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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Τοὺς δ' οὐπάτους ἐς τὴν Διβύην στρατεύσασθαι ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν τε Γάιον τὸν 'Ατίλιον τὸν τοῦ 'Ρηγούλου ἄδελφον καὶ τὸν Μάλλιον τὸν Δούκιον. οἱ ἔς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες τῷ Διλυβαίῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ τὶ μέρος τῆς τάφρου συγχώσατε εἰς τὴν τῶν μηχανημάτων προσαγωγὴν ἐπεχείρησαν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ὑπορύσσοντες τῶν ἱούν ὑφεῖλκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠλαττοῦντο τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ, τείχος ἔτερον ἐνδόν μπυεεῖς φιλοδομήσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπονόμους ὑπὸ τὸν κύκλον εἱργάζοντο, ὡπως κατὰ τὸ διάκενον αὐτῶν ἰζήσαντο τοῦ τείχους εἰσπέσωσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἀντορύσσοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας τὸ ἱμόμενον ἐκδεχόμενοι ἐκτεινοῦν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐν φρυγάνοις εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐμβάλλοντες ἐφθειρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τινὲς τῶν συμμάχων, τῇ τε παρατάσσει τῆς πολυρκίας ἀχθόμεναι καὶ τῷ μὴ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶς ἐντελῇ καταβάλλεσθαι, προδοῦναι τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεκηρύκειντο, ἐφόρασεν οἶ Δικίλκας τῷ Βουλεύμενον, οὐκ ἐξέφης δὲ, ἢ ὁ μὴ πολεμώσῃ αὐτοὺς: χρήματα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν παρασχόντων καὶ τῷ πλήθει προσυποσχόμενος ἐτέρα, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἰκεῖσατο ὅστε μηδὲ ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους πρέβεις ἐπανώντας ἀπώσασθαι. οἱ πρὸς
They voted that the consuls, Gaius Atilius, brother of Regulus, and Lucius Manlius, should make an expedition into Africa. These, on coming to Sicily, attacked Lilybaeum and undertook to fill up a portion of the moat to help in bringing up the engines. The Carthaginians tried to dig beneath the mound and undermine it; but when they found this to be a losing game, because of the numbers of the opposing workmen, they built another wall, crescent-shaped, inside. The Romans ran tunnels under this circular wall, in order that when it settled into the mine they might rush inside. The Carthaginians then built counter-tunnels and came upon many workers who were unaware of what the other side was doing; these they killed, and they also destroyed many by hurling blazing fire-wood into the excavations. Some of the allies now, burdened by the protraction of the siege and displeased because their wages were not paid them in full, made propositions to the Romans to betray the place. Hamilcar discovered their plan, but did not disclose it, for fear of driving them into open hostility; instead, he supplied their officials with money, and also promised some to the multitude. In this way he won their favour to such an extent that they did not even deny their treachery, but drove away the last envoys when they returned.
τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτομολήσαντες γῆν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἑτερ ἄττα ἔλαβον.

'Ακούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἶκοι Καρχηδόνιοι πέμπουσιν Ἀρδέβαν σὺν ναυσὶ πλείσταis εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον σῖτον ἀγούσας καὶ χρῆματα. καὶ δὲ χειμώνα ἐπιτηρήσας εἰσέπλευσε. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι συμφοὶ καταίρειν ὁμοίως ἑτόλμων καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑπτύγχανοι, οἱ δὲ ἀπώλλυντο.

"Εγὼς μὲν οὖν ἀμφοὶ παρῆσαιν οἱ ὑπατοί, ἰσοπαλεῖς οἱ ἀγώνες ἐγίνοντο νόσον δὲ καὶ λιμοὺ τρυχόντων αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου οἴκαδε διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀναχωρήσαντο, Ἀμίλκας θαρρήσας ἐπέχει καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεπίμπρα καὶ τοὺς ἑπαμύνωντας αὐταὶς ἐφθειρε, καὶ ἡ ἱππος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Δρεπάνου ὀρμωμένη τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια κομίζεθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔκωλυν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχία κατέτρεχε, καὶ ὁ Ἀρδέβας ποτὲ μὲν τῆς Σικελίας, ποτὲ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παράλλα ἔκειρεν οθὲν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐν ἀπορία κατέστησαν. τέως μὲντοι Λούκιος Ἰοῦνας ἦτοίμαζε ναυτικὸν, Κλαύδιος δὲ Πομπύχρος εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον ἐπειχθεῖς καὶ τριήρεις πληρώσας συνέλαβε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀυγώνα τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐκπλέοντα πεντήρει καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν νηών ἐγένετο.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐβαρύ-

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. II., p. 108.

Τὸ ἑτέρον μέρος τῆς οἰωνοσκοπικῆς Δίων Κάσ-
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 15.

The latter then deserted to the consuls, and received from them land in Sicily and other gifts.

The Carthaginians at home, hearing of this, sent Adherbal with a very large number of ships carrying grain and money to Lilybaeum. And he, after waiting for a storm, sailed in. Thereupon many others likewise attempted a landing, and some succeeded, while others were destroyed.

As long as both consuls were present the conflicts were evenly matched. Pestilence and famine, however, came to harass them, and these caused one of them to return home with the soldiers of his division. Hamilcar then took courage and made sorties, in which he would set fire to the engines and slay the men defending them; and his cavalry, setting out from Drepanum, prevented the Romans from getting provisions and overran the territory of their allies. Adherbal also ravaged the shores now of Sicily, now of Italy, so that the Romans did not know what to do. In the meantime, however, Lucius Junius was preparing a fleet, and Claudius Pulcher hastened to Lilybaeum, where he manned triremes and with them captured Hanno, the Carthaginian, as he was leaving the harbour on a five-banked ship. The prize craft served the Romans as a model in ship-building.¹

The fleet was so frequently endangered that the

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. II., p. 108.

The second method of augury is transmitted to us

¹ Polybius places this event at the beginning of the war, where it seems most appropriate. It is hard to say whether the confusion here is due to Zonaras, to Dio, or to the latter's source.
νοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ συνεχεί τῶν νεῶν φθορᾷ· ἀνδρας γὰρ συχνοὺς καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἐν ταύταις ἀπώλεσαν· οὐ μὲντοι γε καὶ ἔνδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα φθεγξάμενον περὶ καταλλαγῶν πρὸς Καρχηδόνιους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεχθήσαντο, καὶ λεγότηνα δικτάτορα ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὁ Κολλατίνος ἐλέξθη, ἱππάρχησε δὲ γε ὁ Μέτελλος· οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἐπράξαν ἢξιον. ἐν οὖν δὲ ὁ Κολλατίνος δικτάτωρ ἐλέγετο, ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἐρυκα παρεστήσατο ὁ Ἰούνιος, καὶ ὁ Καρθάλων κατέσχεν Αἰγύπταλον καὶ ἐξώγρησε τὸν Ἰούνιον.

16. Τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς ἦτει Αὐρήλιος Γάμος καὶ Σεροῦλιος Πουτλίος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τὸ τε Διλύβαιον καὶ τὸ Δρέπανον ἐλύσουν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους τῆς γῆς ἀπείρουν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχία Κατεκείρουν. οὐκ Καρθάλων πολυτρόπως ἐπιχειρήσατο κατʼ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὖν ἡμυσί, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁρμήσαν, ἦν οὕτω τοὺς ὑπάτους μεταγάγῃ ἐκεῖ ἡ τέως τὴν χώραν κακώσῃ καὶ πόλεις αἰρήσῃ. ἀλλ’ οὖν ένταβα τι αὐτῷ προεχόρρησε τὸν γὰρ στρατηγὸν τῶν ἀστυνόμων μαθῶν πλησιάζοντα, εἰς Σικελίαν ἀνέπλευσεν· ἐνθα τῶν Ἰοαν. Τζετζέζ, Exeg. in Hom. II., p. 108.

σιος Κοκκημανὸς παραδίδοσι, λέγων ὅτι κριθοφάγους ἡμέροις κατέχουσιν ὅρνιθας καὶ τιθέσιν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν κριθάς, ὅτε μαντεύονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ ὅρνιθες οὐ πλήττουσι τοῖς ῥάμφεσι τὰς κριθάς καὶ ἀπορρίπτουσιν, ἀγαθὸν τῷ σημείῳ, εἰ δὲ οὕτω ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄγαθον.
Romans were disheartened by the constant destruction of their ships; for in these they lost a good many men and vast sums of money. Yet they would not give up; nay, they even slew a man who uttered a word in the senate about reconciliation with the Carthaginians, and they voted that a dictator should be named. Collatinus [Calatinus] was therefore named dictator, and Metellus became master of the horse; but they accomplished nothing worthy of remembrance. While Collatinus was being chosen dictator, Junius had won over Eryx, and Carthalo had occupied Aegithallus and taken Junius alive.

16. The next year Gaius Aurelius and Publius Servilius took office and spent their time in harrying Lilybaeum and Drepanum, in keeping the Carthaginians off the land, and in devastating the territory of their allies. Carthalo undertook many different kinds of enterprises against them, but, as he accomplished nothing, he set out for Italy, with the object of drawing the consuls back there after him, or of injuring the country meanwhile and capturing cities. Yet he made no headway even there, and on learning that the praetor urbanus was approaching, sailed back to Sicily. His mercenaries now rebelled

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. II., p. 108.
by Dio Cassius Cocceianus, who says that they keep tame birds which eat barley, and put barley grains in front of them when they seek an omen. If, then, in the course of eating the birds do not strike the barley with their beaks and toss it aside, the sign is good; but if they do so strike the grain, it is not good.

1 Dio may be supposed to have described this method of augury in connection with his account of the disaster of Publius Claudius Pulcher, omitted by Zonaras.
Zonaras 8, 16.

μισθοφόρων στασιασάντων διὰ τὸν μισθὸν, συχνοὺς μὲν ἡς νήσους ἐρήμως ἑκβιβάζας κατέλυπε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἅπεστείλεν. ὦ γρόντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἦγανάκτησαν καὶ νεωτέρεσσιν ἐμελλον. ὃν Ἀμίλκας, διαδεξάμενος τὸν Καρθαλώνα, πολλοὺς μὲν νυκτὸς κατέκοψε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεπόντωσεν. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φιλόν ἁίδιον πρὸς Ἰέρωνα διεπράξαντο, καὶ προσαφήκαν ὁσα παῦ, αὐτὸν ἑπετείως ἔλαμβανον.

Τῷ δὲ ἔξης ἐτειο τὸν θαλαπτὶον πολέμου δημοσίᾳ μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέχοντο διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα, ἣδε δὲ τινὲς νῆσας αἰτήσαντες, ὡστ' ἐκεῖνας μὲν ἄποκαταστήσαι, τὴν λείαν δὲ οἰκείωσασθαι, ἄλλα τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ἔς Ἰππώνα Διβυκὴν πόλιν εἰσπλεύσαντες τὰ τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκοδομήματων κατέπρησαν. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος διαλαβόντων ἄλυσεν, ἐν περιστάσει ἑγένοντο, σοφία δὲ καὶ τύχη περιεσθόντο. σπουδὴ γὰρ ταῖς ἄλυσεις προσπεσόντες, ἐπεὶ προσάψασθαι αὐτῶν ἐμελλον οἱ ἐμβολοὶ τῶν νησί, μετέστρισαν ἐς τὰς πρύμνας οἱ τοῦ πληρώματος, καὶ οὕτως αἰ πρόφαρι κοινασθεῖσαν υπερήφαν τὰς ἄλυσεις, αὕτης δ' ἐς τὰς πρώρας αὐτῶν μεταπη- δησάντων αἱ πρύμναι τῶν σκαφῶν ἐμετεωρίσθησαν, καὶ διεξέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο περι τὸ Πάνορμον ναυὶ Καρχηδόνιος ἐνίκησαν.

Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ, Μέτελλος μὲν Καικίλιος περὶ τὸ Διλύβαιον ἦν, Νουμέριος δὲ Φάβιος τῶν Δρεπάνω προσήθρευε καὶ ἐπεβούλευε τῇ νησίδι τῇ Πελιάδι καλουμένῃ, προκατελημμένῃ παρὰ Καρχη- δονίων, στρατιωτῶς πέμψας νυκτὸς, οἱ τοὺς φρον-
on account of their pay, whereupon he put a large number ashore on desert islands and left them there, and sent many more off to Carthage. When the rest learned of this, they became indignant, and were ready to mutiny. Hamilcar, Carthalo’s successor, cut down many of them one night and had many others thrown into the sea. In the meantime the Romans had concluded a perpetual friendship with Hiero, and they furthermore remitted all the tribute which they were accustomed to receive from him annually.

The next year the Romans refrained officially from naval warfare, because of their misfortunes and expenses, but some private individuals asked for ships on condition of restoring the vessels but appropriating any booty gained; and among other injuries that they inflicted upon the enemy, they sailed to Hippo, an African city, and there burned up all the boats and many of the buildings. The natives put chains across the mouth of the harbour, and the invaders found themselves in an awkward situation, but escaped by cleverness and good fortune. They made a quick dash at the chains, and just as the beaks of the ships were about to catch in them, the members of the crews moved back to the stern, and so the prows were lightened and cleared the chains; and again, when all rushed into the prows, the sterns of the vessels were lifted high in the air. Thus they effected their escape, and later near Panormus they conquered the Carthaginians on the sea.

As for the consuls, Metellus Caeceilius was in the vicinity of Lilybaeum, and Numerius Fabius was investing Drepanum, where he formed a plan to capture the little isle of Pelias. As this had been seized earlier by the Carthaginians, he sent soldiers
49, 25 Καὶ γὰρ ἤγειτο δεῦν τὸν τι δι' ἀπορρήτων πρᾶξαι Βουλόμενου μηδενὶ αὐτὸ τὸ παράπαν ἐμφαίνειν; οὐδένα γὰρ οὕτως ἰσχυρόφρονα εἶναι ὡς ἀκούσαντά τι κατερήσαι καὶ σιωπήσαι αὐτὸ ἔθελησαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τούναντίον, ὅσον ἄν ἀπορρηθῇ τινὶ μὴ εἰπεῖν τι, τόσον μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸ ἐκλαλῆσαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐτεροῦ παρ' ἐτέρου τὸ ἀπόρρητον ὡς καὶ μόνων μανθάνοντα φημίζειν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 116v (M. p. 540).

Zonaras 8, 16.

ροὺς κτείναντες τὴν νῆσον εἰλον. ὅ μαθὼν Ἀμῖλκας ἔσωθεν τοῖς διαβεβηκόσιν ἐπέθετο: οἱς οὐκ ἔχων ἀμύναι ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Δρεσάνῳ προσέμεξεν, ὡς ἡ τὴν πόλιν δι' ἐρημίαν αἰρήσον ἡ τῆς νῆσου τὸν Ἀμῖλκαν ἀπάξων. καὶ ἰηύμηθα τὸ ἐν" φοβηθεῖς γὰρ ὃ Ἀμῖλκας ἀνεγώρησεν εἰς τὸ τείχος. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος τὴν Πελίαδα κατέσχε, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου στενοῦ καὶ τεναγώδες τυχχάνου συγχώσας ἢπείρωσε, καὶ ράον προσεπολέμει τοῦ τείχους ἐκεὶ ὁντος ἀσθενεστέρου. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι συνήκα παρελύσαντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Σικελίαν τε περιπλέοντες καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαίομενοι. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἀλλήλων ἄνδρα ἄντ' ἄνδρος ἠλλάξαντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἦσαν ἰσοπληθεῖς, ἀργυρίου οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐκομίσαντο.

'Εκτοτε δὲ διάφοροι μὲν ὑπάτευσαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἱστορίας ἐπράξαν ἄξιον μέγιστον γὰρ οἱ Ἄρω-
BOOK XII

For he thought it was requisite for a man who wished to accomplish anything by secret means not to make the matter known to anyone at all. There was no one, he believed, so self-possessed as to be willing, when he had heard a secret, to persevere in maintaining silence; on the contrary, the more strictly a man might be forbidden to mention anything, the greater would be his desire to talk about it, and thus, as one man learned the secret from another, with the understanding that he was the only person to know it, he would divulge it.¹

Zonaras 8, 16.

by night, who killed the garrison and took possession of the island. Learning this, Hamilcar at dawn attacked the troops who had crossed to it. Fabius, unable to defend them, led an assault upon Drepanum, in order either to capture the city while deserted or to draw Hamilcar away from the island. One of these objects was accomplished, for Hamilcar in fear retired within the fortifications. So Fabius occupied Pelias, and by filling in the strait, which was a shallow one, between it and the mainland he made a stretch of solid ground, and thus conducted more easily his operations against the wall, which was rather weak at that point. The Carthaginians caused the Romans much annoyance also by sailing over to Sicily and making trips across into Italy. They exchanged each other's captives man for man; and those left over—since the numbers were not equal—the Carthaginians got back for money.

In the period that followed various persons became consuls, but effected nothing worthy of record.

¹ Section 25 may refer to Hamilcar Barea's plans for seizing Mount Eryx.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 16-17.

μαίοι ἑσφάλλοντο ὅτι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλους, εἰδέ ἐτέρους ἀρχονταὶ ἔπεμπον, ἀρτι τε τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μανθάνοντας τῇς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυον, ὡσπερ εἰς ἁσκήσιν σφᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς χρήσιν αἰροῦμενοι.

Οἱ Γαλάται δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συμμαχοῦντες, καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅτι κακῶς μετεχείριζοντο σφᾶς, φρουρίον τινὸς φυλάκην ἐμπυτυστευόντες, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῷ προῆκαντο ἐπὶ χρήσιν. μεταστάντας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων Γαλάτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν σφῶν συμμάχους τινὰς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπὶ μισθοφορὰ προσελάβοντο, μῆτω πρότερον τρέφοντες ξενικὸν. τούτως οὖν ἔπαιρομενοι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες ἤδιοταί τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖν τὴς θαλάσσης ήθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕθις ναυτικὸν συνεστήσαντο.

17. Καὶ Λουτάτιος Κατύλος ὑπατος ἣρέθη, καὶ τοῦτο συνεξεπέμφθη Κύντος Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκκος ἀστυνομῶν. οἰ ἔς Ξεκελίαν ἐλθόντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ τῇ τοῦ τείχους κατήρεισαν καὶ ἔλλον ἃν αὐτό, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὑπάτου τρωδέντος, περὶ ἐκείνου οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπησχολήθησαν. καὶ τοῦτο μαθόντες τοὺς πολέμους οἴκοθεν ἤκειν ναυτικῶ πλήθει, Ἀρνονος ναυαρχόντος, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἀντιπαραταξαμένων αὐτῶν ἁστρόν τι λαμπαδῶδες ὑπερθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φανέν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἄρθεν ἐγκατέσκηψεν. ἐγένετο δ' ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ
The Romans owed the majority of their reverses to the fact that they kept sending out from year to year different and ever different leaders, and took away their office from them when they were just learning the art of generalship. It looked as if they were choosing them for practice and not for service.

The Gauls, who were acting in alliance with the Carthaginians, and hated them because they were ill-treated by them, abandoned to the Romans for money a position with whose defence they had been entrusted. These Gauls and other allies of the Carthaginians who had revolted from their service the Romans secured as mercenaries; up to this time they had never supported a foreign contingent. Elated at this accession, and furthermore by the ravaging of Africa on the part of the private citizens who were managing the ships, they were no longer willing to neglect the sea, but again got together a fleet.

17. Latatius Catulus was chosen consul, and with him was sent out Quintus Valerius Flaccus, who was praetor urbanus. On coming to Sicily they assailed Drepanum both by land and sea, and demolished a section of the wall. Indeed, they would have captured the town but for the fact that the consul was wounded and the soldiers were occupied in caring for him. In the meantime they learned that a body of the enemy had come from home with an immense fleet commanded by Hanno, and they turned their attention to these new arrivals. When the forces had been marshalled in hostile array, a star resembling a torch appeared above the Romans and after rising high to the left of the Carthaginians plunged into their ranks. The naval combat was a
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

Ζονάρας 8, 17.

ἐπ’ ἀμφοῖν καρτέρα δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ἐς τελείαν ἀπόγνωσιν τοὺς Ἑρωμάιος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταστήσωσιν, οἱ δ’ ἵνα καὶ τὰς προτέρας ἀνακαλέσωσιν συμφοράς. ὡμοὶ δ’ οὖν οἱ Ἑρωμαῖοι τὴν νίκην ἤραντο τὰ γὰρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων σκάφη, φορτία φέροντα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ σίτου καὶ χρήματα, ἐβαρύνοντο.

Ὁ δ’ Αννων διαφυγὼν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἰπείχθη. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ θυμὸ ληφθέντες καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ μὲν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς εἰρήμην τῷ Κατύλω πεπόμφασι, καὶ τῷ πρὸς βουλής ἢρ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσασθαι, οτι ἐπ’ ἐξίδιον οὔσης αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτε δὲ ολίγῳ ἐξαιρήσει τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἠπίστευσεν οὔτε τοῖς διαδόχοις τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πόλεων καταλύσασθαι. διὸ ἀνακώχην ἐποίησαντο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ σίτον καὶ ὀμήμους αὐτῶ δόντες, ἦν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελίας τε αὐτοῦ πάσης ἐκατέχειν Ἑρωμαῖος καὶ πᾶσας τὰς περίξ νῆσους ἐκλιπείν καὶ μῆτε τῷ Ίέρωνι πολεμεῖν καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἀμα τῷ σπείρασθαι δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκείνους αὐτομόλους καὶ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἐκτέμνεις, τοὺς δ’ ἀντῶν πριασθαι.

Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ σύμβασις ωμολόγητο, μόνην γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἀτιμίαν ὁ Ἀμίλκας παρήτησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα συνθέμενος καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν τεῖχῶν ἔξαιγαγόν ἀπέπλευσεν οἰκάδε πρὶν τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπενεχθήραι, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τὴν τε νίκην διὰ βραχέος ἐμαθον καὶ ἐπήρθησαν ὡς παντάπασι κεκρατηκότες. καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐλθόντων οὐκέτι κατέχειν ἐαυτῶν.
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 17.

vigorouş one on the part of both nations, for several
reasons; but in particular, the Carthaginians were
anxious to drive the Romans into utter despair of
naval success, and the Romans were eager to retrieve
their former disasters. Nevertheless, the Romans
gained the victory, for the Carthaginian vessels were
impeded by the fact that they also carried freight,
grain, and money.

Hanno escaped and hastened at once to Carthage.
But the Carthaginians, seized with wrath and fear,
crucified him and sent envoys to Catulus regarding
peace. Now he was disposed to end the war, since
his office was soon to expire; for he could not hope
to destroy Carthage in a short time, and he did not
care to leave to his successors the glory of his
own labours. Hence, after they had given him
money, grain, and hostages, they were granted an
armistice, so that they might send envoys to Rome
to sue for peace. The conditions were, that they
should retire from the whole of Sicily, yielding it to
the Romans, as well as abandon all the surrounding
islands, that they should carry on no war with Hiero,
and should pay an indemnity, a part at the time of
making the treaty and a part later, and should
return the Roman deserters and captives free of cost,
while ransoming their own.

Such were the terms agreed upon; for Hamilcar
succeeded merely in having the disgrace of passing
under the yoke omitted. After settling these con-
ditions he led his soldiers out of the fortifications
and sailed for home before the oaths were adminis-
tered. The people of Rome soon learned of the
victory and were greatly elated, feeling that they had
triumphed completely. And when the envoys arrived,
Ζωνάρας 8, 17.

ἡδύναντο, καὶ τὴν Διβύην ἔχειν ἀπασαν ἠλπίζον. διὸ οὐδὲ ταῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου ὀμολογήσεις ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς πολλῷ πλεῖω τῶν ὑπεσχημένων ἐπράξαντο· καὶ ἀπηγορεύσαν σφίσι μῆτε τὴν Ἰταλίαν μῆτε τὴν ξεξο συμμαχία σφῶν μακράς ναναὶ παραπλεῖν ἡ μισθοφόροι τισὶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κεχρήσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο κατέληξε τετάρτῳ ἐτεὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν ὁ Κατύλος τὰ ἐπινίκια, Κύντος δὲ Λουτάτιος ὑπατεύσας ἀπήλθεν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κατύλου πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κατεστήσατο· καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀφελλόντο. Σικελία μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δεδούλωτο πλὴν τῆς ἄρχης τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φιλία ἢν αὐτοῖς.

Ἄμφω δ’ αὕτης εἰς πόλεμους ἐτέρως χορίς μετ’ ὀλίγον κατέστησαν. τοῖς γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις οἱ τε περίλυσιν τῶν μισθοφορησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὸ δουλεύον τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ὀμορούντων πολλοὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν συνεπέθεντο. οἱ γε μὴν Ῥωμαίοι ἐπικαλεσάμενον αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμοῦντων ἑκείνους, οὖθ’ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιπρεβευμένου καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντες καταλάβαν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅσους εἶχον ἀφῆκαν προῖκα, καὶ σῖτον ἐπεμψαν καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας συμμαχίας αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπέτρεψαν, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας θηρώμενοι μάλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος αὐτοῖς προμηθούμενοι. οὖθεν πράγματα ἐσχον εἰσέπειται· ὁ γὰρ Ἀμίλκας ἑκείνος ὁ Βαρχίδης,
they could no longer restrain themselves, and hoped to possess all of Africa. Therefore they would not abide by the terms of the consul; instead, they exacted from their foes a much larger sum of money than had been promised, and also forbade them to sail past Italy or their allied territory abroad in ships of war, or to employ any mercenaries from such districts.

The first war between the Carthaginians and the Romans ended in this way, then, in the twenty-fourth year; and Catulus celebrated a triumph over its conclusion. Quintus Lutatius became consul and departed for Sicily, where with his brother Catulus he established order throughout the island; he also deprived the inhabitants of their arms. Thus Sicily, with the exception of Hiero's domain, was enslaved by the Romans; and thenceforth they were on friendly terms with the Carthaginians.

Both were soon again involved in other wars of their own. At Carthage the remnant of the mercenary force and the slave population in the city and many of their neighbours, taking advantage of the misfortunes of the state, joined in an attack upon it. The Romans did not heed the request of the rebels for aid, but sent envoys in return; and when they found themselves unable to reconcile the combatants, they released free of cost all the Carthaginian captives they were holding, sent grain to the city, and permitted it to gather mercenaries from among their own allies. By this action they were rather seeking to gain a reputation for fairness than displaying a real interest in their own advantage, and this later caused them trouble. For after conquering his adversaries, Hamilcar Barca, while he did not dare to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 17-18.

ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνίκησεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ κάρτα μισῶν αὐτούς, ὃς ἔτολμησε στρατεύσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρὰ γνώμην τῶν οἶκων τελῶν ἀπῆρεν.

18. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο ύστερον, τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκοι ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Μάλλιος Τουρκοῦνατς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήσασε. καὶ συμμίξας αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλη μὲν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ, τοῖς δὲ ἀπευθύνει ἐκράτησε. καὶ αὕτης αὐτοῖς μαχεσάμενος ἐνίκησε, καὶ τὰ τῇ ὀπλὰ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆν ἱππον καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα καὶ τὸ δουλεῖον καὶ τὸ ἦμισυ τῆς χώρας ἀφεῖλε. ύστερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὅρος ἐρυμνόν ἱδρυμένη κατεσκάφη, ἔτερα δὲ φοινικάμηθη ἐνεφόδωσε. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπολέμησαν αὐτίς πολέμους πρὸς τῷ Βοιοίους καὶ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐκείνους πλησιοχόρους καὶ πρὸς Δυνάμων τινάς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δύνας Σεμπρωνίος Γράκχος μάχη νικήσας ἐκάκων, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις Ποντίλιος Οὐαλλέριος συμβαλὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἣττηθή, εἶτα πυθόμενος εἰς ἐπικονιρίαν αὐτῶν τινας ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἤκειν, ὁμόσε αὕτις τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐχώρησεν, ἣν ἡ καθ’ ἕαυτόν νικήσῃ ἡ ἀποθάνη τούτῳ γὰρ μάλλον ἡ ζων αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν προείλετο καὶ ποὺ κατὰ τύχην ἐκράτησε.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνήντησαν, καὶ Σαρδῶν παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀμαχεῖ χρήματα τε αὕτις ἔδαβον, ἐγκαλέσαντες αὐτοῖς

Tzetzes in Lycoth. Alex. 1312.

Οἱ δὲ Δύνας τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Τυρσηνίδος μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ ἄχρι Γαλατῶν νέμονται, ὡς φησὶ Δίων.
make a campaign against the Romans, much as he hated them, nevertheless departed for Spain, contrary to the wishes of the magistrates at home.

18. This, however, took place later. At the time under discussion the Romans made war upon the Faliscans and Manlius Torquatus ravaged their country. In a battle with them his heavy infantry was worsted, but his cavalry conquered. In a second engagement with them he was victorious and took possession of their arms, their cavalry, their goods, their slaves, and half their country. Later on the original city, which was set upon a steep mountain, was torn down and another one was built, easy of access. After this the Romans again waged war upon the Boii and upon the Gauls who were neighbours of the latter, and upon some of the Ligurians. So the Ligurians were conquered in battle and harried by Sempronius Gracchus; in a conflict with the Gauls, however, Publius Valerius was at first defeated, but later, learning that troops had come from Rome to his assistance, he renewed the struggle with the enemy, determined either to conquer by his own exertions or to die—for he preferred death to living in disgrace—and by some good fortune or other he gained the victory.

Such were the events, then, that befell the Romans at this time. They also secured Sardinia from the Carthaginians, without a battle, as well as a fresh supply of money, by charging them with injuring

Tzetzes in Lyceophr. Alex. 1312.

The Ligurians dwell along the coast from Etruria up to the Alps and to the Gauls, according to Dio.
βλάπτειν σφῶν τοὺς πλέοντας· οὕτω γὰρ κρατοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν ἐδείξαν τῷ δ’ ἔξης ἔτει Δούκιος Δέντουλος καὶ Κύντος Φλάκκος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας στρατεύσαντες, ἐώς μὲν ὁμού διήγησαν, ἦσαν ἀνανταγώνιστοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ διῆξῃ πορθεῖν τινα ἤξαντο, ὡς οὗτο πλεῖον λείαν περιβαλούμενοι, ἐς κάτων τὸ τού Φλάκκου κατέστη στρατόπεδον, νυκτὸς κυκλοθέν. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεκόμπησαν, προσλαβόμενοι δὲ συμμάχους χειρὶ πολλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐθίς ἔχορρασαν, ἀπαντησάντων δὲ σφίξῃ Πουπλίου τοῦ Λέντουλον καὶ Δικηνίου Οὐάρου ἠλπίσαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ σφέτερον καὶ ἄνευ μάχης καταπλῆξεν καὶ πεμψάντες τὴν τε χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἀπήτουν καὶ τῆς πολεως ὡς αὐτῶν αὐθίς ἐξοκισθῆναι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ μῆτε συμβαλεῖν διὸν ὁλογόντα μῆτε τι προέβαλεν τολμῶντες ἀνοχὰς ἐσπράξαν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσωνται. οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐλθόντες τὰ αὐτὰ εἴπον. ὡς δ’ οὔδενὸς οἱ πρέσβεις ὡν ἢτοιν ἐτύγχανον, εἰς τὸ στρατὸπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ εὐροὶ ἐφθαρμένα σφίσαι τὰ πράγματα τινὲς γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν μετανόησαν καὶ διὰ φόβου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοι ἐστάραπον ἐπὶ τοὺς Βουυνίους, καὶ συναίνοι ἀπὸλοντο ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καντεῦθεν ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε οἱ λοιποί, καὶ οἱ Βουυνίοι σπουδᾶς ἐπὶ μέρει πολλῷ τῇς χώρας σφῶν ἔποιήσαντο.

"Ηδὴ δὲ τῶν Γαλατικῶν λυθέντων πολέμων ὁ Λέντουλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δίγνας, καὶ τοὺς προσπίπτοντας ἡμύνετο καὶ τίνα ἑρύματα παρεστήσατο. Οὐάρος δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρνου ὀρμήσας, καὶ μῆ
Zonaras 8, 18.

Roman shipping. For the Carthaginians had not yet recovered strength, and feared their threats. The next year Lucius Lentulus and Quintus Flaccus made a campaign against the Gauls; and as long as they remained together, they were invincible, but when they began to pillage districts separately, with the purpose of securing greater booty, the army of Flaccus became imperilled, being surrounded by night. For the time the barbarians were beaten back, but after gaining accessions of allies they proceeded anew with a huge force against the Romans. When confronted by Publius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, they hoped to terrify them by their numbers and prevail without a battle. So they sent and demanded back the land surrounding Ariminum and commanded the Romans to vacate the city, since it belonged to them. The consuls, because of their small numbers, did not dare to risk a battle, nor would they undertake to abandon any territory; accordingly they arranged an armistice, to enable the Gauls to send envoys to Rome. These came before the senate with the same demands, but obtained no satisfaction, and returned to camp. There they found their cause was lost. For some of their allies repented, and regarding the Romans with fear, turned upon the Boii, and many were killed on both sides. Thereupon the remainder went home and the Boii obtained peace at the price of a large portion of their land.

When the Gallic wars had now been ended, Lentulus conducted a campaign against the Ligurians; he repulsed those who attacked him and gained possession of several fortresses. Varus set out for Corsica, but inasmuch as he lacked the necessary ships to
"Οτι οι Ρωμαιοι τον Κλαυδιον, επειδη προς τους Κυρνους συνθηκας εποιησατο, πολεμου αραμενοι και αυτους χειρωσαμενοι, το μεν πρωτον, ως και εκεινου το παρασπονδηθεν αλλ' ουχ εαυτων το αιτιαμα ου, επεμψαν εκδιδοντες αυτοις, μη προσδεξαμενων δε σφων αυτων εξηλασαν. — Β. 29 (p. 593).

"Οτι οι Ρωμαιοι τους Καρχηδονιους χρηματα επιπραξαμενοι τας σπονδας ανενεωσαντο, και το μεν πρωτον πρεσβεια αυτων ελθουση, ότι τε της σφετερας παρασκευης ησθουτο και ότι αυτοι το προς τους ομορους πολεμον έτη και τοτε κατεκιχοντο, μετριον ουδεν απεκριναντο, μετα δε τουτο.

Zonaras 8, 18.

δυνηθεις ιππορια πλοιων περαιωθηναι, Κλαυδιον τινα Κλινεαν συν δυναμει προεπεμψε. κακεινος τους Κυρνους καταπληξας εσ λογους ἤλθε, και ως αυτοκρατωρ τυρχανων εσπεισατο. ουαρος δε των συνθηκων μη φρουτησας επολεμησε τοις Κυρνους, εως αυτους εχειρωσατο. οι δε Ρωμαιοι, το παρασπονδημα ἀποπροσποιουμενοι, επεμψαν αυτοις εκδιδοντες τον Κλαυδιον· ός δ' ουκ εδεχθη, εξηλασαν αυτον. επι δε Καρχηδονιους μελλοντες στρατευσεν, ως τοις σφων εμπορους λυμαινομενους, τοτε μεν ουκ εποιησαν, χρηματα δ' επιπραξαμενοι ανενεωσαντο τας σπονδας. εμελλουν

1 Kυρνους Melber, λιγνατ Ms. 2 εποιησατο — αραμενοι — χειρωσαμενοι Val., εποιησατο — αραμενοι — χειρωσαμενοι Ms. 3 το added by Val. 4 τουτο Leuncl., τουτον Msb.
After Claudius had made terms with the Corsicans, and the Romans had then waged war upon them and subdued them, they first sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him, on the ground that the fault in breaking the compact lay with him and not with themselves; and when the Corsicans refused to receive him, they drove him into exile.

The Romans, after exacting more money from the Carthaginians, renewed the truce. At first, however, upon the arrival of the embassy which the latter had sent because they realized their foes' state of preparedness and also because they themselves were still occupied at that time with the war against the neighbouring tribes, they had given them no mild answer. Afterwards Hanno, a man carry him over, he sent a certain Claudius Clineas ahead with a force. The latter terrified the Corsicans, held a conference with them, and made peace as though he had full authority to do so. Varus, however, ignored this agreement and fought the Corsicans until he had subjugated them. The Romans, to divert from themselves the blame for breaking the compact, sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him; and when he was not received, they drove him into exile. They were on the point of making an expedition against the Carthaginians, alleging that these were committing outrages upon their merchants; but instead of doing so, they exacted more money and renewed the truce. Yet
Ἀνώνυμος τινὸς νέου τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δεινοῦ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πεμφθέντος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά ἀ- παρακαλύπτως καὶ τέλος ὡς τε ἐκ μὴ βούλεσθε εἰρηνεῖν, ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν οὐ γὰρ πρὸσκαιρὸν τινὰ ἀνοχῆν ἀλλ' ἄδιδον φιλίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπριάμεθα" εἰπόντος, ἡπίωτεροί τε αἰ- σχυνθέντες ἐγένοντο . . . Uυ 6 (p. 378) (οἱ Ῥω- μαῖοι—ἀνενέωσαντο Συίδ. s. v. ἐπιπραξάμενοι).

2 . . . ὂς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιπάθωσιν, ὡστε καὶ πάνυ ἁσμένως οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν εὐτυχίᾳ διασώσασθαι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι μείναι αἱρούμενοι διεμέλλοντα, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς μικρὲτα τὴν εἰρήνην ἁγοντες, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπὶ διασκοποῦντες περὶ αὐτῆς ἀνέσχον, ὡσθ' ἀπασὶ δήλων γενέσθαι ὅτι ὅποτέρως ἂν αὐτῶν προτέρως παρακινῆσαι τι συνενέγκῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προκατάρξουσιν. ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένουσιν ἐς ὅσον αὐ- τοῖς καὶ καθήκη πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ μᾶλλον σφίσι συμφέρον ἁσφάλες καὶ τὸ αὐ- τοῖς παρασπονδῆσαι τι νομίζουσιν εἶναι.—Μ. 125 (p. 184).

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δὲ μηδ' ὃς ἐς μακρὰν αἰ συνθῆκαι μένειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀνεβέβλητο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Σαρδονίους μὴ πειθοµένους αὐτοῖς ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐνίκησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεισαν τοὺς Σαρ-

1 τῇ added by Leunec.
2 See note on Fr. 43, 21.
3 ὑπαρχόντων Mai, ὑπάρχων Ms.
4 ἐπὶ διασκοποῦντες Bk., ἐπιδιασκοποῦντες Ms.
5 αὐτῆς Bk., τῆς αὐτῆς Ms.
6 τὸ Bk., τὸ μὴ Ms.
of youthful years who used striking frankness of speech, was sent. He spoke his mind unreservedly on a number of matters, and finally exclaimed: "If you do not wish to be at peace, restore to us both Sardinia and Sicily; for with these we purchased not a temporary truce, but eternal friendship." Thus shamed, they not only became milder...

.... and the others, lest they might in turn suffer the same injuries; so that they were very glad to delay, the one side choosing to preserve the prosperity inherited from the past, and the other to hold on at least to what it had. So far as their threats went, they were no longer keeping the peace, but when it came to deeds they still continued to deliberate about it, so that it became clear to all that whichever of the two nations first found it to its advantage to make a move would likewise be the one to begin the war. Indeed, most men abide by their compacts just so long as suits their own convenience; but in the interest of some greater advantage to themselves, they deem it safe even to break a truce.

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the treaty was not destined even thus to be of long standing. The case of the Carthaginians was accordingly postponed; but the Romans made an expedition against the Sardinians, who would not yield obedience, and conquered them. Later the
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δονίους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κρύφα τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις ἐπαναστήναι, καὶ τούτοις οἱ Κύρινοι προσπέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Δύνας οὐχ ἦσύχασαν.

Τῷ δ' ἐπηγευμένῳ ἔτει τρικυτὴς δυνάμεις ἔμελομενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἢν ἀμα πολεμοῦμενοι πάντες μὴ συμβοηθοὶεν ἄλληλοις, Ποστούμιοι μὲν Ἀλβίνου εἰς τὴν Διυρχυκῆν, Σπούριοι δὲ Καρουῖλαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρνίους, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαρδῆν τὸν ἀστυνόμον Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον ἐπεμψάν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι οὐκ ἄπωνοι μὲν, οὐ βραδεῖς δὲ τὰ προστασθέντα σφίσι κατέπραξαν τοὺς δὲ Σαρδονίους μὴ τε μέτριον φρονοῦντας ἰςχυρὰ μάχῃ οἱ Καρουῖλιος κατεστρέψατο ο ἱγρὸ Κορνήλιος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ ὑπὸ νόσου ἐφθάρησαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἄπηλλάγησαν, ἀπέστησαν αὐθίς οἱ Σαρδονίους καὶ οἱ Δύνας. Κύντος μὲν οὖν Φάβιος Μάξιμος ἐπέμβη πρὸς Δύνας, ἐς δὲ γε τὴν Σαρδῶν Πομπώνιος Μάνιος. τοὺς γε μὴν Καρχη
dόνιος ὡς αἰτίους αὐτὸς τῶν πολέμων οὐνας πολεμίους ἔκρηκαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρήματα τε ἀπήτουν καὶ ἀπασών ἐκπλεῖν τῶν νήσων ἐπέταττον ὡς αὐτοὶ διαφεροῦσιν. ἐκφαί

νούτες δὲ καὶ τὴν σφετέραν διάνοιαν δόριν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλαν καὶ κηρύκειοι, ἐν ἐλέσθαι κελεύοντες, ὅποιον ἀν ἐθελήσωσιν. οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτήσαντες τά τε ἄλλα τραχύτερον ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ τῶν πεμφθέντων σφῖσιν αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπὶν οὐδέτερον, δέχεσθαι δ' ἐτοίμοις ὅποτερον καταλείψουσιν, ἐν
teúdeν ἐμίσουν μὲν ἄλληλους, ὡκνοῦν δὲ πολέμου κατάρξασθαι.

κυνητέντων δ' αὐθίς τῶν Σαρδονίων ἐπ' αὐτούς

26
Carthaginians secretly persuaded the Sardinians to rise against the Romans. In addition to this the Corsicans also revolted and the Ligurians did not remain quiet.

The following year the Romans divided their forces into three parts in order that the rebels, finding war waged upon all of them at once, might not render assistance to one another; so they sent Postumius Albinus into Liguria, Spurius Carvilius against the Corsicans, and Publius Cornelius, the praetor urbanus, to Sardinia. And the consuls accomplished their missions with some speed, though not without trouble. The Sardinians, who were animated by no little spirit, were vanquished in a fierce battle by Carvilius; for Cornelius and many of his soldiers had perished by disease. When the Romans left their country, the Sardinians and the Ligurians revolted again. Quintus Fabius Maximus was accordingly sent against the Ligurians and Pomponius Manius to Sardinia. The Romans declared the Carthaginians, as the instigators of these wars, to be enemies, and they sent to them demanding money and bidding them remove their ships from all these islands, since these ports belonged to them. And to make their mind perfectly clear, they sent a spear and a herald's staff, bidding them choose one, whichever they pleased. The Carthaginians, quite undismayed, returned a sufficiently curt answer, in which they stated that they chose neither of the articles sent them, but were ready to accept either that the Romans might leave with them. Henceforth the two nations hated each other but hesitated to begin war.

When the Sardinians once more rose against the
"Οτι πρέσβεις ποτε ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν ... Γαίου Παπειρίου, καίπερ μηδὲν μηδέπω τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν σφισὶ προσηκόντων, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ λόγοις ἐπιτηδείοις διήγαγεν, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαίως τοῖς Ἰβηρσιο πολεμεῖ, ἵνα τὰ χρήματα ἃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτὶ πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδόνιων ἐπωφείλετο ἀποδοθῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν αὐτὰ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ὅστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπορήσαι ὃ τι οἱ ἐπιτιμήσωσιν.—Μ. 126 (p. 184).

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οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἁμφῶν ἐστράτευσαν Μάρκος τε Μαλέόλος καὶ Μάρκος Λιμίλιος. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λάφυρα ἔλαβον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Κυρνίων προσχόντες αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ ἀφφερέθησαν. διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἁμφοτέρους οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐστράτωσον. καὶ Μάρκος μὲν Πομπώνιος Σαιρύδονας ἔφερε, καὶ μαθὼν τοὺς πλείωνας αὐτῶν ἐς στῆλα χώρα καὶ δυσεξέυρετα καταδύντας, μὴ δυνάμενος τε αὐτοὺς εὑρεῖν, κῦνας ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας μετεπέμψατο εὑρίσκεις, καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων τὴν στίβον καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων εὐρόν πολλὰ ἀπετέμετο. Γαίος δὲ Παπεἱρίος ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεδίων τῶν Κυρνίων ἀπῆλασε, βιαζόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὅρη συχνοὺς ἐς ἑνέδρας ἀπέβαλε, πλεῖος τε ἀν ὕδατος ἀπορία ἀπόλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ποὺ ὑδρων ὄψε ποτε ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς Κυρνίους ὀμολογησαί.
On one occasion they sent envoys to investigate [the movements of Hamilcar, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and] Gaius Papirius, in spite of the fact that they had no interests in Spain as yet. Hamilcar showed them all due honour and offered them plausible explanations, declaring, among other things, that he was obliged to fight against the Spaniards in order that the money which was still owing to the Romans on the part of the Carthaginians might be paid; for it was impossible to obtain it from any other source. The envoys were consequently embarrassed to know how to censure him.

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Romans, both the consuls, Marcus Malleolus and Marcus Aemilius, took the field. And they secured many spoils, which were taken away from them, however, by the Corsicans when they touched at their island. Hence the Romans now turned their attention to both these peoples. Marcus Pomponius proceeded to harry Sardinia, but could not find many of the inhabitants, who as he learned, had slipped into caves of the forest, difficult to locate; therefore he sent for keen-scented dogs from Italy, and with their aid discovered the trail of both men and cattle and cut off many such parties. Gaius Papirius drove the Corsicans from the plains, but in attempting to force his way to the mountains he lost numerous men through ambush and would have suffered the loss of still more owing to the scarcity of water, had not water at length been found; then the Corsicans were induced to come to terms.
19. Κατὰ τούτον τῶν χρόνων καὶ Αμίλκας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς πρὸς Ἰβηρῶν νικηθεὶς ἐθανεν. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου γὰρ σφίσιν ἀμάξας δάδων καὶ πίσσης μεστὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων προῆγαγον, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀγή-ψαν αὐτᾶς, καὶ τὰ ἐλκοῦτα αὐτὰς ὑποζύγια ἐπισπερχοῦτες οἰστρήσαν. κακὸ τούτου συντα-ραχθέντων τῶν ἐναντίων διασπασθέντων τε καὶ τραπεμένων, ἑτόμενοι κάκευον καὶ ἄλλους πλει-στους ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀνθήσας ὀὔτως ἐτελεύτησε, τελευτήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀσ-δρούβας ὁ γαμβρὸς διεδέξατο. καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ προσεκτήσατο, πόλιν τε ἐν αὐτῇ Καρχη-δόνα ὁμόνυμον τῇ πατρίδι ἐκτίσε. 
Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βοσινίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλώ-τους πολούσιν, δεῖσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μητοτε κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν χρήσιμων, ἀπείθουσιν ἡμῖν ἀνδρὶ Γαλατῇ μητ' ἀργύριοι μῆτε χροσιον δεδομαί. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες τοὺς ὑπάτους Μάρκον Αἴμπλω καὶ Μάρκον Ἰούνιον εἶν τὴν Διυγνικὴν ἀπάραντα, παρεπεκυάζοντο εἰς τὴν Ῥωμήν ἐλάσαι. γνώντων δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶς ἄρχον ὄρμηκότων, ἐξε-πλάγισαν καὶ ἀπίστησαν αὐτοὺς ὡς φίλοι. κάκευοι δὲ ὑπεκρίθησαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπήσαν, ἄλλα διὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Δίγυνας. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τε Ἰούνιον ἑπεραίωθησαν καὶ τῆς ἥπειρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἡφαντο· προφασίς δ'
19. About this time also Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, was defeated by the Spaniards and lost his life. For, as he was arrayed in battle against them, they led out in front of the Carthaginian army waggons full of pine wood and pitch and when they drew near they set fire to these vehicles, then hurried on the animals drawing them by goading them to madness. Forthwith their opponents were thrown into confusion, became disorganized, and turned to flight, and the Spaniards, pursuing, killed Hamilcar and a great many besides. Thus, after a remarkably successful career, Hamilcar met his end; and at his death his son-in-law Hasdrubal succeeded him. The latter acquired many new districts of Spain and founded there a city, called Carthage after his native place.

In view of the fact that the Boii and the rest of the Gauls were offering for sale various articles and an especially large number of captives, the Romans became afraid that they might some day use the money against them, and accordingly forbade anybody to give to a Gaul either silver or gold. Soon afterward the Carthaginians, learning that the consuls, Marcus Aemilius and Marcus Junius, had started for Liguria, made preparations to march upon Rome. But when the consuls became aware of this and proceeded suddenly against them, they became frightened and went to meet them as if they were friends. The consuls likewise feigned that they had not set out against these people, but were going through their country into the Ligurian territory.

And the Romans crossed the Ionian Gulf and laid hands upon the Greek mainland. They found an

1 A mistake on the part of Zonaras. Some Gallic tribe is evidently meant.
"Ὅτι Ἰσσα ἡ νήσος ἐκουσία ἑαυτὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τότε πρῶτον πειράσθαί σφόν ἐμελλον, καὶ προσφιλεστέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν ἡδη φοβερῶν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, κρείττους ἐς τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ προδήλου τῷ λογισμῷ ἐγνώμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἡδὴ προσκείσθαί σφις εἰς ἀχθηδόνα, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκάσθαι ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ἐφερεν. —Μ. 127 (p. 184).

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αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλοῦ ἐγένετο ἢδε. Ἰσσα νήσος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ κειμένη, ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα κάτοικοι Ἰσσαῖοι καλοῦμενοι ἐθελοῦνται τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραδεδωκασίν ἑαυτούς, τῷ σφὸν κρατοῦντι ἀχθώμενοι Ἀγρόων τῷ τῶν Σαρδιαίων βασιλεί, γένους Ἰλλυρικοῦ, πρὸς ὄν πρέσβεις ὁποῖοι ἐπεμψαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τεθνεώτος ἐπὶ νῖφο

1 τῷ λογισμῷ Gros, τῶν λογισμῶν Ms. 2 ὡς inserted by Leuncl. 3 ἐσπουδακός Urs., ἐσπουδακὸς Ms. 4 Ἀρδιαῖος Val., σαρδιαῖος Ms. (and similarly below).
The island of Issa surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. This was the first time the islanders were to make their acquaintance, but they regarded them as more friendly and trustworthy than those whom they had now come to dread. They reasoned that more reliance was to be placed on the unknown than on the known; for while the one, because of actual experience had with it, inspired resentment, the other, because of their anticipations, inspired good hope.

