APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

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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-

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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

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Τὴν 'Ρωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγγράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὅρους ὅσων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι 'Ῥωμαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε. ἐν μὲν τῷ ὅκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείονος μέρους, διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐς τήνθε ἡ τῆν θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς στῆλας περιπλέοντι νῆσων ἄρχουσι πασῶν, καὶ ἱππείρων ὅσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὅπειραν ἐν δεξίᾳ πρώτοι Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα Λίβυων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ τούτων ὑπέρθε Νομάδες, οὓς 'Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νουμίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νουμιδίαν, ἔτεροι δὲ Λίβνες ὅσοι περιοικοῦσι τὰς Σύρτεις μέχρι Κυρήνης, Κυρήνη τε αὐτὴ καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσι, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἢ Ἄλεξάνδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ Αἰγύπτου, Αἰγυπτός τε αὐτὴ μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑώρων ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλούσιον διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ περιώντι Συρία τε ἡ 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 Marmaridae, the Ammonii, and those who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt, and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

2. Here turning our course and passing round, we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part
μοῖρα Ἠ' Ἀράβων, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοίνικες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Φοίνικῶν ὑπερθεν ἦ τε κοίλη Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Ἐυφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνω Παλμυρηνοὶ τε καὶ ἦ Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἐυφράτην καθήκουσα, Κιλικές τε Σύρων ἐχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι Κιλικῶν ὁμοροί, καὶ μέρος Ἀρμενίων, οὐς καλοῦσιν Ἡ' Ἀρμενίαν βραχυτέραιν, παρά τέ τῶν Ἐυξεινοῦ πόντου ἀλλὰ ὀσα Ποινικά Ἑ'Ρωμαίων ὑπίκοι γένη. Σύρων μὲν δὴ καὶ Κιλικές ἐς τὴν ἡ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφορώσων, Ἡ' Ἀρμενίων δὲ καὶ Καππαδόκαι ἐς τα Ποινικά γένη καθήκουσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλομένην Ἡ' Ἀρμενίαν μείζονα, ἦς Ἡ'Ρωμαίων οὐκ ἄρχουσι μὲν ἐς φόρον κομιδήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποτείχνουσι τοὺς βασιλείας. ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλικῶν ἐς τὴν Ἡ'Ιωνίαν καταβαίνοντι ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη χερσόνησος; ὁ τε γὰρ πόντος ὁ Ἐυξεινος καὶ Ἡ'Προποντίς καὶ Ἡ'Ἐλλήσπωντος ἐπὶ δεξιά, καὶ τὸ Ἀιγαῖον, ἵκ δὲ λαϊῶς τὸ Παμφύλιον ἡ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφω) ποιεῖ χερσόνησον, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες, Πάμφυλοι τε καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Καρία μέχρι Ἡ'Ιωνίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐυξεινον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσπωντον, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, ἐν δὲ μεσογείῳ Πισίδαι τε καὶ Λυδοὶ. τοσάτα ἐθνη τὴν χερσόνησον ὁικοῦσι, καὶ πάνων ἄρχουσι Ἡ'Ρωμαῖοι.

3. Περάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν ἄμφι τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Ἔυρώπῃ, καὶ Ἡρακλὸν ὁσοὶ περὶ τὸν Ἐυξεινον. 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
 şiωνίας κόλπος ἐστὶ θαλάσσης ὁ Αἴγαλος, καὶ ἔτερος Ἰούνιον θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἦρακλέων στηλῶν. τοῦτο μήκος ἔστιν ἀπ’ ἤμερας ἐπὶ τῶν ὦκεανῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλω Ἦρωμαίων ὑπήκοα τοσαύτα, ἢ τε Ἑλλάς πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὁσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιῶνων ἢθνη, αὐτή τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δῇ πάντων ἢθνῶν οὕσα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούνιον παρήκουσα ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὗτοι αὐτοὶ Γαλάται προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὁσα ἢθνη τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς θάλασσας τὰ δὲ ἐς τῶν βόρειων ὦκεανῶν ἀφοῦ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥήνου ποταμὸν ἦκαται, Ἱβηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὦκεανὸν καὶ τὰς Ἦρακλείους στῆλας τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων περὶ καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάστου ἒλλος τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐστὶν ἢθνος ἡ γραφὴ περὶ. νῦν δὲ, ὅσον ὅροις μεγάλοις τῆς ἁρχῆς περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν ἀφηταί, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιοδεύοντι μοιρὰ τές Μαυρουσίων ἄν εἰς τῶν παρ’ Ἁθῆναι τοῖς περὶ ἑσπέραν, καὶ εἰ τις θερμότερον ἡ θηριώδες ἄλλο Ἀιβύνης μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἔως. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀτηύνης Ἦρωμαίους ὅρους, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμὸς τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καῦκασον ὅρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζους ἁρχῆς, καὶ Κόλχωι παρὰ τῆς Ἐὐξεινον θάλασσαν ὠκημένουν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦτο πελάγους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐὐρώπῃ ποταμοὶ δύο, Ῥήνος τε καὶ Ἰστρος, μάλιστα τῆς Ἦρωμαίων ἁρχῆς ὀρίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτων 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 ὥκεανόν, Ἐιστρος δὲ ἐσ τὸν Εὔξεινον πόλον καταδιδοί. περάσαντες δὲ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἱππος ἄρχουσιν ἐνίου, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, οὕς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὦροι μὲν οὕτοι κατ' ἥπειρον, ὧς ἐγγύτατα ἔλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβούς. 5. νῆσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰσίν, αἱ τε Κυκλάδες ἡ Ἑπιράδες ἡ Ἑχινάδες ἡ Τυρρηνίδες ἡ Γυμνησίαι ἡ Ἰάδες ἡ Ἑχινάδες ἡ Τυρρηνίδες ἡ Γυμνησίαι ἡ ὅσαι ἀλλα θνομάζουσιν ἐτέρως, περὶ τε Διβύην καὶ τὸ Ἰάνιον ἡ Ἀλυσίττιον ἡ Μυρτών ἡ Σικελικὸν ἡ ὅσα ἀλλα τῆς ἡς ἀλλα θαλάσσης όνοματα, ὅσαι τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ Δέσβος καὶ Εὐβοία καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σάρδῳ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη μικρότερα τε καὶ μεῖζον, ἀπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα. καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὥκεανόν ἐσ τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον περάσαντες, ἥπειρον μεγάλης μείζονα, τὸ κράτις τοῦ αὐτῆς ἔχοσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀλλής ἀλλομενοὶ, οὐ γὰρ εὐφόροις αὐτοῖς ἐστίν οὐδ' ἢν ἔχουσιν.

6. Τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ὅντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμοχθὸς τε καὶ μόλις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἐτεσὶ κατειργάσαντο βεβαίως. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλείουν ἐξώρωσί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλείας ἐκβαλοῦσε, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων, ἀριστοκρατία τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦτο καὶ προστὰταις ἄρχουσιν ἐτήσιοι. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ἕνεκῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε ὑπηγάγοντο. Γάρ ὁσος 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
Caesar, when he had come to the end of the course of his government, and was seeking to make himself safe, without his being able to find a place of safety, for his men, who were his friends, to do the same thing as he had done, for fear of the dangers which he feared: for he was a man who had always been in the habit of seeking to do the right thing; and he was determined not to退下. His friends, who were his men, were seeking to do the same thing as he had done, for fear of the dangers which he feared: for he was a man who had always been in the habit of seeking to do the right thing; and he was determined not to
[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 περικάθηναι μεγάλους στρατοπέδους, καὶ φυλάσσουσι τὴν τοσήνδε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἄσπερ χωρίον.

8. Ἀρχῇ τε οὐδεμία προῆλθε πω μέχρι νῦν ἔστωσον μεγέθους καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἐλλήνων, εἰ τις ὁμοῦ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, ὀθεν αὐτοὶ ἔστων ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἤγεμονίαν συναγάγοι, πολλὰ ἄν ἐτη φανείη. οἱ τε ἀγῶνες αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς περικτῆσει μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοτιμία πρὸς ἄλληλον, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἄλλας ἐπιούσας. οἱ δὲ τνεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐλπίδι προσέπτασαν ἢ εἰ τις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διήλθε, μικρὰ καὶ ὅδε δράσας εὐθὺς ἐπανήγει. ὡς τε ἡ Ἐλληνικὴ δύναμις, καίπερ ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἤγεμονίας ἀγωνισμένων, οὐ προήλθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἐλλάδα βεβαίως, ἄλλα δεινὸς ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο ἀδουλωτον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀ ihtητον κατασχεῖν ἐπὶ πλείστου, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξαί κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως αὐτῶν.

9. "Ἡ τε τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ ἐργων μὲν πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδ’ ἐς τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν Εὐρωπαίων παραβάλλεται δι’ ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀτολμία τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ τοὐτο δηλώσει καὶ ἢδε ἡ γραφὴ προϊόνσα· ὅλγας γὰρ μάχαις Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦτον τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν κατέσχον ὄσων ἔτι κρατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ὑπερμαχομένων, τὰ
armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single stronghold.

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

9. The empire of Asia is not to be compared, as to achievements and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined
δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Διβύην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπτην ἔξετριφθησαν. Ἀσσυρίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλεξανδροῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὐτ' ἄν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκειτο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἔτῶν, ὃσα ἐστὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὸν παρόντα χρόνου, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἦς ἡμισὺ νομίζω τὴς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπαντῶν, τεκμαίρομενος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὸ τε δύσεων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἑστέραν ὀκεανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω δὲ Ἀγάπτου καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐβοῦν ὀκεανὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ διεξέρχεται, καὶ ὄρος ἐστίν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὀκεανὸς ἀρχομένου τε καὶ δυνμένου τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἡγεμονεύουσα τῆς ἐντὸς οὐσίας καὶ νῆσου ἄπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν. Μῆδοις δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὁ Παμφύλιος κόλπος ἦν καὶ μία νῆσος ἢ Κύπρος ἦ τί που ἄλλο σμικρόν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν θαλάσσῃ τοῦ τε Περσικοῦ κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τούτε ἑκράτους) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτου πέλαγός ἐστίν;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ 'Ἀμύντου καὶ πάνυ σμικρὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐστίν ὁν ὑπήκοουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνον μὲν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγεμένος οὐ μεμπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτα περὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχορα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξανδροῦ μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ εὐτυχία καὶ ταχυργία διαλάμψασα ἡ ἀρχὴ, καὶ ολίγου δεῖν ἐς ἀπειρον καὶ ἀμέμπτων ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέοικεν ἀστραπῆ λαμπρά· ἦς γε καὶ διαλυθέοντας ἐς πολλὰς σατραπείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέλαμπτε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοῖς
in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, a period which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire, I think, was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt up country to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean, so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. But the greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included only the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of that is open sea?

10. Again, the history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighbouring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own
έμοις βασιλεύσι μόνοις ἢν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἰκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ἑπτάνων τέσσαρας, καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολεμισταὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἀρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὅπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μυριάσι τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἢν ἐς πεζομαχίαν, ἐς δὲ ναυμαχίας κοντωτὰ, καὶ ὅσα σμικρότερα ἄλλα, δισχίλια, τριήρεις δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας μέχρι πεντήρους πεντακόσια καὶ χίλιαι, καὶ σκεῦς τριηρετικά διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγά τε χρυσόπρυμνα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου πομπὴν, οἷς αὐτὸι διαπλέοντες ἑπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὄκτακόσια, χρημάτων δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἕβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλάντων Ἁγιαπτίων. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παρασκευὴς τε καὶ στρατιάς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγόν τε καὶ καταλπὼν ὁ δεύτερος Ἁγιαπτίου βασιλεὺς μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον, δὲ καὶ πορίσαι δεισότατος ἢν βασιλέων καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλουργότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπεῖῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέοντα. ἄλλα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίβη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἄλληλους. ὃ δὴ μόνῳ ἄρχαλ μεγάλαι καταλύονται.

11. Τὰ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ διήνεγκέ δ' ἐὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἐς τὴν περίκτησιν αὐτῶν ἀρετή καὶ φερετονία καὶ ταλαιπωρία πάντας ὑπερήφαν, οὕτω ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενοι μέχρι βεβαιῶς ἐκράτησαν, οὕτω συστελλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς δὲν γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνίοτε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐτέρας

1 So Schw. for MSS. μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχία διήνεγκε δ' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνων.
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. Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king 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.
APPtAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

tέσσαρες, ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ
περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ
λυμοὶ τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ στάσεις, ὅμοι
πάντα ἐπιπλέοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτι-
μίας, ἐως ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ
κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τήν ἀρχὴν ἐς τόδε
προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὄναντο διὰ τῆς
ἐνβούλιαν.

12. Καὶ τάδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλληνῶν πολλοὶ δὲ
Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς
Μακεδονικῆς, μεγίστης δὴ τῶν προτέρων οὐσίς
πολύ μείζων. ἀλλ’ ἐντυγχάνοντά με, καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐντελῆ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος ἱδεῖν
ἐθέλοντα, ἀπέφερεν ἡ γραφὴ πολλάκις ἀπὸ
Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ ἹBetaς καὶ ἐξ ἹBetaων ἐπὶ
Σικελίαν ἡ Μακεδονίαν ἡ ἐπὶ πρεσβείας ἡ συμ-
μαχίας ἐς ἀλλα ἐθνὴ γενομένας, εἰτ’ αὐθίς ἐς
Καρχηδόνα ἄνηγεν ἡ Σικελίαν ὥσπερ ἀλώμενον,
καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἀτελῶν ἐτὶ ὄντων μετέφερεν,
ἐως οὖ τὰ μέρη συνήγαγον ἐμαυτῷ, ὡσάκις ἐς
Σικελίαν ἐστράτευσαν ἡ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἡ ὀτιοῦν
ἐπραξα̊ν ἐς Σικελίαν, μέχρι κατεστήσαντο αὐτὴν
ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν παρόντα, ὡσάκις τοὺς Ἀἱ Καρχη-
δονίους ἐπολέμησαν ἡ ἐπτείσαντο, ἡ ἐπρέσβευσαν
ἐς αὐτοὺς ἡ πρεσβείας ἐδέξαντο παρ’ ἐκείνων, ἡ
ἔδρασαν ὀτιοῦν ἡ ἐπαθοῦν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐως Καρχη-
δόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸ Διβύων ἔθνος προσέλα-
βου, καὶ αὐθίς φίκισαν αὐτοὶ Ἀἱ Καρχηδόνα, καὶ
Διβύνην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ἄντα. καὶ τὸδε μοι
κατ’ ἔθνος ἐκαστὸν ἐπράχθη, βουλομένῳ τα ἐς
ἐκάστους ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καταμαθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν τῶν

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PREFACE

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
13. Νομίσας δ' ἂν τίνα καὶ ἄλλους οὕτως ἔθελ-ησαι μαθεῖν τὰ Ἡρωμαίων, συγγράφῳ κατ' ἔθνος ἐκαστὸν ὁσα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἐτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἔξαιρω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἑκείνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πᾶσι περισσοῦ ἡγούμην καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσω. καὶ τὰ οὖνόματα Ἡρωμαίων πάλαι μὲν ἢν ὦν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπως ἀπασιν, ἐκάστῳ, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δύο· καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος εξ ὦν καὶ τρὶτον ήρξατο τισιν ἐς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐκ πάθους ἡ ἀρετῆς προστίθεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισιν ἐπὶ τὰ οὖνόματα ἦσαν ἐπικλήσεις. εὖ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν ὁποῦ καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γνώρισμα τῶν ἀνθρών· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τούς ἄλλους, ἂ κυριότατα ἡγοῦνται, προσαγορεῦσοι.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βίβλων οὕτων αἳ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὖντα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέου εἶναι Ἡρωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικῶν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργον διήρηται. καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἢ μὲν πρῶτῃ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπτὰ γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἄπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφῳ Ἡρωμαϊκῶν βασι-ικήν. ἢ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, χωρὶς γε τῆς παρὰ τῶν κόλπων τῶν Ἰόνιων· ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἢδε λέγεται ἢ ἐξῆς.
endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance contributing to the result.

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

14. As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three together must be considered the Italian-Roman history; but the division into books has been made on account of the great number of events which they contain. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the
'Ρωμαϊκών 'Ιταλική. τελευταίω δὲ ἑθνεῖ, Σαουνταίς, οὗ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἠκηνταί, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ χαλεπῷ ὄγδοηκοντα ἔτεσιν συνεπλίκησαν, μέχρι καὶ τούσδε, καὶ ὅσα σφίσιν ἐγγὺς ἑθνη συνεμάχη, καὶ "Ελληνας ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν 'Ιταλιάν εἰσίν, ὑπηγάγοντο· καὶ ἔστιν ἡδὲ, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύγκρισιν, 'Ρωμαϊκῶν Σαουντικῆ. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, τούτων ἐκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιγράφονται, 'Ρωμαϊκῶν Κελτικῆ τε καὶ Σικελικῆ καὶ 'Īβηρικῆ καὶ 'Ανυβαϊκῆ καὶ Καρχηδονικῆ καὶ Μακεδονικῆ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. τέτακται δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλη μετ' ἀλλην ὡς ἐκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἐτέρου λαβεὶν συνεπεσεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἑθνεὶ μετὰ πολλὰ ἑτερα γεγένηται. ὅσα δ' αὐτοὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἑστασιάσαν τε καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἐμφύλια, φοβερότερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενόμενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν στάσεως διήρηται, τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριον τε καὶ Συλλάν, τὰ δ' ἐς Πομπῆιον τε καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων Καίσαρα, τὰ δ' ἐς 'Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐπίκλην, πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, τὰ δ' ἐς ἄλληλους, αὐτῶν Ἰ'Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος στασιασάντων. ὃ τινὶ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων ὄντι καὶ Α'γυπτος ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαῖος ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἐς μοναρχίαν περιηλθεν.

15. Ὡδὲ μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἐκαστα τῶν ἑθνῶν, ἤ ἐς στρατηγοὺς τὰ ἐμφύλια, διήρηται· ἡ δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὅσην ἐχουσιν, ἡ πρόσωδον ἤν καρποῦνται καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἑθνος, ἡ εἰ τι προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπιεικοὺς φρουράς, ὅσα τε τοιοῦτότροπα ἄλλα, ἐπιδείξει. ἀρμόζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἀρξασθαι τοῦ 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 ὅν ταῦτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἵσασι καὶ αὐτὸς προέφηνα, σαφέστερον δὲ εἰπεῖν, Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἥκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ὀρύμη συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι μὲ σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἥξιωσαν. καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδῇ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφῆ.
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.
Α

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ.

1. Ἀρχεῖ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ 'Αγχίσου τοῦ Κάμπνος, ὅσον τῷ Τρωικῷ ἤκμαξεν πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλώσιν τῆς Τροίας ἐφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνῃν κατέπλευς ἐς τινὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλὸν, Δώρεντον ἐπικαλουμένον, ἐνθα καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Τροίαν καλωσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίων τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίων Φαύνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως, ὅσο καὶ ξεύγυσιν Αἰνεία τῆς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Δαυυίναν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἐκτίσει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Δαυυίνιον ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν ὁ Αἰνείας κατὰ τὸ κήδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Δαυυίου Φαύνου Δαυυίους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Δαυυίνιαν τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Ῥοντούλων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναίρεσιν πολέμου νόμω ὁ Αἰνείας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθεῖς, ὅσ 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,
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK I

to Aineia ek Kreoúshs tis Priámu, tis en 'Iliw genoménis autw gynaiakos. oí de ek tis Laouinías 'Aσkánion autw genunthiav fasi, ton diádochoi tis arxhís.

2. 'Askánion de televntístantos étéi tetártow metà toin 'Albhs oíkisw (kai gar óutos éktise polin, 'Albhn kalésas, kai apò Laouiniou tôn laou metókisewn) ekdechetai tìn arxhн Sílouios. kai Sílouion paidà Aineian Sílouion fasiw, Aineiou de Latínon Sílouion, tou de Kámn, Kápous de Kápeton genéthai, Kápeton de Tiberivon, tou de 'Agríppavan, tou de 'Rwmílon. kai tónde mén bléthnai keraunh, oú genéthai paidà 'Aouentínon, 'Aouentínon de Prókan genésthai. kai pási de ton Sílouion epónymon einai. to de Próka duo égenésithn níoi, presbúteros me

Nemétwor, neóteros de 'Aμouílios. labwntos de tou presbúteron parà tou patrós televntóntos tìn arxhín, o neóteros urbri kai bía katésthein áfewlóménos. kai toin mén paidà tou ádelfov 'Eneston kteínei, tìn thugatéra de 'Réaν Sílouían iéreian, ína ápaitis diameính, kathísthsw tón méntoi Nemétopa tis eis to sóma épiboulhí h tôn ñthwv éxeile praatíths kai h polli épistikeia. allh h Sílouía ekne parà ton nýmon. kai tìn mén 'Aμouílios épi kolásei suneilambane, duo de paidas ék tísde genoménon poiméson étωkev, eis toin plhíon potamón émbalein và bréphi. Óubris ñw ómova to potamó, 'Rwmos de kai 'Rwmílos oí paides, éx Aineiou elkonites mptróthein to génos: to gar tou fúntos ãðhlon. Phot. Biblioth. p. 16 b 4 Bekk.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

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

'Ω μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἐπτὰ βασιλέων, Ἡρωμύλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἀγκου 'Οστιλίου καὶ Ἀγκου ἐτέρου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερούνιου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεως περιέχει. ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι κτίστης τε 'Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστής γεγονός, ἀρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἡ τυραννικός, ὁμος ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὅς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἡφανίζθη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἤττον βεβασιλευκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε ξῆσας ... ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ ἐκτὸς ὁμοίως σφαγὴ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ ἐβδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη ἐξ ὑφ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθέσθη εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη. id. p. 15 b 22.

III

'Η δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα υπισχεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον. Suid. vv. Τάτιος et φυλάξασα.

IV

Κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παιδὰ ἐλίθαξον, ἔστε 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.’
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK I

V

"Οτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς ἩΡωμύλου Τάτιον αἰ ἩΡωμαίων γυναίκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διήτησαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χειράς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἡδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτᾶς ἄμαρτεῖν. ἔδεοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἰκτὸν τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μιαρῶν πολέμου, ἡ πρῶτας ἀνελεῖν αἰ τὴν αὐτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορία καὶ οἰκτω τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγενῶσκοντες ἡδῆ μὴ καθ' ὑβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἄλλα ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες ἩΡωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ιερὰν γενομένην ὀδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς δε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τάτιον τε καὶ ἩΡωμύλου, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τάτιῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, ἐς τὸ ἩΡωμαίων μετοικίζεσθαι ἐπὶ ἵση καὶ ὀμολα. U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) p. 334.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

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.
VI
'O de strategos aisbomevos par' idioxeon e'xhgygeilev Ostilh. Suid. v. idioxevos.

VII
Oi de eblassphi'mon avton os kakos epi trisiv anderasi ta panta themenon. id. v. eblassphi'mos.

VIII
Sumbasseis poiein ef ois an Gabyoi dikeivos. id. v. dikeivos.

IX

X
'O de 'Oراتios lelubhemenos hy ta skelh, upateiaas te ouk etuxhe outhe en polemu outhe en eirhny dia ti'nu akhrstian tou'n podon. Suid. vn. akhrstian et 'Oراتios.

XI
Oi upatoi ta orxia prouteivon, kal es panta efasav evdwsiein mallon h Tarquinion proshsebhai. id. v. proshsebhai.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

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 Tarquinius] on such terms as the Gabini considered just.

IX. FROM THE ANONYMOUS GRAMMARIAN

[Tarquinius] 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 Tarquinius.
XII


XIII

Λατίνου ἐνσπούδοι Ρωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστρατευνοῦν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς... οἱ δὲ Λατίνοι ἐγκλῆματα εἰς Ρωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἐνσπόνδος καὶ συγγενεῖς. Suid. nn. ἐνσπούδος et πάρεσις.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

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.
BOOK II
CONCERNING ITALY
FRAGMENTS
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ

Ι

Οὐδενῶσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους. Συν. v. κληρούχον.

II

Ὁ δὲ δήμος τῶν Μάρκιον μετιόντα την ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειροτόνησεν, οὐ τῶν ἀνδράς ἀπαξίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιώς αὐτοῦ. id. v. ἀπαξίων.

III

Ὁ Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους, φυγὴν καταδικασθείς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐσ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐδενῶσκοις ἐτράπετο. id. v. πίμπραται.

IV

"Ὅτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἦκοι, τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐδενῶσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἰρήσεσθαι βουληθεῖς. 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. "Οτι τοι Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος και ἐς Οὐολοῦσκοις καταφυγόντος και κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος και τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἦπειλε τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ προσβεύσοιτο περὶ διαλλαγών πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξεπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ρωμαίων προπούσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολοῦσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολοῦσκων ἀκρωμένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτῶν ὑπεμίμνησκον ὡς οὐχ ἀμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ Οὐολοῦσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὡμως Οὐολοῦσκους αὐτοὺς διαλάξειν, ἀν ἦν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολοῦσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδώσῃ, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὦσπερ Λατίνων. ἦς δὲ ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατοῦντον ὦ κρατοῦμενοι, οὐχ ὅραν τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίκουντες ἀπέλυνε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεῖς δὲ ἔπι τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἐπτὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐιλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῶ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δὲ ἀντειπόντος ἐπεμπον ἐτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνα-

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK II

V

1. "Οτι τοι Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος και ἐς Οὐολοῦσκοις καταφυγόντος και κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος και τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁστεος και στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἦπειλε τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ προσβεύσοιτο περὶ διαλλαγών πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξεπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ρωμαίων προπούσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολοῦσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολοῦσκων ἀκρωμένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτῶν ὑπεμίμνησκον ὡς οὐχ ἀμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ Οὐολοῦσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὡμως Οὐολοῦσκους αὐτοὺς διαλάξειν, ἀν ἦν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολοῦσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδώσῃ, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὦσπερ Λατίνους. ἦς δὲ ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων οἱ κρατοῦμενοι, οὐχ ὅραν τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίκουντας ἀπέλυνε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεῖς δὲ ἔπι τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἐπτὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐιλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῶ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δὲ ἀντειπόντος ἐπεμπον ἐτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνα-
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
ξιόν ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἐκουσίους ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδοῦμενόν τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶν τῶν ἐσ αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἀμαρτόντων. οδὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἀλλων ἣμερῶν ἢκεῖν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπεμπούν, ταῖς ἱεραίς ἐσθήσιν ἐσταλμένους, ταῦτα τοῦ Μάρκιον δεησομένους· οδὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐφ' ἑαυτήν ὡς τὰ κελεύόμενα ποιεῖν, ἡ μηδ' αὐτῷ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολυρκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὡς ἀνωθεν ἀμυνοῦμενοι Μάρκιον.

3. Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλάς ἀγομένη γυναίκας ἐπὶ τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μάρκιον Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναίκα Οὐολοουμίαν, πένθιμα ἡμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσιν, συνεξέλθειν αὐτῶς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἥξιον αὐτάς, καὶ δευθήναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναίκες, ἐς ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον· οδὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ἐρωμαίων ἔστι καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιούσας ἁπήντα, καὶ τὰς ράβδους καθήρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τὴν μητέρα, προσδραμὼν τῇ ἡσπάζετο, καὶ ἢγειν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ὠολοουσκών, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἡ τι χρήσιμη.

4. Ἡ δὲ συνηδικήσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένος τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἐφ' ὃραν δ' ὅτι Ἐρωμαιοῖ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν πεπόνθασιν ἡδη καὶ τῖσιν 46
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
'Ετισάν ἰκανήν, δὲν χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέθθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολύλασι πολλαί, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσχατοῦ, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερέας καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα, τὸ τε ἀδίκημα ἱδονταί ἀμυνηστία καὶ καθόδω. "σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ, μηδὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπιχείρει κοιναῖς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄδικοῦντων. 1 ποί φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ; μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὴν σήν; μετὰ τὴν ἐστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά; δὸς χάριν, ὥ παί, κάμοι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρακαλοῦσαῖς." ἡ μὲν δὴ τοσαύτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἶπα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἀν ἄδικη, οὐδὲ ἔχθρον εὐ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκέλευεν ὃραν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἱδια ἐπιτρεψάντων. τιμᾶς τε ὦν ἦξιωτο, καὶ ὦρκονι σοῦ ὄμοσεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέξεις, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

5. Ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἥδη πρεσβείας γυναῖκῶν ὁπὸ Ἄρωμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίου

1 Suggested by Schw. in his app. crit. instead of the MSS. ἄδικομένων.
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
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VI

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὖδὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίον. Suid. v. ἐδικαίον.

[VII]

'Ελεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιέπαινοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο Ρωμαίους πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενώς οίκου καὶ πανωλεθρίᾳ. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται. Suid. vV. ἐλεεινός et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.
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.
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VII

Τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθῆς ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἑθελοκάκως τε ἡγονύζοντο, καὶ ἐφευγον ἐπιδιησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρομένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυνον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπεχείρον, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ. id. v. ἑθελοκάκως.

VIII

1. "Ὅτι σημειών γενομενων ἐκ Δίδω ἁγδῶν μετὰ τὴν Ὀὐηνεντίας ἀλωσίων, οἱ μάντεις ἔλεγον ἐκλει- φθηναί τινα πρὸς εὔσεβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀνήνεγκεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοιτο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρήσαντι περὶ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τούς λαβόντας ὅτιοιν ἐκ τῆς Ὀὐηνεντῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὅρκῳ τὸ δέκατον εὐσεβείᾳ, ὑπὸ δὲ εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὀκνήσει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἑκεῖ πεπρα- μένης, ὡς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθεῖναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τὼν τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκείτο χρύσεος ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιτῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τῶν μὲν χρυσῶν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκίκῳ πολέμῳ κατεχόνευσε, κεῖται δ' ἡ βάσις.

2. Αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τις ἐδιωκεν ὡς αὐτίον γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλκόν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν
CONCERNING ITALY

VII. FROM THE SAME

The army showed a mutinous spirit towards the B.C. 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 Phoccaean 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
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άνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξημίωσε πεντήκοντα μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὐδ’ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἐτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήγηκαν, ἵνα μὴ ύβρισθείη τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετέκηκεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχιλλείου εὐχὴν, ἐπιποθήσας Ῥωμαίοις Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήγγεισεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε οὖ πολὺ ὕστερον. Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέβυνε καὶ δικτάτορα αὐθις εἶλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κέλτικαις πράξεσι συγγεγραμμέναι. Val. p. 546.

IX

"Οτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων ἡξιώθη. ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπὸ εὐφημοῦμενος πᾶσιν ἡφεὶ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προῖδων δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐπαιρόμενος ἐβουλευσεν ἣδη χρεών ἀποκοπᾶς κοινάς, ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἡξίου τοῖς δανεισάσιν ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἐτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον. Val. p. 549.
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,\(^389\) 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 \(^384\) 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 ΣΑΤΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. "Οτι οἱ Ὑπομαίων στρατηγὸι Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορούνιος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλυσαν Καμπανοὺς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομὰς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οὐδὲ Καμπανοὺς ἀβροδιάτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὐσὶ κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθεῖρον τὰς γυνὰς, καὶ ἐφθόνουν δὲν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδίότες τὰ ἐν Ὁρμή. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους ἐαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἐκαστοὶ τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμου προσαγαγόσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἄν ἐπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὔτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος, ἐτερος Ὑπομαίων στρατηγὸς, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὁδεύων ἐμαθεὶ τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύφας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλυσε καὶ ἀφίκεν οἴα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ὁρμήν ἐτί τινα χρείαν ἐπείγοσθαι, χιλιαρχὸν τε αὐτοῖς συνεπεμψεν, ὦ εἰρήτῳ ἄφαυῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἐκάτεροι δὲ ὑπώττευον με-

1 An error for Μάρκιος = C. Marcius Rutilus, cons. 342 B.C.

58
BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

I. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

1. 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 ὀπλύσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἡλαυνὼν ἐς Ὁἶμην ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι γεγονότες.

2. Ἐτι δ' αὐτῶν ὅδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπῆντα Κορούνιος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἥρεμει, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἐτί, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνωκόσι μᾶχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέγγυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ οὐδομοι καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις ἀμαρτεὶς μὲν ὀμολογοῦντων, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ὁἵμη. ὤν ὁ Κορούνιος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὅκνων ἄφασθαι πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοσοῦτον φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἔξαιρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἴ τοσῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν δύνατο κρατήσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμεξίας ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ ὁμό δ' ὁ ἱδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ἢ πιστός, ἀοε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον αὐτῶν αἰτίωμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἐφ' ἑπὶ περὶ μειζόνων καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἴ κρατήσειν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ' οἰκείων τοσῶν ἐκείνων, οἰς ἡ βουλή πεισθείσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς ἐγκηφίσατο πάσι Ὁἵμαιοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἔχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατήσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Val. p. 549.
THE SAMNITE HISTORY

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.
"Ὅτι Μάλλιος Τορκούατος ὁ ύπατος τοιούτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν. τούτῳ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἠμελῆς ἐσ αὐτὸν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτοῦ εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενον τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψάμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἑρείν τι καὶ περί τῆς ἐσ τῶν παιδα κακοσεως, ὁ παῖς ὤδε Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτων ξιφίδιον, ἐσ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἦξιώσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς δή τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐσ τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεῖς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπεκλείσε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπιστάσας ἦπείλει τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὀμόσειν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀμόσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν. ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμπρός ἦν, ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιόσδε ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο. id. p. 550.

III

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προκαλείτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατείχε, μετὰ δὲ, οὐ φέρων ἐτὶ τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντήλασε τὸν ὑππον. Suid. v. ἐρέθισμα.

IV

1. "Ὅτι Σαυνίται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ὑβριαῖοι δὲ Σαυνίτῶν καὶ Δαυνίων ὑγιοῦκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἶλον, καὶ ἀνδρὰς ἐξ 62
II. From the Same

Hear now the bravery of the consul Manlius n.c. 340. 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 ἀπανεστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπτρέσβενον οἱ Σαυνίται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότας ἀνηρήκοτες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιούσιας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλή πάνω νομίζουσα τετρύσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἰ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἡ παρητοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ' ἄκούσαι, οὐκ ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἐφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες. ἀνυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τους αἰχμαλώτους ἀπήσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πείραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2. Καὶ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἐτὶ παρὰ Σαυνίτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσπονδόν καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἐως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ' ἐνεμέση τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὑστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνίτων καὶ ὑπὸ ξυνὸν ἡχόθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι. ἐς γὰρ στενῶτατον χώρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνίται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Ποντίον καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ἥν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχουσι καίροί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβευεῖν ἐτὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ 64
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. Wherefore 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
οπλα καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοῦειν. θρήνος οὖν ἦν οἰα
πόλεως ἀλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν
μὲν ἐτὶ ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὀκνοῦντες ἀναξίω τι τῆς
πόλεως ἑργάσασθαι ὡς δὲ οὔτε μηχανῆ σωτηρίας
ἐφαίνετο, ἦν τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτούς, καὶ νεότης
ἡν πέντε μυριάδων, ἦν ὀκνοῦν φθειρομένην ὑπερ-
ιδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκ-
ἀλουν, εἶτε κτείνειν εἶτε πωλεῖν εἶτε φυλάσσειν
ἐπὶ λύτροις ἔλοιπο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἄνδρῶν
ἀτυχοῦντων ὑβρίσαι.

3. Ὅ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψα-
μενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καῦδιου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γῆρος
ἀμάξης. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, "ἐν ἑστίν, ὦ παῖ,
μεγάλης ἐχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἡ κολά-
σεως ὑπερβολή. οἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλῆσ-
σουσιν, οἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἦσθι νίκην
τήνδε πρότην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν
ἐυτυχίαν καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μὴν
ἐνυβρίσας μὴν ἀφελόμενος μηδὲν, ἵνα σῶν ἦ σοι
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δὲ, ὃς ἀκοῦω,
φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόνας εὐεργεσίας ᾑττώμε-
νοι διαγωνιοῦνται σοι περὶ τῆς τῆς χάριτος.
ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τῆν τῆς εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης
ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἣν δὲ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθη,
cτείνου ἄπαντας ῥμαλῶς, μηδὲν ἀγγελον ὑπολιπὼν.
λέγοι δὲ ἐκείνα μὲν αἰρόμενος, ταῦτα δ' ὅς
ἀναγκαία. Ἡ ρωμαίοι γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑβρισθέντες
ἀμυνοῦνται σε πάντως· ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας
αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μεῖζον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὔροις
βλάβος νέων ὁμοῖο 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.”
4. 'Ο μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὅ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν·
"οτι μὲν, ὁ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ
θαυμάζω· προεῖπας γὰρ ἥρειν ὑπερβολὰς ἐκατέρων.
ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσούτους, νέμεσιν τε
θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδού-
μενός, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐσ ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ
ἀφαιρήσομαι δι' ἄνηκέστου κακοῦ. περί δὲ τῆς
ἀφέσεως οὖδ' αὐτῷ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ, Ὁρμαίων
πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία
καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἐτι νῦν ἔχοντων, τούσδε
τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ
ποιήσω· ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἅλογος φιλανθρωπία.
ἐπισκόπτει δὲ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυντῶν·
ὡν παίδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνάσιν ὑπὸ
Ἡρμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρημένοι
χρήζονσι παραμυθίας· φύσει δὲ γαύρον ὁ νευ-
κηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπουνται. τίς οὖν
ἀνέξεται μου τούσδε μὴ κτείνειν μηδὲ πωλεῖν
μηδὲ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς εὐρεγέτας ἀπαθεῖς προ-
πεμπτεῖν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα παρώμεν τὰς ὑπερ-
βολὰς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἕγω, τῆς δ' ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· ὡς δ' ἄν καὶ
Ἡρμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλοιμι καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἶχα, ὅπλα μὲν
αὐτοὺς, οἷς ἔχρησαντο αἰεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι
καὶ χρήματα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτα ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν),
ἐκπέμψω δ' ὑπὸ ξυγὸν σώους, ἥ τινι αἰσχύνη
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 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 ἔχρησαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοὺς ἐθνεῖς συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὁμηρὰ τῶν τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐως ἀπας ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἤγομαι νενικηκότος τε ἔργα ποιήσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ῥωμαίοις τε ἀγαπήσειν ὥσα καὶ αὐτοῖ, φάσκοντες ἁρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἐς ἄλλους ἑδρασαν.”

5. Ταύτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσε τε, καὶ ἐπιβάς τῆς ἀπήνης ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπήλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἰ τις εἰρημοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρεῖ. τοῖς δὲ παρῆν ὑπάτως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλῆθει λέγειν ἐκέλευεν τοὺς πρέσβεις, “ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσπευδόμεθα φιλιᾶν, ἣν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἰτ’ αὐθίς αὐ φιλίας ἡμῶν γενομένης, Νεαπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἦν υἱῶν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδαν. ἐν τε ταῖς προτέραις ἑχάσαι πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες ὑμῖν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὕτ’ ἠρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἕχοντες ἄλλοτρίας, καὶ κληρούχους 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 πρεσβευσμένων ἡμῶν δις πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ 
πολλὰ συγχωροῦντο, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἄρχην ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπευδομένους ἄλλη ἐκλω-
κότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοῦ πόλεμον τόνδε ἀσπονδοὺ καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ’ 
ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῶν συνοικοῦντων. ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἀσπονδά 
εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσιν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἦν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φίλιας τῆς ποτὲ μημονεύων, δίδωμι έκαστον ὑμῶν σὺν ἱματίῳ σῶν ὑπὸ ξυγῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ἦν ὁμόσποτο τὴν τε 
γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ’ ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδὲ 
pot’ ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύσειν.”

6. Ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 
ὄλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρήνοις ἐπὶ πλείστου θανάτου 
γὰρ ἠγούντο εἶναι χείρονα τὴν ὑβρίν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ 
ξυγῷ. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἵππεων ἐπύθηντο, 
ἀθικὸς ἐδρήνουν ἐπὶ πλείστου. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορία 
αὐτὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς ὀμμονὸν ὁ τε 
Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοί, δύο ὄντες Ποσ-
τούμος τε καὶ Ὀὐετοῦριος, καὶ ταῦτα δύο καὶ 
ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλιαρχοὶ δώδεκα, σύμ-
παντες ὁσοὶ μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἠρχον. 
γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσα 
τι τοῦ διατείχισματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν 
γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἀλλο ἐπιθεῖς, ἐξέ-
πεμπὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκαστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦτω. καὶ τινὰ 
ὑποζύγια ἐδωκεν 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 cupidite we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you depised), 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, ἀχρὶ τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δὲ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇ δὲ ξυγόν, οὖνειδίζειν ὡς δοριάλωτοι.

7. Ἀπανγελθέσσις δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγῇ καὶ θρήνος ἢν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ αἱ γυναίκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχρῶς περισσεσωσμένους ὡς ἀποδανόντας, ἦ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιπόρφυρον ἐσθήτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσίαν καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τοιούτῳποτα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος οἴλου, ἔως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἁγροὺς διεφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοὺς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔσησαν· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσῆλθον ὑπ’ ἀνώγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἐπρασσον δὲ οὐδέν. U. p. 338.

V

Δευτέρω κατὰ ξῆλον ἄρετῆς εἶπετο νεὼν λογάδων πλῆθος ὀκτακοσίων, ἔπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἐτοιμοὶ. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Suid. v. ξῆλος.

VI

1. Ὁτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι ὄντες ἐνσπονδοὶ μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτῶμαρίς μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά
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 διερρήθην, ἕγκαλων ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολέμῳ ἀνήρθη ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὑπατὸς τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὅθω πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν εἶσε, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σενώνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ ἤνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἠβάστας πάντας ἐκτείνε, πλὴν Βριτομάριος, δὴ δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἤγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

2. Οἱ δὲ Σενώνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ἐνηρήθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὕτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ὅς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργυζόμενοι τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτὸς διεχρώντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἢδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 343.

VII

1. "Ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἐθεάτο τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἕλλάδα, καὶ τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαῖς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθήκων, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίοις πρόσω Δακινίας ἀκρας, παροξύνας τε ἐπεισεν ἐπαναχθηναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ, καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναδὶς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντίνου, 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 nick-named 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 ἐλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἐσ τε Θουρίων ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι "Ἑλληνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ἦρωμαιος κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεὶν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεινα αὖτιοι μάλιστα ἐγεγέννητο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν δεήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἦρωμαιος φρούρους ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκαν.

2. Ἦρωμαιοι δὲ τοῦτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἔσταν τα Ἐπιμπόσιν, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὐ καὶ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλα περιοίκους ἐλαβον, ἀποδοῦνας, Θουρίων οὔ ἐξέβαλον, ἕνα τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἀ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτοὺς, ἢ τὴν ἐκεῖνα τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτίσας, σφίας ἐκδοῦνας τοὺς αὐτίους τῆς παρανομίας, εἶ Ἦρωμαιον ἔδέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐὰν τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχθρεύαξαν εἰ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐλληνίσθησιαν: ἐσκαπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον. Φίλωνίδης δὲ τις, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκώμων, Ποστούμιος τὸ τῆς πρέσβειας ἡγουμένως προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἐπικύψας τὴν ἔσοδα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἕαυτον, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατηφιλήμισαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θεατρὸν ἐπαιξένα ὡς ἐπὶ γελοίον, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, "ἐκπλυνεῖτε," ἐφη, "τούτο αἴματι πολλῷ, τοιούτῳ ἀρεσκόμενοι γελώσαν." καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ἐπιμπόσιν ἀποκριναμένων ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ὃ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὑβρίν ἐκ τῆς ἔσθήτος οὐκ ἀποπλῦνας ἑπέδειξε Ἦρωμαιοι, (3) καὶ ὁ δήμος ἀγανάκτων Ἀιμιλίως 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,
tà μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι έϊν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντίνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ οἷς ἥξιον
οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγάς προκαλέσασθαι, ἀν δ’ ἄπειθώσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε
προύτευε τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι
τὴν στρατιὰν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ’ ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς
γνώμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ
βουλευομένους ἐφ’ ὁ τὸ μὲν ἐκδούναι τινας ἥδη
dεδουλωμένων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνον ἐπι-
σφαλές. “εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἔλευθερίας ἐγκρατῶς
ἐξόμεθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἵσου, Πύρρον ἔξ
Ἡπείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλῶμεν, καὶ στρατηγὸν
ἀποφήνωμεν τούτῳ τοῦ πολέμου.” ὁ καὶ γέγονεν.
U. p. 343.

