Aspis by land and sea, and were repulsed. Piso took another town near by and destroyed it, the inhabitants accusing him of attacking them in violation of a treaty. He then moved against Hippagreta, a large city, with walls, citadel, harbour, and dockyards handsomely built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily. Being situated between Carthage and Utica it intercepted the Roman supply-ships and was growing rich thereby. Calpurnius thought to punish them and deprive them at least of their gains, but after besieging them the whole summer he accomplished nothing. Twice the inhabitants made sallies with the aid of the Carthaginians, and burned the Roman engines. The consul, being foiled, returned to Utica and went into winter quarters. 

111. The Carthaginians, finding themselves and the army of Hasdrubal unharmed, and having worsted Piso in the fighting around Hippagreta, and their forces being augmented by 800 horse, who had deserted from Gulussa, under Bithya, a Numidian chief, and seeing also that Micipsa and Mastanabal, the sons of Masinissa, were always promising arms and money to the Romans, but always delaying and waiting to see what would happen, plucked up their spirits and roamed through Africa without fear,
κρατυνόμενοι τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ύβριστικὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. 

ἐς τῇν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προὔφερον τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δις γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἐναγχός ἐσ Ἰππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὐσῆς καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἔς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἔς τοὺς αὐτονόμους Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῖ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίζει μεθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσοντες Ρωμαίοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἔς Μακεδονίαιν ἅλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον τοῖς νομιζόμενον νῦν ἔναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ρωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἑχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερῶς ὡς οὐκ ἔλλειψόντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρόν οὐδὲν ἑτὶ ἐφρόνουν ὡς ἐπισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ κατὰ μικρόν ἡξοντο. ἔπηρτο δ’ ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δὲς κρατῆσαι Μανιλίους τῆς τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβέην ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβας τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς ἀδελφιδοῦν ὡς Τοῦ Γολόσου, διέβαλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσου, ὁ μὲν ἠπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδοκήτω, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς υποβάθροις κατέβαλον.
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fortifying the country and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed out the two victories at Nepheris and the more recent one at Hippagreata, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They also sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that after Carthage they too would be attacked by the Romans. They further sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigour and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed, their designs grew unbounded, and they gained in confidence, courage, and resources from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and had twice got the better of Manilius, was also in high spirits. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches.

XVII

112. When the ill-success of Piso and the preparations of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious about this great and implacable war, waged with a nation so
μεγάλου τε καὶ ἄδιαλλόκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γὰρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἀπιστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ᾿ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐργών, ἐν Διβύη χειλιαρχοῦντος ἐτί, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφόσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμηντο ὑπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα κέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ᾿ ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων (οὐ γὰρ τοῦ δὴ ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχόμον ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν μετή, καὶ ὁ δὴ μος αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἱρεῖτο. παρα- νόμου δ᾿ οὐντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλυμάρον καὶ ἐνεκέειστο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ὄρουλον νόμον τὸν δήμου εἴναι κύριου τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὅν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τῆς ἐφή τοὺς ὑπάτοςς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔπειθε τό δῆμον εἴναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὅν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τῆς ἐφή τοὺς ὑπάτοςς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔπειθε τό δῆμον εἴναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὅν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τῆς ἐφή τοὺς ὑπάτοςς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔπειθε τό δῆμον εἴναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὅν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τῆς ἐφή τοὺς ὑπάτοςς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔπειθε περὶ αὐτῶν εἴλετο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσος περὶ Διβύης πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τοῖς τῶν δη- μάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῆς στρατηγίας τῆν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δὴ μος εἴλετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ᾿ αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων, 598
near to them. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the recent exploits of Scipio, while still a military tribune, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The elections were drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the aedileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and were still more urgent, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law and reenact it after one year. In like manner the Lacedemonians when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the aedileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, bade him cast lots to determine which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes proposed that the appointment to this command should be made by the people, and they chose Scipio. They allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost.
CAP. ἐθελοντὰς δὲ ἄγειν ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμ-
μάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκι-
mάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δήμον ταῖς ἐπιστο-
λαίς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὕς ἐλαβεν οὕτω
παρά τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

113. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν
καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει. Καλπούρνιος
δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκῖνος
ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελοῦ-
μενον ἰδὼν, οὗ κρημνοὶ προύκειντο συνεχείς καὶ
dύσβατοι, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ ἥν καὶ ἀμελοῦμενον,
ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος.
καὶ προσέθηκε μὲν, καὶ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἀνήλθον εὐτόλμως. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγων ἔτι
ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ανέεξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς
κρημνοὺς εκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐξεδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τρεψάμενοι
τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης
συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δὲς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης,
ὁ τε Μαγκῖνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ
tὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὅν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος
ὀμιλος ἀμα τῷ Μαγκῖνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ
τείχος ἐβοηθώσας ἀνοπλοὶ τε καὶ γυμνοὶ. ἤδη
δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρὼν τι
τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀκρον ἐκεῖνος, τροφῶν
δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς
Ἰτυκαίων ἀρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι
cαὶ τροφῶν φέρειν κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐμελλέν ἀμ’ ἐσω πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξω-
θούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

114. Σκιπίων δ’ ἐσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο,
καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἰς ὁ Μαγκῖνος
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in the war, and as many volunteers as he could persuade to enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion, and in consequence he did obtain some assistance from them.