When the Issaeans had attached themselves to the Romans, the latter, desiring to show them some prompt and ready favour in return, so as to get the reputation of aiding such as joined their cause, and also to punish the Ardiaeans, who were annoying those who sailed from Brundisium, sent envoys to Agron, to ask clemency for the Issaeans and at the same time to censure the king for wronging them without cause. Now these men found Agron no longer alive; he had died, leaving

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excuse for the voyage in the following circumstances. Issa is an island situated in the Ionian Gulf. Its inhabitants, known as Issaeans, had of their own free will surrendered themselves to the Romans because they were angry with their ruler Agron, who was king of the Ardiaeans and of Illyrian stock. To him the consuls sent envoys. But he had died, leaving
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 tqdma, kataxaptoj etechnikei. Tewta de o yunh autou, meptria de tou Pinnou, ekratei twon 'Ardiaion . . . 1 upo thrasuthtos ouxa oudeu metropin autous apkekintato, all' ola yunh pros t' emfutro prospetela kal upo tis dynamews 0s eixe xanounmenh, tous mev edhse twn prebsewv, tous de kal 4 apekteinev, oti eparrhiasasanto. Kal tote men taut' epraxe, kal fronhma apo auton, osper tima ischyn en tw proxeirof tis omothtos epide- degenev, elabe deihlegei de di elakhistov twn tou gynaikeiou genous asdeneian tachy men upo braxuthtos gynomos orhigomene, tachy de kal upo 5 deilias fothoumenin. epieidh gar 2 taxista ton polemon tous 'Romaion esphfisthai oi epitheto, katetptih, kal tous te andras ovs eixe auton apodowsev upesxetov kal epi tois teteleutikosisin

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diadoxh paidi eti o ekenev yunh, tou de paidos meptria, tin twn Saradiaion dieipnev arxhn. o tois prebesein oudeu metropin ekrhamiaste, parrho-
siasamhvos de tous mev edhse, tous de apekteine. ton de 'Romaion polemon psifisamhun auti
ekptih, kal tous te sokoamhous ton prebsewv apodowseiv upesxeto kal tous thavontas elehe

1 Lacuna recognized by Urs. 2 gar added by Reim.
behind a child named Pinnes. Teuta, the wife of Agron and stepmother of Pinnes, was ruling the Ardiaeans,... as a result of her boldness, she gave them no respectful reply, but, woman-like, in addition to her innate recklessness, she was puffed up with vanity because of the power that she possessed; and she accordingly cast some of the ambassadors into prison and killed others for expressing themselves freely. Such was her action at that time, and she actually took pride in it as if she had displayed some strength by her facile cruelty. In a very short time, however, she demonstrated the weakness of the female sex, which quickly flies into a passion through lack of judgment, and quickly becomes terrified through cowardice. For just as soon as she learned that the Romans had voted for war against her she became panic-stricken, and promised to restore their men whom she held, while she tried to defend herself in the matter of the death of the

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as his successor a son who was still a mere child; and his wife, the boy’s stepmother, was governing the realm of the Ardiaeans. She was not at all reasonable in her dealings with the ambassadors, and when they expressed themselves freely, she cast some of them into prison and killed others. As soon, however, as the Romans had voted for war against her, she became panic-stricken, promised to restore the ambassadors who were left alive, and declared that
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀπελογεῖτο λέγουσα ὑπὸ ληστῶν τινῶν αὐτοὺς πεφονεύσθαι. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῆς στρατείας διὰ τούτῳ ἐπισχόντων τοὺς δὲ αὐτόχειρας ἕξαιτη-
σάντων κατεφρόνησε τε αὐθίς, ὅτι μηδέπω τὰ
dεινὰ αὐτῇ παρῆν, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη
καὶ ἔπι τὴν Ἰσσαυ στράτευμα ἀπέστειλεν. ἔπει-
δὴ δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρόντας ἤσθετο, κατε-
δείσεραν αὐ καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ύφηκε καὶ ἐς πάν ὁτιοῦν
ἐπακούσαί σφων ἑτοίμη ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
παντάπασιν ἐσωφρονίσθη τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων πρὸς
Κέρκυραν περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησε, καὶ ἀπο-
στάσα ἐπ’ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν 1 στρά-
tευμα ἀπέστειλε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις
ῥυσαμένων καὶ πλοία αὐτῆς μετὰ χρημάτων

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ὑπὸ ληστῶν πεφονεύσθαι. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
αὐτόχειρας ἕξαιτησάντων οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη
καὶ ἔπι τὴν Ἰσσαυ ἐστείλε στράτευμα. εἶτα αὐθίς
δείσασα Δημήτριον τινα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους
ἐπέμψεν, ὡς ἑτοίμη πρὸς πάν ὑπακούσαι αὐτῶν.
καὶ σπουδαὶ πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα ἐγένοντο, τὴν
Κέρκυραν αὐτοὺς παρασχόμενον. τῶν δὲ πρὸς
τὴν νήσου περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησε αὐθίς, οἷα
γνῷ κούφην ἔχουσα γρώμη καὶ εὐμετάβολον,
καὶ πρὸς Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐξέπεμψε
στρατιάν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις τε ῥυσα-
μένων καὶ πλοία αὐτῆς κατασχόντων μετὰ χρη-

1 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν added by Bk. from Zonaras.
others, declaring that they had been slain by some robbers. When the Romans for this reason stopped their campaign and demanded the surrender of the murderers, she once more showed her contempt, because the danger was not yet at her doors, and declaring she would not give up anybody, despatched an army against Issa. But when she learned that the consuls were at hand, she grew terrified again, abated her high spirit, and became ready to heed them in everything whatsoever. She had not yet, however, been brought fully to her senses, for when the consuls had crossed over to Coreyra, she felt imbued with new courage, revolted and despatched an army against Epidamnus and Apollonia. But after the Romans had rescued the cities and had captured ships of hers laden with

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those dead had been slain by robbers. But when the Romans demanded the surrender of the murderers, she declared she would not give up anybody, and despatched an army against Issa. Then she again grew fearful and sent a certain Demetrius to the consuls, assuring them of her readiness to heed them in everything. And a truce was made with this emissary, upon his agreeing to give them Coreyra. Yet woman-like, such was her vain and fickle disposition that when the consuls had crossed over to the island, she became emboldened again, and sent out an army to Epidamnus and Apollonia. After the Romans had rescued these cities, seized
λαμβανόντων, ἐμέλλησεν αὐτὸς πειθαρχήσαι 7 σφίσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης κακῶς περὶ τὸν 'Ατύριον λόφον ἀπῆλ-λαξαν, ἐπέσχεν ἐλπίσασα αὐτοὺς (ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ χείμων ἦν) ἀπαναστήσεσθαι. αἰσθομένη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβάνον κατὰ χώραν μένειν, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ τῆς ἐμπληξίας ἐκείνης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ῥω-μαίων φόβου μεθεστικότα καὶ τίνας ἀλλούς αὐτομολῆσαι πεπεικότα, παντελῶς κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ἀφῆκεν.—U" 6 (p. 378).

50 "Οτι χρησμὸς τις τῆς Σιβύλλης τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδειμάτω,1 φυλάξασθαι τοὺς Γαλάτας δεῖν κελεύων ὅταν κεραινός ἐς τὸ Καπιτόλιον πλησίον Ἀπολλωνίου κατασκηῆς.—Μ. 128 (p. 185).

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μάτων ἐκ Πελοπονήσου προσπλέοντα, καὶ τὰ χωρία πορθησάντων τὰ πάραλα, καὶ τοῦ Δημη-τρίου διὰ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν ἐκείνης πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεθεστικότα καὶ ἀλλούς αὐτομολῆσαι πεπει-κότας, κατέδεισε καὶ ἀπέσχετο τῆς ἀρχῆς. καὶ τὴν μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς τῷ παιδὶ ἐπιτροπεύσων εἰλήφει, οί δὲ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ ταύτα παρὰ Κορινθίων ἐπηρεάσαν, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ μετέσχον ἀγῶνος, καὶ στάδιον ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Πλάντος ἔνικησε, καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φιλίαν ἐπετοιήκεσαν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σφῶν τῶν τε μυστηρίων μετέσχουν.

Τὸ δ' Ἰλλυρικὸν ὄνομα πάλαι μὲν ἐν ἀλλοις ἐπεκέκλητο, ὡστερον δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀνω μεταβέβηκεν

1 ἐδειμάτω St., ἐδειμάτω Ms.
treasure, she was again on the point of yielding obedience. Meanwhile they mounted to a high place above the sea, and were defeated near the Atyrian hill; and she now waited, hoping for their withdrawal, in view of the fact that it was already winter. But on perceiving that Albinus remained where he was and that Demetrius, as a result of her caprice, as well as from fear of the Romans, had transferred his allegiance, besides persuading some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and gave up her power.

The Romans were alarmed over an oracle of the Sibyl which told them that they must beware of the Gauls when a thunderbolt should fall upon the Capitol near the temple of Apollo.

Zonaras 8, 19.

ships of hers which were sailing home from the Peloponnesus laden with treasure, and devastated the coast regions, and after Demetrius as a result of her caprice had transferred his allegiance to the Romans and also persuaded some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and abdicated her power. This Demetrius received in trust for the boy. The Romans were thanked by the Corinthians for their action, and took part in the Isthmian games, in which Plautus won the stadium race. Moreover they formed a friendship with the Athenians and were admitted by them to citizenship and to the Mysteries.

The name Illyricum was anciently applied to different regions, but later it was transferred to the
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ήπειρον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῇ Ὑπάκην τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἴμου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ 'Ροδόπην, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων τῶν ὄρων καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν τοῦ τῇ Αἴνου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρού μέχρι τοῦ Εὐζείνου πόλεως, καὶ πη καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰστρού νέμεται.

Δογιάν δὲ ποτὲ τοῖς Ὑπαιτοῖς ἐλθόντος καὶ Ἐλληνας καὶ Γαλάτας τὸ ἀστυ καταλήψεσθαι, Γαλάται δύο καὶ Ἐλληνες ἔτεροι ἐκ τῶν ἀρρενών καὶ τοῦ θῆλεος γένους ἔστε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατωρύγησαν, ἵνα ὁμοίως ὑπέτελες τὸ πεπρομένου γενέσθαι δοκῇ, καὶ τὸ κατέχειν τῆς πόλεως κατορχυμένοι νομίζονται.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτου Σαρδῶνιοι ἐν δεινῷ ποιούμενοι ὡς στρατηγὸς Ὑπαιτοῖς ἀεὶ καθεστήκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔδωκόλθησαν.

20. Ἰουσοῦβροι δὲ, Γαλατικὸν γένος, συμμάχους ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὀμοφύλων προσελθόντες, ὡς τοῖς Ὑπαιτοῖς ἐπήνεγκαν διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡυτρεπτίζοντο. Λησσαμένων δὲ τῶν Βαρβάρων τινάς, τελευταίοις Χειμόνους μεγάλον νυκτὸς συμβάντος ὑπετόπησαν τὸ βείον ἐναντιοῦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἤδυμησαν, καὶ καταπτήσαντες φυγῆ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 603.

'Επὶ Φασίου γὰρ Μαξίμου Ἑροκόσσου ἦτοι ἀκρογορόνωδος Ὑπαιτοῖς τούτῳ ἔποίησαν, Ἐλληνικὸν καὶ Γαλατικὸν ἀνδρόγυνον κρύφαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινὸς δειματωθέντες, λέγοντος 'Ελληνα καὶ Γαλάτην καταλήψεσθαι τὸ ἀστυ.
Zonaras 8, 19-20.

interior of the mainland and to the region above Macedonia and the part of Thrace lying this side of Haemus and next to Rhodope. It lies between these mountains and the Alps, also between the river Aenus and the Ister, extending as far as the Euxine Sea; indeed, at some points it extends even beyond the Ister.

Inasmuch as an oracle had once come to the Romans that Greeks and Gauls should occupy the city, two Gauls and likewise two Greeks, male and female, were buried alive in the Forum, in order that in this way destiny might seem to have fulfilled itself, and these foreigners, thus buried there, might be regarded as possessing a part of the city.

After this the Sardinians, indignant because a Roman praetor was continually set over them, began an uprising; but they were again enslaved.

20. The Insubres, a Gallic tribe, after securing allies from among their kinsmen beyond the Alps, turned their arms against the Romans, and the latter were accordingly making preparations themselves. The barbarians plundered some towns, but at last a great storm occurred in the night, and they suspected that Heaven was against them. Consequently they lost heart, and falling into a panic,

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 603.

In the time of Fabius Maximus Verrucossus (i.e. "Warty") the Romans did this, after burying in the middle of the Forum a Greek and a Gallic couple, man and woman in each case; for they were alarmed by a certain oracle which declared that Greek and Gaul should occupy the city.
"Ωτι οἱ Γαλάται τὸν ρωμαίον αἴδοντες τὰ ἐπιτηδείατα τῶν χωρῶν προκατεληφότας ἠθυμήσαν πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωποι καὶ ἐπιτυχόντες ὅν ἄν ὀργιγνθώσι πρῶτον ἐτοιμότερον πρὸς τὰ λουπὰ χωροῦσιν, καὶ διαμαρτόντες ἐς πάντα ἀπαμβλύνουνται, τὸ δὲ δὴ Γαλατικὸν πλέον τι ἦ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὄξυτατα μὲν ὅν ἄν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν ἀντιλαμβάνονται καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα τῶν προχωροῦντων αὐτοὶ ἀντέχονται, ἄν δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ βραχύτατον προσκρούσωσιν, οὐδὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ λουπὰ ἐλπίζουσι, πρόχειροι μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνολας πᾶν ὁ βούλονται προσδοκῆσαι, πρόχειροι δὲ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ πᾶν ὁ ἄν ἐγχειρίσωσιν ἐπεξελθεῖν ὄντες. 3 καὶ ὡργῇ ἀκράτῳ καὶ ὀρμῇ ἀπλήστῳ χρῶνται, καὶ δ’ αὐτὰ οὔτε τι διαρκές ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχουσιν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ προπετῶς βρασυνόμενον ἀνταρκέσαι), καὶ ἀπαξ ἀλλοωθόσι, οὐτ’ ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλοις τε καὶ δέους τινὸς προσγενομένου δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἔκπληξιν τῆς πρόσθεν ἀδεοὺς τόλμης καθίσταται δ’ ὅλογον γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ὀξυρρόπως, ἅτε μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐχέγγυον ἐς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν παρεχόμενοι, φέρονται.—Μ. 129 (p. 185).

Zonaras 8, 20.

τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησαν. καὶ ὁ Ῥηγούλος αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξε, καὶ τοῖς ὁπισθοφυλακοῦσι προσμέχας ἤττηθε τε καὶ ἀπέθανεν:

1 προσκρούσωσιν Bk., ἐπισυνεργόσωσιν Ms.
2 ἀκράτῳ—ἀπλήστῳ Bk., ἀκράτως—ἀπλήστως Ms.
BOOK XII

The Gauls became dejected on seeing that the Romans had already seized the most favourable positions. For all men, if they obtain the object of their first aim, proceed more readily toward their subsequent goals, and likewise if they fail of it, lose interest in everything else. Those of the Gallic race, however, rather more than the rest of mankind, seize very eagerly upon what they desire, and cling most tenaciously to their successes, but if they meet with the slightest obstacle, have no hope at all left for the future. In their folly they are ready to expect whatsoever they wish, and in their ardour are ready to carry out whatsoever they undertake. They are men of ungoverned passion and uncontrolled impulse, and for that reason they have in these qualities no element of endurance, since it is impossible for reckless audacity to prevail for any time; and if once they suffer a setback, they are unable, especially if any fear also be present, to recover themselves, and are plunged into a state of panic corresponding to their previous fearless daring. In brief time they rush abruptly to the very opposite extremes, since they can furnish no sound motive based on reason for either course.

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attempted to find safety in flight. Regulus pursued them and brought on an engagement with the rearguard in which he was defeated and lost his life.
4 "Ότι Αίμυλιος τοῦ Ίνσουμβροῦς νικήσας τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκόπτων σφέσιν, διὶ ὦμωμοκότας αὐτοὺς ἠσθετοὶ μὴ πρῶτερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι.—Μ. 130 (p. 186).

51 "Ότι εἴ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι νομίζομένων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἡμαρτήθη, πάντως ποιή indifference ξλείλατο, καὶ τᾶ ἀνθρώπων, οἰκετήρας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν εἰλον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐκομάσαντο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς τῶν Βοονίων ὁ Αίμυλιος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, τοὺς τε πρῶτος τῶν ἀλόντων ὁπλισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεκόμισεν, ἐπισκόπτων αὐτοῖς ὡς ὦμωμοκόστας μὴ πρῶτερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσασθαι πρὸν ἀνελθέντει εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς τῶν Βοονίων ἀπασαν προσεκτήσαντο καὶ τὸν Ῥίδιαν τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ίνσουμβροὺς διέβησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθουσαν.

Τεράτων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων ἐς μέγα δέος οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατέστησαν ποταμὸς τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πικηνῷ αἰματόδησις ἔρρυ ἦν τῇ Τυρσηνίδι καὶ
BOOK XII

Aemilius on conquering the Insubres celebrated a triumph, and in it conveyed the foremost captives clad in armour up to the Capitol, making jests at their expense because he had heard that they had sworn not to remove their breastplates until they had mounted to the Capitol.

If any of the details, even the smallest, that were customary in festivals had been omitted, the cere-

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Aemilius occupied a hill and remained quiet. The Gauls in turn occupied another hill, and for several days both sides were inactive; then the Romans, through anger at what had taken place, and the barbarians, from arrogance born of their victory, charged down from the heights and came to blows. For a long time the battle was evenly fought, but finally the Romans surrounded the others with their cavalry, cut them down, seized their camp, and recovered the spoils. After this Aemilius wrought havoc among the possessions of the Boii and celebrated a triumph, in which he conveyed the foremost captives clad in armour up to the Capitol, making jests at their expense for having sworn not to remove their breastplates until they had ascended to the Capitol. The Romans now not only gained the entire territory of the Boii, but also crossed the Po for the first time against the Insubres, whose country they proceeded to ravage.

Meanwhile portents had occurred which threw the people of Rome into great fear. A river in Picenum ran the colour of blood, in Etruria a good part of the
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dεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖὸν τε ἔτι, μέχρι περ καὶ ἀμέμπτως πάντα γεγονέναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, μιᾷ γέ τινι ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεωρτάζετο.—Μ. 131 (p. 186).

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σθαὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐν τῷ 'Αρμίνωρ φῶς νύκτωρ ἡμέρα προσεόικος ἔλαμψε, καὶ πολ- λαχοὺ τῆς Ἰταλλίας τρεῖς σελήνει νυκτὸς ἑφαντά- σθησαν, καὶ τῇ ἀγορᾶ γυνί ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐνιδρύθη. διά τε γοῦν τὰ τέρατα παῦτα καὶ ὅτι τινὲς παρανόμως ἔλεγον τοὺς ὑπάτους αἰρεθήναι, μετεπέμψαντο αὐτοὺς. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὰ γράμ- ματα οἱ ὑπάτοι οὐκ εἰδὼν αὐτὰ ἀνέγυρω, ἀρτὶ πρὸς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι, ἄλλα προσῳμβα- λόντες ἐκράτησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀναγνω- σθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ μὲν Φούριος ἐτοίμως ἐπείθετο, ὁ δὲ γε Φλαμίνιος ἐπαιρόμενος τῇ νίκῃ τὴν τε αἰρεσιν αὐτῶν ἀπεδείκνυν δι' αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθόγον ἐνέκειτο καὶ τοῦ θείου τοὺς δυνάτους καταψεύδεσθαι. οὐτ' οὖν ἀπαναστήναι πρὶν τὸ πᾶν καταστήσασθαι ἦθελε, καὶ διδάξειν καὶ τοὺς οἶκοι ἐφ' ἀλλ' ὁρμάς ἔκοψε τῆς τοιούτω προσέχοντας ἀπα- τάσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἦθελε καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα κατέχειν ἐπειράτο, Φούριος δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο. τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Φλαμίνιου μελλόντων καταλειψθήσεσθαι φοβηθέντων μὴ μονωθέντες πάθωσι τις παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ δεσπότεν τοῖς ἡμέρας τινὰς προσμεῖναι, ἐπείσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

46
monies were always performed a second or a third time, and even oftener still, so far as was possible in one day, until everything seemed to have been done faultlessly.

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heavens seemed to be on fire, at Ariminum a light like the day blazed out at night, in many portions of Italy three moons became visible in the night time, and in the Forum a vulture perched for several days. On account of these portents and also because some declared that the consuls had been illegally chosen, they summoned them home. The consuls received the letter, but did not open it immediately, since they were just on the point of beginning the war; instead, they joined battle first and came out victorious. After the battle the letter was read, and Furius was for obeying promptly; but Flaminius was elated over the victory and kept pointing out that it showed their election to have been proper, and he insisted that in their jealousy of him the nobles were even misrepresenting the will of the gods. Consequently he refused to depart until he had settled the whole business in hand, and he said he would teach the people at home, too, not to be deceived by relying on birds or any thing of the sort. So he was anxious to remain where he was, and strove to detain his colleague, but Furius would not heed him. However, since the men who were going to be left behind with Flaminius feared that if left by themselves they might suffer some disaster at the hands of their opponents and begged him to remain for a few days longer, he yielded to their entreaties, but
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ἔργου ἡσατο. Φλαμίνιος δὲ περινοστὸν τὴν χώραν ἔτεμνε καὶ ἐρύματὰ τινα κατεστρέψατο, τὰ τε λάφυρα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις, θεραπεύων αὐτοὺς, ἐχαρίσατο. ὡς δ' οἰκαδὲ ἐπανελθόντες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς γερουσίας αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπειθείας ἔσχον (διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ὄργην ἠτίμασαν καὶ τὸν Φούριον), τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀντιφιλονεκήσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φλαμίνιον ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ νικητήρια. καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὰ ἐξέστησαν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

"Ετεροὺς δὲ ὑπατοὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος καὶ Γναῖος Σκιπίων ἀνθαρρεθέντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπί τοὺς Ἰνσούβρους· εἰρήνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰτήσασιν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἀμφοῖ τῶν πρῶτων πολεμοῦντες τὰ πλείον ἐκράτουν, ἐπειδὰ τὴν συμμαχία λεγιάτουμεν μαθόντες διηρέθησαν. καὶ Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ληξομένους τὴν σύμμαχον διὰ ταχέων ἐλθὼν οὐ κατέλαβε σφάζης ἐκεῖ, φευγόντας δὲ ἐπεδίωξε καὶ υποστάντας ἐνίκησε, Σκιπίων δὲ κατὰ χώραν μείνας Ἀκέρας ἐπολιορκεῖ, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτῶν ὀρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου πεποίηκεν, οὕσας ἐπικαίρους καὶ εὐερκείς, κἀντεύθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὸ τε Μεδιόλαυν καὶ κωμόπολιν ἐτέραν ἐχειρώσαντο. ἀλῶντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰνσούβροι ὁμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς, χρήματα καὶ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὅστε.

Εἶτα Πούπλιος τε Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Μινούκιος ἐπὶ Ἰστρου ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐθνῶν τὰ μὲν πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ ὀμολογίας ὑπέταξαν. Δούκιος δὲ Οὐετούριος καὶ Γάνιος Δουτάτιος ἦλθον μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἀνευ ὅτε μάχης.
did not take any active part. Flaminius travelled about laying waste the country, reduced a few forts, and bestowed all the spoils upon the soldiers as a means of winning their favour. At length the leaders returned home and were charged by the senate with disobedience; for Furius also incurred disgrace because of the anger felt against Flaminius. But the populace, in its zeal for Flaminius, opposed the senate and voted them a triumph. After celebrating this the consuls laid down their office.

Other consuls, Claudius Marcellus and Gnaeus Scipio, chosen in their stead, made an expedition against the Insubres; for the Romans had not granted this people’s request for peace. At first the consuls carried on the war together, and were in most cases victorious; but soon, learning that the allied territory was being plundered, they separated their forces. Marcellus made a quick march against those plundering the land of the allies, but found them no longer there; he then pursued them as they fled, and when they made a stand, overcame them. Scipio remained where he was and proceeded to besiege Acerrae; upon taking it he made it a base for the war, since it was favourably placed and well walled. And setting out from that point, they subdued Mediolanum and another town. After these had been captured the rest of the Insubres also made terms with them, giving them money and a portion of the land.

Later Publius Cornelius and Marcus Minucius made an expedition in the direction of the Ister and subdued many of the nations there, some by war and some by capitulation. Lucius Veturius and Gaius Lutatius went as far as the Alps, and without any
"Οτι Δημήτριος ἐκ τέ τῆς τοῦ Πίννου ἐπιτραπεύσεως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῆν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Τριτεύταν τῆς Τεύτας ἀποθανοῦσης γῆμαί ἐπάρθείς, τοῖς τε ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιόκων ἑκακούργει. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν φιλίᾳ ἀποχρόμενος ἄδικεῖν αὐτοῖς, αἰσθόμενοι τούτο μετεπέμψαντο αὐτὸν. ως δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἦπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰσσῇ οὐτα.—V. 30 (p. 593).

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πολλοὺς φιλεώσαντο. ὦ μέντοι τῶν Σαρδιαίων ἄρχων Δημήτριος, ὡς ἀνώ που εἰρηται, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιόκων ἑκακούργει καὶ ἐδόκει τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν φιλίᾳ ἀποχρόμενος ἄδικεῖν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτο οἱ ὑπατοὶ Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος καὶ Μάρκος Διούνιος μετεπέμψαντο αὐτὸν. ως δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἦπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰσσῇ οὐτα. καὶ προμαθόντες ὅτι ὑφώρμει ποι τῶν κατάρσεων, μέρος τῶν νεῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς νήσου προσμέκαι ἐπέμψαν. κὰκ τούτου τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἐπ' ἐκείνους ὡς καὶ μόνους οὕτως τραπομένων, αὐτοὶ κατὰ σχολὴν προσπλεύσαντες ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τε ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ προσπεσόντας σφίσιν αὐθημερὸν τοὺς
Demetrius, encouraged by his position as guardian of Pinnes and by the fact that he had married the latter's mother Triteuta after Teuta's death, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes. So as soon as they [the consuls] heard of this, they summoned him before them, since it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong those peoples. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa.

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fighting won over many people. But the ruler of the Ardiaeans, Demetrius, as has been stated above, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes; and it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong them. As soon as the consuls, Aemilius Paulus and Marcus Livius, heard of this, they summoned him before them. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa. And having learned in advance that he was lying secretly at anchor somewhere in the vicinity of the landing-places, they sent a part of their ships to the other side of the island to bring on an engagement. When the Illyrians, accordingly, turned against these, thinking them to be alone, the main force sailed in at leisure, and after pitching camp in a suitable place,
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ἐπειρήσιον ὧν ἦταν ἀπάτης ἀπεώσαντο. τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου ἐς Φάρον ἔτεραν νῆσον διαφυγόντως,
καὶ ἐπὶ ἑκείνην ἐπλευσαν καὶ τῶν ἀντικαταστάντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας εἶλον,
τοῦ Δημητρίου διαδράματος. ὡς τότε μὲν εἰς Μακε-
δονίαν μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Φίλιππον
τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῆς ἐλθὼν ὑπὸ ἑκείνου μὲν ὄνικ
ἐξεδόθη, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους ἐπανελθὼν συνε-
λήψθη ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἔδικαιώθη.
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 20.
repulsed the natives, who, in their anger at the deception, had promptly attacked them. Demetrius made his escape to Pharos, another island, but they sailed to that, overcame resistance, and captured the city by betrayal, though only after Demetrius had fled. This time he reached Macedonia with large sums of money, and went to Philip, the king of the country. He was not surrendered by him, but on returning to Illyria was arrested by the Romans and put to death.
21. Τῷ δ’ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει περιφανῶς οἱ Ἕρωμαίων τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοις ἔξεπολεμώθησαν, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ ἐλάσσων τοῦ προτέρου συμβέβηκε, τοῖς δ’ ἔργοις τοῖς τε παθήμασι καὶ μείζων καὶ χαλεπώτερος. ἔπηρε δὲ τούτοις μάλιστα ὁ Ἀμφίβας στραταρχῶν τῶν Καρχηδόνων. ὁ δ’ Ἀμφίβας οὗτος παῖς τοῦ Ἀμάλκου τοῦ Βαρσίδου ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕρωμαίων ἠσκήθη. πάντας γὰρ τοὺς νικῶν ὁ Ἀμάλκας ὁσπερ τις σκύμων ἑπ’ αὐτοὺς τρέφειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκείνου δὲ πολὺ τῇ φύσει προφέροντα ὁρῶν καὶ ὡρκοσφαλείς πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τούτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐτὰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξεδίδασκε, πεντεκαίδεκα ἕντα· ὅτεν οὖκ ἦδυνῄη διανόησις αὐτῶ τού πατρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν διαδέχασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐπελεύθησε, οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἔξοδος οὔ τοι καὶ ἐκοσις ἔτων γεγονός, ἄλλα τὸ τε στρατεύμα ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐτίκα προκατέλαβε καὶ στρατηγός ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναδειχθεῖς διφράκειτο καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκεὶ τελῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἴσχυον. πράξεως δὲ ταῦτα προφάσεως εὑπρεποῦς ἔδειτο εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ἕρωμαίων ὀρμῆν, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ζακυνθίους.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

21. In the following year the Romans became openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and this war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and severer in its exploits and its disasters. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a son of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. For Hamilcar said he was rearing all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, and when he saw that this one had by far the best nature, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them; accordingly he was engaged in giving him a careful training, particularly in warfare, at the time of his own death, when the boy was fifteen years of age. Because of his youth Hannibal was unable to succeed then to the generalship; upon the death of Hasdrubal, however, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, but at once took possession of the army in Spain, and after being acclaimed general by the soldiers, brought it about that the command was confirmed to him also by those in authority at home. After accomplishing this he required a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people,
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οὗτοι γὰρ ὦν πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ, ἄνω τῆς θαλάσσης βραχὺ, τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις προσέκειντο, κἀκεῖνοι καὶ έτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους συνθήκαις ἔδορεῖν εἰποιήκεσαν. διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀυτίβας πόλεμον ἦρατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, εἴδος ὅτι ἡ ἐπικουρήσουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Ζακύνθιοι ἦ καὶ τε παθοῦσι τιμωρήσουσι. διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μέγαν πλούτου κεκτήσθαι αὐτοὺς ἕγνωσκεν, οὐ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχρηζε, καὶ δ’ ἔτερ᾽ ἄττα ¹ κατὰ Ῥωμαίον αὐτῷ συμβαλλόμενα τοῖς Ζακύνθιοις ἐπέθετο.  

Ἡ δ’ Ἰβηρία, ἐν ὡς Ζακύνθιοι οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἡ προσεχὴς αὐτὴ πᾶσα ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἐστι, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἐσω θαλάσσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στῆλας τὸν τε Ὀκεανὸν αὐτὸν προήκει, καὶ προσέτη καὶ τὴν ἥπερ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄνω διὰ πλείστον μέχρι τοῦ Πυρηναίου νέμεται. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων ύστερον δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἀρχαμενὸς ἐς τὴν ἔξω τὴν μεγάλην διατείνει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σύμμετα ἐθνῆ ἐχον, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς προσοικοῦ Γαλατίας ἀφορίζον. οὔτε δ’ ὀμόφωνοι ἦσαν οὔτε κοινὴ ἐπολύτευσον. ὦθεν οὔδε εἰς ἐν ὁμοια ἐτέλους ὦν  

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.  

Διῶν δὲ Κοκκειανὸς τοῦς Ναρβωνησίους Βεβρυκας λέγει, γράφων οὕτω "τὸν πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων υἱὸν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἐστὶ τὸ Πυρηναῖον ὄρος. τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο χωρίζει Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν."  

¹ ἔτερ᾽ ἄττα Cary (cf. Zon. 9, 7—p. 192 inf.), ἔτερα κατὰ Mss. 56
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dwelling not far from the river Iberus, and a short distance from the sea, were dependents of the Romans, who held them in honour, and in the treaty with the Carthaginians had made a special exception of them. Hence, for this reason Hannibal began war with them, knowing that the Romans would either assist the Saguntines or avenge them if they suffered injury. From this motive, then, as well as because he knew that they possessed great wealth, which he particularly needed, and from various other considerations that promised him advantages against the Romans, he made an attack upon the Saguntines.

Spain, in which the Saguntines dwell, and all the adjoining land is in the western part of Europe. It extends for a great distance along the inner sea, past the Pillars of Hercules, and along the Ocean itself; furthermore, it includes the regions inland for a very great distance, even to the Pyrenees. This range, beginning at the sea called anciently the sea of the Bebryces, but later the sea of the Narbonenses, reaches to the great outer sea, and contains many diverse nationalities; it also separates the whole of Spain from the neighbouring land of Gaul. The tribes were neither of one speech, nor did they have a common government. As a result, they were not known by one name: the Romans

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses Bebryces, writing thus: “To those who were of old Bebryces, but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range. This range is the boundary between Spain and Gaul.”
Ζωναράς 8, 21.

μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι Ἰσπανοῦς, οἱ δ’ Ἐλληνες Ἰβηρ-ρᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰβηρος αὐτῶν ἐπεκάλεσαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ζακύνθιοι οὕτωι ἐπολυροκοῦντο, καὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίκουρίας δεόμενοι. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐκώλυσεν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πέμψαντες μὴ πελάξειν τοῖς Ζακυν-θίοις ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πεθοῖτο, ἐς τὴν Καρ-χηδόνα πλεύσαι εὐθὺς καὶ κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ ἐπητείλησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πέμψας τινὰς ὡς εὔνοιαν τηροῦντας τοῖς πρέ-σβεις ἤδη πλησίον οὐσὶ παρεσκεύασε λέγειν αὐτοῖς μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν, πάρρῳ ποι ἢν ἀγνωστα χωρία ἀποδημῆσαντα. καὶ παρῆνυν ἀπαλλαγὴν ὡς τάχιστα, πρὶν καταγγελθεῖν ὡς πάρεισιν, ἢν μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοῦ στρα-τηγοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀπόλονται. οἱ μὲν οὖν πι-στεύσατε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπήσαν- γενομένης ἐκεκλησίας οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδόνων εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα προσκείμενοι τοὺς μὲν Ζακυν-θίους ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰ μηδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔλεγον. καὶ τέλος ἡπεκράτησαν οἱ πολεμῆσαι σφᾶς ἀναπεῖδοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας σπουδὴ τὰς προσβολὰς τῆς πειρακύλας ἐποιεῖτο. πολλῶν δὲ πιττόντων καὶ πλειονῶν τιτρωσκομένων έκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ ποτε τῶν Καρχηδόνων κατασχεσάντων τι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ κατὰ τὸ ρήγμα εἰσελθεῖν τολμη-σάντων, ἐπεζέδομοι οἱ Ζακύνθιοι καὶ ἄπεσο-βησαν σφᾶς; οὗτοι μὲν ἐπεπρόσθησαν, οἱ Καρχηδόνοι δὲ ἐνέδοσαν ἀθυμῆσαντες. οὐκ ἀπαν-
called them Spaniards, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iberus.

These Saguntines, then, upon being besieged, sent to their neighbours and to the Romans, asking for aid. But Hannibal checked any local movement, while the Romans sent ambassadors to him commanding him not to come near the Saguntines, and threatening, in case he should not obey, to sail to Carthage at once and lay accusation against him. When the envoys were now close at hand, Hannibal sent some of the natives who were to pretend that they were kindly disposed to them and who were instructed to say that the general was not there, but had gone some distance away into parts unknown; and they advised the Romans to depart as quickly as possible, before their presence should be reported, lest in the disorder prevailing because of the absence of the general they should lose their lives. The envoys, accordingly, believed them and set off for Carthage. And when an assembly had been called, some of the Carthaginians counselled maintaining peace with the Romans, but the party attached to Hannibal affirmed that the Saguntines were guilty of wrongdoing, and that the Romans were meddling with what did not concern them. Finally those who urged them to make war won the day.

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of the siege was conducting vigorous assaults, in which many of his men fell and many more were wounded. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in battering down a portion of the wall, and had been daring enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and drove them away. As a result the besieged were strengthened, and the Carthaginians gave
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52 "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἠκμαζον καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλους ὁμονοία ἀκριβῶς ἐχρώντο, ὡσθ' ἀπερ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκ μὲν ἀκράτου εὐπραγίας ἐσ ἱάρσος, ἐκ δὲ ἑσχυρὸν δέους ἐς ἐπιεἰκειαν

Zonaras 8, 21–22.

ἐστησαν δὲ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ ὀγδοοὶ μήνα τῆς πολυρρίας παραταθείσης ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας δεινῶς ἔτρωθη. ἦλω δὲ οὕτως, μηχάνημα τῷ τείχει προσήγαγον πολὺ τε αὐτοῦ ὑπεραιροῦν καὶ ὀπλῆται τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανεῖς ἔχον, τοὺς δὲ λανθάνοντας. τῶν οὖν Ζακύνθιων τοῖς ὀρωμένοις ὡς μόνοις οὕτῳ μαχομένων ἔρρωμενστέρων, οἱ κεκρυμμένοι τὸ τείχος ὑπορύζαντες εἰσεβιάσαντο καὶ ἐνδοὺ ἐγένοντο. τὸ γοῦν παραδόξῳ οἱ Ζακύνθιοι ἐκπλαγέντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ εἰς λόγους ἥξθουν, εἰ πως ἐπιεικεῖ τιν ὀμολογία περισσωθεῖυν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας προσέχετο μέτριον οὐδὲ τις αὐτοῖς ὀφέλεια πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίνετο, ἐπισχεθήναι τὰς προσβολὰς ἐξητήσαντο, ὡς τε περὶ τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς βουλευσόμενοι κἀν τούτῳ τὰ τιμῶτα συμφόρησαντες τῶν χρημάτων ἐς πῦρ ἐνέβαλον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπόμαχοι διεχειρίσαντο έαυτοῖς, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικία ἄθροοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρμήκεσαν καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν.

22. Καὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Ῥωμαίοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας καὶ συμμά-
BOOK XIII

The Romans were at the height of their military power and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Thus, unlike most people, who are led by unalloyed good fortune to audacity, but by way to discouragement. Yet they did not leave the city till they had captured it, though the siege dragged on to the eighth month. Many untoward incidents happened during that time, one of which was the dangerous wounding of Hannibal. The place was taken in the following manner. They brought to bear against the wall an engine much higher than the fortifications, and carrying heavy-armed soldiers, some visible, some concealed. While the Saguntines, therefore, were vigorously fighting against the men they saw, believing them to be the only ones, those concealed from view dug through the wall from below and found their way inside. The Saguntines, overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the event, ran up to the citadel and held a conference, to see whether by any reasonable concessions they might be saved. But as Hannibal held out no moderate terms and no assistance came to them from the Romans, they begged for a cessation of the assaults, on the plea that they wished to deliberate a little about their present situation. During this respite they gathered together the most highly prized of their treasures and cast them into the flames; then such as were incapable of fighting took their own lives, and those who were in their prime advanced in a body against their opponents, and fighting zealously, were cut down.

22. On their account the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war; for Hannibal, after adding

54 Ἡστι ὁσοὶ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐνέμοντο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤγεμόνας ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχων σφῶν ἐμίσουν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον ἡγάπων, ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐδνῶν σύμμαχοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ

Zonaras 8, 22.

χοὺς συνχωνὸς προσλαβῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦπερετο.

1 ταύτα Cary, ταύτα τε Ms. 2 αὐτοινεῖτα Kuebler, σὺν ἑν Ms. 3 εὐταξία Cary, εὐφυχία Ms. 4 ἀκινδύνου Βυ., ἀκινδυνοῦν flor., om. palimps. 5 δεόν Polak, ἀλασοῦν Ms. 62
strong fear to forbearance, they at this time had
a very different experience in these matters. For
the greater their successes, the more were they
sobered; against their enemies they displayed that
daring which is seen in the brave, but toward one
another they showed the forbearance which goes
hand in hand with good order. They used their
power for the exercise of safe moderation and their
orderliness for the acquirement of true bravery; and
they did not allow either their good fortune to
develop into arrogance or their forbearance into
cowardice. They believed that in the latter case
soberity was ruined by bravery and boldness by fear;
whereas with them moderation was rendered more
secure by bravery and good fortune surer by good
order. It was due to this in particular that they
carried through so successfully the wars that came
upon them and administered both their own affairs
and those of the allies so well.

All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps
revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they
preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as
leaders, but because they hated the power that ruled
them and welcomed the untried. The Cartha-
ginians had allies against the Romans from every one

Zonaras 8, 22.

numerous allies to his force, was hastening toward Italy.

6 in pantan mev de taw tote ethnay summacho Bv., ekastou taw
mev de tote ethnay summacho Mai, ev ... wtn mev de tute
ethnay summa ... Ms.
τοὺς Ἦμπηρξαν πρὸς ἀπαντας δὲ ὡς εἴσεϊν αὐτοὺς ἰσοστάσιοι ὀ Ἐννίθας ἐγενετο· συνείναι τε γὰρ ὃξυτατα καὶ ἐκφροντίσαι πάνθ' ὃσα ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα ἐδύνατο· κατιοι πέφυκεν ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν βέβαιον ἐκ βραδυτῆτος, τὸ δὲ ὃξύρροπον ἐκ τάχους διανοιας ὑπάρχειν. 2 κ. . . ὦτατος 2 τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογυνώτατον καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φερεγγυώτατον ἦν' το τέ αἰε παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετίθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἰσχυρῶς προενδια, Βουλευτὴς τε τοῦ συνῆθους ἰκανότατος καὶ εἰκαστὶς τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενομένος, ἀφ' ὃν τὸ τε ἰδὴ προσπίπτον οἱ ἐτοιμότατα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καθίστατο, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνον ὡς καὶ παρὸν 3 διεσκόπει. κὰκ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήμροξεν, ἄτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ τε ὑπάρχον καὶ τὸ ἐλπιξόμενον ποιούμενος. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῆς καὶ παιδεία πολλή μὲν Φοινικῆ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῆ δὲ καὶ Ἐλληνικῇ ἁσκητ., καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαντικῆ τὴν 3 διὰ σπλάγχνων ἡπίστατο.—Μ. 133 (p. 187); κατοι—ὑπάρχειν (§ 1) Suid. s. v. ὅς ἐπίπαν, „ἐν τρισκαἰδεκάτῳ,” and ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως —ἡπίστατο (§ 3) Val. 31 (p. 593).

1 ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα Βσ.; ἐνεθυμεῖτο (?) . . . Μν.
2 κ. . . ὦτατος Μν. acc. to Βσ., τῇ . . . acc. to Mai.
3 μαντικῆ τὴν Ρκ., μαντικῆς τῆς Μν.
BOOK XIII

of the tribes that then existed; but all of them taken together were scarcely Hannibal's equal. He could comprehend matters most clearly and plan out most promptly every project that he conceived, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, sureness is the result of deliberation and instability the result of a hasty disposition. He was most resourceful (?) in the suddenest emergency, and most steadfast with the greatest degree of reliability. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails.
4 Τοιόυτος οὖν δὴ τις τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διάτη, παρεσκεύαστο, ὡσθ᾽ ὡσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥαδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κούφον τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθεὶς ὃτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἐπειδὲ τε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὖτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἐβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδείᾳ ἐκαμνεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἰσοφ καὶ τὸ πλέον καὶ τὸ ἐλαττὸν, ὡς καὶ αὐτάρκες ἐκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε ταλαίπωραις ἵσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις ἐρρώνυμον.

5 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σῶματος ἔχον τοιάδε τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων διαχειρίσει ἐπίπαν ἑχρήτο. τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐς μόνον τὸ συμφέρον σφίσε πιστοὺς ὅρῶν ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε τούτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνους ταύτον ὑπώπτευεν, ὥστε πλείστα μὲν ἀπάτησις τινὰς κατορθώσαι, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς σφαλήναι. καὶ πολέμιον πάν τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ἐν τοῖς θυνεῖοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ὁμαίως ἤγουμενος, οὐκ αὖμεν τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκμαθαντείν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ βουλομένους σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν ὧτι ἐδύνατο ² τραχύτατα μετεχειρίζετο, προποιήσαι τε τὶ μᾶλλον ἢ προπαθεῖν ἀμείνων ἤγεῖτο, καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἑτέρους ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἥξιον. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῖς ἐς φήμη

66 ¹ τε supplied by Val. ² ἐδύνατο Reim., ἐδύνατο Ms.
In addition to such mental qualities he was also equipped with a physique that had been brought to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature and partly by his manner of life, so that he could carry out easily everything that he undertook. He kept his body agile and at the same time as compact as possible; and he could with safety, therefore, run, or stand his ground, or ride at furious speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered through lack of it, but took more or less with equal readiness, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong.

Possessing these advantages of mind and body, he managed affairs in general as follows. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them on this principle and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as enemies all who could gain an advantage, whether foreigners or his own countrymen, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but treated them very harshly, assuming that they were desirous of doing whatever injury they could; he thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that others should be in his power rather than he in theirs. In short, he paid attention to the real nature of things, rather than to the good things
αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν, ὡσάκις γε μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμφότερον μέρος, καὶ τῶν κερδών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἴδιωτικῶν αὐτῶν μὲν πολλάκις ἀπείχετο, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀφθόνωσ μετέδίδου, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὺς σφας καὶ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἀκούσιοις ἔκτατο. καὶ τούτους μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἰσοδιάτος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνος ἐγίγνετο, πάνθεος ὅσι ἀπῆτε παρ' αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐκπονοῦμενος ὀντω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνους ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως, ἀπὸ μὴ κενοὶς λόγοις αὐτοῦ προσέχοντας, σύμπαντά οἱ συμπράξεις ἐπίστευεν πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλὰ τῷ φρονήματι ἄνελ ἐχρῆτο: ὅστε τοὺς μὲν εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ δέος ἐκ τῆς ὑπερφρονοῦνος παραπλήθεις ἑχειν. εξ οὗτος καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τὸ τῷ ὑπέρχουν κολούειν καὶ τῷ τάπεινομενον ἑξαίρειν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄκνον, τῷ δὲ θάρσος, ἐλπιδὰ τε καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων δι᾽ ἐλαχιστοῦ πᾶσιν οἷς ἔβουλετο ἐμποιεῖν ἐδύνατο.

Καὶ ὅτι ταύτῃ οὖν ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται ἀλλ' ἁλθῆ παραδεδοταί, τεκμηριωδὲτά ἔργα, τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ διὰ βραχέοις προσεκτήθην

1 αὐτὸν Val., αὐτῶν Ms.
2 μὴ κενοὶς λόγοις ν. Herw., μητὲ τοὺς λόγοις Ms.
3 κολούειν Val., κολύειν Ms.
4 τε καὶ supplied by Val.
said of them, as often as the two did not happen to coincide. However, he showed excessive honour to any of whom he stood in need; for he considered that most men are slaves to such distinction, and saw that they were willing to encounter danger for the sake of it, even contrary to their own interest. For these reasons he often refrained himself from opportunities for gain and other most delightful pleasures, but gave a share ungrudgingly to them. Hence he could get them to be zealous partners in hard work also. Furthermore, he subjected himself not only to the same conditions of living as these men, but also to the same dangers, and was the first to perform every task that he demanded of them. For he believed that thus they in their turn would give him unhesitating and eager support in all his projects, since they saw on his part something more than empty words. Towards the rest he always behaved very haughtily; and the whole multitude, in consequence, felt either good-will or fear toward him because of their similar conditions of life in the one case, and because of his haughtiness in the other. Consequently, he was fully able to bring low the lofty, to exalt the humble, and in the briefest time to inspire any whom he pleased, now with hesitation, now with boldness, with hope also and despair, regarding the most important matters.

Now that this is not idle report about him, but truthful tradition, his deeds are proof. He won over many new districts of Spain in a short time, and from
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σατο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείθεν διὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὐχ δὲτι ἀσπάζοντων ἄλλα καὶ ἀγνώστων οἱ τῶν πλείστων ὄντων, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσῆγαγε. τάς τε Ἀλπεις πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τῶν οὐκ Ἔυρωπαίων, ὅσα γε ἡμείς ἵσμεν, σὺν στρατῷ διέβη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὴν Ρώμην ἐπεστράτευσε, τὰ τε συμμαχικὰ αὐτῆς ὀλλοῦν πάντα, τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ καὶ πείθων, ὀπέρρησεν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῶς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέπραξεν. οὗτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν οίκοι τελῶν ἐξε-πέμφθη, οὐθ' ὕστερον μεγάλης τινὸς θορύβης παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχε τῆς γὰρ τοι δόξης τῆς τῇ ὦφελίας οὐκ ἐκάρητα ἀπολαύσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντε, μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν δόξαν μᾶλλον ἡ συναίρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἱσχυρῶς ἱβέλησαν.—V. 31 (p. 593).

55 ότι ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη καὶ πορίζει χρήματα καὶ φυλάσσει, ὁ δὲ δὴ πόλεμος καὶ ἀναλίσκει ἐκατέρθει.—Μ. 134 (p. 188).

"Οτε τεφυκε πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπων δεσπόζειν τε ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ὑπεικόντων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ῥοπῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐθελοδουλοῦντων χρήσθαι.—Μ. 135 (p. 188).