VIII

Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ νανάγον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεύς
tῆς Ἡπείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ
Ταραντίνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύ-
νοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τοῖς ἀστῶν γυναικὶ καὶ
παισίν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβάς ὡς οὐ
πρεποῦσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνασία τε ἐνοπλὰ
ἐτασσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἁμελοῦσιν
ὅριζε, τότε δὴ καὶ πάμπαν ἄθησιν ἔργοις καὶ
ἐπιτάγμασι κάμποντες οἱ Ταραντίνοι τῆς πόλεως
ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἄγρους ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ
ὁ βασιλεύς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς
ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντίνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν
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.
APPION'S ROMAN HISTORY

IX

1. "Οτι όσοι ἐν Ἡρώτα Ἡρωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως, μὴ τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς τῶν Ἡρώτα Ἡρωμαίων φθονώσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὑροχωμένους ἐν ἐορτῇ διεφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀκουσίαις συνήσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἐφερον ὅτι Ἡρώτα τῆν φρουρὰν προεδίδοσαν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαι ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατωφκημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κάκεινοι ἐς ἴδιους ξένους ὁμοία δεδρακόσιν.

2. Ἀληθῷς μέν αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἡρώτα ἱατρῶν ἀπιστοῦντα, μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ἡρώταν ἀνήρ, μετωφικός ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ἡρώτα ἦν ἀγνοούμενος. οὕτως αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῆ συντόμων φαρμάκων ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρήσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἔκελευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτῶς ἐπανέλθως, καὶ λαθὼν ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δὲ ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὄδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὗρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

3. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἔπη πεμφθεὶς τὴν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἡρώτα Ἡρωμαίων λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδοσα, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους
IX. From the Same

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
τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ἄρωμην ἐπέμψεν, οἴ μαστιγώθέντες ἐν ἁγορᾷ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἀταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς, 1 οἶα πηρός, έαυτόν διεχρήσατο. id. ib.

X

1. "Οτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ὄρμαιούς καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ máχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ὄρμαιοις ἐπίτησον ἐς διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἐπέμπεν ἐς Ὄρμην Κινέαν τὸν Θεσσαλὸν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένου ἀρετήν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγῶνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσαντος μῆτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσημένον στρατόπεδον ἐδίδου δ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρου, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευثέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔφεν, Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίταις καὶ Δαυνῖοις καὶ Βρέττιοις ἀποδοίεν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐφ' ὑπὸ τούτων Πύρρου ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνευ λύτρων.

2. Οἱ δ' ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλείστων, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἔως Ἀττικὸς Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καίκος ἐπικλῆσαν, ἣν τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισίν αὐτῶν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, "ἡχόμην,"

1 MSS. ἐπιμελῶς, which can hardly be right.
THE SAMNITE HISTORY

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:
Τοπική, "ὅτι μὴ βλέπων νῦν δ’ ὅτι ἀκούων. τὰ γὰρ τοιαύτα ὑμῶν βουλεύματα ἥξιον μὴθ’ ὅραν μὴθ’ ἀκούειν, οἳ δ’ ἐν ἀτύχημα ἄθροώς οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τούτο δράσαντα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθε φίλους ἀντι πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Δευκάνοις καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τό τούτ’ ἐστιν ἡ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ἄνωμάζειν." ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ὄμοια τούτους ὁ Ἀππιός εἰπὼν καὶ ἑρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πῦρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, εἰ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μὴτε φίλον ἥγεσθαι μὴτε σύμμαχον μὴτε Ῥωμαίοις δικαστὴν ἡ διαίτητην.

3. Καὶ ἡ βουλή ταῦθ’ ἀπέρ καὶ Ἑππίος εἰπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέα. Δαιοῦνος δ’ ἀλλὰ δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἰ τις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, εἰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔτι παρὼν, καὶ θεώμενος αὐτοὺς ὥθουμένους εἰς τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πῦρρον ἐπανελθὼν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρὸς ύδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς οὐ πόλεμος. οἳ δὲ οὐ Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πῦρρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος, ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἔτερος ὑπάτος τῶν Δαιοῦνος Κορουγκάνιος ἦκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ’ ἦς εἰχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυθανομένῳ Πῦρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὅλη, καὶ τοῦ Πῦρρου θαυμάσαντος μεταλαβὼν 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
ή στρατηγών." Πύρρος δ', ώς οὖδὲν εἰρηναίον οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἔπι τὴν Ρώμην ἠπείγετο, πάντα δηδὼν. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγνίαν, βαρείαν δ' ἔχον ὥδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἱγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διήρει.

4. Ρωμαίοι δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἥξιον λύσα τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ο̣ ὁ δὲ σπευδομένοις μὲν ἐφη, καθάπερ προέπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δόσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσοῦτους. ἔξενιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινὸς πένευσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινώνιον τῶν παρῶν τῶν ἄγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς "Ἡπειρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ὥδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δόσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασαμένοις. ἐπιγελάσας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὴν δ' ἔμην," ἐφη, "παρρησίαν οὖτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς οἴσεις σύ, ὥς βασιλεῦ καὶ τὴν πενίαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἥ τῶν τῶν τυράννων πλούτου όμοι καὶ φόβου." οἱ δὲ οὖχ οὕτω φασίν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἡπειρῶται μεταλαβόντες ἐμὲ σοῦ προδῆσουσιν.
than generals. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no b.c. 280
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 proclama-
tion, 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. How-
ever, 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 differ-
ently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest
the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."
5. Ὅποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τὸν φρονήματος ὁ Πῦρρος ἑτέραν ὅδον ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἔπενοεὶ, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κροιῶν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπεμπεν ἀνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ὅ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἅ ὁ Πῦρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἐορτάσαντας ἐπανῆκεις ἐς αὐτὸν. τούτους ἡ βοηλή, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἐορτάσαντας Πῦρρο παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρα ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἑπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἄπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πῦρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὖθις ἔδόκει. U. p. 345.

XI

1. "Οτι τὸν Πῦρρον ἥδη μὲν τὰ 'Ῥωμαίων κατεπλησσεν, ἑτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἄρχων Σικελίας, ἀρτι ἐτεθνήκει, οὐ γυνατέρα Δάνασσαν ἐχων ὁ Πῦρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νήσον οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπετο. ὡκεὶ δ' ὦμως ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἀνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπεῖν. ἀσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτόμολον ἐπιβᾶς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς υπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἐπεμπεν ἐς 'Ῥώμην χάριν ὀμολογῆσοντα τῆς τοιτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἄγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὅπη δύναιτο πράξουντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἐφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι
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
πολλά δὲ γυναῖξι, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλοδοφορον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενος, καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἵσχύειν παρὰ Ρωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

2. Οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δόρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἄλληλοις· καὶ φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀνδρὰ οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ' αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ δώρων ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρεσβεῖς καὶ αὐτὸι πολυτελῶς ἐξένισαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοῖς Ταραντῖνω καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχους αἰχμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἑπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετά τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων . . . ¹ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἱππέων, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐτεὶ τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῦ ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας. id. p. 348.

XII

1. "Ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ρωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐτεὶ τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῦ ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἡδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρύν ἐπὶ τε ξενίαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ έσφοραῖς γενόμενοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶν͞δε γεγονὼς ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἕκατον, φορτίσι δὲ καὶ ὅλκασι πολὺ πλείσσιν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διαναμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναὺς ἐβδομηκοντα, 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, αῖς ο Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἔτινυτο
Δοκροῦς τοὺς ἐπιζευρίους, οὕτω φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτῆς, ὑβρίσαντας ἐς αὐτούς,
ἀυθήκεσαν. ὡμῶς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων
τε καὶ συλῶν ο Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς
Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκόψας τὴν ἀκαίριον
θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συκλέξαι
πλοῦτον ἄποιον εὐβοῦλιαν.

2. Ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμῶν
ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεών τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ
διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν
ἐξέρρυσεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς
τοὺς Δοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὡστε καὶ
Πύρρον ὅψε τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναι
tε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνη, καὶ θυσίας
ιλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλὰς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ
ἀπαντώντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
tῆς ἱεροσυνίας αὐτοῦ συμβουλεύσαντας ἡ λέγοντι
συνθεμένους, ἡ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἐκτείνειν.
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 I.ocrians. 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.
BOOK IV
THE GAL LIC HISTORY
FRAGMENTS
Δ

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ

1. Κελτοί Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐῖλον ἀνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔξηλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὖθις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοιντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιόι, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἔπηλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοῖς Γάιος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιὰς ἀπῆντα, ὡς τις καὶ στρατηγήματι τοιούτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλωσιν οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ' ἀφιέντας άεὶ συνύζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχθείη τὰ δόρατα· βαλόντων δὲ τῶν ὕστατων ἀνατηδᾶν ἀπαντᾶς ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοὴ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας οἶναι· καταπλήξειν 98
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
γὰρ ὅδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶν ὕπαρτων ἀφεσιν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταχείαν ἐπιχείρησιν, τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἢν οὐκ ἀπεικότα ἀκούτειοι: ἃ 'Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν ὑσσοῦς, ξύλον τεταραγόν τὸ ἡμισω, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τεταραγόν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρίς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ἱππομαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατιά.

2. Ἀλλούς δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκα Ποπίλλιος, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου νιῶ. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μάριου ὑπατείων πλεῖστόν τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τῇ ἱλικίᾳ μάλιστα φοβερότατον χρῆμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τινας ὑπάτους Ἱππομαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατ-έκοψεν ἐφ' οὖς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλέας ἀπαντᾷς διεφθειρε. τελευταῖα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ἱππομαίως πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαϊῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυρίασι τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἐτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατηγήσεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, εὶ τις υψ' ἐν τὰ μέρη συναγάγων, τετρακοσίων πλείοσι, καὶ τούτων ἐκατόν μὲν ἐξώγρησαν, ἐκατόν δ' ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκαμον. ἔθην δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύνατο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὁλγην κομιδὴ στρατιάν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ κατέκαυε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλών, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπὶδων 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 Aemilius 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
3. Καίσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλονητίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἰκόσι μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δὲ αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἐμπροσθεν Πίσσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ξυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφησαν, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Δαβινυὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ Τρικουροὺς ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ’ Ἀρισούστου Γερμανούς, οἱ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζον τῶν μεγίστων ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι’ ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἐφερον θάλπει, καὶ πόα ἐχρόντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τροφῆ, καὶ ὁ ὕππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ φερέπονοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὔτε λογισμῷ ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινὶ ἀλλὰ θυμῷ χρόμενοι καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ φερεπονίας ἡσσῶντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὁμήρης βαρυτάτης ἐπετῆδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνεώθουν Ῥωμαιοὶ δ’ ὕπεμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ κατεστράτηγον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίους αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ἀπέκτειναν.

4. Μετὰ τούτους ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς καλομενοῖς Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσόν ποταμὸν τινα περόσι, τοσούτοις ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτρέψαντο, ἀρτὶ στρατόπεδον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἴφυνδιως 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 Tigrurini. 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 Tigrurini 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-maneuved 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 ἀπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφυγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθά-
ρησαν, ἔξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κύμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλο-
βρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπτέων δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοι τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκοπήσαν. Σοῦκαμβροὶ δὲ πεν-
tακοσίους ἐπιπεύσι τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐπιτεῖς τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐτρεφαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἐδοσαν ἡπτηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

5. Ἐπέφασε καὶ τὸν Ὄρηνον πρῶτος Ἄρωμαιόν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρετανίδα νῆσον, ἤπειρον τε
μεῖζον οὐσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ἀγνωστον ἐτι. ἐπέφασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς
ἀμπῶτεως· ἀρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἥπτετο τῆς θαλ-
άσσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλευτο, ἥρέμα πρῶτον, εἰτα δἐύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαῖῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν
ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν.

II

"Ωτί Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐνε-
vήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ
ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῖρα
Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Ὄρηνον ἰκανὴ κατὰ ξήτησιν
ἐτέρας γῆς· οὔ τὸ τε Ἀλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν,
καὶ Κλουσίνοις, εὐθαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν,
ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσίνοι Ἄρωμαιός
ἐνσπονδοὶ γεγονότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατέφυγον. καὶ
οἱ Ἄρωμαιοι πρέσβεις συνέσχεσαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβί-
slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. Caesar himself took refuge on a hill with his bodyguard, 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, οι τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐμελλον προαγορεύσειν ἀνίστασθαι τής γῆς ὡς ἮΡωμαιῶν φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριμαμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὕπω τὰ ἮΡωμαιῶν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλούσινους ἐνήγγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τήν χάραν λεηπατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναρρούντι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἕγομένουν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ ἮΡωμαιῶν πρεσβευτὴς Κώντος Φάβιος ἀνεῖλε τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Κλούσιον. Ὑ. p. 349.

III

"Ὅτι ὅ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν ἮΡωμαιῶν πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς ἮΡωμαιῶν πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἱ Κελτῶν ἀπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς ἮΡωμην, αὐτῷ μένος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμοις ἐπολέμησαν. ἢτει τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότους οἱ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι ἮΡωμαιοι κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ ἮΡωμαιοι συνεγίνον- σκον μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἀμαρτεῖν, αἰδοῦ δὲ οἴκου δια- φέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτούς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτον- οῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάρ-

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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
χοὺς, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύοντας τῶν Κελτῶν ἐφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀρχοντας ἤδη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἐτοὺς ἦκειν αὐτοὺς, ἂν ἔτι μηνίωσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὁ σοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνον, νομίζοντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλε-τῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμ-πον, ἄξιοντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάγασθαι τούδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἠλαυ-νοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην. id. p. 350.

IV

'Ὁ δὲ ύψιστάται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἕχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Suid. v. ύψιστάται.

V

"Ὅτι Κανδικίους γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδέν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνίσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. δὲ ἐπισχῶν αὐτοῦ ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἄν ηὐξάμην ἐπιστήσησαι με Ὀωμαῖοι, εἰ τοιαύτην ἰδίπτικε τὴν ἐπιστήσησιν αὐτοὺς ἐσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιοτέραν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρῆσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν." Val. p. 557.

VI

"Ὅτι Κελτῶν μηδεμιὰ μηχανὴ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβή-ναι τῇς ἀκροπόλεως, ἥρεμοιν ός λιμῷ τοὺς ἐνδον παραστησόμενοι. καὶ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
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 ἱερεὺς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δή τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεῶν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰдетθέντων ἡ κατα-
πλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἡ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἡ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐλόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσώχετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὃδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος. id. ib.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδην ἐνεπίμπλαντο οἱ Κέλτοι, τὴν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοῦς καρ-
ποὺς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἀφνᾶ. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ύγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς ὄρμον καὶ πόνους ἄδυνατα πάμπαν ἐγίγνετο· ὑπὸ τε ἰδρῶτος καὶ ἀσθμάτος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως. id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἄδην.

VIII

Οὗς γυμνοὺς ἑπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαῖοι, ὁταῦτα εἰσὶν ὁι τὴν βοήν βαρείαν ἱέντες ύμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας ἀιωροῦντες. ὃν τὸ ἀτολμοῦν ὄροντες, 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 ὑδαν, καὶ τοῖς πονουμένοις ἐτέρους νεαλεῖς ἐπιπέμπειν ἀεί. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆι συμπλεκόμενοι ἐφευγον ἀτάκτωσ. id. v. νεαλῆς.

X

'Ο δὲ Κελτός ἀγανακτῶν καὶ λιφαμιδὸν ἔδωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταρπασεῖν ἐπειγόμενος· ύπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόλιας ἀναχωροῦντος ἀεί τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε πρηνής ὁ Κελτός. καὶ δεύτερον τούτο μονομάξχοιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλαύχουν οἱ 'Ρω-μαῖοι. id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

XI

"Οτι τὸ τῶν Σενώνων ἔθνος ἐνσπουδόν ἦν 'Ρω-μαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ 'Ρωμαίων. ή δὲ βούλη πρέσβεις ἐπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὑπὸ ἐνσπουδοὺς μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ 'Ρωμαίων. τούτους Βρετόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ύπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ύπὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέθετον, τὰ τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἁσυλον ἐσθήτα περικειμένους κατέτηξαν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριψεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσους ὁ Κορ-νήλες ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενώνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίων ἐσβάλων ἀπαντα 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.
αὐθρόπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἡμιδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἤβη πάντας ἐκτείνειν ὀμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνεις ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βρυτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἦγεν αὐχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμη. ὕστερον δὲ Σένονος οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐτὶ πατρίδας ἐς ὅς διαφύγουσι, συνέπεσον ἐς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἥττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς διεχρώντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. Ὠ. p. 350.

XII

"Ὅτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἱττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔξαιτούντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδιδόντας, ἤγομένου σφῶν Γναίου Δομετίου. φι παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτῆς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλόβριγων, ἐσκευασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρεῖποντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες: δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῆς βάρβαροι. μουσικὸς τε ἀνήρ εἶπετο, βαρβάρω μουσικὴ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοίτου, εἴτ' Ἀλλόβριγας, εἴτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἐς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμῶν οὐ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφάνεις ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην 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.
"Ωτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολύ-
ανδρὸς ἔστι τὴν γην τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ἰ Ῥωμαῖων ὑπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἑφῆδρεν τοῖς Ἀλπεῖοις, ἦ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦντο δὲ ἐκεῖνων αὐτῶς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αὐτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβάλειν, Ἦ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ᾽ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οῖς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλους, ἀνάγκη δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπῆν ὡς φίλους ἐπαμύνειν. οὶ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαι τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαῖους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀφεξεσθαίν ὁ δ᾽ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δους αὐτοῖς ὅδων ἠγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἠγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς διαδραμὼν, ἀδοκήτως ἀναπαυμένοις ἔτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσὼν, ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόν. τάχα δ᾽ ἄν καὶ πάντας ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ξόφος καὶ ὁμβρος καὶ βρονταὶ βαρεῖα, τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστῶσης ἐπιπεσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ ἄγων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη. σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὃς ἐς ὑλας οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ διαφυγόντες, τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρα συνήλθον. καὶ Τεύτονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρον. id. p. 352.
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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

XIV

'Ο δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἄφανστειν ἐκέλευεν, ἑώς ἡμέρα γένηται, πολύχρυσα εἶναι δοκῶν. Suid. vv. ἄφανστως et Κίμβρος.

XV

"Οτι ἐθνη δύο Τιγύριοι καὶ Ἐλουητίου ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσῆβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καίσαρ Γαῖος πυθόμενος διετείχησεν ὁσα περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐστὶ ποταμὸν ἐς ἕκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσαμένοις ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ σπουδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὁμηρὰ δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνεων, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι τὴν ὁμαχίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Τιγύριους ἐλάσσοσιν ὡς τοῖς ἐπεμπεῖ Λαβιηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλουητίους ἑχόρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβιηνὸς τὸ ἔργον εὐμαρές, ἀδοκήτους Τιγύριους περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεψαμένῳ καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀσυνταξίᾳ. U. p. 352.

XVI

"Οτί Ἀριόουιστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνου, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἴδουοις ἐτι πρὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπολέμεις φίλοις οὗσι Ῥωμαίων. τοτε μὲν δὴ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθεῖς, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἴδουοι, καὶ φίλος ἥξιωσε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ψηφισμένου. id. p. 353.
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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

XVII

"Οτι Ἀρισονιστος ὁ Γερμανῶν βασιλεύς, φίλος γενόμενος Ρωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἠλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων αὐθις συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἤξιωσεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἑστράτευεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ᾽ ἐμπιπτεῖ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν. id. ib.

XVIII

"Οτι Οὐσιπτέται, ἕθνος Γερμανικὸν, καὶ Ταγχρέας δοκοῦσι πρῶτοι σφετέροις ἰππεύσιν ὡκτακοσίοις τρέφασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἰππέων ἐς πεντακισχίλιοι, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένους ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχὼν, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἕκεινος ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεκθῆναι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ἡρώῳ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναγές ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσμένους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἀδιαίς ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπτέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευσμένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὡκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τρέψαι τοὺς Ρωμαίων πεντακισχίλιοι. ἐπιπρεσβευσμένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ

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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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

tου παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπή-
σας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρί-
σεων. id. ib.

XIX

Εὐθὺς ἦρεθίζον τοὺς Βρεττανούς παρορκῆσαι,
ἐγκλῆμα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπουδῶν σφίσι γενομένων
ἐτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον. Suid. v. παρορκῆσαι.

XX

Δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν Κικέρων ὑπέστρεφεν
eἰς τοὐπίσω. id. v. δείσαντες.

XXI

"Ὁτι ὁ Βριτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἶδούνας Ῥωμαίων
ἀποστήναι, καὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρος οἰνείδισαντος αὐτοῖς
φιλίαν ἐφάσαν παλαιὰν ἐφθακέναι. 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 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.
BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

FRAGMENTS
Ε'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ

Ι

"Οτι ἀποροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρηματων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυτήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπτον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ έτος ἐκαστὸν, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐς Πτολεμαῖον ἐπρεσβεύνοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίον τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Ἀιγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρώμενοι. τῷ δ' ἥν ἔσ τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις φίλία, καὶ συναλλάξας σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἐφὶ χρὴναι φίλοις κατ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων. U. p. 354.

II

1. "Οτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δισ ἐν τῇ γῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δις ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ἡ δὴ καὶ πάνω προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποροῦντες ἡδὴ καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἢτον ἀνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Δοντατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύνοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνεπεμπόν τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν 'Ατηλίου Ῥήγλου τὸν
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
ύπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὅντα σφῶν, δεσόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοίσδε συνθέσθαι. ὦ δὲ ἤκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρύσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρῆνεσεν ἡ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἐκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσ-μένα πάντοθεν ἐστῶτε περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύνατο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνεβέντο.

2. Καὶ ἤν ἐφ' οἷς συνέβεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα ᾿Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Καρ-χηδόνιοις εἰσὶ, ᾿Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας ᾿Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέ-ρων νῆσων ὅσα περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίους δὲ ἡ Ἰέρων τῷ Συρακοσίῳ τυράννῳ πολέμου Καρχη-δόνιοις μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ιταλίας ἔννο-λογεῖν, ποιήν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ᾿Ῥωμαίοις ἑνεγκέχιν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἰκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστον ἔτους ἐς ᾿Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον ᾿Αλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἐπτακισχίλιας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας ᾿Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδόνιοις πόλεμος, ἔτεσιν εἰκοσι καὶ τέσσαριν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεῦτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆσες ἐν αὐτῷ ᾿Ῥωμαίων ἐπτακόσιαι, Καρχηδόνιων δὲ πεντα-κόσιαι. Σικελίας δὲ οὕτω τοῦ πλέονος ᾿Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, ὅσον Καρχηδόνιοι κατείχον φόρους τε
OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

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

1 The Euboic talent is equal to about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.
Appian's Roman History, Book V

autōs ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγῶν ἐτήσιοι ἐπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἰέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ' ὅν αὐτοῖς ἔσ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

3. Καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούδε, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίοις τὸν τε μισθὸν ἠτόν τὸν ἐτὶ ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεάς ὡσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν 'Αμίλχας. ἦτον δὲ καὶ Λίβνες, ὑπηκοοι μὲν ὄντες οἳ δὲ Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελία στρατείας ἐτὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὀρῶντες ἐχαλέπαινον τε αὐτοῖς τής ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τρισχλίων, οὓς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς ἐς Ὀρωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὐνέκα. διωθούμενων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἄμφω Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ἢ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνας. ὄθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἐπειδον καὶ δουλῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τὰ τε Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεηλάτουν. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμούμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβνας Ὀρωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ὀρωμαίοι στρατιῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἐκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ἐξολογεῖν ἐκ τής Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἐπέμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύνατον διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ ἐπανῆλθον ἀπρακτοῖ. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρατῶς εἶχοντο τοῦ πολέμου. id. ib.
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.

IV

"Oti Σικελίων καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοτητὶ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλον τι καὶ τῶς τῶν ἔργων συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ᾽ ὧν κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἰπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμυνυντο μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἀγορᾶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιῶν ἔπεμπον, ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ιππέας πεντακισχιλίους. Val. ib.

V

"Oti διαβεβλημένως τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπιστευοῦν χωρὶς ὀρκῶν. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωροῦντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὁμοσε μήτε φρονήσει τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. id. ib.
OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

III. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

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.

IV. FROM THE SAME

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.

V. FROM THE SAME

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 ἁρχῆς εὑνοϊκῶς ἐχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτη βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθο- 

φορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε 

δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λησταῖς ἐς χάριν 

τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι 

σαφῶς διωκομένου ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου. πρε- 

σβενσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς 

ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ 

πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τάδε Ἀντώνιος, 

καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δ’ ὁμος διὰ 

τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός. καὶ ἢν ὁδε πατὴρ Μάρκου 

Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ύστερον Κάισαρι τῷ 

κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ Ἀκτίου. ψηφισαμένων 

δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρῆτες 

ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ 

αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσαν ἐκδοῦναι τε αὐτοῖς Δασθένῃ 

τὸν 

πολεμήσαντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ ληστικὰ 

πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὁσα Ῥωμαίων εἰχον αἰχ- 

μάλωτα, καὶ ὁμήρα τριακόσια καὶ ἀργυρίου τά- 

λαντα τετρακισχίλια.

2. Οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταύτα Κρητῶν ἡρέθη 

στρατηγὸς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος. καὶ νικᾶ μὲν ὁ 

Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Δασθένῃ, καὶ φυγόντως ἐς 

Κυνωσοῦν Πανάρης Μέτελλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέ- 

δωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκη, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτὸς. Μετέλ- 

λοῦ δὲ Κυνωσοῦν περικαθημένου, ὁ Δασθένης τὴν 

οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλῆσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν 

ἀπὸ τῆς Κυνωσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρῆτες ἐς Πομπηίου
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,
Μάγνων, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ ληστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἐφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψειν. ὦ δὲ ἄσχολως τὸτε ἔχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μετέλλου, ὡς οὐ δέον ἔτι πολέμειν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξαιστασθαί τῆς νῆσου παράληψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθὼν. ὦ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτήν, Λασθένει συνθέμενος ὁμοία Πανάρει. καὶ ἑθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὁδε δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος. Ο. p. 371.

VII

"Ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ πούλχερ ἐπίκλημα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εὐπρεπῆς, τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἡρα. καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἀκροὺς πόδας, ἐτι οὕτα ἁγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου παρελθεῖν ὡς γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὡς μόναις γυναιξίν ἐξῆς ἐσελθεῖν, μυστήριον ἁγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαβῆναι. 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
ΙΒΗΡΙΚΗ

Ζ

1. Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διήκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανὸν, οἰκοῦσί δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἔως Κελτοῖ, ὁσοὶ Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων 'Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτῶν θρησκευόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιόντες δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανόν. οὖτως ἐστὶν ἡ 'Ιβηρία περίκλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὄρων καὶ θυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δὲ ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανόν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανῶν, καὶ τούτῳ ταῖς ἀμπύτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενου ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάπλος ἢμισὺ ἤμερας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε 'Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἐθνη τὰ ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίους πειρώνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς 'Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ 'Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀπιστοῦ ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους στάδίους.
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.
CAP. ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτὴ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μῆκος. ἔθυν τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἴκει, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι νανσίποροι.

2. Οἱ τίνες δ᾽ αὐτὴν οἰκήσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντὶςειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ρωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτε Κελτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὁνόμα ἔρρυ. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμίνα ἐπ᾽ ἐμπορία διαπλέοντες, οἰκήσαι τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔλληνες τε ὁμοίως, ἔς Ταρτησσόν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμείναι καὶ τῶνδε τίνες ἐν Ἰβηρία: ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρίων ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἡ νῦν Καρπησσός ὄνομαζεται. τὸ τε τοῦ Ἡρακλεός ιερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικες μοι δοκοῦσιν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἐπὶ φοινικίῳς, ὃ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς ὑφὸ ὁ Θεβαιῶς ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

3. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴνδε εὐδαίμονα ὀυσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἁγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἱρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖς, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἰχὸν ἤδη, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαίοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἃ μὲν εἰχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενα τὰ ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἁπιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διείλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντοι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ᾽ εἶλον ἐκάστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδόνίος τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνιος Ἰβηρίσι.
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 ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκῃ μοι συνενεγκείν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, δὲ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ρωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα 'Ρωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφὴν.

4. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους 'Ρωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐκδήμου περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὅτι περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλληλων μεγάλους στρατοὺς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Διβύνην ἐπόρθουν. ἦρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μηθ' ἐκατόν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπουδὰς ἔλυσαν αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ' ἐκ τοιᾶςδε προφάσεως.

Ἀμιλχαρὸς Βάρκας ἐπικλήσιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγηει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Διβύνων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, ἀς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Διβύνην, ἀπαιτοῦντων ἐκείνων ὁ Διβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξήπτῳ πόλεμος, ἐν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Διβύνων ἐπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ ὅταν ἐδοσαν ποιήν οὐν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τὰδε τῷ Διβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ τῶν Βάρκων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αὐτίοις τῇ πατρίδι τοσοῦτος συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὡν ἦν δημοκριτικῶτας Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα
wards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book 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
5. Παυσανίου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἀννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτον γενομένου, μόνον δὲν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνοίται, διῆλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ έργων καὶ δημοκριάς (ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι δείχνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκε, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοίνει, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπεμπτε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς υπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευμένοις διεδίδοι), μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἱ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοὶ, κτείνουσιν ὅπε. ξύλων ἄμαξας ἄγουσες, αἰς βοῦς ὑπέξευξαν, εὐπνοτο ταῖς ἄμαξας ὄπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἱδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἑνέπιπτε γέλωσ, οὐ συνιείσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος: ως δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοτο, οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρες αὐταῖς βουσίν ἔξηψαν τὰς ἄμαξας καὶ ἐξότρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντη φερόμενον ἐσάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυσα. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἰβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτὸν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλήθος ἀμυνομένων 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.
II

6. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἦδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀρεσκόμενοι, στρατιῶν ἄλλην ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδροῦβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστήν, ὅντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ ὑστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίας, παῖδα τε ὅντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γυνώμενοι ἀδελφὸν ἔχον ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέου ὅντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς θε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοὶ προσήγητο, πιθανὸς δὲν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἐς τε τὰ βίας δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμοῦ, ὅς μέσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστῶς ὅδυν ἥμερων πέντε, ἐξήσιω ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανόν.

7. Ζακανθαιοὶ δὲ, ἀποικοὶ Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τῆς Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες περὶ τῇ καλοῦς μενον Ἐμπώριον καὶ εἰ πῇ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὄκουν ἄλλαχοι, δείπνοντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφότεροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰβηρα ποταμοῦ, καὶ μίτῳ Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦ δέ 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

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\(^1\) A curious error. Saguntum is considerably south of the Ebro.
CAP. κόσις ὅσι, μῆτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἐλληνας αὐτούμους καὶ ἔλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφῃ.

8. Ἀσδροῦβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὡμὸς διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίος ἀναίρει. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινὸς αἰκισάμενος διέθειρεν· ἢ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ περ ὑπνα κομιδὴ νέου, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἱσχυρὸς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλή συνέθετο. ὦσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολίται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδροῦβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνου ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιῶτας ἐδώκων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὁ τε δήμος ἀμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐνύγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκόμενοι τῆς βαρ- ύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδροῦβα· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὡςα μεγάλας Ἀσ- δροῦβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπετόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκείν ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσοιτο τοῖς πατρῴοις ἑχθροῖς ἐυκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

9. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἠαυτὸν οὐσαν ἐπὶβουλῆς· οὐδ' ἥξιον τὴν ἑχθραν, ὡστερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἐσαι καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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 κοιφόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥαδίως ἐς εὐθεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὃν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρκωθήναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἀσπειστὸς ἔχειρὸς ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ Χρονίδεις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδειὶ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὔσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβηρῶν ὡσα ὑπήκοα ἦν εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὕθις ἀναρρίπτειεν, οὐ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίς καὶ φόβους ἔσεσθαι μακρὸς, αὐτὸς δὲ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχουσαν ἀποφήμα (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοίς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις), εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.

10. Ἀρχήν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι λαμπράν εἰ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνῃ, Τορβολίτας, οἱ γείτονες εἰς Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἱ καταβοῦν ὡς τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικοῦντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθουντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχήδονα ἐπεμπέν, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἀπορρήτωι ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίουσ τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὡς τοῖς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθεὶ, πολλὰ τοιοῦτα ἐπιστέλλων, ἔως ἡ βούλη προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὁ τι δοκιμάσσειν. ὁ 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 Turbuletes, 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
CAP. επεῖ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὕθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεὶν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαὶων, καὶ μετεπέμπτο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μὲν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἐκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ὁρμαίοις ἐφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσις νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβᾶς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐφίστη. ἔλειν δ' οὗ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

11. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευσον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπτε πρέσβεις, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκειμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τούτους τοὺς πρέσβεις πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγύρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Ζακανθαῖοι, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτοῖς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ὕτιώτοτο τοὺς Ζακανθαῖους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἄδικεῖν, καὶ Ζακανθαῖους οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν, οἱ δ' οὖκ ἐφασαν χρησειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. διὰ ὡς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἵνα συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαῖοις, οἱ δ' ἐπείχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμάχοις αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλὰ αὐτούμονοι καὶ ἔλευθερους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἔλευθεροὺς δ' ἔτι
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 πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

12. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἔπιεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιέκάθητο συνεχῶς (εὐδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει τῆς πολιορκίας), τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἁργυροῦ, ὅσος ἦν δημόσιος τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχῶς νευσαν ὡς ἄχρείον Ἀννίβα γενέσθαι, αυτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶ θέλοντοι τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἔξεδραμον ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Διβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἐτὶ καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτων ὑπονοούντων· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἔξευνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὀπλιζομένους, ἐστὶ δ’ οὕς ἡδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος γενομένου, Διβύων μὲν ἀπόλολοντο πολλοῖ, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρῶσαι τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἐαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγών, αἱ δ’ ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξον. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἢν Ζακανθαῖοις, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατὴ γενομένη. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς ἐμαθε τοῖς χρυσοῖς, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἐτὶ ἡβῶντος αὐτῶν αἰκίζομενος διέφθειρεν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅρων ἐπιθάλασσόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὗ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγάθης, φίλειν αὐθίς καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀποικοῦ ἀπέφαινεν· ἢν νῦν οἷα Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενή.
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.
III

CAP. III

13. 'Ρωμαίοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπέμπουσιν, ὡς εἰρήτο ἐξαίτειν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἀμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἠγούνται τὸ ἔργον ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπραξαν ὡδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ὦκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὗτω γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν πρεσβευτῆς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύσι, "ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρων ὑμεῖς δ' ὀπότερα αἱρείσθε λάβετε." οἱ δ' ἔφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἃ βούλεις δίδου." προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὡμοῦ πάντες, "δεχόμεθα," καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα πᾶσαν ἥδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεώς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπουδῶν λευμένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπίων ὑπῆγετο, ἡ πείθων ἡ δεδιντόμενος ἡ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλευσε τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύσι, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλείν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρέσβευτο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπεῖων ὁρῶν κατεσκέπασε. καὶ διήλθεν, Ἀσδρόύβαν τὸν ἰδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ... 

14. ἦν Ἰβηρία σφίσι καὶ Διβύη τὸν πόλεμον ἐσεσθαί (οὗ ἔκρη δὴ μὴ Διβυές ποτὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, οὐδ' ὑπενώνου). Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Δόγγον ἐπὶ νεὼν ἐκατὸν ἐξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Διβύην ἐξέπεμπον (καὶ ὅσα Δόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ρωμαίων 158
III

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
15. Γναίος δὲ οὐδέν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηριοί, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανέλθειν. Ρωμαίοι γὰρ, ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήμαντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐθίς ἐστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφισίν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντο, μέχρι Καρχηδονίου μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατιάς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκοῦσαί μετετίθεντο· καὶ
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. III. γὰρ ἦστην πιθανωτάτω στρατηγήσαί τε καὶ προσαγαγέονται.

16. Θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήμην, αὐθὶς ἐξεπεμπτον ἔσ 'Ιβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἑλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς, Μάγωνα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἔτερον, ὡς Γέσκωνος ἦν ύιός. καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πολέμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὤς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Διβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Δίβυνες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρσιάνῳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπίωνον ὁ μὲν Γναίος ἐν Ὀρσωνί, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶν. ἐνθα αὐτῷ προσιόν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ’ ὀλίγων ὡς κατασκοπήν στρατοπέδου, ἑλάθη πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἵππεύσι περιδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναίος οὐδὲν τι προμαθῶν ἐς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐπεμπε στρατιώτας, οὐς ἐτεροι Διβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυ- θόμενοι ὁ Γναίος ἐξεδραμεν ὡς εἰχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε προτέρους ἀνηρήκεσαν ᾦδη, καὶ τὸν Γναίον ἐδίωκον, ἐως ἐσέδραμεν ἐς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνε- πρησαν οἱ Δίβυνες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

17. Οὗτο μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἀμφω, ἀνδρεῖς ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπόθησαν Ἰβηρεῖς, ὥσις δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐς Ἄρμαίων μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ’ οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἢνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀρτι ἀφιγ-
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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
CAP. μένου, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν... εξεπεμπτὸν ἐς Ἰβηριαν μετὰ χιλίων ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἵκανης. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ τόνδε γυνομένου, τὰ Διβύων ὑπερηψετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηριαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἔπαρασσοντο καὶ φόβος ἢν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντο τὰ πρὸσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἳδε οἱ Δίβυνες ἐς τὰ ἐτερὰ αὐτῆς ἔσβάλοιεν. οἶδεν οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἢν, δεῖ οὖν τῷ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

IV

CAP. 18. Προὶγραφοῦ οὐν ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἐτι πλείων ἐγίγνετο φόβος, καὶ σωπὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπείχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥς ΟὐΚ Κορυφῆος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποτίλων Κορυφῆος τοῦ ἀναφερόντος ἐν Ἰβηρισιν υἱός, νέος μὲν ὁν κομιδής (πεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἢν), σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφὶ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὁδυράμενος ἐπείπετον οἴκειος εἶναι τιμωρῶς ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θείῳ καὶ πατρίδι. ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἄθροῶς καὶ λάβρως, ὡσπερ ἐνθοὺς, ἐπαγγειλάμενος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἄλλη ἐπὶ αὐτῇ καὶ Διβύνην καὶ Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἐδοξεῖ κουφολογῆσαι νεανίκως, τὸν δὲ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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.

IV

18. 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,
CAP. IV. δὴμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ἤρεθη στρατηγὸς ἐσ Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πρᾶξων τῷ τῆς εὐτολμίας ἀξίων. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν σὺν εὐτολμίαιν ἄλλα προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐσ ἐκκλησίαν αὐθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὄμοια. καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδών οἱ γεννήσεσθαι, προσκαλεῖτο ὄμοις, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβύτερων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδίδοντος. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐλομένου, μᾶλλον ἔπαινούμενος τε καὶ θαμαζόμενος ἐξήλει μετὰ μυρών πεζῶν καὶ ἵππων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέον στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δηούντος τὴν Ἴταλίαν. ἐλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναύς μακρὰς ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐκοσὶ, μεθ’ ὧν ἐσ Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

19. Παραλαβῶν τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οἶς ἦγεν ἐς ἐν συναγαγών, ἕκαθηρε, καὶ διελέξθη καὶ τοῖσι μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διεδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτικά τῇ Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένῃ τε τοὺς Δίβυνας καὶ τῶν Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἦκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεοῦ. οὐ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὕπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθαυμόμενος δ’ ὅτι οἱ ἑξήροι σταθμεύονσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ’ ἅλληλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους πεζῶν καὶ ἵππως πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχίλιοις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σῖτου καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὀμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἐχουσιν 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
CAP. πρῶτερον μὲν Ζακάνθη τότε δὲ ἦδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἐκρίνε πρῶτον ἐς τούτους ἐπι-δραμεῖν διὰ τε τήν ὀλγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὁμοτήριον ἀσφαλῆς ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔξων ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἄργυρεία καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλούτον πολύν ἔχουσαν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Διβύνην βραχύτατον.

20. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο ὁμοίως ἐπαιρόμενος, οὕτω οἰκειοτέρων ὡς χωρῆσειν ἐμμελεῖν, ἦλιον δύναντος ἢγε τὴν στρατιάν δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμα ἔφι, τῶν Διβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἠμέραν ἠτομμαζέτο, κλίμακάς τε καὶ μηχανᾶς πάντη περιτίθεις, χωρίς ἐνός μέρους, ἢ τὸ μὲν τείχος ἢν βραχύτατον, ἔλος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δὴ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πλη-ρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναύς ἐπιστήσας, ἧνα μὴ τίς αὐτῶν αἰ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν (ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ μεγαλο-ψυχίας ἠλπίζει πάντως αἰρῆσειν τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ ἐω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς, τοὺς μὲν ἀνωθὲν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεὶν ἐς τὸ πρὸσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπειδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἶη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στειφῷ χρῆσθαι), τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνήγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὄδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη
Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum \(^1\) (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

\(^1\) See note on p. 157.
CAP. καὶ καταστέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἴχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοής καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν, ουδέτεροι μὲν ὅρμης καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἄκοντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφειδώνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευή καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρώντο προθύμως ἀπασίων.

21. Ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπνευσαν ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὃθούντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἦσσω δ’ ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοτόνῳ καὶ τάλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ρωμαίων ὑπαίστατο. καὶ μεταβολὴς γενομένης οὐ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τεἰχῶν ἐκαμνῷ Ὥδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακαι αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφήρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεξον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπίδων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἄδεις ὡς ὁ πόνος πολύς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὖν Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἴδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὅ τοῦ βραχὺ τεἰχὸς ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν ἀμπωτις γάρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐπήει μὲν ἔς μαστοῦς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἱδὼν, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὃς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθείν τὸ πέλαγος, ἐθεὶ πάντῃ βοῶν, "νῦν ὁ καιρός, ὁ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχος μοι θεὸς ἀφίκται. πρόσιτε τῷ μέρει τῶδε τοῦ τείχους. ἡ θάλασσα ἦμῖν ὑποκεχώρηκεν. φέρετε τὰς κλιμακας, ἐγώ δ’ 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 retreating 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."
22. Καὶ πρῶτος ἀρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερε τε καὶ ἀνέβαινεν, οὕτω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισσοῦντες αὐτὸν οἱ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτὸι δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοὶ κλιμάκας προσετίθεσαν τε καὶ ἀνεπτύχων. Βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὁμης ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὁμοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικταῖς καὶ βυκανιστάς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ως τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἔτεροι τε περιθέεντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον, καὶ καθαλόμενοι τινες ἀνέφεξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας, οδέσσεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμων. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, οδὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχύ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἀκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὔδεν ἔτι δράν σὺν ὡτιμένοις τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἔχον ἐνεχείρισεν εαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

23. Ὡδὲ τόλμη καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμωνα καὶ δυνατὴν ἠλῶν ἡμέρα μιᾷ, τετάρτη τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπήρτῳ μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεέων ἐκαστά δράν, αὐτὸς τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογισοῦντες καὶ τότε καὶ ἔς τὸν ἐπείτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτόλιον ἐσῆι μόνοις, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὁσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου
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
CAP. IV. προφέρονσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἕξις ἀγορᾶς φέρονταί. τότε δ’ εἰρηνικὸν ὀμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβοῦν, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναύς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ ἑλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυροῦ, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὀμηρὰ τε 'Ἰβηρῶν καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὡσα 'Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προελπιστευμένον, ἔθεν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἑθριάμβευσε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆνε, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔδημηγόρει, τὸν τε Σκιπιώνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἱδία, θεραπεύουν ταῖς πόλεισι. ἀριστεία δ’ ἐδίδον τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀναβάντι πρῶτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ’ ἐξίδο τὰ ἥμισεα τοῦτον, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς 'Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεών, ὡσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἀργυρός ἢν ἢ ἑλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλεις ἔθυνεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρῴας εὑπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὐτῶς ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ 'Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγγεσαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. V. 24. Ὁ δὲ φρουράν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀμπωτίν ἐς ὑψὸς ἐγείραν· τὴν δ’ ἄλλην 'Ἰβηρίαν αὐτὸς τε ἐπίδων καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἐκαστα περιπέμπτων ὑπῆγετο, καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Capitol. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three 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 following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, 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 the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all to 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 largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to 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 ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. 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. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

V

24. Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and 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 conciliate where he could, and subduing by force the places which still held out. There were two
Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὤντε λοιπῶ καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὡς μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξευνολογεῖ, οὐ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἕσ μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑτὶ βεβαιός περιέπεμπεν, ἄξιῶν Καρχηδονίους ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιᾶς ἐλευσομένης αὐτίκα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἔτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπτε ξευνολογείν ὁπόθεν δυνηθεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Δέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τινα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐμελλε πολιορκήσειν. ἔστιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαυτίκην ὑπεχώρη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἑνάθα τῆς ἐπιουσίας εὕθυς ἡσατό, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαυτίκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.  