113. Having made these arrangements, Scipio sailed first to Sicily and thence to Utica. Piso, in the meantime, was laying siege to the towns of the interior. Mancinus, who was blockading Carthage, observing a neglected part of the wall, which was protected by continuous and almost impassable cliffs and had been neglected for that reason, hoped to scale the wall secretly by means of ladders. These being fixed, certain soldiers mounted boldly. The Carthaginians, despite their small numbers, opened a gate adjacent to these rocks and made a sally against the enemy. The Romans repulsed and pursued them, and rushed into the city through the open gate. They raised a shout of victory, and Mancinus, transported with joy (for he was rash and giddy by nature), and the whole crowd with him, rushed from the ships, unarmed or half-armed, to aid their companions. As it was now about sunset they occupied a strong position adjacent to the wall and spent the night there. Being without food, Mancinus called upon Piso and the magistrates of Utica to assist him in his perilous position and to send him provisions in all haste, for he was in danger of being thrust out by the Carthaginians at daylight and dashed to pieces on the rocks.

114. Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet...
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. ΧVII

ἔγραφε, τόν τε σαλττικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἥχειν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὡσοὶ συνεληλύθεσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ὡδὼντας Ἰτυκαίων ὡσοὶ ὥ δ' ὑπερήλικες, ἀγοράν ἐς τὰς τριήμερας καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἐς τὸν Πίσωνα ἵππεας ἄλλοις ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλόν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζοντες, ὁρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἐστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τήν ὑφιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος, ἅ ἡμῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπλεῖτο, πεντακοσίους μὲν, οὐς μὸνος εἰχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίους οὕσι, τυτρωσκόμενοι δὲ δι᾽ ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὄψιν ἐνόπλους αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς ἑβῶντας ᾿Ιτυκαίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδ᾽ ἐπρασσεν, ὁ μὲν Ἄσδρούβας τε ὃ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἑξακισχιλίους
to sound for battle immediately, and the heralds to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older men to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea himself, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of greater numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides, and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being pushed over the precipice when Scipio's fleet came in sight, amidst terrible clouds of spray, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief, for when the Carthaginians drew back a little, he took those who had been in peril on board his ships. He then at once sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and himself pitched his camp not far from Carthage, while the Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry-general,
115. 'O δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὔκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἀλλὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οὗ τῆς λείας χάριν ἐπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἱοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑγούμενον τῶν ἀποχωροῦντα πορ- ρωτέρῳ σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὥσα τε πταίσειαν ὑποτικού, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερομένα, καὶ ὥσα διαρπάσειαν, ἐτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γυγνόμενα ἄρχας: πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἁρπαγὸς ἐξώρουν. ὃν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐκπέμβανσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν κατεφρώνειν, ἑκοτῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐπὶ βήμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβαίνειν ὅτε.

Ga ᾿Εγὼ μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, υπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυρα ἐδῶκα πεῖραν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὑμὲν ἑγοῦμεν προαγορεύσαι. ἰστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἃ αἰσχυνομαι; λῃστεύετε μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδράσκετε; οὔτε στρατοπεδεύετε καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἑοίκατε καὶ τρυφάν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἐτι, οὐ γενικήκοτες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὔτε κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται
with 6000 foot-soldiers and about 1000 horse well trained and seasoned.

115. Scipio, finding no sort of discipline or order in the army, which Piso had habituated to idleness, avarice, and rapine, and a multitude of hucksters mingled with them, who followed the camp for the sake of booty, and accompanied the bolder ones when they made expeditions for plunder without permission (although in the eyes of the law everybody was a deserter who went out of hearing of the trumpet in time of war); seeing also that the commander was held to blame for all their mistakes and that the plunder they took was the cause of fresh quarrels and demoralization among them, since many of them fell out with their comrades on account of it and proceeded to blows, wounds, and even murder—in view of all these things and believing that he should never master the enemy unless he first mastered his own men, he called them together and mounting a high platform reprimanded them with these words:

116. "Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have power to punish the disobedient with the utmost severity, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. Avarice has made you more like a set of holiday-makers than a besieging army. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is
ΟΑΡ. XVII

CAP. XVIII

δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆς ρα-
στώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ’ αὐτίας εἰ μὲν
ἐν ύμῖν οὐσας ἐώρων, εὐθὺς ἄν ἐκόλαξον ἐπει δὲ
ἀνατίθημι ἐτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ύμᾶς ἀφίημι τῶν μέχρι
νῦν γεγονότων. ἦκω δὲ οὐ ληστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ
νυκήσων, οὐδὲ χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς
νύκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον ἐξεργασώμενοι.
Αὕτη πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τίμερον, ὡςοι
μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρίς τῶν ἐπιτραπησόμενων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ
μένειν. τοῖς δὲ εξιούσιων οὐδ’ ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι, πλὴν 
εἰ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτῃ στρατιωτικῇ 
τοις τηγῇ. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις χρόνους ἀφισμένοις ἐν ὃ 
τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ διαθήσομαι, καὶ 
τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἐπιμελη-
σόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς,
ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἐν ἄστω παράγγελμα 
κοινὸν ἐργοί τῶν πρότος καὶ πόνοις. 
πρὸς γαρ τόδε κατευθεύοντες αὐτοὺς οὕτω 
προ-
κύκλῳ ἀμαρτήσεθε οὕτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. 
κρῆ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ὃ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ 
δὲ 
κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρέπον 
καιρὸν ἀναθέσσας τάδ’ ἐγὼ προστάσασθαι καὶ ὁ νόμος,
καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οὐσεὶ 
πολλὴν 
ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν.”