2 Ἄλλα μὴν συνειδὸτες αὐτὸ καὶ πεπειραμένοι

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πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτά ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἑλέοντα μὲν πολλά, Δούκιος δὲ Κορυφίλιος Λέντουλος ἐδημηγόρησα καὶ εἴπε

1 ἀναλίσκει Bk., διαναλίσκει Mai. 2 ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὐτὸ Bk., combining suggestions of v. Herw. and of Bk., ἀλλ' ἡμὶν οἱ τῷ εἰσόσει αὐτὰ Mai, and so perhaps Ms. (except αὐτό ἦν).
there carried the war into Italy through the country of the Gauls, most of whom were not only not in league with him, but actually unknown to him. He was the first of non-Europeans, so far as we know, to cross the Alps with an army, and after that he made a campaign against Rome itself, sundering from it almost all its allies, some by force and others by persuasion. This, however, he achieved by himself without the aid of the Carthaginian government. He was not sent forth in the beginning by the magistrates at home, nor did he later obtain any great assistance from them. For although they were to enjoy no slight glory and benefit from his efforts, they wished rather not to appear to be leaving him in the lurch than to cooperate effectively in any enterprise.

Peace not only creates wealth but also preserves it, whereas war both expends it and destroys it.¹

All mankind is so constituted as to desire to lord it over such as yield, and to employ the turn of Fortune’s scale against those who are willing to be enslaved.

But do you, who have knowledge of this fact and

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¹ This and the following fragments (§§ 1–8) seem to be taken from speeches delivered in the senate—§ 1 by an unknown individual, opposing war, §§ 2 and 3 by Lentulus, urging war, and §§ 3a–8 by Fabius, in reply to Lentulus.
άυτῶν ἐξαρκεῖν ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν τε ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν νομίζετε: καὶ ὅσα ἄν ἡ λαθόντες ἡ ἐξαπατώσαντες ἥμας ἤ καὶ βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε, μήτε παρορμᾶσθε, μήτε προφυλάττεσθε, μήτε ἀμύνεσθε; καὶ μὲντοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐλογίσασθε τοῦθ’ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὅρθως ὑμῖν ἔχει ποιεῖν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίους αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολίταις καὶ πρῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς χρησθαὶ δεῖ, κἂν γὰρ ἀλόγως τις σωθῇ, ἡμέτερον ἔστιν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολεμίους ἀφειδὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὃν ἄν σφαλώμεν φεισάμενοι αὐτῶν, ἄλλ’ ἐξ ὃν ἄν κρατήσωμεν κολούσαντες αὐτοὺς σωθησόμεθα. —Μ. 136 (p. 188).

3 "Οτι ο μὲν πόλεμος καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τις σώζει καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια προσκτάται, ἢ δὲ εἰρήνη ὅπως τὰ πορισθέντα δὲ’ ἐκεῖνον ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσαπόλλυσιν.—Μ. 137 (p. 188) and Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (Μ. p. 541).

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μὴ μέλλειν, ἄλλα πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ διχῇ διελεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἴβηριαν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Διβύμην πέμψαι, ὦν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτῶν χρόνου ἢ τε χώρα αὐτῶν πορθῆται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κακουργώνται καὶ μήτε τῇ Ἴβηριᾳ βοηθῆσαι δύνουνται μὴ τ’ ἐκείθεν αὐτοὶ ἐπι-
who have had experience with these men, believe that forbearance and mildness are sufficient for your safety? And can you regard with indifference all the wrongs they may do us by stealth or deceit, or even by violence? Will you not rather bestir yourselves, be on your guard in season, and defend yourselves? And, indeed, you have never reflected that such behaviour is in place for you toward one another, while toward the Carthaginians it is cowardly and base. Our citizens we must treat in a manner both gentle and worthy of citizens; for if one be saved unexpectedly, it is our gain. But the enemy we must treat unsparingly; for we shall save ourselves, not by the defeats we incur as a result of sparing them, but by the victories we win as a result of humbling them.

War both preserves men's own possessions and wins those of others, whereas peace destroys not only what has been bestowed by war, but itself in addition.

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they must not delay, but must vote for war against the Carthaginians, and must separate the consuls and armies into two detachments, sending one to Spain and the other to Africa, in order that at one and the same time the enemy's land might be desolated and their allies injured; thus their foes would be unable either to assist Spain or to receive assistance from there

νασθαι Ms.  ἐλογίσασθε Be., ἐλογίσασθαι Ms.  ὁ Μαί, τι Ms.  ἀφείδῶς Be., ἀφαλῶς Mai, Ms. uncertain.
3. Αἰσχρόν ἂρ' ἔστιν ἦτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς μὴ ὀρθῶς δόξαι τι πεποιηκέναι ή αὐθίς μὴ δεόντως μετεγνωκέναι: τὸ τε γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προπετῶς ἀ μὴ χρὴ πράττειν δεινόν ἔστε καὶ τὸ τὰ ἀρέσαντα ἀπαξ ἐμπλήκτως λύειν δεινότερον.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18
d
3b. Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βιοῦντας καὶ τοὺς πράγμασι χρωμένους πρῶτερον ἄ δει ποιεῖν, εἰθ' οὗτος τοῖς ἀρέσασι χρῆσθαι: αἰσχρόν γὰρ ἔστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα πρὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, ἐν οἳ κατορθώσαντες μὲν εὐτυχικεύεται μᾶλλον ἡ καλῶς βεβουλεύσανται δόξετε, σφαλέντες δὲ τὴν σκέψιν ἀπρονότως ὅτε οὔδεν ὅφελος ἐτὶ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸς οὐκ οἴδειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆσαι τι καὶ κατηγορῆσαι τινῶν προσπολεμησάντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν βάστον που καὶ πάντος ἔστι, τὸ δ' αὐ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ πρὸς ὁργὴν ὧν πεποιηκασί τινες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τῇ τοῦ συμβουλου τάξει προσῆκει:
5. μὴ παρόξυνε πρῶτερον ἡμᾶς, ὃ Δέντουλε, μηδ' ἀνάπειθε πολεμήσαι πρὶν ὅτι καὶ συνοίσει τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξαι, σκοπῶν τά τε ἀλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐνταῦθοι τε περὶ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου

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κοιρηθῶς. πρὸς τάτα Κύντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ἀντέθητο μὴ οὗτος ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸν πόλεμον

1 δεόντως μετεγνωκέραι Ba., δεόντως με γραφέραι Ms.
2 χρωμένους Ba., χρωμένοις Ma. 3 ἔτι v. Herw., τι palimpe., ἐστὶ flor. 4 συμφέρον οὐ Mai, συμφέρει Ma.
74
Thus it is disgraceful to seem either to have taken the wrong course in the beginning or to have repented later when there was no necessity; for serious as it is to make a mistake in one’s haste at the outset, it is yet more serious to give up in dismay the plan once approved.

Those whose lives are upright and noble and who are concerned with affairs must consider ahead of time what needs to be done, and then adopt the course which has met their approval; for it is base to proceed to action before there has been discussion of the matter. In such a case, if successful, you will appear to have enjoyed good fortune rather than to have used good judgment, and if defeated, to be making your investigation at a time when there is no longer any profit in it. And yet who does not know that to heap up reproaches and to accuse people who have once warped against us is very easy —any man can do it—whereas, to state what is advantageous for the state, not in anger over other men’s deeds, but with a view to the benefit of the state, is the duty of the advising class? Do not arouse us, Lentulus, nor persuade us to go to war, until you show us that it will be really to our advantage. Reflect particularly—though there are other considerations—that speaking here about deeds themselves. To this Quintus Fabius Maximus replied that it was not so absolutely necessary to vote for war,
πραγμάτων λέγεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐργοῖς πράττεται.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18v (δεὶ γὰρ τοὺς—ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦστι ποιήσασθαι) and M. 138 (p. 189) (ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἦστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα—πράττεται).

6 Συνχονύς γὰρ αἱ συμφοραὶ διὸρθοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ καλῶς αὐταῖς χρησάμενοι κρείττον ἀπαλλάσσουσι τὸν εὖ καὶ τελείως πραττόντων καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑβριζόντων· δοκεῖ γὰρ πως ἡ κακοπραγία μέρος ὄν ἐλαχιστὸν ἔχειν ὥφελιάς, ὅτι μήτε ἐκφρονεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μήτε ἐξυβρίζειν ἐὰν κράτησον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τα ἀμείνονα τετράφθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μέτρου μὴ τὴν ἔξοισαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἀν δὲ τις ἀδυνατῇ στέργειν τὸ κρείττον, λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοντὶ σωφρονεῖν, ὡστε ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα εὐ πρᾶττειν τίθεσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542).

57, 12 Πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὖκ ἄτοπον τὰ τε ἔξω καὶ τὰ πόρρω πραττόμενα προδυμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς κατορθῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανορθῶσαι; πῶς δ’ οὐ σχέτλοι τῶν πολεμίων σπουδάζειν κρατῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὰ σφέτερα εὐθεῖας;—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 543).

55, 7 Φυλάξασθαι χρή μὴ καὶ αὐθίς τι τῶν ὀμοίων

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δεῖν ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεία χρησάσθαι πρότερον, κἂν μὲν πείσωσιν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον ἄν ἦσσυκλίν ἄγειν, ἃν δ’ ἄδικον τε ἀλήθεια τοῖς πολε-
of war is not the same thing as actually doing them.

Men are often set on their feet by disasters, and many who make a wise use of them fare better than those who are altogether fortunate and for that reason arrogant. Somehow adversity seems to contain no inconsiderable portion of benefit, because it does not permit men to lose their senses or to indulge in extreme arrogance. It is most desirable, of course, to have a natural inclination toward all the best things, and to make not possibility, but reason, the measure of desire. But if a man be unable to admire the more excellent way, it will still pay him to learn moderation, even against his will, so as to regard occasional ill success as good fortune.

Now is it not absurd for us to be zealous for success in foreign and remote enterprises before we set the city itself upon a firm foundation? And is it not rash to be eager to conquer the enemy before we set our own affairs well in order?

It is imperative to be on one's guard against any

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but that they ought first to send an embassy, and then, if the Carthaginians persuaded them that they were guilty of no wrong, they should remain quiet, but if these were convicted of wrongdoing, they
παθεῖν ὃπερ ποὺ καὶ μόνον ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ὑφεληθεῖν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγιάς σφάλλουσιν ἐστὶν ὅτε τοὺς ἀπερισκέπτος τι δι’ αὐτὰς ἐλπίσαντας ὡς καὶ αὐθεὶς κρατήσοντας, τὰ δὲ δὴ πταίσματα ἀναγκάζει πάντα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲν πεπείραται καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσφαλῶς προορᾶσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103v (M. p. 542) and M. 139 (p. 189) (ὅτι αἱ μὲν εὐπραγιάς—προορᾶσθαι).

8 Ὅτε οὖκ ἦστι σμικρὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοιαν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδοξίαν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν πολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας ἀμύνασθαι.—M.140 (p.189).

9 Τοιούτων δὴ τινῶν ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα λεχθέντων, ἐδοξεῖ σφισί παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμισθοὺς, μὴ μὲντοι καὶ τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πέμψασι τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατηγορήσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοῖεν τὰ πρακτήντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δικάσαι, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροις αὐτά, ἢξαίτησιν αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι.

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μήσαι αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσώμεθα. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοῖν δόξαι τοιαύτα ἦσαν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ἐδοξεῖ πρὸς τὴν μάχην, πρέσβεις δὲ εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα στείλαι καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοῖεν τὰ πρακτήντα, δικάσαι, εἰ δὲ εἰς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀνα-

1 καὶ added by Bs., small space in Ms.
similar experience again; this is the only benefit that one can receive from disasters. Successes occasionally ruin those who unthinkingly base their hopes upon them, believing they are sure of another victory, whereas failures compel every one as a result of his past experiences to provide securely for the future.

For securing either the favour of the gods or a good reputation among men it is no small thing to avoid the appearance of beginning war, and to seem forced rather to defend oneself against aggression.

After speeches of this character on both sides they decided to prepare for war; they would not vote for this, however, but decided to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal. Then, if the Carthaginians did not approve his deeds, they would arbitrate the matter, or if the responsibility were put upon him, they would present a

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should then wage war upon them—"in order," he added, "that we may also cast the responsibility for the war upon them." The opinions of the two men were substantially these. The senate decided to prepare, indeed, for the struggle, but to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal; and if the Carthaginians did not approve his deeds, they would arbitrate the matter, or if the responsibility were put upon him, they would demand his
σασθαι, καν μεν εκδουσιν αυτων,—ει δε μη, τον πολεμον σφισιν επαγγειλαί.—Μ. 141 (p. 190).

"Οτι ως ουδεν σαφες οι Καρχηδονιοι τοις πρεσβεισιν απεκριναντο, αλλα και εν ολυνωρια αυτους εποιοντο, ο Φαβιος ο Μαρκος τας τε

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φεροιεν, εξαιτησασθαι αυτων, καν μη εκδουσι, τον πολεμον επαγγειλαι αυτωις.

Των γονων πρεσβειων απελθοντων οι Καρχη- 

dονιοι το πουητεον εσκοπουν. και τις 'Ασδρουβας,

eis tov upo tov 'Anviβου προπαρεσκευασμένων,

συνεβουλευσε σφίσι χρηναι την τε αρχαιαν ελευ-

θεριαν ανακτησασθαι και την εκ της ειρημης δου-

λειαν αποτρίγασθαι και χρημασι και δυναμει

και συμμάχους συγκεκροτημένους, επαγαγων ότι

"και τω 'Αννίβα μόνο μας βούλεται πραξαι

επιτρέψητε, και τα προσήκοντα εσται και ουδεν

αυτωι πονησετε." τοιοατα δε αυτωι ειποντος,

'Αννων ο μεγας εναντιουμενοι τωι των 'Ασδρού-

βου λόγωις γνώμηι εισηγεγκε μήτε ραδιως μήτε

μικρων και αλλοτριων εγκληματον ένεκα τον

πολεμον εφ' εαυτους επισπάσασθαι, παρον τα

μεν λυσαι, τα δε εσ τους δρασαντας αυτα τρεψαι,

και ο μην ταυτα ειπων επαυσατο, τωι δε Καρχη-

dωνιοι οι μεν πρεσβυτεροι και τοι πρωι μεμνη-

μενοι πολεμου αυτων συνετθεντο, οι δ' εν ηλικία

και μάλιστα οσοι τα τωι 'Αννίβου επραττον

ισχυρως αντελεγον. ως δ' ουδεν σαφες απεκρι-

ναντο και εν ολυνωρια τωις πρεσβεισ ειχον, ο

Μαρκος ο Φαβιος τας χειρα υπο το ιματιον

1 Willems suggests that Μαρκος is here a corruption of

Μαξιμος.

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BOOK XIII

demand for his surrender; and if he were given up, well and good; otherwise they would declare war upon them.

When the Carthaginians made no definite answer to the envoys and actually showed contempt for them, Marcus¹ Fabius thrust his hands beneath surrender, and if he were not given up, they would declare war upon the nation.

The envoys accordingly set out, and the Carthaginians considered what must be done. Now a certain Hasdrubal, one of those who had been primed by Hannibal, counselled them that they ought to win back their ancient freedom and shake off, by means of money and troops and allies combined, the slavery imposed by peace, adding: "If you will but permit Hannibal to act by himself as he wishes, the proper thing will be done, and you will have no trouble yourselves." After such words on Hasdrubal’s part the great Hanno, in opposing this argument, expressed the opinion that they ought not to draw war upon themselves lightly nor for small complaints concerning foreigners, when it was in their power to settle some of the complaints and divert the rest upon the heads of those who were responsible. With these remarks he ceased, and the elder Carthaginians, who remembered the former war, sided with him; but the younger men, and especially all the partisans of Hannibal, violently opposed him. When, then, they made no definite answer and showed contempt for the envoys, Marcus¹ Fabius, thrusting his hands beneath his

¹ See note on the Greek text.

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χείρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἰμάτιον ὑπέβαλε καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἔγω μὲν ἐνταῦθ', ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμείς δ' ὀπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἀντικρὺς ἔλεσθε." ἀποκρινάμενοι δὲ πρὸς τούτο καὶ τότε αὐτῶν αἰρείσθαι μὲν μηδὲνερον, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἐτοίμως ὀπότερον ἀν σφισι καταλίπωσι, τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπήγ-γειεν—Μ. 142 (p. 190).

56 "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Ναρβωνησίον πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν· οἱ δὲ οὔτε τι πρὸς τὸν Καρχηδονίων κακὸν οὔτ' αὐ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁγαθὸν, ὡστε τοῖς μὲν πολεμῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμύναι, πεπονθέναι πῶποτε ἐφασαν, καὶ πάνω δὲ ὧρησι αὐτοὺς ἐσχον, ἐπικαλοῦντές σφισιν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους αὐτῶν ἐδεδράκεσαν.—Μ. 143 (p. 190).

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ὑποβαλὼν καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἔγω μὲν ἐνταῦθ', ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ' ὀπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἔλεσθε." ἀποκριθέντων δὲ μηδέτερον μὲν αἰρείσθαι, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἐτοίμως ὀπότερον καταλείψουσιν, ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς αὐτικὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

Οὗτοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταύτα οἱ τῆς Ρωμαίοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐπολέμησαν· καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ γεγονότα προειρήμενα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἐλάλησε θεός, καὶ ἔτερος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρῃ ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς τὸ Τίβεριν ἐαυτὸν ἔρριψε καὶ ἐφθάρη, κεραυνοὶ τε πολλοὶ ἐφέροντο, καὶ αἷμα τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων ὥθην.
his toga, and holding them with palms upward, exclaimed: "I bring you here, Carthaginians, both war and peace; choose once for all whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying then and there to this challenge that they chose neither, but would readily accept whichever the Romans left with them, he declared war upon them.

The Romans invited the Narbonenses to an alliance. But these people declared that they had never suffered any harm from the Carthaginians nor received any favour from the Romans that they should war against the one or defend the other, and were quite angry with them; for they accused them of having done their kinsmen many wrongs.

Zonaras 8, 22.

toga, and holding them with palms upward, exclaimed: "I bring you here, Carthaginians, both war and peace: choose whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying that they chose neither, but would readily accept whichever the Romans should leave, he immediately declared war upon them.

In this way, then, and for these reasons the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war for the second time. Now Heaven had indicated beforehand what was to come to pass. For in Rome an ox talked with a human voice, and another at the Ludi Romani hurled himself out of a house into the Tiber and perished, many thunderbolts fell, and blood in one case was seen issuing from sacred
τὸ δὲ ἔξ ἀσπίδωσ στρατιώτον ἔρρη, ἔτερου τε ἔξίφος ἔξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λύκος ἦρπασε. τῷ δ’ Ἀννίβα θηρία πολλὰ καὶ ἀγνωστὰ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνουτι προκαθηγήσατο, καὶ ὡς ὀνείρον ἐφάνη. ἔδοξε γὰρ ποτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθημένους μεταπέμψασθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ στρατεύσαι ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προστάξαι καὶ λαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἕγε-μόνα, καὶ ἀμεταστρεπτι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κελευσθῆναι ἐπεσθαί μεταστραφῆναι δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν χειμώνα μέγαν χωρίσθητα καὶ δράκοντα αὐτῷ ἐπακολου-θοῦντα ἀμήχανον, καὶ θαυμάσαι ἐρεσθάι τε τὸν ἄγωγον τί ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ τὸν εἶπεῖν “ἀνίβα, ταῦτα συμπορθήσοντά σοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔρχεται.”
BOOK XIII

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statues, whereas in another it dripped from the
shield of a soldier, and the sword of another soldier
was carried off by a wolf from the very midst of the
camp. And in the case of Hannibal, many unknown
wild beasts went before him leading the way, as he
was crossing the Iberus, and a vision appeared to him
in a dream. He thought once that the gods, sitting
in assembly, sent for him and bade him march with
all speed into Italy and receive from them a guide
for the way, and that by this guide he was com-
manded to follow without turning around. He did
turn, however, and saw a great tempest moving
along and an immense serpent following in its wake.
In surprise he asked his conductor what these were;
and the guide said: “Hannibal, these are on their
way to help you in the sack of Italy.”
57 "Οτι ἀπὸ τοιαύτης φησὶν ὁ Δίων ἐκεῖθεν ἡδη προσδοκίας Ὁρμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίους καθίστασθαι μέγιστον τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ διάφορον ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διαχείρισιν εἰληφότας. τὸ τε γὰρ εὖελπὶ πρὸς εὐθυμίαν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀγον προθυμοτέρους τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐχεγγυωτέρους πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ κρατήσεων παρέχεται, καὶ τὸ δύσελπι ἐς τε ἁθυμίαν καὶ ἐς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τῆς εὐφυχίας ἀφαιρεῖταί.—Μ. 144 (p. 191).

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23. Ταύτα τῷ μὲν Ἀννίβα χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα, τοῖς δὲ Ὁρμαίοις δεινὴν ἐνεποίηει ἐκφόβησιν. διεχὶ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ Ὁρμαῖοι διελόντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, Ἐμπρόνιον μὲν Δόγγον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπέμψαν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Σκιπίωνα Ποῦπλιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ός τάχιστα ἐπιθυμῶν εἰσβαλεῖν, σπουδὴ ἐχώρει, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυρηναίου καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ οὕσαν ἄμαχει δολῆθε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ οὐδὲς εἰς χείρας ἤκεν αὐτῷ, ἐκεῖ δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεφάνη, καίπερ μὴ παροῦσης
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIV

With these expectations and for these reasons, Dio says, the Romans and Carthaginians had come to hold the most divergent opinions regarding the conduct of the war. For hopefulness, in that it leads all men to cheerfulness, makes them also more zealous and confident in the belief that they will be victorious; whereas hopelessnesscasts them into dejection and despair, and robs even courage of its strength.

Zonaras 8, 23.

23. These things inspired Hannibal with good hope, but threw the Romans into a state of profound terror; they divided their forces into two parts and sent out the consuls, Sempronius Longus to Sicily and Publius Scipio to Spain. Hannibal, desiring to invade Italy with all possible speed, marched on hurriedly, and traversed without a conflict the whole of Gaul lying between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. As far as the Rhone river no one came to oppose him, but at that point Scipio showed himself, although
2 Ὅλα τὸν εἰς τά τε διὰ πλείστου καὶ τά ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δύνα πολλοὺς ἐκταράσσειν, δέος τοῖς Ἰβηρσίων οὐκ ἔλαχιστον ἐνεποίει. τὸ γάρ τοι πολὺ τοῦ ὀμίλου, τὸ μὴ ἀπ' οἰκείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἀλλ' ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ στρατευόμενον, ἕπι τοσοῦτον ἐρρωταί ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ὡφελήσεσθαι τι ἀκινδύνως ἐλπίσωσιν ὅταν δὲ δὴ ἐγγύς τῶν ἀγώνων γένωνται, τάς τε ἐλπίδας τῶν κερδῶν ἐξίστανται καὶ τάς πίστεις τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγκαταλείπουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον ταῖς γνώμαις, ὥσ καὶ πάντῃ πάντως κατορθώσονται, λαβεῖν εἰ δ' ὅσον τι καὶ σφαλεῖν, ἔλαχιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀντήλπιξιν νομίζειν.—Μ. 145 (p. 191).

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αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅμως μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς προσοίκων τὰ τε πλοῖά τα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ προδιέφθειρε καὶ τὸ ἱέμα αὐτοῦ διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο. ὁ οὖν Ἀνίβας ἐστρίψε μὲν τινα χρόνον καὶ σχεδίας καὶ σκάφη ἀλλα τε καὶ μονόξυλα κατασκευάζον, ἔφθη δ' οὖν ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας τὰ πρὸς περαίωσιν ἀναγκαία πάντα, πρὶν τῷ Σκιπίων τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀφικέσθαι στράτευμα, προετοιμασάμενος, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ψυλλοῖς τισιν, ἥ σκεπάννυται ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ νῆσοι διαλαμβάνεται, διαβησόμενον ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐμφανῆ πόρον ἔχωρε δῆθεν, ἵν' οἱ Γαλάται ἀπατήθειεν,

1 ποι Mai, τοι' Ms.
2 ὡφελὴσεσθαι ν. Herw., ὡφελήσεσθαι Ms.
BOOK XIV

Even as matters at a great distance and unknown are wont to disturb a great many, so now they struck no little fear to the hearts of the Spaniards. For the majority of a multitude making a campaign not for any reason of its own but in the capacity of allies is a strong force just so long as the men have hopes of obtaining some benefit without danger; but when they have come close to the conflict, they abandon their hopes of gain and lose their faith in promises. And for the most part they get it into their heads that they are by all means going to be successful in every case; consequently, even if they should meet with some reverse, they regard it lightly in comparison with the hopes which have been offsetting it.  

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his troops were not with him. Nevertheless, with the help of the natives and their nearest neighbours, he had already destroyed the boats in the river and had posted guards over the stream. Hannibal, therefore, consumed some time in building rafts and skiffs, some out of single logs; but still, with the help of numerous workers, he had everything ready that was needful for crossing before Scipio’s army arrived. He sent his brother Mago, accompanied by the horsemen and a few light troops, to cross at a point where the river spreads out to a considerable width, its course being interrupted by islands; but he himself made a show of crossing by the visible ford, his object being that the Gauls should

1 The excerptor has apparently abridged Dio very carelessly here.
3 "Οτι ἐπελ τῷ πλῆθει τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ἀννίβου οὐδὲν τῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἔξηρκει... καὶ τινος αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην δόντος ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων σαρξί τοὺς στρατιώτας σιτίζειν, τὸ μὲν πράγμα οὐκ ἐδυσχέραινε, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἐφή μήποτε τοιούτων σωμάτων ἀπορήσαντες ἐπὶ ἀλληλοφαγίαν τράπωνται.—Μ. 146 (p. 191).

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πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀντιταττόμενοι, καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἐν ἄλλως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς θῶνταί· ὁ καὶ γέγονε· καὶ ὁ Μάγων διέβη τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν πόρον ἐπε- 

ραϊόντο. καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπυκταῖ δὲ συνήχθησαν· καὶ ὁ Μάγων κατὰ νότον τοῖς ἀνθεστηκόσι προσέπεσε· καὶ σπέτω οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ἑλέφαντες ἀκινδύνως ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἄρτι δὲ περαιωθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ Σκιπίων ἡ οἰκεία ἀφίκετο δύναμις. πέμψαντες οὖν εἰς προσκοπὴν ἰππεᾶς ἀμφότεροι τοιοῦτω τέλει τῆς ἱππομαχίας ἐχρήσαντο ὁποῖον ὁ σύμπας ἑσχήκε πόλεμος· οἱ γὰρ Ρωμαίοι καὶ Ἐλαττὸν τὴν πρώτην ἐνεγκάμενοι καὶ συνοιχοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν.

'Εντεύθεν Ἀννίβας ἀπέσεϊ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν σπεύ- 

dων, ὑποπτεύον δὲ τὰς ἐπιτυμωτέρας τῶν ὁδῶν, 

ἐκεῖνας μὲν παρεξῆλθεν, ἐτέραν δὲ πορευθέις

1 Lacuna recognized by Bk.
BOOK XIV

When the preparations that had been made proved to be in no wise commensurate with the size of Hannibal’s army, and some one on this account suggested to him that the soldiers be fed on the flesh of their opponents, he did not take the idea amiss, but said he feared that some day through lack of bodies of that kind they might turn to eating one another.

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be deceived and array themselves against him only, while stationing their guards with less care at other points along the river. And this is exactly what occurred. Mago had already got across the river when Hannibal and his followers were crossing by the ford. On reaching the middle of the stream they raised the war cry and the trumpeters joined with the blare of their instruments; and Mago fell upon their opponents from the rear. In this way the elephants and all the rest crossed in safety. They had just finished crossing when Scipio’s force arrived. Both sides, accordingly, sent horsemen to reconnoitre, and a cavalry battle ensued, with the same result as attended the war as a whole: the Romans, that is, after first getting the worst of it and losing a number of men, were in the end victorious.

Then Hannibal, in haste to set out for Italy, but suspicious of the more direct roads, turned aside from them and followed another, on which he met
"Ὅτι Ἀννίβας ἐφόρα τῶν στρατιώτων συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἐκέινα ἔκεισθαι συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας παρήγαγε τοὺς αἴχμαλωτοὺς οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν πότερα δεδέσθαι τε ἐν πέδαις καὶ δουλεύειν.

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ισχυρῶς ἐπόνησε. τά τε γὰρ ὅρη ἐκεῖνα ἀποτομώτατα ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ χιών πολλὴ γενομένη καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ὑπ’ ἀνέμων πληρώσασα καὶ ὁ κρύσταλ-

λος ισχυρότατα παγείς δεινὸς σφαῖς ἐταλαπώ-

ρησε· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἀπώλοιτο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκαδὲ ἀνεχόρησαν. ἔχει δὲ λόγος ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέστρεφεν ἀν, εἰ μὴ πλεῖον καὶ ἀπο-

ρωτέρα ἡ προδιηνυσμένη ὁδὸς τῆς λειπομένης ἐτύγχανε. διὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἐξαπίνης δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν "Ἀλπεων ἐκφανεῖς θαῦμα καὶ δέος τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐνέβαλε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν προεχώρη τα ἐν τοῖς προσποιοῦ-

μενοῖς, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Γάιον Σκιπίωνον ὑποστρατηγοῦντα αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν 'Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμψειν ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτὴν ή τοῦ Ἀννίβαν ἐπαν-

ἀξοντα. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠλάσε. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἐπέσχον, ἐπειτὰ ἁμομφ πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὁμιλησαν. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἔργον ἐχεσθαι, συγ-

καλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Ἀννίβας παρήγαγε τοὺς αἴχμαλωτοὺς, οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτοὺς πότερον δεδέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν

1 Ἀννίβας Μάι, ἀννίβαλ Ms. (and so in a few other places).
Hannibal before beginning the struggle called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; then he asked the latter whether they wished to undergo imprisonment in fetters and to endure a grievous slavery or

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with grievous hardships. For the mountains there are exceedingly precipitous, and the snow, which had fallen in great quantities, was driven by the winds and filled the chasms, and the ice was frozen very hard. These circumstances combined to cause his soldiers fearful suffering, and many of them perished by reason of the cold and lack of food; many also returned home. There is a story to the effect that he himself would also have turned back but for the fact that the road already traversed was longer and more difficult than the portion remaining before him. For this reason, then, he did not turn back, but suddenly appearing from out the Alps, spread astonishment and fear among the Romans.

So he advanced, taking possession of whatever lay before him. Scipio sent his brother Gaius Scipio, who was serving as lieutenant under him, into Spain, either to seize and hold it or else to draw Hannibal back. He himself marched against Hannibal; and after waiting a few days they both advanced to the contest. But before beginning the struggle, Hannibal called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; he asked the latter whether they preferred to undergo imprisonment and to endure a grievous

1 Gnaeus Scipio is meant wherever Zonaras writes this form.
κακός ὁ μονομαχήσαι ἄλληλοις, ὡστ' ἀφεθήναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας, ἔθελοιεν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦθ' εἴλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτούς, καὶ μαχεσαμένων σφῶν εἶπεν "εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὁ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐαλωκότας οὖτω πρὸς τὴν ἄνδρείαν ἔχειν ὡστε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄντι τοῦ δουλεύσαι ἐπιθυμήσαι, ἡμᾶς δ᾽ ὀκνήσαι πόνον τινά καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν ἑτέρων καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι;"—Μ. 147 (p. 192).

5 "Οσα εὐλαττωθέντες ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν, ταῦτα νικήσαντες αὐτούς ἀντιδράσομεν εὖ γὰρ ἡταὶ 1 κρατήσαντες μὲν πάντων ὑπὸ λέγω τευχόμεθα, κρατηθέντες δὲ οὔδὲ τὴν διαφυγὴν ἀσφαλῆ σχῆσομεν τοῦ τε γὰρ κρατήσαντος τὸ πᾶν παραχρῆμα φίλων ἐστί, κἂν μοσοῦν αὐτὸ τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τὸ νικηθὲν οὐδὲς οὔδε τῶν οἰκείων ἐπὶ θεραπεῦει.—Μ. 147 (p. 192) and M. 148 (p. 192) (ὅτι τοῦ κρατήσαντος—θεραπεῦει).

6 "Ὅτι τὸ ἀπαξ προσπταῖσαν πρὸς τινὰς ἀεὶ τε δυσωπεῖται σφας καὶ θαρρεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾷ.—Μ. 149 (p. 192).

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κακῶς βουλοῦντο ἡ μονομαχήσαι ἄλληλοις, ὡστ' ἀφεθήναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας. καὶ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον εἴλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτούς. καὶ μαχεσαμένων ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιῶτας ἐπιρρωννύς καὶ παραθηγόν εἰς πόλεμον τοῦτο δ' 

1 ὡστ supplied by Ba.
to fight in single combat with one another on condition that the victors should be released without ransom. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the contest he said: "Now is it not shameful, soldiers, when these men who have been captured by us are so brave as to be eager to die in place of becoming slaves, that we on the other hand, shrink from incurring a little toil and danger for the sake of not being subservient to others—yes, and of ruling them besides?"

All the sufferings that we have ever endured when defeated by the enemy we will inflict upon them if we are victorious. For be well assured that by conquering we shall obtain all the benefits that I mention, but if conquered we shall not even have a safe means of escape. The victor straightway finds everything friendly, even if possibly it hates him, whereas to the vanquished no one any longer pays heed—not even those of his own household.

Those who have once failed in an enterprise against their foes are forever abashed before them and no longer venture to assume a bold front.

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slavery or to fight in single combat with one another on condition that the victors should be released without ransom. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the contest he addressed his soldiers, encouraging them and whetting their eagerness for
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Zonaras 8, 23-24.

έτέρωθεν καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔποιήσεν. εἶτα συνήλθον μὲν ὡς δόλως τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μαχούμενοι, ὁ Σκιπίων δέ, προσυμμέξας τῷ ἱππικῷ καὶ ἡττηθές συνενοῦσ τε ἀποβαλὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τρωθεῖς, ἀποθανὼν τ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ περ αὐτῷ Σκιπίων ὁ νῖος καίπερ ὁ ἐπτακαίδεκαέτης ἐπῆμυνε, κατέδεισε μὴ καὶ τὸ πεζὸ σφάλῃ, καὶ αὐτίκα τε ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρησεν.

24. Ἀνώβας δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἡρωδανὸν ἦλθε, καὶ μήτε σχεδίας ἡ πλοία εὐρών (ἐνετέρπηστο γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος), τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Μάγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἑπεύθυνοι διανήξασθαί καὶ ἐπίδωξαί τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκελευσθεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς χωρῆσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας κατὰ τὸν ἐπίρρον διαβήναι προσέταξε. καὶ οὗτος τοῦ ὑδατος περὶ τοῖς ὅγκοις τῶν ἠχῶν ἐμποδιζόμενον καὶ σκεδασμένον, ῥανὸν κἀκεῖ οὐφόν διεπαραῖθη, καταλιθθέας οὖν ὁ Σκιπίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ἐμαχέσατ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡπτομόλησαν. ὁ δ’ οὗν Σκιπίων ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθεῖς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραυματος ταλαιπωρήσας ὑπὸ νῦκτα αὕθω ἐξανέστη καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ τὸ τάφρευμα ἐποιήσατο· διοίκεις δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων διά τὸ τραύμα καὶ διά τὰ συμβεβηκότα ἀνεῖχε καὶ δύναμιν μετεπέμπτε, Ἀνώβας δὲ πολλὰ πειράσας παρακινήσας πρὸς μάχην αὐτοῦ, ἐτεὶ οὔτε τοῦτ’ ἡπωνιέθη καὶ τροφῆς 96
war. Scipio also did the same on the Roman side. Then they began the contest in the intention of fighting with their entire armies; but Scipio in a preliminary cavalry skirmish was defeated, lost many men, was wounded, and would have been killed, had not his son Scipio, though only seventeen years old, come to his aid; he was consequently alarmed lest his infantry should meet with a similar reverse, and he at once fell back and that night withdrew from the field.

24. Hannibal learning at daybreak of his withdrawal proceeded to the Po, and when he found there neither rafts nor boats—for they had been burned by Scipio—he ordered his brother Mago to swim across with the cavalry and pursue the Romans, whereas he himself marched up toward the sources of the river, and then ordered that the elephants should cross down stream. In this manner, while the water was temporarily dammed and spread out by the animals' bulk, he effected a crossing more easily below them. Scipio, overtaken, stood his ground and would have offered battle but for the fact that by night the Gauls in his army deserted. Embarrassed by this occurrence and still suffering from his wound, he once more broke camp at nightfall and located his entrenchments on high ground. He was not pursued; but later the Carthaginians came up and encamped with the river between the two forces.

Scipio, on account of his wound and because of what had taken place, was inclined to wait and send for reinforcements; and Hannibal, after many attempts to provoke him to battle, finding that he
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Zonaras 8, 24.

ἐσπάνισε, φρουρίῳ προσέβαλεν ἐν φί σίτος πολὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖτο. καὶ μηδὲν περαίνων, τὸν φρούραρχον διεθθείρε χρήματι, κάκεινο τε προ- δοθείν ἐλαβε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεῖν τὰ μὲν ὅπλοις, τὰ δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπήλπισε. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Δόγγος τὴν Σικέλιαν τῷ ὑποστρατήφῳ πιστεύει πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα κεκλημένος ἄφικετο. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, καὶ ὅτι τινὰς κατατρέ- χοντας τὴν χώραν ἐκράτησεν, εἰς παράταξιν ὄρμησεν. καὶ ἐσφάλη ἐνέδραϊς περιπετείων καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐπεξελθόντος μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐτράπησαν εἰς φυγή, καὶ πολλοὶ διεθήρησαν φονί, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐμπεσόντες ἐπνίγησαν, ὡς ὀλίγων μετὰ τὸν Δόγγον περι- σωθῆναι. νικήσας μέντοι ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἔχαρεν, ὅτι στρατιώτας τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑλεφάντας πλὴν ἕνος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων ἄπέβαλεν.

Ἀνοχὴν οὖν ἀσπονδοὺς ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν σφῶν ἐκάτερον ἐχώρησαν, κἂν τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐχείμαζον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἄφθονα ἐφότα τὰ ἐπιτηδεία, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἄρκουμενος τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων διδομένους ταῖς τε κόμαις καὶ ταῖς πόλεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσπίπτον τὰ μὲν ἐκράτει, τῶν' ὁ ἀπεκρούοτο, καὶ ποτὲ τὸ ἱππικῶ ὑπὸ τὸν Δόγγον νικηθεὶς ἔτρωθη. θαρσήσατε οὖν ἐκ τούτου τινὲς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ καθ' ἕαυτος προσβάλλοντε αὐτοῖς ἐπεξῆλθον. κακείνους τε ἐφθείρε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου

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1 τῶν Βς., τὰ Μssc.
BOOK XIV

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could not do this and that he was short of provisions, attacked a fort where a large supply of food was stored for the Romans. As he made no headway, he used money to bribe the commander of the garrison, and thus got possession of the place by betrayal. He hoped also to capture the other points, partly by arms and partly by gold. Meanwhile Longus had entrusted Sicily to his lieutenant and had come in response to Scipio's call. Not much later, influenced by ambition, on the one hand, and also by the fact of a victory over some marauders, he presented himself in battle array. But he lost the day by falling into an ambuscade; and when Hannibal attacked him with his infantry and elephants, the followers of Longus turned to flight and many were put to the sword, while many others, heedless of the river, fell in and were drowned, so that only a few were saved with Longus. And yet Hannibal, though victorious, was not happy, because he had lost many soldiers and all his elephants except one by reason of the cold and their wounds.

Accordingly, they arranged an armistice without any formal pledges, and both sides retired to the territory of their allies and passed the winter in the cities there. Abundant provisions kept coming to the Romans; but Hannibal, not satisfied with the contributions of the allies, made frequent raids upon the Roman villages and cities, sometimes conquering, sometimes being repulsed. Once he was beaten by Longus and his cavalry and received a wound. Some of the Romans, encouraged by this, came out by themselves to oppose him when he assailed them. These he destroyed and received the capitulation of
Κούφον¹ γάρ τι καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ἀπιστον φῶσει πᾶν τὸ Γαλατικὸν γένος ἐστὶν ὅσπερ γάρ ἔτοιμως θρασύνεται πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὕτως ἐτοιμότερον φοβηθέν ἐκπλήττεται: πιστότερον τὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίωις ὅν ² τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐκδιδάξει τε μηδέποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλλειν τολμῆσαι . . . —Μ. 150 (p. 192).

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ὁμολογία ἐκράτησε· καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν κατέσκαψε, τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφῆκε. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐφ’ ἀπασι τοῖς ξυγιαμένοις ἐποίει, τὰς πόλεις δὲ αὐτῶν οἰκειούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Γαλατῶν πολλῶν καὶ Διηνῶν καὶ Τυρσηνῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὄντας οἱ μεν φονεύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκδόντες μετέστησαν.

'Εσ δὲ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα τῷ Ἀννίβα πορευομένῳ ὁ Λόγγος ἔπεθετο, χειμῶνος πολλοὺ γενομένου. πεσόντων δὲ ἄμφωτεροι πολλῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς τὴν Λυγυρικὴν ἔλθων ἐνδιέτριψεν. ὑποπτεύων δὲ καὶ τους σφετέρους οὐδενὶ ῥαδίους ἐπίστευεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσθήτα τε μεταβάλλων καὶ κόμαις χρώμενος περιθέτους τὴν τε διάλεξιν ἄλλοτε ἀλλην ποιούμενος (ἣνει γὰρ πλείους καὶ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων), καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν πολλὰ ἐπεσκόπη ἦκονε τε πλείστα ὡς οὖκ Ἀννίβας καὶ τίνα ὡς ἐτερός τις ἐφθέγγετο.

25. 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ’ ἐτερος Σκυπίων ὁ Γάιος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρέ-

¹ κούφον Mai (conjecture), τι π... v Ma, acc. to Be., π...π... acc. to v. Herw.
² Καρχηδονίωις Be supplied by Be., Ms. illegible.
BOOK XIV

For the whole Gallic race is naturally more or less fickle, cowardly, and faithless. Just as they are readily emboldened in the face of hopes, so even the more readily when frightened do they fall into a panic. And the fact that they were no more faithful to the Carthaginians will not only teach the rest of mankind a lesson never to dare to invade Italy...

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the place, which he razed to the ground. Of the captives taken he killed the Romans, but released the rest. This he did also in the case of all those taken alive, hoping to conciliate the cities by their influence. And, indeed, many of the other Gauls as well as Ligurians and Etruscans either murdered the Romans dwelling within their borders, or surrendered them and then transferred their allegiance.

As Hannibal was advancing into Etruria Longus attacked him in the midst of a great storm. Many fell on both sides, and Hannibal entered Liguria, where he delayed some time. Being suspicious of even his own men and feeling free to trust no one, he made frequent changes of costume, wore false hair, and spoke different languages at different times (for he knew a number, including Latin); and both night and day he would make frequent rounds of inspection, listening to a great deal of conversation in the guise of an entirely different person from Hannibal, and occasionally talking thus in character.

25. While this was going on in Italy the other Scipio, Gaius, had sailed along the coast to Spain,
"Οτι πολλά τέρατα τά μὲν ὡς ἄληθῶς συμβάντα, τά δὲ καὶ μάτην θρυλούμενα ἐλογοποιήθη· ὅταν γὰρ τινες ἰσχυρῶς φοβηθῶσι καὶ σφισι καὶ ἔκεινα ὡς ἄντως γενόμενα ὑποδειχθῇ, πολλάκις έτερα προσφαντάζεται· κἂν ἄπαξ τι καὶ ἔκεινων πιστευθῇ, προπετός ἡδή καὶ τάλλα πίστιν λαμβάνει. ἐθύοντο οὖν αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τάλλα ὡς αἱ ἀνθρώποι πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ σφισιν ἄκεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποπτευμένου διάφευγει εἰσόδασι ποιεῖν ἐγένετο. ἀλλα καὶ γὰρ φίλοισιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις παρὰ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπέζοντες πιστεύσαν, καὶ τότε, εἰ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ προσδοκομένου κινδύνου μέγεθος ἐνόμιζον ὅτι καὶ τὸ τραχύτατον αὐτοῦ συμπέσοι, ομοί ἡλπίζουν μὴ ἤττηθήσεται.—Μ. 151 (p. 192).

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πλευσε, καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ἰβηρος πάντα καὶ τῶν ἄνω συχνὰ τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντα προσείληφε, καὶ τὸν Βάλλωνα μάχῃ μυκήσας ἐξώγρησεν. ὃ δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ὀμαίμων Ἀσδρούβασ μαθὼν ταύτα διέβη τὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ τῶν μεταστάντων τινὰς ὑπηγάγετο· τοῦ δὲ Σκιπιώνος ἐπελθόντος αὐτῷ ἀνεχώρησεν.

Oi δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τοῦ Φλαμίνιον καὶ τὸν Γέμινον ὑπάτοις αὐθίς εἴλοντο. Ἀννίβας δ' ἀρτί τοῦ ἕαρος ἐπιστάντως ὡς ἔγνω τὸν Φλαμίνιον

1 Many words of this fragment were illegible even to Mai. It is here printed as restored tentatively by Bs.
2 Γέμινον Pinder, γέμινον Α, γέμιον Bs.
BOOK XIV

Many portents, some of which had actually occurred and others which were mere idle talk, became the subject of conversation. For when people get seriously frightened and certain portents are proved to them really to have occurred, oftentimes others are imagined. And if once any one of the former class is believed, immediately the rest likewise are rashly accepted as true. Accordingly, the sacrifices were offered and all the other rites observed which men are in the habit of performing for the cure of their momentary terror and for escape from expected disaster. But most men are wont to trust hopefully in such agencies, contrary to their true interest; and so at this time, even though, because of the magnitude of the danger anticipated, they believed more strongly than ever that the harshest fate would befall them, they still kept hoping that they might not be defeated.

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and had won over, partly by force and partly without opposition, all the districts that border on the sea as far as the Iberus, and many parts of the interior as well. He had also defeated Banno in battle and had taken him prisoner. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, on learning of this, crossed the Iberus and reduced some of the rebels; but when Scipio advanced against him, he withdrew.

The people of Rome again chose Flaminius and Geminus consuls. At the very beginning of spring Hannibal was apprised that Flaminius together with
μετὰ τοῦ Σερουλίου Γεμίνου χειρὶ πολλῇ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἱόντα, πρὸς ἔξαπάτην αὐτῶν ἔτραπη, καὶ πλαττόμενος ἐνδιατρίβειν ἑκεῖ καὶ μάχην συνάψειν, ἐπεὶ νομίζαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἀμέλῶς τῶν ὦδὸν ἔσχον, ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοτέδου τούς ἱππεὰς κατέληπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ νῦκτα ἀρας τὰ τε στενότορα μεθ᾽ ἱσυχίᾳ διήλθε καὶ πρὸς Ἁρίτιον ἥπειρετο· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ, ἐπεὶ πολὺ προῆλθεν, ἀπῆσαν αὐτὸν ἐφεπόμενοι. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ γρόντες ἔπαθησαν, Γέμινος μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπέμεινε τούς τ᾿ ἀφεστηκότας κακώσων καὶ κωλυσών ἐπικουρήσας Καρχηδόνιοι, Φλαμίνιος δὲ μόνος ἔδιωκεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἔργον τῆς νίκης, ὡς φεύον τεῖνεται. καὶ τὸ Ἁρίτιον προκατέλαβεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας συντομωτέραν τραπέτους δυσόδοις ἐνέτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώπους συχνοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ὑποξύγια καὶ τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπέβαλεν. ὄψε δὲ οὖν πρὸς τὸ Ἁρίτιον ἑλθὼν, καὶ εὐρὸν ἐκεῖ τὸν Φλαμίνιον, κατεφρονήσεν αὐτὸν, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν οὐ συνέβαλε, τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἀνεπιτήδειον οἱ ἐδοκεῖ, πείραν δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἐκείρε τὴν χώραν· καὶ τὸ τοῦτο ἐπεκδραμόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπανήγαγεν, ὡς φοβεῖσθαι δόξη. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐξαναστάς, ἐπιτήδειον τὶ χωρίον πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐρὸν ἐμείνε. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖον κατὰ τὰ ὄρη λοχῶν ἐτάξε, τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν σύμπαν ἐξος τῶν στενῶν ἀφανῶς ἐφεδρεύειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆλοφου μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἐστρατοπεδέυσατο. ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος ἐν φρονίματι ὄν, καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτῶν ἰδῶν, τὴν τε
Servilius Geminus was advancing against him with a large force, and he set himself to deceiving them. He pretended that he was going to tarry there and offer battle, and when the Romans, thinking that he would remain in his present position, became careless in guarding the roads, he set out at nightfall, leaving his cavalry behind in camp, quietly traversed the passes, and hastened on toward Arretium; and the cavalry, after he had got far ahead, set out to follow him. When the consuls found they had been tricked, Geminus stayed behind to harass those who had revolted and prevent them from assisting the Carthaginians, and Flamininus alone pursued, eager that he alone should have the credit for the expected victory. He succeeded in occupying Arretium first, for Hannibal in taking a shorter route had encountered difficult roads and had lost numerous men, many pack animals, and one of his eyes. It was late, then, when he reached Arretium and found there Flamininus, whom he regarded with contempt. He did not give battle, for the spot seemed to him unsuitable; but by way of testing his enemy he proceeded to lay waste the country. At this the Romans made a sally and he retired, to give them the idea that he was afraid. During the night he withdrew, and finding a satisfactory spot for battle, remained there. He arranged that most of the infantry should form an ambush along the mountain sides, and ordered all the cavalry to lie in wait concealed from view outside the pass; he himself encamped with a few followers on the hilltop. Flamininus was very confident, and when he saw Hannibal with but a few men on the high ground
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λοιπὴν στρατιῶν πόρρω ποιεῖνομαι νομίσας, ῥαδίως μεμονωμένων αἰρήσεων ἡπτὶσε, καὶ ἔσ τὸ στενῶν ἀπερισκέπτως εἰσῆλθε, κάνταῦθα, ὡς γὰρ ἦν, ἡμίσατο. καὶ ὑπὸ μέσας νῦκτας ὑπὸ καταφρονήσεως αὐτοῦς ἀφυλάκτως καθευδοντας πανταχῶθεν ὦμοι περιέσχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πόρρωθεν ἁκοντίοις καὶ σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασι τοὺς μὲν εὐναξομένους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνοντας ἔκτεινον, αὐτοὶ μὴ τι δεινὸν ἀντιπάσχοντες. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲνος αὐτοῖς συμπλεκομένου, σκότους τε καὶ ὀμίχλης ὦς, ὥς εἰχον τῇ σφετέρᾳ χρήσασθαι ἄρετῇ. τοσοῦτος ὁ ἐγενετο θόρυβος καὶ τοιαύτη παραχώδης ἐκπλήξις κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν τότε γενομένων αἰσθέσαται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα κατερράγη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν διέσχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνέπεσαν, ὡς καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ἐμφράξαι, καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἔξοδον ὀποκλείσθεντες ἀλλήν ἔτραπωντο. τοιοῦτοι μὲν σεισμοὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα κατέσχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι εἰς ἐννοία σφῶν ἐγένοντο. αὐτὸς τε ὁ Φλαμίνιος καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, συχνὸι δὲ ἐπὶ τινὰ λόφον ἀνέβησαν ἐπεὶ ὁ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμησαν, καὶ καταληφθέντες τὰ τῆς ὁπλα καὶ ἕαυτος ἐπὶ ἀδεία παρέδοσαν. ὁ γε μὴ Ἀρνίβας βραχύ τῶν ὁμομοσμένων ἐφρόντισε, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀλώτων τὸ μὲν ὑπῆκουν τὸ τε συμμαχικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄφηκεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκείνους δήσας ἐφύλασσε. πράξας δὲ παύτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἦπείγετο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ναρνίας τὴν τε γῆν.
he believed that the rest of the army had been sent to some distant point, and hoped to take him easily while thus isolated. So he carelessly entered the mouth of the pass and there, since it was late, pitched camp. About midnight, when the Romans were sleeping unguarded, through scorn of their enemies, the Carthaginians surrounded them on every side at once, and by using from a distance javelins, slings, and arrows they killed some who were still in their beds and others who were just seizing their arms, without receiving themselves any serious harm in return. For the Romans, having no tangible adversaries and with darkness and mist prevailing, found no opportunity to make use of their valour. So great was the uproar and such the confusion and alarm that seized them, that they were not even aware of the earthquakes then occurring, although many buildings fell in ruins and many mountains either were cleft asunder or collapsed so that they blocked up the ravines, and rivers shut off from their ancient outlets turned elsewhere. Such were the earthquakes which overwhelmed Etruria, yet the combatants were not conscious of them. Both Flaminius himself and a vast number of others fell, though not a few managed to climb a hill. When it became day, these turned to flight, but being overtaken, surrendered themselves and their arms on promise of pardon. Hannibal, however, recking little of his oaths, kept those who were Romans in chains, but released their subjects and allies from among all the captives he had in his army. After this success he hastened toward Rome and proceeded as far as Narnia, devastating the country and winning
"Οτι οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τῶν Φάβιον ἀνείπου, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ αὐτοὶ γε περιγένοιτο ὦ, οὐδὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ εστὶ . . . . . . , πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸν 'Αννίβαν τῆς τε ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ῥώμην ὁδὸν ἀποτετράφθαι.
BOOK XIV

The Romans proclaimed Fabius dictator, content if they could themselves survive, and neither sent any aid to the allies nor... but learning that Hannibal had turned aside from the road leading to Rome and had set out for Campania,

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over the cities, with the exception of Spoletium; there he surrounded and slew the praetor Gaius Centenius, who was lying in ambush. He made an attack upon Spoletium, but was repulsed, and as he saw that the bridge over the Nar had been destroyed, and ascertained that this had been done also in the case of the other rivers which he would have to cross, he desisted from his advance upon Rome. Instead, he turned aside into Campania, for he heard that the land was most excellent and that Capua was a very great city, and thought that if he should first seize these he might acquire the rest of Italy also in a short time.