25. 'Ο δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίαν τὴν ἑτὶ ὤνσαι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὀμοῦ πᾶσιν ἁμνουμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνῆλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβηρῶν, οὕς Μάγων ἤγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὃν ἤρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὃ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἰππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηλίξοντο τοῦ στρατόπεδου. ὥδε δὲ ἔχοσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἰππεάς ἐπιδιόρρησεν, καὶ Δαιλίου μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἐπεμπεῖ, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσης ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἢ ἐν ἄργῳ καὶ πόνω δυσχερέι, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῶν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωροῦντων, εἰτ' αὐθις ἐπελαυνόντων· ὡς δὲ παρηγγείλειν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διώκειν αὐτοὺς, τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
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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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἑστρατοπέδευσεν εὐ-
σταθῶς ἦπερ ἐβούλετο. ἂν δὲ ἤ μὲν τῶν ἔχθρῶν
σύμπασα δύναμις ἐπτακισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς
πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἐξ καὶ τριάκοντα·
Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ
μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχεν,
ἀλλ' ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἔχρητο μόνοις.

26. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλευστεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἄγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς
ἡπτετοὸ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ ἐνπρεπὲς
ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων· θυσάμενος δὲ, καὶ ἐνθὺς
ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσσας,
καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεῖς πάλιν
ὡςπερ ἑνθοὺς, ἐφι τὸ δαμόνων ἥκειν τὸ σύνθες
αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ
θαρρεῖν θεὲ μᾶλλον ἡ πλήθει στρατοῦ· καὶ γὰρ
τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεοῦ, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος
cratήσαι. ἐς τε πίστων τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ
παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις.
καὶ λέγων ὅρῳ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὐς μεθ'
ὄρμης καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεῖν ἐδείκνυε τε,
καὶ ἐλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε
ἐπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὀρῶν
καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκεῖνον
φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεύρῳ κακεῖσθε, συνεπε-
στρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἐτοιμον
ἡρθίζοντο. ὅ δ' ἔπει πᾶν εἰχεν ὅσον τι καὶ
ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὔδ' εἴσαε τὴν ὀρμὴν
ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι ὠν θεόληπτος, ἐφὶ δὲιν ἐπὶ
toίσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἄγωνισασθαί. καὶ
φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίσασθαί, καὶ ἑπῆγεν ἄδοι-
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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
οάρ. κήτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τούς μὲν ἵππεας Σιλανῷ, τούς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαελίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδοῦσιν. 27. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοὺς Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων ὅντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἀσιτον ὤσαν ἑτὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀπλίζουν μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοής. γενομένης δ' ὁμοί πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν ἩΡωμαῖον ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν· ὅς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἐτὶ χρύσιμα· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἤττώντο δ' ὀλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέοντός τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἱππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδὶ παραδοῦν, καὶ παρὰ τινος ἀσπίδα λαβὼν, ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἰχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγῶς, "ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὦ ἩΡωμαῖοι, κυνυδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίων!" τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγύς ὀρῶντες οἱ κυνύδουν φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδοῦμενοι τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ' ἀλάλαγμοι καὶ βίας, ἢν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Λιβυὲς ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειποῦσις αὐτοὺς ἁμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἄστιας περὶ ἐστέραν· καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν δ' ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίγνετο. τούτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίων τῆς περὶ Καρμώνην μάχης, ἐπισφαλοὺς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἩΡωμαῖον μὲν ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι.
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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. 28. Μετὰ δὲ τούθ' οἱ μὲν Λίβυνες ύπεχώρον ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἶπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν ὅσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὄχυρόν τι χωρίον προὔλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἀφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὔδεν ἀλλὸ ἡ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδεί, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἦπειγον ἐτεραὶ χρείαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπτε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπήει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὗτις ὑποχωροῦντων, ἐώς ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεξεύγυνεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἁμίλκαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὁκεανοῦ στρατιῶν ἐτὶ συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὁκεανοῦ τὴν Πυρῆνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ'Oν ἔξενολογήκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας ὅδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἄγουσιν, ἦπείγετο.

VI

CAP. 29. Δεύκιος δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανίδων ἐφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἀστεῖ Ῥωμαίοι διανοοῦσιν στρατηγοῦν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τούθε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐπτίζων ὅδε ἐσέσθαι, Δαύλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προὔπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμυνησιν τῆς ἔσ.
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.

VI

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
CAP. αὑτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ἦρωμαῖοι, ἄν ἐπίωσι, συνομβάνειν. ὥ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δόρα ἐλαβεῖ καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἑτερα. αἰσθό-μενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τῶν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιτῆς πυθανόμενος τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνιοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ἤει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεών δύο σὺν τῷ Λαυλίῳ.

30. Καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδόνιων, ἕτι οὐντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσίν αἰς εἴχον μακραῖς ἐπανήγγελτο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἰστὶν χρώμενος παρέ-πλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἄδεος καὶ κατήχη, ὥ δὲ Σύφαξ ἔξενυξεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιτῆς συνθέμενος ἵδια καὶ πίστεις παρασχῶν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὕθις αὐτῷ κατείχεν, ἔως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιτῆς. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἤλθε κινδύνου Σκιτῆν, καταγόμενός τε καὶ πλέον λέγεται δ’ ἐν Σύφακος ἐστιώμενος συγκατακληθήναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἔρομενος κατα-πλαγίως τής σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπειν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὕτος ὁ ἀνήρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἶη.

31. Τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγονι τινες Κελτι-βήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, διὸ αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ἦρωμαῖοις μετετέθειν. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίοις μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίοις διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἐτέρους δὲ ἐπτακοσίοις ἒπτεας καὶ πεξοῦς ἐξακοχιλίοις, Ἀνυνωνος αὐτῶν ἤγουμένου.
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. VI συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, ὅθεν ἀπορούντες ἀπάντων ἐπρεσβεύουσι τρός τῶν Μάρκιων περὶ σπουδῶν. οὐδ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἀννωνα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεῦειν. οἱ μὲν δ' καὶ τῶν Ἀννωνα στρατηγοῦ ὄντα σφῶν συναρπαζόντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκρωμένων, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν. οὗ δὲ Μάρκιος ἦτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτῶν ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἀπαντακές ἐς τι τοῦ πεδίου χαρίν, οὐ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν τὰ ψυχολότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐφη, „ἀξία μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, ὦ τάς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ύψ. ἡμῖν, εὑλεσθε μετά τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν. δίδωμι δ' ἡμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσατε, ἀπαθέσατε ἀπιέναι.” ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθὺς ὅμοι πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτέρα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπτῃ, τὸ δ' ἡμῖν πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. οὗ δ' ἀρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀννωνος κατεπεπλεύκειν ναυσίν ἐξήκοντα μακράς, μαθοῦν δὲ τὴν Ἀννωνος συμμορφὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

32. Καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργία ἦν, Σιλανός οὐκ ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγόμεν. πολεμικῆς δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Καστακαῖων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. οὗ δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολυορκίας εἶπετο καὶ παροδεύων ἐνεβάλεν ἐς Ἰλυρίαν πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαιῶν μὲν ἣν φίλῃ κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναρεθέντος.
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' ἐκείνον κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιάν ὑποδεξάμενη Ὁρμαιῶν ὡς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίους ἐξεδεδώκει. ὅπως ἡ ᾿Ορμαιῶν σὺν ὅργῃ τέσσαριν ἡμέρας ἐξείλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχὼν ἔως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιά δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπερισθέντα τῆς ἀρταγηῆς, ἐκτεινὼν ὄμαλῶς καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναίκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διείλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἤρχε, διδοὺς ἐτὶ τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγινώσκαν. καὶ γὰρ ἦκουν αὐτοῖς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφαῖς ἐμποδῶν οὕσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίων. καὶ τοῖς δὲ μὲν φρουράν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἔνι τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης οὕτω ἀγαθῆς: αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεζεύγυνε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύνατο.

33. Ἀστάπα δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίους ἀεὶ ἐμμείνασα ὄμαλῶς· οἱ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφαῖς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ὁρμαιοὶ λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν συνήγαγαν, καὶ ξίλα περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γυναικαὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὄρκωσαν τοὺς ἄριστους, ὅταν ἦ πόλις ἁλίσκεται, τὰ γυναικα

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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
CAP. καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρες τῶν δι᾽ ὑπηγάμους τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τῶν Μάρκιον ὑφὸ τοῦ θρήνους, οὐδὲν ἑθεὶν, αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψυλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππεὰς ἐτρέψαντο. ὀπλισάμενης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπάλων ἦν ἄριστα, εἰ ἀπογυνώσεως μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ δομὸς ἐκράτους αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρος ἕσαν οἱ Ἀσταπάλοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἀπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπάλων καταπλαγεῖς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ σικόπεδα αὐτῶν.

VII

CAP. 34. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ θ' ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διώκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀσωτίας ἀναλῶκεαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἤγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ηὐρήσαθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δοξὴν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάρκιου καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἐκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγγωνος τινὲς ἀργύριον φέροντες ἐπείδους αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγγωνα μεταθέσθαι· οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγοὺς δ᾽ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλόμενοι καὶ
the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay 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
καὶ τάλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ᾽ έαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμονον ἄλληλοις. πυθόμενος δὴ ὁ Σκιτίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀμείψατο πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπείθωσιν αὐτοὺς πλανομένους, κοινῇ δ᾽ ἄπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἦδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἥκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

35. Ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον, οί δὲ πιστεύειν ἤξιον καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὀδενοῦ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιτίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ Βουλευταῖς ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσίοντα, καὶ ως ἄπ' εὔνοιας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαι τε καὶ δῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκαστὸν ἀφανὸς ἀμα ἐς εἰφῆρεις ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὐκαιρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἣν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἀνεῖ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἄρτι φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίον μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλείσθαι, συνέ—
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
CAP. VII

θεον ὅμοι πάντοθεν, οἷς μὲν ἄξωστοι τὰ ξιφῆ, οἷς δὲ καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ μόνοις, οὕς φθάσαντες οὔτε τὴν ἐσθήτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.

36. Σκιπίων δὲ φροῦραν ἔχον ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀφανῆ, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἰτ' ἐφ' ἡ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθήσεων μόνοις τοῖς ἀρξασιν, "οὐς ἔγω κολάσω δι' ἴμων." καὶ λέγον ἐτὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστῆσαι τὸ πλήθος. οἷς μὲν δὴ διόσταν, οἷς δὲ βουλευταί τοὺς αἰτίους παρῆγγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλοῦντων, τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἐκτείνον οἱ χιλιάρχοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδῆ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρομένην εἶδεν, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἤν σκυθρωποῦ· ο δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐκβοησάντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπάντων ἐς τούδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτιμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.

"Ωδὲ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίων; 37. Ἰνδιβιλίς δὲ, τῶν συνθηκέων τις αὐτῶ ὄνεαστῶν, στασιαζοῦσι τίς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμε τὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίων γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίως καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδείτο προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτῶν χρήμασι ζημιώσας συνελάσσετο. λαθῶν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν 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 with Scipio.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. VII ὁμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἀν ἐς Διβύνην στρατεύῃ. ἐπράξε δὲ τούτῳ ἀνήρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἦγγυτο Μασσανάσση. Σύφακα δ’ ἀρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρως ἐκνύζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἐδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὕτως τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπαχθέντος ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἴδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναῦαρχος ἀπογονοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρία, πλεύσας ἐς Δινγας καὶ Κέλτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταύτα ἢν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

38. Στρατηγοῦς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἑτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἐπεμποῦν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀρμοστὰς ἦ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων ὄλγην στρατιάν ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη καταλιπτῶν, συνόκυσε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικῆν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστὶ Τραϊανὸ τε καὶ Ἀδριανὸ τῶν ύστερον Ῥωμαίους ἄρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολύλυ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμιστος αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὁπλῶν καὶ λάφυρον ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ δόξης ἀοιδόμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διὰ τε νέοτητα καὶ ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος ἐυπραξίας. οὐ τε φθο-
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 αυτῷ τὴν πάλαι κοινοφολογίαν όμολογον \ensuremath{{\mathbb{E}}} έργον αποβιβάζαι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἐκτείναν. τοὺς δ’ αὐτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον, καὶ τὰ ὅντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐξημῶσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρέίλουσο, καὶ ὡμηρα ἠτησαν, καὶ φρουράς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρῶτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πείρα ἐς τούτῳ ἔληγε.

VIII

CAP. VIII. 39. Χρόνῳ δ’ ύστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαίοι Κελτῶν τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδουν ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὐθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιος τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μάρκος Ἴλουιος, μετὰ δ’ ἔκεινους Μινουκίους. καὶ ἔπι τούτῳ, μείζονος ἐτὶ τῆς κινήσεως γυγυρμένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὃν ἐτὶ πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριτρετῆς, ὡστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἀριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι ρήτορα γεγενόθαι 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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. VIII 40. 'Ως δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἔμπορίον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγγέλατο, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὡς δ' ἐμελλε συνενεχθήσεσθαι μάχη, τὰς ναῦς δὲ εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τούτῳ εἶναι φοβερὸν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐθυγράμμα τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι νεῶν ἀπορούμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἴ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὕτω σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ' εἰτῶν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσασ, ὥσπερ ἔτεροι, τὸν στρατὸν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπηδούσαν καὶ παροξύσων. ἀκρίτου δ' αὐτῆς ἐς δείλην ἔσπεραν ἔτι οὕσης, καὶ πολλῶν πυπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐς τινὰ λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὅμοι πάν ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἱδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὠρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοή συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ πρῶτος κατήρξε τῆς νίκης. διόξασ τε νυκτὸς ὄλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπαινοῦτι δ' ὅσ ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνιδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπιτραπασκεν.

41. Προσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτῶν ἀπάντων ὁμηρὰ τε ἦτησεν ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἐκάστους περιέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρα μία πάντας ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὠρίζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηρίμενος δὲ 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
ρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δὴ ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἀπάσαις καθαίρειν τὰ τείχη σφῶν, αὐτὴς ἡμέρας ἢ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδοσι- μὸν ἤπειλεν. οἱ δὲ ἀρτὶ μὲν ἦττημένοι μεγάλη μάχη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις εἴθ' ἀπασά ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκατα- φρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύ- νωσι, καιρὸν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβοῦ- μενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκαστοὶ προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τείχη καθήρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς: ἐν ὦ γὰρ ἀπαξ ὑπακούειν ἔδοκε, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰρ- γάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμώνυτο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μᾶς ἡμέρας, ὡς ἐνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθήρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐφεδοι γενόμεναι διέμεναν ἐς πλείστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

42. Ὅλυμπιάσι δὴ ὑστερον τέσσαροι, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβηρ- ρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἰβηρα ὀκηταλ. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπάτος Φούλουνιος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχη. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἦπόρουν καὶ εἰς ἄλης ἐβισωτεύνυ, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἦ νεόκτιστος τε ἦν καὶ ὁχυρά, καὶ ἦνξετο ταχέως. οἴθεν ὀρμῶμενοι τῶν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρμενῶν.
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
CAP. VIII 

ἐκάστου σάγου τε καὶ ἦπτου καὶ ξύφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὃ δὲ πολλοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐφή σάγους οἶσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλήξοντο. χρώνται δὲ διεπόδι ιματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τούτο σάγου ἤγονται.

43. Φλάκκω μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάρασων δὲ πόλιν, ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἢν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτὶβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώσεθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπειγομένου βοηθήσαι τῇ πόλει, περιμόντος δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὔδε μηνύσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις Ἰλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεῖς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκόν, ἐνεπορτήσατο σάγου Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθε τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἰβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάρασων διαδραμῶν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίτου. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκαρτησάντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἥμεραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν δισμύριοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίας, καὶ πλησιασάντες ἅδοκῆτος ἐπέθεεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὃ δὲ εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἴτε διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπέπεσε 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 ἐκτείνε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνόκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῆς συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς, καθ’ ἅ Ρωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι· ὄρκους τε ὀμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι’ ἅ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διόνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

IX

CAP. 44. Ἐτέσι δ’ οὐ πολλοῖς ὑστερον πολέμοις ἄλλος ἡγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως. Σεγίθη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλών λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐσ τὰς Σεμπρωνίαν Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὕτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνφίκιζεν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο. Τίθουσι τε ὄμορον γένους ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν ἐς ταῦτα. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τὸ τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τεῖχιζε, καὶ φόρους ἦτε τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαι τε Ῥωμαίωις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ’ αἱ Γράκχου συνθήκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τεῖχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεύσθαι Κελτιβηρίων ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τεῖχιζεν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ἐξαναγίας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίωις ἀφείσθαι 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.
CAP. IX

... ἰσαν ἀφειμένοι, δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλή τὰς τοιᾶσθε δωρεᾶς ἀεὶ προστιθείσα κυρίας ἐσεσθαί μέχρι ἀν αὐτὴ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

45. Στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Νοβελίων ἐπέμπτετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισυμβρών ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεόησης· ὥσ ἐπειδὴ σφίσων οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσίστατα ἐγυνωσαν, οὐπώ τὸ τείχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἐφευγον ἐς 'Αρουακοὺς μετὰ παιδών καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφαῖς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς 'Αρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονται τε, καὶ Κάρον αὐτῶν Σεγηδαίον, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν. ὃ δὲ τρίτη μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρα δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππείς πεντακισχιλίους ἔς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ἔρμαιοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτε τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ἔρμαιῶν τῶν εὐ ἀστεος ἐκτεινεν ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους, ὥς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ἔρμαιῶν φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτῶν ἀριστεύοντα ἐκτειναν καὶ ἔτερους ἄμφ’ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐλάσσοντο καὶ οὐδέ τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγύγυνετο δὲ ταῦθ’ ὅτε Ἔρμαιοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀγουσίν· ὃθεν οὔδεις ἂν ἐκὼν ἄρξειν εὐ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.

46. Ἀρουακοῖ μὲν οὖν εὔθυς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἠ Νομαντίαν, ἢ δυνατώτατῇ πόλις ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἀμβωνα καὶ Δεύκωνα ἡρῴντο· Νοβελίων δ’ αὐτοῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ύστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ὑπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσιν. παραγενομένων δὲ οἱ 208
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
οι Νομαδων ιππεων τριακοσίων, ούς Μασσανάσσης ἐπετόμφει, καὶ ἑλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπίγγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἁγών ὅπισώ τὰ θηρία λαυθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξε- φαίνετο· καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ὑπποὶ σφῶν οὐ πρίν ἐωρακότες ἑλέφαντας ἐν πολέμων ἑθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὃ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπίγγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἑλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεῖς ἤγριωθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνήρει τὸν ἐν πολιῶν, οὐ διακρίνων ἐτι φίλιον ἡ πολέμων. οἱ τε ἅλλοι ἑλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖνον βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὁμοίᾳ πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμαίους συνεπάτον τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτον. ὅπερ ἀεὶ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἑλέφαντες εἰώθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἤγείσθαι πολεμίους· καὶ τινες διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος· ἦν οἱ Νομαντίνου κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων ἐξέθερον, καὶ διώκοντες ἐκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς τετρακισχίλιους ἑλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεία ἐλαβον. Κελτίβηρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχίλιους.

47. Καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβὼν, ἁγορῆ μὲν τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀξείνου πόλιν σεσωρευμένη, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κάνταυθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπανήλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὅθεν Βιῆσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐς τὸ γειτονεῖον ἔθνος ἐπεμπεν, ἵππεων δεόμενοι. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν
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
CAP. IX

αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἑρχομένους ἔλοχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὥς ὃς Βιῆσιος μαχόμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν ὃς τοιῶντε πταισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγγυνομένων, πόλις Ὄκιλις, ἐνθα ἡ ἀγορᾶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἣν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νῳβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεσχίσας, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτὴς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλυγότητι καὶ νυφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὡστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλυντο.

48. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νῳβελίου μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀγων πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχίλιους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους: λοχώντων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διήλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὁκιλίων ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχῆς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὅπι τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγρωμῆς ἐδώκεν, ὁμηρὰ τίνα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τρίακοντα λαβὼν. Νεργόβρυγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἕτος τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἡρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑποσχυόντο δώσειν, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὔραγουσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περίστησιν. εἶτ' ἀφικοῦστο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἀγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, 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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. ἐπὶ τῆς σύραγίας γενομένων ἐλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἀμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκατὸν ἵππεας ἔδησε, τοὺς δὲ ἱπποὺς αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν διείλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπεδεύσει. Νεργόβριγες δὲ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἀμαλχωμάτων αἱ κήρυκες, κηρυκεῖα κέμψαντες λυκήν ἀντὶ κηρυκείων περικείμενων, ἔτους συγγυμνῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐφή δῶσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίθοι δεσθεῖν ὁμοῦ. ὅπε τὸ μὲν ἐθνὸς πυθόμενα προθύμως ἔπρεσβεύσει καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἑξιοῦν, ποιήν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθῆκας ἀναγαγεῖν ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοι τινες ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον πεπολεμημένου.

49. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος έξ ἐκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ὀρώμην ἔπεμετει ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ’ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπουν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθήναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτῳ νομίζων ἔσσαθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίσχυσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τείχων ἐστάθμευον. ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ’ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουσα ὅτι μή, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἥξιον Ἡσσελίων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκέλλου, Ἡρμαίων αὐτοὺς ἐπετερόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσεαν ἐφη τὰ δοξάνα ταῖς στρατιῶν εὐθὺς ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτισμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄδικους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰς κοὐφοτέρας στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἐδοξέαν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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 Nobilius, 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. IX

συναγαγείν. δὲν ἐστρατήγην Δικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὑπατος, πρεσβευτὴ χρώμενος Κορυνήλιω Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχιδόνα μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ύστερον.

50. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὀδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τὸν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὀμηρα αὐτοῦσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δὲ Ἄρωμη τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτίβηρων ἰδία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐπιστῶθη τοῖς ύστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν εαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἀρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθήναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργό-μην Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ’ ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχῶν παρεστράτοπεδεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἔως ὅ τῶν Νομαντίων στρατηγὸς Αὐτέων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ συνελθείν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθῶν ἐφὶ Βελλών καὶ Τίθθους καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. δ’ δὲ ἄσμενος ἄκουσας ὀμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ἡτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε καὶ Τίθθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἐληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

51. Ὅ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρήζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Ὀυάκκαίους. ἐτερον γένος Κελτίβηρων, ἐνέβαλεν, ὁ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὕτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὕτε Ὀυάκκαίων Ἄρωμαιδος πεπολεμη-
decided now to choose by lot. The consul Licinius 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 Vaccaei, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbours of the Arevaci, although he had no warrant from the Senate, nor had they
κότων, οὐδὲ ἐσ αὐτὸν τι Δεύκολλον ἁμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέ- δευσεν. οἱ δ' ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἢκοι δεόμενος ἢ τί πολέμου χρῆσιν, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῦν, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἐγειρομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλοῖς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαίοι ψιλοῖς έοικοτές ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Δευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη καὶ τότε ἐφευγοῦν οὐκ ὀντες μενεμάχοι, περὶ τε τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὠθούμενοι ἀνηρέθησαν ἀμφί τοὺς τρισχιλίους.

52. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανο- σάμενοι τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Δεύκολλον αὖθις ἥρωτον τὶ ποιοῦντες ἀν ἔιεν φίλου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς ὁμηρά τε ἢτει καὶ ἀργυρίου πάλαντα ἐκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευεν οἱ συ- στρατευένων. ὅς δὲ πάντα ἐλαβεν, ἤξιον φουραν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγείν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσῆγαγε δισχίλιοις ἀριστόνδην ἐξειλεγμένους, οἷς ἔσελθον εἰρήτο γήγεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχῃ. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχίλιων, ἐσῆγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Δεύ- κολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἀπαντάς ἕβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαί- οὺς ἐς ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὡμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας 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
53. 'Ο δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὀδεύσας, ἔσ τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἕνα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεθύγεσαν, ἵππεις δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐσ συνθῆκας ὑπ’ ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο· οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ ὑνείδει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτοῦ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυυψάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοῖς. ὁ δ’, οἴον ἀπαντεῖς οἱ ἀμαρτόντες, ἀνθ’ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ὑνείδιζουσι χαλεπάνων, ἐκείρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαβίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἥγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἔξετασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ’ ὀὐτω μὲν ἀντεξάτοσον, ἀλλ’ ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμνὰ δὲ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὀπλοὶς περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ἄρωμαῖων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἑθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ’ ὑπακούσοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῶ ἱεροτατικοὶ κατορχησάμενοι ἀπεχώρει. γενομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπτίων ἔτι νέος ἦν ὑπερήλητος τα το καὶ προπηθήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ’ ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὁ ὃν.

54. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἐπὶ ἅρμε Πομαίως, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατείχον· οἱ γὰρ ἵππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν του
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 Caucaei, 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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. IX

βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Δεύκολλου, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Δευκόλλου περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον καὶ συνετήχουν οἱ ἐνδοὺ ἀυτοῖς. οἴδεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἐκαμμον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὖνο γὰρ οὐκ ὄντας οὐδ' ἄλων οὐδ' ἕξους οὐδ' ἥλαιος, πυροῦς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγωῶν χωρίς ἄλων ἐφόμενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυτο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χώμα ἡγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμῶν τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μὲν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν· μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτοσαν ἐς τινὰ δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας, ἐνθὰ οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἄνωκοδόμουν. πάνω δ' ἐκατέρων κακοπαθοῦντων (ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἡπτετο) Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθέως κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖς, Δευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὀρισμένος, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐς ὀμηρά. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Δεύκολλος αὐτῶν, οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἡγούμενος ἕλην Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἐλαβεν οὗ γὰρ εἰχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ' ἤκεινοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.
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 Πάλλαντίαν ἦεi πόλιν, ἥ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἰχε μεῖξε, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτῆν· οὕτε αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσαν τινὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι σιτιολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Πάλλαντιοι συνεχὼς ἔππευσιν ἄνωχλουν τε καὶ σιτιολογεῖν ἐκώλυν. ἀποροὶ δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Δεύκολλος ἀνεξεύγυν, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τὸτε τῶν Πάλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, οὗν οἱ μὲν Πάλλαντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψῆφισμα 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Δεύκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Δεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ οὔδε ἐκρίθη.

X

56. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἱ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πούνίκου σφών ἠγομένου τὰ 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοα ἐλήξοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἐξαισχυλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθείς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβῶν ἐπολιόρκητο 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασίν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνων ἐποικίσατο τινὰς ἐκ Διβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθήναι Βλαστοφοίνικας.
55. He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, 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 πληγείς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ὁ ὄνομα ἦν Καῖσαρος. οὐτος ὁ Καῖσαρος Μουμμίῳ, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ἑρωμης, ἔς μάχῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ ἤπειρονος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίῳ δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐκτεινεν ἐς ἐννακισχίλιος, καὶ τὴν τε λεῖαν τὴν ἱρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβε τε, καὶ δυρπαςεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεία πολλά, ἀπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτίβηριαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετῶθαζον.

57. Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολούτους ἐχὼν πεντακισχίλιους ἐγύμναζεν ἐνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιώς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρήσατο. φυλάξας δὲ εἰ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκίτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λεῖαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτάνων δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κάκεινοι Ῥωμαίων πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαϊνος σφῶν ἤγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκουοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην ἐλὸν Κονίστοργιν. παρὰ τε τὰς στῆλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὥκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Διβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιορκοῦν. Μούμμιος δ' ἐπόμενος ἐννακισχίλιοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακισχίλιοις ἐκτεινεν τῶν μὲν δηούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους, τῶν δ' ἐτέρων τινᾶς, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ὡς ἐσευλήκεσαν, ἐκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὃς μηδ' ἀγγέλων 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.
CAP. φυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν
dυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λαοῖ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς
ἐνυαλίοις ἔκανσεν.

Καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς
Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν, 58. ἐκδέχεται δ` αὐτὸν
Μάρκος Ατίλιος, ὁς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἐπτακοσίους
ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν
ἐξείλεν, ἢ ὅνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ` ἐγγὺς καταπλη-
ξάμενος ἀπαντὰ ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ
tούτων ἢν ἐνια τοῦ Ὀυετῶν ἔθνους, ὁμόροι τοῖς
Λυσιτανῶις. ὡς δ` ἀνεξεύγυνε χειμάσων ὁ Ἐκτίλιος,
aὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καὶ τινὰς Ῥωμαίοις
ὑπηκόους ἐπολύρκουν· οὕς ἐπειγόμενος ἔξελείν
tῆς πολιορκίας Σέρουιος Γάλβας ὁ Ἐκτίλιο
διάδοχος, ἡμέρα μιᾶ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους
σταδίους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανῶις,
καὶ εὔθες ἐς μάχην ἔξετασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν
στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ` εὔτυχῶς τοὺς
πολέμιους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπόλεμως.
ἀπεπεθανοῦσα αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνυντάκτων τῆς διώξεως
οὕς διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδότες αὐτοὺς
dιεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη
συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς ἐπτακοῖς-
χιλίους. ὅ δ` Ἐκτίλιος μετὰ τῶν ἁμβ` αὐτῶν
ἰππέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνη πόλιν, ἐνθα τοὺς
dιαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀδροί-
σας ἐς δισμυρίους διήλθεν ἐς Κοννέους, καὶ
παρεχείμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

59. Δεύκκολος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφι-
σμάτων πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρρινία τότε χειμάζων
ἡσθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων,
καὶ περιπέμψας 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 Oxthraceae. 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.
ἐκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. περὶ τε Γάδερα τῶν πορθμῶν ἐτέρων περούντων ἐκτεινεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λαύπους συμφυγόντας ἐς τινα λόφον ἀπεπάφρευσε, πλῆθος τε ἐλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτῶν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβεβήκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἔσπενδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρύνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχθεσθαι ὡς δι᾿ ἀπορίαν ηστευοῦσιν τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν. “τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον,” ἐφή, “καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει· δόσῳ δ᾿ ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλους γῆν ἀγαθήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικίῳ, διελὼν ἐς τρία.”

60. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδίων ἀνισταντο, καὶ συνήσαν οἱ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας: ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ πεδίον ἐκάστοις τῇ υποδέξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθῶν. ὡς δ᾿ ἤκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρῶτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, θεμένους δ᾿ ἀπεπάφρευε τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινας ἐσπέμνησας ἀνείλεν ἀπαντας, ὀδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστεις ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ᾿ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεῖς ἀνείλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἐτὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστία μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστιάν μετιών, οὐκ ἄξιος δὲ Ἡρωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὅλγοι δ᾿ αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὡν ἦν Οὐριάτθος, 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,
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CAP. πολύ ἡγήσατο Αυστιανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ἦρωμαίων καὶ ἐργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὑστερον γενόμενα ὑστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Δευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος ὄν, ὁλίγα μὲν τινα τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὁλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὄν ὁμοῦ τι Ἦρωμαίων. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐν τῇ εἱρήνῃ φασίν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδό-μενόν τε καὶ ἐπιορκούντα διὰ κέρδη. μισοῦμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγοροῦμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

XI

CAP. 61. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑστερον, ὃσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Δευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομίσεως, ἀλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρντιανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἤρωμης ἑπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐντίλιος, ἄγων τὲ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβὼν, ἀπαντας ἕχων ἐς μυρίους, ἑπέτεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τι χωρίον, οἱ κινδυνεῦει τε μένουτας ἔχρην ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίων, ὧδε γὰρ εἰχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐντίλιον ἐπεμπὼν σὺν ἰκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐσόμενοι Ἦρωμαίων ἐς πάντα κατήκουν. ὦ δὲ ὑπίσχειτο δῶσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἡδη. Οὐριατθος δ’ ὦ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγὼν, τότε συνὼν 232
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...
62. Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αυτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι γενομένων, ἦρεθη τε στρατηγὸς, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτός ἐπιβῆ τοῦ Ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται, καὶ ἄλλας ὀδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἐνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνιστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐφυγον, ἐπειδή ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν Ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐτίλιος αὐτοὺς δῖλσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διηρχημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστώτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπεῖς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ' ὁκυτάτοις Ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ πάλιν ἰστάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὡς δ' ἐκάσεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἐτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὀρμήσας δι' ὀδῶν ἄτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις Ἴπποις ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ἱῳμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὀμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διὰ τὸ βάρος ὑπλών καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὀδῶν καὶ Ἴππων ἀνομοιότητα. ὦδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογιγνώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατηγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐσ
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
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63. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Ὀὐριάτθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύφας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετίλιου αὐτὸς τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ρωμαίους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐξώγρων καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἔξωγρηθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνώστην, γέροντα ὑπέρταχνον ὅρῳν, ἐκτεινεν ὡς οὔδεν ὁξιον. Ρωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἐξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν, ἥν ἔγω νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων πάλαι Ταρτησσόν ὅνομάζουσαν, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαν, δὲν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτη Ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσόν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, δς ἐξετο τῷ Οὐετίλῳ, συνέτασσεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίθων αὐτῆς πεντακισχίλιοι συμμάχους, καὶ λαβῶν, προὔπερμεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀὐριάτθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἐκτεινεν, ὡς μηδ' ἀγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἥσυχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ ἸῬώμης.

64. Οὐριάτθος δὲ τὴν Καρπησσαν, εὐδαιμονα χώραν, ἐπιών άδεως ἔλεηλάτει, ἔως ἦκεν ἐκ 236
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 Arganthonius, 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
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CAP. XI

Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἀγων πεξοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππεάς χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίων. τότε δ' αὖθις ἐπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐριάτθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διόκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὗς ἐπιστραφεῖς ὁ Οὐριάτθος ἐκτείνει χωρὶς ὀλύγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὅρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἐνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ πταίσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπευγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἦττηθεὶς δὲ φόνον πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχείμαζεν, οὐ γαρρῶν οὐδαμοὶ προϊέναι. ὁ δ' Οὐριάτθος τὴν χώραν ἄδεως περιμῶν ἦτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὅν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

65. Ὡν οἱ ἐν ἀστεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι, Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανὸν, Αἰμιλίον Παῦλον τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος νῦν, ἐπεμποῦ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἐαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δὲ, Ῥωμαῖοι ἀρτὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεμον κατωρθώσκοτον, φειδοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας, οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἤκειν ἔς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχον πεξοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππεὰς ἐς δισχιλίους. οθὲν ὦνπὶ πάχος ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειν, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐριάτθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐνελυμένων τισίν ἐπιπεσὼν ἐκτείνε πολλοὺς

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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 ἑφόβησε τοὺς λοιποὺς. τοῦ δ' ὑποστρατήγου
συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις Οὐρίατθος ἐκράτει
καὶ πόλλην λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε
τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος.
ὁ δὲ ὅλω μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμ-
νάζων αὐτοὺς ἐτί, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἡκρο-
βολίζετο, πειράζει τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολέμων καὶ
τοῖς ἱδίοις ἐντιθείς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε
ἐνόπλως ἅλι τοῖς γυμνοῖς περιώστη, καὶ περιέ-
τρεχε μεθ' ἱππεῶν αὐτῶς, οἰα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ
συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ
χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένω τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται
δεύτερος ὧδε τὸν Οὐρίατθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον
καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ
ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτὸν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ὃς ὀνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διόκων ἕκετευν πολλοὺς. καὶ
ἔχειμαζέν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἢδη στρα-
τηγῶν τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ
Αἶμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς 'Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε, δια-
δεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοίντου Πομπηίου τοῦ
Αὐλοῦ.

66. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐχ ὀμοίως ἐτί κατα-
φρονῶν, Ἄρουακοὺς καὶ Τίθους καὶ Βελλούς,
ἐκαὶ μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ ᾿Ρωμαίων.
καὶ πολέμων ἄλλων οἷδε ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν,
ὅτι ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντίνου ἥγουνται,
μακρὸν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον ᾿Ρωμαίων γενόμενον. καὶ
συνάξω καὶ τὸντε ἐς ἐν μετ' Οὐρίατθον. Οὐρί-
ατθος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς ᾿Ιβηρίας ἑτέρῳ
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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
CAP. XI στρατηγὸς Ἀρμαίων Κοῖντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἠσσώμενος ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὁδεῖς ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐκτευνε τῶν Κοῖντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεῖά τινα ἤρπασε· τοὺς δὲ λυποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκκη φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βασσιτανῶν χώραν ἔληξεν. Κοῖντίου δὲ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειριάν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ἐν Κορδύβη χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμνᾶ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἀνδραἱ Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

XII

CAP. XII 67. Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιόντος έτος Κοῖντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουλιανός, ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ἀρμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἐξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίους. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικύης τῷ Νομάδου βασιλεῖ πέμψα ὁ τάξιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἠπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐξακισχιλίους ἀνδράσιν ἐπίοντα οἱ μετὰ τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακραῖς, ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμωι ἐπισείοντο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας ὑπέστη τε γενναιος καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὡς δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλήθος ἀφίκτω, καὶ ἐκ Διβύνης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἰππεύσι τριακοσίως, στρατόπεδον ὄχυρον μέγα, καὶ προεπεξειρεῖ τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἀτάκτων δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἱδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τούτο 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
68. Τότε δὲ ἧδη τροφὸν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἔλαττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Δυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς ὁ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαϊτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαξεν, αἱ τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ συνεπεπράξεαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐστρατευεὶ ἐς Κοουνέοις, θεὶν ἐς Δυσιτανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὕθες ἱπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λησταρχοὶ μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κοὺρίος τε καὶ Ἀπουλίος, ἐθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κοὐρίος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τὴν τε λείαν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἶλεν Εὐσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐρίατθον, καὶ διήρπαξεν ἐτέρας, καὶ συνεγύνωσκεν ἄλλας. αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδιτο. καὶ Κοουόβαν μὲν τινα λῆσταρχον ἐαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβὼν, καὶ
observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 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 Itucca.

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 Obolcola, 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.
I.  

69. τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίατθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευν, ἐς ἣν οἱ Οὐρίατθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἀμα ἔφοιτις ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ἱψαντες ἔφευγον. τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν, ἐκτάχθείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερούιλιανοῦ, τρεφόμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίατθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνῆλασεν ἐς κρημνοὺς, θεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίατθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὔνυχίαν οὐχ ὑβρίσεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο Ἐρισάνην, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρωσεν. Οὐρίατθος εἶναι Ρωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῷ πάντας ἦς ἔχουσι γῆς ἀρχεῖν. ὡδε μὲν οἱ Ὁυρίατθος πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαύσθαι, χαλεπώτατος τε Ρωμαίοις γενόμενοι καὶ ἔπι ἐνεργεσίᾳ καταλυθεῖσ. 70. οὐ μὴν ἔπεμεινεν οὐδ’ ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγκείμενα, ὁ γαρ ἄδελφος Σερούιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καίπιών, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ρωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον ὁ τι δοκιμάσειν ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἡνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκρίνει λύσαί τε τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὐτὸς Οὐρίατθο. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καίπιῶν Ἀρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐρίατθον παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίατθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ ἑν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπηταίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων.
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.
60 ev OvpiaTOov ov SoKLIyKcop avrw avfiirkeKe-
Oai Sea rrjv oXtjOTTjra, Kara jiev nva (pdpayya
a<pavrj ro riXiov rov crrparov irepieireiJi^ev
airtevaL, to he XoiTTOV avTO<i i/crd^af;
67rl Xo<f>ov ho^av irapelye 7roXe/>try<JOz/T09.
Syadero tcov 'jrpoaTreaTaXjiiepcov iv dcrc^aXel
yeyuvorcoi', etir-
irevaev e? avTOV<;
fxera Kara^povrjaecD^;,
o^ico^ ovTCt)<;
ft)9 fjirjS' alaOeaOat tov^ Sico/covraf;
osiroi BiSpap^ev.
6 Se kaiTrlwv h OverTcova<; Ka^aWaLKov<;
K.aWaLKov<; Tpiraiei'^ ra eKeivwv khrjov.
71. Kai zίήλω των έργων Όυριάτθου την
Λυσιτανίαν ληστήρια πολλά άλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα
ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δε 'Ιούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταύτα
πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγνω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας
μακρᾶς, ὅσην ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος
καὶ Βαίτις ποταμὸν ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν,
δέξως, οία δὴ ληστήρια, μεθισταμένους δυσεργές
ήγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ κατα-
λαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπτὼν' ἐς
de τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι
προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσε-
σθαι, καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐς ἐκάστην ὡς πατρίδα
κινδυνεύουσαν διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'
ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδήν τὰ ἐν ποσῶν ἄπαντα, συμ-
μαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συν-
αναίρουμένων, καὶ οὐ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ᾿ ἐν ταῖς
σφαγαῖς ἀφειεσῶν. εἰτὶ δ᾿ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅρη μεθ'
olv ἐδύναντο ἀνεπίδων καὶ αὐτοῖς δεσμένοις
συνεγγύνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.
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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 freebooters 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 πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτούς ἐνυδιδόντων ὀμηρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Λήθην μετήκει, πρῶτος οἴδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβήναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἔτερον ποταμοῦ προελθὼν, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἀρπασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρων, οὐ εἰσὶν ἔθνος μαχιμωτατον, καὶ ἀμα ταῖς γυναιξίν ὀπλισμέναις καὶ οὔδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, οὔδε τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὔδε φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὥσαί δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτᾶς διεχρώντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγύνοντο, χαίροντας τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰώλ δὲ τινὲς τῶν πόλεων αἱ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ’ ὡστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βρούτος κατεστρέφετο αὕθις.

73. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἡ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστάσα ἦνωκλει, παρακαλούντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλάβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτούς ἐς ὁ τι χρήζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων ἤτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὑπλα ὅσα εἰχον, καὶ ὀμηρα ἐπὶ τοῦτοι, εἰτ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξίν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγον ὁσάκις ἀποσταίευν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειν αὐτῷ. φόβου δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑμείδων ἐλήξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑποὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἥ εἰ τις ἄλλη δημοσία 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 subjection 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
πάντα περιείλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐθίς οἰκεῖν ἐδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπιτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ἐργασάμενος ἐσ Ὦμην ἀπῆε. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐσ τὴν Οὐριάτθου γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου ξίλον ὑπὸ ληστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι.

74. Οὐριάτθος δὲ Καυτῖων περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν φίλους ἐπέτεμπεν, Αὐδάκα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἱ διαφαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καυτῖωνος δόρους τε μεγάλους καὶ ὑποσχέσεις πολλαῖς ὑπεστήσαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐριάτθουν. καὶ ἐκτειναν ὅδε. ὁλιγούπτυντατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐριάτθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐνοπλοὺς ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα ἔξεγρόμενοι εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἐτοιμὸς ἦν. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἔξην καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ὁ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὐδάκα φυλάξαντες αὐτῶν, ἀρχομένου ὑπνοῦ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς δὴ τινὸς ἐπείγουτος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὁπλισμένοι ἐς τὴν σφαγήν οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδέμιᾶς δ' αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καυτῖωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἤτοιν. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδωκεν ἅδεως ἐχειν ὡςα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὄν ἤτοιν, ἐς Ὤμην αὐτοὺς ἐπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτήρες Οὐριάτθου καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἑθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀνήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἐμαθον ὃτι νεκρὸς κέιτο ἐνοπλοῖς. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγοῦντων τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμοῦν-
town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. 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
μένων ἐν οἷοις εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἷον στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ηὐρίσκον, ὑπερήλυγυνεν.

75. Οὐρίατθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶτατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἐκαίον, ἱερεῖα τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἰδιὰ οἱ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέουντες αὐτὸν ἐνοπλοί βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῆνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ' αὐτῷ. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθεὶς, ἀγώνα μονομάχου ἀνδρῶν ἡγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον κατέλυτεν Οὐρίατθος, ἀρχικῶτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φίλοκινδυνότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπαντα πρὸ ἀπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλοῦντων δὲ δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεῦσασιν ἔδίδον. οὐθὲν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδὲν πω στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὡκτῶ τούδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγῆς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὄξυτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἐλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφεροῦτο, ἣν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἑκτίσε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεὶσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαϊτιν ποταμὸν περῴσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμυνον ὁ Τάνταλος αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι.
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, 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.
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XII. παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόους χρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοῦς ἀφέλετο ἀπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἑδώκεν ἱκανήν, ἣν μὴ ληστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.

XIII

CAP. XIII. 76. Ἐπάνεις δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουάκων καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οἷς Οὐρίατθος μὲν ἤρεθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, Καικίλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ἄρωμης ἐπιπεμφθείς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουά-

κοὺς μὲν ἔχειρόσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτον, Τερμενία δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Νομαντία ἐτὶ ἐλευτέραν. ἦν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποτα-

μοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὡλαὶ τε αὐτῇ πυκνὰ περιέκειντο, καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἢ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀριστοὶ μὲν ἵππεῖς τε καὶ πέζοι, πάντες δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τοσοῦτο ὄντες ὀμός ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἡνώξισαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν Κοίντω Πομπῆιο ψ[Αὔλσ] διαδόχω τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πέζους καὶ δισχιλίους ἵππεὰς ἀριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπῆιος τῇ Νομαντίᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύων ὕχετο ποι, καὶ ἵππεας αὐτοῦ μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντίνοι καταβάντες ἐκτείναν. ἐπανελθὼν οὐν παρέτασσεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντίνοι καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ’ ὀλίγων οἶα φεύγοντες, μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπῆιος .

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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. Caecilus Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army, and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them with alarming sudden-ness 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.
CAP. 77. Καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ’ ἄνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλῶν ἐπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγοράν αὐτὸν φέροντα χιλίαρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτη πείρᾳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεας αὐτοῖς ἱπποῖς κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευσιν ἐνοπλοί, καὶ ἀμα ἐφ’ προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἡγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτὸς. οὗ τεν ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἔλασεν, ἦν ἐφρούριον οἱ Νομαντίνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς φρονοῦσι ἀνελόντες ἐς ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὅ δὲ τά τε ὑπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄμηρα αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἦν ἑδὴν λῃσταρχὸς ὅνομα Ταγγῖνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ’ ἦν φρονύματος ἐν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ὡστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὔδεις ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δ’ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διείστρων.

78. Ὅ δὲ Πομπῆιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμὸν των μετωχετευν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ’ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρίς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὁχετεύοντας ἤμωχλουν. ἐβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἔως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογούσιν ἕτεροις 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 πολλοῦς διέθειραν, ὦ οὕτως ἀνείλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὅρυσσουσί Ρωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἐκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οίς τῷ τε Πομπῆίῳ σύμβουλοι παρῆσαν ἐκ Ὁρώμης, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας (ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη διελήλυθει στρατευμένως) διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοι τε καὶ ἐτί ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὅν ο Πομπῆιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε χειμώνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιώται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύουσες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὑδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἐκαμμον, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἐννοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σίτου οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντίνοι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἱκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἦς οἱ μὲν οὗ φέροντες ἐπεξήγαςαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο· καὶ Ῥωμαίοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πληθοῦς, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντίνοι καὶ τοῖς τῶν σίτου φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλοῦς.

79. Καὶ ο Πομπῆιος τοσοῦτος συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβουλῶν ἀνεξεύγνυν, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἦρος προσδοκῶν ἡξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ δεδιώκες κατηγορίαν, ἐπρασσεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες ἧδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργία καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ
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 counsellors 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
CAP. XIII

παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, έπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπηίον. ὥ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄρωμαίως ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθηκας ἑτέρας Ἄρωμαίων ἀξίας), λάθρα δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἐμελλε ποιήσειν, καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἦντος, ὀμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἤτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἐλαβεῖν. ἦτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα. ὅπερ μέρος αὐτίκα ἐδοσαν οἱ Νομαντίνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπηῖος ἀνέμενεν, παραγενομένου δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Λαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἐφέρον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὥ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένου μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖμα τοῦ διαδόχου, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχρὰς τε καὶ ἂνευ Ἄρωμαίων γενομένας, ἤρμεντο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἠλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυς τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπὸ τε βουλῆς καὶ ἵππαρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὥ δὲ Ποπιλίος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ἄρωμην ἐπεμπεῖ δικασθησάντως τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντίνου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίους ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἤλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἤδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπιλίος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Δούσονας, οὔτε δ' ἐργασάμενος (ἤκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὁστίλιος Μαγκίνος) ἀνέβισεν ἐς Ἄρωμην.

80. Ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος τοῖς Νομαντίνοις συμβαλὸν ἤττατό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοὺς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι Νομαντίνοις ἔρχονται ἑορθοῦντες Κάνταβροι τε καὶ Οὐακκαίοι, δείσας

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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
CAP. XIII ἀπευρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημου τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλέισθεὶς οὐτε κατεσκευασμένου οὕτε ωχυρωμένου, περισχότων αὐτῶν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντων εἰ μὴ συνθοίτο εἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἔσθη καὶ ὀμοίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτοι ὁμοίες τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀστεὶ πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχρίσταις πάνυ σπουδαίς, καὶ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ὡς 'Ἰβηρίαν ἔξεπεμπον, Μαγκίνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τὸδε μὲν ἔσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων ὁ δὲ Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὅδε τὰς ἑκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἡ κέρδος ἡ θριάμβου φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐξήσαν τινας ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον), Οὐακκαίων κατεφεύδετο ὡς ἀγορὰν ἐν τὸδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἡ μεγάλη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδέν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ' ἔτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένου, ὡς μοι προείρηται, κηδεστὴν ὅντα οἱ τούδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἐπεισειν.

81. Κατέλαβον δ' αὐτοῦς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννασ τε καὶ Κακίλιος, οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶν ὑπασμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἰβηρία γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἔτερον ἀρείται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορευον Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἡδή
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,
τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺτ’ ἀγνοεῖν ὑγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σίτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν Οὐάκκαιοι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις παρέσχον, ἐσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβῶν, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὃς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπεστείλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄχυρωσάμενος φροῦριον, μηχανᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγγυτο καὶ σίτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ᾽ αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἔξειλεν Αἰμίλιος· καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὃς ἐπὶ νίκη, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύονσαν ὅδε περιέσωξε.

82. Μακράς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὕσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ἡρωϊδίους ἐπέλειπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἦπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια πάντα ἐφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ, Αἰμίλιος τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἤσσωμενοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφωνον περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναζευγήναι· χιλίαρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθεοντες ἐπέσπευδον ἀπαντᾶς ἐς τούτῳ πρὸ έω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θυρύβῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπτον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίζοι καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβῶδους τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης 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,
CAP. XIII

Φυγή μάλιστα ομοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτοῦν ἐς ήνὸς ἐπὶ ἐστέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβοῦσις Ἦρωμαιοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἄσιτοι τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφάς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχόρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

83. Ἦρωμαιοι δ’ αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον, παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ υπατείας, καὶ ἱδιώτης ἐς Ἦρωμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεζημιοῦτο. Μαγκίνῳ δ’ ἐδίκαζον καὶ τῶς πρέσβεις τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθῆκας, ὡς ἐπεποίητο πρὸς Μαγκίνον, ἐπεδείκνυσθη δ’ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγὸν, ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἀπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα οἱ, καὶ δ’ αὐτὸ κάκεινον ἡσσημένοι τοῖς πολλάκις καὶ συνθῆκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους· ὅθεν ἐφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθῆκας ἐκείνας ὕπο Ἦρωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ’ ἐχαλέπαινοι μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ’ ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τὸνδε κριθείς καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκίνον δ’ ἐγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνους, ἀνευ σφῶν αἰσχρας συνθῆκας πεποιημένον, ὑς λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὁμοία χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθημένους, ἡγεμόνας εἰκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκίνον μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ίβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδοι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις· οἱ δὲ οὖν ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς αἱρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ’ ἠλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίναν, άλλ’
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. XIII ές την Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλών, καὶ μικρὰ δηώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

XIV

CAP. XIV 84. Ἔν δὲ Ἡρώη κάμνων οὐ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομαντίνους, μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ήροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιτίων τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἔλοντα αὖθις ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατήσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ο δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἐτὶ νεώτερος τῆς γενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας. ὡς οὖν Βουλή πάλιν, ὀσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου Σκιτίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τούς δημάρχους λύσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὖθις θέσθαι. οὖτω μὲν ο Σκιτίων αὖθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἱππεύγετο, στρατιάν δὲ ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία, ἔθελοντας δὲ τινας, ἕκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἱδίαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ἡρώης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὔς ἐς ἔλην καταλέγας ἐκάλει φίλων ἔλην. πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχίλιον γενομένου παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφίδω τοῦ Βούτεωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτῶς προεξόρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυθανόμενος αὐτῷ γέμειν ἄργιας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὐ εἰδὼς ὃτι μὴ κρατήσει πολεμίων πρὸν κατασχέιν τῶν ἱδίων ἔγκρατῶς.

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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.

XIV

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 ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἐταίρας καὶ μάντεις καὶ θύτας, οἳ διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιώται περιδείεις γεγονότες ἐχρώντο συνεχῶς· ἔστε τὸ μέλλον ἀπείπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερείον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια, χωρὶς ὅν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθήματι καὶ σκεύος οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐς διάιταν ἤχειν οὔδεν τῆς ἠβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματός ἐνός. τὰ τε συτία αὐτοῖς ὅριστο κρέας ἄβετα καὶ ὅπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπείπεν ἤχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπείπε δὲ καὶ ὅδευοντας ἵμιόνοις ἐπικαθέξεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκάν ἢν παρ' ἀνδρός οὔδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἂν τὸς ἀλείμμασι καὶ λουτρῷς εαυτοὺς ἱλείφων, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκυπίδωνος ὡς αἱ ἱμίουν χεῖρας οὐκ ἐχουσαί χρήζοντι τριβόντων. οὔτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς σωφροσύνῃ μετέβαλλεν ἄθροώς, εἶθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἶδώ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὅν καὶ δυσχερῆς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μᾶλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννοούσας τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς οἰκείους, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδόρους τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοὺς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὕπειθή δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν έτοιμα.

86. Οὐ μὴν οὖν ὃς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσασθαι πόνοις πολλοῖς· τὰ οὖν ἄρχο- τάτῳ πεδίᾳ πάντα περιῶν, ἐκάστης ἦμέρας,
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 ὅρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα φικοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἔξ ἦν ὡς ἐστέραν ἀπάντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὀδοιπορίας, ἵνα μὴ τις ὥσ πάλαι διασκιδώτο, ἤγεν ἐν πλυνθοῖς ἀεί, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἐκάστῳ τάξιν ὅπ执行力 ἦν ἐναλλάξαι. περιών τε τὴν ὀδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγών, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν αὐτὶ τῶν ἵππεων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἵππεων ἔτεραν ἕλην περιτρέχειν οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διήρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἔτετακτο, τοῖς δὲ τείχιζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνον τε μῆκος ὄφρετο αὐτῶς καὶ διεμετρείτο.

87. "Ὅτε δ’ εἰκασεν ὅξυ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἄγχῳ τῶν Νομαντίων. προφύλακας δὲ, ὡσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διήρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ὑρχῇ γενομένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ’ ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἑχθροῖς, ἐτὶ περισκοπῶν αὐτῶν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίων ὀρμήν, ἐς ὃ τι τρέψωντο. τὰ δὲ ὅπισώ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἔχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐκείρεν ἐτὶ χλωρόν. 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.
Appian's Roman History, Book VI

Cap. XIV. ἔξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἢν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέζαθαὶ. ὁ δ' ἐφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τὸτε τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμῶντων: "οἱ δ' ἣμετεροὶ βαρεῖς ἐπανίασιν ὡς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ φορτία ἁγοῦσιν. δυσχερῆς τε ὀλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἁγὼν ἥσσωμένοις μὲν ἡμᾶς πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδὲς." εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγους, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἁμελὴ τὸν ἁγωνίζομενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἁγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακιν- δυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἐφη καὶ τοὺς ἱατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαὶς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἴπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῆς τὸτε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὑστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαῖων, θεῖος οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τὰς τροφὰς ἐωνοῦντο, κείρων ἄπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγον, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.

88. 'Εν δὲ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλάνταις, ὄνομα Κοπλανῖος, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρών ὑπὸ λόφοις ἐκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἐτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἤνωχλον. ὁ δὲ Ρούφλιον Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶν ὁ ἐργον, τὸτε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἔλας λαβόντα ἄναστείλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. 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 εἰπτετο, καὶ 
φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν χόφον συναντῆδα, ἐνθα τῆς 
ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππεὰς μῆτε 
διώκειν μῆτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ 
τὰ δόρατα θεμένους ἑστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι 
μόνον. οὕς δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος 
ἀυτοῦ 
παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δεῖσας εἰπτετο κατὰ σπουδήν, 
καὶ ὡς ἡῤῥε τῆν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππεὰς, 
καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἐκατέρως παρὰ μέρος 
ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὀμοῦ 
πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, 
ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κατ' ὅλγον προστεθέντας ὑπίσω καὶ 
ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἱππεὰς ἐς τὸ 
πεδίον περιέσωσεν ἀναξενιγύνοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ 
ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἤν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορος 
τε καὶ ἱλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνιάδρευον 
οἱ πολέμιοι. οὕς 
μαθῶν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὀδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἤγε 
καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτὸς τε ὀδεύων διὰ τὸ 
δύσος 
καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσον, δυ τὰ πλέον πικρὰ 
ηὐρίσκετο. 
τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως 
περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι 
δὲ 
τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ 
ὑποζύγια 
ὑπὸ τῆς δύψης ἀπώλοντο.

89. Καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύσαν, ἐς οὓς παρε-

σπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ 

tά 

eαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ 

παρῆλθεν ἐς 

τὴν 

Νομαντώνη 

χειμάσσων, ἐνθα 

αὐτῷ 

καὶ Ἰογόρ-

θας ἐκ 
Διβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ 
Μασσανάσσου 

νῖώνος, 

ἀγων 

ἐλέφαντας 

δυνοκαίδεκα 

καὶ 

tοὺς 

συντασσόμε-

νους 

αὐτοῖς 

τοξότας 

τε καὶ 

σφενδονύτας. ἀεὶ 

δὲ 

tὴ 

δηνῶν, 

καὶ 

τὰ 

περικείμενα 

πορθῶν, ἔλαθε 

περὶ 

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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 ἐνεδρευθεὶς, ἢν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα πηλοῦ περιείχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἤν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κόμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ σημεία ἐξω κατα-
λυόντες, οἱ δὲ περίππευνον οὐ πολλοὶ. τούτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ο δὲ Σκιπίων (ἔτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κόμης παρὰ τὰ σημεία ἐστῶς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἕνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους, τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐνοχλομένοις ἐπεβοῦλει. τοῖς δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδρα-
μάντος, ἔτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγήν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.

90. Μετ' οὖν πολὺ δὲ ἰχνοτάτῳ τῆς Νομαντίας δύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤγειτο. Νομαν-
tίων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλομένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ὑπερέωρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένως συμπλέκεσθαι μάλλον ἡ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐλείν λιμῷ. φρούρια δ' ἐπὶ τὰ περιθεῖς, πολιορκίαιν... ἐπιγράψας ἐκάστοις οὖς ἔδει πέμπτειν. ὃς δὲ ἤλθον, ἐς μέρη
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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. Not 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

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CAP. πολλὰ διείλευν αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐπιδιείλευν· εἰδ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἤ μεν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ ἐϊκοσὶ στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ύπέρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τούτῳ διήρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἐκαστον. καὶ προείρητο, εἰ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημείον ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ὕψηλοι, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δειμένοις ἐπιθέσαντες αὐτὸς τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὡς δ' ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἰχεν ἰκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἔτεραν τάφρον ὄρυσεν οὐ μακρὰν ύπὲρ ἐκεῖνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιπήγυν, καὶ τείχος ὕκοδόμησε, οὐ ὅ τι μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὄκτω, τὸ δὲ ύψος δέκα χωρίς τῶν ἐπάλξεων. πῦργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ διὰ πλέθρου περιεκείντο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἔνον περιτείχίσασι, χώμα αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἵσυον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ύψος, ὡς ἀν εἴη καὶ τὸδε ἀντὶ τείχος.

91. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁδε πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμὸς δοκεῖ, περιετείχίσασι πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν· τὸν τε Δόριον ποταμὸν, συμφερομενον τῷ περιτείχομαι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίοις χοίρισμοι ἐς τὸ ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ' αὐτὸν κολυμβηταὶ τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάβανον, ἦ ἰστίοις, ὅτε λάβρων εἴη τὸ πνεύμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κόπαις κατὰ τὸ ῥέμα, ξενῦξα μὲν οὖκ ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάνυ ροώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεῖς ἀπήρτησε καλφόδιος δοκοῦν μακρὰς εἰς ἐκατέρουν 282
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. Φρούριοι, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχοῦσας ἐμπεπηγήτα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ βου, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὕτε διανηχομένους οὕτε ἐπιπλέοντας οὕτε ὑποδύνοντας εἶναι λαθείν. τοῦτο δ’ ἦν οὐ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμιμημένου μηδ’ ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι γίγνοιτο ἐξω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

92. Ὡς δ’ ἦτοιμαστὸ πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πῦργοις ὄξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλου, ταῖς δ’ ἐπάλξεσι παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξώτα τὰ καὶ σφενδονήται κατείχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πάν, οὐ γυμνὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐμπλῶν ἄλλου παρ’ ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενου μηνύσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα, κατὰ δὲ πῦργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιμηγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκρίβες παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὕσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς ἔξοχους ἔρωτος, τὸ μὲν ἦμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀνάγκαια, εἰ πὴ ἀναγησεῖ, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἐμπέλλων, ὅτε χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτως ἐφεδρεύειν ἑτεροὶ 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
CAP. διετέτακτο: καὶ μετατηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειν, οὖκ ἔξην. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημείων ἑπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθείη.

Ὅτω μὲν τῷ Σκιτίων πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο. 93. οἳ δὲ Νομαντίνων πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείροιν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη κατὰ μέρη, ταχεία δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἁμυνομένων ἢ ὄψις ἢν, σημεῖων τε ὕψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἱρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεοῦτων, καί τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρώς ἀναπηδῶντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πῦργον ἑξοτρυπῶντων, ὡστε τὸν κύκλον ὅλου εὐθὺς ἀπασίν εἶναι φοβερῶτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἑπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιτίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήκει.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅδε συγκλέισας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἑτὶ προσούσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὁπλῶν οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας. 94. Ἡπογέννης δὲ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντίνως, ὁ Καραύνιος ἐπικλησις ἢν, ἀριστος ἐς ἀρετὴΝ Ὀμαντίνων, πέντε πεῖσας φίλους, σὺν παισίων ἄλλοις τοσοῦδε καὶ ὕππους τοσοῦδε ἐν νυκτί συννεφεὶ διῆλθε λαθῶν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτὴν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὁπίσω, τοὺς δὲ ὕππους διὰ τὴς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἰκετηρίας, δεόμενοι Νομαντίνως συγγενέσιν ὁσίων ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν δὲ Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπῆκοουν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Διότι δὲ πόλις ἢν εὐδαιμών, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων, 286
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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 entreat ing 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
 ltd oí méν néo perì toûs Nómantíouc éspouudá-
kecav kai tìn póliw éis suμmabxíaan évícòv, oi
prosechúteroi de émìhnwvkan krúfa toí Skiptíwv.
kal ò Skiptíwv óγdòs òpras puvòmenos éxìhlavne
átika svn eýcòv oi plevòtois, kal ámva ef
thn Doutíaan frourwj perilabdòw ëtei toûs
ëxàrchous tòw nèwv. épæi ò éxìwrìnhkénav thès
póleow ápòtovs élègòv, ekhìrìxe diáspáseiw tìn
pòliw, ei mú toûs ándràs paraháboi. oi méν òh
deisantès prósèghon ápòtovs, ès tetrákosoión gevo-
mévous: ò de tàs ùeíras ápòtòv ëktemàw ánèsths
thn frourâv, kai diádrâmow ápòtov amfi éf ths
épìouÝhs párhē és tò stratástedóv.

95. Nómantíou de kàmwnutes ùpò lìmou pénte
ánðras ètpempon ès tòn Skiptíwv, oìs eírhto
matheíw éi metríopàvòs sfísi xhríssetai parar-
dóuswv ápòtovs. Ávaros ò ápòtòv ògòumévns
pollà méν perì tìs pròaírèsewov kai ánðreias tòw
Nómantíouw èsemmológhse, kai ètpëípæn òs oúde
vòn āmàrtòien, ùpèr páidwv kai gnàvícwv kai
ëleuthèriás pátríow kàkosbòvntes ès tosôndw
kakow. ìdì kai málístà, èítpen, ò Skiptíwv,
aìvón èstì sè, tòsòðave àrëtìs gëmìnta, fèísastai
gévous eýψòxhov te kai ánðrikòv, kai pròteínav và
fìlánátrwpòtera tòw kàkùn ëmìv, à kài ðvnsò-
mëtha ìneýkèxw, àrì peiròwmenov metað blister. òs
òuk èfì ëmìv ètì èstìv, álì èpì sòi, tìn póluì ò
paràlabèvì, èi tà métria këleùvìs, ò màxamèvn
ùpèrìdèvì àpoléósthài.” ò méν Ávaros òðde èítpen, ò
de Skiptíwv (ùstètò gáp parà tòw àìhìmalòtwv
tà ëndòv) èfì deìv ápòtovs èxìhrísati tà katà
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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 ὄπλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὃν ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὀργὴν ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠγριωμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἁσφαλὲς ᾦσως διωκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

96. Μετὰ δ’ οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μὲν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἔφοντες ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγον ἔφοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ’ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν νοσοῦντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοὶς ἀπῆν, ἠγριωμένοι μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθηριωμένοι δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ’ ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. δ’ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἠμέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὀπλα ἐνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ’ ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἐτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ’ ύπερεβάλοντο τὴν ἠμέραν, ὀμολογῆσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐτί ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἠμέραν ἔτους ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.

97. Τοσόσδε ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γάρ
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. XV. ὅκτακιςχιλίων ὑπ’ εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οία μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαῖοι ἔδρασαν, οίας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοίς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ὅσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι τῶν τὸν τελευταίον στρατηγόν, ἐξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενοι, προσκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ὡς μάχην. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικότερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χείρας οὐκ ἠν θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τὰ λιμὸν σφάς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ὥ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναι τε δυνατὸν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνον.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταύτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῄλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλγώτητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεποίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἐργα πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτήρησαν· οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρόνυτο, ἐτερος ἐτέρως· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐξήσαν τρίτης ἦμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένων χορίον, ὅπως τοις πολεμίοις ἔλεεινοι μὲν ἀπὸ τὸν, φοβεροὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων ἐτί γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἐκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότους ἀλληλοφαγίας.

98. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δ’ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἢς ἥπαμβος, τούς λοιπούς ἁπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσις πόλεις δυσμαχοτάτας ἐλῶν στρατηγὸς δὲ Ῥωμαῖον, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφησαμένων.
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,
dià mégeðos pòlews te kai ἀρχῆς kai εὐκαιρίαν γῆς kai θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν te kai ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὕτω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγγυώκτων, αὐτὸς, εἶτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίους ἡγούμενος, εἶτε ἀκρος ὅν ὧργὴν καὶ φιλόνεικος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἰθ’ ὡς ἐνιοῦ νομίζουσι, τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοῖς. καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικάνων τε καὶ Νομαντίων. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἰ τι ἡν ὑποπτοῦν, ἐπιτυλῆξας τε καὶ χημιῶσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ οἰκου.

XVI

99. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ, ως ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλίας ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησόμενους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρία γενομένων, Καλπούρνος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ἦρεθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρονιος Γάλβας, Κίμβρων δ’ ἐπιστρατεύοντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμομένης τὸν δεύτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἐπεμπὸν ὑπ’ ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οὐ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμελλόν ὅπῃ δύναυτο καταθήσεται. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν
and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, on his own responsibility, 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
CAP. XVI

100. Ὁλίν δ’ ἐτέραν τῇς Κολένδῆς πλησίον ὅκουν μιγάδες Κελτιβήρων, ὅπος Μάρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντάς αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς Βουλής ἐπιτρεποῦσας, φώκαις πρὸ πέντε ἐναυτῶν. ἐλήστευον δὲ ἐξ ἀπορίας αὐτοῦ καὶ κρίνας αὐτοῦ ὁ Δείδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἦτο παρόντων, ἐφ’ ὅτι ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέων χώραν αὐτοῖς προσφέρειν πενομένοις. ἀσπαζόμενοι δὲ ὅρων ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἦκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τῆν χώραν μεριουμένοις. ἔπει δ’ ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐνεδρευμένους ἐσώ παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραψόμενοι αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοθῇ πόσην χώραν αὐτοῖς δεό εἰσελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήθας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δείδιος ἐκέλευε πάντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδιοῖς Δείδιος μὲν καὶ ἑθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων, ἐν δὲ Βελγίδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὀρμῶν τὴν Βουλῆν 296
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

οίκνούσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, οὗ δὲ
Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς αἰτίους.

101. Τοσάδε μὲν ήδρον ἀξία λόγον Ῥωμαίοις ἐς
tότε πρὸς Ἰβηρίας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ὑσμή Σύλλα τε καὶ
Κίννα, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατό-
peda κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διηρημένων, Κόντος
Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς
Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε
Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλήν
tῶν ἱδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου κατα-
λέξας, ἠλαυνεῖν ἐς Ὑσμήν ἐπὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονή-
ματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τάλλα ὅπες ἐς θρασύτατα
περιώνυμος, ὅστε τὴν βουλήν δείσασαν ἐλέσθαι
tοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρα-
tηγοῦς, Καϊκηλίον τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ
στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνῳ μεθ'
ἐτέρου στρατοῦ, ὅνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναντο,
ἐξωθοῦεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε
μᾶλιστα οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασι-
ωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἄνελὼν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ
Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως,
Περπέρναν δ' ἐκτεινει μάχη Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ
πόλεμος ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τὸ φόβῳ μᾶλιστα
Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει
tὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

102. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καίσαρ
αιρεθεῖς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὅστε καὶ πολέμειν
οἰς δεήσειν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβηρῶν ἐσαλεύετο ἢ
Ῥωμαίοις ἐτὶ ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συννηγάκασε πάντα
ὑπακούειν. καὶ τινὰ αὕθια ἀφιστάμενα Ὁκταούιος
298
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
Καὶ σαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιος παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλημι, ἐχειρῶσατο. καὶ ἔκ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἡ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ’ ὅσον 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,¹ and the third by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

¹ Appian is in error here. Two were imperial, one senatorial.
BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR
1. "Οσα δὲ Ἄννιβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλων, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε πολεμῶν, ἐδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἔως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοι τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἣδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἡ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθῆς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδηλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

2. Ἀμήλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπικλησις ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατήρ, ἐστρατηγεὶ Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗτος Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἄλληλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιώκετο ἐπραξέν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τοῖς, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἄρταγαίς καὶ ὠρεαίς, ἦγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πολέμον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ
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
CAP. διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλήθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἢν, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὑμαροὺς ἔργον. Ζακανθαίοι δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγονσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχηδονίους ὁρὸς Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν καὶ τόδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπουδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποδυνάμει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται, ὅς ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγείσιοις, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνυρήκει.

3. Τρίτος δὲ ἔπι τούσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβηρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιάς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὅδε, Βάρκα μὲν νῦὸς ὄν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῆ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνῶν. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τῇν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὔτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὐ τάδε συγγράφῳ, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηροῦ τῶν δ' ἑχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τούδε καταφρονοῦντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὃ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἡγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς.
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 ἔπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ’, ὡσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ρωμαίοις ἐπιχειρήσαι χρόνιον τε Καρχηδονίους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι πταῖσας, τὸ γε ἐγχείρημα οίσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἐτὶ παῖς ὀρκωθὴναι ὑμᾶς ἐπιβουλεύων οὐ ποτ’ ἐκλείψειν, ἔπενοεὶ παρὰ τὰς σπουδὰς τὸν Ἱβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκευάζει τινὰς ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε τὰ ταῦτα συνεχῶς ὡς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὑμᾶς τὰ Ῥωμαίοι κρύφα τὴν Ἱβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστὰσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πρᾶσσειν ὁ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἱβηρα διαβὰς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἡβηδὼν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῦδε ἐλένυτο αἰ σπουδάι αἰ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τοῦ πόλεμου τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

4. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ἱβηρίαν ἐπραξαν, ἡ Ἱβηρικὴ γραφή δηλοῦ- ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λυβῶν καὶ ἔτερων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἱβηρίᾳ παραδοῦς Ἀσδροῦβα τῷ ἄδελφῳ, τὰ Πυρηναία ὄρη διέβατον ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζῶς ἐνακισμύριοι καὶ ἵππεας ἐς δισχίλιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὁνομασκόντως, τοὺς ὑπὸ τείχων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδεεν τὴν χώραν. ἔλθων δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀλπεῖα ὀρη, καὶ μηδε- μίαν μῆτε δίοδον μῆτε ἀνοδον εὐρῶν (ἀπόκρημμα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἱσχυρῶς), ἐπέβαινε κάκεινοις 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
CAP. Μης, κακοπαθῶν χίονος τε πολλής ούσης καὶ κρύ-
ους, τὴν μὲν ὑλὴν τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν
dὲ τέφραν σβενυὸς ὑδατι καὶ ὅξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν
ἐκ τούτῳ ψαφαρὰν γιγνομένῃ σφύρας σιδηρᾶς
θραύσων, καὶ ὅδον ποιῶν ἢ καὶ νῦν ἑστὶν ἑπὶ τῶν
ὄρων ἐντριβῆς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος 'Αννίβου. τῶν
dὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειποσῶν ἠπείγετο μὲν, ἐτὶ
λαυθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
ἐκτὸς δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξ Ἰβηρῶν ἀναστάσεως
μηρί, πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν
ὄρων κατέβαινε.

II

CAP. 5. Καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασία,
πόλει Κέλτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἔξελὼν, τοὺς
μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐσφάζεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς
ἀλλῆς Κέλτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰρύδανον τὸν νῦν
Πάδουν λεγόμενον ἐλθὼν, ἐνθα 'Ῥωμαῖοι Κέλτοις τοῖς
καλομένοις Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.
ὁ δὲ ὑπατος ὁ 'Ῥωμαῖων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος
Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίου εὐ Ἰβηρία πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ
τῆς ἐσβολῆς 'Αννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπύ-
θετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ οἶδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον
Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι καταλι-
pῶν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ὃθεν ὀδεύον τε καὶ
συμμάχους ὅσους δύνατο ἄγείρων ἐφθασεν ἐπὶ
tὸν Πάδουν 'Αννίβαν. καὶ Μᾶλλιον μὲν καὶ
Ἀτίλλον, οὗ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην
ἐπεμψεν ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἐτὶ 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
CAP. II: μάχην ἐξέτασε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένη ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλώθεντες ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχόρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαστες τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφυράς. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐξέστασε ἐπέρα, (6) τὸ δ’ ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἦ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὅρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἔξηγε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἀμαχὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾶ χρώμενον. ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθητόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ δι’ ἄμφω δυναμένους ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἑσθήτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιόντα τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτην ὀρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιότοιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἔτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου, θαυμάζοντеς ἐδόκοιν θειότέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρόνιος δ’ ὁ ἔτερος ὑπατός, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὄν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχίζων ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλὼν ἀπαντεῖ ἀς μάχην ἦξειν. ποταμὸς δ’ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὁν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἔως, χειμερίον τε τῆς τροπῆς οὐσίας καὶ ὑστοῦ καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἔξηγεν.

7. Παράταξὶς δ’ ἦν ἐκατέρων... τὰ κέρατα κατείχον, ἄμφι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεύσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἑλέφαντας,
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-
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. II  

τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζούς τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὃπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἐως αὐτός τι σημῆνη. γενομένων δὲ ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ρωμαίοι ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλεφάντας, οὐ κωμότερους αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὁμίαν οὔτε τὴν ὁμήρην, ἐφευγον οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καὶ πέρι ὑπὸ τοῦ κρόσου καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας πολεμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὄμως ὑπὸ τὸλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπετήδειοι καὶ ἔτιπτροσκοῦν αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζούς ἐνέκλινον ἦδη. θεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἱππον κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολέμους. ἐσκεδασμένοι δὲ ἀρτι τῶν Ῥωμαῖκῶν ἵππεων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθοῦντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππεῶν καταλαμβανόντων ἢτε πεζοὺς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος τοῦ γαρ ἡλίου τὴν χίονα τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύῃ μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στήναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νείν διὰ τὰ ὀπλα ἐδύναντο. Ξυπίσκοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπομενοὶ καὶ παρακάλοι διόλου μὲν ἐδήσετε τρωθεὶς διαφθαρήναι, μόλις δὲ ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερόμενοι. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ὁ προσβαλόν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Ξυπίσκοι μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντία, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδουν.  

8. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀστεὶ ὁ Ῥωμαιοὶ πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ὣδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδουν (ἡττηντο γαρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ ὧν Ἀννίβου), στρατιάν τε παρ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι 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 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
CAP.  II  συμμάχους ἑτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπῆγγελλον. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεξοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἰππεάς τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπεμπον, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Σαρδόνα κάκεινν πολεμομμένην, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δὲ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἁννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρώνιον αἱρεθέντες ὑπατοι, Σερουίλιος τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὅπως δὲ Σερουίλιος ἑπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος (ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἱρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσε), Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεξοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἑπεύθυς τὴν ἑντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὁρὸν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἦν καὶ μόνην ἀν τὰς εἴσοδις κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννίνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἑπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἑπὶ δεξία πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἑπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μὲν ἑστὶ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτὴν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὀσοὶ τῇ Ρώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδώκεεις μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἂθῶν τῶν ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἑτὶ νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικῆν.

9. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὀμοῦ διήρημτο: Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἀμα τὴ ἢρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδῆσεν τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ προὔβαινεν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνω ἐδείσαν, οὐ
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

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 Cn. 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
10. Ο δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὀρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὦρος μὲν τι καὶ λίμνην προβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἀμα ἐν σμικρὸν μὲν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὀδουπορίας καὶ χαρακτοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἔξηγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὖν ὄντας ὑπ’ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ’ ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ λῃσθεὶς τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἑχθρῶν αὐτοῦ τε ἀνηρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δισμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτι μυρίους, ἐς τινα κόμην ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὁδὲ ἐπὶ στρατηγία δόξαν ἐχών, οὐ δυνάμενος ἑλείν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἄξιόν ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνιθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὁπη
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 Flamininus 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. Flamininus, 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 ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνούς. δ' οὖ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὥσις δὲ Ὀρμαίων ἦσαν, εἰχε δῆσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτῶις ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσει τῷ κέρδει, προῦβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἥδι τῶν γυγρομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδουσ στρατηγοῦ Σερουίλου, καὶ τετρακείσμυρίοις ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἥδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

11. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν Κεντηνίον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὀδῶν ἐξήταξεν εἰ τις εὐθείᾳ περιόδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ' ἀπόκρημμα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δε' αὐτῶν ὄμως ἐπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νῦκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιείναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ' αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ' ὅτε δύναντο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστώτων ἐκατέρων, πάνω προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἀνοσθεν ὀφθη τε καὶ ἡλάλαξεν. Ὅρωμαίων δ' εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένω, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τὸ τε τεῖχος ἐπιλήσουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἔπληξον, 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.
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CAP. ΙΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ, Ἄ ἘΚ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ἈΛΛΩΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ
ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΚΕΙΤΟ· ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΡΑ ΤΕ, ὩΣ ἘΝ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩ, ΦΑΒΙΟΝ ΕΙΛΟΝΤΟ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΝ.

III

CAP. ΙΙΙ

12. Ἀννίβας δὲ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αὕθις ἔτράτη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὑδεύων ἐπόρθει, λειάν τε περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σερούλιος δ' ύπατος ἀντιπαρίδων αὐτῷ κατηρέν ἐσ' Ἀρίμυνον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἠμέραν· ἐνθα τὸν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἐὼς ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερούλιον μὲν ἐσ' Ῥώμην ἐπεμπεύεν ὅσ ὑπατον ὑπετὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτὶ ὅντα δικτάτορος ἠρημένου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα παρακολουθῶν ἐσ' μὲν χεῖρας ὅπερ ἥν, πολλάκις ἐκεῖνον προκαλομένου, πολυγορκεῖν δ' ὑπέδειν εἰά, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικελμενός. ὁ δὲ, τῆς χώρας ἐξεπελομένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὕθις περιων ἐκάστης ἠμέρας ἔξετασσε, προκαλομένος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' οὖ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοιτος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ῥούφου, δ' ἱππαρχὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐγραφε δ' ἐσ' Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὅσ ὁκνοῖ Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐσ' Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινουκίος ἠγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλεκὴ τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ δόξας πλέον ἐχειν θρασύτεου ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέ-
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
13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἑστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐκάτερος εἶχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειράζθαι μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινουκίος μάχη διακριθήσαται. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἑστεθαί προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἑστηκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ Ἀννίβου διόκοντας ἀπεκρύφετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὡς τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκουφίσε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμηνύσας τῆς διαβολῆς τὸ δὲ Μινουκίος αὐτοῦ καταγμοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἄγομεν τρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνώγκην. οὐ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς υπὲρεε τολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὡς εὐχερῆς οὐδ' οὕτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμη ἢ τέχνη χρήσθαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὐθινὸς ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἐκώλυνε, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ, τοῖς δὲ ἀποσκιδαμένοις μόνοις ἔπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

14. Στενὴς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζοῦσα, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακίσχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἑστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἤσθετο ληφθείς 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. III. μέσω Φαβίου τε καί τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἐδείσε μὲν ὡς οὐ ποτὲ πρότερον οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ’ ἧλπίζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὡδε δ’ ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχίλιοι ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτέρισειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοὺς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δάδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δάδας ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἐσβεσε, καὶ σημὴν βαθειαν ἔχειν παρῆγγειλε, τοῖς δ’ εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἵνα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπεγρόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτῶς, ἀνεπήδουν ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀφιενίσας καὶ βιαίως, εἶτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὐθις ἀνεπήδουν.

15. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν, ὀρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγήν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀρεσί πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γεγονόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὅ μὲν Φάβιος εἶκαξεν εἶναι τῇ στρατηγίμην τοῦτο Άννίβου, καὶ συνείναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νῦκτα υφορώμενον· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἀπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὡς ἐκεί πνεύ- μενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὅσ οἴδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς 326.
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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
CAP. III. αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἀνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβῶν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυναμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἔξεφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ὑσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἔλαυνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἄδεως διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτὸς τε περιήκα τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερονίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἑπειχθεῖς, ἢ σιτοῦ πλήρης ἦν, ἐξείλευν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἄδεως ἐχείμαζεν.

16. 'Ο δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἶπε, καὶ τῆς Γερονίας ἀποσχὸν δέκα στάδιον ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Ἀὐφιδον. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ μηνῶν ἐφ’ οὓς αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοί Ξερούλλος τε καὶ Ἀτίλλος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπανήγεσαν, καὶ ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆλε, γίγνονται δὲ τινες ἐν τόδε τῷ χειμώνι Ἀννίβα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχείς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἄει τὰ γεγυμνα Ἐκρηκτιδονίως ὑπερεπαιρών, τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἦπορει, καὶ στρατιὰν ἦτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπὶσκόπτοντες τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικῶντων οὐκ αἰτοῦντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοῖ, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς

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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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. III. ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιῶν ἔπεμποι οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταύτ' ὄνυσίμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλών αὐτοῦ ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ' ὅσης δύνατο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ὡς δήποτε πᾶσα καὶ Ὁρμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν.

17. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ὁρμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἦττης τῆς Φλαμίνιον καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ άθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον δῆλος οὐ φέροντες ἐνδον οὖντα παρ' έαυτοίς, ἀλλὰ τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ' ὅργης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ὑγείρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἱροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Δεύκιον Διμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυρίοις πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχυομένου. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες ἔξιόντας ἐδέοντο κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχη, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δηομένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγία προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαυν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπτακισμυρίους ἐπτέας δ' ἐξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευν ἀμφὶ κόμη τῶν καλομεμένης Κάννας. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντι-εστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὁν̄ φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὗ ποτὲ φέρων ἄργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούσης ἔξέτασσε 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
CAP. III

ēs μάχην, δεδιός μη οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθουντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθείειν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖν προῦκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολέμιους. 18. γνώμη δὲ τῶν ύπατῶν ἦν, Αἵμιλιον μὲν ὑπομένειν ἐκτρύχουτας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμῳ καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ, Τερεντίου δ’, οία δημοκρᾶτος, μυθολογεῖτο δὲν ὁ δῆμος ἔξιονσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρίνα τὴν μάχην ὀξέως. τούτων Αἵμιλιος μὲν προσετίθητο Σερούλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ύπατος ἐτὶ παρὼν, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὁςοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἢπέων ἡγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων δ’ ἐτὶ τῶν ἔτερων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς χορτολογούσιν αὐτῶν ἢ εὐλευσμένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡπτάσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνησε τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναξευγνύν. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἱδὼν ἔξηγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ φεύ-γοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Αἵμιλιον. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἵμιλιος ἐφ’ ἕαυτῷ, καθάπερ εἰσώθαις, καὶ πέμψας ὁδεύοντι ἦδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἠμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ὁ δ’ ἐπανήγει μὲν, αἰδοῦ-μενος οἰωνοῦς ἀπειθήσασι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν ὀψεὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφηρμένοις ὑπὸ ξηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγαγάκτει.
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.
IV

CAP. IV 19. Απίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπτυτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπαυελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, ούδ' τούτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιου πάνθυ ὑπονοεῖν τὰ 'Απίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐσδραμών, παράτων ἐτὶ τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἤτιατο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τῶν Ἀιμίλιων προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην πανεραν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὁκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἦ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ή στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπίκου, καὶ τὸν Ἀιμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δ' πολλὰ μὲν εἴπε τοῖς ἐνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερέντιῳ δε, πλὴν Σερουλίῳ, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἴξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσῃς ἐξετασθεὶς αὐτῶς ἡγουμένος· παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. 'Απίβας δ' ᾑσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξήλθεν (οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέσκετο), τῇ δ' ἐπιουσία κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πέδιον ἐκάτεροι, 'Ρωμαίοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρῶν ἄτ' ἄλληλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἰχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψυλλοὺς καὶ ἅπεις ἐκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκε- σαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Ἀιμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαῖφῳ Σερουλίος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιά, χιλίουσ ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐχὼν ἅπεις ἐπειλεγμένοις, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοῦ. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο 'Ρωμαίοι· 20. ὁ δ' 'Απίβας πρῶτα μὲν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημ- βρίαν εὐρον ζῳφόδη τὸν χώρον ἐξ ἑθους ἐπιπυνότα, 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
CAP. IV
προύλαβεν ὅπῃ κατὰ νύτων τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμελλεν ἔξειν ἐπείτα ἕν ὅρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγώδες ἵππεας προενήδρευσε καὶ ψιλοὺς, οἷς εὗρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίη, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἀνδράς τε πεντακόσιοις Κελτίβηρας ἔπει τοῖς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτώσιν ἀλλὰ ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέξωσεν, οἷς ἐμελλεν αὐτῶς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιάν κάκεινος ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας τοὺς κέρασιν ἐπέτασεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξίῳ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφίδον Ἀννώνα. τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτῶς εἴχε κατὰ δόξαν Λιμιλίον τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοι τε ἴππεις ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῶ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἐτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφήδρευεν ὅπη τι πονοῦμενον άδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὦραν, ὅνα τὸ πνεῦμα θάσσον ἐπέλθοι.

21. Γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἐκατέρως, οὶ στρατηγοὶ διέθεσαν παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς πρωγεγενημένης ἡττης, ὡς ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, οἱ Ἄννίβας τῶν τε πρωγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖς διὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρῶν ἠττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ’ αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φαλάγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῦται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμοῦντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλληλῶν 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
22. Μετά το περιστατικό περί Ρωμαίων πολεμισμών, οι Ρωμαίοι επέστρεψαν στην ισχυρή ιδιαιτερότητά τους. Οι Ρωμαίοι έγνωσαν τις προσωπικές τους δυνάμεις και τις πολεμικές τους εμπορικές σχέσεις. Οι Ρωμαίοι κατάφεραν να εκφράσουν τις αισθήματά τους με την επικοινωνία της λογικής και της δικαστικής. Οι Ρωμαίοι επέδειξαν την επικαιρότητά τους με την εκφράση της προσωπικότητάς τους. Οι Ρωμαίοι έφεραν την ανεξαρτησία τους με την εκφράση της δικαιοσύνης. Οι Ρωμαίοι επέδειξαν την επικαιρότητά τους με την εκφράση της αυτοδυναμίας. Οι Ρωμαίοι επέδειξαν την επικαιρότητά τους με την εκφράση της αυτοδυναμίας.
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
23. Τότε δὴ τὸν καίρον ὅρωντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρῶτον ἄνήρουν ὃν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους, ἀρπάσαντες αὑτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπίδων ἄφειδος· καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλείστον οὕτω μάλιστα, ἀτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τὸ τε κακὸν ἦδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονομένοις μὲν ὕπο τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ᾽ ὕπο τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ᾽ ὕπο τῶν ἀναμμυγμένων. οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδυναντό διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου οὐδ᾽ ἐπεγόνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαῖκας ἀσπίδας ἐχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ κοινορτὸς ἤρωχλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδ᾽ εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαίνον, ἀλλ᾽ οἶνον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλεῖω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσάντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακόσιους εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὕπο ἰππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκλωσθαι, τραπέντες ἐφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξήρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαῖδον ἐχοντες, ὁν ὁ Σερούλιος ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον.
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
CAP. διέδραμεν· καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὁ σον ἀριστον ὑπεύθυνον τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

24. Καταθορόντες δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ὕππων οἱ στρατηγοὶ, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς ὅσιοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ὕππων, ἐπεζομάχον τοὺς ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔξι εἵμπειρίας τὰν εὐφυχία καὶ ἀπονοία λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες τὰν ὁργὴ τοὺς πολεμίους, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἴδιους ὅτε μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὅτε δ’ ἐπιπλῆσοντὸς τε καὶ ὁνειδιζόντως, εἶ τὸ πλήθος νευκηκότες ὀλίγον οὐ περίεσονται. Ἁρωμαίοι δ’, ἔως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἁἰμίλιος καὶ ὁ Σερούλιος περιήγασαν, πολλὰ δρόμους τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπέσων αὐτοὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μὲν, ἐνθάπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οᶣδὲ ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἶς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν· οἱ δ’ ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οᶣδὲ οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ’ ἐς Κανὺσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὑλὰς.

25. Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάννας Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ἁρωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὁραν δευτέραν, ληξάσῃς δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὀρῶν, οὐσις δ’ ἐτὶ νῦν ἄοιδίμον Ἁρωμαίων ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ· ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁραὶ πεντακισχιλίουι, καὶ ξώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλήθος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, 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...
CAP. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχοί τε πάντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀριστοὶ δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατος τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτίων ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ὁρμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἥδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβα πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλώλεκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἴδιων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

26. Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρις, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκρι-θείσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιήθεισι πεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπήρευε, θεώ-μενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνηρμένοις ὀμοίως, καὶ δακρύσας ἐπεῖπον οὐ χρῆσθαι ἑτέρας τοιάσθε νίκης. δὲ καὶ Πύρρον φασίν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἡπείρου βασιλέα, Ὁρμαίων κάκεινον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγῶντῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐσπέρας ἐλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβίασαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὑπνοῦν καὶ κόπτου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμένους ἐπείρατο παραδιερρέειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίώνα ἐς Ὁρμῆν διέδραμεν.

V

CAP. 27. Ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς ἑθρήνον τε τοὺς οἰκεῖοις
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.

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
CAP. ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφάς ὡς αὐτικὰ ἀλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἰκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαί ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ ἀρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ Βουλή Κώντων μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἥλευθέρου, ὁπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἀστεὶ πάντας ἑργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὡς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιον τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἁγῶν καὶ ὅσους ἀλλοὺς ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχίλιους ἱππεάς, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὁ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλος παρεφύλασσεν.

28. Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβευόμενος ἐπὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν ἀστεί λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὃν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖος Σεμπρώνιος, ὥρκωσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἀλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔπηγγέλλουσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκαστὸς ἰδίους χρήμαςι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο

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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 Ticanum 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
ϕίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο· τῶν δὲ Βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἤξιον ἐπὶ τοσαίδευ συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσοῦσδε βλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οὔδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθερούν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπεροίην, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἄνυντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τῷ τῷ ἐλέοφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ ἢ νικῶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθυνόσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὅν οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἐκάτερα λεξθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἢ βουλή τοῖς συγγενεσί λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἐτὶ κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ δ’ ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωτὸν εἶη, πρὸς τέ τά μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἑσεθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλῆξει Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρόνος οὖν καὶ οἱ τῦν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανήσαν. οἱ δ’ ἔστὶ μὲν οὐς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ’ οὐς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἀνήρει, καὶ τοῖς σύμμασι τῶν ποταμῶν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ’ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεατῶν τοῖς Δίβυσιν ἡνάγκασε, πατέρας τε νόιος καὶ ἄδελφοὺς ἄδελφοις, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπτων ὑπεροψίας ὀμῆς.

29. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐτιῶν τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετηλίνοις μηχανήματα προσήγεν. οἱ δ’ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸλμης μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τάς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἦσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδριζομένων.
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
οὔτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔργον ἐκακοπάθθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λυμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὁ Ἀννωνα ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνυοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτινυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννωνος ἐφεώρων ἄλυτος ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ὑποθυήκοντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναία καὶ τότε ἐδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ' ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἀπαντεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἴλεν ὁ Ὁ Ἀννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁλόγων τῶν δραμεῶν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερριμένους οἱ Ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδὴ συνήγουν, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὁκτακόσιους κατηγαγόν τε καὶ συνώκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον αὕτης ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

30. Τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἳ ἐμισθοφόροιν Ὁ Ἀννίβα, λαμπρῶς ἄγωνιζομένων, ὡσοι Ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγησαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσοῦτος ἐτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτήσαντες ἐς αὐτύπαλον ἐκείνων ἐπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἳ τοὺς ὀμοβεβήσαν, ὅτε πλησίον Ὁ Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοιες, ἀναμνησάμενοι μετέπειθον αὐτοὺς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἡ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤν ἐτι τῷ Ὁ Ἀννίβα πιστῶν, ὑποπτεύομενον τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτῶν. κάκιον οὖν ἐπρασσεν ὁ Ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε.
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. 'Αργύριστπα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἥν Διομήδης ὁ 'Αργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι, καὶ τις ἐκγονὸς εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὑμετάβολος τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὗ Διομήδους ἄξιος, 'Ρωμαῖον περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἦτταν ἵπτημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβνας ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων. τότε δ' αὐτὸς πραγματές ἀνάθετο ἀνάθετο Ίωνίδων ἐκαθροπεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεῖς ἐφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἱάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὕτης ἐς 'Ρωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀνίβαν δεδιός ἤλατο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀνιβᾶς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἐκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριστπα ἐτέρων ἐνδόυντων εἶλε Φύβιος Μάξιμος νυκτὸς, καὶ κτείνας ὅσον ηὗρε Λιβύων, φρούραν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

32. Τάραντα δὲ φρούρουμένην ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων Κονωνεύς ὥδε προύδωκεν. κυνηγετεῖν εἰθίστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων ἡ γνίτο τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιοῦφ συνήθησε ἐκ τούτῳ ἐγεγένησθα. ὃς δὲ ἐν πολεμομένῃ χώρᾳ, νυκτὸς ἐφη δεῖν κυνηγετεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀνιβᾶ καὶ στρατιώτας λαβῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκρυφεῖν ἐν λόχῳ τινὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δὲ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δὲ ὀλίγου, 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
CAP. θώρακας ἐνδοθεν ὑπεξωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν εἰς κυνηγήτας ἐσκευασμένους. κἀπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεῖς ἢκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελήντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοιξάντας αὐτίκα διεχρώτο, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνους, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεφγινυν τῷ Ἀννίβα. ὁ δὲ ἐσὼ παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν ἀκραν ἐτὶ φρουρομένην ἐπολι- ὴρκεῖ.

33. Ὡδε μὲν Κονωνεύς Τάραντα προύδωκε· Ἐρμαίοι δ' ὁσοὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνου τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἤγερμιν τὸ ἢμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἤλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ἡπόρουν, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρόδιοι ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ἐντόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελῶνας ἐνα διεσείε, καὶ δρέπανοι ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἁφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περίσσων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέουντες ἄφνω συν- ετάρασσον ὡεί τι καὶ κτεῖναντες ἐπανήσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα ποτὲ λάβρον ἔθεασαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δὰδας ἢμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμὼντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνωσοῦ οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πέρας περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν, 354
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,
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CAP. VI. χωρίς γε τού πρὸς θαλάσσης μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τούτῳ δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἀννων τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάτυγας ἀνεχώρει.

34. Λιμένες δ' εἰς τοῖς Ταραντῖνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνεμου ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ισθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ισθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, δὴ τὸτε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίοι φρουροὶ σφίζοι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντῖνοι δ' ἐκώλυνον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. οθεν ἦπορον ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἐως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὀδόν, ἓ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιον θάλασσαν, ὀρὺξαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἐτερον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἰχόν τε ἀγοράν, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐβλαπτόν, ὅτε μὴ χειμὼν ἐη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἑκεῖνοι ἄφηροντο· οἱ δ' ἦπορον. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σιτών τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτὸ τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπάσας. πρεσβευόμενων δὲ θαμμὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἄξιοντων λύσασθαι τοὺς ειλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὁσοὺς εἰχε Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυνεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκεῖους σφὸν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἀννων ἀνέώξαν. καὶ Θουρίοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχιδονίους αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι· ἓ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει 356
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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
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CAP. VI νουρα Ὄρωμαιῶν ἔστεντοι λαθοῦσα διεπλευσεν.

35. Μεταποντίνου δ', ἔξ ὦ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος 
τὸ ἡμεῖς τῆς φρουρᾶς ἅγων ἐς Τάραντα ὄχετο, 
τῶν λοιπῶν ολίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ 
Ἄννίβα προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ 
Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δεει 
μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυνδέστερα τὰ 
Ἄννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἔξής ἠτοὺς καὶ Λευκανῶν 
tines ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ὄρωμαιῶν· οίς Σεμπρώνιος 
Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς 
δὲ τις ἐκ τῶν ἔτι Ὄρωμαιῶν ἐμμενόντων Φλάουνοις, 
φίλος ὦν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδίδους αὐτὸν 
ἐπεισὲν ἐς τι χωρίων ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν 
tois στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ 
λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἶπετο 
μεθ' ἑπτέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν 
αὐτὸν ἔξ ἐνέδρας κυκλώσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουνοις 
ἐξῆπεσεν ἐς ἑκεῖνους, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεῖς τῆς 
προδοσίας καθῆλατο μετὰ τῶν ἑπτέων, καὶ πολλὰ 
καὶ γενναία δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ πάντων πλὴ 
τριῶν, οὗς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιῃ 
σάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ξοῦντα Ὅρωμαιῶν τὸν 
ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγά 
μενος ὡμος τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἐθαψε, καὶ τὰ 
ὀστὰ Ὅρωμαιῶν ἐπεμψεν.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτῶς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἔθεριζε καὶ 
σῖτον πολὺν ἐσώρευε, 36. Ὅρωμαιῶν 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,
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CAP. VI

Καπναιως ἐγνωκότων ἐπεμπεν Ἀννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἵππων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους λαθῶν, οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἴδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβὰν ἐγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπναιῶν καὶ τῶν ἅλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὁδυρομένους δὲ περὶ τούτῳ τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφή πολὺν ἐχειν σίτου ἐν Ἰαπνύχα, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὁσάκις θέλοιεν. οἱ δὲ οὖν ἐποζύγια μόνον ὡς ἀνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία ἐπεμπὸν ἀχθοφορήσοντα τοῦ σίτου καὶ γὰρ ἑθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐς Ἰαπνύχαν Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύσατο, πλησίον Βενεβευδέων, οὐς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐτὶ συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντων ἀπάντων κατεφρόνουν.

37. Συνεβή δὲ Ἀννίβαν μὲν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἀννωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβευτῶν στρατοπέδῳ μετ' ὀλίγης φρούρας καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγούντων υπάτων, Φουλούδοι τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπτίου, τῶν ἐτερον αὐτῶν πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὁλὰ ᾿Αρασκεύους διαφθείρα, καὶ τὸν σίτου Βενεβευδεύσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἀρπάσαι, καὶ Καπύνην ἐτὶ ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεύσαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ, καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιή-

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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
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CAP. σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ' ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπναίους πολιορκουμένους αἰ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἐξειθεν ἐπίοντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἢ τε ὡς ὡν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτείχισματος ἐς τὴν Καπνὺν διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα: ἐν ὁ πολλαὶ ἐγγύνοντο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἤμεραν, πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτείχιῳ μονομάχῳ, προκαλομένων ἀλλήλους τῶν ἄριστων. καὶ τὶς Καπναίος, Ταυρέας, Ἦρωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίῳ Κλαύδιον Ἀσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρη, μέχρι τοῖς Καπναίων τεῖχεσιν ὁ Ἀσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ὑππον ὁ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ρύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπνὺν ἐσήλατο σὺν ὅρμῃ, καὶ διυππεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἐτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ἦρωμαίους. 38. Καὶ ο μὲν οὕτω παραβόλοις διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεῖς ἐφ' ἂν ἐς Δευκανοῦς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπνὺν, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιδείων πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐκαιρον ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίων γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτείχισματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθείς, μηδ' ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ὦ σῶτον ἡ στρατιά, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν συμβαλείν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντη περιλαμβάνουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦρωμην ἢπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυθανόμενος μὲν κακείνους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπνὺς ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτὸς τι Καπνὺς μείζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνω δὲ σπουδὴ διελθὼν ἐθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων 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 ἐδορυφόρηθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες ἴκανον (ὅ γαρ ἐξ θ., ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν), πολεμίον δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ διὰ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχον. ὡμός δὲ ἐκ τῶν παροντῶν οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὁπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπτύχων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἀστυ δρόμῳ. Βοήσε δὲ παμμυγοὺς καὶ θρήνους καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνών ἐκδραμόντες ἐκοπτοῦν. μικρὸν δὲ τι πολίκιοι Ἡρωαιοί ποτὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες Ἀίκανοις Ἀλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἡ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ἡρωὶν δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ διέθεσαν, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἁμα ἄφικνοντο καὶ ὁπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐρρούρουν. τοσοῦτο δὲ προθυμία βραχὺ πολίκιοι ἐκ τοσοῦτο ἀποκινῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνη, οἵον τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθώνα μικρὰ πόλις ἢ Πλαταίων ἐδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

40. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἀππιος μὲν Καπύνη παρέμενε, κάκεινος ἤγούμενος ἐλεῖν Καπύνην, Φούλουνιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἔτεραις ὁδοῖς ἐπευβαίνεις ἀλήκτω τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀνιβα, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιβα. τῷ δ᾽ Ἀνιβᾳ τὴν
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dared not even try, he encamped at the river Anio, chap. VI 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
CAP. VI γέφυραν εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθῆμενον, ἐδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρώδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὃς ἐνήδρευε, Νομίδας ἵππεας ὑπολιπὼν, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀνίηνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔδησον, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβησάντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν οὔτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρῆγγελτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς τὴν πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιήλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ οὐ πολλῆ, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθῶν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψας δ' ἐς Καπύνην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἅν'; ὡς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτῶς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἔθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλύσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοίτο· οὐ γὰρ ὁ γε σὺν Φούλουιῳ στράτῳ ἢν αὐτῷ πάμπαι ἄξιόμαχος. ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύσων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

VII

CAP. 41. 'Ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν φούλουιος ἐσπερας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἐφθανεν ἐγείραι τάφρον δ' ὀρυξάμενος καὶ διαστήματα 366
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
ο επίβησας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλονίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διὰ τέ τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναντο. σαλπικτάς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκαντάς τινας ἕξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐπέσθαι κελεύσας, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἔγειρεν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοὺς βοῶν ὅτι Φουλονίος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἔπι τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐστήθθην τοὺς φύλακας καταπατῆσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταῖ τὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος Ῥωμαιῶς ἐξ εὐνής ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἁδόκητος ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμπούντες ὅτι παρῆγγελται φεύγειν ἐς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνυντο.

42. Φουλονίος δὲ ἀεὶ τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τούτῳ ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἰθ' ὑπ' οἰκείας τότε συνέσεως, εἶτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσών, εἶτε παρ' αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθῶν, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὡξεός ἐπεστήσε ταις ἐς τὸ λόφον ἀγοῦσας ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδασκεῖν ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐχ οὐκ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαιῶν ἀλλ'
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
Απιάννας ἐκήρυξεν ἑνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι θυλακασ ἀκριβείσ ἐπιστήσας, μὴ τις ἐφοδοσ ἐξοθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηθróμει μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπαντα ἓχεν ἀ- σφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἑσελθόντας εἶναι. δἀδας τε ἦπτε καὶ πῦρ παντα- χόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανῆς ἤν ἢ τῶν ἑσελθόντων ὀλυγότης, ὡστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὅργην ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβα- λόντες, εὐμαρῶς οία ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέ- φθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἑλεφάντες οὐκ ἑχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἢ ἀναστροφὴν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνᾶς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντες τε καὶ ἀγανακ- τούντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἑχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὅργῃ καὶ βοὴ πάνυ ἡγριωμένου, καὶ ἐξεπιήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουνος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἑνέδρα περίην τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωξεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανὰς.

43. Ὅ δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐπεί τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Δευκανοὺς διελθὼν ἐχείμαξε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνῆθους, ἐφορμένην τε εἰχὲν ἄγριος ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐτρέπτετο πάντα. Φούλουνος δ’ ἐς Καπύνην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανήιε, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαῖοις προσέβαλλον ἀμφὶς καρτερῶς, ἐπειγο- μενοι χειμώνοις ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐως Ἀννίβας ἤρεμεί. Καπυαῖοι δὲ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλει- πουσῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἅλλων ἐπεισαγομένων,
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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
CAP. VII

ένεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν
de καὶ ὁσοὶ Διβύων ἑαυτοὺς ἑφροῦρουν, αὐτοῖς
στρατηγοῖς. Ἀννωνι ἐτέρῳ καὶ Βωσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι
dὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὁσοὺς
ηὗρον αὐτομολούντας, χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον.
Διβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔπιφανεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέμψαν,
tοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπναίων αὐτῶν
tοὺς μὲν αὐτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέ-
κτειναν, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφεῖλοντο μόνον.
eὐφοροῖ δ᾽ ἐστίν ἐς σῖτον ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύνην
πάσαν· πεδίας γὰρ ἐστίν. Καπύν μὲν δὴ πάλιν
ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπανήκτηκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Διβύων
ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιήγητο.

44. Ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας,
ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν
Διβύων, ἔθισας ἃεὶ τι λήξεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τὸ
φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ σύνήθης ἐς
πάντα γεγονός καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἤλγει
τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβριζόντων
συνθέμενος ὁ ἢ τῷ Ῥωμαίοι στρατηγῷ, καὶ
πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβῶν, ἐκάστοτε τινας ὡς
αἰχμαλώτους ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν ὡς σκύλα. ἔπει δὲ πλέονες
ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀπλισε, καὶ τὴν
Διβύων φρουρὰν ἀνείλε, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὑστερον
παροδεύοντο αὐτοὺς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέν-
tες ὑπὸ τοῦ δεόνς ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ
Τισιάται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβα. καὶ ὁ

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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
CAP. VII

Τὰ ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αὐτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρᾶν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

45. Ἡ ἀπόκυρων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλαπία, Λιβύων ὑπηκόων, δύο ἠστην ἄνδρες τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἅλληλοιν δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρῳ. τούτων Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ἥρειτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ὁρμαῖων. ἔως μὲν οὖν ἦκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἐπες δὲ ἡγείρει τὸ Πρωμαιῶν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἐπειθεν ὁ Βλάτιος τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ συμφρονήσαι μόνης, μὴ τι πάθοι, Πρωμαιῶν αὐτῆς βία λαβόντων, ἀνήκεστον. ὃ δ' ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε τούτῳ Ἀννίβα. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συνοφαντίσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν λέγοντος· ὃ καὶ τέως ἀρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐς ἐχθρὸν προσενεγκεῖν λόγου τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστω κατηγόρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν ἐσομένῳ. ὁ Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρίπται τὸ ἐργον οὔτε τῷ παρ᾽ ἐχθροῦ πιστεῦσαι ῥαδίως ἀξιών, μεθίστατο αὐτοῖς ὡς σκεψόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὐσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἐφι τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν, “οὐ σῶσεις, ὦ ἀγαθε, τὴν πατρίδα;” ὃ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ’ εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνευν.

46. Καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τὸτε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τεχύτοιν. “τοῦτο δ'” ἐφι, “τὸ νῦν ἐπιβουλευμα
those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

45. In Salapia, a city in Iapygia 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
καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἰ τις ἦν, ρύσεται 
με. τίς γὰρ ἄν ἡ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ 
διεπίστευσεν, ἥ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, 
ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγενημένων, 
κινδυνεύων ἐτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, 
αὖθις ἄν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ' ἔθάρρησεν εἰπείν, καὶ 
μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἄκούσαι 
δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος 
εὐθὺς ὅμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,” ἐφη, 
“χρηστὸς ἐξαίφυς καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν 
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐτι δυνατός ἦν; τί δ' ἄν ἔδεόμην ἑγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;” ἀ μοι 
δοκεῖ προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεὶν 
τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μεί-
ξονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦ δὲ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ 
ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μετα-
πείθειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα 
γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ὑπεκρίνει τοι-
ντίδεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἦτε 
μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὔδεν ὁκνῆσας ἐφη, “διαδραμοῦμαι 
μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν 
(μηνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτω) καὶ στρατίαν 
ἀξώ λαβὼν· ἔστι γὰρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς 
ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ· σὺ δ' ὑπομένειν μοι δεύρο, 
καὶ τὰ ἐνδοῦ ἐπιτηρεῖν.”

47. Ὁ μὲν ἐπεν οὐτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, 
λαθὼν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκείνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ' 
ἐς Ῥώμην, ὅδον ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ
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,
CAP. VII. τὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν οὗτον ὀνομάζεις ἡμέραν, μεθ' ὃν ἠτῆ γεγένοτο κατὰ σπουδήν, τὸ μέλλον ἐσεθαὶ προ-
ορόμενος. ὅ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπισύσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὀρῶν, εἶκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἢδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίζασ 
οὶν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρῳ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, κατα-
φρουῖν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθὼν, καὶ "νῦν μέν," ἐφη, "παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπὶ αὐτο-
φώρῳ στρατιῶν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει." καὶ τὸ 
γεγονὸς ἐκδημενος, καὶ λαβὼν τινας, ἐπανήγειν ἐς 
tὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὕτω τοῦ Βλατίου 
πλησιάζοντος. ὃ δ' ἐνδοὺ τε ἦν ἅρτι, καὶ τὴν 
φρουρὰν τὴν Διβύων ὀλίγῃν οὕσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύ-
λασσε μηδένα παρελθείν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν 
ἀλλὰς ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου 
μόνας εἶσαι ἀνεῖχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνας 
μέρος ἀπαν ἐδεχεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἐξετε-
τάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μη δύνασθαι τοὺς 
ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ 
tὰς πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεφυμένας, ἐδοθη νομίζας προ-
λαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὃ δ' 
ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμ-
όντας, ὥθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομῆν διὰ τὰς 
tάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλγοὶ δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ 
teίχους 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 περιήν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ἦρωμαίων ὑπατος Ἕρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἐστέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι, καὶ ἀπείπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρῆγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἔως, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ὕππεας ἐπέμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἦρωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἥμυνοντο ἑκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἶα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. οὗ ὅ Ἀννίβας ἐτὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιήκει, κατασκεπτόμενος ἁμα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδον ἐπελπίζων, ἔως ἐπήλθε τοῖς Ἦρωμαίωις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἶτε προϊόμενος εἶτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλομένους αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπιπτον ἡδὴ λάβρως καὶ ἄθρως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιος, καὶ ὁ ὑπατος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὸ χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναθορόντες αὐτὸ τε διέσωσαν, γενωμένῳ ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

49. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο Ἦρωμαιοι μὲν τὴν Ἦαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδέον, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ἦρωμαιος μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετώκιζεν ἐς Θούριος, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίῳ καὶ Δευκανδὲν καὶ Ἦαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ἦρωμαιοι τοὺς ἑκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλη μετώκιζον ἐς τὴν Ἀννίβου ἐτὶ ὑπῆκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε.
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. el tov kal tnh Breptiwv ynh epitperechov, kal
Taranata phrourovmevn upo Karbvalwvos ek yhs
ek thalasshs epoliorkouv. de Karbvalwv,
olignov Karxhdonivow parontwv, Breptious es
tnh phouran proselabev. tov de Breptiwv o
phourarchos hra gnumikos, hs adelphos upo 'Rw-
maiow strateneumenos eppragma diat ths adelphhs tvn
phourarchon endoynai 'Rwmairwv, epagousi tas
muchen h tov teichous autws efproyre. Taranata
men de 'Rwmairw tond tov trpov anelabov,
eukairon es polemos v worion kal kata yhn kal
kata thalassan.

50. 'Anvibas de epitugumenos es authn, ws
emathen elhmmewn, parihthev akthumevos es
Thourivos kakeiethen es Oymoussian, entha autw
Klauidhs te Margvllos o Sikellian elwv,
pemptov upatevov tote, kal Titos Kri-
pivos antistratopedeuntves ouk etolmwn archei
makhis. leian de tina upo Nomadov agomein
Margvllov idwv, kal doxas olignous einai touvs
agontas, epedranev autois meta triakosian
iupteww svn katafronzsei, kal prwtos hyeito,
thymikos wn es makhas kal parakindunvntikos aei.
afwo de polloiv tow Lirwv fanentov kal
pantachobev autw prospesontves, ois men ou-
gountes 'Rwmaiow prwtof phugis hrcov, o de
Margvllos, ws epomewn autwn, emacheto gev-
vaiwv, mchri katakouistheivs apetheanev. kal autov
tow sswmati o 'Anvibas epistatas, ws eide taw trau-
mata pantata eti twn steroon, epitnese mwn ws
stratwthn, epeskows de ws stratogrwn. kal
to daktulion autou perielwv, to men swma
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-
CAP. ṾIⅦ ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ ὀστὰ τῷ παιδὶ προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον.
51. Ὁ σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγίδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὸς αἰσθένθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἀνδρὰ Ῥωμαίον ἐπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. ἀρτὶ δ’ ἐκλή-"fesaν Κριστίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἀπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγίδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοιῇ τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσειν, αὐτοὶ δ’ ὀπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὐς Ῥωμαῖκοις ὁπλοῖς ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὡς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἔμελλον, ἀνθίς ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθηκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἐκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξο τῶν τειχῶν ἐτὶ περιεστῶτας ἀνώθεν ἐξαλλόν τε καὶ κατεπτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆς ἐπέρα τοὺς Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεῖς ἀπεχώρει.
52. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἄδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ὅν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτιβηρσίων ἔχων, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἀλπεια ὃρη, ὠδοποιημένα πρὸτερον ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, διώδευε δύο μησίν, ὃσα τέως Ἀννίβας 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
CAP. τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοῦς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππέας δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρεῖ. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ύπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλόντων, οἱ ὑπατοὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατο-πέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. οὐκ ὁσίως μάχε-σθαι κεκρικῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπει-γόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ γυντὸς ἀναξεύξας περὶ ἐλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὐποροῦν ἡλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείς ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερρημένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπ’ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κοποῦ, πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἂν ταῖς ταξιάρ-χοις συντασσομένους ἐτι καὶ συνιότας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνους Ἀσδρούβαν, πλεῖστοι δ’ αἱχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπῆλ-λαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἄν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἑπειδὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς προσέλαβεν.

53. Θεὸς δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάινας ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ’ ἐκείνη καὶ ἱσοστάσιον πως ἐκείνη γενόμενον· στρατηγοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ ἐκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγχυ-τάτω μάλιστα ἐπ’ ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις συνηνέχθη, στρατο-πέδων τε καὶ παρασκευὴς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαψίλους ἐκράτους ἐκάτεροι. οὐτω παραλλαξ ἢ πόλις εὐτυχιῶν καὶ συμφόρων ἐπειράτο. Κελτυβήρων δ’ ὅσοι διέφυγον ἑκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ’ ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.

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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.
CAP. VIII 54. Ὅς ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατὶα τοσῇδε δι᾽ ἀπειράν οδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλνιὰ δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἐτος ἔχων ἐν πονος ἀτρύτους ἐξ ὦ 'Ρωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλία διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὑπν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπτωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπῆκοον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἦσύχαζεν ὡς ἐτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφίξομενὶς ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναὺς ἐκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ᾽ ὦν σιτός τε ᾧ καὶ στρατία καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ᾽ ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος αὐτὰς ἀνεμὸς ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσασας μακρὰς ναυσὶ κατέδυσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰκοσιν, ἔξηκοντα δ᾽ ἐλαβεν οἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δειφύγον ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενὸς τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκός, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ἐξονομοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Δίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐσεσθαι περιορομένου, συνεδών ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἢδη Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὐπώ γενησομένων κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἔσφορας ἑπέβαλλεν αὐτοὶς πάνυ πολλὰς, τὰς τε ὁχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετάκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευοῦσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλοὺς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος διέφθειρεν, ἢν τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

IX

CAP. IX 55. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ἐρώμη γίγνονται μὲν ὑπατοὶ Δικίνιος τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιτίων ὁ λαβῶν 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.

IX

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, Σκυπίων δὲ τὸν δήμον ἐδίδασκεν οὗ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦτας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στράτος ἐς Διβύνην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. Ἀπαρήσας τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὁκνοῦτας, ἥρεθι στρατηγὸς αὐτός ἐς Διβύνην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἐνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Δοκροίς ἀφὼ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρομένους ὑπὸ Ἀννίβος καὶ τὴν φρουράν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημμύρῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Διβύνην διέπλευσεν. Πλημύριος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὑβρίν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ωμότητα ἐς τοὺς Δοκροίς ἐκλυπὼν, ἐσύλησε λίγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ῥωμαίοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιοπώσις αὐτῶν ἔδοσαν Δοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν· ὡσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λείπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

56. Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπ' αὐτῆς περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβος Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείων ἐκ Δίος φοβέρων, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἐφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πεσινοῦντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ 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 Sibylline 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. ένεχθηναι. μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγ-γέλθη καὶ ἐς Ρώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ
tὴν ἥμεραν ἐορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν, ἣ
tοτε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἢ ἐφερεν
αὐτὸ, ἢ λὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθείσαν
οὐδεμιὰ μηχανὴ σαλεύσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων
προειπότων ἐψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα
ξένων ἄνδρῶν ἐλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κῶνταν, μοι-
χείας ἐγκήλημα ἐχουσαν ἐτί ἀκριτον, καὶ δι'
ἀσωτίαιν ὡς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὔσαν, ἐπιθειάζαται
τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδή-
σασθαι τῇ μῖτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἐσπέτο.
Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐσχύνης δόξης ἢ ἀρίστην
μετέβαλε, Ἤρωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας
ἐκέλευ τα Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν
ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας ἢ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ
tὸν ἀρίστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκούντα εἶναι,
Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικάν ἐπίκλην, ἐπεπόμφεσαν,
ὑδοὶ μὲν ὡς Γναίον Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατη-
γήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἄνεψιον
δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελομένου τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον κληθέντος Ἁφρικανοῦ.
δὲ μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἢ Ρώμην δι' ἄνδρῶν καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.
57. Ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ
tοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦττωμένων, ὡς Βρεττίων
tαὐτ' ἐγιγνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἁνυβου,
καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἐκτεινον, οἱ δὲ ἐξεβαλλον. οἱ
dὲ οὐδέτερα τοῦτων δυνάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευν, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ
tὸν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἁνυβας δὲ ἢ 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. IX

εχόντων αὐτὴν ἑκβαλῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδόκει Βρεττίοις. ἤτιάτο δ᾽ ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνομένως δ᾽ ἐκεῖνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. "ἲνα δ᾽," ἐφη, "μηδ᾽ ὑπονοήσθε," τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἔκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους τὰ ὁπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλύσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτους ὁμοιὰ τάς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιῶν ἐποίει. Ὑθουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίους μάλιστα ἐυνοὺς ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἐδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῇ φοινυράν καταλιπὼν, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετόκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὐκαίρων ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τᾶς ἄλλας τιθεμένος.

58. Καρχηδονίων δ᾽ αὐτῶν μετακαλοῦντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευοῦση τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τῶν ναύαρχων 'Ασδρούβαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πείραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδοκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν 'Ιβηρία, ἐγνώκει δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ὁμοὺς ἐπεσθαί, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας ὤψιν. τῶν δ᾽ ἐτί ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἄλλοτρῶν καταφρονῶν ἐγὼ διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλούτισας,
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-
CAP. IX  eύνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναῦαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὄψόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐςιῶν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύνατο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαζεν. τούτων ἐνοικόπανόμενοι, πρίν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἤκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνεβαινεν ὁποῦ μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὁποῖον δὲ τοὺς φρουροῦς, σφαγὴ τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ύβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαὶ, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἐσώματίας, ἐγίγνοντο.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδῶς εὐ γεγυμνασμένους, ἐπειδή πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Διβύνην αὐτῷ συστρατεύσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἰμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδίστες εἴποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτώντες ὄχισον. ἀθροίσας οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὡς δὴ τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἡ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἡ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψεως, περιέστησα τὴν στρατιάν ὑπηρεσμενὴν ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἦδοῦντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνεργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκότισεν ἀπαντάς, τοῦ μὴ τοιοῦτο ἀνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίους γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους.
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
CAP. IX. Ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλήθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Διβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

60. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλήθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἔπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπὼν. οὐ δὲ Πετηλίνωι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἐπὶ Διβύης ἀνήγετο, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὀμαλῶς πορθῆσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κινδυνοῦ ἔσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγών, τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχους ἐνυβρίσας ὡς πολεμίους ἄτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ εὐνοία μᾶλλον ἡ χρεία χρώ-μενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὥφελεύσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὡς πολεμίων.

61. Ἀννίβου δ᾽ ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὁσοὶ μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμυνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οὐ μέχρι τέλους αὐτοῦ προθυμότατοι ἐνεγέννητο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἄφελετο καὶ ὅπλα, εἰ τινὰ ἢν ἐτί χωρίς ὡς Ἀννίβας ἀφήρητο· ἐς τὸ τὸ μέλλον ἀπείπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρως ὀύσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀπιστοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οὐαὶ θεράπουντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τούτῳ τὸ τέλος ἢν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης ἑσβολῆς.
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
ΑΙΒΤΚΗ

ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΒΥΤΗ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ ΦΙΚΙΣΑΝ
ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου, οίκισται δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζώρος τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ἦρωμαίοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζονσι, Διδώ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἢς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἢ δὲ εὖ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἄνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἐφευγοὺν, ἀφικνεῖται πλέοντας Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἐστὶ Καρχηδῶν. ἤξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων ἐδέοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἀν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ἡδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν περὶ οὔτω βραχυτάτου μάλιστα δ' ἥπορουν ὅπως ἀν πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν δ' τι ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τούτο τὸ σοφόν, συνεδεντο ὅσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιε-μόντες ἐς ἰμάντα ἐνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἐνθα νῦν ἐστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο Βύρσα ονομάζεται.
BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

I

1. 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).
CAP. 2. Χρόνῳ δ', ἑντεύθεν ὀρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν, ναυσὶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἥδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἑστρατευον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆς τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐς Ιβηρίαν. πολλαχὶ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ή τε ἀρχῇ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἄξιόμαχοι τῇ 'Ελληνικῇ, περιονσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικῆν. ἐπτακοσίους δ’ αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαιοὶ Σικελίαι ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδῶ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρω δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ 'Ιβηρίαν. ἔσ τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλους στρατοῖς, οἳ μὲν 'Αννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἔξῆς, οὶ δὲ Λιβύην Κορυμλίον Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δεύτερα τε σπουδαὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι αἴδε διέμειναν ἐς ἐτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτάς τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλως ἐπολέμησαν, ἐν δʼ Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαιοὶ κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐγγυσαν. αὕτης δ’ ὕκισαν ἴδιοι ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, ὡς εὐκαιρον ἐπὶ Λιβύη χωρίον. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ’ ἐν 'Ιβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἡ 'Ιβηρική, καὶ ὁμα 'Αννίβας 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. Ἡ ἁρξαντὸς δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλει-μον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντῆκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Διβύνην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἐλώτες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλυ-πόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον, ὅς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἰ Καρχηδόνιων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπίων ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους στρατη-γὸν ἔτον, οἰόμενοι δὲ ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Εὔανθιππον αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνῃ στρατοπεδεύων ὡρα καύματος περι-όδευε τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνύγει καὶ δίσει καὶ ὅδοιπορία κακο-παθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἀνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἐπιληψίασε περὶ ἐσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διείργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τῶν ποταμῶν ὡς καὶ τόδε τὸν Εὔανθιππον ἕκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ συντεταγ-μένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίσει διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίδας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περί-σεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νυκτῶν ἔσεσθαι. τήςδε μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Εὔανθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἄνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἤγεν, ὡλγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώ-λοντο οἱ δ' ἐξωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὑπατος γεγονός, αἰχμαλώ-τος ἦν.

4. Τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοισ πρέβησεν ἐπεμψαίν ἐς Ῥωμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἡ ἐπανή-
Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibal 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
CAP. 1. Ξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥηγύλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἐχεσθαί τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐς λύμην ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρζαντες ἐν γαλεάγρα κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχοῦσῃ διέφθειραν. Ἐανθίππω δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖ Ἀκαδαιμονίων ἔργων εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρίναμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεάς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἔπὶ τριήρων ἐς Ακαδαιμονίαν, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεύσεως Δακῶν καταποντίζαται. οἱ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἔδωκε τήνδε ἐνπραξιας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρῶτον πολέμου Ῥωμαίως περὶ Λιβύην εὑπραγηματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίος ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται.

5. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰρήνατα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες, δ’ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνιοι ὄντες ὑπῆκουσι συνεμεμαρχήσασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήσασιν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἐχοῦσες ἐπολέμησιν αὐτοῖς μᾶλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐκενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφήκαν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἐπεμφαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτήρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες ὅνοι ὑπῆκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίον, εἰ θέλοιεν· οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ταῖς

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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
CAP. 1. πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἁγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δ', ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλήστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας· τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἐβάλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λαυθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολὺ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποιήν αὐτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδῶν ποιήν ἐδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐγεγράφη.

II

CAP. 6. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύοντος ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ὑπῆγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίως καταφυγόντων Καρχηδόνιος ὁρὸς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν. καὶ τάσιδε αὐ τὰς σπουδᾶς ἐλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγομένου. διαβάντες δὲ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἐτέρους τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίως ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιος τε Κορνήλιος Σκιτίων καὶ Γναίος Κορνήλιος Σκιτίων, ἀληθῶν ἀδελφῶν, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένω θυίσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἐπραττον, μέχρι Σκιτίων ὁ Πόπλιον Σκιτίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναρεθέντος νῦν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἀπασιν ἐμβαλῶν ὡς ἥκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρότο
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fleet, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untiled 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. συμβούλω περί ἀπάντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρώς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τούτῳ πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχῆν ἐπιπεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ρώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἥζίου πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἀννίβαν ἐς Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

7. Τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἀρτὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῦτο πολέμοις καὶ πορθομένης ἐτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευράις ἐπ' αὐτὴν Δίγνας τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ἔλευσοντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλοτριὰν χειρόουσαν πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων οἱ δὲ φωντο Καρχη- δονίους νῦν μὲν ἄδειες ὅντας ἐφεδρευεν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνυχλομένους οἰκοὶ, πολέμοι δὲ οἰκείου σφίξι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησεν πέμπτευς ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατόν ἐς Ἰταλίας πονομένῃς ἐτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου' ἔθε- λοντάς δε, εἰ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐτὶ οὕσι χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβείν, ἐπισκευάσας δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν, πλὴν εἰ τις ἔθελοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἤπτοντο τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστον σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγων γενομένου.

8. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐνθοῦς δὲν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τινας ἢπτέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα, ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἔς
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had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, Chap. 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, b.c. 205 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,
CAP. Σικελίαν ἦχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενεῖσιν ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἰρήτῳ χωρίς ὁπλῶν ἐπεσθαί. Σικελῶν δ' αὐτ' τριακοσίους καταγράφας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, ἐσκευασμένους ὁπλῶις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὃτι δύναιτο καλλίστοις. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προῦθηκεν εἰ τις έαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντίδοταί. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὁπλῶν ἐρήμους, καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκεῖνοι προσέταξε μετασκευάσσαθαι. οἱ δ' ἐκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὁπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιῆν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἦχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὁπλοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τόδε εἰδότας ὡς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρόμενοι διετέλει.