XVIII

CAP. 117. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ’ εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς
ἀπήλαυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἄχρειων, καὶ τῶν
αὐτοῖς ὁσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν,
καθαρὸν δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦν
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won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labour has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you at once, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to make money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be plain soldiers' food. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quaestor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be postponed to their proper time. This I command and the law as well. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it.

XVIII

117. Having spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, useless, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly
καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μᾶς διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες εὖ τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεξευγμένου' ἐς ὃ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρους περιέπεμπτε, τῇ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄψοφητι, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἀνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τείχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτὸς τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστοι, ὡς τὰδε πρῶτο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγήναι, τοσούτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τείχος οὐδὲν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἤπειρον, ἐς τινὸς ἰδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς οὖν τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ὕψος Ἰησοῦ ἰστον ὑπὲρ τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἰκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ ὅτε τῶν τείχων καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τρικισχίλιοι, καὶ φυγή ταχείᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀλουσης. βοὴ τε ἐνεήγημε τὸ ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὤραίων ἔγεμεν, αἰμασιαίας τε καὶ 608.
intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he himself advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When quite near, they were sighted from above, and a shout was raised from the walls. They shouted back—first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side—as loudly as possible, so that the Carthaginians were now for the first time alarmed when they found themselves suddenly attacked in flank, in the night, by this large hostile force. In his attack on the wall, however, Scipio, in spite of his efforts, accomplished nothing; but he sent some of his bravest young men to a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. These men with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4,000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, thinking that the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside also left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls and hedges of brambles and thorns, besides deep
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. θρυγκοῖς βάτου καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετῶν βαθέος ὑδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατά-πλευν ἤν) ἐδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερές ἢ στρατῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καὶ τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένουτο. ἀνεξενυγνυε δή.

118. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ασδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἐχων τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα. ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀγαγών, ὅθεν ευσύνοπτα Ῥωμαίωις ἐμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἐσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλῶττας ἢ νεύρα ἢ αἴδοια σιδηρίους ἐξείλκε καμπύλους, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα, καὶ πάντας ἔμπνους ἐτι κατεκρήμνιξεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀφῆμπε τῆν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν εἰ μόνη τῇ μάχῃ, περίεστὶ δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὤν ἐπενοεί. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότοις οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθυμών ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὸν ᾿Ασδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγνώμην σφῶν ἀφηρημένον ἐμίσουν καὶ μάλισθ' ἢ βοιλῆ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκείαις τοσαίσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἐκτείνε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὃν ἡδὴ περιδεῖς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιήλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὧν ἀσφαλῆς ἐξορ, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἶν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.

119. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅν τῇ προτέρα κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγουτε, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρενεν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.
ditches full of water running in every direction, Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads with which they were unacquainted, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew.

118. When daylight came, Hasdrubal, enraged at the attack upon Megara, took the Roman prisoners whom he held, brought them upon the walls, in full sight of their comrades, and tore out their eyes, tongues, tendons, or private parts with iron hooks; of some he lacerated the soles of the feet, of others he cut off the fingers, and some he flayed alive, hurling them all, still living, from the top of the walls. He intended to make reconciliation between the Carthaginians and Romans impossible, and sought to fire them with the conviction that their only safety was in fighting: but the result was contrary to his intention. For the Carthaginians, conscience-stricken by these nefarious deeds, became timid instead of courageous, and hated Hasdrubal for depriving them even of all hope of pardon. Their senate especially denounced him for committing these savage and outrageous cruelties in the midst of such great domestic calamities. But he actually arrested some of the complaining senators and put them to death. Making himself feared in every way he came to be more like a tyrant than a general, for he considered himself secure only if he were an object of terror to them, and for this reason difficult to attack.

119. Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across
ΑΡΡΙΑΝῈ ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὁρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεκείντω, καὶ ἣν αὐτῷ ἐργαὶ ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιῶν ἐργαζομένως τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένως. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἐτέραν ὀρυσσε τάφρων ἱσην, οὐ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας διάσχις, ὡς τὴν ἠπείρον ἀφορώσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἐτέρας περιθεῖς ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὀλον ὀρυγμα πετράγων, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ἔγνως ὄξειν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς τάφρους ἐκράκωσε, τῇ δ᾽ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὑψογη καὶ τείχος παροκόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι σταδίους, ὑψὸς μὲν ὑψίδεκα ποδῶν χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οὗ ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπέκειτο τοῦ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἡμισὺ μάλιστα τοῦ ὑψούς. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ πύργῳ ψηλότατῷ τῇ ἡ, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἔγνως ἐπέκειτο πετρώροφος, ὥθεν καθεώρα τὰ γεγονόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶς ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλάξ ἐργαζομένως τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον αἱρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα.

120. Καὶ ἢν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτεύχθησαν ἑπίμηκες, ὥθεν ὑμώνων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀφαίρεστο Καρχηδόναις, ὅση κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῇ δὲ τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδῶν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγνωμενο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶς αὐτοῖς· ὅτε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ἔνων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπ'
it from sea to sea not more than a spear’s cast from the enemy. They pressed him hard, and he was faced with the difficult task of working and fighting simultaneously along a front of twenty-five stades. When he had finished this trench he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others at right angles to them, so that the whole ditch formed a quadrangle, and filled them all with sharp stakes. In addition to the stakes he also palisaded the ditches, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, not counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was in the middle, and upon this another of wood, four storeys high, was built, from which he observed what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within this fortification.