The people of Rome, when informed of the defeat, were grieved and lamented both for the lost and for themselves. They were in sore straits and tore down the bridges over the Tiber, with one exception, and proceeded hurriedly to repair their walls, which were damaged in many places. And wishing to have a dictator in readiness, they proclaimed one themselves in the assembly. Content, however, if they alone could be saved, they had sent no aid to the allies; but now, learning that Hannibal had set out for Campania, they determined to assist the allies also. To Hannibal they opposed the dictator Fabius
καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ὁρμήσθαι, τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος, μὴ πως εἴτε ἐκούσιοι εἴτε βιασθέντες μεταστῶσιν, ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐποιήσαντο.—Μ. 152 (p. 193).


καὶ τὸν Ἡπαρχόν τὸν Μάρκον τὸν Μινούκιον ἀντικατέστησαν. οἱ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐλθόντες ἐς μὲν χεῖρας αὐτῷ οὐκ ἤσαν, παρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπετήρουν εἰ που καιρὸς μάχης παρατέσσεται ἀποκινδυνεύσαι γὰρ ὁ Φάβιος κατεπτηχόσι στρατιώταις καὶ ἡπτημένους πρὸς πλείους καὶ νεικηκότας οὐκ ἢθελε, καὶ ἀμαὸς μᾶλλον τὴν χώραν κακώσειαν, τὸσούτῳ θάσσον ἀπορῆσαι τροφῆς αὐτοὺς ἦλπισε. τοιούτως χρόνεως λογισμοὶ οὕτ' ἄλλη χώρα ἐπήμυνεν οὗτος τῇ Καμπανίᾳ. κατέκλεισεν οὖν διὰ ταύτα πάν τὸ πολέμιον εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν περισσῶν γὰρ αὐτούς ἀπανταχόθην οὐκ εἰδότας ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κὰκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορεῖ, εἰκοίνου δὲ μόνα τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢν ἐκείρου ὑπάρχοντα ἦδει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέχει καὶ τῆς μελλήσεως οὐκ ἠφροντιζε. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αἰτίαν εἰχεν, ὡς καὶ μελλήτης ἐποιομασθῆναι.

26. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίβας, ἐπεὶ πρὸς χειμώναν ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὕτε κατὰ χώραν χευμάσαι σπάνει τὸν ἀναγκαίων ἤδυνατο καὶ πολλαχῆ πειράσας ἐξιέναι τῆς Καμπανίας κεκόλυτο, τοιούτων τε ἐμηχανήσατο. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας, ἵνα μὴ τις αὐτῶν διαφύγῃ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον γνωρίζῃ τοῖς Ἡρωμανισταῖς, κατέσφαξε· καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

1 ἐκεῖνος, μὴ πως... μεταστάσειν Kuebler, εἰκεῖνοι σιωπᾶ... μεταστάσιν Mai (and Ms.?). εἴτε... εἴτε Ba., μήτε... μήτε Mai (and Ms.?).
they made sure of the safety of those allies also, through fear that they might change sides either willingly or under compulsion.


and the master of horse Marcus Minucius. These leaders set out in his direction, but did not come to close quarters with him; they followed and kept him in view, in the hope that a favourable opportunity for battle might sometime occur. Fabius was unwilling to risk a conflict with cowed and beaten soldiers against a greater number who had been victorious. Furthermore, he hoped that the more his foes should injure the country, the sooner they would be in want of food. In view of these considerations he did not defend Campania or any other district. As a result, he confined hostilities entirely within Campania; for, unknown to the enemy, he had surrounded them on every side and now kept guard over them. He himself secured an abundance of provisions both from the sea and from the territory of the allies, but the invaders, he knew, had only the products of the land which they were devastating to depend upon. Consequently he waited and did not mind the delay; and he was therefore blamed by his fellow-citizens, who even gave him the name of Delayer.

26. When it came to be nearly winter and Hannibal could not pass that season where he was, owing to the lack of necessary supplies, and yet had been checked in numerous attempts to get out of Campania, he devised a plan of the following nature. He first slew all the captives, that no one of them might escape and acquaint the Romans with what was being done. Then he collected the cattle
"Oti ó Phábios di' ásphaleías mállon h diá kivdýnivn proshedreúvnoi ou téirain labeivn án-
dromivn xeiropetxhovn toû polémov óntovn' étolma, kai
en pollh periwph thiv tivn stratistówn swth-
rlan, allov te kai 2 diá thiv polistówn ólyvan-

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βοῦς ἀθρόισας δᾶδας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσέδησε κέ-
ρατι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σαυνίτας δρη ὑπὸ
νῦκτα χωρῆσας τὰς τε δᾶδας ἄνηψε καὶ τὰς βοῦς
ἐπετάραξεν. οἰστρηθεῖσα δὲ ἐκεῖναι διὰ τὸ πῦρ
καὶ τὴν ἐλασίν πολλαχῆ τὴν ὑλὴν ἐνέπρησαν, κὰκ
τοὺτον ῥαδίαν παρέσχον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπέρβασιν. οἱ
γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μετεόροις,
ἐνεδρὰς πτοηθέντες, οὐκ ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ ὅτως ὁ
'Ανώβας διήλθη καὶ ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτιδα ἐκομῆθη.

'Ὁ οὖν Φάβιος μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸ γενόμενον γρῶν
κατεδώξε, καὶ τοὺς τε καταλελειμμένους ἐν τῇ
ὀδῷ, ἁμα σφᾶς εἰρέσωσι, τρεψάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς
βοηθῆσαντας αὐτοὺς κρατήσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο
μὲν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐς
χείρας ἐκεῖνοις ἠλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποσκίδνασθαι τε
αὐτοὺς καὶ προνομεύειν ἐκώλυν ν ὧς τὴν Ἕ
νῷβαν ἀπορήσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
ὄρμησαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐμάχετο, δι' ἡσυχίας δὲ παρη-
kαλοῦθεν ὁ Φάβιος, αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ
Σαύνιον. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος αὐτῷ ἐφεπόμενος δι' 
ἀσφαλείας προσήδρευε, προμηθοῦμενος μῆτε τῶν
οἰκείων ἀποβαλεὶν τινας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ τῶν ἀναγ-

1 proshedreou...teiran labeivn an'drom...ontovn Br., prosh-
drreve... svmbaleiv an'drosi...ontov Mai; Ms. uncertain, except orr.v at end. 2 kai added by Bk.
BOOK XIV

Fabius continued to keep watch on him from a safe distance instead of by running risks; he would not venture to make trial of men skilled in the art of war, and he made the safety of the soldiers a matter of great solicitude, particularly in

which were in camp, attached torches to their horns, and proceeded at nightfall toward the mountains on the Samnite border, where he lighted the torches and stampeded the cattle. They, maddened by the fire and by blows, set fire to the forest in many places, and consequently rendered it easy for Hannibal to cross the mountains. The Romans in the plain as well as those on the heights were in dread of an ambuscade and would not stir. Thus Hannibal got across and made his way into Samnium.

Fabius, ascertaining the next day what had happened, gave chase and routed those left behind on the road to hinder his men's progress; he also defeated the troops that came to the assistance of the first party. He then encamped not far from the enemy, yet would not come to blows with them. However, he prevented them from scattering and foraging, so that Hannibal, in perplexity, at first set out for Rome; but when Fabius would not fight, but quietly followed along, he again turned back into Samnium. And Fabius, following on, continued to keep watch on him from a safe distance, being anxious not to lose any of his own troops, especially since he
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θρωπίαν, ἐποιεῖτο, συμφορὰν οὐ τὸ μὴ φθείρατα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν οἰκεῖων ἀποβαλεῖν

10 μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζων· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τῇ περιουσίᾳ τοῦ πλῆθους κἂν ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ποτε σφαλέντας ἤγείτο, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον πταίσειν, ἐν τοῖς παντὶ κακοῦ, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πρὶν παθημάτων, γενήσεσθαι ἐλογίζετο· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκεραίοις πράγμασι καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ῥαδίως πολλάκις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑφίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ προκεκμηκότας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα κακοῦν ἔλεγεν. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοῦ νῦν συμβουλεύοντος ποτε αὐτῷ ἀποκινδυνεύσαι, καὶ τὴν τοιούτων εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πλείον ἔκατον ἀνδρῶν ἀπόλοιπο, οὐτὲ ἐπείσθη, καὶ προσανήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀν ἔθελησεν τῶν ἐκατόν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι. —Μ. 153 (p. 193).

14 "Οτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως αὐτεπάγγελτοι τῷ τῷ Ἀννίβα ἐπεμψαν, ἀλλ' ἐν γέλωτί τε αὐτῶν ἐποιουῦντο ὅτι τε εὗ πράττειν καὶ ὅτι πολλά

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καίων ἐν εὐπορίᾳ τυχαίων, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκτὸς οὐδέν προσεῖναι ὄρον, καὶ μηδ' οἴκοθεν προσεούσαν ἐπικουρίαν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ ἐν γέλωτι αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο, γράφοντα εὗ πράττειν

1 aoths Bk., aotou Ms.  

2 ἐν inserted by Bk.
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view of the small number of the citizens, deeming it no disaster to fail of destroying the forces of the enemy, but a great one to lose any of his own troops. For he believed the Carthaginians, with their enormous multitude, would risk another encounter, even if once defeated, whereas, if he should lose even the smallest part of his own army, he calculated that he should find himself in every extremity of evil; this would not be due to the number of the dead on any such occasion, but to the magnitude of the previous reverses. He was in the habit of saying that men, so long as their affairs were in a flourishing condition, could often bear easily the severest losses, whereas those who were already exhausted would be harmed by the slightest reverses. Hence, when his son once advised him to risk an encounter, and said something about the loss of not more than a hundred men, he would not consent, and he furthermore asked him whether he would like to be one of the hundred men.

The Carthaginians, far from voluntarily sending any support to Hannibal, were making sport of him, owing to the fact that, although he was con-

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could obtain necessities in abundance, whereas he saw that his foe possessed nothing apart from his weapons and that no assistance was sent to him from home. For the Carthaginians were actually making sport of Hannibal, inasmuch as he wrote of his
κατορθοῦν ἀεὶ ποτὲ γράφων σφίσι, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτει, λέγουτες μηδὲν ὀμολογεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις αὐτοῦ ταῖς κατορθώσεσι· τοὺς γὰρ κρατοῦντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα οἰκαδε πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔτερα πρὸς ἑαυτῶν προσεπαιτεῖν.
—Μ. 154 (p. 194).

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καὶ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν, καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτοῦντα καὶ χρήματα, λέγουτες μὴ συμφωνεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις ταῖς κατορθώσεσι· τοὺς γὰρ νικῶντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἀρκεῖσθαι στρατεύματι, καὶ χρήματα στέλλειν οἰκαδε, ἀλλ' οὐ προσαίτειν.

"Εως μὲν οὖν ἐνεδήμει τὸ Φάβιος, δεινὸν οὖδὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἑγένετο, ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε κατὰ τι δημόσιον, ἐπταίσαν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥούφος ὁ Ἰππαρχος, φρόνιμα κενὸν ὑπὸ νέωτητος ἔχον καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν σφαλμάτων ἀπερίοπτος ὁν καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τοῦ Φαβίου ἀγάμημον, ἐπει τὴν προστασίαν τῆς στρατιάς μόνος ἐσχε, τῶν μὲν ἐντολῶν τοῦ δικτάτορος ὀλυγώρησεν, ὀρμήσας δ' εἰς παράταξιν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἰτὰ ἤττήθην, κἂν πανσυδί διεφθάρῃ, εἰ μὴ τῖνες Σαυριτῶν κατὰ τύχην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίκουροι ἀφικνοῦμεν δόξαν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις παρέσχον προσεέναι τὸν Φάβιον, ἀναχωρησάντων οὖν διὰ τοῦτο κεκρατηκέναι ἐνόμισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὸ ἔργον

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continually writing of his favourable progress and his
many successes, he also asked them for money and
soldiers. They said his requests did not agree at all
with his successes: victors ought to find the army
they have sufficient, and ought to send money home
instead of demanding still more from them.

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favourable progress and his many successes, and at
the same time asked them for soldiers and money.
They said his requests did not accord with his suc-
cesses: conquerors ought to find the army they have
sufficient, and to forward money home instead of
demanding more.

As long as Fabius was present no disaster hap-
pended to the Romans, but when he departed for Rome
on some public business, they met with a reverse.
Rufus, the master of horse, who possessed the
vain conceit of youth, was not observant of the
errors of warfare and was angered by the delays
of Fabius. Hence, when once he came to
hold the command of the army by himself, he
disregarded the injunctions of the dictator and
hastened to bring on a pitched battle, in which at
first he seemed to be victorious, but was soon de-
feated. Indeed, his force would have been utterly
destroyed, had not some Samnites arrived by chance
to aid the Romans and impressed the Carthaginians
with the idea that Fabius was approaching. When
for this reason they retired, he thought that he had
vanquished them, and sent messages to Rome
"Εγκλημα γούν ἔχω οὐχ ὅτι προπετῶς ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρᾶ, οὐδ' ὅτι διὰ κινδύνων στρατηγῶν, ἵνα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν στρατιώτων ἀποβαλῶν πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας αὐτο-κράτωρ τε ὀνομασθὼ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψω, ἀλλ' ὅτι βραδύω καὶ ὅτι μέλλω καὶ ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ἱσχυρῶς ἀεὶ προσφέρωμαι.—Μακ. Conf. Flor. f. 157° (Μ. p. 542.)

"Οτι τοίς πολλοῖς σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εὐ φέρεσθαι ὥδε, ἀλλ' τε καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τῶν εὐδοκιμούσων, προστίθεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν ἀρτὶ προφαϊνόμενον συναύξειν, τὸ δ' ὑπερέχον ἐτὶ καθ-αιρείν πεφύκασι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πλείονὸς σφων προφέρουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις ἐξαίφνης παρισσωθεὶν, τὸ δ' ἀδόκητον αὐξηθὲν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ὁμοίων εὐτυχίαν φέρει.—Μ. 155 (p. 194).

"Οτι Ἀρνίβας ἦτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Φαβίῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπιτιθείω σφίσιν ὀντι, ἥ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολὴ

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 megetúνων καὶ τῶν δικτάτορα προσδιαβάλλων ἐπέστειλεν, ὁκιρήν καὶ μελλήτην αὐτοῦ καλῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων φρονοῦντα.

Οι δ' ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ νεικηκέναι τὸν Ρούφον ὄντως ἐνόμισαν, καὶ οία παρὰ δόξαν θαρσήσαντες καὶ ἐπήρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπτωκων, καὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐν υποψίᾳ σχόντες διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐν Καμ-

1 εὐ φέρεσθαι . . . προστίθεσθαι Κυίρον, συμφέρεσθαι . . .

προστίθεντα: Μ.α.
I am under accusation, not because I rush headlong into battles, nor because I risk dangers in my office as general, purposing by losing many soldiers and killing many enemies to be hailed imperator and to celebrate a triumph, but because I am slow and because I delay and because I am always providing carefully for your safety.

It is customary for most men readily to assist those who are beginning to be successful, especially with a view to discrediting those already in favour; for it is their nature to help in advancing any force that is just coming to light, but to overthrow what has already obtained preeminence. People cannot, of course, immediately measure themselves with those who are very far ahead of them; but growth in an unexpected quarter brings hope of a like good fortune to those still in obscurity.¹

Hannibal, either as a favour to Fabius, because he was really of service to them, or perhaps

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⁠ magnifying his exploit and also slandering the dictator; he called Fabius timid, a delaying, and a sympathizer with the enemy.

¹ The people of Rome believed that Rufus had really conquered, and in view of this unexpected encouragement they commended and honoured him. They were suspicious ofFabius both because of this affair and because the enemy had not ravaged

¹ Boissevain believes this is from a speech of M. Terentius Varro in favour of equalizing the powers of the dictator and of the master of horse.
αὐτοῦ, οὖδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ κατέδραμεν. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἀντιδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους, ὡςθ' ὁποτέρων ἄν1 πλείους εὑρεθῶσιν ἀπολυτρωθῆναι σφας, γενομένης, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λυτρώσασθαι, τὰ χωρία ὁ Φάβιος ἀποδόμενος τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἐχάρισατο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ αὐτὸν μὲν2 οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δὲ ἵππαρχῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἱ ἔξουσιαι ἔδωκαν, ὡστ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης ἄρχειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν3 Φάβιος οὐδεμίαν ὀργήν οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ῥοῦφῳ ἔσχε: τῶν τε γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων συνεγίνοσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναπητὸν ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὀπωσοῦν περιγένοιτο. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν σώζεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐδοξεῖν ἤθελεν, τὴν τε ἁρετὴν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ψυχισμασίων ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐκάστοτε ψυχῇ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὸ τε χείρον οὐκ ἀπὸ3 δόγματος τινι ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπιστῆμης ἢ ἀμαθίας

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πανία χωρία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδήσσαν, μικρὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀν παρέλυσαν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν χρήσεως νομίζοντες εἶναι οὖθ᾽ ἐπαυσαν, τῷ δ' ἰππάρχῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξουσιαν προσένεμαν, ὡστ' ἁμφω ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης ἄρχειν. δοξάστων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Φάβιος οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ῥοῦφῳ ἔσχεν ὀργήν.

1 ἄν added by Bk. 2 μὲ added by Val. 3 οὐκ ἀπὸ Val., οὐ Ma.
to create a prejudice against him, did not ravage any of his possessions. Accordingly, when an exchange of captives was effected between the Romans and Carthaginians, with the proviso that any number in excess on either side should be ransomed, and the Romans were unwilling to ransom their men with money from the public treasury, Fabius sold the farms and paid their ransom. Therefore they did not depose him, but gave equal power to his master of horse, so that both held command simultaneously and on an equal footing. Fabius, for his part, cherished no anger against either the citizens or Rufus; he excused them for an act prompted by human nature and was content if in any way they might survive. For he desired the preservation and victory of the commonwealth rather than his own glory; and he believed that excellence depended not on decrees, but on each man's spirit, and that victory or defeat was the result not of any ordinance, but of a man's own wisdom or ignorance.

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his fields in Campania; and it would have taken but little to cause them to deprive him of his command. However, since they believed him useful, they did not depose him, but assigned equal power to his master of horse, so that both held command on an equal footing. When this decree had been passed, Fabius, for his part, cherished no anger against either the citizens or Rufus; but
17 ὑπάρχειν νομίζων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥοῦφος οὔδε ἐν τῷ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεφύσητο, καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτόν, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ἀπειθαρχίας ἅθλου τὴν πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἵσομοιρίαν προσλαβῶν, οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἠμέραν ἔξιον παρ' ἠμέραν ἥ καὶ πλείους ἐναλλαξ ὑπὸς ἀρχεῖν. ὁ δὲ Φάβιος φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι κακὸν σφας, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκρατίας γένοιτο, ἔξεργάσατο, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήνεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στράτευμα, ὡστε ἐν ὁμοίῳ τῶν ὑπάτοις καὶ ἑκένους ἑδίαι ἐκάτερον ἰσχύν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἢνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διάδηλος, ὅτι αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι ἄρχοι, γένοιτο.—V. 32 (p. 597).

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ὁ δὲ Ῥοῦφος, οὔδε πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν, τότε μᾶλστα ἐπεφύσητο καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτόν οὐκ ἥδυνατο, ἀλλ' ἠμέραν ἔξιον παρ' ἠμέραν ἥ καὶ πλείους ἐφεξῆς ἐναλλαξ ὑπὸς ἀρχεῖν. δεῖσας ὁ Φάβιος μὴ τι κακὸν ἐξεργάσηται, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως γένοιτο ἐγκρατίας, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήνεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡστε τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ ἰσχύν ἑδίαι ἐκάτερον ἰσχύν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἢνα διάδηλος ἢ ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτόν ἄρχει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι. ὁ οὖν Ἀψίβας τοῦτο αἰσθήμαν ἐς μάχην αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ὡς ἐπὶ κατα-

1 ὁ Ῥοῦφος supplied by Melber; cf. Zon.
2 ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο Ῥκ., ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατ (= -τοι Μν.).
Rufus, however, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now more than ever puffed up and could not contain himself, because he had actually obtained through his insubordination the prize of equal authority with the dictator. And so he kept asking for the right to hold sole command on alternate days, or for several days at a time. Fabius, fearing that he might cause them some mischief if he should get possession of the undivided power, did not consent to either of his proposals, but divided the army in such a way that they also, like the consuls, had each his own force. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order to make it clear in a practical way that he was commanding in his own right and not subject to the dictator.

Zonaras 8, 26.

Rufus, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now especially puffed up and could not contain himself, but kept asking for the right to hold sole command on alternate days or for a period of several days at a time. Fabius, dreading that he might cause some mischief if he should get possession of the undivided power, did not consent to either of his proposals, but divided the army in such a way that each had his own force, in the same manner as did the consuls. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order to make it clear that he was commanding in his own right and not subject to the dictator. Hannibal, accordingly, on perceiving this, came up as if to seize a position, and drew him into
"Οτι ο Ρουφος ισομοιριαν λαχων τω δικτατορι και ιττηθεις υπο καρχηδονων μετεβαλετο (σωφρονιζουσι γαρ πως τους μη πανε ανοητους αι συμφοραι) και έθελοντης την ηγεμονιαν αφικε, και αυτου ισχυρως επι τουτω παντες επηνεσαν ου γαρ οτι μη και άρχας το δευν έγνω, μεμπτων ένομιζετο, άλλος οτι μη κατωκυφης μετανοησαι, καλως ήκουε. το μεν γαρ άπο πρωτης ευθυς τα προσηκοντα τινα έλεσθαι και ευτυχιας εργον έγοντο ειναι, το δε έκ της πειρας των πραγματων τα βελτιω μαθοντα μη ισχυνθηναι μεταθεσθαι μεγαλους επηνουν. άστε και έκ τουτου δειχθηναι σαφως οσον ανηρ ανδρος άρετη τε αληθης δοκιμεως διαφερει η γονι φθωνο καλ

Zonaras 8, 26.

ληψει χωριων προσελθων και περιστοιχισαμενος εξ ενεδρας εις κυδουνον κατεστησεν οσ πανστρατιαν εξελειν, ει μη ο Φαβιος κατα νωτον αυτο προσπεσων εκωλυσε.

Παθον ουν τουτο ο Ρουφος μετεβαλετο, και το στρατευμα τε το περιλοιπον εις τον Φαβιον ευθυς ήγαγε, και την άρχην παραδεξωκεν, ουδ άνεμειν τον δημον ανασφησαθαι, άλλες εθελοντης την ηγεμονιαν, ην παρ αυτου μονος ιππαρχον ελαβεν, αφικε. και αυτου επι τουτω παντες επηνεσαν. και ο Φαβιος αυτικα μηδεν ευδοιασας πασαν

1 άστε added by Bk.
Rufus, who, after obtaining equal authority with the dictator, had been defeated by the Carthaginians, altered his course (for disasters somehow chasten those who are not utter fools) and voluntarily resigned his command. And for this all praised him highly. He was not thought deserving of censure for his failure to recognize at first what was fitting, but was rather commended for not hesitating to change his mind. They deemed it really a piece of good fortune for a man to choose right at the start a proper course of conduct, whereas they were loud in their praise of the course of one, who, having learned from practical experience the better way, was not ashamed to change his course. Thus from this episode, too, it was clearly shown how much one man differs from another and true excellence from the reputation therefor. What had been taken

Zonaras 8, 26.

battle. He then surrounded him by means of an ambuscade and placed him in such a dangerous position that his entire army would have been annihilated, had not Fabius assailed Hannibal in the rear and prevented it.

After this experience Rufus altered his course, and leading the remnant of the army immediately to Fabius, laid down his authority. He did not wait for the people to revoke it, but voluntarily resigned the command, which he alone of masters of the horse had obtained from his superior. And for this all praised him. Fabius at once, without any hesitation,
διαβολὴ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φάβιος ἀφηρέθη, ταύτα παρ᾽ ἐκόντος τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ δεσμένου γε ἀνεκτήσατο—Μ. 156 (p. 194).

"Ότι ἂν αὐτὸς μέλλων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαλλαγῇ σεσθαί τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐκεῖνο τε αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε καὶ προσπαρήνεσε πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πραχθήναι ἔχρην ἀφθονώτατα· τὴν τε γὰρ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως προείμα τοῦ μόνου γε δοκείν καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔξ ὃν ἂν ἐπταίσαν ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἔξ ὃν κατώρθωσαν πεισθέντες αὐτῶ ἦλθαν ἑπανεθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησε. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ δὲ ὑδέενθα θρασέως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαβίου ὑποθήκην ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀμείνοι τοῦ μή τι καταπράξαι τοῦ καὶ σφάλην τιθέμενον κατὰ χώραν πάντα τὸν τῆς ἕγερμονίας χρόνον ἐμείναν.—Μ. 157 (p. 195).

Zonaras 8, 26.

ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸ ἀπεδέξατο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα αὐτός τε ἀσφαλέστατα προέστη τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ μέλλων ἀπαλλαγῆσεθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα σφίσε ταράδωκε καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πραχθήναι ἔχρην παρήνθεσεν ἀφθονώτατα. κακαύναχθον θρασέως οὔδεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ Φαβίου ἤπαντα ἐπράξαν, καὶ περὶ τὸ Γέμνος καὶ προκατωρθῶκεν τῇ τῷ γὰρ ναυτικῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἱδὼν ὀρμήσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν
BOOK XIV

away from Fabius by the citizens, as the result of envy and slander, he received back with the goodwill and even at the request of his colleague.

The same man, when about to retire from office, sent for the consuls, surrendered it [the army] to them, and furthermore advised them very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. For the safety of the city stood higher in his estimation than a reputation for being the only successful commander; and for his praise he looked not to the failures they would make in following their own counsels, but rather to the successes they would gain by heeding his advice. And the consuls, acting on the suggestion of Fabius, were not unduly bold, but deemed it better not to accomplish any important result than to be ruined; hence they remained where they were throughout the entire period of their command.

Zonaras 8, 26.

accepted entire control, and the people gave their sanction. Thereafter, while himself head of the army he acted with great circumspection, and when about to retire from office he sent for the consuls, surrendered the army to them, and advised them very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. And they were not unduly bold, but acted entirely on the suggestion of Fabius, even though Geminus had already met with some success. He had seen the Carthaginian fleet heading for Italy but not venturing to make a landing because of the counter-preparations
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 26-9, 1.

αὐτῶν μὴ προσμέξαιν αὐτῇ, ἑπεκπλεύσας τὰ τε τῶν Κυρνίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Σαρδονίων ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Διβύην ἐκβὰς ἐλεηλάτησε τὴν παραλίαν αὐτῆς. ταῦτα μὲν ἔπραξεν, οὐ μέντοι δὴ αὐτὰ ἐπεφύσητο ὡστε πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν διακυκνυνεῦσα, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Φαβίου ἐνέμεινεν. θεντέρ καὶ αἱ πόλεις οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις προσετίθητο, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπέσῃ, καὶ κακόν τι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀτε προσέκων πάθωσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἔσκόπουν, ὅλγοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους αὐθεῖς μετέστησαν, καὶ ἀναθήματα τινὲς αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψαν. καὶ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος πολλὰ πεπομφότος, σίτον καὶ Νίκης ἀγαλμά τοῦ Ρωμαίοι μόνα ἑλάβον, καὶ περ ἐν ἀχρηματία ὅντες, ὡστε τὸ ἀργυρῶν νόμισμα, ἀμυγές καὶ καθαρὸν γινόμενον πρὸτερον, χαλκὸν προσμῆξαι.

9, 1. Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸτε ἐπράξθη· καὶ τινὲς δοῦλοι συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποιηκότες προκατελήφθησαν κατάσκοποις τῆς ἀλούς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἀφεῖθη, ἵνα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις γένηται τοῦ πάθους αὐτάγγελος. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ναυμαχία πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἰβηρος ἐκβολή ὁ Σκιτῶν ἐνίκησεν ἱσοπαλῶς γὰρ ἀγωνιζομένων τὰ ἱστία τῶν νεῶν ὑπετέμετο, ὅπως ἀπογρύνεσθαι προδυμότερον ἀγωνίσεται. καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τείχη συχνὰ ἐχειρώσατο.
of the Romans, and he had set out on a retaliatory voyage, after first making sure of the good conduct of the Corsicans and Sardinians by a cruise past their coasts; he had then landed in Africa and plundered the coast region. In spite of this achievement he was not so puffed up by it as to risk a decisive engagement with Hannibal, but was willing to abide by the injunctions of Fabius. As a consequence, the cities were no longer going over to the Carthaginians, as they had been doing; for they feared that Hannibal might be driven out of Italy and they themselves might suffer some injury at the hands of the Romans, since they were their neighbours. The majority, to be sure, were awaiting the outcome, but a few went over once more to the Romans, and some sent them offerings. Hiero also sent many gifts, but the Romans accepted only grain and a statue of Victory, although they were in such hard straits for money that the silver coinage, which previously had been unalloyed and pure, was now mixed with copper.

9, 1. This is what took place in Italy at that period. Some slaves also formed a conspiracy against Rome, but were apprehended in time. And a spy caught in the city had his hands cut off and was then released, so that he might himself bear witness to the Carthaginians of his experience. In Spain, in a sea-fight near the mouth of the Iberus, Scipio was victorious; when the struggle had proved to be indecisive, the sails had been cut down, in order that the men might be rendered desperate and so fight more zealously. He also ravaged the country, captured numerous fortresses, and through his
καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ποντίαυ Σκιπίωνος πόλεις τῶν Ἰβήρων προσεκτῆσατο. Ἀβελος γὰρ τῆς Ἰβήρ, δοκῶν μὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πιστὸς, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ θεραπεύων, ἀνέπεισε τὸν φρον- ῥοῦντα τοὺς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὀμίρους οἰκάδε αὐτῶν ἀποπέμψαι, ὡς εὐνοιαν τάχα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἱ πόλεις ὑπαχθῶσι· καὶ παραλαβῶν σφάς, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας εἰσηγητῆς γεγονός, πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπί- ωνας τε πρῶτον πέμψας καὶ κοινολογησάμενος περὶ διὸν ἡξίου, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς ὑπεκκομῆσων αὐτῶς ἐὰν δῆθεν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνων τε ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἀνα- κομισθέντων οἰκάδε κατεκτῆσαντο.
brother, Publius Scipio, won over some Spanish cities. A Spaniard named Abelux, who affected loyalty to the Carthaginians, but was in reality furthering the Roman interests, persuaded the keeper of the Spanish hostages to send them to their homes, in order that through them, as he suggested, their cities might be brought into friendly relations. Abelux naturally took charge of them, inasmuch as he had been the one to suggest the idea, but he first sent to the Scipios and acquainted them with his purpose; then, while he was secretly taking the hostages away by night, he managed to be captured. In this way the Romans obtained possession of these men and won over their native states by restoring them to their homes.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 1.

'Εν μὲν οὖν τούτοις εὐτύχους, συμφορὰ δ’ αὐτοῦ περιέπεσον ἢς οὔτε πρόσθεν οὔθ’ ύστερον δεινοτέρα οὔδεμιά. προηγήσατο δὲ ταύτης καὶ τινα τέρατα καὶ τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης λόγια, ἦτις πρὸ τοσούτων ἑτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῦς ἐμαντεύσατο. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου προμάντευμα. χρησμολόγος γάρ τις καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ Διομηδέεω πεδίῳ πταίσειν αὐτούς, ἀτε καὶ Τρώας τὸ ἄρχαίον ἄντας, ἐφοίβασε. τούτο δ’ ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ τῇ Δαυνίων ἔστι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διο-

Tzetzes in LycoPhr. Alex. 602.

Οἱ γὰρ Ἰάπυγες καὶ Ἀπουλοὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωνίου κόλπου οἰκούσιν. Ἀπουλων δὲ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν Δίωνα Πευκέτιοι Πεδίκουλοι καὶ Δαύνοι καὶ Ταραντῖνοι. καὶ Κάνναι Διομήδους πεδίον ἔστι

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757–59.

"Τστερον ἀντετάξατο Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις, Ῥωμαίων ὄντων στρατηγῶν Παύλου καὶ Τερεντίου. ὁ Κάνναι πεδιάδες δὲ εἶσι τῆς Ἀρ-
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 1.

Although in these matters they were fortunate, they encountered elsewhere a disaster as terrible as any which they ever suffered either before or afterwards. It was preceded by certain portents and the oracles of the Sibyl, who had prophesied the disaster to them so many years before. Remarkable also was the prediction of Marcus. He was a certain soothsayer who foretold that, inasmuch as they were Trojans of old, they should be overthrown in the Plain of Diomed. This is in Daunian Apulia and has taken its name from the settlement of Diomed, which he made there in the course of his wanderings. In that plain is also Cannae, where the present misfortune occurred, close to the Ionian Gulf and near

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

The Iapygians and Apulians dwell along the Ionian Gulf. The tribes of the Apulians, according to Dio, are the Peucetii, Pediculi, Daunii, and Tarentines. There is also Cannae, the Plain of Diomed,

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757-59.

Later he arrayed himself against the Romans at Cannae, when the Roman generals were Paulus and Terentius. Cannae is a plain of Argyrippa,
57,22 "Oti peri manthias kai astronomias phisiv o Divn
"eisw mventoi outhe peri toutoi outhe peri twn allwn

twn ek manthias prolegomenon tis leymbalein

'echw' ti yarp pou kai boulei tado proshmaivein,

ei ye pantos te te estai kai mbedma an auton

apotrepeis miht' aandrotiine periteunei miht' au

theia pronoia genoito; tauta mev ouv opo pote

ekastros dokei nomizestho."—M. 158 (p. 195).

"Oti hrxon Paulos kai Terentios andreis oux

Zonaras 9, 1.

kai peri tais tou Luyfidiou ekbolas eisiv. h de

Sibylla phulastebhai mev to xwriov parhnesen,

ou mventoi kai pleion ti genhesebhai efh ou'd eiv
dia

pashis auto poiesaiontis phylakis.

Tosauta mev ouv hsaan ta xhresmodimata, ta

detis Roumaiou sumbanta ouitous egneto.

hrxon mev Paulos Aymilos kai Terentios Ovarrow,

Tzetzes in LycoPhr. Alex. 602.

peri tin 'Apoulion tonon Dauvion. h de Messapia

ei 'Iapuvgia vsteron Salenvia, eita Kallabria

eklepsi. h de 'Arghyrppa polis tou Diomhous

meteklepsi 'Apoulous 'Arpoi.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 760-64.

gyrippas, ou Divomhdes ekctise tin polin 'Argh-

yrppan, toutestin 'Arhgos 'Ippion tih glwsoi

tin 'Elhwn. ai pediades autai de tynxanousi

Dauvion ton 'Iapvgyon vsteron, epeita Salan-

tvon, ta vun de pasi Kallarwn tin klesin

lekgomenon.

1 to inserted by Bk. 2 Messapia Val., messapuvgia Mss.

'Apooulos 'Arpoi Cluverius, om. A, apooulis arpois B.
With regard to divination and astrology Dio says: "I, however, cannot form any opinion either about these events or about others that are foretold by divination. For what does prophesying mean, if a thing is going to occur in any case, and if there can be no averting of it either by human skill or by divine providence? Let each man, then, look at these matters in whatsoever way he pleases."

The commanders were Paulus and Terentius, men of the mouths of the Aufidus. The Sibyl had admonished them to beware of the spot, yet said it would avail them naught, even if they should keep it under the strictest guard.

Such were the oracular utterances; now what befell the Romans was this. The commanders were Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, men not of near Daunian Apulia. Messapia and Iapygia were later called Salentia, and then Calabria. Argyrippa, the city of Diomed, was renamed Arpi by the Apulians.

where Diomed founded the city Argyrippa, that is to say, "Argos, the Horse City," in the tongue of the Greeks. And this plain came to belong later to the Iapygian Daunii, then to the Salentini, and now to those whom all call by the name Calauri [Calabrians].
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ομοιότροποι, ἀλλ' εὖ ἵσον τῷ διαφόρῳ τοῦ γένους καὶ τὰ ἡθη διαλλάττοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδης τε ἢν καὶ παideία ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸ τε ἀσφαλὲς πρὸ τοῦ προπετοὺς προετίμα, καὶ πη καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας, ἢν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀρχῇ εἰλήφει, κεκολουσμένος οὐκ ἐθρασύνετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὐθίς τε δεινὸν πάθοι μᾶλλον ἡ ὁπως ἀποτομήσας τε κατορθώσῃ ἐσκόπει. Τερέντιος δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐτέθραπτο καὶ ἐν θρασύτητι βαναυσικῇ ἥσκητο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τάλλῃ ἐξεφρόνει καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐαυτῷ τοῦ πολέμου προπισχεῖτο, τοῖς τε εὐπατρίδαισι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν μόνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν ἔχειν ἤγειτο.—Μ. 159 (p. 196).

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ἄνδρες οὐχ ὁμοιότροποι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδης ἢν καὶ παίδεια κεκόσμητο καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς προετίμα τοῦ προπετοὺς. Τερέντιος δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐτέθραπτο καὶ ἐν βαναυσικῇ θρασύτητι ἥσκητο καὶ τάλλα τε ἐξεφρόνει καὶ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν μόνος ἔχειν ἤγειτο διὰ τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν. ἦλθον οὖν ἄμφω εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐκαριότατα· οὔτε γὰρ τροφῇ ἐτὶ ἢν τῷ Ἀννίβα, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν κεκίνητο, τὰ τὲ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῷ ἠλλοτριῶτο· καὶ εἶ γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπεσχήκεσαν,
not of similar temperament, but differing alike in family and in character. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; he was somewhat chastened, moreover, as a result of the censure he had received for his former conduct in office. Hence he was not inclined to boldness, but was considering how he might keep from getting into trouble again rather than how he might achieve success by some desperate venture. Terentius, however, had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and so everywhere displayed a lack of prudence; for instance, he was already promising himself the control of the war, was inveighing much against the patricians, and thought that he alone held the command in view of the amiability of his colleague.

Zonaras 9, 1.

similar temperament. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; but Terentius had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and everywhere displayed a lack of prudence: for instance, he thought that he alone held the command, by reason of the amiability of his colleague. Now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time; for Hannibal had no longer any provisions, Spain was in turmoil, and the allies were being alienated from him; and if they had waited for even the very shortest time, they would have con-
"Οτι το του Τερεντίου ἀπερίσκεπτον και το του Παύλου ἐπιεικές, βουλομένου μεν ἂει τα προσήκοντα, συγχωροῦντο δὲ τα πολλὰ τῷ συνάρχοντι (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐλαττωθῆναι θρά- σους πράτης), ἤτησεν αὐτούς.—Μ. 160 (p. 196).

Zonaras 9, 1.

ἀπόνως ἐκράτησαν ἂν. νῦν δὲ γε τοῦ Τερεντίου τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ τὸ του Παύλου ἐπιεικές ἤτησεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ παραχρήμα πρὸς μάχην αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγόθαι, καὶ σὺν ὅλης προσπελάσας αὐτῶν τῷ ἔρυματι, ἑτεὶ ἐκδρομὴ ἐγένετο, ἔκων ὑπεχώρησεν, ὅπως δεδεῖναι νομισθεῖς ἐπισπάσαιτο μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς εἰς παρά- ταξιν τοῦ δὲ Παύλου τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας ἐπισχόντος τὴν διώξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας προσποιήσατο φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνασκευασάμενος ως ἀπιῶν σκεύη τε συχνὰ κατέλυπεν ἐν τῷ χαρα- κώματι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀμελέστερον κομίζεσθαι ἐνετείλατο, ἢν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν αὐ- τῶν τραπεζέων ἐπλήθηται σφισί. καὶ εἰς ἐργον ἂν τὸ βουλευμα ἤγαγεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Παύλος καὶ ἁκοντας κατεσχήκει τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν Τερεντίου.

'Ο σὺν Ἀννίβας καὶ τούτου διαμαρτῶν νυκτὸς πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφίκετο. καὶ γνων τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς ἀνέδρας καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν ἐπειτηδειον, ἐστρα- τοπεδεύσατο. καὶ προήροσε πάντα τὸν τόπον ὑπὸ- ψαμμον ὅντε, ὅνα κοινορτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀρβῆ. τὸν γὰρ ἄνεμον, ὅσ ἐν θερεὶ ἐκεῖσε περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν
BOOK XV

The heedlessness of Terentius and the amiability of Paulus, who always desired the proper course but assented to his colleague in most points (so apt is gentleness to yield to boldness), compassed their defeat.

Zonaras 9, 1.

quered without any trouble. As matters went, however, the recklessness of Terentius and the amiability of Paulus compassed their defeat. Hannibal attempted to lead them into a conflict at once: with a few followers he drew near their stronghold, and then, when a sortie was made, purposely fell back to create the impression of being afraid and so draw them the more surely into a pitched battle. But when Paulus restrained his own soldiers from pursuit, Hannibal simulated terror and at night packed up as if to depart; he left behind him numerous articles lying within the palisade and ordered the rest of the baggage to be escorted with a considerable show of carelessness, so that the Romans might turn to plundering it and thus give him a chance to attack them. Indeed, he would have translated his wish into fact, if Paulus had not restrained his soldiers and Terentius quite against their will.

So Hannibal, having failed in this attempt also, came by night to Cannae, and since he knew the place as one fit for ambuscades as well as for a pitched battle, he encamped there. And first he plowed up the whole site, which had a sandy subsoil, in order that a cloud of dust might be raised in the conflict, since the wind generally springs up
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 1.

εἰώθει γίνεσθαι, κατὰ νότου ἔχειν ἐμηχανήσατο. οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ ἔσθεν κενὸν ἀνδρῶν ἱδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἑπέσχον, ἐνεδρεύεσθαι δόξαντες, εἶτα μεθ’ ἡμέρας πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφικόντο. καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐκάτερος ἰδίᾳ ἴλισσατο, οὐκ ὄντες γὰρ ὁμοίθεις τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνοισίαν ἐξέκλινον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Παύλος ἥσυχαζεν, ὁ δὲ γε Τερέντιος ἤθελε συμβαλεῖν ἀμβλυτέρους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅρον ἀνεκόπτετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτούς εἰς μάχην παρακινῶν τῆς τε ὑδρείας εἶργε καὶ ἀποσκεδάσαις σφᾶς ἐκώλυε καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν φονευμένων ἀνό πρὸ τῶν ταφρευμάτων ἐνέβαλλεν, ὅπως σφίσεται τὸ ποτὸν δύσχεραινταί. καντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς παράταξιν ὄρμησαν. τότε δὲ προγνοῦσι ὁ Ἀννίβας λόγους μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς οίχους ἐκάθισε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν στρατιὰν συνέταξεν, καὶ πινακιδουταλίσασιν σὺμμην ἐκέλευσε, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ μελῶν τῶν ξιφῶν ἀπορρίψαντας, τὰ δ’ ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα φέροντας, ἵνα δεξαμένους αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀντικαθαστηκότων ὦς ἀσπιλους ἑπίθεονται αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοι ἱδόντες προίθεν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν παρατεταγμένους ὀπλίζοντο τε καὶ παρετάσσοντο. καὶ οἱ σαλπυκταὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐξώτρυναν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἡρθη, καὶ συμπεσόντες πολυτρόπως ἠγονίσαντο. καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας οὐδετέρους τὸ κράτος ἀπονεμήσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
there in summer about noon; and he contrived to have it behind his own back. The consuls, seeing at dawn that his stockade was empty of men, at first waited, suspecting an ambush, but later came by daylight to Cannae and encamped beside the river, each by himself; for since they were not congenial they avoided association together. Paulus remained quiet, but Terentius was anxious to force the issue; when he saw, however, that the soldiers were rather listless, he had to give up the plan. But Hannibal, who was determined to goad them into battle even against their will, shut them off from their water supply, prevented their scattering in small parties, and threw the bodies of the slain into the stream higher up in front of their intrenchments, in order to disgust them with the drinking supply. Then the Romans, on their side, hastened to array themselves for battle. Hannibal, anticipating this movement, had planted ambuscades at the foot of the hills but had the remainder of his army drawn up in line. He also ordered some men at a given signal to simulate desertion: they were to throw away their shields and spears and larger swords, but secretly to retain their daggers, so that after their antagonists had received them as unarmed men, they might attack them unexpectedly.

The Romans, accordingly, after having had in view since early morning the troops arrayed with Hannibal, were now arming themselves and forming in battle line. The trumpets roused the men on both sides, the signals were raised, and then ensued the clash of battle and a many-sided contest. Until noon the advantage had not fallen to either army. Then
"Οτι ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ τοῦ πολέμου οὐδ’ οἱ πάνυ θαρσοῦντες ἔλαφροτέραν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον αὐτῆς εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἤγοντο νικήσειν, τόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐδέδισαν

Zonaras 9, 1.

πνεύμα ἐπῆλθε, καὶ οἱ ψευδαυτόμολοι δεχθέντες ὡς ὁπλων γυμνοὶ ὁπισθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἵνα μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιτεθῶσι δῆθεν οἱ Ἀρχηγοὶ, τότε καὶ οἱ λόχοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ ο Ἀνυβας κατὰ πρόσωπον σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι προσέμεθη, καὶ οἱ τε πολέμοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πανταχὸθεν ἔθορύβουν, καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος ὁ τε κοινορτός ἐς τὰς ὤψεις αὐτῶν βιαῖος ἐμπέπτων ἐτάραττε, καὶ τὸ ἄσθμα γιμόμενον συνεχές ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου ἀπέφραττεν, ὡς’ ἀπεστημένοι μὲν τῆς ὦψεως ἀπεστημένοι δὲ καὶ φωνῆς, φύρδην καὶ ἐν οὐδενί κόσμῳ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπεσε πλῆθος ὡστε τοὺς Ἀνυβαν τῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὦμον μηδὲ πειραθῆναι ἐξευρέτω ἄριθμόν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄριθμων μὲν μὴ γράψαι τοῖς οἶκοι Ἀρχηγοί, διὰ δὲ τῶν δακτυλίων ἐνδείξασθαι τούτων χοίνιξα γὰρ σφᾶς ἀπομετρήσας ἀπέστειλε, μόνοι γὰρ οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς δακτυλίοις ἐκέχρηντο. συχνοὶ

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771-74.