9. Καρχηδόνωι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδροῦβαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Δυναστίνην ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ξακισχίλους καὶ ἵππεας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐπτά, καὶ προσέτασον αὐτῷ μὲθ' ὦσών δύναιτο ἄλλων ἔσβαλειν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν ἐκ Διβύθης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβα τε συνελθεῖν ὦ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔιε περιορώμενος. Ἀσδροῦβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Διβύθους ἐς ξακισχίλους πεζοὺς ἐκατέρων καὶ ἵππεας ἐξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἡγόραξε πεντακισχίλους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχίλιους ἵππεας, καὶ ἕνους.
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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
CAP. II εμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντας ἐγύμναξε, διακοσίους σταδίους ἀποσχῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

10. Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Διβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ’ ὑπὲρ ἄπαντας, καὶ τιμήν εἰχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ. Μασσυλίων δ’ αὐ, γένους ἀλκίμου, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὅτι δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῶ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστω Ἀσδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἠγγύῃς τῇ θυγατέρᾳ, καίτερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνος ὦν. ὡς δ’ ἠγγύῃς, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ μειράκιον. Σύφαξ δὲ κυνζ.μενος ὑπ’ ἑρωτός ἔπι τῇ παιδὶ τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνε διαπλεύσαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἱόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ’ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι καὶ μεγάλα ποιοῦμεν τοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοοῦντω καὶ ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἀσδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγῶν συνετίθετο καὶ ὅδε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαυθάνων, ὡς φέτο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ δ’ αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἐφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειράκιον καὶ τῆς θυγατρός, ὑβρισμένου ἀμφότερ, ἠγεῖτο δ’ ὅμως τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδῶν Μασσανάσσης ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανύντι ἐς Διβύῃν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπτε προπομποὺς ἰππέας, οἷς ἐηρήτο ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναντο.
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.
11. 'Ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγε τε, καὶ τὴν πά-
τρόφαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἵππεας άθροίζων, οἷς
ήμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργον ἀκούτοις πολλοῖς
χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ
αὕτης ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ἄλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ
μάχη φυγῆ καὶ δίωξις. ἵσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν
φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἶδε, καὶ πόσα χρήσθαι
πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροπο-
tούσιν. οὐ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ἄλως
γεύεται, ποηφαγὸν ἀεὶ, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ.
τοιούτους οἱ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγα-
γὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ θήρας ἡ λεηλασίας ἐτέρων ἔθνων
ἀπερ φέτο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρ-
χηδόνιου δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ ομοίοτεροι ἐπὶ σφάς εἶναι
τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ ἤγινον ἃ
ἐλευθήκεσαν αὐτὸν), ἐκριναν προτέρῳ τόδε
πολεμεῖν ἐστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοις
ἀπαντῶν.

12. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους
ήσαν παρὰ πολύ, μετὰ δὲ ἅμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς
βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύωντο. Μασσανάσσης
δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆγε, καὶ ἵππικον μόνον εἶχε
καὶ ὑποξύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἄγοραν. οἶδεν ράδιος
ὑπέθευσε τε καὶ ἐπεχείρη καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀχυρὰ
ἀνεπίδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβάνομενος
dιεσκίδην τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεὶν ἀποφεύ-
γειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὄλγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύ-
πτετὸ ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἡ μεθ'
ήμεραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δὲ ποτε ἐν
στηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ
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. 11. 

Γιὰ τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὁτὲ ἐστάθμευν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐστρατήγησε λανθάνειν ὅτι ποτε εἶχα. οδεῖν οὐκ εἰχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ’ ἠμύροντο ἐπιοῦντα. ἀγορὰ δ’ ἤν αὐτῷ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν, ὅ τι περὶ ἐστέραιν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κόμην ἢ πόλιν, ληξομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοιτίσι. οθέν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ’ ὡφελεῖας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

III

CAP. 13. Καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδόνιοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἔπει οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῆ ἐγεγένη ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Δι καὶ Ποσειδώνι, καὶ ἐς Διβύνην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων κέλητες τε καὶ λέμβου πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῶ. καὶ στρατιὰν ἢγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἐξαισχελίους ἐπὶ μυρίους, ἵππεας δὲ ἥλιους καὶ ἐξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὄπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πόλην. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὠδὲ διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυθθανόμενοι ἐγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαι τε Μασσανάσσην καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαειν. ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἤγγος μὲν ἐξαπατώμενος, ἀντενεδρεύων δὲ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἢκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδροῦβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἦπερ. καὶ ἐστρατοπεδευόν οὐ μακράν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων Ἀσδροῦβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ.
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 ἦν ὁ Σκιπίων καταχθεῖς ὑπ’ ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτός ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτῆν, οὐ πολὺ δ’ ἀπείχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἔχον ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐκατόν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

14. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἶτε δείσας εἶτε ἀπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκίβησε τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεξεύγυνεν ἐς τὰ οἴκεια. Σκιπίων δὲ κατ’ ὀλίγους ἐπεμπεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρον. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθῶν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσῃς ἐς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἐνθα πύργος ἐστῶν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίουν τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεύσατι. ἀμα δ’ ἠμέρα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβαν ἑπειθεῖ τὸν ἰππαρχὸν Ἀνυνώνα πέμψα τὸν πλήθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μὴ τι πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπισχυείτο, εἴ κελεύσω, ἐψεσθαί. Ἀνυνών μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἤγεν ἐπιλέκτους ἱππέας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Διβύων τι πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἄφικοντο καὶ ὁ Ἀνυνών ἐξεπενευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοισ, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἑξεφαινετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππεύσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος ἐπέτεο ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσων. 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

CAP. III

15. Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ρωμαίων ἐξέλυνον ὅσιοι δεθέντες ἐσκαπτόν ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἡ ὅνομα ἢν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκρυκέντο ἐκλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σαλπυγγῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ δ' οὐχ ὑπῆκοον ὑπ' ὅργης ὧν ἐπετόθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφατον ὃ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐτὶ ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφήκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς, ὃσιοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχώνας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, καὶ τάδε πράξας αὐθις ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδροὺβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὤπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐπιστραφεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν Διβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔσ τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν.
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 Lochā, 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.
CAP. III 16. Καὶ ὁ Σκυπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοίς δεὶ προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκη κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ βάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐξενυμέναις πῦργον ἔπιθεις, οὕτως τριτήχη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥφιε, καὶ πόλλα μὲν ἐλύπει πόλλα SearchParams 2 ψυχομένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δὲ ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριός τὸ τεῖχος, ὡτε προσπελάσεις, τύπτων, δρεπάνους τε περιστῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα ὑπετάφρευνον, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχους παρῆγαν, καὶ τοὺς κρίους τῆς ὄρμης ἔξελυσαν, ἑπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκοῦσι· ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπιθύδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάξειν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπιφόρον. οὕτων ὁ Σκυπίων ἀπογυνόες οὕτως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς ποιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίσταται.

17. Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυρθανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ 'Ασδρούβου. ἔτι δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἐκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς μέχρι νῆσες τὰ ἐτεραὶ ναυπηγοῦμεναι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένευτο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Κελτῶν καὶ Διγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἑπεξερεῖ διατάν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐδικαίον μῆτε 'Ρωμαίοις Διβύσης μῆτε Καρχηδονίους Ἰταλίας ἐπιβάινειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ 'Ρωμαίοις Σκελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ εἶ τινας ἄλλας νῆσους ἰχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθή, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἐφη συμμαχήσειν. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπέρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τὴν τε Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴ παντ' ἐβεβαιώσειν ὑποσχυόμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων
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. ΤΡΙΩΝ ΟΥΣΩΝ ΔΩΣΕΙΝ ΕΣ ΓΑΜΟΝ ΗΝ ΑΝ ΕΘΕΛΗ. ΕΦΕΡΕ
δ' ὁ ταύτα λέγων χρυσίουν, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσεις, δοθῇ
tῶν θεραπευτήρων αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσ-
σην ὑποσχυμένῳ. ὃ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἔδωκέ
tινι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὃ δὲ λαβὼν ἔδειξε
tῷ Μασσανάσῃ, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἰ㎏έξεν.

18. Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανε-
ρῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίους συνεμάχης, πόλιν τε ἐν
μεσογείῳ Ἑλλοῦντα, Ρωμαίων παρασκευήν καὶ
σῖτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς
φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἑκτεινεν ώς ἐθελήσαντας
ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἄλλην
πολλῆν Νομάδων μετεπέμπτο. καὶ οἱ μισθο-
φόροι παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἥδη, καὶ νῆς εὔτρεπῶς
εἶχον, ὥστε ἐγνωστὸ πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὅρμω-
μενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἄσδροῦβαν
δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. ταῖς δὲ ναῦς
ἐδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα
τής ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἀπαντὰ ὁμον, ἦν μὴ διαρκέ-
σειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ρωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

IV

19. Ὅν ἥδη νυκτὸς οὕσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ
τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι.
ὁ δὲ ἐδεισε, καὶ ἣπορεῖ μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιροῦ-
μενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται.
tοὺς οὖν ἱγμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν
ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σὺν-
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ever 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.

IV

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,
νοὺς γενόμενος εἶπε· "τόλμης καὶ ταχυτῆτος ἡμῖν, ὁ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσω-μεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα δ' ἐν τῶδε πλεονεκτήσωμεν, μάθετε ἡδη. ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ-
πλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἑφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλυγωτέρων προεπιχειροῦντων. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἔσ πολλά διηρημένη τῇ στρατιᾷ χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἀθρόα, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οίς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρῶτοι. σταθμεύονσι δ' ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστοί, καὶ ἐσμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἵσομαχοι, τόλμη δὲ καὶ εὑτυχία προύχομεν. καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς δοὺ τῶν πρῶτων ἐπικρατήσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσωμεν. οἷς δ' ἐπιχειρήτεον ἐστὶ πρῶτοι, καὶ τίς ὁ καίρος Ἦ τρόπος ἐσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἡν ἀρέσκη, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ." 20. Συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, "ὁ μὲν καίρος,"
eῖπεν, "εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἑτὶ οὖσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβε-
ρώτηρον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκεῖνον, καὶ οὕτες τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν σκότῳ. φθάσωμεν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα μόνως, ἐγνωκῶν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς οὖτων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νηές
eἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.
kαὶ τούτων Ἀσδρούβας μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἄν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσει
tῶ πόνω, βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφής γέμων καὶ
dέους. 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 strange-ness 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,
CAP. IV παντὸς ἵωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἣν ἀρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἔξις τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδροῦβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θρασύτατῃ τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ' ἰππέας (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἐτὶ οὐσίας) προπέμψω πορρωτέρω κυκλούσθαι τὸ στρατό-πεδον τῶν πολέμων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθῆμεν, ἦποδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φιλίους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ' ἐπικρατοῖμεν, ἐκφεύγωντας ἐκείνως διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῶντο.

21. Ταῦτ' ἐπιτών, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκτέμψας ὀπλίσαν τὸν στρατὸν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμη καὶ Φόβω, μηδὲν ώς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικὸν ὁ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὀφθήναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἢρεμα τῇ σάλ-πιγγα ὑπεσήμαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατός τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἐως οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολέμους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοηθοῦσα τὸ τούτων σαράνταὶ καὶ σαλπίγγας ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φυλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπωσιν. οἱ δ' εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησαν τινὰς σκηνὰς. καὶ οἱ Δίβνες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδον τε ἐξ ὑπνῶν, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τοῦ θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουν, οὐδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-γοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γεγονόμενων εἰδότος.
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
CAP. δόντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ παρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνή-ροιν. τοῖς δὲ ήν ἢ τε βοη τῶν ἑχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερῶτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσία τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοι τε εἰλήφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπετρησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἔξεπιπτον ἐκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐσωθόντο. ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχομεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἰππέας, οἱ κύκλῳ περι- ἐστήκεσαν, ἐμπύττοντες ἀπεθησκον.

22. Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθό- μενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὄρων, οὐκ ἐπεξήλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπεμψεν Ἀσδροῦβα, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιτεσσάρων ἀφιν πολὺν ἠργάζεται φόνον. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα μαθὼν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδροῦβαν μὲν ἣδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δὲ εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν παρασκευὴ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεξεύγυνε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπὼν, οἱόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρ- χηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐκπίθαυνα ἐπανίστατο ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τῆν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.

23. Καὶ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτὸς, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὀμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶς, τῶν δὲ ἑχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμύριοι καὶ αἴχμαλωτοί ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ
THE PUNIC WARS

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
CAP. IV ἰππέων ἐξακόσιοι ἐπανύντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρημα, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὄπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἰππῶν ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μᾶς τῆς νίκης, λαμμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλῶν ἀπαντα, ἀριστεία τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδοι, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογῶτα ἐς Ὕρμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τῶν στρατοῦ ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀμιλχαρὶ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ὑπ', Ἀσδρούβας δὲ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδόνεις, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ' ἰππεῶν πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδαίν κατέφυγεν, ἐνθα μισθοφόρους τε τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνελήγη, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγικότος, καὶ Ἄννωνα τὸν Βευμίλχαρος ἐθνοῦτο στρατηγεῖν, ἵδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάβανε, καὶ ἐλήξετο ἐς τὰς τροφὰς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὗς εἶχεν, ἀμφ' τρισχιλίων ἰππεῶς, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίως, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχων. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ὀμαῖοι ὁμοί καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάβανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπήγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνος τὸν στρατὸν ὁπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξηνύοντος. Ἀμιλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἐκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ τε φθάσειν ἐπανύντα,
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 general-ship, 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
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. IV καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐκεῖ Ρωμαίων εἰκοσι τριήρεις ῥαδίως ταῖς ἐκατόν αἱρήσειν.

25. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἵδιν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπότομον, προὔπεμπτε τινας τὸν ἐσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράζαι στρογγύλοις πλοῖοις ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέονεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἰ, καὶ τὰ πλοία τοῖς κέρασι συνδήσαί τε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ἡ καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἦττετο τοῦ πόνου. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆσε ἔθραυσον, καὶ καμοῦσαι περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλευον. ἀπιστοῦσι δ’ αὐταῖς αἱ Ρωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαί τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ὅτε βιάζοντο, ὑποχωροῦσι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κεφήν άνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχεῖμαξον ἄμφω. καὶ Ρωμαίοις μὲν ἤν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰ δαψίλης, Ἰτυκαίω δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίων λιμώττοντες ἐλήστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ἐωμαίων νῆσε ἄλλαι, πεμφθείσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφώρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς ληστικὰς ἐκώλυσον. οἱ δ’ ἐκαμνυν ἴδῃ σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

V

CAP. V 26. Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ὤνθευν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδιᾷ στρατιᾷ

1 The text is almost certainly corrupt, and there is possibly a lacuna after ἔργον. The translation given follows Schw.’s Latin version, and is probably the best rendering of the words as they stand.
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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
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CAP. τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἐγκατέρρωσεν τὸν Ῥωμαίων Δαίλιον, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὃ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορώμενος περὶ τινὶ ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἐκατέρρωσαν, ὡσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρόα ἦφισαν ἑπ' ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπῆσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἴδων, ἵπτε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὀργής· ὃ δ' ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγώνως πολλοῦ περὶ ἀμφῶ γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἔς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔπερων, ἐνθὰ τοὺς Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔπερων, ἐνθὰ τοὺς Σύφακος καὶ τὸν ἔτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν νιῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπεμπτε Σκιπίων, ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἔς μυρίους ἀνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἔς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τῷ νεῖο ἤτησε παρὰ Δαίλιον, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Μασσύλιους καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπῆσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιοῦμενοι τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Σύφακος παραδίδοντες, ἱδία δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἔτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικὸς, τῆν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γύμου διηγοῦμενοί. 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, ἑπανιδῶν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτὸς, ἐν Κήρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορόμενος ἁρᾳ τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἦρετο Σύφακα. "τὶς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον οὔτα μοι καὶ ἑπὶ Διβύνην ἑλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὐς ὄμοςας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ἑρωμάιοις, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ἑρωμαίων ἑλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἑπὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;" ὁ δ' εἶπε, "Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἢς ἐγὼ ἦρων ἔτ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλοπατρις ἥ ἐστὶν ἱσχυρός, καὶ ἱκανὴ ἀπαντά τινα πείσαι πρὸς ὃ λουλεῖται. αὐτὴ με καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας ἡ τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τὸς συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆς ἐνδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παρανῶ (χρή γάρ, ὑμετέρου γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον): φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ὃ βούλειται μεταγάγῃ. οὐ γὰρ δῇ, μὴ τὸ γύναιον ποτε ἑληταί τὰ Ἑρωμαίων ἐπιζεῖν ἄξιον· οὔτως ἐστὶν ἱσχυρός φιλόπολις." 28. Ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἐλεγεν, εἰτ' ἀλήθειεν εἴτε ξηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μὲν, συνετὸν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπευρόν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπήγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷον τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κύρος ἔχρητο, Δαιλίου δ' ἀφίκομενον, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευεν τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναίκα παραδοῦναι. παραιτομένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀνωθεν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγομένου,
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
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CAP. 5. τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευν αὐτῶν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βία τῶν Ῥωμαίων λαφύρων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἴτειν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύνατο. οὖχετο οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρον φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προφήτηκεν, ἡ πιεῖν ἡ Ῥωμαίως δουλεύειν ἐκούσαν. οὐδὲν τε εἰπὼν ἐτὶ ἐξῆλασε τὸν ἰππόν. ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῇ δείκασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθείσα μηδὲν ὄρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἐπὶ τὸν φαρμάκον. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἦκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικώς, ὑπεστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπανέστα τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὑπὶ πονηρᾶς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἄχθεντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οὶ μὲν ἥξιον περισσότερον ἀνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρία φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὑπὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

29. 'Ασδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἐπεμπέ τινα πρὸς Ἀννώνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἅξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀννώνα κοινωνήσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδείκνυς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίων σύνεσιν Ἰβηρίας ἀκούσας, οὐδὲν ἔν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεις διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τῷ Σκιπίωνος. ἐφ' ὑπὸ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρὸν, ἡξιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἀννών ἐς μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργησε, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρα πιστῶν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος.
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 sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and 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, δ' ζυθανός ὄν ἐντυχεὶν ἐκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλοὺς, ἥμεραν τε συνθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανήλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἥμεραν ὁ Ὀλυμπίων τῷ Ἀσδρούβαλῳ μετέφερεν. Σκιπίων δὲ θυομένῳ κἂν-δυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησμοῦ καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εὗ ποῦ τι λάβρου ἡμύρισε τὺρ, κατέπαυεν. καὶ αὕθιας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀνεί τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν ἐμπρησμῶν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεύσαι διεγνώκει, 30. ἵππεως δὲ Ὑπραίδου θεράτων Ἰβηρ, ὑπουρήγες τῇ περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίματο συνειδέναι, ἐώς τὸ πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὡς δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τῶν Σκιπίωνα ήγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἥλεγχετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἔξερρυψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. αἰσθησις δ' ἢν Ὀλυμπίων μὲν ἡξεία πλησίον ὑντι, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκειμένον, Ἀσδρούβαλς δὲ ἀγνοοῦ ἀφίκετο. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδὲ τῶν νεκρῶν, εἴκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ ἀνεχόρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ὀλυμπίων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν, ὡς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἐαυτὸν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβαλς μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτῳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ θὸ Ἀμιλχαρ μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ὑπραίδων νυνισὶ ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἔξ, Ὀλυμπίων δ' ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρουσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ, χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὕσις, ταῦτῃ μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν ἀνύων, τάς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐκ Πόλεων πόλων μετετίθει. καὶ οὗδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακαύσας
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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
CAP. ώς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπετρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ληξόμενος.

VI

CAP. VI 31. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναῦαρχον ἐπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπιστέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἀμα δὲ ταύτ' ἐπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιτίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτων πάντως ἄν ἐνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξειν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψειν ἑως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιτίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχὰς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τεῖχῳ ἕκτος ἐστάθμευον ὡς ἔτη πολέμωι, ἄχθευτες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔδεισαν συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τὸν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμησον, ὁσάκις συνθόιντο καὶ παραβαίνε, ὡσα τὸ Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρῆσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίων μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυν ἑσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῦτο πολέμωι ἐκτετρυχώμενης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδες ἐπεξήγασαν, ἐπιπλευσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιτίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγνως ἐκ Διγύων καὶ Ἀνωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

32. 'Εφ' οίς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλή συμβούλους ἐπεμψε τῷ Σκιτίωνι, μεθ' ὅν ἐμελλε κρίνειν τε
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
CAP. VI καὶ πράξειν ὁ τι δοκιμάσει συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τοῖς διόπτης συνέβη, Μάγωνα μὲν ἀποτελεῖν ἐκ Διγύνων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ἐξολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλεῖους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὅν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίον τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἕξακοσία ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσων Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἁρχὴς ὅσα δύναιτο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεν τοι ἄλληλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὁρκουντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὁμνυνεν. Μασσανάσσω δὲ Ῥώμαιων χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανον τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγίδα χρυσῆν ἐπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαίκην καὶ ἑπαυν χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

33. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἄνυίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἄπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γενοῦντο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαιοὺς ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδριμήττων Διβύῆς κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ σίτου συνέλεγεν, ἔπι τε ὑπὴν ἑπαυν περιέτειπε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακίδων ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἑπείας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἱ Σύφακος ὁντες τότε ἐγήγοντο Μασσανάσσων, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτεύσας τοὺς δ' ἑπαύν διέδωκε

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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.
CAP. τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνά-πος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Ὀβερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἔτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσα-νάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπῆγετο, τὰς δὲ ἐβιάζετο. Νάρκην δὲ ἐνήδρευσεν ὡδε. ἀγορὰς χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δὲ ἐδοξεῖν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἐπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εὐρήτο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιτράσκοντας μέχρι σαλ-πίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυ-χοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

34. Οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἀρτὶ τὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένου, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος, οὕτω τῶν ὅδιων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ρώμης ἀνέστραφτον, ἀγορὰν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' ἀνέμου κατενεχθείσαν ἐς Καρχη-δόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλοῦσα, καὶ παρανοώσας μὴ λύειν συνθήκας ἀρτὶ γεγενημένας· οἰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέφρυντο ὡς ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἐφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τᾶς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦς τοῦ πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ στόμαδας, ἀλλ' ἦτε δίκας ὡς φίλους ἀμαρτόντας· οἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἐὼς ἀφίκοιντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ρώμης. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν Ἀννον τοῦ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἐρίφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ προὐπεμπόν δύο τριήρεσιν· ἔτερος δὲ Ἀσδρούβας τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπεισάν, ὀρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομπὸν 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
CAP. τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων τινὲς ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξῆλαντο τῆς νεῶς ἡδὴ λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἠλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

35. Ὡν οἱ ἐν ἀστεὶ Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδόνων, οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐτί παρῆσαν, ἐκέλευσιν ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο. Σκιπίων δὲ τὸ ναυάρχῳ, πυθόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, "οὐδὲν ὤμοιον," ἔφη, "ταῖς Καρχηδόνιων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλὰ ἀπόπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς." μαθοῦσα δὴ ἡ γερουσία τὸν δήμον ὀνείδις τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεσθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδόνιοι λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς οὐκ εὑ τὰ συμφέροντα προορμένη, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν δημοκράτων ἔρεθιζόμενοι τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐπιτίθεν ταῖς ἐπαρχομένοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν μεθ' ἡς ἔχει στρατιὰς.

36. Ὁ δὲ ὅρῳν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολεμοῦ, Ἀσδροῦβαν αὐτοὺς ἔκέλευε σὺν τῇ παροῦσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδροῦβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτὸ ἀνθείης παρεδίδου τοῦ στρατοῦ Ἀννίβα, καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἐπιφαινεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήμῃς εἰργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὑποροῦντας 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-
CAP. VI. ἀσπόρου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἢμερῶν Ἀννίβαα καὶ Σκιπίων ὑπομαχία γίγνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν Ἡ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτειν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα ἢν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐως αἰσθόμενος ὡς Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν ἴσχυρὸς τε ἀπορουμένου καὶ περιμένοντα ἁγορᾶν φερομένην, νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμων χιλιαρχὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγοντας αὐτῶν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμως ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβὼν, ἔκτεινε τῶν Διβύων ὡς τετρακισχίλιους καὶ ἐξωγρησεν ἐτέρους τοσοῦσθε, καὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν ἤκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίῳν.

37. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἐσχατον ἀφτημένος ἀποριας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναιτο διαβέθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομιμήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβής καὶ παιδεύσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐτί οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δῆμου καὶ τῶν ἁνοικτόρων τοῦ δῆμου ἀμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὸ ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδοῦμενός τε καὶ φίλος ὃν ἐτί πολλοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐδείηθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς αὐθις ἐς τοιάσθε συνθήκας ὡστε Καρχηδονίους τὰς τὰ ναὸς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὗς ἐλαβον Ὁρμαῖοις ἁγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἠρπασμένα ἄπαντα, ἡ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμῆν ἤν ὀρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποιήνῃ τε τοῦ ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τάδε μὲν ἢν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐς ἀέλπτου περιεσώζετο,
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.
38. Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βούλη τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερηψάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δήμον ἐμείναι τοῖς ἐγγυωμένοις, τὴν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἀπαντά διηγομένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατὸν τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἁγορᾶς. οἱ δὲ, οἶον ὁ χλόος, ἀφρόνως ἡγούντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ἦρωμαίοις συντιθέσθαι, ἵνα δὲ ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος. δὲ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὅλιγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἑθελήσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦνα ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαι τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ἑβής δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἔξητον Ἀσδρούβαν περιοῦντες. ὁ δὲ ἐφθασε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὐτὸν οἱ δὲ κάκειθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν ἔξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπτετάκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἀννώνος, καὶ τὸτε πρὸς Καρχηδόνιον οὕτως ἀνήρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.

39. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβα λύσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρίνατι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μᾶχη διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἐλυσε τὰς ἀνοχὰς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθου τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτικὰ προσπεσὼν 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.
πλησίουν 'Αννίβοι μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ο δὲ ἀνεξεύγυνε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκόπους ἐπιπέμψας, οὔσιν ο Σκιπίων ἔλαβε τε καὶ οὖν ἐκτείνειν, ἄσπερ έθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ές τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὄπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην ίδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Αννίβα περὶ ἐκάστων. ο δὲ ἦξισσεν έτι συνελθείν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίων, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρῶτῃ εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθείη, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἄξιοίς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νῆσων ὅσων ἀρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαιούσθαι. ο δὲ "πολύ," ἐφή, "κέρδος 'Αννίβας τῆς φυγῆς ἵσται τῆς ἕξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ τὰῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος." καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπτεν ἕτει πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπεισάμενοι τε ἀλλήλους ἀνεξεύγυνοι ἐκάστεροι ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

40. Πόλεις δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυῆς ἐς στρατοπεδεῖαν, διν ἐπινοδόν ο Αννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἐπεμπε τῶν διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίώνος δ' αὐτοῦ φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεῖς εν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσου φρέατα, καὶ ο οὐ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμόμενος τὴν ψάμμου ὄλυγον καὶ θωλοῦν ἐπινοῦ ἔπιμόχθως, ἀθεράπευτοι τε καὶ ἀσιτοί, 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
CAP.
VII

ἐνιοί, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὦν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἁμα ἐφ' ἑκκμηκόσιν ἐξ ὀδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ὁ Αννίβας δ' ἦχθετο μὲν, οὐχ ὥστε βούλοιτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλά πεισόμενως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενων. ὃθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασσεὶν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισ-
μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ οὐγοηκοῦντα. Ἰστὴ δὲ πρῶτος 
μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ 
μετώπου, φοβερώτατα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς 
ἡ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγνες:
τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντη καὶ 
σφενδούντα τα Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. 
τούτων δὲ ὅπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Ὁραχηδόνιοι 
τε καὶ Λίβνες. τρίτοι δ' ὅσοι ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἶπον 
αὐτῷ. οῖς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον δεδιόσιν, 
ἐθάρρει. ἦ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

41. Ὅπως μὲν Ὁ Αννίβας ἐξῆτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, 
ἰππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντα-
κόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι 
Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἔτερος δυνάστης 
ἰππεῦσιν ἐξαισῴοισ. τὸ μὲν ὅντι πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς 
καὶ ὅπε καὶ μακενσί οἱ ἱππεῖς 
ἐνεχερῶς διαδέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἐκάστῳ δ' ἱππεῖ 
προ-
μάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οὐ ξύλα παχέα διπήκη 
μαλιστα, πυκνα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρω-
σκέπατος ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς 
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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. ελέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφῆσεν. παρήγγειλτο δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναντο, ὑποτέμεναι τὰ νεῖρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετέταχατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κερασίν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὤψιν καὶ ὀδὴν χείριν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀγάπης ὁπίσω πάντων, ἐτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὀρμὴν ὑπομείνειν οἱ πεζοὶ. ταρ' ἐκαστὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ὑπηρέτης ἤν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρον, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἢ ἱππος ἐιχέ, παρεδίδου ὑπὸ τὸ μὲν δεξιόν Λαυλῷ, τὸ δὲ λαϊν Ὀκταουίῳ. εὖ δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἤστην αὐτός τε καὶ Ἄννιβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἁμφ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅτι τι ποιούμενον ἴδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἄννιβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων διακισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλους οὓς αὐτὸς ὁπλίσεις ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔτοιμα ἤν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἱδίους ἐπισπέρχου ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὤψει τῶν στρατευμένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονδήκεσαν ὁσάκις ἐλυσαν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἄξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμῶν ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἄρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τέρειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλεονῶν ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ὑ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νυκήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἁμφιβολία, πόσῳ τάτα τοῖς νεικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἤρεθιζε

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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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

43. Οὗτος παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνήσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ’ ἀντιχείν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἑλέφαντες κατήρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκενασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυπώμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων περιθέοντες δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἵππεις ἐσηκόντιζον ἀθρόως, μέχρι πρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειδῶς ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἑλέφαντας. οἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιάσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀπλίσεως, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διόκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἔως ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰππείς τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς, ὁπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ
and console them for their inferiority in numbers. CHAP. VII
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 ἱππῶν ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλεφάντας περιθέοντας ἐσακουστὶζειν. πρῶτος τε αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ἦδη πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑπεχώρουν.

44. Καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρὰς θηριων, ὁ ἄγων ἐγίγνετο μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἱππῶν. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῷ 'Ρωμαίων, οὐ Δαίμονς ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην. οὗτος δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἅννιβάς ἐπιδραμὼν συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἐνθα 'Ρωμαίων μὲν ὁ Ὀκτάοιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυνες ἤσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερὸς ἐκατέρος. καὶ Σκιτίων μὲν ἐπεμπε Θέρμων τὸν χιλιαρχὸν ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων. Ἅννιβάς δ' ἐπει τὸ λαιόν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Δίνυοις καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίσπευεν, ἐπάγων ἀμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατ' ἔκδον δ' αὐτὸν τὸ Ἐκιπτίων ἀντιπαρῆγγε μεθ' ἐτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἄγωνα συνιόντων, ἔρις ἦν τῶν ύφ' ἐκατέρῳ λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ ὄξεως οὖνσ οὖνοι τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

45. Μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἵ στρατηγοί τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ἀρμῶν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοιο ὡς ἐν σφίς τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἤκοντισαν ὅμοι, Σκιπίων μὲν Ἅννιβά θον τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ' Ἅννιβάς ἔτυχε τοῦ ἱπποῦ. 468
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 ἤππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἔξεφερεν ὅπισώ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβὰς ἔτερον ἤππον αὕτης ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἥκοντισεν. ἀλλ’ ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἤππεα τὸν ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἤκε δ’ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσους πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὀρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενου, καρτερώτερεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέτεσον καὶ ἐτρέψατο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον ὑπὸ διαπιεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένον στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὕτης ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἐτὶ ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογυνοὶ οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντες, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἐτὶ καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίζας Ῥωμαίοις ἀτε διόκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄλληλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο αὕτης ἐς μάχῃν. οὐτε δὲ ἤππων σφίσι παρόντων οὕτε ἀκοντίων ἐτὶ ὦντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἄλληλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φῶνος τε ἤν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιροῦντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ καὶ φεύγοντιν εἵποντο, κρίσις τε ἤν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

46. Καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἤππεών Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστώς, προσδραμὼν ἡξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ πεῖσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκοσιν, ἐλπίζας ἐργάσεσθαι τινα παλυνδώξιν. πρὸτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἐτὶ οὕτος ὁ ἄγων Μασσανάσσου καὶ

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horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, carried Scipio towards the rear, until, mounting another, he again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him a second time and struck the horseman next him. At this juncture, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general fighting as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and had not been moved, and led them into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans, who were pursuing in disorder. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As, however, their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. There especially great slaughter ensued and terrible wounds were received, accompanied by the vaunts of the slayers and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Italians routed these also and followed them in their flight, and in this brilliant manner the war was decided.

46. 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
CAP. "Αννίβος συνεστώτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἦκοντισε βαλῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἐτυχε τοῦ ἱππον. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὄρμα, τὸν τε ἑπελαύνοντα οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἵππεα βαλῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἕλεφαντισθὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότοις ἑξείλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὖθις οὐδ' ὡς ἐπετύγχασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἵππεα καὶ ὅθε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐτερον δ' ἑξέλκων ες τὸν βραχίων ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ ὅλγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδείσε περὶ τῶν Μασσανάσσης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἥπειγετο καὶ ἦπρε τῶν Μασσανάσσης ἐς τὴν μάχην αὖθις ἐπὶ ἱππον φερόμενον ἐτέρον, τὸ τραύμα ἐπιδῆσαντα. ὥ τε ἀγῶν ἦν ἱσος αὖθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνι καρτερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκατέρων, ἦσος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἡθηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κάκεινος ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αὖθις οὐ συνείnte, τῆς δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἐκόντες καὶ ἐφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐκ ἦπερ ἱώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπτ' ἔχοιεν ἐκαστοί. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελυθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοὺς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδιώκον ἀπάκτως, οὖν' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνείντες.

47. Ὁ δ' ἐπανήγει πεφραγμένος Ἡθηρας καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων αὖθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
THE PUNIC WARS

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-
CAP. VII

λόφου καταβεβηκότων ὁδὲν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχέρως περιεγέρνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῇ δὲ τῆς πειρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἔφευγεν ἡδὲ σα- φῶς ἀπογυνοὺς ἀπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἵππεῖς ἀλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὅν ἐκ τῶν τραύματος, ἀεί τε πλησιάζου, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἄγαγεῖν Σκιπίων. τὸν δὲ νὺξ ἔρρυσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ' εἰκοσι ἵππεων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ἢ ὅνομα Θῶν, ἐνθα Βρεττίων ἐγνω καὶ Ἰβηρῶν ἵππεας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἱττῆς συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβηρῶν ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὀμοεθνῶν Σκιπίων, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὄν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίων, λαθῶν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἐνὸς ἵππεως, ὁ μάλιστ' ἔπιστευε. σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξὶ τε καὶ ἕμεραις, ἤκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητῶν, ἐνθα τι μέρος ἧν αὐτῷ στρατιάς σιτοφυλακοὺς. περι- πέμπουν δ' ἐς τὰ πλησίουν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

VIII

CAP. VIII

48. Σκιπίων δὲ νίκην ἄριστην νευκηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπιμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὡσπερ εἰώθασι Ρωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοὶ, χρυσίον δ' ἐς 'Ῥώμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἄργυριον δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια 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,
μένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἱχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Δαίλιον ἐξαγγελούντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεὼν . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδίειλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δώρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδον, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπίων ἔχειροῦτο. τὸ μὲν ὅθεν τέλος τῆς Ἄννιβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος εὖ Διβύη μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἄλληλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τούτ' ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἤρωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δ' ἐτί πλείους, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἱχμαλωτοὶ δ' ἑλήφθησαν ὁκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἰβηρεῖς ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὁκτακόσιοι.

49. Οὐπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ἐρωμαίοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστειλον Μάγωνι, ἔξωκοροιτὶ ἐτὶ Κελτοῦς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύνατο, ἢ ἐς Διβύην μετὰ τῶν μυσθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δὲ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς Ἐρώμην κομισθέντων, στρατιῶν ἄλλην καὶ ἔποιους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἐπέμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνῃ κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔπεπεμπεν Ὀκτάοιοι, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτῶς ἐπέπλειε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι τῆς ἠσσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὡς ἠγοῦτο Ἀννών τε οἱ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας οἱ ἕριφος, οἱ τὸ κηρύκειον ψηφιλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρέπειας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ώρεγον ἐς τῶν Σκιπίωνα ἰκετῶν πρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὕψηλοι προκαθ-
and the most distinguished of the captives in ships, and 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 Erophus, 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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VIII


dè μετ' οἵμων έαυτούς ερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν υπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελεύντων ὁ τι θέλοειν, Ὅσδρούβας ὁ ἐρίφος εἴπεν· 50. "ἐμοί μὲν ἐστιν, ὃ Ρωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἀννον τῶδε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἐμφρόνες, καθαρεύειν ἀμαρτημάτων δὲν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε· τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὖς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρίς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπουμεν. χρὴ δ' ἕμας μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἀπάντων, οἱ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἠτισαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὄμην. εἰς δ' αἱ πόλεις ἔπο τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ἄει παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἢ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πείσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφηρημένοις. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπεθείας ἢ εὐβουλίας, ὁ Ρωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἰ τῷ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἄδικημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἢ γεγονεν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐργον ἐκούσιον ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλῆν ὀλγον ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶν δὲ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκόντας ἀμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὲν θεῶν τις ἐρβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμών ὁ τὴν ἀγοραν ὑμῶν ὡς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγὼν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ
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 con-
demn 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
CAP. VIII

λιμός ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλο-
τρίων φρονήσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ
λογισμὸν αὐτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλῆθος ἀσυντάκτου
καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

51. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὂς ἄδικείν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ
ἄτυχεῖν, ὄμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ παρακα-
λοῦμεν. έστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄμαρτόντων
dikaiología, τῶν δὲ ἄμαρτόντων παράκλησις.
ἐφ’ ὡς ταχύτερος ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἔλεος,
tά ἀνθρώπεια ύφορωμένων, ὅταν αἰσθῶνται διὰ
tάς αἰσθήσεως μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντάς τοὺς
ἐχθές ἄδικείν δυναμένους. οὔτα καὶ Ἡ Καρχηδονίων
πόλις, ἡ τῆς Διβύςς μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη
ναιν καὶ χρήμασιν ὁμοῖ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ
στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἵππικῷ, καὶ ὕπηκόοις
πολλοῖς, ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ
Διβύςς πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνων καὶ νῆσων καὶ
θαλάσσης τοσοῦτος ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς
ἀμφιβολοῦν ἔπι πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν
tῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι
καὶ ἱπποῖς, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὅπν πάντων ὑμῖν
ἀφίσταται, τήν ἐπίτιδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ’ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἐχει τοῖς προπεπονθοῦσι κακῶς. ἀ
χρή θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τήν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς νέμειν
φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐ-
πραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφιτέρας αὐτῶν, ὁ Ἡρωμαῖος,
μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ
tύχης ἁξία πράσσειν, τάς τε τοῦ δαίμονιον μετα-
βολὰς ἀνεπιθυμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς
διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα
ἡ τὰ ὑμετέρα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἄξιε-
παίνα 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.
CAP. VIII

52. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἱ τοσοῦτοι μετάνοιαι καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ύφίστανται. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀναμαρτησίας τοὺς μὲν σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγινώναι. Βεβαιωτέρος τε εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς νεονεθητημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδόνιοις ύμᾶς ὁμότητα καὶ ἀμαρτίαν ἐπικαλούντας ταῦτα μιμεῖται τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχουσιν ἑτέρων ἀμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δὲ εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐστὶν. οὐδ' εὐκλεῖς, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ύμῖν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσοῦτο καθαρεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ περισσώξειν. ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ύμεῖς τῶν ύμετέρων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἣμεῖς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μᾶλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἄξιωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ύμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ύμᾶς ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τὸι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἄν ἄρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσοῦ λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους.

53. Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μεταστησάμενος αὐτοῦς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἁρίστων ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὡς δ' ἐκρίνειν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὥδε. "ἔστε μὲν οὐδεμίας συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπουδὰς ἠμῶν ύβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι

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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 ἐστὶ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τὶ δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογοῦντων; ἐς ἰκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μηδʼ ὀνόμα Ἀρωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἂν, εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλʼ ἑμεῖς μὲν οὔδε ποθʼ ὑμῖν ὀμοία ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Πόμη, παρεσπονδικότοι ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἁμαρτότοις, ἢ τε πόλει ἀπέλυσε, κάγῳ καταχθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατοπεδὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῖντας ἀπέτεμψα ἀπαθείς. χρὴ δ ὑμᾶς καταγιγνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἦγείσθαι. λέξω δʼ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψήφιει ὅ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

54. Δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, ἧν τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδὼτε Ἀρωμαῖοις χωρίς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἠρπάσατε πρῷν, ἡ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμῆν, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀφʼ οὗ ἀν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ ἐν δʼ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγονα χρῆ Λιγύων ἀποστίηναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ὑμᾶς ἔξαγαγειν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὀμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Πόμην ἐκάστου ἐτοὺς ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοικὸν τόλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς. καὶ μήτε ἐξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἐτι, μήτε Μασσανάσση μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ἀρωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐτʼ ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ γε τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσην ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἰχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Διβύνην. Ἀρωμαίων 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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VIII  φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἦν ἀρέσκη ταύτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δὲ, Ἦρωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Διβύθης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας. ἀνοχᾶς δὲ ἦν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ἦρωμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὁμηρὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παῖδας, οὐς ἂν αὐτός ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπουδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὁμηρά."

IX

CAP. IX  55. Ταύτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐφεροῦν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους ἔδοκε τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἀπάντων, τὸ δὲ ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρόν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὑπὸ ἔχουσι, τοσοῦτοι οὖσαι, ἡπείθουν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τοῦ σῖτου οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ἦρωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασκεῖν, ἐφ' ἐκαστὸν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἡπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρῆσειν. τέλος δὲ ἐγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ὡς πεζοὺς ἐξαισχυλίους ἅπτεας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δὲ ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἤκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιότων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἔκελευ τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ 486
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,
CAP. τόνδε ὑπ’ ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἥπειλεν, μέχρι τῶν γυνώρμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογινόντας.

56. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σίτων πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι ὑπὸ 'Αννίβου σεσώρευσθαι, ὁλκάδας ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεμπὼν καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σίτων λάβαςεν, ἐκστρατεύσαι καὶ ὑπομείναι πᾶν ὁ τι ἄν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἡ Ῥωμαίοις δούλευεν ἐκόντες. ἔπει δὲ ἁνεμὸς τε καὶ χειμῶν τᾶς ναῦς συνετριψαί, ἀπογινόντες ἀπάντων ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύονσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεμπὼς τοὺς συμβουλεύσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκείμενα. λέγεται δὲ τούτῳ ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβῶν, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνῆλιον Λέντλου τὸν ὑπατον ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δὸξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε νοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἀυτοῦ συνθήκεται.

57. Οἱ δὲ πάνιν μὲν ἦδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἡ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἡ τρίτην εἰχεν ἡγεμονίαν· οἱ σύμβουλοι δ’ ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σύν ὄργῃ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἦδη, καὶ ἁξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίδεσθαι. ὑπαναστάσις 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
Σκυπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν· "οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὡμότερα πράξωμεν, οἱ Καρχηδονίως ὡμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν ἂ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἐνεστὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ’ ἐσ’ ἀπασάν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὦστερον, ἦν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἢ καὶ νῆσων ἢρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ, ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς ἀγώσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικούσιν ἐρίζειν ἐδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθα καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ’ ἐν τοῖς εὐνυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δὲ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερότατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἅρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περὶ τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αὐτιῶνται, κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιπονώτατον, ὁ πάντας ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμοὺς.
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. Ἐγὼ δ' οὖκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων (οὔ γὰρ ἄξιον), οὔτ' ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθῆκας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ παραβῆναι: δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιοῦντες οἱ ἀτέρες ὡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προήλθον, εἰδότας ὡμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ὡμῶς τευχεῖ πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Δατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τοὺς τε αὐτ' ἐκείνους περιοικοῦντας ὡμῖν Αἰκανοῦς καὶ Οὐσολούσκους καὶ Καμπανοῦς, καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἐς σπονδὰς ὑβρίσει, εὐσταθῶς ἑφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυνιτῶν γένος τρὶς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρόνησαν, ἐτεσί δ' ὁγδοίκοντα μεγίστους ὡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκός οὖκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὡσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς 'Ιταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἐναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς 'Ιταλῶν 'Ἀννίβα προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οὐ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγονίσαντο, ἄλλα γ' ἑν' ἡμῶν ἵππας ταχὺς ἐτέσι μὲν ἐντυχίαν ὡμῖν χρήσιμον, μη' ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νοουθετεῖν.