120. This was at the same time a camp for himself and a long fort commanding the enemy’s country, while from this base he could intercept the supplies sent to the Carthaginians from the interior, since Carthage was everywhere washed by the sea except on this neck. Hence this fort was the first and principal cause of famine and other troubles to them. For as the whole multitude had removed themselves from the fields to the city, and none could go out on account of the siege, and foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war,
XVII
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XVIII

ίόντων, μόνη τῇ τῆς Διβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι,
μικρὰ μὲν ποτε καὶ διὰ ταλάσσης, ὅτε ὦραιον εἶν,
τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκοιμύζοντο, ἄφησις
μένοι δὲ τὸτε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομίδην, ἐπιπόνως
ήσθουσοι τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δὲ, ὅστερ ἱππαρχος
ἡν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σίτου ἐκ πολλοῦ,
προσελθείν μὲν ἡ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ
Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἔτολμα, περιφέρειν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσίν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορ-
μουσών μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος.
 попу' ὡστε διηνεκῶς οὐτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὡς
ἐν ἀλμινὸ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρὰ τε
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν
Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τεῖχεσι τὰ πέτρας ταρασσο-
μένου. ἔθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύα, καὶ εἰ τὸ ἀ).
ἀναχαίνως ὑπὸ κέρδους ἡ ἠπείγατο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ
πολύν πεπετασμένοι τοῖς ἱστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων
οὐσῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ὅλκάδας φερομένας ἰστιφ
καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο
καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν
βίαιον εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόνου καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα
φέροιεν αἱ νῆες. Ἀσδρούβας τρισ-
μυρίως ἀνδράσι μόνοις διέμενοι, οὐς ἐς μάχην
ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλῆθους κατεφρόνει
ὅτε ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

121. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθανόμενος ἔπενοεὶ τὸν
ἔστινος αὐτὸς τοῦ ιμένος, ἐς ὄντα τε ἀφορώντα
καὶ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλείεια.
χώμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχον μακρὸν, ἀρχό-
μενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταυτίας ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς ἱμένης
οὕτα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλώσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊόν
they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favourable, but the greater part being forwarded by the land route; so that being now deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt of attacking and breaking through Scipio’s fortifications, but sent the supplies a long way round by water. Although Scipio’s ships were blockading Carthage they did not keep their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as the sea was harbourless and full of reefs. Nor could they ride near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong wind from the sea, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances occurred seldom, and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. And even these supplies brought by the ships Hasdrubal distributed exclusively to his 30,000 soldiers whom he had chosen to fight, neglecting the multitude; and for this reason they suffered greatly from hunger.

121. When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbour, which looked towards the west and was not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning from the strip of land which lay between the lake and sea, and was called the tongue, and advancing it seawards
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122. Ἐξῆλθον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ πέλαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι τῶν ἑπτάλωνων ἔτη τῶν ἑπτάλωνων ἐπὶ τῶν στόματος τῶν διάφορων ἱπποτῶν καὶ πυκνῶν. Ἐξῆλθον δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ὡς ἐν μὴ ἕω τῳ κλῦσις διαφέροντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τοῦ μὲν ἄνω τῶν εὐχαρίστων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν βυθῶν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἣν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδόνιοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τούτῳ τῶν έργων καταφρόνησις ἣν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἱσως ἀνυπάκουος προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦτο στρατεύματι, μητέρα ἦν ἠμέραν ἐκλεισάμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς έργοις μητέρα ἦν νυκτα, ἐδείσαν, καὶ στόμα ἠτεροῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὁρυσσοῦ ἐστὶ μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἱ μηδὲν χώμα προελθεῖσιν ἠδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσαν δὲ τοῦ πέλαγος, μηδὲν χώμα προελθεῖσιν ἠδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσαν δὲ τοῦ πέλαγος, μηδὲν χώμα προελθεῖσιν ἠδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσαν δὲ τοῦ πέλαγος, μηδὲν χώμα προελθεῖσιν ἠδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων.
THE PUNIC WARS

straight toward the harbour's mouth. He made it of numerous heavy stones so that it might not be washed away by the waves. The embankment was twenty-four feet wide at the top and four times as wide at the bottom. The Carthaginians at first despised this work as likely to take a long time, and perhaps impossible of execution altogether. But when they saw all the great army proceeding eagerly with it, and not intermitting the work by day or by night, they became alarmed, and began to excavate another entrance on the other side of the harbour facing the open sea, where it was impossible to carry an embankment on account of the depth of the water and the fury of the wind. Even the women and children helped to dig. They began the work inside, and carefully concealed what they were doing. At the same time they built triremes and quinqueremes from old material, and left nothing to be desired in the way of courage and high spirit. Moreover, they concealed everything so perfectly that not even the prisoners could tell Scipio with certainty what was going on, but merely that there was a great noise in the harbours day and night without ceasing; what it was about they did not know. Finally, everything being finished, the Carthaginians opened the new entrance about dawn, and passed out with fifty triremes, besides pinnaces, brigantines, and smaller craft equipped in a way to cause terror.

122. The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which had been neglected during the siege operations, neither sailors nor
καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτω-θάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτη δ᾿ ἡμέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐς μόνην ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε νάυς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. 

123. Καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἐσπλοῦν προλαβόντα ἐς ἀλληλα ὤδετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύξην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείξους ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἐσπλοῦν ἀφήρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐς διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ παρατείχισμα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷ ἐς τὸ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο,
rowers being at hand, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But as it was (since it was fated that Carthage should fall) all they did now was to sail out and make a show, and, after flaunting the enemy in a pompous way, to return inside the harbour; but three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and everything else in good order. Loud were the cheers on both sides as they came together, and rowers, steersmen, and marines exerted themselves to the utmost, this being the last hope of safety for the Carthaginians and of complete victory for the Romans. The fight raged till midday, many blows and wounds being given and received on both sides. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats, running against the oarage of the Roman ships, which were taller, stove holes in their sterns and broke off their oars and rudders, and damaged them considerably in various other ways, advancing and retreating nimbly. But when the battle was still undecided, and the day verged towards evening, the Carthaginians thought best to withdraw, not that they were beaten, but in order to renew the engagement on the morrow.

123. Their small boats retired first, and arriving at the entrance, and becoming entangled on account of their number, blocked up the mouth so that when the larger ships arrived they were prevented from entering. So they took refuge at the wide quay, which had been built against the city wall for unloading merchant ships some time before, and on which a small parapet had been erected during this war lest the place might sometime be used as a
ἵνα μὴ εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσει τοίς πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα αἰ νῆες αἰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορία λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὡρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ χῶματος, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ἡρωμαῖοι δὲ δ’ ἰνεῖ ἐπιπλοῦ φυῖς ῥάδιος καὶ τὸ μάχησθαι ναυσίν ἐστώσαις εὐμαρές, αἱ δ’ ἀναχωρῆσεις δ’ ἀναστροφῆν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδείᾳ τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίγνοντο· ὅθεν ἀντέπαγχον ἐν τῷ δὲ τὰ ὁμοία (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιευ, ἐπιτίθοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων), μέχρι νῆν Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἰ γίλια Σκιπίωνος εἰποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνὰμεναι δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κάλους μακρῶς εἰρεσία τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπεπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμυως, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπιστρέφουμεν κατὰ πρόμναν, αὐθίς τε ὑποθέα καταπλέονται πάλιν ἀνήγοντες κατὰ πρόμναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τῶν νοῦ τῶν Σιδητῶν ἄροντες τε καὶ μιμοῦμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐβλάπτουν. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελευτοῦσαν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τῶν νοῦ τῶν Σιδητῶν ἄροντες τε καὶ μιμοῦμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐβλάπτουν. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελευτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἐς τὴν ὑπόλοιποι.
camping place by the enemy on account of its spaciousness. So when the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbour, they anchored with their bows outward, and as the enemy sailed up their attack was met partly by the men on the ships, partly by those on the quay and others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for whenever they turned they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetae, which followed out of friendship for Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then they again ran on the tide, and again retreated stern foremost. After this the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetae, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginian ships withdrew to the city, as many of them as were still left.

124. At daylight Scipio attacked this quay because it was well-situated to command the harbour. Assailing the parapet with rams and other engines he beat down a part of it. The Carthaginians, although oppressed by hunger and distress of various kinds, made a sally by night against the Roman engines, not by land, for there was no
CAP. XVIII

γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὐδὲ ναυσὶν (ἄλλης δὲ ἦν θάλασσα), ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δάδας ἐφερον, οὐχ ἡμένας ἀλλὰ μη μακρόθεν ἐιεν καταφαινεῖν· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἢ μὴ τις ἄν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένευν, ἐως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανῆματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθον, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆπαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθόν, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τυτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τὸλμης: οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἴχμας ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες.
THE PUNIC WARS

passage-way, nor by ships, for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being unarmèd suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Although the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as they had never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. Some of them he killed himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing the desperation of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home.

125. When daylight returned the Carthaginians, no longer molested by the engines, rebuilt that part of the outwork which had been battered down and added to it a number of towers at intervals. The Romans constructed new engines and built mounds in front of these towers, from which they threw upon them lighted torches and vessels filled with burning brimstone and pitch, and burned some of them, and drove the Carthaginians in flight. The
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XVIII

νίους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. Ὠλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ
dρόμος ὡς' αἵματος πεπηγότοις ὕπογύνου τε καὶ
πολλοῦ, ὡστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες.
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν
ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων,
οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ
μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐξείρ-
γαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς
αὐτὸ ἐπέμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἑχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ
ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἱσομέτωποι
γενόμενοι ἐβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχοῦσας. καὶ τὸ
θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

126. Χειμῶνος δ' ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
tῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ
Σκιπίων ἐγνω προκαθελεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ
dιεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἑτέρωσε ἑτέροις,
αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδρούβαν
 φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἥπειγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης,
καὶ Γάιον Δαίλιον κατὰ γῆν ἐπιτυχοῦσας. ὡς δὲ
ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους
ἐστρατοπέδευς, καὶ Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν
ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος
ἡπείγετο; ὅθεν ἐς Νέφεριν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα
dιετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ
τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντως ἤκεν ὁ
Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἑτέροις ἐκ
τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις,
ἐπέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν μεσοτυργίων,
οὔκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκ-
νοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι
φυγεῖν δύναιτο διὰ τοὺς ἐπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ
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footway, however, was so slippery with all the clotted blood lately shed, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. But Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge missiles and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with impunity. As the walls were of equal height the missiles were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