Τέλος τοσοῦτο πέπτωκε πλῆθος ἄνδρῶν Ῥω-μαίων ὡς τῶν Ἀνυβαν στρατηγῶν πέμψα τῇ Σικελία τοὺς δακτυλίους στρατηγῶν καί τῶν λουπών ἐνδόξων μεσίμονις τε καὶ χοίνιξι πολλοῖς ἐμμετρηθέντας.
In the shock of the battle not even the boldest possessed a hope so buoyant as to rise above the fear inspired by its uncertainty, but the surer they felt of conquering the more did they fear that they might

Zonaras 9, 1.

the wind came up and the pretended deserters were received, apparently destitute of arms, and got in the Romans' rear, in order, as they claimed, that the Carthaginians might not attack them. At this point the men rose from ambush on both sides, while Hannibal with his cavalry charged the Roman front; and not only did the enemy cause them confusion on every hand, but the wind and the dust blew violently into their faces, embarrassing them, and interfering with their breathing, which was already becoming laboured from their exertion, so that, deprived at once of sight and voice, they perished amid utter confusion, preserving no semblance of order. So great a multitude fell that Hannibal did not even try to find out the number of the common soldiers, and in regard to the number of the knights and members of the senate he did not write to the Carthaginians at home, but indicated it by the finger-rings, which he measured off by the quart and sent home; for only the senators and the knights wore finger-rings.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771-74.

At last so great a multitude of Romans fell that Hannibal, the general, filled many bushel and quart measures with the finger-rings of the generals and the other prominent men and sent them to Sicily.
"Οτι ο Σκιπίων πυθόμενος τινας παρασκευάζεσθαι των Ρωμαίων τήν τε Ρώμην ἐγκαταλειπεῖν καὶ τήν Ἰταλίαν ὄλην, ὡς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐσομένην, ἐπέσχεν αὐτοῖς ξιφῆρης ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐν ἡ ἐκοινολογούντο ἐξαιρήσει ἐσπηρῆς.

Zonaras 9, 1-2.

δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ τότε διέφυγον καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος· ο γὰρ Παύλος ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἥπειρθη. δυνάμενος γὰρ ἦ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἦ καὶ μέρει τούτου πρὸς τὴν Ρώμην παραντικά ὀρμῆσαι καὶ ταχέως διαπολεμῆσαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε τούτο, καὶ τοῦ Μαάρβου συναινούντος τούτο ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς νικὰς μὲν δυνάμενος, χρῆσθαι δὲ ταῖς νίκαις οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τότε ἐμέλλησαν, οὐκέτι οὐδ' αἴδθις ἥπειρθησαν. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἁμαρτῶν μετεμέλετο, συνεχῶς ἀνάβον "ο ἘάκανιΚάνναν."

2. Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἩΡωμαῖοι παρὰ βραχὺ κινδυνεύσαντες ἀπολέσθαι ἀντεπεκράτησαν διὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ὁς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν τοῦ Πονηλίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὅτε ἔτρωθη περιέσωσε, τότε δὲ στρατευόμενος εἰς τὸ Καυσίσιον ἐφυγε,

in some way meet with disaster. For those who are ignorant of a matter do not, in their blind folly, look for anything terrible, but the boldness derived from calculation...

Scipio, on learning that some of the Romans were preparing to abandon Rome, and indeed all Italy, because they felt it was destined to belong to the Carthaginians, nevertheless found a way to restrain them. Sword in hand he sprang suddenly into the room where they were conferring, and after

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Zonaras 9, 1-2.

Nevertheless a number made good their escape even as it was, among them Terentius; but Paulus was killed. Hannibal did not pursue, nor did he hasten to Rome. He might have set out at once for Rome with either his entire army or at least a portion of it, and quickly ended the war; yet he did not do so, although Maharbal urged him to this course. Hence the criticism was made of him that although able to win victories, he did not understand how to use them. And having delayed this time, they never again made haste. Therefore Hannibal himself used to regret it, feeling that he had committed a blunder, and was ever crying out: "O Cannae, Cannae!"

2. The Romans, who had been in such imminent danger of being destroyed, regained their supremacy through Scipio. He was a son of the Publius Scipio in Spain, and had saved the life of his father when the latter was wounded; at present he was serving in the army and had fled to Canusium, and later he
καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ὁμόσας πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ
λόγοι καὶ ἔργο ψαφεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὄρκώσας
ὡς παραχρῆμα ἀπολογομένους, ἀν μὴ τὰ πιστὰ
29 αὐτῷ παράσχονται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου συμφρο-
νήσαντες πρὸς τὸν ὤπατον ἐγραφαν ὅτι σῴζομεντο.
ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔσε ἐς τὴν Ὁρμῆν ὅπτ᾿ ἐγραψε
παραχρῆμα ὅπτ᾿ ἀγγελον ἀπεστειλεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ
Κανύσιον ἑλθὼν τὰ τε ἑνταῦθα κατεστῆσατο,
καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρὰς ὡς ἐκ τῶν πα-
ρόντων ἐπεμψε, προσβάλλοντὰς τε τῇ πόλει
ἵππεας ἀπεκρύσατο. τὸ τε σύνολον ὅπτ᾿ ἀθυ-
μήσας ὅπτε καταπτήξας, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπ᾿ ὀρθῆς τῆς
διανοίας, ὦσπερ μηδενὸς σφίσται δεινοῦ συμβεβηκό-
τος, πάντα τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ
ἐβούλευσε καὶ ἐπραξεν.—V. 33 (p. 598).

Zonaras 9, 2.

καὶ ὑστερον εὐδοκίμησε. παρ᾿ ἐκόντων γὰρ τῶν
συμφυγῶντων εἰς τὸ Κανύσιον τὴν ἣγεμονίαν
λαβὼν τὰ τε ἐκεῖ κατεστῆσατο καὶ τοῖς πλησιο-
χώροις φρουρὰς ἐπεμψε καὶ πάντα καλῶς ἐβού-
λευσε τε καὶ ἐπραξεν.

Οἱ δ᾿ ἐν τῇ Ὁρμῇ τὴν ἡτταυ μὲν ἠκουσαν, οὐ
μὴν καὶ ἐπίστευον. πιστεύσαντες δ᾿ ἐπένθουν καὶ
συνίοντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον μὴ τι πράττοντες
ἀπηλλάττοντο. ὥσπερ δ᾿ ὅπως ὁ Φάβιος γνώμην
ἐδωκε κατασκόπους πέμψαι τοὺς ἀγγελοῦντας
tὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ ὁ Ἀναβάς πράττει, αὐτοὺς δὲ
μὴ κλαίειν, σιγῇ δὲ βαδίζειν, ἤν ἐν καιρῷ τὰ
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himself swearing to take proper measures both in word and deed he made them swear likewise, on pain of instant death if they failed to give him their pledge. So these men thereupon became harmonious and wrote to the consul that they were safe. Scipio, however, did not at once write or send a messenger to Rome; but going to Canusium, he set in order affairs at that place, sent to the regions near by such garrisons as circumstances permitted, and repulsed a cavalry attack upon the city. In fine, he displayed neither dejection nor terror, but with an unbroken spirit, as if no serious evil had befallen them, he both planned and carried out all measures suitable to the present situation.

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Zonaras 9, 2.

achieved renown. By common consent of the fugitives assembled at Canusium he assumed command, set affairs in order there, sent garrisons to the regions near by, and both planned and executed all measures well.

The people of Rome heard of the defeat but would not believe it. When they did come to believe it, they were filled with sorrow, and met in the senate-house, but were ready to break up without accomplishing anything, when finally Fabius proposed that they send scouts to bring a report of what had happened and what Hannibal was doing. He urged that they themselves should not lament, but go about in silence, so that the necessary
Ζωνάρας 9, 2.
προσήκοντα γύνοιτο, δύναμίν τε συλλέξαι ὅσην ἂν δύναιτο καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπικαλέσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐν τῇ Ἀπουλίᾳ ὄντα ἐμαθοῦν, καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἐδέξαντο ὅτι περιείη καὶ ὅσα πράττοι, μικρὸν ἀνεθάρσησαν. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν Μάρκος Ἰούνιος, Ἰππαρχὸς δὲ Τιβέριος Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ παραχρήμα τῶν τε πολιτῶν οὐ τοὺς ἤθοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηθηκότας ἤδη κατέλεξαν, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐπ᾽ ἀδείᾳ καὶ δούλους ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ λισταί τέ τινας προσελάβοντο, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους προσπαρεκάλουν, ἀναμμήσκοντες εἰ τι ποιο εὐργρήτην καὶ προσυπισχυούμενοι δώσεων τοῖς μὲν σίτον, τοῖς δὲ ἀργυρία, ὅπερ οὗποι πρόσθεν ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπόμφασιν ἢ πείσοντες τινὰς συμμαχῆςαί αὐτῶν ἢ μισθωσόμενοι.
Ἄννίβας δὲ συνεστηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι μαθῶν ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις διέτριβε, τὴν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλοσιν ἀπεγνωκός καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὸ μὲν συμμαχικὸν ἀνευ λύτρων ἀφήκεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐνδύου ἀποδόσθαι ἐλπίζων αὐτῶς, ἵνα ἠαυτὸν εὐπορώτερον ἐνετίθεν ποιήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀποροτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ξητῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαι τινὰς οἰκαδε ἐπὶ λύτρα, προομόσαντας ἐπανῆξειν, ὡς δὲ οὕτως ὑπατεῖα σφᾶς ἠθέλησαν, τοὺς μὲν λόγου τινὸς ἄξιοὺς ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπεστείλε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰκισάμενοι
measures might be taken in time, and that they should collect as large a force as they could and also call upon their neighbours for aid. After this, upon learning that Hannibal was in Apulia, and upon receiving a letter from Terentius stating that he was alive and what he was doing, they recovered a little of their courage. Marcus Junius was named dictator and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus master of the horse. Immediately they enrolled not only those of the citizens who were in their prime but also those who were now past the military age; they added to their forces prisoners on promise of pardon, slaves on promise of freedom, and a few brigands; moreover, they called on their allies to help, reminding them of any kindness ever shown them, and promising in addition to give some of them grain, and others money—a thing they had never done before; they also sent emissaries to Greece to persuade or hire men to serve as their allies.

Hannibal, learning that the Romans were showing a united front and were engaged in preparations, still delayed at Cannae, having given up all thought of capturing Rome by assault. Of the captives he released the allied contingent without ransom, as before, but the Romans he kept, hoping to dispose of them by sale, and thus increase his own resources while diminishing those of the Romans. But when no one came from Rome in quest of the captives, he ordered them to send some of their number home for ransom, after they had first taken an oath to return. When even then the Romans refused to ransom them, he sent those who were of any prominence to Carthage, and the rest he either
απέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ μονομαχῆσαι ἤναγκασε, τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλους συμβαλῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ λέπτα, ἐπανελθόντες ἐπὶ εὐρόκησοσι, φυγόντες δὲ μετὰ τούτο, ἅτιμοι ἤπειροι τῶν τιμητῶν ἠγένοτο, καὶ ἔαυτος κατεχρήσαντο.

Μάγωνα δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀργελώντα τοὺς Καρχηδονίας ἐπεμψε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις αἰτήσοντα. καὶ ο οὲν ἀπελθὼν τοὺς τε δακτυλίους ἥρθησε καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔξηρε δὴ τὸ κατόρθωμα: καὶ ἐνηφάσθη πάντα ὅσα ἦτοσα, τὸ γὰρ Ἀννων τάναντια λέγουσι καὶ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἔτις καθυπέρτεροι δοκοῦσι συμβουλεύοντος όμως ἐπεισθησαν, οὐ μέντοι τὰ ψηφισθέντα καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἤγαγον, ἀλλ' ἐμέλλοσαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἔσ τὴν Καμπανίαν προσώρησε, καὶ πόλισμα τι εἰλε Σαυντικον, καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν ὀρμησε πόλιν, προπέμψας μετὰ τῆς λείας ὑλύους τινὰς. πρὸς οδὸς ός μόνους ἄντας τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμῶντων ἐπεφάνη αὐτὸς ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ συγγενῶς ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑπὲρ καὶ, οὔτ' ἐπὶ πολύ ταὐτή προσήδρευτον, οἱ γὰρ τὴν Καπύνην οἰκούντες Καμπανοὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ὅσα ὦρμαῖων φιλία ἐνεμείναν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπέκλιναν. ἤστ' ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις εὐτύχησε, καὶ τίνες ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ἀλώντες ἀφείθησαν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὀρμησε μεταστήναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ χρόνου μὲν τινὰ ἐπέσχον, εἰτ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὀρμῆσαν συνηγμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντας ὁμαίνεις ἀν κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μή τις ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τὸ μέγεθος συνιδόν τοῦ
tortured and put to death or forced to fight as gladiators, pitting friends and relatives against each other. Those who were sent for ransom returned in order to be true to their oaths, but later fled. Disenfranchised then by the censors, they committed suicide.

Hannibal sent his brother Mago to report the victory to the Carthaginians and to ask them for money and troops. So Mago on his arrival counted over the rings and even magnified the success; thus everything that he asked for was voted, and they would not listen to Hanno, who opposed this course and advised them to end the war while they seemed to have the upper hand. However, they did not put their vote into effect, but delayed. Hannibal meanwhile advanced into Campania, seized a Samnite fortress, and marched upon Neapolis. He sent before him a few soldiers with the booty, and when the people of the city, thinking them alone, rushed out upon them, he unexpectedly appeared in person and slew a large number; but he did not capture the city, nor did he lay siege to it long—for a reason now to be given. Of the Campanian inhabitants of Capua a part clung to Roman friendship, while others favoured Hannibal. After his success at Cannae and when some of their men taken captive had been released, the populace was eager to revolt to Hannibal, but the leaders waited for a time. Finally, the crowd made a rush upon them as they were assembled in the senate-house, and would have made away with them all but for the action of some one of the crowd who saw how great a misfortune this would be. This
κακού κατηγόρησε μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὡς πάντως φθαρῆναι ἄξιον, ἐφη δὲ πρῶτον ἅλλους ἀντ' ἑκείνων ἀνθελέσθαι προσήκειν· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν μὴ δύνασθαι μὴ προβουλευόντων τινῶν σώζεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ, ἀκβάλλον· ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἤρωτα τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἀνθαρεῖταί· καὶ οὕτω, μὴ δυνηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐτέρους δι' ὅλιγου ἀνθελέσθαι, πάντας ἑκείνους ὡς ἀναγκαῖοι ἀφήκε. καὶ καταλλαγέντες ἀλλήλοις ἐσπείσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβα. καὶ δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἀπαναστάσει· ἐκ τῆς Νεαπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Καπύῃ, καὶ διαλεγθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἅλλα τε πολλὰ εἰπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σφίσι τῆς Ἰταλίας δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἢν· ἐν ἐλπίδι γενόμενοι ὡς καὶ ἐαυτοῖς πονησοῦντες προθυμότερον ἁγωνίσονται.

Μεταστάσης δὲ τῆς Καπύης καὶ ἡ ἅλλη Καμπανία κεκίνητο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀπόστασιν αὐτῆς μαθόντες ἤχθοντο. ὦ γε μὴν Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ Νουκερίνων ἐστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦμενοι τὴν ἄχρηστον σφόν ὕλικαν ἀπορίας τροφῶν ἐξεσάντο· οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐ προσήκατο, ἅλλα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεούσι μόνον ἀσφάλειαν
Hannibal took possession of Nuceria under an

man denounced the senators as by all means deserversing to perish, but said that they ought first to choose others to fill their places; for the state could not endure without some men to concert measures for the rest. Having gained the assent of the Capuan people, he ejected each of the members in turn from the senate-house, asking the populace, as he did so, whom they chose in his place; and thus, when they found themselves unable to choose others on short notice, he let all the senators go unharmed, because they appeared to be indispensable. Later the Capuans became reconciled with one another and made peace with Hannibal. This was the reason why he quickly retired from Neapolis and came to Capua. He held a conference with the people and made many attractive offers, among other things promising to give them the leadership in Italy; for he wished to encourage them with the hope that they would be actually labouring in their own behalf, so that they might fight with greater zeal.

Upon the revolt of Capua the rest of Campania also became restive, and the news of the town's secession troubled the Romans. As for Hannibal, he set out on a campaign against Nuceria. Under stress of siege and owing to lack of food the inhabitants thrust out those of their number whose age rendered them unserviceable. Hannibal would not receive these, however, and gave them assurance of safety only in case they should go back to the city. There-
μεθ' ἐνὸς ἰματίου ἐκαστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας λαβὼν Ἀννίβας, ἑπειδή ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐσ βαλανεία κατακλείσας ἀπέπνιξεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπελθεῖν ἔθεν ὧτι βούλοιντο δοῦς, πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐφόνευσεν. οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐλούσιτελησεν φοβηθέντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ τὰ ὁμοία πάθωσιν, οὐ συνέβαινον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντείχον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξήρκουν.—V. 34 (p. 598).

"Οτι ο Μάρκελλος καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη τῇ τε δικαιοσύνη πολλῆ ἐχρήσατο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀπήτει, οὐδὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δέοντα πράττοισιν ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς τε 3 ἀμαρτάνουσι τι αὐτῶν συγγνώμην κατὰ τὸ ἄνθρωπινον ἐνεμε, καὶ οὐκ ὥργιζετο 4 εἰ μὴ ὁμοίοι αὐτῷ εἰεν. V. 35 (p. 601).

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἔδωκε, διὸ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεθ' ἐνὸς ἰματίου ἐκχωρήσας τοῦ ἀστεος ᾠμολόγησαν, ἑπει δ' ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτάς ἐσ βαλανεία κατακλείσας ἀπέπνιξε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν εἰπὼν ὧτι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κακείνοιν ἐφόνευσε. συχνὸι δ' οὐν αὐτῶν καὶ περιεγένοντο εἰς ύλας προκαταφυγόντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φοβηθέντες οὐ συνέβαινον

1 κατακλείσας Bs., ἀπακλείσας Ms.
2 ὧτι Val., ὧτι Ms.
3 τε Bs., δὲ Ms.
4 ὥργιζετο Cary, ὥργιζετο ὧτι Ms. by dittography.
agreement that each man should leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as he had them in his power, he shut the senators into bathhouses and suffocated them; and even in the case of the others, although he had pretended to grant them permission to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many of them on the road. This course, however, did not turn out to his advantage; for the rest became afraid that they might suffer a similar fate, and so would not come to terms with him, but resisted as long as they could hold out.

Marcellus was a man of great bravery, moderation, and justice. The demands he made on those under him were not all rigorous or harsh, nor was he careful to see that they too performed their duty. Those of them who committed any errors he pardoned, out of fellow-feeling, and was not angry if they failed to be like him.

Zonaras 9, 2.

fore the rest also agreed to leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as Hannibal was master of the situation, he shut the senators into bathhouses and suffocated them, and even in the case of the others, although he had told them to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many on the road; yet a number of them managed to escape by taking refuge in the woods. Thereupon the rest became afraid, and would no longer come to terms with him, but resisted while
"Οτι ἐν τῇ Νόλη πολλῶν τῶν ἀλώντας τε ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις καὶ ἀφεθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρνίβου διὰ φόβου τε ἕχοντων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον φρονοῦντας καὶ βανατώσαι βουλομένοιν, ἀντέστη, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὴν ὑποψίαν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴχεν ἀποκρυψάμενος, οὕτω σφάς μετεχείρισατο ὡστε τὰ τε ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθελέσθαι καὶ χρησιμοτάτους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις γενέσθαι.—V. 36 (601).

"Οτι ὁ αὐτὸς Μάρκελλος τῶν ἱππέων τινὰ τῶν Λευκανῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐν ἔρωτι γυναῖκος ὤντα, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι κράτιστα ἐμάχετο, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδεμίαν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα γυναῖκα ἐσιέναι. —V. 37 (ib.).

"Οτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίησε τοὺς 'Ακερανοὺς τοῖς Νουκερίνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐς φρέατα τοὺς βουλεύτας καὶ οὐκ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἐνέβαλεν.—V. 38 (ib.).

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἐτι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀντείχου ἐως ἡδύναντο. καὶ οἱ Νολανοὶ βουλευόμενοι προσχωρήσαι αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ τὸ εἰς ἐκεῖνος εἶδον πραξθέν, ἐπηγάγοντο λάθρᾳ τοῦ Μάρκελλου, καὶ τῶν Ἀρνίβαν προσβαλόντα τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπόσαντο. ἀποκρουσθείς δὲ τῆς Νόλης 'Ακερανοὺς ἐλε ῥμῶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τοῖς Νουκερίνοις συνθήκαις, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ

1 ἀνθελέσθαι v. Horw., ἀνθελέσθαι Ms.
2 τοὺς 'Ακερανοὺς Bk., καὶ Ms.
When many citizens of Nola stood in dread of the men captured at Cannae and later released by Hannibal, because they thought that such persons favoured the invader's cause, and when they were even desirous of putting them to death, he [Marcellus] opposed it. And thereafter he concealed the suspicion that he felt toward them, and treated them in such a way that they chose his side by preference, and became extremely useful both to their native land and to the Romans.

The same Marcellus, when he perceived that one of the Lucanian cavalrymen was in love with a woman, permitted him to keep her in the camp, because he was a most excellent fighter; and this was in spite of the fact that he had forbidden any woman to enter the entrenchments.

He pursued the same course with the people of Acerra as he had with those of Nuceria, except that he cast the senators into wells instead of bath-houses.

Zonaras 9, 2.

they were able. Now the people of Nola were planning to join his cause, but when they saw what had been done to their neighbours, they quietly let Marcellus in and later repulsed Hannibal when he assaulted their city. Repelled from Nola, he captured the people of Acerra by starving them out. He made the same terms with them as with the people of Nuceria, and also accorded them the same treat-
εἰργάσατο καὶ αὐτοὺς. εἶτα καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλίνας ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν ὧν Ῥωμαίοι τε καὶ συμμάχων ὡσεὶ χίλιοι συγκατέφυγον. οἱ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχωρίους προδούναι σφᾶς μελετήσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τῶν Ἀννίβαν πολλάκις ἀπώσαντο, καὶ πρὸς λιμῶν γενναίως διεκαρτέρησαν· ἐπιλιποῦσης δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοὺς, ἐπὶ ἀσκοῦσα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἐπεμφανός ὃς δὲ πίθους ἀλεύρων πληρεις νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐντελάμενος αὐτοῖς παρατηρεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότει τὸ ῥέμα. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τίνα ἐλάθανεν οὕτως τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοῖς χορηγῶν, ἐπειτα πίθου των προσραγέντων τοι καὶ συντριβέντος ἔγων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ ἀλύσει τὸν ποταμὸν διελθάσαν. ὡς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι συχνοὶ διεφθάρσαν, τὸ ἔτερον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἐξέλιπον κάν τῷ λοιπῷ διεκαρτέρουν, τὴν γέφυραν διακόψαντες. εἶτα σπέρμα γογγυλίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους εἰς τῷ χωρίον ἐξωθεὶν αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον. ἑποίησαν δὲ τούτῳ ὅπα καταπλήξεις τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνταρκέσοντες. οὐδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀφθονον αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν τροφὴν οἰκεῖος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καρτερίᾳ θαυμάσας εἰς ὁμολογίαν προε- καλέσατο, καὶ χρημάτων ἀπέδωσον σφᾶς. ἐλύ- σαντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἔξω Ῥωμαίοι ἀσμένως, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐτίμησαν.

3. Ἔν ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λέγουτε τὴν Πυθίαν χρησάν αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι τῇ ῥαβδίας καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν. ἐντεῦθεν ἀνερρώσθησαν, καὶ
ment. After that he made an expedition against Basilinnae,\(^1\) where Romans and about a thousand of the allies had taken refuge. These put to death the native citizens, who had been planning to betray them, repulsed Hannibal several times, and held out nobly against hunger. When food was failing them, they sent a man by way of the river on an inflated skin to the dictator. The latter proceeded to put jars filled with meal into the river at night, after bidding them watch the stream in the darkness. For a while he thus supplied them with food without being discovered, but eventually a jar was dashed against some obstacle and shattered; then the Carthaginians became aware of what was going on and put chains across the river. After a number had perished of hunger and of their wounds, they abandoned one half of the city, cut down the bridge, and held out in the other half. They now threw turnip seed from the wall upon a spot outside, doing this in order to dishearten the enemy and make them believe that they were likely to endure for a long time. Hence Hannibal, thinking that they must have plenty of food, and astonished at their endurance, invited them to surrender, and released them for money. For the Romans outside were glad to ransom them, and furthermore, they showed them honour.

3. While these events were taking place the messengers returned from Delphi saying that the Pythia bade them cease from sloth and devote themselves to the war. This gave them new

\(^1\) An error for Casilinum.
"Ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μᾶχαις ἤωρηθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρὰ ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἐκομίσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπολύσασθαι συνέθετο. μὴ δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἀνάλωμα, ὅτι μηδὲ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῶν συνεπήνεσε, τὰ τὲ ἑαυτοῦ χωρία, ὥσπερ ἔπον, ἀπεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς σφων τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἔχαρισατο.—V. 39 (p. 601)

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

κατέλαβον τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ οἱ παρεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ὅπως τὰ πραττόμενα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρατηρῶσι. καὶ ὁ γε Ἰούνιος ὁ δικτάτωρ τὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίωις παραγγελλόμενα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν ὁμοίως ἔκέλευε. καὶ σίτα καὶ ὑπνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ ἤροντο, καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ὁμοίως ἑπεκόπτον, καὶ τάλα ἐπὶ ἵσης ἐπραττον. καταμαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀννίβας χειμέριον ἔτήρησε νύκτα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέξοδον ἀφ᾽ ἐστέρασ αὖνετε, τοῦ δὲ Ἰούνιον τὸ αὐτῷ ποιήσαντος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄλλοτε ἀλλοὺς αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ἔκέλευσεν, ἵν᾽ ἐν συνεχεί πόνῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰῆσαν αὐτὸς ἐκ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐπιλάμψειν ἐμελλε, τὸ στρατευμά τε δῆθεν ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθεμένων καὶ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τραπεμένων ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἀφνοι καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέκετειν καὶ τὸ τάφρευμα ἐκλειφθέντες εἶλε.

Τὰ δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐκινεῖτο,
BOOK XV.

Fabius got back some of the men captured in former battles by exchanging man for man, and agreed to ransom the others for money. When, however, the senate failed to confirm the expenditure, because it did not approve their ransom at all, he offered for sale his own farms, as I have said, and from the proceeds of them furnished the ransom for the men.

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

strength. They overtook Hannibal and encamped near him, so as to watch his movements. Junius, the dictator, ordered the Romans to do exactly as the Carthaginians were commanded to do. So they took their food and sleep at the same time, visited the sentries in the same manner, and were doing everything else in similar fashion. When Hannibal became aware of this, he waited for a stormy night and then gave notice to some of his soldiers of an attack to be made in the evening. Junius did the same thing. Thereupon Hannibal ordered different detachments to attack him in succession one after the other, in order that his opponents might be involved in constant hardship as a result of sleeplessness and the storm; but he himself rested together with the troops not in action. When day was about to break, he recalled the army, to all appearances, and the Romans put away their weapons and retired to rest; then all of a sudden he attacked them, with the result that he killed a number and captured the entrenchments, which were deserted.

Conditions in Sicily and Sardinia grew unsettled,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 3.

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τινός παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔτυχον. ὅποτε δὲ ὁ τε Γράκχος ὁ ἰππαρχός καὶ Ποστούμιος Ἀλβίνος ἤρεθησαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλβίνος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὕπο τῶν Βουνίων ἐθάρη, δι' ὅρους ὤλοδους πορευόμενος καὶ ἐνεδρευθές οὐ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκκαθάραντες καὶ περιχρυσώσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἀντὶ φιάλης ἐκέχρησαν. γεγόνασι δὲ τὸ τέρατα: βοῶς τε γὰρ ἵππον ἔτεκε καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐξέλαμψε πῦρ. οἱ δὲ ὅποτε Γράκχος καὶ Φάβιος στρατοπεδευσάμενοι τόν τε Ἀννίβαν ἐν Καπνῇ οὔτα ἐπετήρουν, ὁ τε πράσσει, καὶ διεπέμποντο ἐκασταχόσε, τοῖς τε συμμαχοῖς ἐπῆμυνον, καὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οἰκειοῦσθαι ἐπειρόντο τὰ τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ἕκακουν. οἱ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐσὺς μὲν τῆς τροφῆς ἐνδεώς ἦπορει καὶ διακινδυνεύων, σωφρόνως μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ διήγεκαν, ὡς δὲ τὴν Καπνῆν ἑλαβον καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτηδεύοις ἐν ῥαστώνη διεχείμασαν, τὴν τε ἱσχὺν τῶν σωμάτων μη πονούμενοι καὶ τὴν ρώμην τῆς γνώμης ὕπο τῆς εὐθυμίας ἡλαττώθησαν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀμεῖραντας διαίταν μετέμαθον ἦπτάσθαι μαχόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἦδη ἐπέκειτο, ἐς ὅρη μετέστη καὶ ἐγύμναξε τὸ στρατεύμα. οἱ δὲ οὐχ οἶοι τε δὴ ὀλίγον ῥωσθήναι γεγόνασι. ὑπεθεῖας δὲ αὐτῷ οἴκοθεν ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐδυνάμησε ἀνεθάρση. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Νόλαν ὡς αἰρήσων αὐτὴν ἢ τὸν γε Μάρκελλον τὴν Σαυνίτιδα πορθοῦντα ταύτης ἀπάξων ὄρμησεν. ὡς δὲ οὖν ἔπεραινε,
but did not receive any consideration at the hands of the Romans. The consuls chosen were Gracchus, previously master of the horse, and Postumius Albinus. Now Albinus was ambushed and destroyed with his entire army by the Boii as he was traversing a wooded mountain. The barbarians cut off his head, scooped out the interior, and after gilding it used it for a bowl in their sacred rites. Portents also occurred at this time: a cow gave birth to a horse and fire shone out at sea. The consuls Gracchus and Fabius encamped and kept watch of Hannibal who was at Capua, to see what he did. They also sent out envoys in every direction, defended the allies, endeavoured to win back the revolted, and ravaged the possessions of those who opposed them. Hannibal, as long as his food supply was scanty and was obtained at the cost of encountering dangers, led a temperate life, as did his army; but after taking Capua and wintering there in idleness with ample provisions, they deteriorated in physical strength, as a result of no longer toiling, and in moral vigour, through pleasure, and in changing their ancestral habits they learned an accomplishment that was new to them—to be defeated in battle. When the business of war finally became pressing, Hannibal transferred his quarters to the mountains and went to exercising the army; but they could not grow strong in a short space of time. He was encouraged, however, by the arrival of elephants and other reinforcements from home. He now set out against Nola, intending to capture it or at least to draw Marcellus away from Samnium, which he was ravaging. When
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τής μεν πόλεως ἀπέστη, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔκειρε, μέχρις οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ ἵσχυρὸν ἡττήθη, ἐφ’ ω καὶ ἡλιγησε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἰβηρεῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Διβύων ἐγκατέλειπον αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους νύτωμολησαν, ὁ οὕτω πρῶτη ἔπαθε. καταγρώνες δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πάσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἐξελιπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἀνεχώρησεν· εἶτα κάκειθεν μετέστη.

Οἱ δὲ Σκιπλώνες τὸν τε Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις προσήγγοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν διὰ τάυτα σπουδὴ ἐπελθόντα μάχη ἔνικησαν. οἱ Καρχε-δόνιοι δὲ τάυτα μαθόντες, καὶ νομίσαντες πλείονος τοῦ Ἀσδρούβαν ἢ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν δεῖσθαι βοηθείας, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Διβύην οἱ Σκιπλώνες διαβήναν ἐπιχειρήσωσι, τῷ μὲν Ἀννίβα βραχείαν δύναμιν ἐπεμψαν, τὴν πλείστην δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μάγονος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τάχιστα ἀπεστάλκασι, κελεύσαντες μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατάστασιν τοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκεί φυλακῇ καταμείναι, τοῦ δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν δυνάμει σταλῆσαι. ὁ γρόντες οἱ Σκιπλώνες οὐκέτ' ἐμαχάραστο, ἀνα μὴ κρατήσας ἵσως ὁ Ἀσδρούβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπείχθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φίλοι έκάκουν οἱ Καρχεδόνιοι, Πούπλιος μὲν ὁμόσε τοῖς προσπεσεύσιν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχώρησε τε καὶ ἐπεκράτησε, Γναίσδε τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπο-λαβὼν προσδιεθείρεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ πόλεις συχναὶ πρὸς τοὺς
he could accomplish nothing, he withdrew from the city, but laid waste the country, until he suffered a decisive defeat in battle. At this he was indeed grieved, since many Spaniards and even many of the Africans now forsook him and deserted to the Romans—a new experience for him. Disgusted, therefore, both with himself and with his soldiers, he abandoned that entire region and retired to Capua. Afterward he left that place also.

The Scipios had crossed the river Iberus and were ravaging the country; they had secured control of various cities, and when Hasdrubal for this reason hastened to oppose them, they had conquered him in battle. The Carthaginians, upon learning of this, thought that Hasdrubal needed more assistance than Hannibal did, and fearing that the Scipios might also attempt to cross into Africa, they despatched only a small body of troops to Hannibal, but sent the larger part with Mago to Spain with the utmost speed; and they ordered the latter after the reduction of Spain to remain to guard their interests there, whereas Hasdrubal was to be sent with a force against Italy. The Scipios, learning their plan, no longer gave battle, for fear that Hasdrubal might perchance win a victory and then hasten into Italy. However, as the Carthaginians went on ravaging the region that was friendly to the Romans, Publius engaged in a struggle with such of his opponents as met him and won a victory, while Gnaeus intercepted those of the enemy who were retiring from the battle and completed their destruction. As a result of this disaster, and because numerous cities were trans-
Ρωμαίοις μεθίσταντο καὶ τῶν Λιβυών τινὲς αὐτοῖς προσεχώρησαν, πλέον ἦ διενοεῖτο ὁ Ἀσ-δροῦβας κατέμεινεν. οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς τοὺς προσχωρήσαντας ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία καθίστων, καὶ τῶν τῶν Ζακυνθίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτῶς αὐτοῖς γενομένους ἐλόντες, τὸ τε πόλισμα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἐπώλησαν, καὶ τὴν Ζάκυνθον μετὰ τοῦτο κομισάμενοι τοὺς ἀρχαίους πολίτας ἀπέ-δοσαν. τοσαύτη τε ἄκριβεία περὶ τὴν λείαν ἑχρήσατο ὡς μηδὲν οἰκοι πέμψας τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συντρατευμένους ἐπέτρεπον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀστραγάλους τοὺς τέκνους ἐπέμψαν, οὗτοι ἦ γερουσία, παραιτούμενοι τῷ Γναῖοι ὑπὲρ ἀπελθὼν οἴκας προῖκα τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐρανίσεω ὡραίᾳ υόρῳ ἀνδρός, ἐνηφίσαντο ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προῖκα δοθῆναι αὐτῇ.

4. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ ἡ Σικελία καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶν ἀντικρυς ἐπολεμώθησαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταύταις διὰ δόλιον κατέστη, καὶ ὁ Ἀσδροῦβας ἐπικουρῶν αὐταῖς ἔαλω, καὶ τὴν νῆσον μικροῦ πάσαν ἀνεκτήσατο Μάλλιος. Τορκονάτος, καὶ τότε μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἱσύχασε, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐταράχθη. ὁ δὲ τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος φανερώτατος τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένητο σπουδαστής. τῆς γὰρ Ἐλλάδος προσεπάρξαι θέλων, συνθῆκας πρὸς τῶν Ἀντιβαρ ἔθετο, ὅστε κοινὴ πολεμήσαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἡπείρον μετὰ τῶν νῆσων ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν
ferring their allegiance to the Romans, and some of the Africans had also gone over to their side, Hasdrubal remained there longer than he was intending. The Scipios sent their accessions at once to Italy, and they themselves continued to settle affairs in Spain. They captured the subjects of the Saguntines who had brought upon them the fatal war, and they razed the town and sold the population. After this they took possession of Saguntum and restored it to its original inhabitants. They were so scrupulous in regard to the plunder that they sent nothing home; to be sure, they allowed their soldiers to do so, but as for themselves, they sent only some jackstones to their children. Hence the senate, when Gnaeus asked for a furlough, in order that he might go home and secure a dowry for his daughter, who was of marriageable age, voted that a dowry be given her from the public funds.

4. During this same period both Sicily and Sardinia became openly hostile. But the disturbance in these regions soon subsided. Hasdrubal, who was aiding them, was captured, and Manlius Torquatus recovered almost the entire island. For the time being affairs in Sicily were quiet, but later there was trouble. Philip, the king of Macedonia, showed himself a most open partisan of the Carthaginians. In his desire to add Greece to his possessions he came to an agreement with Hannibal that they should conduct the war in common, and that the Carthaginians should receive Italy, while he should have Greece and Epirus together with the
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"ομολογία ἐπὶ τούτους ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ κήρυκος τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου πεμφθέντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀλόντος ἐμαθὼν οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ παρα- χρήμα στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Ωυαλλέριον Λαονίνου ἐστείλαν, ὅπως περὶ τοῖς οἴκοις δείσας κατὰ χώραν μείνῃ. καὶ ἔσχεν οὔτως: προῆλθε μὲν γὰρ μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Φιλίππος ὡς ἐσ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλευσούμενος, μαθὼν δὲ τοῖς Λαονί- νοις ἢ τὸ Βραντέσιου Ἡδη παρὸντα οὐκαδὲ ἄνε- κομίσθη, τοῦ Λαονίνου δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας πλεύσαντος, εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ὄρμησε, καὶ εἶλεν "Ὡρικοῦ, Ἀπολλωνίαν τῇ ἐπο- λίορκει. ἐπιπεστεύσας δ' αὐθεὶς αὐτῷ Λαονίνος καὶ "Ὡρικοῦ ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐφικάτσε. καντεύθεν ὁ Φιλίππος τὰς ναῦς αἰς ἐκχειρυκτά κατατρήσας, πεζῇ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπάτους εἴλοντο τὸν Φάβιον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον. οἱ τὸν μὲν Ἀννίβαν τὴν νῦν Καλαβρίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν περι- πορεύμενον τὸ Γράκχο τῷ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀρξάντη ἐπέταξαν καὶ ὅσα Ἀννωνα περὶ Βενεβεντοῦ ἀπαν- τήσαντα οἱ ἐκ Βρεττίων ἐτρέψατο, καντεύθεν προῖον τὸν Τοῦ Ἀννίβαν παρεφυλαττε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἐπόρθεν, πόλεις τέ τινας ἀνεσώρωσεν. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐτρά- ποντο, ἐν αὐτῷ χειρωσάμενοι μηδὲν κατόπιν πολέμιον ὑπολιποῦσιν, οὔτω τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν χωρήσωσιν. εἶτα διαμεθέντες, Φάβιος μὲν τὰ τε ἐκείνων τὰ τοῦ Σαυνίου κατέτρεξε, Μάρκ- κελλος δὲ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπεραίωθη καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολιορκεῖ, προσχωρητάσας μὲν
islands. The agreement was made on this basis; but through the capture of the herald who had been sent to Hannibal by Philip, the Romans learned what was taking place, and forthwith sent the praetor Marcus Valerius Laevinus against him. They intended to cause him anxiety about his own possessions, so that he should stay at home. And thus it turned out. Philip advanced as far as Corecyra with the intention of sailing to Italy, but on learning that Laevinus was already at Brundisium, he returned home. When Laevinus had sailed as far as Corecyra, Philip set out against the Roman allies; he captured Oricum and proceeded to besiege Apollonia. But Laevinus once more made an expedition against him, recovered Oricum, and rescued Apollonia. Then Philip, after burning the ships which he had used, returned home by land.

The people of Rome chose Fabius and Marcellus consuls. Hannibal was then moving about in what is now called Calabria and the adjacent regions, and they assigned the care of him to Gracchus, who had held office before them. Gracchus routed Hanno, who had come from Bruttium and confronted him near Beneventum, and then going on, he watched Hannibal closely, ravaged the possessions of those who had revolted, and won back some cities. The consuls themselves turned their attention to Campania, for they were anxious to subdue it and so leave no hostile force behind them when they marched against Hannibal. They then divided forces: Fabius overran the districts of Campania and Samnium, while Marcellus crossed into Sicily and proceeded to besiege Syracuse. The city had submitted to

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1 Zonaras always spells this name Lavinius; cf. 8, 3. 169
Τζέτζες, Χιλ. 2, 109-23.

Καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου στρατηγοῦ ποτὲ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ Συρακούσῃ κατὰ γῆν προσβάλλοντος καὶ πόντου, τινὰς μὲν πρῶτον μηχαναῖς ἀνειλκυσέν ὀλκάδας καὶ πρὸς τὸ Συρακούσιον τείχος μετεωρίζας, αὐτάνδρους πάλιν τῷ βυθῷ κατέπεμπεν ἀθρώς, Μαρκέλλου δ' ἀποστήσαντος μικρὸν τὸ τᾶς ὀλκάδας ὁ γέρων πάλιν ἀπαντας ποιεῖ Συρακούσιος μετεωρίζειν δύνασθαι λίθους ἀμαξίαποι καὶ τὸν καθένα πέμπτοντας βυθίζειν τὰς ὀλκάδας. Ὅσον Μάρκελλος δ' ἀπέστησε Βολήν ἑκείνας τὸξον, ἐξάγωνον τι κάτωπτρον ἐτέκτημεν ὁ γέρων, ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμέτρου τοῦ κάτωπτρου μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτωπτρα θεῖς τετραπλά γονίαις κινούμενα λεπίστε τέ καὶ τις γυγγυλύμοις, μέσον ἐκεῖνο
him, but then had revolted again as the result of a false message sent by the treachery of certain men. Now he would have subdued it very speedily, as the result of a joint assault upon the wall by land and sea, had not Archimedes with his inventions enabled the inhabitants to resist for a very long time. For this man by his devices suspended stones and heavily-armed soldiers in the air, and these he would let down suddenly, and presently draw them up again. And he would lift up ships, even those equipped with towers, by means of other appliances which he dropped upon them; and raising them aloft, would let them drop suddenly, so that when they fell into the water they were sunk by the impact. At last in an incredible manner he burned up the whole Roman fleet. For by tilting a kind of

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 109-23.

And when once Marcellus, the Roman general, was assaulting Syracuse by land and sea, this man first by his engines drew up some merchantmen, and lifting them up against the wall of Syracuse dropped them again and sent them every one to the bottom, crews and all. Again, when Marcellus removed his ships to a little distance, the old man gave all the Syracusans the power to lift stones of a waggon's size, and hurling them one at a time, to sink the ships. When Marcellus withdrew them a bow-shot thence, the old man constructed a kind of hexagonal mirror, and at an interval proportionate to the size of the mirror, he set similar small mirrors with four edges, moving by links and by a kind of hinge, and
ζοναράς 9, 4.

ἀκτίνα αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰσεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἄπ' αὐτῆς τῇ πυκνότητι καὶ τῇ λειώτητι τοῦ κατόπτρου πυρώσας φλόγα τε μεγάλην ἐξέκασε καὶ πάσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὄδον ὀρμούσας ἐνέβαλε καὶ πάσας κατέκασεν.

Ἀπογνώσεις οὖν ὁ Μάρκελλος τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσεις διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχειμήδους εὐμήχανον, λιμῷ αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν ἕκ προσέβιεις διεμελέτησε καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ Πούλχρῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς συναποστάτας σφίσιν ἐτράπετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν γνωσιμαχοῦσι συγγρώμην ἐνέμε, τοὺς δ' ἀνθισταμένους μετεχειρίζετο χαλέπως, καὶ συχνὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων βία, τινὰς δὲ καὶ προδοσία ἤρει. ἐν τούτωι δ' Ἰμίλκων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος σὺν στρατῷ ἤκε, τοὺς Ἀκράγαντα τε κατέσχε καὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ πρός Συρακοῦσας ἐλθὼν ἦττήθη τε καὶ ἀντεπεκράτησε καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐξαπίνησι αὐτῷ προσπεσόντος αὐθεὶς ἐνικήθη.


τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλίου | μεσημβρίνης καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμερινότητας. | ἀνακλωμένων δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς τούτο τῶν ἀκτίνων | ἑξαψίς ἡρῆθη φοβερὰ πυρῶδης ταῖς ὀλκασι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπετέφρωσεν ἐκ μίκους τοξοβόλου. | οὗτο νικὰ τοῦ Μάρκελλου ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁ γέρων.
BOOK XV

Dio, Book XV. “For fear the Syracusans, in despair of assistance, might commit some act of rebellion.”

Zonaras 9, 4.

mirror toward the sun he concentrated the sun’s beam upon it; and owing to the thickness and smoothness of the mirror he ignited the air from this beam and kindled a great flame, the whole of which he directed upon the ships that lay at anchor in the path of the fire, until he consumed them all.

Marcellus, therefore, despairing of capturing the city on account of the inventiveness of Archimedes, planned to take it by famine after a regular investment. This duty he assigned to Pulcher, while he himself turned his attention to those who had revolted at the same time as Syracuse. Any who yielded were granted pardon, but those who resisted he treated harshly; and he captured a number of the cities by force, and some also by betrayal. In the meantime Himilco had come from Carthage with an army, had occupied Agrigentum and Heraclea, and had reached Syracuse. There he was at first defeated, then was in turn victorious, and finally was again beaten by a sudden assault on the part of Marcellus.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 123–28.

made the glass the centre of the sun’s beams—its noontide beam, whether in summer or in the dead of winter. So after that, when the beams were reflected into this, a terrible kindling of flame arose upon the ships, and he reduced them to ashes a bow-shot off. Thus by his contrivances did the old man vanquish Marcellus.
5. Η Ἑντεύθεν οἱ Μάρκελλος ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐφήθερεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀνίβας ἐν τῇ Καλαβρίᾳ διέτριβεν. οἱ μὲν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι πολλὰ αὖθις καὶ δυσχερὴ πεπόνθασιν οἱ τε γὰρ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς τῇ Καπνῇ ἔπταισαν, καὶ οἱ Γράκχοι ἐν τῇ Δευκανίᾳ ἀπόλεσαν, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀπέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Ανίβας κατεπτηχόδος πρὸτερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδᾳ τε ἐμείνε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσε. καὶ οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀμφότεροι διώκοντο. ἐπάρθεσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ανίβας ἐπεχείρησε τῇ Καπνῇ βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ήλθε μέχρι Βενεφεντοῦ τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον εἰς τὴν Δευκανίαν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμινὸς διὰ τὸν Γράκχον βάνατον ἀπεληλυθεῖν πυθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθείς μὴ τις αὐτῆς σφετερίσηται, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχορήσει, ἐπ’ ἐκείνου δ’ ἐστράτευτο. τῶν Σκιπίωνων δὲ βανόντων πάσα ἡ Ἰβηρία τετάρακτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔκουσίοις πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιος ἀπέκλινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄναγκαζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ ύστερον αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἀπένευσαν.

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν προσβάλλον ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐπέραυνε, τοιούτων τι ἐπενόησεν. ἢν τι τῶν Συρακούσιος τοῦ τείχους ἐπιμαχὸν ὁ Γαλεάγρας ἀνόμαζον, ὁ πρῶς μὲν ἐλάύθαινα τοιοῦτον ὅν, τότε δὲ ἐφοράθη. τηρήσας οὖν τοὺς Συρακούσιος παννυχίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀγοντας πανθημεί, ἐκέλευε στρατιώταις τοῖς κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ χώριον ὑπερβῆναι τὸ τείχος. καὶ τοῦτον πύλαι τέ τινες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνενοχθησαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντων καὶ ἐμείσαν, ἀμα πάντες ἀπὸ σημείου καὶ οἱ ἔσως καὶ οἱ ἐξω συνεβόησαν καὶ τοῖς δορᾶσι τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουσαν καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ προσεπήχησαν, ὡστε ἄθροι τὴν ἐκπλήξειν τοῖς Συρα-
5. After this Marcellus continued the investment of Syracuse. Hannibal was passing his time in Calabria. The Romans, however, again met with many reverses. The consuls received a setback near Capua, Gracchus perished in Lucania, Tarentum and other cities revolted, Hannibal, previously cowed, remained in Italy and marched upon Rome, and both the Scipios perished. Elated by these events, Hannibal undertook to render assistance to Capua. He went as far as Beneventum; then, ascertaining that Claudius had returned from Samnium into Lucania on account of the death of Gracchus, he became afraid that the Romans might secure control of parts of that region, and he advanced no farther, but turned to meet Claudius. Upon the death of the Scipios the whole of Spain was thrown into disorder; some towns voluntarily went over to the Carthaginians, and others under compulsion, though later they again leaned to the Roman side.

Marcellus, finding that he was accomplishing nothing by his assault on Syracuse, devised the following plan. There was a weak spot in the Syracusans' wall which they called Galeagra; it had never before been recognized as such, but the fact was discovered at this time. He waited until the whole city of Syracuse was celebrating an all-night festival to Artemis, and then bade some soldiers scale the wall at that point. Accordingly some of the gates were opened by these men, and as soon as a few others had entered, all, both inside and outside, at a given signal, raised a shout and struck their spears upon their shields, and the trumpeters blew a blast, with the result that utter panic overwhelmed
κουσίως μηδ' άλλως ευ ἐγιούσιν ύπο μέθης συμβήναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώνια πλὴν τῆς Ἀχραδίνης καὶ τῆς Νήσου καλουμένης. ὁ οὖν Μάρκελλος τὰ τε ἐαλωκότα διήρπασε καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἀλοῦσι προσέβαλε, καὶ σὺν πόνῳ μὲν καὶ χρόνῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς Συρακούσης ἐκράτησεν. ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ τούτων οἱ Ῥωμαίοι γενόμενοι ἁλλος τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην ἀπέκτειναν. διάγραμμα γάρ τι διαγράφων καὶ ἀκούσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφίστασθαι, "παρ' κεφαλάν," ἐφη, "καὶ μὴ παρὰ γραμμάν.") ἔπιστάντος δὲ αὐτῶν πολεμίου βραχύ τε ἐφροντίσας καὶ εἰπὼν "ἀπόστηθι, ἀνθρωπε, ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς," παρῴξυνε τε αὐτῶν καὶ κατεκόπη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 136-49.