59. Τὶ οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄλλαξομεν τὴν φύσιν, ἢ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὐτή; δι' αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐτί φείδοις ἄξια. ἄλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ὡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἐτεροί, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖς. ἄλλ' ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; δὲν νηέσ τε πᾶσαι χωρίς
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?"
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

60. "Α καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ύφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπείπειν δ' ὅτι καὶ Βραδυνόντων συνθήσεται. εἶκος δ' ἐκείνων καὶ τάδε ἅμειν ἡμῶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὅντα ἐπὶ τῶν έργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυρούντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγόν ἐξαίρετον, δς οὐδ' ἐς Διβύην ἡμᾶς ὀρμωμένους παρώξυνε τε, καὶ
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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 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 ἑκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὥς καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ῥαθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἁμέτρως. εἰ δὲ τις ταύτα μὲν ἤγεται καλῶς ἐχειν, δέδιε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπουδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἡδὴ σπουδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, εξ ἁστεβείας ἐς γόνιμον πεσόντας: οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβεβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτὶ ἱσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δὲ αὐthis ὡς ἀποστήναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσεσαι αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὐξήσειν τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερον ἐστιν νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὑστερον δ' ἀεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἀλλὰ δὲ κακῶν ἔξουσι καὶ χωρίς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἱ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἀεί.

61. Εἰ δ' ἀρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδεξεῖται τὴν Σκιπιώνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσειν, τὴν καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἴνα καὶ λάβωμεν ἀνελούμεν ἀρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ νὰς ἱρπασαν; ἀ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀλλων ἄξιούσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἤ τοῦτο μὲν οὗ πράξωμεν, νέμεσίν
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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. 9. ἔνθαν φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσση δ’ ἐχειν δῶσομεν; ἀλλ’ ε’ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρή στερροποιεῖν οὐδ’ ἐκείνον ἀμέτρου, ἢγεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔρυν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίῶν κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ’ ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ’ ἡ φυλάξουσα στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει· πολλὴς γὰρ, ὡς ἐν πολλαῖς περιοίκοις καὶ πάσι βαρβάροις, δησόμεθα. ἀλλ’ ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσούσδε Νομάδας; οὗ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἵπποι νῦν ἔτει δεινὰ πείσονται, ἣν δ’ ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἑσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ ἐπίθυμοι, χῶραν τοσῇδε καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττονα τῆς ἑμετέρας ἐχοντες. ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις. πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ.”

62. Ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου Δέντλου συγγενῆς τοῦ τότε οὔτος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαδέξεσθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὖτώς: “τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡς ἀνδρες, χρήσιμον καὶ ὁσοὶ δυνατὴν ἑτί καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρῆ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἵππον προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὔτε ὁ ἡμῖν καίρος ἐς τὸ λύσαι τὸν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδεῖότερος ἐστὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ὡς πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀποροί, πρὶν αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγωμι, οὐδ’ ἀμετρίας 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
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63. Οὗτοι Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηριας ἐπισφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἐνσπουδόν καὶ φίλην ἡμῶν, ἤβηθον ἐκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὗτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπῆκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθῆκη λαβόντες, καὶ ὀμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἰματίοις ἐκαστὸν ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεία συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεία ἀπέπνευσαν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπίοντα κατηκόντισαν. Αχερανθῶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σπουδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐπεβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχωςαν. Μάρκον τε Κορυῆλιον ὑπατον ἡμέτερον ὄρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Λιβύην 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.
CAP. IX. Λίιας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν. ἐκτείναν δὲ καὶ Ῥήγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν ἐτεροῦν ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐφρίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτούς. οὖσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεύων ἢ παρορκῶν ἐς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδρασε τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰς τε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶ συστρατευσάμενοι κατακαίνων, μακρὸν ἀν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὁτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἁστή. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τους μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύρας ἐπέβαινον, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις μυομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συμιστάντες καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἐναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ἄμυνον, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ παρῆσαν, ἐν δὲ Διβύῃ τὰς ναύς ἡμῶν διήρπαξον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδευον. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὁμότητα περίστειν.

64. Τούτοις οὖν τὸν ἔστιν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ' ἐτέρων, τοῖς οὐδέν μέτριοι οὖν ἢμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὅσπερ ἐφι Σκιτίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἁν ὄνομα Ρωμαίων ὑπολποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἢ δεξιὰ. ποία; τὸν σπουδὴν, τὸς ὅρκος δν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τὸς δὲ συνθήκην καὶ χάρις ἐς ἦν οὐχ ὑβρισάν; μὴ μυρησώμεθα, φησίν, αὐτοὺς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οί μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμοτητα, φησίν, αὐτῶν μὴ μυρησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὁμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἄξια. 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 νευκηκμένων, ώς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέ-
tρεψαν, σκεψόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὁ τι ἄν δῶμεν,
eἰσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι.
διαφέρει δὲ τούτου ἐκάτερον ὡδε. μέχρι μὲν
συντίθενται, παραβιβάζονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι,
πρόφασιν ἀεὶ τινὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν
αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι· τὰ δ' ἀμφίλογα εὑπρο-
φάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδώσωσιν αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰ
ὀπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν
γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν
ʔόδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβῆσται,
ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὁ τι ἄν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς
ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἔτερως δοκεῖ, τὰς
γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν εἰ δὲ συνθήκεσται
Καρχηδονίοις χωρίς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν
ὑμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίοις οὐσι περὶ
tῶν ἡμῶν κρίναι, τὴν γνώμην εἴπον, ἢν νομίζω
συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει."

65. Τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἴπεν· ἡ δὲ
βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα παρ' έκάστου ψήφου ἦτει, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον.
ἐγύρνοντο οὖν αἱ συνθήκαι, τρίται αἴδε, Ὁρμαίοις
καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μᾶλλον τοὺς Ὁρμαίους ἐναγα-
γέσθαι, εἰτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὖν καὶ λογισμῶν, εἰτε
ὡς ἀρκοῦν Ὁρμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφε-
λέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ
καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτῶν ἐς Ὁρμαίων συνφρον-
σμὸν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλου αὐτοῖς
φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπεῖν, 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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. IX  ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ. καὶ τὸ ὅτῳ
φρονήσαι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὗ πολὺ ύστερον ἔξειτε
τῶν ρωμαίων. Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρὰ μένοις κατὰ Ρώδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τούτω συνθέ-
μενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε θριαμβεύων,
ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

66. Καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ χρῶμενοι
διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσος. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν
ἀπαντες, ἤγονται δὲ σαλπικταὶ καὶ λαφύρων
άμαι, πῦργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν
eἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχῆματα τῶν
γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε
καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ ἐκ τοιούτου προσώπω ἄλλο, καὶ
στέφανοι ὅσοι τὸν στρατηγὴν ἀρέτης ἕνεκα ἀνα-
dούσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατό-
peda. Βοές ὦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο δε λευκοὶ, καὶ ἐλέφαντες
ήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βους, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ
Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐληφθησαν. αὐτοῦ
δ' ἤγονται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ραβδοῦχοι φοινικοῖς
χιτῶνας ένυδευκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε
καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μύμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς,
περιεξωσμένοι τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσῆν ἐπικεί-
μενος ἵσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ὧδης καὶ
μετ' ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτούς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι
(οἴμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἀποικοὶ. τούτων δὲ τις
ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδήρη περικείμενος καὶ
ψέλια καὶ στρεπτά ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται
ποικίλος ἡ γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολε-
μίοις. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῶ θυματηρίων πλήθος, καὶ ὁ
στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασι, ἐφ' ἀρματος
καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἐστεπταὶ μὲν ἀπὸ
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by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That 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
χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἐσταλταί δὲ ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένον, καὶ σκήπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν ἂν Ἰῳμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ᾽ αὐτῶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρμα παίδες τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηγορῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἥθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤσαν αὐτῶ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι ἡ στρατιά κατὰ τὲ ἱλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα: οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπίκεινται. καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων οὓς μὲν ἑπανοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκότουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν ἀφελῆς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὁ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἰστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

Χ

67. Καὶ τέλος εἰρέθη Ἦῳμαιοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ᾽ ἐν Διβύη ἔσ τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος στονδάς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἤσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκατόν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ἡῳμαιοίς ἀθρώοι ἐπέβαινε ἡ πολλὴ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένη ποτὲ έαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἦῳμαιοις παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἰρητο συμπράσ-
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
CAP. σειν ὃσα δύναντο Μασσανάσσῃ. οὔτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονίων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συνθῆκαι Καρχηδονίως καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αὖ διεμείναν ἐς ἐτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν ὃς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδῶν εἰρημεύουσα ὀμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἐκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

68. Καὶ εὐθὺς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἔρρωξάν, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε Μασσανάσσῃ. ἤγοντο δ' ἐκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἁρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἀρνὼν, τῶν δ' αἰρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀννίβας ὁ ψαρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων οἱ φυλάξαντες Ρωμαῖοις τε Κελτιβηρσὶ πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσῃ ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἔτερῳ Ἰβηρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα φοίνικαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιώντα, ἑπιθέσαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνουμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγη γῆ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐκτεινές τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαι περιῆλπα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβνας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται, μέχρι Ρωμαίων ἔτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπηλθοῦν ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὀμοίως εἰρήτῳ Μασσανάσσῃ βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαιώσαν οἴδε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ ὅσα προειλήφει, μετὰ τέχνης, ὅδε. εἴπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἱκουσαν, ἤνα μὴ τι ὡς ἐν δίκῃ Μασσανάσσῃ ἐλαττῶτο, εἰς μέσῳ δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας.
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. 69. Καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἐπεμπον ἔτερους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἱ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἥξιονι σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἱ πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπόπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἤδεσαν οὐκ εὑ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὔδέν χρήζειν δικών οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὡσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαινεῖται μόνα. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἐχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ήὔξητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφραζόν οὐ νήλου μᾶλλον ἡ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίον, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσίσδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ οἱ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὐ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιου οὐδὲ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν ἐσεσθαι πρὶν ἐξελείν Καρχηδόνα. ὡν 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.
Κ. πευθανομένη ἐκρίνε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἀπεὶ δ’ ἔχρηξε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. 
Κάτωνα δ’ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ γνώμη λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκυτῖωνα δὲ 
tὸν Νασικὰν τὰ ἐναντία ἁξίων, Καρχηδόνα ἔαν, 
ἐς φόβον ἁρὰ καὶ τόνδε Ὀρμαίων ἐκδιαίστωμένων 
ἡδη.

70. Καρχηδόνιοι δ’ οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ 
Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ζυγιον ἐπίνεγκαν 
φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δήμου ὠρκώσαν μήτε καταδέξησθαι 
pote μήτε ἀνεξέσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. 
oi δ’ ἐξελαβέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξωτρυποῦν εἰς πόληνον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 
oυτῶς ἔχον ἐπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα 
Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικύσαν, ἁξίων καταδέχεσθαι 
toús δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτως προσιοῦσι 
tὰς πύλας ὁ βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν 
dήμου οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδεκρύ 
σειαν. Γολόσση δὲ καὶ ἐπανύντη Ἄμβλχαρ ὁ 
Σαυνῖτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐκτεινευ, αὐτὸν 
dὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις 
tάσδε ποιοῦμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὁρόσκοπα. 
kαὶ τήσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθῆκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ 
Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντα 
κισχίλιοις, ἱππεύσι δὲ πολιτικῶς τετρακοσίους, 
Ἀσόρουβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατη 
γοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευν. καὶ 
πλησιῶσαν αὐτοῖς Ἀσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας 
ταξιάρχου τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τὶ 
toῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτο 
μολίαν ἱππέας ἀγοντες ἐξακισχίλιοις, οἷς ἐπαρθεῖσ
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, Guluessa 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 Guluessa 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
ο Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ο ἔδε Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ’ ὀλύγον ὀμα φεύγων, ἔως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὐ παυταχόθεν ἦσαν λύφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημα καὶ ἄγορας ἀπορία. τότε δ’ ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς: ο ἔδε Ασδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὅχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

71. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ὑζειν, Σκιπτίων δ’ ὁ νεώτερος, ο τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἐλών, ὑποστρατεύμενος τότε Λευκόλλως Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἁφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σῶματος ως ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελοῦμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παῖδων τισιν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ’ ἀμ’ ἐφ τῶν στρατῶν ἐξέτασσεν, ὕγοθικοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγονός ἐτη, ἱππεύων δ’ ἐτὶ καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνῶν τὸν ὑπ’ πον ἀναβαίνον, ὡς ἔθος ἑστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ στρατηγοῦν καὶ μαχόμενος, εἰσ’ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων οὖν μακροβιώτατοι. αὐτόν δ’ ὅσως ὁ τε χειμῶν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὑφ’ οὐ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαίον ὡσπερ Αἰθλοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατότατα ἢδε ἢ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν ἀεί. ὀλύγοις τε ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἀπλή τε καὶ εὐτελής. ο μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβὰς ὑπ’ πον διεκόσμηε τῶν στρατῶν, καὶ Άσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλήθος ἡ ἡ γὰρ καὶ τῶδε πολλοῖς προσελη-
accretion, 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
72. Πενυμένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ’, ἦν, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὁφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οίκλον ἐκ πάππου περιεῖπε θεατείυνων. ὅτερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἔδεισαν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφας συναλλάξαν ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτοὺς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ’ αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος ὁμ’ ὑπεστήσαν οὐδ’ ἀκούσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπράκτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔσ Ιβηρίαν ἔχον τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανεί, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὼν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ’ ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεί καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μακρὰν σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας δ’ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαίδευται τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένως ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεὶ 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
CAP. ἀγορᾶν δὲ ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐγώμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυθαθανόμενος ἄμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἔπιεναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ ἦλθον μὲν, εἰρήτῳ δ’ αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσότοτο, λύσαι τὴν διαφόραν, εἰ δ’ ἔπλεξενόν υἱῷ, καὶ παρεξῆναι.

73. Οἱ μὲν δὲ τῷ ἐαυτῶν ἐπτραξαί, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδροῦβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους έξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ’ ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἰτα τοὺς ἱππους ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποξυγίοις ἑθον, καὶ ἴμάντας ἑφούντες ἡθον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἵδει τὰς κατελάμβανον ἐκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινησίας ἔργων καὶ ὄρας ἐτούς· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἐν χωρίον καὶ στενῶν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύη θέρους. τῶν τε ἔξων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν ἐπιλυπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθυσκόντων οὐδεὶς οὕτ’ ἐξεφέρετο. Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνίεντος, οὕτ’ ἐξεκαίετο ἔξων ἀπορία. ὃ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολύς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνούσιν ὁδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις σώμασι. τὸ τε πλείστον ἦδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ τὸ ὑπόλυτον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίων τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐσενεγκεῖν, τοὺς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μᾶς πύλης του ἐχθροὺς καθ’ ἑνα διεξέλθειν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπιόου, χαλεπάνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε συνείδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δ’
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. X

έαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἵππεας ἐπέπεμψεν, οἷς οὖκ ἀμυνομένους, ούτε ὁπλοῦ ἔχοντας ἐς ἀμυνὰν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἐκτείναν. ἦκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περισσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρουβᾶς τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἔτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

XI

CAP. XI

74. Τοιώδες μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ἦρωμαιών. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπέσοντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτὸν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἐτὶ οὖτα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ἦρωμαιῶν δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ὃν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ἦρωμαιοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπηγγέλλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρειαν ὑπὸ λέγοντες, ὡς δ' ἦν ὦξινος ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἔπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβα Τῷ στρατηγήσαντι τούδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθαλῶν τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἶ τις ἄλλος ἐφίππῳ τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκεῖνος τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες. ἐς τε Ἦρωμην πρέσβεις ἐπέμπον, οἱ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυνωμένων αὐτοῦ

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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.

XI

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
CAP.XI. ὁδέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὡς δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἡσαν ἐξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἦπορουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνωκνία πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὥδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίοις οὗτο 'Ῥωμαίοις ἰκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες ἡρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἐφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, “ εἰ τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιήσετε ἹῬωμαίοις.” ξητούντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων δὲ τι εἴη τὸ ἰκανὸν, οἱ μὲν φοντο Ῥωμαίοις ἐθέλειν τοὺς χρήματι προσπεπιθέωντο τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὥρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσσῃ τῆς ἁμφιλόγου γῆς μεταστήμασιν ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γρῶναι σαφῶς δὲ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἰκανὸν. οἱ δὲ αὐθίνες ἐφασαν ἐιδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἴποντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

75. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δὲ, ἡ Διβύς μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὔρομος καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγας δαψιλεῖς, ἐξήκουσα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὐτὴ τότε ἀπογνώσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μίσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέμψεν, οἱ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ Βουλὴ
THE PUNIC WARS

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 ὀρμώσα τέ καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς οὔτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγευμένης ἐξέφηνε τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐπερ εἰώθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγοὺς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξεπεμπον, ἑπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανύλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Δεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρίνον, ὅς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέκτῳ μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυ̣σι δ' ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήκοντα, ἔκατον δ' ἡμιολίαι, ἀφράκτους δὲ καὶ κερκουρίς καὶ στρογγύλους πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατόν ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, ἁρίστους ἀπαντας· ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπίφανη στρατεύαν καὶ προὔπτου ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὤρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

76. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἡ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοι δὲ ἐνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφερὲ τοῦ τοῦ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πολεῖν ἐπὶ σφάς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίγνωσκοι αὐτῶν ἁπορία τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλεία προσφάτῳ τοσῆδε νεώτητος, οὐ συμμάχως ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἔτοιμους, οὐ σύτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνειγνυμένον, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν δυνάμενοι Ρωμαιοὶ τε καὶ Μασσανάσση. πρέσβεις οὖν ἔτεροι εἰς 'Ρώμην ἐπέμπουσιν αὐτοκράτορας, ὅτι δύναντο, 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

1 A light vessel with one and a half banks of oars.
CAP. XI. διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἁμερῶν τῶν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παίδας ἕς ὀμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τάλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐξειν Καρχηδόνα ἔλευθεραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ γῆν ὀσμὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν Αἰβύθῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα: ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἱδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

77. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευον, οὐκ ἔπι συνήθηκη βεβαιὰ τὰ ὀμηρὰ παρεχόντες· οία δὲ ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσῷδε, τὰς ἐπιτίδας ἐν ὦ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδὴ προλαβώντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παίδας ἤγον ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ κάλωτα τῶν μητέρων, αἱ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιῶδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτυσσον καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερονσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῶδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συμπλέκοντο καὶ τῶν πλοῶν ἐκώλυνον. εἰςὶ δ' αἱ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένευον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἠφορόσαι. αἱ δ' ἔπι τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἐκκοπτὸν ὡς ἑπὶ πείθην· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς ἐυπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὀμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδοσιν, ἐπ' οὐδεμιὰ συνήθηκη τῶν τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τούτο 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
μαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὄνησειν τοὺς παιδάς ἐκδιδομένους: ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὁμήρων ἢ ἀναγωγή τοιάδε τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὑπατοὶ διέπεμπον ἐς 'Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρείν ἐν Ἰτύκη.

78. Διαπλεύσαντες τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευν, οὐ μὲν πεζὸς ἐνθα πάλαι τοῦ Σκυπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κάκει πρέσβεων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προναῦθην ἐπὶ βῆματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ εκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μήκος πολὺ ὀπλοὺς τε ἔπισήμους ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἑφερον ὅρθα, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλουν. ἔπει δ’ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημήναι σιωπήν, ὅ δὲ κηρυξ ἀνείπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις προσίεναι, οἱ μὲν ἐσηγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βῆματος οὐ προσεπέλαξον, ἀλλὰ περισχοώνυσα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρήζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἐλεεῖνα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν τε πέρι τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλῆθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γη καὶ θαλάσσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογία δὲ ἐφασαν λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τού ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας, ἀλλ’ ἐσεφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ὁ Ἡρωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἢ τῆς ἠμετέρας μεταβολῆς δέντης ἔστω. κρατιστοὶ δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἔλεούντες τὸ σφέτερον εὐελπὶ ποιοῦντα τῷ μηδὲν ἐς ἄλλας
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
CAP. XI. τύχας ἀμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἀξία καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἡν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων.

79. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἑτετυχήκειμεν ἑχθρῶν, κόροις ἐστὶν ἄτυχημάτων ὡσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφηρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῶν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὠμήρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ’ ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἦρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οῖς ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαμοι ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὄρκος ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφότεροι ὁμόιοις. κακεὶνοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οῖς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἐγένοντο· ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἱ οὐδ’ ἐσ χεῖρας ἠλθομεν, τί τῶν τῶν συνθήκων αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἡξέως οὕτως ἐνεπεράσασθε τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγατε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἡ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἡ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἡ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἡ οὐκ ἔλεευοι τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθές ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσσῃ πεπολεμήκαμεν πολλά γε πλεονεκτοῦντι· καὶ πάντα δι’ ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ’ ἔχων καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἐδαφὸς ἐν ὑ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἀλλήν ἡμῶν ἀπέστα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν
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' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οὐ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἐτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὡτη θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τι οὖν ἐδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρας σὺν ὀμολογοῦντας μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν, ἕαυτοις δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατώντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὦ τι ἀν ξη-

μιῶτε, ταῦτα προντεύομεν, ἐπιδεεικται σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐσ ὀμηρεῖαν αὐτοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὐθὺς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευ, τὰς τριάκοντα προλάβοντες ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐστιν, ἢν παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὦμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἔαν καὶ αὐτὸ-

νομοῦ, κεκτημένην ἄ ἱχομεν."  

XII  

CAP. XII  

80. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κην-

σωρίνος δ' ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὦδε: "τὰς μὲν

αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, δ' Ἐκρη-

δόνων, προσβεύσασιν ἐς Ὀρώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς

συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; δ' δὲ ἐγεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν,

tοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δῆλοι, καὶ

ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προεῖπομεν τὰ ὦμηρα παρα-

λαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικε-

λεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὄμηρων τῆς τε

tαχυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς·
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XI. 

τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε πάντα ὅσα δημοσία τε καὶ ἁδια ἐκαστος ύμῶν ἐχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἥμων παράδοτε." ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν ἔθελεν μὲν καὶ τοίσδε ὑπακούσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ὁ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἦδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ὄρμαιοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορυνήλιος τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος Κορυνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανὸς ἐπίκλησιν παρελάμβανον εἰκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλίων, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἀπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ἐξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχίλιον. καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὡψ ἢν λαμπρὰ καὶ παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσσῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἰποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἀλλής πόλεως ἀμιστοὶ ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξειν. ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῶ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρίνος (ἢν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἰκανότερος τοῦ συνάρχου) ἀναστάς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρῶπᾶσας ἐπὶ πολύ, ἐλέξειν ὁδὲ.

81. "Τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ύμᾶς, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προδυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἦς τε τὰ ὁμηρα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρή δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόστητε γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συναγήτου κέλευσμα· ἐκστήτε τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας,
THE PUNIC WARS

of peace why do you need any arms? Come, CHAP. XII 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. οὔδομόντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγνωσταί κατασκάψαι." οἱ δὲ εἶτε λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῦς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἦπατημένου κατεκάλουν, πολλὰ τε καὶ δυσχερὴ κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐβλασ-φήμου, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ ἐκφρονεῖς ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μύσος πρέσβεων διερεθίζοντες. ἔσ τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κε-φαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἐτύπτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἐπερρήγυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνυδρεμένου. ἔπει δὲ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἴστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλή καὶ κατήφεια ἡν ὁλα νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνώ-κεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύ-σαιντο ἀγανακτούντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκ-πλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ ἀνάγκη. ὃ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἐς ἐπαύσαντο, ἄνεκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεβρῆσαν έαυτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας εἴς ὁυμάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἀνθρωπὸν ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλά. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κακεῖνοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἢν τε παμμυγής καὶ ἐλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζοῦντων ὁμοῦ τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους 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.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

82. Τοὺς δὲ υπάτους ἐσήμει μὲν οἰκτός ἀνθρωπινὴς μεταβολής, σκυθρωτότι, δὲ ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄδυρμῶν ἐληξὰν, αὐθις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἦ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἀνοπλὸς ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ εἴρος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἀνδρᾶς οἰκεῖους ἰκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἐναγχὸς διεφθαρμένων, ἤενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἡ φίλος ἡ σύμμαχος ἡ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηται τὸ ἀστὺν ἔνοπλοι ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἱπποῖς, Μασσανάσσης δ' ἐχθρὸς ἔτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβοι μὲν ἐτί καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἀφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὐθίς ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ὃ Τιγίλλας ἐπάφυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὁν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας ἑπεῖν ἐλέξεν.

83. "Εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρήμενον ἐτί πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀντιχώσιν ἀντιλογία), ἀλλ' ἴνα μάθητε ὡς ὁκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἀλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Διβύτης ἄρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὑπί τι πλείστης, περὶ ἤγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδωμεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἶχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὠμομοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῖν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὄρκων, ὀμόσαντος ἐσέσθαι Ῥωμαίους.
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 disputation 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. Καρχηδονίους συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἐστιν ἐς ταυθ' ὁ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχωμεν, οὐκ ἔλεφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγιγνώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρόθεν εἶπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ὑπείτει: αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἀμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατότερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδέν ἔτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, ὁδ' τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἀπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὃν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτῆς τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὁ ὑπατοί, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρες ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὅμηρα ἦτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγάμομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ἦτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὃν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἐκόντες μεθίενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἥθει καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἔσαειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντως, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτῆματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι προσαγορεῦσαι, εἰ δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς κατασκαφῆν, ἢν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, τῶς ἐλευθέραν ἐτὶ ἀφήσετε ἡ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;

84. Τάδε μὲν εἰχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίμενεν ἀπαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐστὶ λοιπὸν, ὃδιπο-
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 asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in the Romans' habits and character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage 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 you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

84. “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
μεθά καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλῇ δ' ἡ ἱκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπέρ τε τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρ-χαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνωφυσμένης, καὶ ὑπέρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθοῦσης, καὶ ὅνοματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὀλίγη, ὑπέρ τε ιερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντων, οὔς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπᾶς καὶ ἔορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἑναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ύμῶν ἐτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰμῶν ἐστιν ἔλεος (φατὲ δὲ καὶ ἰμᾶς ἔλεεὶν οἱ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φεύσασθε πολιτικῆς ἐστίας, φεύσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φεύσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα τοῖς ἐτι ξῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τι γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἐστιν ύμῶν ἐτι Καρχηδόνος, οἳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἰμῶν καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἑλέφανται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ τούτῳ ἐς παρηγορίαν ἰμῶν προτίθεσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον, ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἥπειρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θάλασσασιβιῶτοις, ὅν ἁπειρόν πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ύμῶν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν ἰμῶν καὶ εὐκλεστέραν ύμῶν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐατὲ τὴν οὖδενος ύμῶν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἰμᾶς οὔς ἀνοικίσετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὔτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσῃ.

85. Δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ πάντα ἐργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν εἰ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οῖς ἄν ἀεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε· μὴ δὴ, πρὸς Δίος καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὀσοί Καρχηδόνα ἐτι ἐχουσί τε καὶ μὴ ποτε μνησικακίσαειν ύμῶν μηδὲ
there is ample occasion in the abundance of our Chap 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
παισιν ύμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ύμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλλοντες, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τῆν εὐκλειαν ύμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκοῦσθήναι, παρὰ τε πρῶτοις ύμῖν εὖ ἄπαντος τοῦ βίου γεγονότοις. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἔλλησιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάρους, πολλοὶ δὲ ύμῖν, ὃ 'Ῥωμαιοὶ, πρὸς ἐτέρους· καὶ οὐδὲς πὼ κατέσκαψε πόλιν χείρας τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδόθησαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλής ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ' ύμῶν ὀρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπεῖαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ύμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ύμᾶς υβρίσατι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρήσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἐχεῖν, ἐς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεσθῆναι. βραχὺ δ' ὀρᾶτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἑσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν. ύμῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἡ νῦν ἡ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιγίγνεται." 86. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οὗ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δῆλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἔλεξε "περὶ μὲν δὲν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τὰ δὲ πολλάκις λέγεων προσέταξε γὰρ, καὶ χρῆ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἥδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκεκλεύσουμεν, ἔδει μόνον εἶπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ' ὦφελείᾳ κοινῆ,
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
τάχα μέν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὥς Καρχηδόνιοι, γίγνεται, οὐκ ὅκνησώ καὶ τοὺς λογισμούς ὑμῶν εἴπειν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθήναι μᾶλλον ἡ βιασθήναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἤδε, μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἄρχης καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν ἑπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελία τε γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπολέσατε· ἐσ τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφήρησθε. ἐν τε ταῖς συνθηκαῖς ἐλήξεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μάλιστα, ὅνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἀλοίποις ποιηθῇ ἡμῖν ἐδοτε Σαρδώ. οὔτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφηρέθητε διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἦ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας αἱ τοῦ πλέονος ὑρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυργίαν.

87. Ὅ καὶ Ἰβηρναίοις, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοὶ, μάλιστα ἡνύξεσε τε καὶ καθεῖλεν ἐοίκε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἢ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαιν. ὥστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους δὲν ἐπεμιηθήνην, ὅτι τὴν ἄρχην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ὡς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπεστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἄρχην ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθήναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώρας παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολέμιοις, καὶ φρουράν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν αὐτοῖ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἥπειρωταί τότε κάκεινοι γενέσθαι. ὦ καὶ διήσωσεν ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτοὺς. εὐσταθέστερος γὰρ, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, ὡς ἦπείρῳ βίος, γεωργία καὶ ἱσχύα προσπονῶν καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν ἰσος τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τὲ
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 ἢ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μάλλον ἢ γῆ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχοὺσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρπούσθαι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ὡς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τούτ’ ἀρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασίλεια ως ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μέγιστα ἑγένοντο τὰ Μῆδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἑτέρων.

88. Ἀλλὰ βασιλεικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παῦομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἐτί διαφερόντων ἐστὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν Διβύνην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκίνδυνως βιοῦσιν. ὡς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἐσέσθη, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς όψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλοῦντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν κεφὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορώντες ἀναμμηνήσκησθε τοῦ πλῆθους ὃν ἐίχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαβώρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οὕς γε τοὺς λιμένας κατῆγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμεία ἐνετίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ὑπῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτων παρφικοδομημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεία ὑμῖν ἔστιν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύνασθε; πάθος ἐστίν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἢς ὁμιὰ ἐνι μετασχεῖν ὑμῖν, ἢ μὴ τὴν ὅψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τοῦτον σαφέστατος ἐλεγχος, 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
CAP. XII eίτε, δει τήσδε τῆς πόλεως υμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶν- 

de καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπου 
eἰργασμένων. καὶ τῇ ἐτὶ φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημ-


μένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ 


λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη, μόνα δ' ἐξήρησθε Διβύης 


ἀ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἦμῖν, 


φέρετε, καὶ ἐργῷ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Διβύην, 


ἤν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ βαλάσσης ἐκστάν-


τες, ἦς ἀπέστητε.


89. Μηδ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἔστιας καὶ 


άγορὰς καὶ τάφους· ὃν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, 


καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς 


θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. 


οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίως θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τεῖχεσιν. 


ἔστιας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνι καὶ μετελ-


θόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κάκεινα υμῖν ἔσται 


πάτρια, ὁ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες 


ηλλάξασθε Διβύην, τὰ τε ἐπικτητα ὑμῖν τότε 


γενόμενα υἱὸν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ 


μάθοιτε ἄν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἄλλ' ἐπὶ 


βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε 


προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμμηνησθεῖτε ὅτι καὶ "Αλβην 


ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἄλλα μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ 


δυσμεναίνοντες ἄλλ' ὡς ἀποικοὶ προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ 


συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετωκίσαμεν ἐς Ρώμην, καὶ 


ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέρους. ἄλλ' εἰσὶ γὰρ υμῖν ἐτὶ 


χειρώνακτες πολλοὶ βαλασσοβίωτοι. καὶ τούτου
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XII

πεφροντικαμεν, ὡς ἀν εὐκόλως ἐπιμιγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὥραιων διάθεσιν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοντες εὐμαρήτως ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τὴν θαλάσσην, ἄλλῳ ὁγδόηκοιτα σταδίοις ἀναδράμειν κελεύομεν. ἦμεις δ' ταύτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἕκατον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίων δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὅ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὃ προελέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἦμῖν. Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἤγοϋμεθα.

XIII

CAP. XIII

90. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἴσχυσασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων ἐπείπεν. "ἀ µὲν ἑδειπείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν, εἰρηταί; τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δει γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἀπίτε οὖν· ἐστε γὰρ ἐτι πρέσβεις." δ' µὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐσεσθαί προορῶντες, ἤτησαν αὕθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν "τὸ µὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὀρῶμεν" οὺ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε ἢς 'Ῥώμην. ἦµεις δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι µὲν πρὸς ὑµᾶς οὐκ ἐλπίζοµεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐτὶ λέγοντες ἀπολείσθαι· δεόµεθα δ' ὑµῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν (ἐσµὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἐτοιµοὶ) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτής ἐτι

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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 δύνατο καταπλαγεῖσα τᾶς συμφορᾶς ὑποστῆναι. περιστησάτε αὐτῇ τὰς ναύς ἕως ὀδεύοντες ἁπίμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὑν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἄν ἀρα δύνωνται. ἐς τούτῳ δ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφίκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναύς ἔπαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἄπησαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρίνος πεντήρεσιν εἰκοσι 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 τεῖχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὅποτε ἦξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἡχθοντο, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ' ὑπῆντων ἐτὶ προσιόσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὀρώντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἐκαστον, ὡς εἰχὲ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφον τε καὶ τυπθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὔδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνόμωζον ὡς ἐπ' ὀλθῆρφο σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανόμωξον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὔδεν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὀλύγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτους, ἐπιτύπτοντες ἀθρόοι, ὀλύγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτο ἑφασαν, ὅτι χρὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀδοποίουν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θάσσου μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθον, ἦ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνηδρευον
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
ἔφ' ἐαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπῆγγελλον πρώτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοή τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δὴμος ἔξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπήγγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὁσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσαι παραίτομενοι, αὖθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγή βαθεία, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενοῦσης, καὶ ὁ δὴμος αὐτὴ συνεσιώτα. ὡς δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠλάλαξαν ἐξαισιόν ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δὴμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

92. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούδε ἦν οἶστρος ἀλογὸς τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἶνον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάρθεσι φασὶ τὰς μανιάδας ἄλλοκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἔξαρχοι τῇς ἐνέδρας ἡκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακὰν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἔτεροι δὲ τοὺς 'Ιταλοὺς, οἱ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς τε ἁμα παλ ὄργης καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἢ πόλεις ἔνεπτεπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἀσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὄνειδίζον ὡς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσαι δυναμένους. ἔτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀπλοθήκας ὑντες ἔκλαιον, ὁρῶντες κενὰς· οἱ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέντες ὀδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἀπίστοις ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐκδεδο-
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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XI

 Mülleras. Kai tá ónómatá tines tôn élefánton ánekályoun ós été parónton, toûs te proróvous kai sfás aútous éloèdoroun, ós déon múte vàs múte éléfántas múte fórous múte tá ópola para-

dóntas àpobaneîn svn tî pátridi óplisi smeîn. múlìsta ò aútous ès órghîn ánèkaios aì mèteres aì tòv ómîrôn, óià tînes èk tragoðías èrivûs èntughánousai met' óloungîs èkàstos, kai tîn èkdoaie tòn pайдôn prôferousai kai tîn èautûn àpôrrhôsion èpegeîlou te aútous ós òtheûn òmno-
ménûn aútous àntî tòn pайдôn. òlîgou ò 'íson èsofrónei, tàs pûlas ápêkleie, kai tà teîchos líthôn àntî katalpelton èplîrîoun.

93. 'H ðè boullh polémieîn mèn ëfhfíóstatos aútîs ìmeras, kai toûs dòûlous èkîrûxeî èleuðérous eiînai, stratêghouz ðè èîlon tòv mèn èxw práxeoun 'Astroûbav, ò ðànavos èpîkîrhukûsos ònî, èxouta dîsmuðîon òdeî sývoudon àndrôv kai tis èxèteîxen aútov deîsómenos mhî mnhsikakîsai tî pátridi ènèos chàto kivdûnou, mhède, òn ùp' ònângkhîs ðîkîthi 'Rômaiw déî, vín ânâfèrên. ènîs ðè teîxhîw òrhêî stratêghos èteros 'Astroûbas, thûgatîrîdous Mâssanâssou. èpemîsîan ðè kai ès toûs ùpátoûs, aîtoûntes ìnhîs ìmerow tîràkînta ànoxhâis, òna prèsbeîseîan ès 'Rômhn. àpontxhîntes ðè kai tòte, èpi thauamastîs ègînûnto metabôlês te kai tòlmhîs ótîouîn padeîn màllhon é tîn pòlin èkli-
pêîn. tachû ðè kai thârsous èk tîs metabôlês èpîmplantô. kai dîmiourgeîa mèn tà ðhâmsià témeîn kai ierà pànta, kai èi tî òlllo eûrîxhîroûn ònî, ègèneto: eîrîgàçînto ðè òmôu àndres te kai ynnâikes ìmeras te kai vuktos, mhî ànâpanômenei

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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
καὶ σίτον αἰροῦμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὅρφι τακτῷ, 
θυρεόν ἐκατόν ἦμέρας ἐκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια 
καὶ καταπελτικὰ βέλη χίλια, σαυνία δὲ καὶ 
λόγχας πεννακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀσοὺς 
δυνηθεῖν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν 
τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἑτέρων ἀπορία.

94. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρα-
σκευῆς ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ὅκνῳ,
μὴ εὑθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτου, ἀμα δὲ 
καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὐδαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ 
κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγοῦμενοι, διέμελλον ἐτὶ καὶ 
ἐνδώσειν αὐτοῖς ἑνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, ὅλου ἐν 
τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεὶ, εὑθὺς μὲν ἀντι-
λέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβοι 
ἀπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων. ἀ καὶ τῶν Καρχη-
δονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἦδη τὸ δέος 
ἀπτεσθαι, ἑτόλμησεν ὅς ἐπὶ δὴ τὶ ἄλλο παρελθὼν 
ἐς τὸ μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι 
τὰ μετριώτερα, ὅντας ἄνοπλοις, οὗτοι σαφῶς 
ἐιπὼν τὰ τῆς γυνμῆς. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἦχθετο 
Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων 
δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἐώρα τῷ 
ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε καὶ οὐ κοινώ-
σαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὅς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι 
πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὡμως δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων 
ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλοῦντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, 
ἐφὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, όταν αὔσθηται 
δεομένων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἦρετο εἰ 
τινος ἦδη δέονται. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ 
σοβαρόν, ἦδη δὲ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμεναῖ.
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
CAP. vouti, ἀπεκριναντο προσπήμψειν ὅτε δεηθεΐεν. 

perὶ δὲ ἀγορὰς τῶν στρατῶν καὶ πάνω ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμηνοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης: τὰ γὰρ ἐκ μοιπᾶ Διβύνης ἦν ἐτί πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδροῦβα, θείου ἐκείνου ἀγορὰν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. ὄλγων δὴ ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεὶσοι ὕμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι προσήσαν ἀμφῷ τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκενασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

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CAP. 95. Ἡν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, 
χερσονήσῳ τι μάλιστα προσεοικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ 
αὐτὴν ἄπο τῆς ἡπείρου διείργετο, εὐρός δὲν πέντε 
καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταινία 
στενῆ καὶ ἐπιμῆκης, ἡμιστάδιον μάλιστα τὸ 
πλάτος, ὁπὶ δυσμᾶς ἐχὼρεῖ, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ 
τῆς θαλάσσης ... ἀπλῷ τείχῃ περίκρημνα δύνα, 
τα δὲ πρὸς μεσημβριάν ἐς ἡπείρον, ἐνθα καὶ ἡ 
Βύρσα ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῷ τείχετο. τοῦτον 
δ' ἐκαστὸν ἢν υψὸς μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς 
ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διπλέθρου δια-
στήματος αὐτοῖς τετράροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος 
δὲ ποὺδὸν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ' ἢν ἐκάστου 
τείχους τὸ υψὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι 
καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευν ἐλέφαντες 
τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν 
τροφῶν, ἰπποστάσια δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἢν τετρα-
κισχίλιοι ἵπποις, καὶ ταμιεῖα χίλιοι τε καὶ 
κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαι πεζοῖς μὲν ἐς

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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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XIV

δισμυρίους, ἱππεύσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. το-
σῆδε παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν
ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἡ παρὰ τὴν
γλῶσσαν ἐκ τούτῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας
περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενής ἦν μόνη καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ
ήμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

96. Οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ
ἐστπλου ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐς εὐρος ποδῶν
ἐβδομήκοντα, ὥν ἀλάσεσιν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς.
ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόρους ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα
ἡν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν
μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρῆτισι μεγάλαις ἢ τε νῆσος
καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεφρῶν τε ἐγέμον αἱ
κρηπίδες αἴδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἰκοσὶ
πεποιμένων, καὶ ταμείων ἐπὶ τοὺς νεφρῶις ἐς
τριήρητικὰ σκεύη. κύονες δ' ἐκάστου νεωσοίκου
προδόχον Ἰωνίκολ δύο, ἔσεικόνα στοάς τὴν ὅψιν
τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νῆσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ
δὲ τῆς νῆσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποίητο τῷ ναύαρχῳ, ὅθεν
ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα
προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἐκεῖτο δ' ἢ
νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἔστπλου, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἱσχυ-
ρῶς, ὡς δ' τοις ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα
ἐφορᾶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανής ἢ τῶν ἐνδο
ἡ όψις ἢ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὖν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασι
ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἢν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τείχος
τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλῶν περιέκειτο, καὶ πῦλαι,
ἀι τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

97. Οὐτῷ μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων
ἡ τότε, οἱ δ' ὑπατοί διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἴσεαν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς

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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
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XIV

ηπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχύσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἔπ' ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ υψηλὰ τείχη. Κηνσωρίνος δὲ κλίμακας ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελῆ τοῦ τείχους γοινιὰν. ἁμφω δ' ὃς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν, ἔως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καυνὸις καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὕθως αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἄντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἁμαχὴ λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὃς δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὖθις ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ δεδίτες 'Ασδρούβαν ὀπισθεὶς σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδεύμενον, ὁχύρων καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρίνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοὺς τείχεις τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὥσ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, ο Κηνσωρίνος ἐπὶ ὕλη ἐς μηχανάς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ὕλοτόμων ἐς πεντακόσιος ἀνδρας ὡπλά τε πολλά, Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἰππάρχου, προσπεσόντος, δ' Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὁμος τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρον ἁμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμάω καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλῶν, ἀπέγνω μὴδὲ ἐπιχειρεὶν ἔτι ταύτῃ.

98. Κηνσωρίνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἱνα εὐρύτερον εἶη, δύο μηχανὰς κρισφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τῇ μὲν ὀδουμένην 568
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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.
CAP. XIV ἐξακισχίλιοις πεζοῖς, ἡγούμενων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑρετῶν, ἡγούμενων καὶ τοῖς ναυάρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὡς ἐν ᾗσι καὶ ὀμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσε τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἡδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὧς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ψυκόδομοι. οὐκ ἀρκούσης δ' ἐσ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδι-ότες περὶ τῷ ἡδη γεγονότι, μή καὶ τούτῳ μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότευκτον καὶ ὑγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἔξεδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανή-ματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα (οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπι-δραμόντων), ἀχρεία δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχόρον. ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὅρμη διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὐπώ τελέως ἐγγεγριμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τι πεδίον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ὧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἐστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὁπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἐτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέτες ἐπὶ τῶν περικει-μένων οἰκίων ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδρα-μεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐτι μᾶλλον ἱρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ θρασέως ἐπετήδων. Σκιπίων δὲ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγων εἰλὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τούτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χυλιαρχῶν τότε ὥκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελών, καὶ στῆσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχιου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἰα, τοὺς 570
under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. The two detachments, 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

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Chap. XIV

Roman rams destroyed

Scipio the younger
CAP. \( \text{XIV} \) dē ēselethōntas ēξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξῃς ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

99. Κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦν ἐπὶ λίμνη σταθερῷ καὶ βαρέος ὦδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγάστοις, οὗ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γύνοιτο πνεῦμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου ἐيلκον ὑπὸ τοὺς τείχεσι, οὗ καθορόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπὸ κάλων εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἐμελλὸν γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θείον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλῆσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναὸς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὅλιγον τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνσωρίνος μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὥχετο ἄρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μαυλίῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειτο· καὶ νυκτὸς, οἱ μὲν ὁπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ, σαῦδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μαυλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα δίεσπον. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἐνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἐνθα σύδεις πόλεως, καὶ περιδραμῶν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῶδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισσῶσαί Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.
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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.
CAP. XIV 100. Ὅ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄχυρον, τεῖχὸς τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτεῖθες καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἔγειρον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγοράν τραπεῖς δὲ ἐσ τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεύσι δισχιλίοις τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθηε, ξυλευόμενος τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων. ἦγεῖτο δὲ ἀεὶ τῶν προνομενόντων χιλίαρχος ἔτερος παρ' ἐτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἱππαρχος ὁ τῶν Διβύων, νέος τε δὲν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἱπποὺς χρόμενος μικροῖς καὶ ταχέως, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδέν εἰη, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεῖσει, καὶ λιμὸν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχμαις ἢ φάραγξι, ὅτι τι ἀμελοῦμενον ἵδοι, ἐφίπτατο εἴξ ἀφανὸς ὡς τις ἀετὸς, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα: ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἀρχοι, οὐδαμοὶ οὐδ' ἐπεφαίνετο. Ὅ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ῥγε τοὺς πεζοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἑπεέας τῶν ἱππῶν ἐπιβεβηκότας· ἐν τε ταῖς προνομαις οὗ πρὶν διέλυε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον, ὅ ἐμελλε θερεῖν, ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τότε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἐτέρας ἱλας ἱππέων ἀεὶ περιήει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀποσκιδάμενον ἢ ἐξίοντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαξεν.

XV

CAP. XV 101. Ὅθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρετο μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου τούδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ἡμίετο τῷ Σκιπίων, οἱ δ' ἐτεροι χιλιαρχοι 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.

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
ελογοποίονυν ξενίαν ἐκ πατερών εἶναι Φαμέα πρὸς Ἑκατίωνα τὸν τοῦτον πάππουν. Διβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρούρια, ἀ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλιάρχοι σπευδόμενοι καὶ μεθεντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὡ δὲ Ἑκατίων έσ τὰ οἴκου παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ὡς Ἑκατίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὕδεις. τοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἄνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἱδίοις δ᾿ ὅλγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προομῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθευσαν τῷ ἐπινεῖῳ καὶ ἥμαρβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούσι τοῖς ἐκπληξίᾳ τῶν ἐν ἀστεί Καρχηδόνιον, ὡ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἐνδοὺ συνείχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ· ὡ δὲ Ἑκατίων ἑπτέων Ἰλάς δέκα λαβὼν ἐπήγγε μετὰ δάδων ἡμιένων, προειπῶν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιπέρεχεν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἑπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβου ἐμπεσομένων παρέχειν ἀεί, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διεχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Ἑκατίωνοι κατορθώμασι προσεγγίσατο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πάσιν ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἅξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἐλόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑκατίωνοι, ἐς οὖς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

102. Μανίλιον δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὄδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐδυσχέραινεν ὁ Ἑκατίων ὄρων πάντα ἀποκρήμνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ
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report that there was an understanding between CHAP. Phameas and Scipio, arising from 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,
CAP. ύψηλά προεἰλημένα. ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένητο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἐσ τῇ ῥέμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἄλλου καίρου καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ξῆλον αὐτὸν τῶν ἐτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγομένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑδόνες ἀναχωρῆσοσιν, ἐν δὲ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἥξιον στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐγείραι, ὡς εἰ βιασθεῖν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὁποί καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλοι, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἡττηλήσεων ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἄλλα Σκιπίων ἀρχοι. διέβαινεν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τὰλλα ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἡν πολὺς ἐξ ἐκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἐνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφηδρευεν ἀπιούσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ρέμα ἐν τάξει δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὄλγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διηρύνυτο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἐκτεινεν οὖν ἀμυνομένων ἄλλα φευγόντων. ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἷς τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.
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.
'Ο δέ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἵππεας οὓς εἶχεν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔθεσε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ἐπίγει σὺν δρόμω πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντας τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἰτ’ αὖθις ἔπιοντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδώντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἔπιεναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὡσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τούτῳ πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Δίβνες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦσαν τοὺς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ’ ἔφθασαν διελθεὶν τὸ ῥεύμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπείραι δ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ τούτῳ τὸν πόνον τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεὶσαι τοῦ ῥεύματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τινα λόφου ἀνέδραμον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ’Ασδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι ’Ρωμαίοι, ἕως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐμαθον, ἡπόρουν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἄπασι δι’ ὅλγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβούλια κρήσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσόνδε καὶ σημείων τόλμη παραβόλων. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἵππεων ἦλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἐφη ἐκείνους, ἡ χαίρον αὐτοῖς συναπολείσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς οὐδενε, δεδίότος πάνω τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς δ’ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ἐνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκοῦμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἀντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τούς δύο χαράδρα διείργεν, οἱ δὲ Δίβνες 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
μάλιστα ἐπέκειτο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς οὖπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν εἰς ὅδοιπορίας συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἰδε τὰς πέξας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθήκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ’ ἤδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὑπότας.

104. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιεσώσετε ἐν ἀπογρώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἴδοῦσα εἰς ἀέλπτον περισσεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισσώσαντα τοὺς ἑτέρους, μέγα ἡλάλαξαν ἡδόμενοι. καὶ δαίμονιν αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὁ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μαυλίδιος ἀνεξεύρηκεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφία, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδροῦβαν, καὶ παρῆκε πᾶσα τοὺς χιλιάρχοις. ὁ δ’ ἐρευνήσαμενος τὰ νεκρὰ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος εὑρὼν (χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλιαρχοὶ, τῶν ἐλλαττῶν σιδηροφοροῦντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτοὺς, εἰτὲ τὸ ἐργὸν ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἥγουμενος, εἰτὲ τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἢδη δεδώσε τε καὶ θεραπεύον. Ὁ ρωμαῖος δ’ ἀναξενυνύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδροῦβα ἐπέκειτο
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-
CAP. Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταίσμα θορυβουμένου· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

XVI

CAP. ΧV Εν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδο- σοῦτας αὐτῇ ὁ Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνεύρισμα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένον τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τῆς εὐπραγίας, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στράτος ἀπασ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπὶ ἐκείνοις, ὡστ' ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρόσβεσις διεθρόγοσαν ἐς ἁπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὥρμην. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ τούτων μὲν ἔχαρι, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταῖσμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἐπεμπε, καὶ παρακάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὅ δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρόσβεσις οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμμων δὲ γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παίδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά, γυμνίσιοι δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φίλιαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλον οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ήρε μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχοις ἐπέσκηψε τοὺς παιοὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαίρῃ τὰ οὖντα.

106. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέλευσεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, ὃ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρίως
THE PUNIC WARS

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
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θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαίρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ’ ὥκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἄρχης ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμέρωσαι δὲ γῆν πολλὴν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγοῦντων διὰ τὸ ἁγεώργητον, θησαυροὺς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατίαν πολλὴν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ’ ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δὲ αὐτίον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενή 'Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιτώντα. ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὐρώστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειράτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἦππου τοῖς χωρίς ἀναβολέος ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷ ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὐρωστίαν αὐτοῦ πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παιδῶν γεγομένων τε καὶ ἀποθησκόντων, οὕποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραεῖς δὲ παιδίων ἐνευκοντούντης ὃν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ὡδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐπεθυμήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἐτέρας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινῶν ἄπεφηνε, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὃς ἐμελλεν ἀρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἐκαστος, Μικύρη μὲν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὄν εἰρηνικότατος ἦν, Κύρτην ἐξαιρετὸν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσσῃ δὲ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ’ ἤλικιαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναί κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβα δέ, δ’ νεώτατος ὃν ἦσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικαίειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἄμφιλογα.

107. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἄρχην 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 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 ambush 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, ούδέν δε ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοὶ
μελζοὺν ἐγήγεντο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς
ἀπίωσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐν τῶδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τις ἐκ τοῦ
Γολόσου στρατοῦ ἐφερε τῷ Σκιτίων. ὁ δ', ὡς
εἰχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ
λύσαντες ηὗρον: "ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἥμεραν ἐγὼ μὲν
τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι· σὺ δ' ἐλθὲ μεθ' ὁσῳ
βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι
tὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικυνούμενον." ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρίς
ὀνομάτων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνήκε δ' ὁ Σκιτίων
εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει
μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιτίων, μὴ τις ἀπάτη παρ' ἄνδρος
gένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας: εὐελπιν
δ' αὐτὸν ὅρων ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς
σωτηρίας δούναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν
dὲ μὴ ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ρωμαίοις τὰ
πρέπουντα ποιῆσειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέσθεν οὐδ' ἐπαγ-
γελίας: ο γάρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκεί-
μενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφ' ἐπιστεύειν
deξιομένῳ Σκιτίων, τᾶς δὲ χάριτας Ρωμαίοις
ἐπιτρέπειν. ταυτὰ δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέστασε τῆς ἐπιού-
σης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν Ἰλαρχῶν
ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπὶ τινα σκέψιν ἔτεραν, εἶπεν:
"εἰ μὲν ἠστὶν ἐτὶ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἔτοιμὸς
εἰμὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν· εἰ δ' ἐχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει,
ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἱδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ
πίστιν ἠλαβον ἐπὶ τε ἐμαντῷ καὶ ὅσους πεῖσαιμι
ὑμῶν, καίρος δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοί-
σοντα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἰπε, τῶν δ' Ἰλαρχῶν οἱ
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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
μήν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡμομόλοβοιν, καὶ ἐγένοντες πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισεκατον πέπεας· τοὺς δ᾽ Ἀννων κατεκόλυσεν, δὲ Δεόκος ἢν ἐπίκλησις.

109. Ἐπανύστη τοῦ Ἐπίνων μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στράτος ἀτήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκισίωνα ἡφίμοιον ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανιλίος δ᾽ ὑπερηφάνενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τῇ ἐπάνοδῳ αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἡγούμενος, οὐδ᾽ Ἀσφρούβαν ἐψεσθαι προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένουν, ἀνεξεύγνυνεν αὐτίκα δι᾽ ἐνδειαν, ἐπτακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαιδεκα ἕξον. τρισὶ δ᾽ ἄλλαις έχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σκισίων τὸν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς υφ᾽ ἐκατέρω λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβῶν δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ὡς πεδίον ἡπείχθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορᾶν ἤκε φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νῦκτα. Μανιλίος δὲ πυθομενός οἱ διάδοχοι ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσσωνα, προ- ἐπεμπεν ἐς Ρώμην Σκισίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναὸν καταδέοντες ἡφίμοιον τὸν Σκισίωνα, καὶ ἠχυχοτο ὡπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς μόνον αἵριστον Καρχηδόνα. θεόλητος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἢ ἢ δόξα ἐνεπιπτε, Σκισίωνα μόνον αἵρεσεν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ὡς Ἑρώμην ἐπέστελλον, ἢ δὲ βουλὴ Σκισίωνα μὲν ἐπήμει, Φαμέαν δὲ ἐτίμησαν ἀλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἦπης χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ παντόπλια καὶ ἀργυρίῳ δραχ- μαῖς μυρίαις, ἐδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνον ἐκατον ἀργυ- ρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκεύην ἐντελῆ· καὶ ἐπηλπίσαν περὶ πλεῖονοι, εἰ τὰ λυπᾶ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκποιήσειεν αὐτῶς. 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 co-operate with them to the end of the war. He
CAP. μενος ἔς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαιῶν στρατόπεδον.

110. Ἡκὲ δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὑπατος ἀμα ἤρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δεύκιος Μαγκίνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν οἱ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὔδὲ Ἀσδροῦβα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπίντεσε Ἀστίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἔτέραν δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρρησαν αὐτωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἰππάγρητα μετῆλθεν, ἢ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιστῶν τυράννου κατεσκέφαστο καλῶς, μέσῃ δ' οὕσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίων διαπλέουσαι. ὅθεν καὶ πάνω ἐπλοῦτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τὸ γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλου ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἦνυ, δίς δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἰππάγρητιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχοῦντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπρακτὸς ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

111. Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ σφίσε καὶ τὸ Ἀσδροῦβα στρατόπεδον ἀπαθές ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἰππάγρητα, Βιθύας τε αὐτοὶς ὁ Νομᾶς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἐπέσω ἀπὸ Γολόσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικὰψῃ καὶ Μαστανᾶβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἐώρων ὑπισχυομένους μὲν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνουτας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἀρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπηρθήσαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπῆσεν,
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 Hippagretra, 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 Hippagretra, 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 υβριστικὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιαζόμενος. ἦς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προὔφερον τὰ ἐσ ῾Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δις γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἐναγχος ἦς ῾Ιππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνου ἀνόπλου τε οὐσίς καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνήθαι κατασχείν. ἐπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικήνην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτούμοις Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοὶ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίσι μεθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαίοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομίζομενον ύιὸν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἑχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερὸς ὡς ὕπερ ἐλλειψάντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ἔλος τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐτι ἐφρόνουν ὑπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμίουντο. ἔπήρτο δ’ ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τὸ διὸς κρατήσαι Μανιλίου· τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβας τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοὺν ὡντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἥπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπ’ ἄδοκητῳ, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοὺς ὑποβάθρους κατέβαλον.

ΧVII

112. Ἕς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομενῆς τῆς τε Πίσιωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δήμος ἡχθετο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου 596
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 Hippagreta, 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.

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 ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ
tina διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἀπίστα πρότεροι
κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος
ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύη χελιαρχοῦντος ἔτη, μεμνημένοι,
kai παραβᾶλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε
ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου
φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὀρμήντο ὑπατον
ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ' ἄρχαιρεσια, καὶ ο Ἐκπιῶν (οὐ γὰρ πω δὴ ἥλικιάν
αὐτῷ συνεχόροιν ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν
μετή, καὶ ο δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἥρειτο. παρα-
nόμου δ' οὖν καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων
αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ
ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ρωμύλου νόμων
tὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἄρχαιρεσιών, καὶ τῶν
περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὄν ἐθέλοιεν.
tέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἐφη τοὺς ὑπάτους
ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μή σύνθοιντο
τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπείθετο
λύσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἐν αὕτης
ἀναγράψαι, οὗν τι καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, λύσωντες ἐν
χρεία τῆς ἀτιμίας τῶν ἀλόντων περὶ Πύλου,
ἐφασαν· "κοιμάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον." οὔτω
μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀγορανομίαν μετίων ἦρητο ὑπατος,
cαὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δρούσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦνθαι, μέχρι τις τῶν δη-
μάρχων ἐσπηγήσατο τῆς δη στρατηγίας τὴν
κρίσιν τοῦ δῆμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἴλετο
τῶν Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν
καταλόγου, ὁσοὶ ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων,
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
113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐστὶ Σικελίαν καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλευ. Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκης τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκίνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελούμενον ἵδων, οὐ κρημνῷ προοίκειτο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἦν καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἠλπίσει λαθῶν κλίμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μὲν, καὶ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνήλθον εὐτόλμους· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ’ ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέφεισαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοι τῇ καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. Βοής δ’ ός ἐπὶ νύκτι γενομένης, ὁ τε Μαγκίνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὅποι καὶ κοφόνους καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὀμιλοὺς ἀμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναύς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐβοηθώμενον ἀνοπλὸι τῇ καὶ γυμνοί. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὄντος, ἔχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ’ ἀπορῶν οἱ Μαγκίνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίῳ, ἀρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῶ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφᾶς φέρειν κατὰ στροφῆν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμελλεῖν ἀμ’ ἐω πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι. 114. Σκιπίων δ’ ἐσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκίνος 600
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
CAP. ΧVII

ἐγραφε, τὸν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἥχειν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁσοὶ συνελήλυθεσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβόωντας Ἰτυκαίων ὁσοὶ δὲ ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορᾶν ἐς τὰς τριήρεις καταφέρειν. Αἱχμάλωτα τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιτίωνα. ἐς τὸν Πίσωνα ἵππεας ἄλλοις ἑπ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐπέμπε, καὶ δόν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, όταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὅρθους ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἑστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκίων, ἀμ᾽ ἔρω τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μὲν, ὡς μόνους ἐίχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχίλιοι οὐσὶ, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη κατεκρημίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὁφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιτίωνος, ῥοθὺς τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσαι καὶ μεσταὶ πανταχόθες ὁπλιτῶν ἐφεστῶτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ἡσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλῶτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ὥμαλοις δ᾽ ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι· μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρήσαντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιτίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτᾶς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκίων μὲν ἔς Ῥώμην αὐτικὰ ἐπερήπη (καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος), αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα ἀφίκωντο Ἀσδουύβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ἐς ἅπαρχος ἐξαισχίλιοιν
to sound for battle immediately, and the heralds called 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,
CAP. πεζούς ἁγοντες καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνοι καὶ μελέτη γεγυμνασμένους.

115. 'Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὐκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὀρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄργιλαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἀλλὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἄγοραῖον, οὐ τῆς λείας χάριν ἐπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέρως συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἱοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμωις ἱγνωμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορ- ρωτέρω σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὖν, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφέρομεν, καὶ ὁσα διαρπάσειαν, ἑτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχὰς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγάς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὃν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζουν οὐποτε κρατή- σειν τῶν πολεμῶν εἰ μὴ τῶν ἱδίων κρατήσει, συνήγαγεν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς ἐπεπληξὲν ὦδε.

116. Ὁ Ἑγιάδος ὑμῶν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μαυλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπεθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἐδωκα πείραν, ἢν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολύσαι μὲν ἐς ἐσχατὸν ἐχὼν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὁφέλιμον δ' ἱγνούμενον προαγορέσωσι. ἢστε δὲ ἀ πρῶττετε· καὶ τί με δεὶ λέγειν ἃ αἰσχύ- νομαι; ηγιστεύετε μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαιδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρί- ξουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφᾶν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἐτι, οὐ νεανικ- κότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμών ἐξ ἄελπτον καὶ βραχέος, οὐ κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐτήρται

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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
CAP. \(\text{XVII}\) δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆς ῥα- 
στώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν 
ἐν ὑμῖν οὖσας ἐώρων, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐκόλαξον· ἐπεὶ δ' 
ἀνατίθημι ἐτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφύμεν τῶν μέχρι 
νῦν γεγονότων. ἦκο δὲ οὖ ληστεύσων ἔγωγε 
ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὗδὲ χρηματιοῦμεν πρὸ τῆς 
νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχθρον πρῶτον ἐξεργασόμενος. 
ἀπίτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὅσοι 
μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ' 
ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' εἶξονσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν 
δίδωμι, πλὴν εἰ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτῃν 
στρατιωτικὴν τε καὶ ψυλῆν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῦτος 
χρόνος ὁρισμένος ἐν ὧ τὰ ὠντα διαθήσονται, καὶ 
τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγώ καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἐπιμελη-
σόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσιον τοῖς περιττοῖς, 
ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἐν ἐστὼ παράγγελμα 
κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν έργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος: 
πρὸς γὰρ τόδε κατευθεύοντες αὐτοὺς οὕτε προ-
θυμίας ἀμαρτήσεσθε οὕτε χάριτος ἀτυχίσετε. 
χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ὧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ 
κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρέποντα καιρὸν 
ἀναθέσατε. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, 
καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἐξουσίοις οὐσεὶ πολλὴν 
ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν.”

CAP. \(\text{XVIII}\) 117. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' ἐίπε, καὶ εὐθὺς 
ἀπήλαυνε τὸ πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ τῶν 
αὐτοῖς ὁσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἤν. 
καθαροὺ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς 
βοή
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 discipline 607
καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μᾶς διχῇ λαμβάνων. χωρίων δ’ ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεξευγμένων· ἐς ὁ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρους περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ’ αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἶκοσι ἄψοφητι, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ’ ἀνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ’ ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τείχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτός τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὡς τῇ πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγήναι, τοσούτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφων νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τείχος οὐδέν, καὶ περ ἐπιμερίσθων, ἦνυεν, ἐς δὲ τινὸς ἰδιῶτον πύργον ἔρημον, ἑκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ύψος ἵσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οὐ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τείχων ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαυτο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα κόψαντες ἑδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνυπάρκτης τετρακισχίλιοις, καὶ φυγῇ ταχείᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἤν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀλούσης. βοή τε ἐγύγνυτο ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύτη καὶ φυτῶν ὑφαίων ἔγεμεν, αἰμασιαῖς 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
118. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἐσ τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων ἔχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγών, οἶδεν εὐσύνοτα Ῥωμαίοις ἐμελλε τὰ δρόμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡ γλώττας ἡ νεῦρα ἡ ἀίδοια σιδηρίους ἐξείλκε καμπύλους, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμεν τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἃ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέστα, καὶ πάντας ἐμπυγός ἐτί κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπινοοῦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦς οὔτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὄν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν δεῖ τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἐργῶν περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἄφηρημένου ἐμίσουν καὶ μάλισθ' ἢ βουλή αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἴκελαίς τοσαίς. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἐκτείνει συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὅποι ἡ ᾧ περίδεις ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιῆλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῶ δὲ μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλές ἔτων, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς ἐιὴ καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.

119. Ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἔχθρῶν, ὡς τῇ προτέρᾳ κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπτησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρενεν αὐτῶν 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
καὶ ἔστεκεν τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὅρμην βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἔπεκειντο, καὶ ἤν αὐτῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιὶ ἐργαζομένω τε ὀμοῖ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἔξετετέλεστο, ἐτέραν ὄρυσε τάφρον ὠσ, οὐ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας διασχῶν, ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἐτέρας περιβέθης ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὄλον ὄρυγμα τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ἔνυλοις ἄγειν. καὶ ἔπὶ τοὺς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὀρῶση καὶ τεῖχος παρακοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσί σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν εὐώδεκα ποδῶν χωρίς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πῦργων, οὐκ ἀναστήματος ἐπέκειντο τῷ τεῖχε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἥμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ ὑψου. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πῦργος ψηλότατος τῇ ἤν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἔνυλοις ἐπέκειντο τετράγωνος, θεὶ καθεώρα τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἰκοσὶ καὶ νυξῖν ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰς ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σίτον ἡ ὑπνον αἱρομένου, τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν ἱππόμαχον.

120. Καὶ ἤν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὀμοῖ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπιμηκεῖς, θεὶν ὀρμόνενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφηρεῖτο Καρχηδόνιοι, ὡς κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γάρ μὴ τῶδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδόνι περίκλυστος ἤν. καὶ τὸντο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγκάνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἰτίων· ἀτε γὰρ τοὺς πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ἕνων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμνα 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,
CAP. XVIII

ίόντων, μόνη τῇ τῆς Διβύης ἄγορα χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μὲν ποτὲ καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὤραιον εἴη, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἄφηρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομιδήν, ἑπιτύπως ἦσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δὲ, ὅσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ ἔπεσμπρτο ἐπὶ σίτου ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεῖν μὲν ἡ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἔτολμα, περιφέρον δὲ τὴν ἄγοράν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσίν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. ἀλλ' οὕτε διηνεκέως οὕτε πυκναί συνειστήκεσαν ὡς ἐν ἀλμενῷ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρὰ τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεῦεν, τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτοι, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἑκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὃθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύος, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἔθελοκινδύνως ἦπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἀνεμον ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπετασμένοι τοῖς ἱστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν ἐτί τῶν τριήρων ὀλκάδας φερομένας ἱστίων καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγήγετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον εἶη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταύτα δ', ὥσα φέροιεν αἱ νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίως ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὐς ἐς μάχην ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλῆθους κατεφρόνει· ὃθεν ἐμὸχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

121. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἐσπλήκον αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορώντα καὶ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλείσαι. χώμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν ἐχον μακρὸν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὕσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλώσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προῖδων 614
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...
CAP. XVIII

δ’ εσ το πέλαγος και ευθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπλουν. ἐξου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὕπο τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τὸ μὲν ἀνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἶκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ’ ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τούτῳ τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἵσως ἀδυνάτου προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦτε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νῦκτα, ἔδεισαν, καὶ στόμα ἔτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὄρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἳ μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διόρυσσόν δ’ ἀμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, ἐνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πάνυ λανθάνοντες· ἀμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐφυχίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ’ ἀπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἴπειν, ἀλλὰ κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρείαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἔτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα ἀνέφεξαν περὶ ἑω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήρεια τό κατηρητικὰς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξεπλεοῦν, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβηρῶς.

122. Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὸ τε στόμα ἄφυν γενομένον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσὸν κατεπληξεν ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτικὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἡμελημέναις τε ὡς 616
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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
CAP. ev teichomachia, kai oudevos nau'tou parontos ou'd ere'tou, oloou an tou' vau'stath'mou krat'hsei. ou'n ou'n (al'honai gar edie Kar'xhdo'na) tot e men es mon'hen epideizivn epelpleusan, kai so'baro's epito-thasantes aneste'refou, trity d' hmera meta to'to es vau'machian kathistanto' kai oi' vau'maioi tas te nau's kai talla ev'trepisamenoi antanyn'ghontos. bo'hse de' kai para'kelusesev ekate'reothen gevome'nhs kai proth'mia' ereto'n te kai ku'vern'to'n kai to'n epibat'ou, ws e'n t'ode loit' Kar'xhdo'niois me'n th's swth'rias ou'shs 'vau'maios de' th's vik'hs ente-lo'ves, plhga'i te pol'la kai traumata poikila e'gigneto par' amfoin me'xhi mes'h' hmeras. e'n de' t'ou' pou' t'a skaf'f th'n Li'b'nou t'a smikra tais 'vau'mai'kais naus'i megala's ou'sais es'to'us tarsous upot'rexonta die'tirt'r prumnas kai e'xe'koptte pi'hdalia kai kopa's, kai all'a pol'la kai poikila elyp'ei, eymaros te upo'fe'ugonta kai eymaros epitpl'e'onta. akritou d' e'ti th's vau'machia' ou'shs, kai th's hmeras es de'il'n trpe'menhs, edo'xe tois Kar'xhdo'niois upo'choreiv, ou ti kata' h'tta anv' all' es th'n epi'dus'nhn uper'th'demVN'ois.

123. KAI aVT'OU' T'A skaf'h T'A brax'tera prou'fene'ge, kai ton es'tplou'n pro'labo'nta es all'lia wtheito up' to pl'hsou's, kai to stoma b'z'hvn ap'kleleiv. othev ai me'ious epani'ousai ton es'tploun afhre'nto, kai es to' kh'ma kat'efugon, d' pro'to te'ichous eur'kh'ro'n ep'mo'roi es dia'he'sin f'orti'wn ege'gen'to ek' pol'lou' kai paratei'xh'sma ep' aVT'O' brax'v en' t'ode t'ou' pole'mo' epe'to'nto,
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 flouting 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
Ινα μὴ ὡς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τόδε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆσε αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορία λιμένος, καταφυγόσαι μετωπηδῶν ὡρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ διατείχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ὁρμαίοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπίπλους ἦν ράδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἐστώσαι εὐμαρές, αἱ δ’ ἀναχώρησεις δι’ ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαί τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίγνοντο· οθεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷ τὰ ὁμοία (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφομεν, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλέοντων), μέχρι νῆσε Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἱ φιλία Σκιπίωνος εἰποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθήκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀφάμεναι δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσία τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίσθησαν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπώμενα κατὰ πρόμυναν, αὐθίς τε ῥοθὴ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρόμυναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τῶν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὄροντές τε καὶ μμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ἐβλάπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελευτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆσε, ὅσι τε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.

124. Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχειρεῖ τῷ χῶματι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐκαιρὸν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοὺς οὖν τὸ παρατείχισμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτῶν κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι, νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ὁρμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ
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

γὴν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὔδε ναυσὶν (ἀλιτευθήσατι τὸ πλοῖον ἔτην) καταφανέος· ἡν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἕμπνευσαν. οἱς 

γυμνοὶ δάδας ἐφεροῦν, οὐχ ἰμένες ἤνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἕμπνευσαν. οἱ μὲν ἀχρί τῶν μαστῶν ἐφεροῦν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν ἐφεροῦν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διένευ, ἐς ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἦσαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαθοῦν, ἄτε γυμνοὶ, τιτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ἀντεδρασάν ὑπὸ τόλμης. οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνου καὶ ὃς εἰς φέροντες οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ὁσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Πωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβομένους. ἐκπλήξεις τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνά οἶκον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἰς: οὐ πρὶν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δεῖσαν ὃ Σκυπίων μετὰ ἵππεων ἐξέ περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιε τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἐστὶ δὲ οὐς ἐβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐώς οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπʼ ἀνάγκης, καὶ διευκτέρευσαν ἐνοπλοῦ, τὴν ἀπόγυωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδίοτες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἦσαν ἀνθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεία.

125. Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν, οὐκ ἐνοχλοῦσόν σφᾶς ἔτη μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκός τοῦ διατειχίσματος ὄκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῶ πολλοὺς ἐποίοις ἐκ διαστήματος, Πωμαίων δ' ἐτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανῶς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοὺς πύργους, δᾶδα τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῶν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ πίσσαν ἐντ' αὐτῶς ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἐστίν ὄς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπιμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδο-
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 unarmed 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
 Capitolium οἱ νόστους ἐδίωκον, ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ δρόμος υφ' αἵματος πετηγότος ὑπογύνου τε καὶ πολλοὺ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελύποντο ἄκοντες. 

ο δ' Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχῶν ἀπετάφρενεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τείχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ώς δ' ἐξειρ-γαστό αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τείχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς αὐτὸ ἐπεμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἑχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἱσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἐβάλλουν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχώς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

126. Χειμῶνος δ' ἄρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν τε καὶ συμμάχους τοῦ Σκιπίων ἐγνώ προκαθελεῖν, οὓς αὐτοὺς ἄγορὰ διεπέμπτο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἐτέρωσε ἐτέρους, αὐτὸς ὡς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδροῦβαν φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἥπειγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπτε. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γόλοσῆν καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος ἥπειγετο ὅθεν ὡς Νέφεριν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γυγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἤκεν ο Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὁπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἐτέρους ἐκ μετώπου τρισ-χιλίους, ἀριστύνθην καὶ τοίσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις, ἐπέβαινεν ἐπί τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἄθροοι ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκ-νοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ὑσα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπομένους. πολλὴς δὲ
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...
ΑΠΙΑΝΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ, ΒΟΩΚ ΒΩΙΑΙΑΙ

ΧΩΙ ΒΟΗΣ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΙΒΥΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΑΒΤΑ ΕΠΕΣΤΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ, ΟΙ ΧΙΛΙΟΙ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΙς ΠΡΟΕΙΡΗΤΟ, ΟΥΔΕΝΟΣ ΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΒΛΕΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΝΟΥΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΝΕΠΕΣΟΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΧΑΡΑΚΩΜΑ ΕΥΤΟΛΜΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΣΟΠ ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΕΒΑΙΝΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΕΥΔΟΥΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ ΕΓΙΝΕΤΟ ΤΑΧΕΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΥΓΟΝ ΟΙ ΛΙΒΥΕΣ, ΟΥΧ ΟΣΟUS ΕΩΡΩΝ, ΆΛΛΑ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟUS ΕΣΕΛΘΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΓΟΛΟΣΗΣ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΕΧΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΝΟΜΑΣΙ ΠΟΛΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΦΑΣΙ ΠΟΛΥΝ ΕΙΡΓΑΖΕΤΟ ΦΟΝΟΥ, ΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΕΩΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΣ ΕΠΤΑΚΙΣΜΟΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΧΡΕΙΟΥΣ, ΑΛΗΝΑΙ Δ' ΕΣ ΜΥΡΙΟΥΣ, ΔΙΑΦΥΓΕΙΝ Δ' ΆΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ. ΕΑΛΩ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΝΕΦΕΡΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΩ, ΔΥΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ ΆΛΛΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΩΣ ΕΝ ΧΕΙΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΡΟΧ ΧΩΡΙΩ. ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΔΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΣΥΝΙΝΕΓΚΕΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΧΘΩΝΟΣ ΑΛΩΣΙΝ. ΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ Η ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΆΓΟΡΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΕΠΟΡΘΜΕΕ, ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΟΙ ΛΙΒΥΕΣ ΑΦΟΡΩΝΤΕΣ ΕΘΑΡΡΟΥΝ. ΤΟΤΕ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΗΦΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΛΟΙΠΑ ΤΗΣ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ ΧΩΡΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙΣ ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΩΡΕΙ Η ΟΥ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΩΣ ΕΛΑΜΒΒΑΝΤΟ. Η ΤΕ ΆΓΟΡΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΧΘΩΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΕΛΙΠΕ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΥΤ' ΕΚ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ ΆΛΛΟΤΡΙΑΣ ΗΤΗ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΟΥΤ' ΆΛΛΑΧΟΘΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΠΛΕΙΝ ΕΔΥΝΑΤΟ, ΔΙΑΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΩΡΑΝ ΧΕΙΜΕΡΙΟΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ.

ΧΙΩΧ

127. 'ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ Δ' ΗΡΟΣ Ο ΜΕΝ ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝ ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΕΙ ΤΗ ΤΕ ΒΥΡΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΩ 626
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
καθὼς, ὅ ἔποιησας ἅπασιν ἐνεπίμητη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κόρηνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἐτὶ τῶν Σκιπίων ἐπιθησθεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἥπιον τοῦ Καρχηδόνων ἐπεστράμμενῳ, ἡλαθεὶς Δαίλιος ἔπειθε τῇ τοῦ Κόρηνος ἐς τὰ περιφερές αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθὼν. βοήθει αὐτὸν ἵνα γενομένην οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχῦθεν ἦδη καταφρονοῦντες ἑβιαζόντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἔπει τὰ διαστήματα διατίθεντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμὸν γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γυνώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. ἦπθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Κόρηνος τείχους, τὴν ἄγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὕσαν ὡς Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδὲν τε ὡς ἐν ἐσπέρα πλέον ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς διενυκτέρευσε μὲθ᾽ ἀπάντων. ἄρχομενής δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑτέρους ἀκμῆς ἡς ἐκάλει τετρακισχίλιους, οἱ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὐ τὸ τε ἀγάλμα κατάχρυσον ἢ καὶ δῶμα αὐτῶν χρυσῆλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελησαντες τῶν ἑφεστώτων, ἐὼς ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔτραποντο.

128. Σκιπίων δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἡ στουδῆ; τὸ γάρ ὄχυρωτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δὲ οὕσων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἀνδόνων ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκίαν πυκναὶ καὶ ἐξώροφοι πανταχῦθεν ᾦσαν, οἴθεν οἱ ὁ Ρωμαιοὶ βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρῶτας τῶν οἰκίῶν κατέλαβοι, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἡμύοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίων. ὅτε δὲ αὐτῶν κράτησειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενώτων ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὁ ὅδε μὲν ὁ
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
CAP. Πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών ἂνω, ἔτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγής καὶ βοής πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσὶ, καὶ ξώντων ἐτί ριπτούμενων ἀνωθέν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγών ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἤ αἰχμᾶς ἄλλας ἤ ξίφη. ἐνεπιμπρη δ’ οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ποι διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών, ἔως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἤκεν ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὀμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπιμπρη, καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ πιμπράμενον ἐτέρους ὀδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν’ εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

129. Ἀλλη δ’ ἦν ἐκ τούδε ὁψις ἐτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομηματα οὐ διαφούσων ἐς ὅλγον, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ο’ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τούδε πολὺ πλεῖων ἐγήγευτο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἁθρόοι νεκροί. ξώντες τε ἐτέροι, πρεσβύται μάλιστα καὶ παϊδία καὶ γυναῖκα, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκίων ἐκέκρυπτο, οὶ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες ο’ δ’ ἡμιφλεκτοί, φωνᾶς ἁγδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἐτέροι δ’ ως ἀπό τοσοῦτο ὑψους μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὀθώμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπώντο ῥηγνύμενοι τε καὶ κατασκασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ’ ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἄξιναις καὶ κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλον τε καὶ ὀδοποίουν τοῖς διαθέονσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄξιναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαίς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ ξώντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοίλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους 630.
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
ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἢν τε ἀνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχυντα τῆς γῆς ἢσπαίρου ἐπὶ πλείστον· οἱ δὲ εἰς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἐπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον υπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἦ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκολαπτον, οὕχ ἐκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων ἄλλῳ ύπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ οἱ λιθολόγοι ταυτ' ἐδρῶν ἐκόντες· ἄλλῳ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἐγγύς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὦμοι καὶ σαλπικτεῖς πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χυλίαρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἐνθοὺς ἀπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὀρωμένων ύπὸ σπουδῆς.

130. Καὶ ταῦτα πονομένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἐξ ἡμέρα τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιάς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἴνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ἄγηδοις, Σκιπύωνος δ᾽ ἀπαυστώς ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος ἄντονο, καὶ σύτων οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἱρομένου, μέχρι κάμυνων καὶ παρειμένους ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῖς, τὰ γνωσμένα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δεὶ ἐτί πορθομένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσσεθαι, προσέφυγον ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας αὐτῶ τινες ἐστεμένους στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια: τόθε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ἦθεν οἴδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπύωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἑθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τόθε τῆς Βύρσης ἔξεναι, ὡς ὑδίδου, 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 every-
body 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 sup-
pliants 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
CAP. XIX

εξήσαν αὐτικα μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἀμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχήσματος. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι Ἄρωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπουργόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιείον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων ἀρρένων. ὅθεν εὕμαρος ἦς ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, διὰ τὸ ύψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὁ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ώς δὲ ὁ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθήρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξελιπον, ὡς δὲ τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.

131. Κἂν τούτῳ λαθῶν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἕαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ' ὦσ εἶδον, ἦτησαν ἡσυχίαι σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεὼν ἐνέτρησαν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρύ τοῦ Σκιπίώνος γενομένης, κατακοσμῆσασθαί τε ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖσ ἔδυνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένη τὰ τέκνα ἐπείδη ἐς ἐπήκουν τοῦ Σκιπίώνος: "σοι μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ὦ Ἄρωμαίε· ἔπι γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας· Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οὐ τε Ἀρχηγὸν τοῖς δαίμονοις ἀμύναστο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαίμονών." εἶτ' ἔς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρέψασα ἐίπεν· "ὡ μιαρὲ καὶ ἀπιστε καὶ μαλακῶτατε 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."
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

132. 'Ωδε μὲν φασι τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἔχρην Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν·
ὁ δὲ Σκεπίων πόλιν ὅρῶν ἐπτακοσίως ἔτεσιν
ἀνθήσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆδε
καὶ νῆσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε
καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορή-
σασαν ἵσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμη δὲ
καὶ προβυμία πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἢ γε καὶ ναῦς
καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιγρημένη τρισίν ὄμως ἔτεσιν
ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῷδε καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἀρδην
teleutῶσαν ἐς παιωνεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται
μὲν δακρύσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαῖων ὑπὲρ
πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἐννοοῦς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος
τε, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἕθυν καὶ ἀρχὰς
ἀπάσας δὲι μεταβαλεῖν ὄσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαί-
μονα, καὶ τούτ' ἐπαθεὶ μὲν Ἰλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτε
πόλις, ἐπαθεὶ δὲ ἦ 'Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ
Περσῶν ἔπ' ἐκεῖνος ἁρχῇ μεγίστῃ γενόμενη, καὶ
ἡ μάλιστα ἐναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων,
εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τούδε τοῦ
ἐπους,

"ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλόλη Ἰλιός ἴρη
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίω Πριάμωιον."

Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρησίᾳ (καὶ

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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.”¹

Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for

¹ *Iliad* vi. 448, 449; Bryant’s translation.
CAP. XIX  γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος) ὁ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασίν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὁνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἡς ἀρα, ἐς τάνθρωπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδείει.

XX

CAP. XIX 133. Καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολυβίος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράψει. Σκιπίων δ’, ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδόν, ἐπὶ μὲν τινα ἡμερῶν ἄριθμόν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τούτ’ ἀριστεία πολλὰ διαδοῦσ ἁπασί, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀμαρτόντων, ναυν ὑπνήτῃ κοσμήσας λαφύρως ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικέλιαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἑλθόντας ἐπιγεγυώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι’ ὁ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγωγήσεν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λειαν τὴν περισσὴν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἀρει καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διαξωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἐκαίε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

134. Οἱ δ’ ἐν ἀστεί ὀσαντῶς τὴν ναῦν ἴδοντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὄδοις ἐξεπηδοῦν καὶ διευκτέρευον μετ’ ἀλλήλων, ἡδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὡς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ’ ἄρχοντες ἐτέρων ἁσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἑχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οἰαν οὔτινα πρότερον 638
THE PUNIC WARS

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
CAP. ἄλλην νίκην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἐργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς πατρασὶν ἐς τὲ Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβηριας καὶ ἐς 'Αντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν 'Ιταλίαν: πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ἤδεσαν, διὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὃν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τὲ Σικελία καὶ Ἰβηρία καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντο ἁστὴ καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπὶ τὲ τὴν 'Ρώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντο καὶ ἐς ἐσχατὸν κινδύνον συναγαγόντος. ὃν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐθίς ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ἄλληλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδῶν κατέσκαπται ἐλεσχήνευόν τε δὲ ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπλα περιηρέθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἑτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφηρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἑπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὑλής παλαιᾶς, τὸ τὲ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὄρυξαντο ἑτερον ὀλίγαις ἠμέραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ύψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπηνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὀρόντες ἀρτι γυγόμενον ἄλληλοις διετύπων, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφεροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὄραν ἑδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεόν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις, 640
THE PUNIC WARS

remembered many brilliant deeds of their own, CHAP. 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
καὶ ποιμπαί τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ φυλῆν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.

Δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἐπεμπε διαθησομένους Λιβύην μέτα Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων συμφέρον· οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἶ τι περίλουπον ἔτι ἤν, ἐκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπείπον ἀπασί, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἰ τὶς οἰκήσειν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα· ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπείπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἐδοξὲ καθελεῖν ἀπάσας· καὶ ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔβεβηθήκεσαν, χώραν ἐδώκαν ἐκάστη τῆς δορικῆς, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαῖοι τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὀρίσαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὄμοιως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοὺς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιτείμπειν ἐκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνεννόχεσαν ἐς 642
THE PUNIC WARS

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 leveled 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
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. Αιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἄνδρισκον τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἦγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τής Ἐλλάδος πρῶτος υπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ὀλυμπιάδας.

136. Χρόνῳ δ' ὑστεροι, Γαῖοι Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμη καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν εἰς ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληρούχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἐξαικεσχιλοὺς, διαγραφομένου δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα διεσπασαν καὶ συνέχειαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλή τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ. χρόνῳ δὲ αὕτης, ὅποτε Γαῖος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ υστεροι αὐτοὶς διηνεκῆς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστράτοπεδέων, ὑπ' ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολὺν ἱδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθήναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράφασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλοῦντων, συνέτασσεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ' ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν θάσσον ἀνηρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ 'Ρωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστός ἐπίκλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνφύκεσε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ἱ'Ρωμαίους μὲν 644
THE PUNIC WARS

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. οὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὡδὲ μὲν 
Διβύμης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Ῥωμαίοι κατέσχον, 
καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνάκισαν 
αὕτης μετὰ ἑτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.
colonists from Rome and collected the rest from chap. XX 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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