126. At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nepheris against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal's successor, going by the lake, while sending Gaius Laelius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to attack Diogenes unceasingly, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes' towers were demolished, Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy's rear, and making a frontal attack with 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, advanced against the demolished ramparts, not bringing up his men en masse, but in detachments one after the other, so that even if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was
βοῆς οὔσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστράμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προείρητο, οὔδενος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοούντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐνδοὺς γενομένων αἴσθησις ἐνέγγυτο ταχείᾳ, καὶ ἐφευγον οἱ Λίβνες, οὐχ ὅσους ἐώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέονας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχουν σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἐπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἀλώναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεὶν δ' ἀμφί τοὺς πεπαρκισχίλιοις. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἕφερες ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀλλαὶ πολιορκῆθεισα πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάνω κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τόδε μᾶλλον εἰρήνευεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀλωσιν. ἢδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Λίβνες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρων. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀλωσιν. ήτο ἕτερον τὸ στρατηγοῦ Σκιπίωνος προσεχώρει ἐς τὸ δυσχερῆς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἡ τε ἀγορὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπέλυπτε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὄντ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας ἦδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διὰ τόδε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἄραν χειμέριον οὖσαν.

ΧΙΧ

127. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἤρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τῇ Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλοκαίρι
made vigorously with loud shouts, and when the attention of the Africans was turned in that direction, the 1000 in ambush, unperceived and unsuspected, fell boldly upon the rear of the camp, as they had been ordered, and tore down and scaled the palisade. When the first few had entered they were quickly detected, and the Africans fled, thinking that many more than they saw had entered. Gulussa pursued them with his Numidian cavalry and elephants and made a great slaughter, as many as 70,000, including non-combatants, being killed. Ten thousand were captured and about 4000 escaped. In addition to the camp the city of Nepheris was taken also, after a further siege of twenty-two days, prosecuted by Scipio with great labour and suffering owing to the wintry weather and the coldness of the locality. This success contributed much to the taking of Carthage, for provisions were conveyed to it by this army, and the people of Africa were in good courage as long as they saw this force in the field. As soon as it was captured the remainder of Africa surrendered to Scipio’s lieutenants or was taken without much difficulty. The supplies of Carthage now fell short, since none came from Africa, which was now hostile, or from foreign parts, navigation being cut off in every direction by the war and the storms of winter.

XIX

127. At the beginning of spring Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbour called Cothon. Hasdrubal
Κώθων, ὁ δὲ ᾿Ασδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δὲ ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάρχηδον ἐπεστραμμότω ἐπὶ τὸν Κάρχηδον ἐπὶ τὸν Κάρχηδον ἐπεστραμμότω, ἐλαθεὶς Ὁλοίος ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐπὶ τὸ περιφερές αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθὼν. Βοής δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νικὴ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἦδη καταφρονοῦντες ἐβιάζοντο τῇ ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὕπο τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ᾿Απόλλωνος ἐπεστραμμένων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Κώθωνα τείχους, τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδὲν τε ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ πλέον ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς διενυκτέρευσε μεθ᾽ ἁπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτέρους ἀκωμήτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχίλιους, οἱ ἐσίοντες ἱερὸν ᾿Απόλλωνος, οὗ τὸ τε ἀγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δώμα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιεκείτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐκοπτόν, ᾿Αρχος καὶ τῶν εφεστῶτων, ἐκεῖ ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐποράτοντο.

128. Σκιπίων δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἡ σπουδὴ τὸ γὰρ ὄχυρωτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δὲ οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἁνύδων ἐς αὐτὴν, οἰκίαι πυκνὰ καὶ ἐξωροφοὶ πανταχόθεν ἤσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρῶτας τῶν οἰκίων κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δὲ αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενωποῖς ἐπιτεθέντες διεβαίνον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὁδὲ μὲν ὁ
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One night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Laelius, expecting Scipio still to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, and the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans recklessly forced their way up on all sides, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighbouring forum, and being unable to do more, as it was now evening, he and his whole force passed the night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords and disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

128. Now Scipio's main object of attack was Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the Forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six storeys high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. But they captured the first few houses, and from them attacked the occupants of the next. When they had become masters of these, they put timbers across over the narrow passage-ways, and crossed as on
πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ἄνω, ἔτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντώντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ ὀμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσί, καὶ ζώντων ἐνίων ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνωπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ή αἰχμάς ἀλλὰς ή ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ πιμπράμενον ἐτέρους ὀδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν' εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

129. Ἀλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὄψις ἑτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφροῦσσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ οἰκοδομηματα οὐ διαρροῦντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέμενοι πολλά μάλιστα καὶ παίδια καὶ γυναῖκες, ὅσα τοῖς ὀμφαλίς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμιφλεκτοὶ, φωνὰς ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἐτεροὶ δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦτον ὄψιν μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ἀθρόμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπᾷ πῦρ ἐς τοὺς κατασπασσόμενους, καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἄξιναις καὶ κοντοῖς καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς τοὺς πυρὸς ἀθρόμενους καὶ κατασπασσόμενους, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο. οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐτί καὶ τοὺς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐτί ξόωντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους.
bridges. While one war was raging in this way on the roofs, another was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them falling on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Scipio reached Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passage-ways clear of burning material so that the charging detachments of the army might move back and forth freely.