'Ἡν κεκυφώσε διάγραμμα μηχανικόν τι γράφων, | τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίος ἐπιστάσει εἶλκεν αἰχμαλωτίζων. | ὁ δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ὅλος ὑπάρχων τότε, | τῆς οὖν καθέλκων οὐκ εἴδος ἔλεγε πρὸς ἐκείνον | "ἀπόστηθι, ὦ ἀνθρωπε, τοῦ διαγράμματός μου." | ὥς δὲ εἶλκε τούτων, συστραφεῖς καὶ γροῦς Ῥωμαίων εἶναι, | ἔβολον "τι μηχανήμα τις τῶν ἐμῶν μοι ὀδότω." | ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίος πτοηθείς εὐθὺς ἐκείνον κτείνει, | ἀνδρα σαθρὸν καὶ γέροντα, δαιμόνιον τοῖς ἔργοις. | ἐδρήσας δὲ Μάρκελλος τοῦτο μαθὼν εὐθέως, | λαμπρὸς τε τούτων ἐκρυψεν εἵ πάντως τοὺς πατρώις | τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πάσι, | τὸν δὲ φονεά τοῦ ἀνδρὸν ὀίμαι πελέκει κτείνει. | ὁ Δίων καὶ Διόδωρος γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 5.

the Syracusans, who were in any case somewhat the worse for drink, and the city was captured with the exception of Achrada and what is called "The Island." Marcellus plundered the captured portions and assaulted those not yet taken, and with time and labour he finally succeeded in conquering the remainder of Syracuse. The Romans, when they became masters of these districts, killed many persons, among them Archimedes. He was constructing some figure or other, and hearing that the enemy were at hand, exclaimed: "Let them come at my head, but not at my line!" When a hostile warrior confronted him, he was little disturbed and called out: "Fellow, stand away from my line!" This exasperated the man and he struck him down.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 136-49.

He was bent over, drawing some mechanical figure, and a Roman, coming upon him, began to drag him off as his prisoner; but he, with all his attention fixed just then upon his figure, not knowing who it was that pulled him, said to the man: "Stand aside, fellow, from my figure." But as the other kept on pulling, he turned, and recognizing him as a Roman cried out: "Let somebody give me one of my machines." The Roman, in terror, immediately killed him, a decrepit old man, but marvellous for his works. Marcellus straightway mourned on learning this, and buried him with splendour in his ancestral tomb, assisted by the noblest citizens and all the Romans; and the man's murderer, I trow, he slew with an axe. Dio and Diodorus record the story.
6. Ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Μάρκελλου ἐκ Σικελίας, δύναμιν ἐπέει ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἔτέραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπεμψαν καὶ μάχαις τισιν ἐνίκησαν καὶ πόλεις προσεποίησαντο· καὶ εἰ γε μὴ Κορινθίων Δολοβέλλας στρατηγὸς ἐπελήλυθε, πάσαν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐχειροσάντο ἂν.

Καὶ ἡ Καπύθη δὲ τότε ἐάλω παρὰ Ρωμαίων, καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμήσαντος, ἢν ἀπὸ τῆς Καπύθης τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάξη, καὶ διὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλάσαντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐλθόντος καὶ πορθοῦντος τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἐφοβηθησάν μὲν, ἐφησισάντο δὲ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν Καπύθη μεῖναι, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπαμίσθη. καὶ Κλαύδιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Καπύθη κατέμεινεν (ἐτέτρωτο γὰρ), Φλάκκος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤπείχθη.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀννίβου τάς τε καταδρομὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποιομένου καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ δρῶντος, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἴσαν, εἰ τὰ ἑντός τῶν τειχῶν περισσωσαιντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀμα προσβλαεῖν ἐμελλεν, ἀνερρίψαντο, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κύμβων, καὶ
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 5-6.

Marcellus, as a result of capturing Syracuse and winning over most of the remainder of Sicily, received high praise, and was also appointed consul. The Romans had nominated Torquatus, who once had put his son to death, but he declined with the remark, "I could not endure your blunders, nor you my punctiliousness"; whereupon they elected Marcellus and Valerius Laevinus.

6. After Marcellus had left Sicily, Hannibal sent a force of cavalry there, and the Carthaginians despatched another. They won several battles and acquired some cities; and if the praetor Cornelius Dolabella had not come against them, they would have subjugated all Sicily.

Capua was at this time taken by the Romans. It availed not that Hannibal marched upon Rome in order to draw away from Capua the forces besieging it, that he traversed Latium, came to the Tiber, and was laying waste the suburbs of the city. The people of Rome were indeed frightened, but still they voted that one of the consuls¹ should remain at Capua while the other came to their defence. So Claudius remained at Capua, since he had been wounded, and Flaccus hastened to Rome.

Hannibal kept making his raids before their eyes and working much havoc, but for some time they were content to preserve their possessions within the walls. When, however, he was on the point of assaulting both the city and their armies at the same time, they risked the proverbial cast of the die and made

¹ Apparently an error of Zonaras for proconsuls.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 6.

ἐπεξέδραμον. καὶ ἀκροβολιξομένων ἦδη χειμῶν ἐξ αἰθρίας ἔξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο μετὰ πνεύματος ἀμηχάνου βροντῶν τε καὶ χαλάζης καὶ ἀστραπῶν, ὡστ' ἀμφω ἀγαπητός ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἀναχωρεῖν ὦθεν ὀρμησαν. ἀρτι τε τὰ ὅπλα κατετίθηστο καὶ αἰθρία ἐγένετο. ὁ γοῦν Ἀν- νίβας, καίτοι οὐκ ἀθείει λογισάμενος παρὰ τὸν τῆς συνόδου καιρὸν συνενεχθήναι τὰ γεγο- νότα, ὁμώς οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τούτο συμβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸτε τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβη, κατεδείσε. καὶ προσεκπλαγεῖς ὅτι ἐν τῇ λικόντοι κινδύνῳ οὗτε οὐτε τῆς Κατύης ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμψει ἐμελλόν, καὶ ὅτι χρημάτων δεθέντες ἐπώλησαν ἅλλα τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧδε ἐστρατοπεδεύετο δημόσιον ὥν, καὶ ἀπογνών, ἀπανέστη πολλάκις ἀναβοήσας "ο̊ι Κάνναι Κάνναι." καὶ οὔδὲ τῇ Κατύη ἐτ' ἐπίκουρησαι ἠθέλησεν.

Οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐν ἀσθενεστάτοις οὗτε, ὁμως ἀπογνώντες ὡς οὐ τευξόμενοι συγγρώμης παρὰ Ὁρμαίων, ἀντεῖχον, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα ἐπέστειλαν, βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς ἐξισοῦτες. συλληφθέντες δὲ ὡς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κομισταὶ παρὰ τοῦ Φλάκκου, ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος ἐφθη τεθνηκὼς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, τὰς χεῖρας ἀπετμήθησαν. οὗς ἰδούντες οἱ Καμπανοὶ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὅ τι πράξουσιν ἐβουλεύντο. λεχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν, Ἰουβίοις τις Οὐλίριος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτιώτατος "μία ἡμῖν ἔστιν," ἔφη,
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 6.

a sortie. They were already engaged in skirmishing when an extraordinary storm, accompanied by an inconceivably strong wind as well as thunder, hail, and lightning, broke from a clear sky, so that both sides were glad enough to retire, as if by mutual consent, to their original positions. They were just laying aside their arms when the sky became clear. Now although Hannibal concluded that this event, coming as it did precisely at the moment of conflict, had not occurred without divine ordering, yet he did not give up the siege, and even attempted again on a subsequent occasion to join battle. But when the same things occurred then also, he became terrified. He was amazed, moreover, that the Romans, although in so great danger, not only did not withdraw from Capua, but were even getting ready to send soldiers and a praetor into Spain, and that, being in need of funds, they sold along with other public lands the very spot where he was encamped. Accordingly, he retired in despair, often crying aloud, “O Cannae, Cannae!” And he no longer cared even to render aid to Capua.

The people of that city, although in the direst straits, still held out, since they despaired of obtaining pardon from the Romans; and they sent a letter to Hannibal begging him to assist them. The bearers of the letter were seized by Flaccus (Claudius had before this time died of his wound), and had their hands cut off. Upon seeing them, the Campanians were terribly dismayed and took counsel as to what they should do. After considerable talk a certain Jubius Virius, one of the foremost men and one most responsible for the revolt, exclaimed: “Our only

1 An error for Vibius.

Zonaras 9, 6.

"καταφυγή καὶ ἐλευθερία ὁ θάνατος. καὶ μοι ἀκόλουθήσατε οἶκαδε ἕχω γὰρ τι φάρμακον παρεσκευασμένον," καὶ οὐ μὲν παραλαβῶν τοὺς αὐτῶν πεισθέντας ἑκούσιος ἀπέθανε σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀνέφεξαν ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψε, μόνων δ’ ἀπεσχέτο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου περιλειπθέντων, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἀρχοντα αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων λαμβάνει καὶ μήτε βουλήν ἔχειν μήτε σύνοδον ποιεῖσθαι.

"Τστερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ προσεπώμολον, κατηγορήσαν τοῦ Φλάκκου τολμήσαντες. ἐπε- χείρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου κατηγορήσαν, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου οἱ Συράκουσιοι ὑπατεύουστος ἦδη. καὶ ἀπελογήσατο ὁ γὰρ ἱδέλησε πρᾶξαι τὶ τῶν κτῆρι προσηκόντων πρὶν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οἱ Συράκουσιοι δὲ κατα-

BOOK XV

Dio, Roman History, XV. "For in view of their very ancient prestige and their long-standing friendship for the Romans, they would not submit to their condemnation, but the Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus and the Syracusans Marcellus. And the accusers were condemned in the senate.

Zonaras 9, 6.

refuge and freedom is in death. Accompany me home. I have a poison made ready." So he took with him those who were willing to accept his advice, and with them voluntarily sought death. The rest opened the gates to the Romans. Flaccus took away all their arms and money, put to death some of the chief men, and sent others to Rome. The only ones that he left unmolested were the survivors of the common people, and he spared them only on condition that they receive a Roman governor, maintain no senate, and hold no assembly.

Later they incurred further penalties by daring to accuse Flaccus. The Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus, and the Syracusans Marcellus, when the latter was already consul. And Marcellus made a defence; for he refused to perform any of the duties of his office until he had defended himself. The Syracusans, when given a hearing, presented their case
στῶντες εἰς λόγους οἰκονομικότερον τῇ διαλέξει ἐχρήσαντο, οὐκ εἰς κατηγορίαν τοῦ Μᾶρκελλοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰκετεῖαν τραπέντες καὶ ἀπολογήαν τοῦ μη ἐκόντες ἀποστήναι Ῥωμαίων, καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἂξιοντες. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες εἰς τὴν γῆν πεσόντες ὀλοφύρωντο. καὶ διαγνώμης γενομένης ἐδοξεῖ τὸν Μᾶρκελλον μὲν μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς μέντοι Συρακούσιοις φιλανθρωπίας τινὸς ἄξιον εἶναι, οὐκ ἔξ ὧν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἔξ ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν γε ἰκέτευσαν. τοῦ δὲ Μᾶρκελλον παραπτησμένον τὸ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, τὸν Λαούνιν ἐπέμψαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι οὕτω συγγνώμης τινὸς ἐτυχον, οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ ὑπ' ἀπαίδευσιας ἃπαστέρον τῇ κατηγορίᾳ χρησάμενοι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν, μηδὲ παροντός τοῦ Φλάκκου, ἀλλὰ τινὸς τῶν ὑπεστρατηγικότων αὐτῶ ἀπολογησαμένου.

'Αλούςης δὲ τῆς Καπύς καὶ τάλλα τὰ πέριξ πολίσματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσκεκαρήκασι πλὴν Ἀτελανῶν οὕτω γὰρ ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πανδημεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνήφαν ἐχώρησαν, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ Ἰταλία ἢ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονούσα ἡλλοιότο, καὶ περιόντες οἱ ὑπάτοι προσεποιοῦντο αὐτὴν. Ταραντῖνοι δὲ φανερὸς μεν οὐδέπω τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠροῦντο, λάβρα δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἥχθοντο.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 6.

tactfully: they devoted themselves not to accusing Marcellus, but to supplication and defence, declaring that they had not of their own free will revolted from the Romans, and asking for pardon. While making this plea they fell upon the ground and bewailed their lot. When a decision was rendered, it was to the effect that Marcellus was not guilty, but that the Syracusans, nevertheless, were deserving of some leniency, not for their deeds, but for their pleas and entreaties. But Marcellus asked to be excused from returning to Sicily, and they sent Laevinus. The Syracusans in this way obtained some consideration; but the Campanians, being led by stupidity to deliver their accusation with too much audacity, actually had their punishment increased. And yet Flaccus was not present, but one of his ex-lieutenants conducted his defence for him.

After the capture of Capua the other strongholds in the vicinity went over to the Romans, with the exception of Atella. The inhabitants of this place abandoned their city and went in a body to Hannibal. Also the rest of Italy that had favoured the Carthaginian cause was changing sentiment, and the consuls in their tours of the country were taking possession of it. The Tarentines did not as yet openly avow their allegiance to the Romans, but secretly they were getting tired of the Carthaginians,
"Οτι οι 'Ρωμαιοὶ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβα
ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἁξιούντες γενέ-
σθαι, οὐ κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς, καίπερ καὶ
ἐκείνου Καρθάλωνα ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τούτο ἀντιπέμ-
ψαντος: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁι ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν εἰσὶ
τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον, οὔτε ἐσ λόγους
αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ήθέλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς δὲ ὁργής
ἀνέστρεψεν.—U* 7 (p. 379).

Zonaras 9, 6-7.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβα
ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ποιήσασθαι. οὐ
κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἐπεί οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὸν
Καρθάλωνα τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, ὡς πολέμιον οὐδὲ
ἑσ λόγους γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ήθέλησεν, εὐθὺς δὲ
ὁργισμένος ἀνέστρεψε.

Τότε μὲντοι καὶ ὁ Δαυίδιος τοὺς Λιτωλοὺς
συμμαχοῦντας Φιλίππῳ προσηταίρισατο, καὶ τὸν
Φιλίππον μέχρι Κερκύρας προχωρήσαντα αὖθις
ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν τάχει
ἐπανελθεῖν.

7. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Γάιον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα
εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ στρατιώτῶν ἔσεμψαν. καὶ
ὅσ παρεκομίσθη τῷ ναυτικῷ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰβηρος,
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVI

The Romans made overtures to Hannibal, asking for a return of the prisoners on both sides, but they did not effect the exchange, although he sent Carthalo to them for this very purpose. For the envoy, when they would not receive him within the walls because he was an enemy, refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back in a rage.

Zonaras 9, 6-7.

The people of Rome made overtures to Hannibal for a return of the prisoners on both sides. But they did not effect the exchange because they would not receive Carthalo, an enemy, inside of their walls. And he refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back enraged.

Laevinus, however, made friends at this time with the Aetolians, who were allies of Philip; and when Philip advanced as far as Coreya, he frightened him away again, so that the king returned in haste to Macedonia.

7. The people of Rome sent Gaius Claudius Nero with soldiers into Spain. He sailed along with his fleet as far as the Iberus, and finding the remainder
"Οτι ο Σκιπίων ο τον πατέρα τρωθέντα σώσας, 
ο στρατηγός, ἥν καὶ φύσεως ἁρετὴ κράτιστος καὶ 
παιδεία λογιμώτατος, τὸ τε φρόνημα καὶ τὸ τῆς

Zonarias 9, 7.

ἐνθα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατεύματα εὐρηκὼς ἐπήλθε 
τῷ Ἀσδρούβα πρὶν γνωσθῆναι ὅτι πάρεστι, 
καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος αὐτὸν ἡπατήθη. ἦδὼν 
γὰρ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ὡς ἀπειληται, προεκκρυκεὶσ 
σατο πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα ὡστε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν 
ἀφέθεις ἐκλιπεῖν. ὡς δ’ ἐκείνος ἀσμένος τοὺς 
λόγους ἐδέξατο, ἀναβαλλόμενος ἵνα τὰς συνθήκας 
τῇ ύστεραίᾳ ποιήσηται, ὑπεξέπεμψε τῆς νυκτὸς 
ἄλλους ἄλλη τῶν ὅρων. διεξελθόντων δ’ ἐκείνων, 
ατε μὴ φυλακῆς οὐσίς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ 
τὰς τῶν σπονδῶν ἐπίδασ, ἤλθε μὲν τῇ ἐπιουσῇ 
ἐς λόγους τῷ Νέρωνι, κατέτριψε δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν 
πρὶν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι. καὶ ἄλλους αὐξὶς τῆς 
νυκτὸς ὀμοίως ἀπέπεμψε. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις 
τισὶν ἡμέραις ὀμοίως πεποίηκεν, ἀμφισβητῶν 
twa en tῇ συμβάσει. προελθόντων δὲ τῶν πεζῶν 
ἀπάντων, τέλος καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἑπτεῦσι καὶ 
τῶς ἐλέφασιν ὑπεξεχώρησε. καὶ διασώθεις φοβε-
ρος αὐξὶς τῷ Νέρωνι ἐγένετο.

Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Νέρωνος 
μὲν κατέγρων, ἄλλος δὲ τεις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐσφι-
σαντο ἐγχειρίσαι. ἀπορούντων οὐν τίνα ἄν 
ἀποστείλωσιν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀνδρὸς ἐδεῖτο 
tά πράγματα καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Σκιπιώνων 
pάθος ἐξίσταντο), ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκείνος ὁ Πούπλιος 
ὁ τῶν πατέρα τρωθέντα σώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐθελοντῆς 
ev tῆν στρατείαν ἐπέδωκεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἁρετὴ
Scipio, the general, who had saved his wounded father, had splendid native ability supplemented by an excellent education, and displayed the

Zonaras 9, 7.
of the Roman forces there, he confronted Hasdrubal before his presence had become known; and then, after hemming him in, he was cheated out of his victory in the following manner. Hasdrubal, finding himself cut off, made a proposition to Nero to give up the whole of Spain and leave the country. Nero gladly accepted the offer, and his opponent put off the settlement of the terms until the following day. That night Hasdrubal quietly sent out a number of his men to various parts of the mountains, and they got safely away, because the Romans, in expectation of a truce, were not keeping guard. The next day he held a conference with Nero, but used up the whole time without reaching any conclusion. That night he again sent off other men in like manner. This he did similarly on several other days while disputing some points in the treaty. When the entire infantry had gone on ahead, he himself at last with the cavalry and elephants silently slipped away. Thus he reached safety, and again became a formidable adversary for Nero.

On learning this the people of Rome blamed Nero, and voted to entrust the command to somebody else. And they were at a loss whom to send, for the situation required no ordinary man, and many were declining the position on account of the fate of the Scipios. Thereupon that Publius Scipio, who had saved his wounded father, offered himself voluntarily for the campaign. He had splendid ability
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γνώμης καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων, ὡπότε γε καὶ τούτου ἔδει, μέγιστον εἰχε, καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐργοις οὐχ ἴκιστα ἐβεβαιοῦ, ὡστε καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων, οὐκ ἐκ κενοῦ αὐχήματος ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐχειγιόν διανοίας, δοκεῖν εἶναι. διὰ τε οὖν ταύτα, καὶ διότι καὶ τὸ θείον ἀκριβῶς ἡγαλλεῖ, ἐχειροτονήθη. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' οὖν δημόσιον οὔτ' ἱδιον πρὶν ἐς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνδιατρίβαι ἐνεχειρίζετο. καὶ διὰ τούτο φήμην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Δίως ἐς δράκοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ συννοσία μεταβαλόντος γεγεννήθαι. καὶ τινας καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶς ἐπὶδάς ἐς αὐτοῦ ἐνεποίει.—V. 40 (p. 601); διὰ τε οὖν—ἡγαλλεῖ (§ 39) Phot. Lex. (= Suidas, Etym. Magn. and Bachm. Aneod. Gr. 1, 248) ἡγαλλεῖ, all with: Δίων ἐν ᾗ λόγῳ Ῥωμαίοι. "Οτι ο Ἐκτισίων καὶ μη ἐννόμον ἧγεμονίας λαβὼν ὄνομα ἐξ οὖν ἐχειροτονήθη, τὸ στρατόπεδον

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κράτιστως καὶ παιδεία λογιμώτατος. καὶ παραχρήμα μὲν ἴρέθη· μεταμέλεια δὲ οὖ πολλῷ ὑστερον διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ (τέταρτον γὰρ καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς ἤγη) καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θείου ἀλεθρον ἐπένθηε, ἠλθὲν αὖθις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἐνθυμηγόρησε, καὶ ὅτι εἰπεν καταδέσος τοῦ τῆς βουλῆς, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄφηρέθη. Μάρκος δὲ Ἰούνιος αὖν γηραῖος προσεπέμβην αὐτῷ.

1 πρὸς supplied by Val. 2 τὴν supplied by Bk. 3 αὐτῶν Bk., αὐτῶν Ms. 4 At this point perhaps should be inserted Frg. 70, 2-3. See p. 389, note.
greatest nobility of mind, and of language as well, whenever there was occasion for this; and this quality was especially conspicuous in his acts, so that he seemed to be a man at once of lofty purpose and lofty achievement, not from any vain boastfulness, but as the result of a steadfast determination. It was for these reasons, and because he scrupulously paid honours to the gods, that he was elected; in fact he would never undertake any public or private enterprise before ascending to the Capitol and spending some time there. On this account he acquired the reputation of having sprung from Jupiter, who had taken the form of a serpent on the occasion of intercourse with his mother; and this reputation was responsible in part for the hopes which he caused many to place in him.

Scipio, although he did not receive the legal title of commander at the time of his election, nevertheless

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supplemented by an excellent education. And he was chosen at once; but not long afterward they regretted their action because of his youth (he was in his twenty-fourth year), and also because his house was in mourning for the loss of his father and uncle. Accordingly, he came before the people a second time and addressed them; and by his remarks he put the senators to shame, so that he was not deprived of the command, although Marcus Junius, an elderly man, was sent with him.
προσφιλές ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἦκασθεν ἐξηγηματικότας ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο κατεπτηχότας ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν. τὸν τε Μάρκιον οὐχ, οἷα ποὺ φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀνεπιτίθειον ἰγῆσατο ⁱ ὅτι εὐδοκιμητικὸς ἦν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ ἐσέμνυνεν καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἷος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πέλας διαβολῆς καὶ καθαιρέσεως ἄλλ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς αὐξεσθαι θέλειν. ² καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε οὐχ ἦκιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας φικεώσατο.

—V. 41 (p. 602).

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Τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀταλαίπωρος ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον. ὁ γὰρ Μάρκελλος, ἐπειδή κατηγορηθεῖς ἀπελύθη, ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐποιεῖτο, δεδιὸς πρὸς ἄπονενομένους διακινδυνεύσασι· εἰ δὲ ποτε Ἰμαγκάσθη προσμίζαι, κρεῖττων ἐκ φρονήσεως εὐτολμία κεκραμένης ἐγίνετο. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι αἱ πόλεις αἱ συμμαχοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἢ μὲν ἐγκαταλελοίπεσαν αὐτὸν, αἱ δὲ διενοῦντο, καὶ δι' ἑτερ' ἀττα κακώσαι τὰ χωρία ἢ μὴ κατέχειν οἰός τ' ³ ἢ ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ πολλοὶς ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ πλείονος διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίσταντο.

Περὶ δὲ Σαλπίαν πόλιν τοιόνδε τι συνέπεσε, δύο ἄνδρες τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν εἶχον διάφοροι τε ἄλληλοις ἦσαν. καὶ Ἀλίνιος μὲν τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐφρόνει, Πλαύτιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Ῥω-

¹ ἤγησατο Bk., εἰργάσατο Ms. ² θέλειν St., θέλων Ms. ³ οἷος τ' Kuiper, οἷος Ms.
made the army his friend, drilled the men who had become sluggish through want of a commander, and brought them out of the terror with which their misfortunes had filled them. As for Marcius, Scipio did not, as most men would have done, treat him as an enemy because he had acquired popularity, but both in word and deed always showed him respect. He was the sort of man to wish to make his way not by slandering and overthrowing his neighbour, but by his own excellence. And it was this as much as anything that enabled him to conciliate the soldiers.

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After these events the situation improved for the Romans, yet not without a hard struggle. Marcellus, after his acquittal, set out against Hannibal and for the most part acted on the safe side, since he was afraid to risk an engagement with men driven to desperation; and if at any time he was forced into a combat, he came out victorious as the result of prudence mingled with daring. Accordingly Hannibal, both on this account, and because the cities in his alliance had either abandoned him or were intending to do so, and for certain other reasons, undertook to ravage those regions which he was unable to hold; so he devastated many districts, with the result that still larger numbers deserted to the Romans.

In the case of the city of Salapia the following incident occurred. Two men managed affairs there who were hostile to each other: Alinius favoured the Carthaginian cause, and Plautius the Roman;

1 L. Marcius, chosen commander by the soldiers after the death of the Scipios.

2 The names Alinius and Plautius are corruptions of some copyist for Dafius and Blattius.
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Zonaras 9, 7-8.

μαίων, ὃς καὶ διειλέχθη τῷ Ἀλινίῳ περὶ προ-

dοσίας τῆς εἰς Ῥωμαίους. μηνύσαντός τε εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνον τῷ Ἀμβίας ταῖτα, ἐς δίκην ὑπῆρχθη ὁ

Πλαύτιος, βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμβίβου μετὰ 

tῶν συνέδρων ὅπως αὐτὸν κολάσει, ἔτολμησεν ἐπὶ ὑψεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀλινίῳ πέλας ποὺ ὄντι περὶ προ-

dοσίας ἀνθις ἐίπειν. ἀναβοήσαντος δ' ἐκεῖνον 

"ἰδε ἵδε, καὶ νῦν μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου λαλεῖ," 

οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ὁ Ἀμβίας διὰ τὸ ἀτοποῦ, ἀλλὰ 

καὶ ὃς συκοφαντούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. ἀφε-

θέντος δὲ ὠμονόησαν ἀμφω, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ 

tοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐπαγαγόμενοι τὴν τε φρούραν 

tῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέκουσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοὺς 

Ῥωμαίους παρέδωσαν.

Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔσχον τοῖς Καρχη-

dονίως τὰ πράγματα· καὶ οὕδ' ἡ Σικελία ἦν 

eὔνοοσα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Δαουνίῳ 

προσεχώρουν. ἤρεμτο μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ 

Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίῳ Ἀννων, συνεστρατεύετο δὲ αὐτῷ 

καὶ Μοῦνιας. ὃς συνόν τῷ Ἀμβίβα πρὸς, 

καὶ φθονηθεὶς ὅτι μεγάλα ἔργα ἀρέτης ἐπεδείκυντο, 

ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπέμειθη. ὡς οὖν κάκει λαμπρὸς 

ἰππάρχει, φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννῶνος ὥφλε, 

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἰππαρχίαν ἐπαύθη. περιάληγης 

γοῦν διὰ ταύτα γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους 

ἀπέκλινε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προδοσίαν Ἀκρά-

γαντος συνεπράξει σφίσιν, εἰτα καὶ τὰλλα συγκατ-

εργάσατο, ὡστε πᾶσαν αὕτις τῆς Σικελίαν ὕπ

αὐτοῦ ἄνευ μεγάλου πόνου γενέσθαι.

8. Ὅ δ' Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀλλάς τε πόλεις 

πόλλας καὶ τὸν Τάραντα, τοῦ Ἀμβίβου κατέ-
and the latter even talked with Alinius about betraying the place to the Romans. Alinius at once informed Hannibal of the fact, and Plautius was brought to trial. While Hannibal was deliberating with his advisers how to punish him, Plautius dared in his presence to speak again to Alinius, who stood near, about betrayal. But when the latter cried out, "There, there, he's talking to me about this very matter now," Hannibal distrusted him on account of the improbability of the matter and acquitted Plautius as a victim of blackmail. After his release the two men came to an understanding, and brought in soldiers obtained from Marcellus, with whose aid they cut down the Carthaginian garrison and delivered the city to the Romans.

This was the state of Carthaginian interests in Italy. And not even Sicily retained its friendliness for them, but was siding with the consul Laevinus. The leader of the Carthaginians in Sicily was Hanno, and Muttines was a member of his staff. Muttines had been with Hannibal formerly, but owing to the latter's jealousy of his great deeds of valour had been sent into Sicily. When he made a brilliant record there also as commander of the cavalry, he incurred the jealousy of Hanno likewise, and in consequence was deprived of his command. Deeply grieved at this, he joined the Romans. And first he aided them in the betrayal of Agrigentum; then he helped them in reducing the other places, so that the whole of Sicily came again under their sway without any great trouble.

8. Fabius and Flaccus subdued, among other cities, Tarentum, which Hannibal was holding. They had
χοντος αυτων, εχειρωσαντο. κελευσαντες γαρ τισι την Βρετηναν κατατρεχειν, ιν' ο' Αννιβας εις επικουριαν αυτης απαρη εκ Ταραντος, επει τουτο εγενετο, Φλακκος μεν εκεινον επετηρει, Φαβιος δε εν τουτω νυκτος τω Ταραντι ταις τε ναυσιν αμα και τω πεζω προσβαλων, τη τε προσβολη και προδοσια ειλε την πολιν. ο ουν Αννιβας δια την απατην αχθομενος αντεπιβουλευσαι τω Φαβιω εσποδασε. και επιστολην αυτω εκ Μεταποντιου ως παρα των επιχωριων επι προδοσια της πολεως επεμψεν, ελπισας απερισκεπτως αυτων προσιοντα ενεδρευσεν. και δε υπετοπησε το πραπτομενον, και παραβαλων τα γραμματα ταις επιστολαις ας τοις Ταραντινοις ποτε εγερθει, κατεφωρασεν εκ της αυτων υμοιοτητος το επιβουλευμα.

Σκιπτων δε των αλλων χρονων, ει και τιμωρησαι τω πατρι και τω θεω εγληξετο και της του πολεμου δοξης ορεγετο, άλλων ουκ ητειγετο δια το πληθος των εναντιων. επει δε ησυχασε αυτως χειμαξωντας πορρω ποι, εκεινους μεν εια, εσ δε την Καρχηδονα την ταυτη άρμησεν ου μεντοι της το παραπαν την ορμην αυτου έγνωκε πρως αυτη τη Καρχηδονι γενεσθαι και έλαβε συν πονο την πολιν.

'Αλοωσης δε της Καρχηδονος στασις μεγιστη μικρον των στρατιωτων εγενετο αν. του γαρ
When a mutiny of the soldiers took place, Scipio distributed many gifts to the soldiers and set apart

given orders to a body of men to overrun Bruttium, in order that Hannibal might leave Tarentum and go to its assistance; and when it had turned out thus, Flaccus kept watch of Hannibal, while Fabius by night assailed Tarentum with ships and infantry at the same time, and captured the city by means of the assault, aided by betrayal. Hannibal, angry at this trick, was eager to find some scheme for paying Fabius back. So he sent him a letter from Metapontum, purporting to be from the inhabitants, and proposing the betrayal of the city; for he hoped that Fabius would advance carelessly in that direction, and that he might set a trap for him on the way. But the Roman leader suspected the truth of the matter, and by comparing the writing with the letters which Hannibal had once written to the Tarentines, he detected the plot from their similarity.

Scipio, however much he longed to avenge his father and uncle, and however much he yearned for glory in the war, nevertheless for a time showed no haste on account of the multitude of his opponents. But when he ascertained that they were passing the winter at a considerable distance, he disregarded them and marched upon Carthage (the Spanish town); no one, however, gained the slightest knowledge of his march till he had come close to Carthage itself. And by great exertion he took the city.

Following the capture of Carthage, a most serious mutiny of the soldiers came very near taking place.
συχνά δὲ καὶ ἐσ τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδειξε. τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ἐσ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέταξεν, καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους προϊκα πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπέδωκε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ τούτο πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἰνδίβιλιος ¹ καὶ Μαρ- δόνιος Ἱλεργητανοί, ² προσεχόρησαν. τὸ τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πλείστον τε καὶ ἱσχυρότατον τῶν περιχώρων ὑν ὅδε προσέθετο. παρθένοιν ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐπιφανῆ κάλλει λαβῶν ὑπο- πτεύθη μὲν ἄλλος ἑσέσθαι αὐτῆς ³ ἐν ἔρωτε, μαθῶν δὲ ὅτι Ἀλλοκίῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτι-
many also for the public treasury. He appointed some
of the captives to service in the fleet and gave back
all the hostages to their relatives without ransom.
For this reason many towns and many princes, among
them Indibilis and Mandonius of the Ilergetes, came
over to his side. The Celtiberian race, the largest
and strongest of those in that region, he gained in
the following way. He had taken among the
captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty, and
it was supposed, on general principles, that he would
fall in love with her; but when he learned that she
was betrothed to Allucius, one of the Celtiberian

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Scipio had promised to give a crown to the first
one who scaled the wall, and two men, the one a
Roman, the other belonging to the allies, quarrelled
over it. Their continued dispute promoted a dis-
turbance among the rest of the soldiery as well, and
they became so greatly excited that they would
have committed some fearful deed, had not Scipio
crowned both men. He also distributed many gifts
to the soldiers, and assigned many also to public
uses; and he gave back to their relatives without
ransom all the hostages who were being detained
there. As a result, many towns and many princes
espoused his cause, the Celtiberian race among the
rest. For he had taken among the captives a maiden
distinguished for her beauty, and it was thought that
he would fall in love with her; but when he learned
that she was betrothed to one of the Celtiberian magis-
βύρων ἠγγύηται, μετεπέμψατο τε αὐτὸν αὐτεπ- ἀγγελτός, καὶ τὴν παῖδα αὐτῷ παρέδωκε μετὰ τῶν λύτρων ἀπερ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῆς ἐκεκομίκεσαν. κακ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνηρτήσατο.—V. 42 (p. 602).

"Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπλίων δεινὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατη- γίαις, ἐπιεικῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους αὐτῷ φοβερός, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπεί- κοντας φιλάνθρωπος. καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς του τε θείου δόξης πλείστον ἐς πίστιν ὃν ἐποίει, τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκ γένους ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἵσχυε. τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τε τῷ τάχει τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τὴν μεσογειάν ἀνεχώ- ρησεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐθείασεν, εἰτ' οὐν

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πέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν νεάνιν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκε, προσεπιδοὺς καὶ τὰ λύτρα ἢ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῇ προσεκόμισαν. κακ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνηρτήσατο.

Μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἀδελφὸν σπουδὴ ἐπιόντα καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀλώσιν καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκόντα κατὰ τὴν πορείαν πολέμιον, προαπήντησεν ἀυτῷ, καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἐνηνυστάτου, καὶ πολλοῖς τοῦ ἐκεί προσεπονήσατο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις δεινὸς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις ἐπιεικῆς, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους φοβερός, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπείκοντας καὶ μάλα φιλάνθρωπος,
magistrates, he voluntarily sent for him and delivered the girl to him along with the ransom her kinsmen had brought. As a result of this act he attached to his cause both these and the rest of the nation.

Scipio was stern in the exercise of his command, but agreeable in familiar intercourse, terrifying to his opponents, yet humane to such as yielded. Furthermore, through his father's and his uncle's reputation he was thoroughly able to inspire confidence in what he did, because it was felt that he owed his fame to inherited excellence and not to chance. But now, more than ever, the swiftness of his victory, the fact that Hasdrubal had retreated into the interior, and especially the fact that he had made a prediction.

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trates, he sent for him and delivered the maid to him, bestowing upon him also the ransom which her kinsmen brought for her. As a result, he attached to his cause both these and the remainder of the nation.

Next he learned that Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was approaching rapidly, still ignorant of the capture of the city, and expecting to meet no hostile force on his march. Scipio, therefore, advanced to meet him and defeated him, and afterward bivouacked in his camp, and won over many people in the vicinity. He was stern in the exercise of his command, but agreeable in familiar intercourse, terrifying to opponents, yet thoroughly humane to such as yielded. And especially the fact that he had made
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παρὰ δαίμονιον τινὸς μαθῶν εἶτε κατὰ τύχην, ὅτε ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσωσιτο, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάντες μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κρείττων σφόν ὄντα ἐτίμων, οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὀνόμαζον.—V. 43 (p. 605).

Zonaras 9, 8.

μᾶλλον δ' ὦτι καὶ ἐθέλασε, προειπών ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσωσιτο, πάντες ἐτίμων αὐτὸν οἱ δ' Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὀνόμαζον.

Ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ἀπελπίσας τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπάρα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐβούλετο. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι συσκευασάμενος ὰ μὲν ὄρμητο, οἱ δὲ συστρατηγοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες ἀσχολών τῷ Σκιπίωνι παρεῖχον, ὡστε μὴ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιδιώξει μήτε τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπικουφίσαι τὸν πόλεμον γενομένῳ ἐκεῖ, ἢ πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῦσαι. οἱ δ' Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν Ἀσδρούβαν οὐκ ἔπεδιοίζει, πέμψας δὲ ὄρμοκήρυκας τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δι' αὐτῶν προεκήρυξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν ἐν χεραίν εὐχέτο. καὶ ορῶν τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλάχι τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐδείξε αὐτῷ τοῖς αὐτῶν προσμέθας εἰς ἐν ἀπαντας συναγάγῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικουρῆσοντας. αὐτός μὲν οὖν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν Γίγγωνος, Σιλανόν δὲ ἐς Κελτιβηρίαν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα, καὶ Δούκιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς Βαστιτανίαν ἐπέμψεν. ὦς ἐκείνην τε πολέμῳ κατέσχη, καὶ τὸν Μάγωνα ἐνίκησε, καὶ
either through divine inspiration or by some chance information, that he would encamp in the enemy’s country—a prediction now fulfilled—caused all to honour him as superior to themselves, while the Spaniards even named him Great King.

Zonaras 9, 8.
a prediction, announcing beforehand that he would encamp in the enemy’s country, caused all to honour him, while the Spaniards even named him Great King.

Hasdrubal, despairing of Spain, was anxious to depart for Italy. So after packing everything for the march, he set out in winter. His fellow-commanders held their ground and kept Scipio busy so that he could not pursue Hasdrubal nor lighten the burden of war for the Romans in Italy by going there, nor sail to Carthage. But, although Scipio did not pursue Hasdrubal, he sent runners through whom he apprised the people in Rome of his approach, while he himself gave attention to his own immediate concerns. And observing that his opponents were scattered over various parts of the country, he feared that whenever he began an engagement with any of them, he should be the cause of their gathering in one place to aid one another. Accordingly, while he himself conducted a campaign against Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, he sent Silanus into Celtiberia against Mago, and Lucius Scipio, his brother, into Bastitania. Lucius occupied the latter district after hard fighting, conquered Mago, followed

1 Some phrase defining the time appears to have been lost. Furthermore the enemy’s “camp” (ἐκ τῆς, as suggested by Reimar) in place of his “country” (ἐκ τῆς) would seem to improve the sense; compare Zonaras’ words on p. 201.
Φεύγωντε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπακολουθήσας ἤλθε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μήπω μηδὲν διαπεπραγμένον.

Ἐλθόντων οὖν τοῦ τε Μάγωνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοῦ Δουκίου πρὸς τὸν Ἀδελφὸν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῷ ἰππίκῳ καταθέοντες ἐς τὰ πεδία διεμάχοντο, εἰτὰ καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρετασσόντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας τούτο ἐγένετο· συμβολὴς δὲ ποτε γενομένης οὗ τε σύμμαχοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκεινοι ἠττήθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἐρυμα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππω, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐχρήσαντο· ὁ πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ Σκιπίων, ὡς λόγος ἔστιν, ἀπεφοίβασεν. ἐπιλυπόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τροφῆν, προεύπεν (ὅθεν δ' ἤγνωται) ὡς "κατὰ τὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἁγιομέτα" μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς περιελθεῖσι τῶν ἐναντίων τῶν Σιλανῶν καταλποῖκα αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰς άλλας ἀπῆκε πόλεις, καὶ πολλὰς προσηγάγετο. καταστήσας δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῖσκατὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε, τὸν δὲ Δουκίου τὸν ὁμαίμονα ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καταγγέλλοντα τε τὰ γεγομένα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κομίσοντα καὶ ὅπως οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ φρονοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονήσουσαν.

9. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐκ νόσου ἐπονήσαν καὶ μάχαις ἐταλαιπώρησαν, Τυρσηνῶν νεωτερισάμως τινῶν. μείζον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶν ἐλύπησεν ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀπέβαλον. ἐπιστρατεύσαντες γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀμβιβου τυχανοῦ ἐν Δοκροῖς καὶ ἄμφω οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐξ
him up as he fled to Hasdrubal, and came to Scipio before the latter had accomplished anything as yet.

Now that Mago had joined Hasdrubal, and Lucius his brother Scipio, at first they would descend into the plain with their cavalry and engage in sharp contests, and later they would array their whole armies opposite each other, but would not do any fighting. This went on for several days. When the clash finally came, the Carthaginians and their allies were defeated and their stronghold was taken by the Romans, who made use of the provisions in it. This Scipio had prophesied, as the story goes, three days before. For when their food supplies failed them, he had predicted, by what prompting is unknown: "On such and such a day we shall make use of the enemy's store." After this he left Silanus to take care of the remaining foes, and went off himself to the other cities, many of which he won over. When he had brought order into the newly acquired territory, he took up his winter abode there; and he sent his brother Lucius to Rome to report the progress made, to convey the captives thither, and to discover how the people of Rome felt toward him.

9. The people in Italy not only suffered from disease but also encountered hardships in battles, since some of the Etruscans had rebelled. But what grieved them more than all else was their loss of Marcellus. For both the consuls, having undertaken a campaign against Hannibal, who was at Locri, had been surrounded by an ambuscade,
Zonaras 9, 9.

ἐνέδρας περιστοιχισθέντες ὁ μὲν Μάρκελλος αὐτίκα ἀπώλετο, Κριστίνος δὲ τρωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ. εὐρηκὼς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου σῶμα ὁ Ἀννίβας, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ εἰληφὼς ὃ ἐκεῖνος τὰς γραφὰς ἑπεσφράγιζε, γράμματα ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὡς παρ’ ἐκείνου στελλόμενα ἑπεμπε, καὶ ὁ σα ἐβούλετο διεπράττετο μέχρις οὐ τούτο γρούσος ὁ Κριστίνος ἀντιπαρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσεσθαι ὅθεν ἀντιπεριέστη ὁ Ἀννίβα τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἔπει γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σαλπίᾳ δι’ αὐτομολοῦ δίθεν ἢ ἐπιστείλας, ὡς ὁ Μάρκελλος νυκτὸς προσήη τοῖς τείχεσι, τῇ τε τῶν Δατίνων κεχρημένος φωνῆ σὺν ἀλλοις ἐπισταμένοις αὐτῷ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι δὸξοσιν εἰναι. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Σαλπηνοὶ τὴν ἐπιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ ἀντετεχνήσαντο πιστεύειν ὅτις προσέινα τὸν Μάρκελλον, καὶ ἀναστάσαντες τὸν καταρράκτην εἰσήγαγον ὅσους αὐτοῖς ἐδοξεῖν ἰκανοὺς εἰναι κατεργασθῆναι παρ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν αὐτίκα, μαθὼν τοὺς Δοκροὺς πολιορκουμένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπιπεσάντων.

Καὶ Πούπλιος ἔσθε καὶ Σουλπικίος μετὰ Λευκώλων καὶ συμμάχων ἐτέρω πολλὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐπόρθησε. τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῖς Ἀχαῖοι συμμαχήσαντος παντελῶς ἀν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξηλάθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ τοῦ κράνους τοῦ Φιλίππου περιρρυότος οἱ Λευκώλοι τοῦτο ἔσχον, καὶ φήμης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας γενομένης ὡς τεθνηκε, στάσει τε γέγονεν ἐκεῖ

1 Πούπλιος Pinder, in conformity with the regular spelling in Zon. and Dio, Πούπλιος Μαρ.
and Marcellus had perished instantly, while Crispinus had been wounded and died not long after. Hannibal found the body of Marcellus, and taking his ring with which Marcellus was accustomed to seal his documents, he forwarded letters to the cities purporting to come from Marcellus. He was accomplishing whatever he pleased, until Crispinus became aware of it and sent them a warning to be on their guard. As a result of this the tables were turned upon Hannibal. He had sent a message to the citizens of Salapia through a pretended deserter, and now approached the walls in the guise of Marcellus, using the Latin language in company with other men who understood it, in order to be taken for Romans. The Salapians, informed of his artifice, were artful enough in their turn to pretend that they believed Marcellus was really approaching. Then drawing up the portcullis they admitted as many as it seemed to them they could conveniently dispose of, and killed them all. Hannibal withdrew at once on learning that Locri was being besieged by the Romans, who had sailed against it from Sicily.

Publius Sulpicius, assisted by Aetolians and other allies, devastated a large part of Achaia. But when Philip the Macedonian formed an alliance with the Achaeans, the Romans would have been driven out of Greece completely but for the fact that the helmet of Philip fell off, and the Aetolians got possession of it; for in this way a report reached Macedonia that he was dead, and an uprising took place there. Philip,
καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς βασιλείας στερηθῆ, καὶ πρὸς Μακεδονίαν ἤπειρχθη. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσέμειναι καὶ τινῶν ἐκράτησαν πόλεων.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιώντε ἔτει ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀγγέλλετο προσιόν, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τὰς δυνάμεις τε ἕθροιζον καὶ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν μετεπέμποντο, ὑπάτως Κλαύδιον τε Νέρωνα καὶ Διούνον τὸν Μάρκον ἐλόμενοι. καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, Διούνον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπεμψαν. ὁ οὖτος πρὸς τῇ Σένα τῇ πόλει ἀπήρνησεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς χειρας εὐθὺς ἠλθεν.1 ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας κατὰ χώραν ἐμεῖνεν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μάχην κατηπείξει, ἡσύχαζε δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναμένον. οἱ Νέρων δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀννίβασις εἰς Δεκανίαν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, καὶ οὐδέτερος πρὸς παράταξιν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλαξας δὲ εἰς χείρας ἀλλήλοις ἄσσαν. καὶ οἱ Ἀννίβασις πυκνὰ μετανιστατο, καὶ οἱ Νέρων ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν παρετήρηι. κρείττων οὖν ἄει αὐτοῦ γινόμενος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα αὐτὸ πεμφθέντα ἔλων, τοῦ μὲν Ἀννίβου κατεφρόνησε, δεῖσας δὲ μὴ τοῦ Διούνου ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τῷ πλῆθει καταβιάσθαι, μέγα πράγμα ἐτόλμησε. καὶ κατέλυπε μὲν μοίραν ἐκεὶ ἀποχώρουσαν εἰργεῖν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἰ τῇ κινηθεὶς, ἐνετιλάμενος πάντα ποιεῖν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς νομίζουσιν ἐνδημεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθαρώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας ὁρμήσει ὡς πόλει τινὶ πλησιοχώρῳ προσμίζει, οὐδ᾽ ἤδει τις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡπείχθη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ ἀφίκετο νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφρείᾳ τῇ αὐτὸ κατεσκήνησε. καὶ παρεσκευάζοντα.
consequently, fearing he should lose his kingdom, hastened into Macedonia. Hence the Romans remained in Greece and conquered a few cities.

The following year, upon the announcement of Hasdrubal's approach, the people of Rome gathered their forces and summoned their allies, after choosing Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius consuls. They sent Nero against Hannibal and Livius against Hasdrubal. Livius met his foe near the city of Sena, but did not immediately open an engagement with him. For many days he remained stationary; and Hasdrubal was in no hurry for battle, either, but remained at rest awaiting his brother. Nero and Hannibal were encamping in Lucania, but neither hastened to array his forces for battle, although in other ways they had some conflicts. Hannibal would frequently change his position, and Nero kept careful watch of him. As he constantly had the advantage of him and presently captured the letter sent to him by Hasdrubal, he conceived a scorn for Hannibal; and fearing that Hasdrubal might overwhelm Livius through force of numbers, he ventured upon a hazardous exploit. He left on the spot a portion of his force sufficient to check Hannibal, in case the latter should make any movement, and he gave the men injunctions to do everything to create the impression that he was also there. Then, selecting the flower of the army, he set out as if to attack some neighbouring city; and none knew his real intention. So he hastened on against Hasdrubal, reached his colleague at night, and took up his quarters in the latter's entrenchments. And they both prepared for a sudden joint attack.
ζοντο ἀμφω ἢν αἰφνίδιον αὐτῶ συνεπίθωνται, οὐκ ἔλαθον δὲ, ἀλλ’ ἐτεκμύρατο τὸ γεγενημένον ὦ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγέλσεων διττῶν γιμνόμενων ἰδία γὰρ ἐκαστὸς τῶν ὑπάτων παρηγγελλέ τι τοὺς ἑαυτού. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν ἤττησθα τὸν Ἀντίβαν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι (περιόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου οὐκ ἂν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὀρμήσαι τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλογίζετο) ἔγνω πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπαναχωρήσαι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἀκριβώσασθαι καὶ οὕτω κατὰ σχολὴν πολεμήσαι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν παραγγελλάς τῷ στρατεύματι ἀναστήναι νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν, οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόμβου ὑπόπτευσαν τὸ γιμνόμενον, οὐ μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐκινήθησαν διὰ τὸ σκότος. ἀμα ὃ ἦν τούς τε ἱππέας προεπεμψαν ἐπιδιώκας αὐτοὺς, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰποντο. καὶ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς ἱππέοις ἀντιταξαμένου ὡς μόνοις ὑσύν, οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐπελθόντες τροπῆν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησαν, καὶ φεύγονται ἐπακολουθήσαντες πολλοὺς ἐφονεύσαν. καὶ οὐδ’ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτοῖς ἔβορησαν, ὅτι γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν τραυματισθέντες κακὰ πλεία τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἔδρων ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι, παρῇγγείλεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τοῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν καθήμενοι τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους τῶν θηρίων παραντίκα σφάζειν ῥάστα δὲ σιδηρῶ τιν ὑπὸ τὸ οὖς νυκτόμενοι ἐκτινώσοντα. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐφθειρότα. ἔπεσον δὲ τοσοῦτο ὡςτε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διακορεῖς τοῦ φόνου γενομένου μὴ θελήσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδιώξας. φθείρατες τε ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ λάφυρα πλεῖστα.
upon the invader. The situation, however, did not go undiscovered, since Hasdrubal inferred what had happened from the fact that the word of command was given twice; for each consul issued orders to his own troops separately. Suspecting, therefore, that Hannibal had been defeated and had perished,—for he calculated that if his brother were alive, Nero would never have marched against him,—he determined to retire among the Gauls and after finding out definitely about his brother, carry on the war at his convenience.

So, after giving orders to the army to break camp, he started out that night; and the consuls suspected from the noise what was going on, yet they did not move immediately because of the darkness. At dawn, however, they sent the cavalry ahead to pursue the enemy and they themselves followed. Hasdrubal made a stand against the cavalry, thinking them an isolated force, but the consuls came up and routed him, and followed after the fugitives, of whom they slew a great many. Even the elephants were of no help to the Carthaginians, since some of them upon being wounded did more harm to those stationed beside them than did the enemy; and so Hasdrubal gave orders to those seated upon them to slay the beasts as soon as they were wounded. Now they killed them very easily by piercing them with an iron instrument under the ear. The elephants, then, were destroyed by the Carthaginians, and the men by the Romans. So many fell that the Romans became surfeited with slaughter and had no desire to pursue the rest. They had destroyed Hasdrubal along with many others, had secured huge
λαβόντες, καὶ Ῥωμαίους αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τετρακισχίλιον ἕν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ εὑρόντες, ἵκανοὶ τῆς Καννηδᾶς συμφόραν ἀνειληφέναι εὑρόμενοι.

Πραξάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Διούνος κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνεν, ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἔκταῖος εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλιάν ἐπανελήλυθε, λαθὼν μέχρι τοῦτο ὡς ἀπεδήμησε. καὶ τῶν ἄλοντων τίνας ἐς τὸ Ἀννίβου στρατόπεδον ἐπεμψε τὰ πεπραγμένα δηλώσοντας, καὶ τὴν κεφάλην τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πλησίον που ἀνεσταύρωσε. μαθῶν οὖν ἐκείνου τὸν τε ἀδελφόν ἦττημένου καὶ τεθηκότα καὶ τῶν Νέρωνα νεκρυκότα καὶ ἐπανήκοντα, πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὰς Κάννας ἀνέκαλεσε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττίαν ἀνεχώρησε, κακεὶ δείγμα ἤσυχόνων.

10. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μέχρις ἂν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καταστήσῃ ἄρχειν τῶν ἐκεῖ προσετάχθη. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Διβύνην δύο πεντήρεσιν ἔπλευσε, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γίσγωνος Ἀσδρούβασ ἐκεῖ κατὰ τύχην αὐτῶν συγκατήρε. δεξίουμένου οὖν καὶ ἁμφῷ τοῦ Σύφακος (ἐνυπονόν γὰρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένετο, μέρους τῆς Διβύνης βασιλευόντων), καὶ καταλάβας τοὺς σφᾶς, ὁ Σκιπίων οὐκ ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἔχειν εἶπεν οὔτε μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δύνασθαι καὶ ἐαυτὸν καταλύσασθαι. Ἐπανήλθεν οὖν αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡλεργίταις ἐπολέμησεν, ὅτι τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας Ῥωμαίους μετὰ τῶν τῶν Σκιπιώνων θάνατον τοὺς Καρχηδονίως ἐξεδωκαν. καὶ οὐ πρότερον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐκρατήσῃ πρὶν αὐτὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπεβήναι ἐτόλμησε καὶ ἐτρώθη. αἰδεσθέντες γὰρ

1 Brettauian Wolf., Brettauian Mss.
quantities of spoils, had found Roman captives to the number of four thousand in the camp, and thought they had sufficiently retrieved the disaster of Cannae.

When this result had been achieved, Livius remained where he was, but Nero returned to Apulia, arriving on the sixth day, before his absence had as yet been detected. He now sent some of the prisoners into Hannibal's camp to explain what had happened, and fixed Hasdrubal's head on a pole near by. Hannibal, learning that his brother was vanquished and dead, and that Nero had conquered and returned, lamented bitterly, often crying out against Fortune and Cannae. And he retired into Bruttium where he remained inactive.

10. Scipio was appointed to look after Roman interests in Spain until he should have restored order in all parts. He first sailed to Africa with two quinqueremes, and it so happened that Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, landed there at the same time as he did. Syphax, who was king of a portion of Africa and was in alliance with the Carthaginians, entertained them both and endeavoured to reconcile them. But Scipio declared that his was no private enmity and that he could not, of course, on his own responsibility make terms for his country.

Accordingly he went back again and began a war against the Iliturgitani because they had handed over to the Carthaginians the Romans who took refuge with them after the death of the Scipios. He did not become master of their city until he ventured to scale the wall in person and got wounded. Then the
οἱ στρατιώται καὶ δείσαντες περὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε προσέβαλον προθυμότερον. καὶ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέπρησαν ἄπασαν. καὶ τῷ φόβῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔκοντες αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βίᾳ κεχείρωτοι· τινὲς δὲ πολλοκοῦμενοι τὰς τε πόλεις ἑαυτῶν ἔκαιον καὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἑφόνευον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς.

Τὰ πλεῖω δὲ καταστρεφάμενοι ὁ Σκιπίων εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἀνέξευξεν· ἔσβη τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐπιταφίους ἁγόνας ὀπλομαχίας ἔθετο. ὅτε πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἔτεροι ἠγωνίασαντο, καὶ ἄδελφοι δὲ δύο περὶ βασιλείας διαφερόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς Σκιπίωνοι συναλλάξια αὐτοὺς σπουδάσαντο· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν νεώτερον καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυρότερον ὑπάρχον ὑπερτείνειν.

Ἡρώστηρι δὲ μετέπειτα ὁ Σκιπίων, κἀ̂ς τοῦτο ἐνεωτέρισαν οἱ Ἰβηρεὶς. στράτευμα γὰρ τὸν Σκιπίωνος περὶ Σογκράνα1 χειμάζον ἐκινήθη, καὶ πρόφην οὐκ εὐπειθεῖς ὡς, ὁμ μὴν φανερὰ ἀποστάσιαν ἐπιδειξάμενον τότε δ’ ἀισθόμενον τὸν Σκιπίωνα κάμνοντα, ἔπει καὶ ἡ μισθοφόρα αὐτῶν ἐβραδύνθη, ἀναφανδὸν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους σφῶν ἀπελάσαντες ὕπάτους ἑαυτῶς κεχειροτονήκασιν ἠσαν δὲ ὁς ὀκτακισχίλιοι.

γροντε σὺν ταῦτα οἱ Ἰβηρεὶς ἀφίσταντο προχειρότερον, καὶ τὴν συμμαχία τῶν Ῥωμαίῶν ἑκάκουν. καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐκλίπειν ἤδη τὰ Γάδειρα βουληθεὶς οὗτ’ ἐξέλυτε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον διαβαίνων πολλὰ ἐκακούργει.

214 1 An error for Σογκράνα.
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 10.
soldiers, put to shame and fearing for his life, made a more determined assault. And having captured the place, they killed all the inhabitants and burned down the whole city. As a result of the fear thus inspired many voluntarily ranged themselves on his side, and many others were subdued by force. Some, when besieged, burned their cities and slew their relatives and finally themselves.

After subjugating the greater part of the country Scipio moved his quarters to [New] Carthage and there instituted funeral contests in full armour in honour of his father and of his uncle. When many others had contended, there came also two brothers who were at variance about a kingdom, though Scipio had made efforts to reconcile them. And the younger man, even though more powerful, was slain by the older.

Subsequently Scipio fell sick, and thereupon the Spaniards rebelled. For one of Scipio's armies that was wintering near Suero had become turbulent; even before this it had shown insubordination, but had not ventured upon open rebellion. Now, however, learning of Scipio's illness, and in view of the fact, moreover, that their pay had been delayed, they mutinied outright, drove away the tribunes, and elected consuls for themselves. Their number was about eight thousand. So the Spaniards, becoming aware of this, revolted with greater readiness, and proceeded to harry the territory belonging to the Roman alliance. And thus Mago, who had already made up his mind to abandon Gades, did not do so, but crossed over to the mainland and caused no little havoc.
Μαθῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιπίων, πέμψας πρὸς τὸ ἀποστατήσασι στρατόπεδον, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς συγγραμμονῶν δῆθεν, ὅτι διὰ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσαι διὰ τούτο ἄξιων, ἐπαινῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀναδεξαμένους ἵνα μηδὲν δεινὸν ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι διὰ ἀναρχίαν. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γράφαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται μαθόντες ὅτι περιείχα καὶ υπῆρχον ὑπὸ ἄργοιον σφίσιν, οὐδὲν ἠκούσαν, ὡς ἡ ἀνερρώση, τραχύ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε αὐτοῖς ἐπηεῖλησε, πέμψας δὲ τὴν τε τροφὴν ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι ἔκελευσεν ὡς ἄν βουλωνται, ἢ ἅθροόν ἢ ἐν μέρει κατὰ διαδοχάς. οἱ δὲ γε στρατιῶται κατ' ὀλγοὺς ἀπελθεῖν ὡς ἔθαρσθησαν, ὡμοὶ δ' ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοὺς αὐλίσασθαι (πρὸς ἐσπέραν γὰρ ἦν) διετάξατο, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς θραυστέρους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν κατασκεύασε, καὶ τὴς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς κατασχὼν ἔδησεν. ἀμα δ' ἠμέρα, ὡς ἔξω ποι στρατεύσων, πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν στρατὸν προεξέπεμψεν. εἴτα τοὺς ἄρτι ἐλθόντας εἰσὶν τοῦ τείχους ἀνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκάλεσεν, ἵνα αὐτῷ συστρατεύσωνται, λαβῶντες τὸ σιτηρέσιον. καὶ οὕτως εἰσελθόντων αὐτῶν ἔστημην τὸ ἐκκεχωρικός ὡς περ ἐίχον ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ περισσῶν αὐτοῦς πολλὰ καὶ ὀνείδισε καὶ ἰηπείλησε, καὶ
Scipio, learning of this, sent a letter to the mutinous legion, in which he affected to pardon them for revolting on account of the scarcity of provisions, asked them to feel no anxiety because of this, and actually praised those who had accepted the leadership over them to prevent their suffering or doing any violence in the absence of lawful commanders. When Scipio had written to this effect, and the soldiers had learned that he was alive and was not even angry with them, they made no further trouble. Even after he recovered his health he did not use harsh threats in dealing with them, but sent a promise to supply them with food and commanded them all to come to him, either in a body or a part at a time, as they might prefer. The soldiers, not daring to go in small groups, went all together. Now Scipio arranged that they should encamp outside the wall—for it was nearly evening—and supplied them with provisions in abundance. Thus they encamped; but Scipio saw to it that the bolder spirits among them entered the city, and during the night he overpowered and imprisoned them. At daybreak he sent forth his whole army as if he were going to make an expedition somewhere. Then he summoned the recent arrivals inside the wall without their weapons, in order that they might receive their rations and join his expedition. As soon, accordingly, as they had entered, he signalled to the men who had gone forth to return just as they were. Thus he surrounded the rebels and heaped upon them many reproaches and threats, declaring finally: "You all
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

57, 47 (Δίων) ἐν τῷ ιε' "πάντες ἀποθανεῖν ἔστε άξιοι,
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ πάντας ὑμᾶς θανατώσω, ἀλλ' ὁλύγους μέν, ὅς καὶ συνείληφα ἡθη, δικαίωσω,
τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφίημι." Suidas s.v. ἐδικαίωθησαν,

Zonaras 9, 10.

τέλος "πάντες μέν," ἐφη, "θανεῖν ἔστε άξιοι,
οὐ μέντοι πάντας θανατώσω αὐτός, ἀλλ' ὁλύγους
ὁς καὶ ἡθη συνείληφα δικαίωσω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ἀφίημι." ταῦτα εἰπὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον τοὺς δεδέ-
μένους παρήγαγε, καὶ σταυροῖς προσδήσας καὶ
αικισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ὅς δὲ τινες τῶν παρε-
στηκότων ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, συγχυός
καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἐκόλασε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν μισθο-
φοράν τοῖς ἄλλοις δοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδίβιλιν καὶ ἐπὶ
tὸν Μανδόνιον ἐστράτευσε. καὶ μὴ τολμώντων
ἐκεῖνων συμμισέαν αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς ἐπέθετο καὶ ἐνίκησεν.

'Ομολογησάντων δ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς ἀλλης
Ἰβηρίας τὰ πλείω αὐθίς ἐδουλώθη, καὶ ὁ Μάγων
tὰ Γάδειρα ἐξέλυσε, καὶ ὁ Μασινής σὺς Ἡπ-
μαίους προσεχώρησεν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ, τε-
λευτήσαντος Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ ᾿Αυνίβου ὀμαίμονος,
ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἐκστήσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐν
tῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνακτήσασθαι καὶ ἐπεμψαν ἀργύριον
τῷ Μάγωνι, ἵν' ἐπικουρικὸν ἄθροίσας στρατεύ-
σηται ἐπ' αὐτὴν. καὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθίς
ὁμήσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὰς Γυμνησίας νῆσους.
καὶ τῆς μὲν μείζονος ἡμαρτε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς εἰς αὐτὴν
καταράζ (οἱ γὰρ ἐπιχώριοι πόρρωθεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς

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BOOK XVI

Dio, XVI. "You all deserve to die, yet I, for my part, will not put you all to death, but will punish only a few whom I have already arrested; the others I release."

Zonaras 9, 10.

deserve to die, yet I, for my part, will not put you all to death, but will execute only a few whom I have already arrested; the others I release." With these words he brought forward the prisoners, bound them to stakes, and put them to death by scourging. Some of the soldiers standing by grew indignant and raised a disturbance, whereupon he punished a number of them also. After this he gave the rest their pay, and conducted a campaign against Indibilis and Mandonius. As these were too timid to offer him battle, he attacked them and was victorious.

Following their capitulation most of the remainder of Spain was again enslaved, Mago abandoned Gades, and Masinissa took the Roman side. For the Carthaginians, upon the death of Hasdrubal, Hannibal’s brother, had voted to give up Spain, but to recover their conquests in Italy. And they sent money to Mago, in order that he might gather a force of auxiliaries and make an expedition against that country. So he set out once more for Italy, and came to the Gymnesian islands. The larger one escaped his grasp; for the natives from a distance kept using their slings, in which art they were masters, against
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 10.

ἐσφενδόνων, κράτιστοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὗτες), εἰς δὲ τὴν μικροτέραν προσορμισάμενος ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα κατέμεινεν. αἱ νήσοι δ' αὐται τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα ἡπείρῳ ἐπίκεινται εἰς δ' ἡ τρεῖς, ὡς Ἑλληνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῆ Γυμνησίας καλοῦσιν, Ὀὐαλλερίας δὲ καὶ Σασούσας οἱ Ἴβηρες, ἴδια δ' ἐκάστην, τὴν μὲν Ἔβσον, τὴν δὲ μείζω, μικροτέραν δὲ τὴν τρίτην φερονυμώτατα. τὰ Γαδείρα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 633.

Διών δὲ ὁ Κοκκημανὸς ταύτας πλησίον φησὶ Ἴβηρος εἶναι ποταμοῦ, πλησίον τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἃς νῆσους Ἑλληνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῆς Γυμνησίας φασίν, Ἴβηρες δὲ Βαλερίας ἦτοι ἰγνείναι.
his ships, so that he could not effect a landing; but he anchored off the smaller one and waited there on account of the winter. These islands are situated close to the mainland in the vicinity of the Iberus. They are three in number, and are called by the Romans in common with the Greeks the Gymnesiae, but by the Spaniards the Valeriae or Hyasusae,¹ or, individually, the first Ebusus, the second the Larger,² and the third the Smaller²—very appropriate names. And Gades was occupied by the Romans.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 633.

Dio Cocceianus, however, says they are near the Iberus river and near the European Pillars of Hercules; these islands the Greeks and Romans alike call the Gymnesiae, but the Spaniards Valeriae or Healthful Islands.

¹ A corruption of Baleares and Pityusae.
² Or, in other words, Balearis Major and Balearis Minor.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVII

57, 50 "Οτε ο Μασινίσσας ἄλλως μὲν ἐν τοῖς κράτιστοις ἀνήρ ἦν, τά τε πολέμια καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἀρίστη ἐξειργάζετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν οὐχ ὧτι τῶν ὁμοφύλων (ἀπιστοὶ γὰρ ὁτιν εἰς τοὺς πλήθει εἰσὶ) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ μέγα ἐπὶ αὐτῇ φρονοῦντων προέφερεν.—V. 44 (p. 605).

51 "Οτε τῆς Σοφωνίδου ἵσχυρός ἦρα Μασινίσσας, ἦ τὸ τε κάλλος ἐπιφανὲς εἰχε (καὶ γὰρ τῇ

Zonaras 9, 11.

11. 'Ο δὲ Μασινίσσας ἀνήρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐξεταζόμενος· καὶ χειρὶ γὰρ καὶ βουλεύμασιν ἀρίστους ἐτύγχανε τὰ πολέμια. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐκ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξ αὐτίας τοιαύτης μετηνέκτο. ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τοῦ Γίσγωνος φίλος τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Σοφωνίδα την ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα αὐτῷ ἐνηγγύησε. τῷ Σύφακι δὲ συγγενόμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων αὐτὸν φρονοῦντα αὐσθόμενος, οὐκέτι τὰ ὁμολογημένα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἐφύλαξεν, ἀλλὰ θέλων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τοῖς Σύφακα προσποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ἔλαχίστης δυνάμεως ἄρχοντα, τὴν τε ἄρχὴν αὐτῷ συγκατεπράξει, ἢ τῷ Μασινίσσα προσῆκε, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τότε θανόντος, καὶ τῆς Σοφωνίδας συνύκισεν. ἢ δὲ τὸ τε κάλλος ἐπιφανής ἦν καὶ

1 γὰρ Rk., τε γὰρ Ms.
2 οὕτω Val., οὕτω Ms.
3 τε added by Bk.

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FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVII

Masinissa, in addition to being among the most distinguished men in other respects, was a master in conducting warlike operations, both as regarded planning and execution; and in point of loyalty he excelled not only the men of his own race—who are most faithless as a rule—but even those who greatly prided themselves upon this virtue.

Masinissa became deeply enamoured of Sophonisba, who not only possessed conspicuous beauty—

Zonaras 9, 11.

11. Masinissa ranked among the most distinguished men; for he was a master of warfare both as regarded execution and planning. He had left the Carthaginians for the Romans as a result of circumstances now to be related. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was a friend of his and had betrothed to him his daughter Sophonisba. Hasdrubal, however, became acquainted with Syphax, and perceiving that he favoured the Roman cause, no longer kept his agreement with Masinissa. He was so anxious to add to the Carthaginian alliance Syphax, who was ruler of a very considerable realm, that he not only helped him to get possession of the domain which belonged to Masinissa, upon the death of the latter's father at this time, but furthermore gave him Sophonisba in marriage. She was conspicuous for beauty, had re-

1 The Mss. of both the fragments and of Zonaras give the name as Sophonis.
Συμμετρία τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἄνθει τῆς ὅρας ἡκμαζεν) καὶ παιδεία πολλή καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ μουσικῆς ἕσκητο: ἀστεία τε καὶ αἰμύλος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὡστε καὶ ὀφθείσα ἦ καὶ ἀκουσθείσα μόνον πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν πάνυ δυσέρωτα, κατεργάσασθαι.—V. 45 (p. 605).

53 . . . μέντοι καὶ ἱθέλησε τούτων τίσασθαι προϋποπτευθεὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐλθὼν πολλὰ μὲν καθ’ ἐαυτόν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν Σύφακα καὶ τὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐλύσησεν. Σκιπίων ἃς ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσεποιήσατο, τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἠτοιμάζετο, οὕπερ ἄει ἐφίετο.\[224\]

Ζωνάρας 9, 11.

παιδεία πολλὴ καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ μουσικῆς ἕσκητο, ἀστεία τε καὶ αἰμύλος ἦν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὡς ὀφθείσα ἦ καὶ ἀκουσθείσα μόνον καὶ τὸν πάνυ δυσέρωτα κατεργάσασθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύφαξ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους προσέθετο, καὶ ὁ Μασινίσσας τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθείλετο καὶ χρησιμώτατος αὐτοῦ διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο· Σκιπίων δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία προσεποιήσαμενος, ἐς τὴν Λιβύην στείλασθαι ἠτοιμάζετο. οἳ

1 Σκιπίων Bk., ὁ σκιπίων Ms. 2 ὁπερ Polak, ὁσπερ Ms. 3 ἄει ἐφίετο Bk., ἐξ ἐφίετο Ms.
BOOK XVII

that symmetry of body and bloom of youth—but had also received an excellent literary and musical education. She was clever, ingratiating, and altogether so charming that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice sufficed to vanquish every one, even the most indifferent.

However, [Masinissa] also wished to take revenge on him [Hasdrubal]. For, having already incurred suspicion, he had taken to flight, and on arriving in Africa had inflicted many injuries by himself and many with Roman aid upon Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio, after winning over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force and partly by capitulation, was preparing for the expedition to Africa, which had ever been his goal;

Zonaras 9, 11.

received an excellent literary and musical education, and was clever, ingratiating, and so charming that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice sufficed to vanquish anyone, even the most indifferent. Scipio for these reasons attached himself to the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, on the contrary, espoused the Roman cause and from first to last proved very useful to them. Scipio after winning over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force and partly by capitulation, was making ready to set out for Africa. The people of Rome,
καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀντιλεγόντων ἐπετράπη τότε, καὶ τῷ Σύφακι συγγενέσθαι ἐκεῖ.

54 λεύσθη. κἂν ἐξείργαστό τι τοῦ φρονήματος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἄξιον (ἡ γὰρ Καρχηδόνα εἶλεν ἀν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῇ περιστῆσας, ἡ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπερ ὡστερον ἔπραξεν), εἰ μὴ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ρωμαίοι τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ ἐμποδοῦ ἐγένοντο· τὸ τέ γὰρ νέον πᾶν μείζων ἀεὶ ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν πολλάκις ἀπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἰναι νομίζοντες χαλεπώτατα ἀν ὡγούντο νεανίσκου ψυχὴν αὐχήματι προ (four lines wanting in Ms.)

55 χ. . . ρ οὐκ ἑκείνῳ πρὸς τε δυναστείαν καὶ δόξαν ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοῖς πρὸς τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν συμφέρη χρησθαί, κατέλυν αὐτὸν, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προῆγον ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἐν χρεία αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, τούτοις ἐθελονταί καθήρουν· ὃτι μείζον τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγενότει· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ὅπως Καρχηδονίους παυτελῶς δι’ αὐτοῦ καταπολεμήσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ ἑαυτοῖς τῦραννον

56 αὐθαίρετον ἐπασκήνωσιν ἐσκόπουν. τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν δύο αὐτῷ διαδόχους πέμψαντες ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐψηφίζοντες.

Zonaras 9, 11.

δ’ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθωμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ μὴ ὑπερφρονήσας τυραννῆσθι, ἀνεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμψαντες.

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for this campaign had now been entrusted to him, in spite of much opposition, with instructions to join Syphax. And he would certainly have accomplished something worthy of his aspirations—either bringing the war home to the gates of Carthage and capturing the place or drawing Hannibal away from Italy, as he later did—had not the Romans at home, through jealousy and through fear of him, stood in his way. They reflected that youth without exception is ever reaching out after greater conquests and that good fortune is often insatiate of success, and thought that it would be very difficult for a youthful spirit through self-confidence...to treat [him in such wise] as would conduce, not to his power and fame, but to their own liberty and safety, they dismissed him; thus, the man whom they themselves had put in charge of affairs when they stood in need of him they now of their own accord removed because he had become too great for the public safety. They were no longer considering how they might utterly vanquish the Carthaginians with his aid, but only how they might escape training up for themselves a self-chosen tyrant. So they sent two of the praetors to relieve him and called him home. Moreover they did not

Zonaras 9, 11.

however, through jealousy of his successes and through fear that he might become arrogant and play the tyrant, sent two of the praetors to relieve him and called him home.
σαντ’οί, ὅτι ἰδιώτης τε ὁν ἐστράτευτο καὶ ἐπ’ οὐδεμᾶς ἐννόμου ἰγμενονίας ἐξήταστο, βοῦς μέντοι ἐκατον λευκοῖς ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ θῶσαι καὶ πανηγυρίν τινα ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν τε ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψαν αἱ γὰρ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχαιστίαν νεωστὶ ἐγενόνεσαν.

57 Ἑν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ οἱ Σουλπίκιοι μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτταλοῦ Ὀρενὶ μὲν προδοσία, ὂπούντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἔλαβεν ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη σφίζει διὰ ταχέων καλπερ ἐν Δημητριάδι ὁν ἐπαμύνας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ

58 Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς διόδους προκατέσχον. ὅψε δὲ οὖν ποτὲ ἐπελθὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἀτταλοῦ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπούντος διατιθεμένου (ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ αὐτή, τοὺς δὲ Ὑθομαῖοι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρενὶ ἐγένετο) ἐς τὰς ναύς αὐτῶν κατήραξεν, ὡς τὸν Ἀτταλοῦ διὰ τέ τούτο καὶ διὰ Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνὸν ἐβασιλεά, ἐσβαλόντα τε ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ προβοῦντα αὐτὴν, ἀποπλεῦσαι κατὰ τάχος οἴκαδε. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος οὐχ ὅσον

Zonaras 9, 11.

Καί ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύθη, ὁ δὲ τῆς Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτταλοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνου Ὀρεὺν μὲν προδοσία, ὂπούντα δὲ ἱσχυς κατέσχεν. ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη αὐτοῖς ἐπαμύναι διὰ ταχέων, τὰς διόδους προκατασχῶντων ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν. ὅψε δὲ ποτὲ ἐπελθὼν, εἰς τὰς ναύς αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀτταλοῦ καταφυγεῖν ἐβιάσατο. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος στείρασθαι τοὺς

1 ταχέων Haase, comparing Zon. : τάχος Ms. acc. to Bs. 228
2 Βιθυνῶν Bl., Βιθυνῶν Ms.
vote him a triumph, because he had conducted the campaign as a private individual, not having been appointed to any legal command; but they allowed him to sacrifice a hundred white oxen upon the Capitol, to celebrate a festival, and to canvass for the consulship for the second year following (since the elections for the next year had recently been held).

At this same period also Sulpicius together with Attalus gained Oreus through betrayal and Opus by main force. For Philip, although in Demetrias, was unable to come speedily to the rescue since the Aetolians had already seized the passes. At last, however, he arrived, and finding Attalus disposing of the spoil from Opus,—for this had fallen to his lot, and that from Oreus to the Romans,—he hurled him back to his ships. Accordingly Attalus, both for this reason and also because Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his country and was devastating it, hastily sailed back home. Philip, however, far from being elated at this success, actually wished

Zonaras 9, 11.

Thus he was deposed from his command. At this same time Sulpicius together with Attalus secured Oreus through betrayal and Opus by main force. For Philip was unable to come speedily to the rescue, as the Aetolians had already seized the passes. But at last he arrived and forced Attalus to flee to his ships. Philip, however, wished to conclude a truce
οὐκ ἐπήρθη τούτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπείρασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἥθελησε, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Ἀγύπτου πέμπτων συνήλ- λαττευ αὐτοῖς. καὶ τινῶν λόγων σφίσι γενομένων . . . (four lines wanting in Ms.) . . . εἰρήνην οὐκέτι ἦτησεν ἀλλὰ . . . τοὺς 1 δὲ Λιτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ρ . . . τινι ἀποσπάσας φίλους ἐποίησατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράξῃ τι μνήμης ἄξιον οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλων τινῶν, οὔτε τότε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὠστέρο ἔτει ἐν φ' Δούκιος τε Όυετούριος καὶ Καϊκίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπάτευσαν, καίπερ σημείων πολλῶν καὶ δυσχερὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων ἀρνίον τε γὰρ ἀρρενόθηκεν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ σμήνος υ. . . οὖν ὀφθη, κατὰ τε τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κατιωλίου δρεις δύο κατόλισθον, καὶ ἱδρώτι πολλῷ αἱ τε θύραι τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ἔρρυη, ἐν τε Ἄντια στάχνες αἰματώδεις θερίζοντι τισιν ὀφθησαν, καὶ ἐπέρωθε γυνὴ κέρατα ἐχούσα

Zonaras 9, 11.

Ῥωμαίοις ἥθελησε, καὶ τινῶν λόγων αὕτως γενομένων τὰ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀφείθη, τοὺς δ' Λιτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μεταθέμενος φίλους ἐαυτοῦ ἐποίησατο.

'Ὁ δ' Ἀντίας τέως ἡσυχίαν ἤγευ, ἀγαπῶν εἰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἱ διασώσατο. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ νομίζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνευ μάχης ἐκτρυχωθῆναι, ἀνείχον.

1 τοῖς supplied by Gros.
to conclude a truce with the Romans, especially since Ptolemy, too, was sending ambassadors from Egypt and trying to reconcile them. After some preliminary discussion between them . . . he no longer requested peace, but . . . and drew the Aetolians away from the Roman alliance by some [device?] and made them his friends. Nothing worthy of remembrance, however, was achieved either by them or by any others, either then or in the following year, when Lucius Veturius and Caecilius Metellus became consuls; and this notwithstanding many portents of ill omen which were reported to the Romans. For example, a hermaphrodite lamb was born, and a swarm of . . . was seen, two serpents glided under the doors of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the doors as well as the altar in the temple of Neptune ran with copious sweat, in Antium bloody ears were seen by some reapers, elsewhere a

Zonaras 9, 11.

with the Romans, but after some preliminary discussion the peace negotiations were dropped; then Philip detached the Aetolians from their alliance with the Romans and made them his own friends instead. Hannibal for a time was keeping quiet, satisfied if he might only retain such advantages as were already his. And the consuls, believing that his power would waste away even without a battle, also waited.
ἀνεφάνη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἐς ναοὺς πολλοὶ, . . . P. 1 (p. 458 sq.).

62 "Ὅτι Δικίννυος Κράσσος ὑπὸ τε ἐπιεικείας καὶ κάλλους πλούτου τε, ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ πλούσιος ἐπωνομάσθη, ὅτι τε ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, ἐμελλεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκλήρωτος μένειν.—V. 46 (p. 605).

Ζωναρίου 9, 11.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἐτεί ὁ τε Σκιπίων ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ Δικίννυος Κράσσος ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπέλθειν καὶ ἐς Διβύνην προσέπετακτο, ὅπει ἐν δὴ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνθελκύσῃ. οὕτε δὲ στράτευμα ἰξιόλογον ὅτε πρὸς τρεῖρες ἀνάλομα ἔλαβε, διὰ τὰς ἀριστείας φθονούμενος μόλις δὲ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀναγκαῖα παρέσχον αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τισει ἐθελονταῖς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἀπῆρεν, ὁ δὲ Μάγων ἐκ τῆς νῆσου παραπλεῦσας εἰς τὴν Ἀιγυπτικήν ἀπῆθη. ὁ Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τῇ Βρεττίᾳ τῷ Ἀννίβα προσήδρεεν. ὁ μὲντοι Φίλιππος κατηλλάγη Ῥωμαίοις. Πούπλιον γὰρ Σεμπρώνιον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐλθόντα σὺν πολλῇ δυνάμει αἰσθόμενος ἀσμένους ἐσπεισάτο.

Σκιπίων δ’ ὁ ὑπατός εὶς Σικελίαν κατάρας παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὅς ἐς Διβύνην ¹ πλεύσων, οὐκ ἤδυνηθε δὲ, μῆτε δύναμιν ἐντελῆ καὶ αὐτήν ἀσυγκρότητον εἶχων. διὸ πάντα τὸν χειμῶνα ἐκεί διήγαγε, τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξασκον καὶ ἄλλους προσκαταλέγον. μέλλοντι δὲ περαιώσεσθαι ᾿ἀγγε—

¹ Διβύνη Wolf, σικελίαν Mav.
² περαιώσεσθαι Βδ., περαιώσεσθαι Mav.

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woman with horns appeared and many thunderbolts ... into temples ...

Licinius Crassus, by reason of his amiability and beauty and wealth (which gained for him the name of Wealthy), and because he was a high priest, was to remain in Italy without taking part in the allotment of provinces.

Zonaras 9, 11.

The next year Publius Scipio and Licinius Crassus became consuls. The latter remained in Italy, while Scipio had orders to leave for Sicily and Africa in order that, even if he should not capture Carthage, he might at least in the meantime draw Hannibal away from Italy. But he received neither an army of any account nor any allowance for triremes, owing to the jealousy aroused by his prowess; indeed, they scarcely supplied him with even the absolute necessities. He, then, set sail with the fleet of the allies and a few volunteers drawn from the populace; and Mago left the island,¹ and after sailing along the coast, disembarked in Liguria. Crassus was in Bruttium keeping watch upon Hannibal. Philip, however, had become reconciled with the Romans; for on ascertaining that Publius Sempronius had reached Apollonia with a large force he was glad to make peace.

Scipio, the consul, landed in Sicily and made ready to sail to Africa, but he could not do so because he had not a complete force at his disposal, and what he had was undisciplined. Therefore he spent the entire winter there, drilling his followers and enrolling additional recruits. As he was on the point of making the passage, a message came to

¹ Balearis Minor; see p. 221.
Ότι τοῦ Πυθίου κελεύσαντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν θεοὺς τὴν ἐκ Πεσινοῦντος κομιδομένην ἐς τὸ ἅστυ, Πούτλιου Σκιπίωνα, παῖδα τοῦ Γναίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τελευτήσαντος ὑντα, ἀπάντων προέκριναν καὶ προετίμησαν. αὐτίον δὲ ὅτε ἄλλως τε...

Zonaras 9, 11.

λία αὐτῷ ἐκ Ῥηγίου ἦκε τὴν πόλιν τῆς τῶν Δοκρῶν τινας προδώσειν, τοῦ γὰρ φρουράρχου καταβοήσαντες καὶ μηδεμᾶς ἐκδικίας παρὰ τοῦ Ἄννίβου τυχόντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλιναν. δύναμιν οὐν πέμψας ἐκεῖ, πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως νυκτὸς μετὰ τῶν προδίδοντων κατέλαβε. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων εἰς τὴν ἄκραν συνειλθέντων καὶ τῶν Ἀννίβων μετακαλεσαμένων, κατὰ τάχος ἐξανήχθη καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πλησιάζαντα τῇ πόλει αἰφνίδιω ἑπεκδρομῇ ἀπεόσατο. εἶτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν δύο χιλιάρχους ἀνέπλευσεν. οὐκ ἤδυνῆθη μέντοι τῇ Λιβύῃ προσπλευσαι. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Καρχηδονίοι τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔδεισαν, ὡστε χρῆμα μέν τῷ Φιλίππῳ στείλαι, ἵν' εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύῃ, καὶ τῷ Ἄννίβα καὶ σὺνοι πέμψαι καὶ στρατιώτας, καὶ νᾶς τῷ Μάγωνι καὶ χρῆμα, ἵνα τοῦ Σκιπίωνα κολύσῃ περαιωθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ σημείων τινῶν νίκην οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λαμπρὰν ἔλπισαντες, τὴν τε ἐν τῇ Σικελία 2 στρατιάν τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ὡς ἀν ἑθελήσῃ καταλέξασθαι οἱ ἐπέτρεψαν. τὸν γὰρ ὑπάτων Μάρκου

1 Lacuna recognized by St.
2 Σικελία Cary, λιθό Μss. Compare the reverse error on p. 232. For the facts see Appian, Lib. 7.
BOOK XVII

The Pythian god had commanded the Romans to entrust to the best one of the citizens the conveyance to the city of the goddess from Pessinus, and they accordingly singled out and honoured above all others Publius Scipio,\(^1\) son of the Gnaeus who had died in Spain. The reason was that he was in general . . .

Zonaras 9, 11.

him from Rhegium that some men were going to betray the city of Locri. For after denouncing the commander of the garrison and obtaining no satisfaction from Hannibal, they now favoured the Romans. Scipio accordingly sent a force there, and with the aid of the conspirators seized many parts of the city during the night. The Carthaginians were cooped up in the citadel and sent for Hannibal, whereupon Scipio also set sail in haste, and by a sudden sally repulsed Hannibal when the latter had come close to the city. Then he captured the citadel, and after entrusting the entire city to the care of two tribunes, sailed back again. He was unable, however, to sail to Africa. The Carthaginians so dreaded his approach that they sent money to Philip to induce him to make a campaign against Italy, and sent grain and soldiers to Hannibal, and ships and money to Mago so that he might prevent Scipio from crossing. And the Romans, led by certain portents to expect a brilliant victory, entrusted to Scipio the army that was in Sicily, and gave him permission to enroll as large an additional force as he pleased. As for the

\(^{1}\) Publius Scipio Nasica.
 Dio's Roman History

εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομίζετο. ὡς ταύτην τότε ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων γυναικῶν ἀνήγαγεν.—V. 47 (p. 606).

62 Ὡς πυθόμενοι τὰ τῶν Δοκρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτὰ διλιγραφία τῶν Σκιπίωνος συμβεβηκέναι, χαλεπῶς τε ἐφεροῦν, καὶ ἔβουλεύσαντες εὐθὺς ύπὸ ὀρχής τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν παύσαι καὶ ἐπὶ δίκην ἀνακαλέσαι, προσπαρε-ξυνθέντες οὗ τῇ τε Ἑλληνικῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρήτου καὶ οὗ ἰμάτιον ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅτι τε ἐς παλαίστραν παρέβαλλεν. ὅτι τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιτρέπειν ἐλέγετο, τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διατρίβειν ἐπίτηδες, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείον ἄρξαντο, ὑποπτεύετο, μέγιστον δὲ, ἐναγόντων τῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς οἱ φθονοῦντων, μεταπέμψασθαι αὐτῶν ἠθέλον. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μεγάλην εὑνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον οὐκ ἐγένετο . . .—V. 48 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 11–12.

μὲν Κέθηγον τῷ Μάγωνι, Πούπλιον δὲ Σεμπρὼ-νιον τῷ 'Αννίβα ἀντέταξαν.

12. Οἱ δὲ γε Καρχηδόνωι δείσαντες τὸν Μασσι-νίσσαν μὴ Σκιπίωνι πρόσθηται, ἔπεισαν τὸν Συφακα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ αὐθις αὐτὴν ἀνακτησόμενον. ὁ οὖν Μασσίνισσας ὑπώ-
and was esteemed both pious and just. He, therefore, at this time, accompanied by the most prominent women, conducted the goddess into the city and to the Palatine.

The Romans, learning of the treatment of the Locrians, and thinking it had been due to Scipio's negligence, were indignant, and in their anger immediately planned to remove him from his command and to recall him for trial. They were further exasperated because he adopted Greek manners, wore his toga thrown back over his shoulder, and frequented the palaestra. Furthermore, he was said to be turning over the property of the allies to the soldiers for plunder, and he was suspected of delaying his voyage to Carthage purposely in order that he might hold office for a longer time; but it was principally at the instigation of men who all along had been jealous of him that they wished to summon him. This plan, however, was not carried out, because the populace, in view of their hopes, held him in great favour, ....

Zonaras 9, 11-12.

consuls, they opposed Marcus Cethegus to Mago, and Publius Sempronius to Hannibal.

12. The Carthaginians, fearing that Masinissa would join Scipio, persuaded Syphax to restore to him his domain; for they gave him to understand that he should get it back again. Masinissa was sus-
... 1 σχόντες στρατόπεδον τε ἐν ἑπιτηδείῳ ἐποίησαντο, καὶ πάν αὐτὸ σταυρώμασι περιέφραζαν, χάρακας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτ' ἐνεγκάμενοι. ἄρτι τε κατεσκεύαστο, καὶ δράκων παρ' αὐτὸ μέγας διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα φεροῦσης ὁδοῦ παρείρπυσεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ γονέως αὐτοῦ φήμην ἑπιθαρασκεύαστα προθυμότερον τὴν τε χώραν πορθῆ-

Zonaras 9, 12.

πτενε μὲν τὸ πραττόμενον, κατηλλάγη δὲ δῆθεν, ἵνα πιστὸς νομισθεὶς μέγα τι σφήλαι αὐτοὺς δυνηθῇ μᾶλλον γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σοφωνίδος ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἄργιζετο. διὸ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέκειτο, ὑποκειμένων τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἰρεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ γε Σύφαξ τὰ τῶν Δεῖβων πρᾶττων ἐπιλάττετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπονδος εἶναι, καὶ στείλας πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα παρῆνε μὴ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπορρήτων ὁ Σκιπίων, ἵνα μὴ γνώσιν οἱ στρατιώται, τὸν τε κηρύκα αὐθημερῶν ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἄλλο προσομιλήσαντα, καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα συγκαλέσας ἐπέσπευδε τὴν διάβασιν, ἄτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπαρασκευόους λέγων εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὸν Μασινίσσαν, τὸτε δὲ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα μετακαλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ χρονίζουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ταῦτα εἴπων μηδὲν ἐτι μελλήσας ἐξανήχθη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἀπολλώνιον προσορμίσας τὰς ναὺς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, προσέµισθη τε ταῖς πόλεσι

1 In this and the following fragments from the Paris Ms. the text adopted is that of Bs., except where the contrary is stated. Many words and some whole lines are illegible, and
BOOK XVII

. . . they landed and pitched their camp in a suitable place, fencing it round about with palisades, since they had brought along stakes for this very purpose. It had just been finished when a great serpent came gliding along beside it on the road leading to Carthage. Scipio, owing to the tradition about his father, felt encouraged by this portent, and with renewed zeal devastated the conspicuous of the transaction, yet pretended to be reconciled, in order to win the confidence of the Carthaginians and so be able to bring some great disaster upon them. For he was more enraged over Sophonisba than over the kingdom, and consequently was devoting himself to the Roman interests while affecting to be for the Carthaginians. Syphax, on the other hand, though working for the African cause, professed to be in alliance with the Romans, and sent to Scipio, warning him against crossing over. Scipio learned this as a piece of secret information, and to prevent the knowledge of it from reaching the soldiers, he sent the herald back at once before he had time to talk with anybody else. Then he called together the army and hastened forward the preparations for crossing; he declared that the Carthaginians were still unprepared, and that first Masinissa, and now Syphax, was calling for them and upbraiding them for lingering. After this speech he set sail without further delay; and bringing his ships to anchor near the cape called the Cape of Apollo, he encamped and proceeded to devastate the country and make assaults upon the

the restorations of Haase, Gros, Bs., and others are often widely divergent.

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64 σαι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσμίζαι. καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἐλέειν αὐτῶν· οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι μηδέπω... παρεσκευασμένοι ἑσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ Σύφαζ ὄνοματέ μὲν φίλος αὐτῶν ἢν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκ μέσου εἰστήκει· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα καταλαγάς αὐτοῖς προτενεύειν ἐβούλετο, κρατήσαντας τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν τε ἐτέρων ἀν ἀρα καὶ ἐαυτοῦ δεσπότας γενέσθαι νομίζουν καὶ ἀντιπάλους δι' ἡμήν μάλιστα ἀλλήλοις ὄντας ἐλπίζων διαλλάξειν.1 ἐγκεκριμένου δ' οὖν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὁ Ἀνων ὁ ἱππαρχός (ἢ δὲ νῦν τοῦ Ἀσδροῦβου τοῦ Γίσγωνος) φ. ξ. εἰνός μὲν τὸν... διεστ... ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου... χω... Καρχηδόνιοι... ν πολεμικὸν ὑμ... ριας ἐν π... νε... ἐ. φ... σιν ἐπιστεύετο· κάκ τούτου προπέμψας ὁ Σκιπίων ἱππέας τινᾶς ἐκ τῆς συμβουλίας τῆς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐνήδρευσεν ἐς χωρία ἐπιτήδεια ἐς λείαν ὄντα, ἵνα καταδρομῆν ποιοῦμεν οὐποφεύγωσι καὶ ἐπιστῶνται τοὺς ἐπιδιώκσαι σφας ἐθελήσοντας. γενομένου δὲ τούτου

Ζονάρας 9, 12.

καὶ εἰλὲ τινὰς. ἐγκεκριμένου δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ χώρᾳ, Ἀνων ὁ ἱππαρχός, νῦν δὲν τοῦ Ἀσδροῦβου τοῦ Γίσγωνος, ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν Σκιπίων ἱππέας πέμψας τινὰς χωρία πρὸς καταδρομὴν ἐπιτήδεια ἐλήξετο, ἵνα ὑποφεύγοντες ἐπιστάσωνται τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας. τῶν οὖν Καρχηδόνιων

1 ἐλπίζων διαλλάξειν Cary, ἐθέλων διαλλάξει Be., ε... 240 δ... Λα... Μα.
country and made assaults upon the cities, some of which he succeeded in capturing. As for the Carthaginians, not being as yet... prepared, they remained quiet. Syphax was nominally their friend, but, as a matter of fact, was remaining neutral; for he was desirous of securing peace for the Carthaginians with Scipio, anticipating, as he did, that the victory of either side would make it the master not only of the other power but of himself as well, and hopeful that he could reconcile them in spite of their intense rivalry. Now since Scipio was harrying the country, Hanno, the cavalry commander, the son of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo,... was persuaded by Masinissa... to the Carthaginians... warlike... was believed; and, therefore, Scipio, sending forward some horsemen on the advice of Masinissa, laid an ambush in a region suitable for securing booty, in order that they might make a raid, and then, by simulating flight, draw on those who were willing to pursue them. This was exactly what happened:

Zonaras 9, 12.

cities, some of which he captured. But while the Romans were harrying the country, Hanno, the cavalry commander, the son of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was persuaded by Masinissa to attack them. Scipio, accordingly, sent some horsemen and was plundering some districts that were easy to raid, in order that his men by simulating flight might draw the enemy in pursuit. So when they turned to flee,
καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεξελθόντων τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δι’ ὅλην κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τραπομένοις ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπισπομένων, οὐ τὸν ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν ὕππεων ὑπολειφθεῖς κατὰ νότου τῶν διώκουσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων ἔξαναστας ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἑπίων ἀπήρτησεν αὐτοῖς, ὅστ’ ἀμφιβόλους δίχα ἀποληφθέντας καὶ ἀποθανεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀλῶναι . . . ἕ, καὶ τὸν Ἀννωνα. 67 πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνταπεδόθησαν ὁ δὲ δὴ Σύφαξ εὑ τε εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας οὐ Καρχηδονίως μᾶλλον τι ἦ καὶ αὐτῷ πολεμήσει, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐν ἐρήμῳ συμμάχων, ἃν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἐγκαταλειφθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, γένηται, τὴν τε προσποιήσον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἀπεἴπε καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις φανερῶς συνήρετο: ὅποι μέντοι γε καθαρῶς, ὅστε καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι σφισιν, ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς ἐκεῖνοι 68 Ζοναρᾶς 9, 12. ἐπισπομένων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ εὐγκείμενα τραπομένως, οὐ τὸν Ἀδρούβας τε κατὰ νότου γενόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν ἐπέδεικτο τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἑπεκδαμῶν προσεμένειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐάλωσαν καὶ ὁ Ἀννων αὐτῶς. διὸ ὁ Ἀδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε καὶ ἀνταπεδόθησαν. ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας τὴν δόκησιν ἀπειπῶν φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνήρετο. οἱ δὲ
the Carthaginians attacked them, and when the others in a little while turned to flight, according to agree-
ment, they pursued at full speed; then Masinissa, lagging behind with his attendant cavalry, got in the rear of the pursuers, and Scipio rose up from ambush and advanced to meet them. Thus they were surrounded and attacked from both sides, with the result that many were killed and many captured, including Hanno. On learning of this, Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa; and these two captives were exchanged. Syphax now, being well aware that Masinissa would war against him no less than against the Carthaginians, and fearing that he might find himself bereft of allies if they suffered any harm through his desertion of their cause, renounced his pretended friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians. He failed, however, to render them whole-hearted assistance, to

Zonaras 9, 12.

according to arrangement, and the Carthaginians followed them up, Masinissa with his companions got in the rear of the pursuers and attacked them, while Scipio rushed out from his ambush and joined battle with them. Thus many perished, and many also were captured, among them Hanno himself. Therefore Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa, and the two captives were exchanged. Syphax now renounced even the appearance of friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians.
καταθέοντες λείαν τε πολλὴν ἦγον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου πρότερον ἐς τὴν Διβύην πεμφθέντων ἐκομίσαντο, καταφρονήσαντες τε αὐτῶν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐτίκην ἐπεστράτευσαν. Ἰδόντες οὖν τούτο ὁ τε Σύφαξ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ δείσαντες περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐκετέ εἰκασίρησαν, ἀλλ' ἀντεπελθόντες ἐλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μὴ τολμησάντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀμα ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν αὐτὸθεν λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῆς τε Σαρδοῦς μεταπεμπόμενοι οἱ γὰρ νῆσι φισίν αἱ τὰ λάφυρα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀγουσαί καὶ τροφὴν ἄν ἐπήγγον.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ μὲν τῶν πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πόλεμον οὐδὲν μέγα ἐπράξθη. Πούπλιος γὰρ Σεμπρώνιος μάχῃ τινὶ βραχείᾳ νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἀντεπεκράτησεν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δίους καὶ ὁ Νέρων τιμητέσαντες τοῖς τε Λατίνοις τοῖς προλύσωσι τὴν συστρατείαν καὶ διπλοῦν ἀποδίδοναι πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Zonaras 9, 12.

Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔληξοντο τὴν χώραν, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου πρὸς τὴν Διβύην πεμφθέντων ἀνεκομίσαντο, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν.
the point of actually resisting the Romans, and the latter overran the country with impunity, carrying off much plunder and recovering many prisoners from Italy who had previously been sent to Africa by Hannibal; consequently they scorned their foes and began a campaign against Utica. When Syphax and Hasdrubal saw this, they so feared for the safety of the place that they no longer remained passive, but took the aggressive in their turn and raised the siege; for the Romans did not dare to contend against both leaders at the same time. Thereupon the invaders went into winter quarters where they were, getting some of their provisions from the immediate neighbourhood and sending for some from Sicily and Sardinia; for the ships that carried the spoils to Sicily would also bring them food supplies.

In Italy nothing important was accomplished in the war against Hannibal; for though Publius Sempronius was defeated by Hannibal in a trivial battle, he later won a victory over him. Livius and Nero, however, as censors, directed those Latins who had abandoned their military service and had now been commanded to furnish a double quota of soldiers, to

Zonaras 9, 12.