129. Then came new scenes of horror. The fire spread and carried everything down, and the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by little, but pulled them all down together. So the crashing grew louder, and many fell with the stones into the midst dead. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering horrible cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder into all kinds of horrible shapes, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and boat-hooks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, sweeping them along like
επισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἢν τε ἀνθρώπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ύπερίσχυντα τῆς γῆς ἡσπαροῦν ἐπὶ πλείστον· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἔπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ύπερείχον ὕπερ τὸ ἐδαφὸς, ὅπποι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὤψεις ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἐκόμοι τῶν ἐποχομένων ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ᾽ ἐδρῶν ἐκόμοι· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης εγνώς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κηρυκεῖς ὡμοῖ καὶ σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χωλίαρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἐνθοὺς ἀπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὅρωμένων ύπὸ σπουδῆς. Καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἐξ ἡμέραι τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ὅνα μὴ κάμως ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φονοῦ καὶ ὤψεως ἀηδοῦς, ᾿Σκιπίωνος δ᾽ ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἐπὶ διαθέοντος ἀύπνου, καὶ σῖτον ὑπὸς ἐπί τῶν ἐργῶν αἰρομένων, μέχρι κάμως καὶ παρειμένους ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῖς, τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ᾽ ἐτὶ πορθομένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἐσεθαί, προσέφυγοι ἐδέοντο τοῦ ᾿Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλοντες ἐξίεναι, οὔ δὲ ἐδίδον, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ 632
sticks and stones or turning them over with their iron tools, and man was used for filling up a ditch. Some were thrown in head foremost, while their legs, sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners either do these things on purpose; but the press of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the confused noise of heralds and trumpeters all round, the tribunes and centurions changing guard and marching the cohorts hither and thither—all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacle before their eyes.

130. Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of turmoil, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, standing over them or hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food anyhow while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of very long duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Aesculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare merely the lives of all who were willing to depart on this condition from Byrsa. This he granted to all except
καὶ ὠνόμασά τις τάξιν ἄνδρῶν ἀμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτῶν στενοῦ διατειχισματος. καὶ ὦτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογυμνότας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ 'Ασκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' 'Ασδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παιδῶν ᾧμέρων. οἳ ἐμπαρῶς ἐκε ἐμάχοντο, καίτερ ὅντες ὅλην, διὰ τὸ ψυχον τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς δ' ἐκαρπὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ κόμον αὐτοὺς καθήρει καὶ ἦ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δ' τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγον ἀνέτρεχον.

131. Καὶ τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυε. οἱ δ' ὡς εἶδον, ἤτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφισι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεὼν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρύ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένης, κατακομμαθεῖσα τε ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστημένη τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος: "σοι μὲν ὁ νέμεσις ἔκ θεῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖε, ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον ὑμῖν τῷ Καρχηδόνος δαίμονας ἀμύνατο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαίμονων." εἰτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπιστρέψας εἶπεν: "ὦ μιαρὲ καὶ ἀπίστε καὶ μαλακώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ
the deserters. Forthwith there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Aesculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they defended themselves a long time with ease although they were few in number, on account of the height and precipitous nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, weariness, and the approach of destruction, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

131. Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly fled to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arraying herself as best she could amid such disaster, and setting her children by her side, said, so as to be heard by Scipio, "For you, Romans, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. But upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children.
CAP. τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψει: σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβοι τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνος ήγεμόνων; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τόδε ἐπ' ἐπαρκαθέξῃ; τοσαυτ' ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτούς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρριψεν.

132. Ὡδε μὲν φασὶ τὴν Ἀσδροῦβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἔχρην Ἀσδροῦβαν, εἶπονσαν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὅπως ἔπεται οἰκίσμου, καὶ γῆς τοσῆδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ κρημάτων εὐπορίσασαν ἓν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμη δὲ καὶ προθυμία πολύ διασχέοισαν, ἣν καὶ ναῖς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιγρημένη τρισίν ὅμοιο ἐστειν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῳδε καὶ λυμῷ, τότε ἅρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλέθριαν εἰς χάριν, λέγεται μὲν δικρύσασαι καὶ φανερῶς γενέσθαι κλαίοντας ὑπὲρ πολεμίμων, ἔπεὶ πολὺ δ' ἐννουσ ἐφ' ἐποχοῦ γενόμενος τε, καὶ συνιδών ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἐδώι καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἀπάτεσας δεὶ μεταβαλέοις ὑπερ ἀνθρώπους δαί- μονα, καὶ τούτῳ ἔπαθε μὲν Ἰλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτὲ πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ Ἡσσυρίων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀρχή μεγίστη γενόμενη, καὶ Ἡ μάλιστα ἐναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους,

"ἐσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἡλιος ἱρή καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίως Πριάμου." Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ (καὶ
But as for you, what Roman triumph will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting.” Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. With these words, it is said, did the wife of Hasdrubal die, as Hasdrubal should have died himself.

132. Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, as rich in arms and fleets, elephants, and money as the mightiest empires, but far surpassing them in hardihood and high spirit (since, when stripped of all its ships and arms, it had sustained famine and a mighty war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction—Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the inevitable fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon the fate of the Assyrian, the Median, and afterwards of the great Persian empire, and, most recently of all, of the splendid empire of Macedon, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:

“The day shall come in which our sacred Troy And Priam, and the people over whom Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all.”

Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for

1 *Iliad* vi. 448, 449; Bryant’s translation.
133. Καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει: Σκιπίων δ᾽, ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μὲν τινα ἡμέραν ἄριθμον ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄριστεία πολλα διαδοὺς ἀπασί, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἄπολλώνιον ἀμαρτόντων, ναῦν ἐξυτάτην κοσμήσας λαφύρους ἀγγελού τῆς νίκης ἐστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὥσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἁμαρτήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἐλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγυγνώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγώγησεν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τὴν περισσὴν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἐκέλευσεν ἔκαιεν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

134. Οἱ δʼ ἐν ἄστει ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἱδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δείλην ἐστέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὄδους ἐξεπηδοῦν, καὶ διευκτέρευον μετ' ἀλληλων, ἱδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὡς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δὲ ἀρχοντες ἐτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οίαν οὔτινα πρότερον...
Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, Polybius says that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

**XX**

133. **Carthage** being destroyed, Scipio gave the soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave numerous prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. The rest of the spoils he sold, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.

134. When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as they had never won before. They
Ἀλλήν νίκην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς πατρασίν ἐς τὲ Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐναγχός καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν. πόλεμον δ᾽ ὀψάδενα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβοι αὐτοῖς ἤδεσαν, διά τε ἀνδρέας καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἑχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὃν ἐπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τὲ Σικελία καὶ Ἰβηρία καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπὶ τὲ τὴν Ὀώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἐσχατον κινδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὃν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξεστάντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐθίνες ἀνεπυράντων ἄλληλων εἰ τὸ ὧν ἡ Καρχηδον κατέσκαπται ἔλεσχῆνεν τε δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς ὤτως μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ ὅπλα περιηρέθη καὶ ὡτὸς αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐστεκτήναντο ἑτέρα, ὡτὸς δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφηρέθησαν καὶ στόλου ἐπῆξαντο πάλιν εἷς ὄλης παλαιᾶς, τὸ τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὁρύξαντο ἐτερον ὀλίγαις ἤμεραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν τεχνῶν υψὸς αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ὅμως, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπῆγγεκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὀρῶντες ἄρτι γυρνόμενον ἄλληλοις διεστύπωσαν, καὶ ὡς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὧρὰν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκιων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πῦλαις, ἐν μάχαις, 640

**CAP. XX**

**APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII**
remembered many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself; but they knew of no other war which had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, high spirit, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Remembering these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they conversed the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians had been taken away from them, and how at once, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others: how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbour was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. In fact they pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the
pagantakon diatheontas. ou'to mu'moi 'Rwmaiow dieunuktereusan, 135. amu d' hmera vusiai te kai pormai tois theois egignontos kata fylhn, kai agovnes ep'ti toutois kai theai poykiilai.

Deka de sfowv avtois h bouli tois aristoous epeumpe dialthiasomous Liothyne meta Skipinovos e's to 'Rwmaiow sumpherou' ois Karxhodonos mewn ei ti periloupou eti hyn, ekrivan kataxkalxai Skipinwma, kai oikeiav avthn apeipou apasi, kai eptihrasanot, malista peri ths Burysh, ei tis oikhexiav avthyn h t'a kaloumena Megara: epiibaainey d' ouk apeipou. osai de poleis suneinemachikesan tois polemiois eptimonos, edoxe kathelhei apasaive kai osai 'Rwmaiow ebebotheikesan, chravan edwvan ekasty tis doriagnostou, kai prwtou malista 'Itonkaivos tnu meixri Karxhodonos avthis kai 'Ippwvns ep'ti thatera. tois de loipois f'orou orisasen ep'ti th yhy kai ep'ti tois swmasin, anvdi kai gynaike obiowos. kai stratigicov e'tisiou avtois ek 'Rwmis epipepein ekrivan. ois mewn de tausta proostaxantes apeiploev en 'Rwmis, d' de 'Skipinov enpeiei t'a doxanta, kai theisiai etelei kai agovnas ep'ti thynik. ws de autwv pantia exegetetelasto, diaplevsa eptifanestata de pantov dieithrambeve poluxhroso othiamboi, agalmatow te gemoata kai ana-themataw, osa Karxhodonoi xroyn pollyw kai suvexesi nikaiv ek pasis yhis suneiwmokhesan es 642.
gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. CHAP. XX
Thus did the Romans pass the night. 135. The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds.

The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. These men decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should raze it to the ground, and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Imprecations were levelled against any who should settle there, or at Megara, but the ground was not declared accursed. The towns that had allied themselves consistently with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all the territory extending from Carthage on one side to Hippo on the other was given to the Uticans. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike, and it was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these directions had been given by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and crowned with all the statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of
CAP. Λιβύην. τότε δ’ ἤν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἀνδρισκοῦ τοῦ ψευδοφιλιπποῦ, τρίτος ἦγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἤν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

136. Χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον, Γαίου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐδοξεὶ κληρούχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἐξακισχίλους, διαγραφομένου δ’ ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἄθροι διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὐθις, ὅποτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἰγύπτου ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὑπ᾽ ἐνυπνίου συνοικισμοῦ: χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνέσκεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ.
the world during their long period of continuous victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andricus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad.

136. Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate abandoned the settlement. But at a still later time it is said that Caesar, who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey’s friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and the poor asking him for land, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Julius Caesar, surnamed Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000
CAP. αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν αὐθες μετὰ ἑτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.
colonists from Rome and collected the rest from the neighbouring country. And thus the Romans won the Carthaginian part of Africa, destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 1021 years after its destruction.

1 The date proves that it was Julius Caesar, not Augustus, who repeopled Carthage.

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