And the Romans both plundered the country and recovered many prisoners from Italy who had been sent to Africa by Hannibal; and they went into winter quarters where they were.
προσταχθείσι διδόναι ἀπογραφὰς ἐπήγγειλαν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλου χρήματὰ σφυσι συνεσφέρωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλας ἀτελεῖς μέχρι τότε ὄντας ὑπο-
71 τελείως ἐποίησαν τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεξα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Διόνιος ἐπραξε τε αὐτὸ ἀμνόμενος τοὺς πολῖτας ἐπὶ τῇ καταψηφίσει, καὶ ἔπικλησιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε· Σαλινάτωρ γὰρ ἐπωνομάσθη. διὰ τε οὖν τούτῳ περιβόητοι οἱ τιμηταὶ οὗτοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὅτι τε ἅλληλος τῶν τε ἱππῶν παρεῖλοντο καὶ αἱρατίους ἐποίησαν . . . ὄντες κατὰ τὴν . . . P. 2 (pp. 460 sq.).
72 "Οτι ὁ Σκιπίων ναῦν Καρχηδονίαν λαβὼν ἀφήκε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, ἐπειδή ἐπὶ πρεσβεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο. ἦδει μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σωτηρία προεφασίσθη, προετίμησε δὲ τῆς καθέξεως αὐτῶν τὸ μήδ' οὖν διαβληθῆναι

Zonaras 9, 12.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά Γναίου Σκιπίωνος καὶ Γαίου Σερουσίου ὑπατευσάντων οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι ἐλαττωθέντες τῷ πολέμῳ συμβῆναι ἤθελησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἄννιβας καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξέπεσον. οἳ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοὶ τῷ Ἄννιβα καὶ τῷ Μάγων ἀντικαθίσταντο, Σκιπίων δὲ τὴν τε Δισθὴν ἑκάκου καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσέβαλλε. καὶ τοῦτο ναῦν Καρχηδονίαν λαβὼν ἀφήκεν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο. ἦδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ πλάσμα, προετίμησε

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deliver up their registers, so that still others might contribute money; and they put a tax on salt, which up to that time had been free of tax. I have mentioned this measure with a special purpose, since Livius designed it to avenge himself upon the citizens for their vote of condemnation; and he received a nickname from it, for he was now called Salinator.\(^1\) This was one act that caused these censors to become famous; another was that they deprived each other of their horses and made each other aerarii\(^2\) . . . according to the . . .

Scipio captured a Carthaginian vessel, but released it without inflicting any injury, since those on board pretended to be coming to him on an embassy. He knew, to be sure, that this was a pretext invented to secure the safety of the captives, but preferred

Zonaras 9, 12.

After this, when Gnaeus Scipio and Gaius Servilius had become consuls, the Carthaginians, having got the worst of it in the war, desired to arrange terms of peace; and Hannibal and Mago were driven out of Italy. For the consuls had made a stand against Hannibal and Mago, and Scipio was ravaging Africa and assailing the cities. Meanwhile he captured a Carthaginian vessel, but released it when those on board pretended to be coming to him on an embassy. He recognised the deception, to be sure, but preferred to avoid the reproach of

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\(^1\) Salinator = "salt-dealer."
\(^2\) Citizens of the lowest class, who paid only a poll-tax and had no vote.
πως δυνάμενον ποιήσαι. τοῦ τε Σύφακος καὶ
tότε ἐτι συναλλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸν Σκιτίωνα
ἐκ τῆς Διβύης καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἀπάραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ οτι καὶ ἐπιστευέν
οἱ, ἀλλὰ ἵνα αὐτὸν σφήλη.—V. 49 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 12.

dὲ τὸ μὴ διαβληθῆναι ὡς πρέσβεις κατεσχηκός.
καὶ τοῦ Σύφακος πράττοντος ἐτι διαλλαγάς,
ὅστε ἐκ τῆς Διβύης μὲν τὸν Σκιτίωνα, τὸν δὲ
Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπάραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν
λόγον, οὐχ ὡς πιστεύων αὐτῷ, ἵνα δὲ σφήλη
αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλους
κατὰ τὴν τῶν σπουδῶν πρόφασιν ἐστὶ στρατό-
πεδον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πέμπων καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Σύφακος, ἐπεὶ ἔκεινοι πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
κατεσκέψαντο, τὴν σύμβασιν ἀπ᾽ εὐλόγου δὴ
των σκήψεως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σύφαξ ἐπι-
βουλεύων ἐφοράθη τῷ Μασινίσσα, διεκρούσατο.

υπκτὸς δ᾽ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν οὐ
πάνυ ἄλληλων διέχοντα, καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὸ τοῦ
Ἀσδρούβου τολμάχοθεν ἀμα ὑπέβαλε. καὶ ἐμ-
προσθέντος ῥάστα αὐτοῦ (ἐκ γὰρ καλάμης καὶ
ἐκ φυλλάδων ἐπεποίητο αὐτοῖς αἱ σκηναὶ), οἳ
τε Καρχηδονίων κακῶς ἀπῆλλαξαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ
tὸν Σύφακα βοήθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες τοῖς
τε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς περιέχουσι περιέπεσον, καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἀπόλοντο, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον προσενε-
πήσθη αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφθάρησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἵπποι
καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἳ Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τάύτα πεποιηκότες
νυκτὸς μὲν οὔδεν ἔπαθον, ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς
avoiding any possibility of reproach to retaining them. Also, when Syphax still endeavoured at that time to reconcile them, on the condition that Scipio should depart from Africa and Hannibal from Italy, he listened to his proposal, not because he really trusted him, but with the purpose of outwitting him.

*Zonaras 9, 12.*

having detained envoys. And when Syphax still endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, on the condition that Scipio should depart from Africa and Hannibal from Italy, he listened to his proposal, not because he trusted him, but with the purpose of outwitting him. For on the excuse afforded by the truce he sent various soldiers at various times into the Carthaginian camp and into that of Syphax; and when they had carefully inspected everything on the other side, he rejected the treaty, on a plausible pretext, of course, which was the more readily found because Syphax had been detected in a plot against Masinissa. And at night he proceeded to their camps, which were not very far apart, and secretly set fire to that of Hasdrubal at many points simultaneously. It rapidly blazed up, since they had constructed their shelters of straw and branches; and the Carthaginians fared badly. The followers of Syphax, too, in attempting to aid them encountered the Romans who hemmed in the place, and so perished, while their camp was set on fire, and many men and horses perished. The Romans, after accomplishing this, escaped injury during the rest of the night, but when day had
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Ζωναρας 9, 12.

'Ιβηριες ἄρτι Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἔλθόντες προσέπεσον αὐτῶν ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀσδρούβας μὲν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, Σύφαξ δὲ οἰκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ γε Σκιπίων Σύφακι μὲν τὸν Μασινίσσαν καὶ Γάιον ἀντέταξε Λαίλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἠλασεν. οἱ δ’ αὖ Καρχηδονίοι πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν Ρωμαίων, ὁ χειμαδίῳ ἐχρόντο καὶ ἐστὶ ἀπετίθεντο πάντα, ναῦς ἐπεμψαν, ἢν οἳ αὐτὸ οἱ ἄρησον ἢ ω’ ἐαυτῶν ἀπάξωσεν τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ ἔσχεν οὖτως μαθὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ἀπανέστη, καὶ ἐπειχθεῖς πρὸς τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἔποιήσατο. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ῥαδίως τοὺς προσμίζαντας αὐτοῖς ἀπέσαντο οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραῖα πολὺ ἠλαττώθησαν καὶ ναῦς γὰρ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολῇ ἀπέσασαν. ἀποβῆναι δ’ ἐσ τὴν γῆ που ἐστὸμησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναπλεύσαντες οἰκαδε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀπεχειροτόνησαν. 'Ανωνα δὲ τινα ἀνθελόντο. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀνων μὲν στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν δούλους τινὰς καὶ αὐτομόλους παραλαβὼν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀσθενὴ συνεκρότησε, καὶ τινὰς τῶν Ἱβηρίων τῶν συνστρατευομένων τῷ Σκιπίωνι κρύφα ἀναπείσας ἐπεχείρησε νυκτὸς ἐπιβουλεύσαι τὸ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξειργάσατο τι, εὶ μη οὐ τε μάντεις ὑπὸ ὀρνιθῶν ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ ἢ τοῦ Μασινίσσου μήτηρ θείαςα διήτησιν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἐποίησαν, καὶ
dawned, some Spaniards who had just arrived as Carthaginian allies fell upon them unexpectedly and killed a large number.

Hasdrubal accordingly retired at once to Carthage and Syphax to his own country. Scipio set Masinissa and Gaius Laelius to oppose Syphax, while he himself marched against the Carthaginians. The latter in turn sent ships against the stronghold of the Romans, which they were using as winter quarters and as a storehouse for all their goods. They hoped either to capture it, or to draw Scipio away from themselves. And such was the result: as soon as he heard of their move, he withdrew and hurried to the harbour, which he placed under guard. Now on the first day the Romans easily repulsed their assailants, but on the next day they had decidedly the worst of the encounter; for the Carthaginians dragged off Roman ships by seizing them with grappling irons. They did not venture, however, to disembark, but sailed homewards, after which they superseded Hasdrubal, choosing a certain Hanno in his place. From this time Hanno was the general, but his predecessor privately got hold of some slaves and Deserters whom he welded together into a fairly strong force; he then quietly persuaded some of the Spaniards who were serving in Scipio's army to help him, and attempted one night to carry out a plot against the Roman's camp. And he would indeed have accomplished something, had not the soothsayers, dismayed by the actions of birds, and the mother of Masinissa, through her prophetic utterances, caused the Spaniards to be
"Οτι ἦλθον οἱ 'Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τα τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἁγοντες καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἄλλα τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῷ ἕξενσεως μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πάθηματα ἀναλογισάμενος, ὃτι τε βασιλέα

Zonaras 9, 12-13.

οἱ μὲν προκαταληφθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἔστρατευσε καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἔδησυ, 13. Σύφαξ δὲ ἐπολέμη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δαίλον. καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀντέχειν εἶτα ὑπερέσχον οἱ 'Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφονευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐξόγρησαν, καὶ τὸν Σύφακα εἶλον. καὶ τὴν Κύρταν τὰ βασίλεια αὐτῶν παρέλαβον ἁμάχως, τοῖς ἑνδον δεδεμένον αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξαντες.

' Hv δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ Σοφωνία. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Μασινίσσας εὐθὺς εἰσεπήδησε, καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν "ἐχω μὲν Σύφακα," εἴπε, "τὸν ἀφαρπάσαντά σε, ἐχω δὲ καὶ σε. ἄλλα μὴ δεδιδούντες γὰρ αἰχμαλώτος γέγονας, ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἔχονσα." ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐγημεν αὐτὴν παραχρήμα προκαταλαβῶν τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους, μὴ πως αὐτῆς ἀμάρτῃ γενομένης ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις. εἶτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τοῦ Σύφακος προσπεποίησαντο. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦλθον ἁγοντες τὰ τε λοιπὰ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὣς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἄλλα τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ μνημονεύσας ἕξενσας καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀναλογισάμενος, ἀνεπή.
BOOK XVII

The Romans came to Scipio bringing Syphax himself along with many spoils. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the instability of human affairs,—on the fact that the captive whom he now beheld in so pitiable a plight examined. So the conspirators were apprehended in season and punished. Scipio again made a campaign against Carthage, and was engaged in devastating the country; (13) Syphax, meanwhile, was waging war upon the followers of Laelius and held out for some time, but eventually the Romans prevailed, slaughtered many, took many alive, and captured Syphax. They also acquired possession of Cirta, his palace, without a contest, by displaying to its defenders their king, now a prisoner.

Now Sophonisba also was at this place. Masinissa at once rushed towards her, and embracing her, said: "I have Syphax, who stole you away. I have you also. But fear not: you have not become a captive, since you have in me an ally." With these words he married her on the spot, thus anticipating any action on the part of the Romans, out of fear that he might somehow lose her, if she were reckoned among the spoil. Then they gained control of the rest of the cities of Syphax also. And they brought to Scipio along with the various spoils Syphax himself. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the un-
δυνάμεως οὐ σμικράς καὶ ὅτι ἁξιοσπούδαστον καὶ έαυτῷ γενόμενον ἐόρα τὸτε οἰκτρῶς οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἀνεπήδησε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ ἔλυσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεξιόσατο καὶ ἐν τηρησεῖα πολλῆ ἤγε. — V. 50 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 13.

δησεν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου ἔλυσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ἐντίμως ἤγε. καὶ ποτε ἤρετο “τί σοι δόξαν ἐπολέμησας ἡμῖν;” ο δὲ εαυτὸν τε σοφὸς ἐξητήσατο ἁμα καὶ τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἡμύνατο, εἰπὼν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Σοφωνίδα γενέσθαι. τῷ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ Ἀσδροῦβα χαραξομένην καταδήσαι αὐτοῦ μαγγανείας, ὡστε καὶ ἄκοντα τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρᾶξαι. “ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὑπὸ γνωρίκος ἦπάτημαι, ἀξίαν ἐδωκα δίκην ἐχω δ’ οὖν τι ἐν κακοῖς παραμύθιοι, ὅτι ο Μασινίσσας αὐτὴν ἐγνημε πάντως γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὁμοίως διολέσει.”

Ὁ δὲ Σκιτίων ὑποπτεύσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Μασινίσσου, ἐκάλεσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἕττασατο, ὅτι γνωρία πολεμίαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης οὕτω ταχέως ἐγνημε, καὶ παραθύναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ο δὲ περιάλγησας μὲν, ἐσπερνήδησας δ’ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφι τῇ Σοφωνίδι “εἰ μὲν οἶος τ’ ἦν τῷ ἕαυτον θανάτω ελευθέραν φυλάξει σε καὶ ἀνύβριστον, προθύμως ἃν σου ὑπεραπέθανον ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, προπέμπω σε ἐνθα κἀγὼ καὶ ἀπαντες ἀφδύομέθα,” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν φάρμακον αὐτῇ ὄρεξεν. ἢ δὲ οὕτ’ ἀνωλοφύρατο οὕτ’ ἐστέναξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γενναῖος “εἰ τοῦτο σοι,” ἐφι, “ἀνερ,
had been king of a very considerable realm and one whose friendship he himself had found worth while cultivating,—he leaped up from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with great respect.

Zonaras 9, 13.
certainty of human affairs, he leaped up from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with consideration. And he asked him once: "What was your reason for going to war with us?" Syphax excused himself skillfully and at the same time got his revenge upon Masinissa by declaring that Sophonisba had been responsible for his conduct: to please her father, Hasdrubal, she had compelled him by her wiles to take the side of the Carthaginians against his will. "At any rate," he continued, "I have paid a proper penalty for being hoodwinked by a woman, and in the midst of my evils have at least one consolation—that Masinissa has married her. For she will certainly bring about his utter ruin likewise."

Scipio, feeling suspicious about this action of Masinissa, called him and censured him for having so speedily married without his consent a woman taken captive from the enemy, and he bade him give her up to the Romans. Masinissa was greatly grieved, and rushing into the tent where Sophonisba was, cried out to her: "If I might by my own death have ensured you liberty and freedom from outrage, I would cheerfully have died for you; but since this is impossible, I send you before me whither I and all shall go." With these words he offered her poison. And she uttered neither lament nor moan, but very nobly replied: "Husband, if this is
Πλεῖστοι ὁσοὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο, ὡς ποὺ πολλὰ ἐκουσίως πολλοὶ ὅν ὦδὲν ἂν ἀναγκαξόμενοι δράσειαν ποιοῦσιν, τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσταττόμενον σφίσι ὡς καὶ βλαίον δυσχεραίνουσιν, τὸ δὲ αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορες ἀγαπῶσιν.—V. 51 (p. 609).

"Ὅτι ἐπικηρυκυσάμενοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, τῶν τε ἐπιταχθέντων σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὦδὲν ὅτι ὦχυ ὑποσχόμενοι, οὐ μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξειν μέλλοντες, χρήματα μὲν αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν,

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dοκεῖ, κἀγὼ πείθομαι: τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς μου μετὰ σὲ ὦδεις ἄλλος κυριεύσει εἰ δὲ τοῦ σώματός μου Σκιπίων δεῖται, νεκρὸν αὐτὸ λαβέτω," καὶ ἡ μὲν οὖτως ἀπέθανε, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐθαύμασεν.

Οἱ δ' εἰς τῇ Ρώμῃ, τοῦ Δαλλίου τὸν Σύφακα καὶ τῶν ὦικῶν ἐκείνου Οὐερμίαν ἀγαγόντος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πρῶτων, τὸν μὲν Σύφακα εἰς τὴν Ἐλβαν κατέθεντο καὶ τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν, τῷ δὲ Οὐερμίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξωρηθέντας Νομάδας ἔχαρισαντο.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ σπουδῶν ἐπικηρυκυσάμενοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι χρήματα τε εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν καὶ ὑπὲρ

1 ὡς inserted by Rk.
2 αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῷ Mass.
3 πράξειν Naber, παρέξειν Mass.
4 ἔδοσαν Reim., ἔδοσαν Mass.

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Ever so many took part in the campaign; for somehow it happens that a great many men do voluntarily many things which they would not for a moment do under compulsion. They look askance at their instructions as at something forced upon them, but are delighted with the projects of their own minds because they feel themselves their own masters.¹

The Carthaginians made overtures to Scipio, and agreed to every one of the demands he made upon them, inasmuch as they had no intention of performing any of them. They did, to be sure, give him money at once and restored all the prisoners, but in

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your will, I am content. My soul shall after you know no other lord; as for my body, if Scipio requires that, let him take it with life extinct." Thus she died, and Scipio marvelled at the deed.

Laelius conducted to Rome Syphax and his son Vermina and some others of the foremost men; and the citizens gave Syphax an estate at Alba, and at his death honoured him with a public funeral; and they confirmed Vermina in the possession of his father's kingdom besides bestowing upon him the Numidian captives.

The Carthaginians made overtures to Scipio concerning a truce, and they gave him money at once and restored all the prisoners, and in regard to the

¹ Macchioro (Klio 10, p. 359), comparing Livy 30, 3, 1, believes this refers to the general eagerness shown at the beginning of the year 203 to aid Scipio in Africa. While there are some objections to this view, it seems more probable than that of Boissevain, who refers the fragment to the expedition of Sulpicius Galba against Macedonia in 200.
упер δε των άλλων εσ την 'Ρώμην ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. και αυτους εκείνου τοτε ου προσεδέξαντο, λέγοντες ουκ ειναι σφισι πάτριον στρατοπέδων τισιν εν τη Ιταλία οντων υπέρ ειρήνης χρηματίζειν. ύστερον δε απάραντος του τε Άννιβου και του Μάγωνος λόγου αυτούς ἔδοσαν, και ἦλθον μεν ες ἀμφισβήτησιν προς ἄλληςν, επ' ἀμφότερα ταῖς γρόμαις γενόμενοι, τέλος δε ἐψηφίσαντο τάς σπονδάς ἐφʼ οίς ο Σκιπίων συνετέθειτο.

—U⁷ p. 380.

"Οτι οι Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐπέθεντο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος

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tῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβείαν εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀπέ- στειλαν, τοὺς δὲ γε πρέσβεις οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τότε οὐ προσεδέξαντο, λέγοντες οὐκ εἰναι πάτριον σφίσι στρατοπέδων εν τῇ Ιταλία οντων τισι προσέπεσαν εξ αυτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν υπέρ ειρήνης. ύστερον δε, ἀπάραντος του τε Άννιβου και του Μάγωνος, λόγου σφίσι μετέδωκαν καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο τάς σπονδάς. ἐξεχώρησαν δε τῆς Ιταλίας ὁ τε Άννιβας καὶ ὁ Μάγων οὐ διὰ τὴν σύμβασιν, ἀλλὰ προς τὸν οἰκον πόλεμον ἐπειγόμενοι.

Οι δ' εν τῇ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνιοι ουδὲ πρῶτον εἰρημαίον τι φρονοῦντες, και περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χρόνου τριβὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Άννιβου παρουσίαι ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι, ως τῶν Άννιβαν πλησιάζοντα ἐμαθον, ἀνεθάρσησαν, καὶ ἐπέθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. κακείνου περὶ

1 ἔδοσαν Βκ., ἔδοσαν Μss. 2 συνετέθειτο Βκ., συνετέθειτο Μss.
BOOK XVII

regard to the other matters they sent envoys to Rome. The Romans would not receive them at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to discuss peace with any people while their armies were in Italy. But later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they granted the envoys an audience and fell into a dispute among themselves, being of two minds. At last, however they voted for peace on the terms that Scipio had arranged.

The Carthaginians attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. And when Scipio, vexed at this, made

Zonaras 9, 13.

remaining matters they sent an embassy to Rome. However, the Romans would not receive the envoys at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to admit an embassy from any people or to discuss peace while their armies were in Italy. Later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they accorded the envoys an audience and voted for peace. Yet Hannibal and Mago left Italy, not in the interest of the treaty, but through haste to reach the scene of war at home.

The Carthaginians in Africa even before this time had not been thinking seriously of peace, and had sued for a truce only for the purpose of using up time, with a view to securing Hannibal's presence. So when they heard that he was drawing near, they took courage and attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. When he complained to them about

s 2
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ἀγανακτήσαντος ἔπι τούτῳ καὶ ἐγκλημα ποιήσα-μένου οὔτε τι μέτριον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύ-σασιν καὶ εἰγε μὴ ἀνεμός σφισὶ κατὰ τύχην ἐπιγενόμενος ἐβοήθησεν, έάλωσαν ἃν ἡ ἀπώ-λοντο. καὶ διὰ τούτο ο Ἑκηπάνων, καίπερ ἐπελθόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῖς φερόντων, οὐκέτ’ αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο.—U° 8 (p. 380).

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τούτου αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλέσαντος, οὔτε μέτριον τι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύσασιν καὶ εἰ μὴ πνεύμα τυχαῖος συμβαίν αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησεν, ἀπώλοντο ἃν, ὅθεν καὶ ο Ἑκηπάνων ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ψήφου τῆς περί τῆς εἰρήνης κομισθείσης οὐκέτ’ αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο. οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν μὲν Μάγωνα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέπεμψαν, τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν αὐτοκράτορα στρατη-γὸν ἀπέδειξαν, τὸν Άλκωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσαντες. τὸν δ' Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐψηφίσαντο, φαρμάκων δὲ ἐκουσάς φθαρέτα καὶ νεκρὸν ἤκι-ςαντό. 'Αννίβας μὲν οὖν πάσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβὼν ἐς τὴν Ἱππολίτον χώραν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐκάκον αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχέσασθαι ἤτοι-μάζεσον ἀνθρωπομάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἑκηπάνων.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετεμέλεστο ὅτι μὴ ἐκώλυσαν τὸν 'Αννίβαν ἐκπλεύσασιν ὥσ μέντοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ συγκροτοῦντα αὐτὸν ἐμαθοῦν, οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς ἐδεδίδεσαν. διὸ καὶ Κλαύδιον μὲν Νέρωνα τὸν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεμ-
a complaint, they returned no respectful answer to his envoys and moreover actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind by chance sprung up and aided them, they would have been captured or would have perished. Consequently Scipio, although the commissioners arrived with peace for the Carthaginians at this juncture, refused any longer to make it.

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This, they returned no proper answer to the envoys, and even plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind fortunately arisen to help them, they would have perished. Hence Scipio, though at this time the decree regarding peace was brought to him, refused any longer to make it. So the Carthaginians sent Mago back to Italy, but appointed Hannibal general with full powers, after first deposing Hanno from his command. Hasdrubal they even voted to put to death, and finding that he had voluntarily made away with himself by poison, they abused his dead body. Hannibal, accordingly, taking over entire command, invaded the country of Masinissa, which he proceeded to devastate, and was preparing to fight against the Romans. Counter-preparations were being made by the followers of Scipio.

14. The people of Rome were regretting that they had not prevented Hannibal from sailing home, and when they learned that he was consolidating the opposition in Africa, they were again greatly terrified. Accordingly, they sent Claudius Nero, one of the
ψαυ, Μάρκω δὲ Σερουλίω την τής Ἰταλιάς φυλακήν προσεκλήρωσαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦδυνήθη ο Νέρων εἰς τήν Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, χρονίσας καὶ ἐν Σαρδόη. εἰτα οὐδὲ περαιτέρω τῆς Σικελίας ἐχώρησε, κεκρατηκότα μαθῶν τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὦ γὰρ Σκιπίων, δεῖσας μὴ ἐπειχθεῖς ο Νέρων τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων τὴν εὐκλείαν σφετερίσηται, τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπιλάμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρησε, μαθὼν ὅτι τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἐνίκησε. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἦσθετο προσίνοιτα τὸν Σκιπίωνα, προαπήντησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἀντι-στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὐκ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἠλθοῦν, συχνὰς δ' ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, καὶ ἐκαστὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ διειλέγθη στρατεύματι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μάχην αὐτῷ παρεθάρρυνεν.

'Ως δ' ἔδοξε τῷ Σκιπίωνι μὴ διατρίβειν ἐτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντα τῶν Ἀννίβαν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα προαγαγεῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀὐτικῆς ὄρμησεν, ἤνα δεδιέναι καὶ φεύγειν δόξας σχοὶ καὶρὸν ἐπιθέσεως. δ' καὶ ἐγένετο, ὦ γὰρ Ἀννίβας φεύγειν αὐτῶν ὀιχθεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐντεῦθεν βαρσῆς ἐπεδίωξε μόνοις τοὺς ἱππεύσι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντέστη τοὺς παρὰ δόξαν καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε. τρέψας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ διό-κεν σφᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν καθ' ὅδον τυγχάνοντα ὄρμησε, καὶ πάντα συνέλαβε. ταύτα τῶν Ἀννίβαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ ἐτι ὅτι κατασκόπους αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ο Σκιπίων εὐρών οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῖς πεποίηκεν. μαθὼν γὰρ παρ' ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ πεπραγμένον (οἳ γὰρ δύο παρὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις

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consuls, against him, and allotted to Marcus Servilius
the protection of Italy. Nero, however, was unable
to reach Africa, being detained by stormy weather in
Italy and again in Sardinia. After that he progressed
no farther than Sicily, for he learned that Scipio had
proved the victor. Scipio, in fact, had been afraid
that Nero might be so prompt as to appropriate the
glory of his own toils, and so at the first glimmer of
spring, he had advanced against Hannibal, having
learned that the latter had conquered Masinissa.
And Hannibal, when he found out that Scipio was
approaching, went to meet him. They encamped
opposite each other, though they did not at once
come to blows, but delayed several days; and each
commander addressed his army, inciting it to battle.

When it seemed best to Scipio not to delay any
longer, but to draw Hannibal into a struggle whether
he wished it or not, he set out for Utica, that by
creating an impression of fear and flight he might
gain a favourable opportunity for attack; and thus
it turned out. Hannibal, thinking that he was in
flight, and being correspondingly encouraged, pursued
him with his cavalry only. Contrary to his expecta-
tions Scipio resisted, engaged in battle, and came out
victorious. After routing this body he then directed
his attention not to pursuing them, but to their
equipment train, which was on the march, and
he captured it entire. This caused Hannibal
alarm, and his alarm was increased by the news that
Scipio had done no injury to three Carthaginian
spies whom he had found in his camp. Hannibal
had learned this fact from one of them, after
the other two had chosen to remain with the

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μείνας ἡθέλησαν), κατεπλάγη, καὶ διακινδυνεύσας οὐκέτι θαρρήσας σπείσασθαι ὦτι τάχιστα ἔγνω, ἵνα εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συμβαίη, τριβὴν τέως τινὰ πορίσηται καὶ διακωχὴν. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν, δὲ εἶκεν οὖς ὁμοφύλου τὰς σπουδὰς ὑτησε. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς λόγους τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἔπραξε δὲ οὐδὲν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων οὕτω τραχὺ οὖτε τὶ σαφὲς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὅλου ἐμέσευσεν, ἐπιεικέστερον δ’ ὅμως διειλέχθη, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὅς καὶ σπείσομενοι εἰς ἀμέλειαν προσαγάγῃ τὸ καὶ συμβέβηκε. μάχης μὲν γὰρ πέρι οὖδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐνενόησε, μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι δὲ εἰς χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότερον τοῖς ἡθέλησεν. εἰς αὐτομόλων δὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Σκιπίων προεξανέστη νυκτὸς καὶ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον εἰς ὄν ἐκεῖνον ἑπείγετο. ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ τινὶ κοίλῳ καὶ ἀνεπτυθεῖσα πρὸς στρατοπεδεύσεις γευμάτων τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοις ἐπεφάνη αἰφνίδιον. ὁ δ’ Ἀννίβας συμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἡθέλησε, στρατοπεδεύσειν εἰς ἐκεῖ καὶ φρεορυχὴν ἐταλαιπώρησε διὰ πᾶσης τῆς νυκτὸς. καὶ οὖτωσι κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ καμάτων καὶ ἰδὺς κατηγάκασε καὶ ἄκοντας οἱ Σκιπίων συμμέβει αὐτῷ.

Συνέβαλον οὖν οἱ μὲν Ἦρωμαϊοι συντεταγμένοι καὶ πρόθυμοι, Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
Romans. Disheartened, therefore, he no longer felt the courage to carry on a decisive engagement with the Romans, but determined to make efforts for a truce as quickly as possible, in order that even if this attempt should not be successful, it might at least cause a temporary delay and cessation of hostilities. So he sent to Masinissa, and through him, as a man of the same race, asked for a truce. And he secured a conference with Scipio, but accomplished nothing. For Scipio avoided a definite answer as well as a harsh one, but pursued a middle course throughout, although adopting a particularly mild tone, in order to lead Hannibal into careless behaviour by pretending a willingness to come to terms. And such was the result. For Hannibal now gave no thought to battle, but was desirous of shifting his camp to a more favourable place. Scipio, gaining this information from deserters, broke camp by night and occupied the spot which was the goal of Hannibal’s efforts. And when the Carthaginians had reached a valley unsuited for a camping place, he suddenly confronted them. Hannibal refused to fight, but in his efforts to pitch camp there and to dig wells he had a hard time of it all night long. Thus Scipio forced the enemy, while at a disadvantage from weariness and thirst, to offer battle in spite of themselves.

Accordingly, the Romans entered the conflict well marshalled and eager, but Hannibal and the Cartha-

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1 This may be from his account of the feelings of the contestants on the eve of the battle of Zama; so von Gutschmid.

Zonaras 9, 14.

ἀπρόθυμοι τε καὶ καταπεπληγμένοι καὶ δι’ ἔτερα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ο ἡλιος σύμπας ἔξελιπεν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ τούτων οὐκ αἰσθῶν τι προμηθύειν σφίσιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ὑπόπτευσεν. οὕτω δ’ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἔλεφαντας ἑαυτῶν προεβάλοντο, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγα ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἐκπληκτικῶν ἀνεβόησαν, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τῶν δόρασι κρούσαντες θυμὸ καὶ δρόμω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλεφαντας ὄρμησαν. ύψ’ ὢν ταραχθέντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ μὲν πλείους οὐκ ἐδέχαντο σφᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἀπετράπωντο καὶ τετρασκελλοῦσι μεῖξο τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένοις ἐνεποίησαν τὸν θόρυβον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁμόσε σφίσι χωρίσαντες, τῶν Ῥωμαίων δισταμένων, διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν διεξέρχον, καὶ παράοντες ἐβάλλοντο τε καὶ ἐκ χείρος ἐτιτρόσκοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τινα μὲν χρόνον ἀντέσχον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι, ἐπείτα τοῦ Μασινίσσου καὶ τοῦ Λαελίου τοὺς ἱππεύσαι κατὰ νότου προσπεσόντων αὐτῶς, πάντες ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας μικρὸν ἄν ἀπόλετο. φεύγοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μασινίσσας ἐπεδίωκεν ἀκρατος τῇ τοῦ ἱππον ρύμη ὑπενδοῦς. μετασταφείς δ’ ὁ Ἀννίβας, καὶ ἱδ’ αὐτὸν οὕτω διώκοντα, ἠρέμα ἐξέκλινε καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐπέστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρελάσαντα τὸν Μασινίσσαν κατὰ νότου γενόμενος ἐτρώσε· καὶ τοῦτο μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐξέφυγε.
Dio, Book XVII. "He suddenly checked his course."

Zonaras 9, 14.

The Carthaginians listless and dejected. This was owing in part to a total eclipse of the sun; for in view of the other circumstances, Hannibal suspected that this, too, augured nothing auspicious for them. In this frame of mind they stationed the elephants in front of them as a protection. Suddenly the Romans uttered a great and terrible shout, and smiting their spears against their shields, rushed furiously against the elephants. Thrown into a panic by their charge, most of the beasts did not await their coming, but turned to flight, and receiving frequent wounds caused still greater confusion among those stationed beside them. But some of the beasts charged the Romans, whereupon the latter would stand apart so that they ran through the spaces between the ranks, getting struck with missiles and wounded from close at hand as they passed along. For a time the Carthaginians resisted, but at length, when Masinissa and Laelius fell upon them from the rear with the horsemen, they all fled. The majority of them were destroyed, and Hannibal came very near losing his life. For as he fled, Masinissa pursued him at breakneck speed, giving his horse a free rein. But Hannibal turned, and seeing him thus pursuing, swerved aside slightly and checked his course; thus Masinissa rushed by, and Hannibal got in his rear and wounded him. Thus he made his escape with a few followers.
Διόν ἐν Ῥωμαίκών ἢς "πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν εὐτυχῶν θρασύνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κακοπραγοῦν μετριάζειν, κὰκ τούτου τὸ μὲν δεδίὸς σωφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν ἀκολαστάινειν. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τούτῳ ἐφωράθη."—Suidas s.v. ὡς ἐπίπαν, Lex. Seguer. (Bachm. Anecd. Graec. 1, 422.)

Διόν ἐν Ῥωμαίκών ἢς "καὶ τὸς λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν τοιόσοδε ἐθημώθη."—Suidas, Etym. Mag., and Lex. Seguer. s.v. ἐθημώθη.

"Ὅτι διεκηρυκέσσαντο οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ἦν δὲ τὰ διωμολογημένα ὁμήρους τέ σφας δοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους οὓς ἦτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν εἰς άποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πάντας καὶ τὰς τριήρεις πλῆν δέκα παραδοῦναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ζωνάρας 9, 14.

Σκιπίων δὲ νικήσας ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἠπει-χθῇ, καὶ ἐπολύρκει αὐτὴν ἐκ γῆς ἁμα καὶ βαλάσσας. οἱ δ’ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς τὴν πολυρκίαν καρτερήσασιν ἠτοιμάζοντο, ἐπειτα ἐξαπορηθέντες πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα διεκηρυκέσσαντο. καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων τοὺς λόγους σφῶν προσεδέξατο καὶ περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν διειλεχθῇ αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ τὰ ὁμολογημένα ὁμήρους τε παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους δοθήκαοι, καὶ πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐλεφαντας, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πλῆν δέκα παρασχεθήκαοι,
BOOK XVII

Dio, Roman History, XVII. "Moreover, in general, the fortunate party is inclined to audacity and the unfortunate to moderation; and accordingly the timid party is wont to show restraint and the bold to show license. This was particularly noticeable in his case." ¹

Dio, Roman History, XVII. "And a report about them of the following nature became public." ¹

The Carthaginians made overtures for peace to Scipio. The terms agreed upon were: that they should give hostages, should return the captives and deserters they were holding, whether Romans or their allies, should surrender all the elephants and the triremes, except ten, and for the future possess

Zonaras 9, 14.

Scipio after his victory advanced rapidly against Carthage, and proceeded to besiege it by land and sea at once. The Carthaginians at first set themselves in readiness as though to endure the siege, but later, brought to the end of their resources, they made overtures to Scipio for peace. Scipio accepted their proposals and discussed with them the articles of the compact. The terms agreed upon were: that hostages and the captives and the deserters should be given up by the Carthaginians, that all the elephants and the triremes, except ten, should be

¹ These fragments are of uncertain reference; the former may possibly relate to Masinissa's marrying Sophonisba without Scipio's permission.

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μὴ κεκτήσθαι μῆτε ἐλέφαντας μὴτε ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Μασινίσσα πάντων ὅν εἶχον αὐτοῦ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐκεῖνο δοῦναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑπικρατείᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐσας ἀφεῖναι, καὶ μὴτε καταλόγους ποιεῖσθαι μὴτε μισθοφόροις χρήσθαι μὴτε πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην ἀναιρεῖσθαι.—U9 (p. 380) and (in part) Suidas s.v. ἀναιρεθείς.

59 Ὁτι ἡ Καρχηδῶν πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἔξαιρετέα ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ Κορυνλίῳ ὑπάτῳ, καὶ ἔλεγεν στὶ ἀδύνατόν εστὶ συνεστῶσης αὐτῆς ἀδεεῖς σφαί εἶναι.—U10 (p. 381) = Suidas s.v. ἔξαιρετέα.

57, 83 ἐν1 μέντοι τῷ δήμῳ...πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο. ἅ γὰρ ἐπεπόνθεσαν λογισάμενοι...αὐτῶν ἡμελλον π...κινδύνων

Zonaras 9, 14.

καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μῆτε ἐλέφαντας μὴτε ναῦς μακρὰς πλεῖος ἔχειν τῶν δέκα μὴτε πόλεμον παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πρὸς μηδένα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τίνα ἔτερα.

Τοιούτων δὲ γεγομένων τῶν ὁμολογιῶν πρέσβεις οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἐστάλκασι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡ χειρουσία τὴν πρεσβείαν ἑτοίμως ἐθέξατο, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡμφισβήτησαν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦμενοι. ὁ δὲ δήμος τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ

1 The only continuous portions of the following four fragments have been largely supplied by Haase, Bk., and others. Cf. note on p. 238. The longer gaps, indicated here by three
neither elephants nor ships, should withdraw from all the possessions of Masinissa that they were holding and give them up to him, and restore to him the country and the cities that were in his domain, that they should not hold levies, nor employ mercenaries, nor undertake war against anyone without the consent of the Romans.

It seemed to Cornelius [Lentulus], the consul, as well as to many other Romans, that Carthage ought to be destroyed, and he was wont to say that it was impossible, while that city existed, for them to be free from fear.

In the popular assembly, however, ... all unanimously voted for peace. For after considering what they had gone through with ... were going

Zonaras 9, 14.

delivered over, and that in the future they should not keep elephants nor more ships of war than ten, nor make war upon anyone without the consent of the Romans, and a few other points.

When an agreement of this nature had been reached, the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Rome. So these went their way, but the senate did not receive the embassy readily; indeed, the members disputed for a long time, being disagreed among themselves. The popular assembly, however, unanimously voted for peace and accepted the terms; dots, are usually from 24 to 31 letters in length, the shorter gaps from 1 to 4 letters.
τε ταλ... τῶν πραγμάτων... ἑδικαίωσαν ὁ... τες καὶ ἐκεῖνα... τ. ἐκ μεγάλων... α... α... ε... ν... ο... δ... ντες ἑπτ...

84 Καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆχθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ Μασινίσσα
85 ἐδωρήθησαν... Καρχηδονίων... τε τὴν Λιβύην... δὲ δὴ πρεσβεύ... συμβάλειν τοῖς... ἐπέ-
τρεψαν καὶ ὁ... λῆσαν τῷ Σκιπίων... μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν... τὴν τε φιλίαν κ... βαίωσαν καὶ τ...

86... αἰχμαλώτους... επε... Τερέντιος εἰς... βου-
λῆς ὅν πιλίον... καὶ ὅς τίνα... ἀκολούθησαι. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν μέγας ἐκ τοῦτων ἦρετο, 'Αννίβας

Zonaras 9, 14.

τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐπεμψαν δέκα ἄνδρας, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀπαντᾷ διοικήσωσι. καὶ αἱ συμβάσεις ἐπράχθησαν, καὶ αἱ τρίτες ἐδο-
θήσαν καὶ ἐκαύθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆχθησαν, τῷ Μασι-
νίσσα δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐδωρήθησαν. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Λιβύην ἔξελιπον, τὴν δ' Ἰταλίαν οἱ Καρχη-

δονίωι.

'Ο μὲν οὖν δεύτερος πόλεμος τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἔτει ἐκκαίδεκατῳ ἐς τοῦτο κατήμησε· κάντευθεν ὁ Σκιπίων Λελάμπρυστο καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπε-
κέκλητο· Ἀφρική γὰρ ἦδε ἡ περὶ Καρχηδόνα Λιβύην ὁμόμαστο· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερωτῆς

προστηρέυτο, πολλοὺς πολίτας κομίσας αἰχμα-
lώτους. καὶ ο μὲν μέγας ἐκ τούτων ἦρετο,
to dangers and other affairs punished; and those from great.

And of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, and the rest were presented to Masinissa of Carthaginians and Africa embass engaged with the permitted; and Scipio after the treaty and friendship established; and favoured captives Terentius one being of the senate, cap and thus one to follow. Scipio, accordingly, attained great prominence by these deeds, but Hannibal was even brought to

Zonaras 9, 14.

and they sent ten men to settle all the details in conjunction with Scipio. So the treaty was made, the triremes were given up and burned, and of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, while the rest were presented to Masinissa. The Romans now left Africa, and the Carthaginians Italy.

The second war, then, with the Carthaginians resulted in this way at the end of sixteen years. By it Scipio had been made illustrious, and he was given the title of Africanus (Africa was the name of that part of Libya surrounding Carthage), and many also called him Liberator because he had brought back many captive citizens. He, then, attained great prominence by these deeds; but Hannibal
Δ' Καλεί τον Ρωμαίον τον Ρώμην δυνηθείς λαβεῖν καλ ἠέθελήσας καὶ τὴν λειαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος κατηγορήθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑάλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχήν οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἐπετράπη... τα μὲν ἐπὶ τε... ν ὑπάτων γε... τῇ Σικελίᾳ βέ...

76... νῷ Μάρκος... πον πεμφθεῖς... ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν... παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ... ὡρθωσε πρέσ... ἡν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ... τε τινα ὅν αὑτὸς... Καρχηδονίως ἐπεπόμφει... ντο οὐδὲν εἰρή... ν κεκρατηκότες... πολέμους τῷ μὲν... ἐ δὴ δοξὴ οὐδὲν σμ... κροτέρους κατέστησαν.—Π. 3 (p. 462 sq.).

Zonaras 9, 14–15.

Ἀννίβας δὲ κατηγόρητο παρὰ τοῖς ὁικείοις ὡς τὴν τε Ῥώμην λαβεῖν δυνηθεῖς καὶ μὴ θελήσας καὶ τὴν λειαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἑάλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχήν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπετράπη.

15. Εἰς ἑτέρους δ' αὕθες πολέμους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν, γενομένους πρὸς Φιλίππον τε τῶν Μακεδόνα καὶ τῶν Ἅντιοχον.
trial by his own people; he was accused of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder from Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly afterward entrusted with the highest office in Carthage.

... Marcus ... sent ... by the generals ... from them ... was successful (?); embassy ... of Philip and ... and a certain one whom he himself ... had sent to the Carthaginians ... not at all peace ... having vanquished ... wars in ... no less in reputation ... rendered [them] more.

Zonaras 9, 14-15.
was accused by his own people of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder from Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly afterward entrusted with the highest office in Carthage.

15. The Romans now became involved in other wars, which were waged against Philip the Macedonian and against Antiochus.
Μέχρι γαρ ἡ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἠκμαζε μάχη, κάν μὴ φίλια σφίσε τὰ περὶ τὸν Φιλίππου ἦν, ἐθεράπευσον αὐτὸν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς Καρχηδονίους συνάρτου ἦ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσοντο· ἐπει δὲ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἠρέμησαν, οὐκέτ' ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐς πόλεμον αὐτῷ κατέστησαν φανερῶν, πολλὰ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτῷ. πρέσβεις οὖν οἱ Ῥώμαιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν πέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὃν ἐπετάττετο ἐπράττε, τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, χρώμενοι μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐπιβασία λαβῇ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐφ' οίς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ καταδούλωσάμενοι ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσῃ κατὰ τὸν Πύρρον. ἐψηφίσαμενοι δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τὰ τέ ἄλλα παρεσκευάσαντο εὐ καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Δούκιοι Ἀπούστιον Σουλτικίφ Γάλβα δεδόκασε. καὶ ὁ Γάλβας τῶν Ἱόνιων κόλπον διαβαλὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόσησε. παραλαβόντες οὖν τὴν δύναμιν πάσαν ὃ τε ῥήθεις στρατηγὸς καὶ Κλαύδιος Κέων ὁ ὕποστράτηγος, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ ναυτικῷ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων πολιορκουμένας ἐρρύσατο καὶ Χαλκίδα κατεχομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε, καὶ τούτῳ Φιλίππου ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπιστρατεύσαντο ἐπανέλθων τὸτε αὐτῶν ἀπεφώσατο καὶ μετὰ τούτο αὖθις προσβα-
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15.

As long as the struggle with the Carthaginians was at its height, they treated Philip with consideration, even though his attitude toward them was not one of friendliness; for they wished to prevent him from combining with the Carthaginians or making an expedition into Italy. But as soon as they were at peace with Carthage, they no longer hesitated, but embarked upon open warfare with him, charging him with many injuries. Accordingly, they sent envoys to him, and when he complied with none of their demands, declared war. They took as a pretext his attack upon the Greeks, but their real reason was irritation at his general behaviour and a determination to forestall him, so that he should not be able to enslave Greece and make an expedition against Italy after the manner of Pyrrhus. And having declared war, they not only made thorough preparations in other respects, but also associated with Sulpicius Galba Lucius Apustius as admiral of the fleet. Now Galba after crossing the Ionian Gulf was sick for some time; and accordingly the admiral just mentioned and the lieutenant, Claudius Cento, took charge of the whole force. Cento with the aid of the fleet rescued Athens, which was being besieged by the Macedonians, and sacked Chalcis, which was occupied by the same enemy. Meanwhile Philip marched against Athens, but Cento, returning, drove him back for the time being, and also repulsed him again on the occasion of a subse-
καὶ διέτριψαν συχνὰς ήμέρας, ἐς μὲν παράταξιν μὴ συνιόντες, ἀκροβολισμοῖς δὲ τοις καὶ πείραις τῶν τε ψελῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων

Zonaras 9, 15.

λόντα ἀπεκρούσατο, Ἀπούστιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Ἔλλαδα τοῦ Φιλίππου ὄντος, ἐμβαλὼν τὴν τε γῆν ἐληίζετο καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις ἑχειρώσατο. Φιλίππος δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμηχανία γενόμενος τέως μὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιεθεὶς ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἀμύνων, ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀπούστιος τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἱσχυρὸς ἐνέκειτο καὶ οἱ Δάρδανοι τὴν πρόσορον σφίζε Μακεδονίαιν ἐκακούργουν (οἰκοῦσι δὲ οὕτωι ὑπὲρ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ ὑπὲρ Μακεδόνων) Ἰλλυρίοι τέ τινες καὶ Ἄμβανδρος Ἀθαμανίας Θεσσαλίκου γένους βασιλεὺς ὄν, σύμμαχοι πρότερον ὄντες αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετέστησαν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ τα τῶν Λιτωλῶν ὑπόπτευσαν καὶ περὶ τοῖς οἰκιῶν ἐδείσε καὶ ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ πλείωνος στρατεύματος ἐσπευσα. γραφοῦσι δὲ τὴν πρόσωδον αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀπούστιος ἀνεχώρησεν ἦδη γὰρ καὶ χειμῶν ἦν.

Ῥαῖσας δὲ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ὁ Γάλβας πλεῖον παρεσκευάσατο, δύναμιν καὶ ἀμα ἔαρι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὁπείγετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἑχρῶντο τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ψελῶν. μεταστάτων δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycochr. Alex. 1128.

'Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς Δαρδανίους ἔθνος εὑρον οἰκούντας ὑπὲρ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Μακεδόνων.

1 Cf. note on p. 270. §§ 1-4 and 5 are practically complete in the Ms., so that there is little doubt regarding the
...And they delayed for several days, not meeting in battle array, but engaging in skirmishes and encounters with the light-armed troops and the

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quent assault. Apustius, while Philip was busy with Greece, had invaded Macedonia, and was plundering the country as well as subduing garrisons and cities. For these reasons Philip was at his wit's end, and for a time rushed about hither and thither, defending now one place and now another. This he did until his own country came to be severely harried by Apustius, and the Dardanians, who dwell above the Illyrians and the Macedonians, were injuring the part of Macedonia close to their borders, and some Illyrians, together with Amynander, king of the Athamanians, a Thessalian tribe, though they had previously been his allies, now transferred themselves to the Roman side. In view of all this he became suspicious of the loyalty of the Aetolians and feared for his interests at home, and he hastened thither with the larger part of his army. Apustius, apprised of his approach, retired; for by this time it was winter.

Galba, on recovering from his illness, made ready a still larger force and at the beginning of spring hastened into Macedonia. When the two leaders drew near together they pitched camp opposite each other and engaged in skirmishes with the cavalry

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1128.

I found the Dardanians to be a race dwelling above the Illyrians and Macedonians.

Text. In § 6 some of the letters and words supplied by Bs. are here omitted.
χρόμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ὁρμαίοι ἥπειγοντο ὅτι
tάχιστα συμβαλεῖν· τῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει ἔρρωντο
cαι τροφὴν οὐ πολλὴν εἶχον, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
pollákis καὶ πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα σφων προσέ-

2 μισγον ὃ δὲ δὴ Φίλιππος τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ἀσθε-
νέστερος ὄν, τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
diā τὸ τῆν οἰκείαν οἱ ἑγγὺς εἶναι προφέρων
ἀνείχεν, ἐκτρυχώσειν αὐτοὺς ἀμαχεῖ προσδοκήσας.
καὶ εἰπερ ἐκεκρατήκει τῆς γνώμης, πάντως ἀν
τι εξείργαστο· νῦν δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν Ὁρμαίων
ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸς χωρίον τι ὅθεν
ἐπιστίσασθαι σφισι λὼν ἣν μετέστησαν, ἐπῆλθέ
τε αὐτῶς ἀρπαγὰς ποιουμένους ἀπροσδόκητος

3 καὶ τινὰς καὶ διέφθειρεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ
Γάλβας ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ
προσπεσῶν αὐτῷ, μὴ προσδεχόμενῳ πολλῷ
πλείους ἀνταπέκτεινεν. ἠττηθεῖς τε καὶ προσέτι
cαὶ προθεὶς οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλά
ἡμέρας τινὰς πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ταφὴν δὴ τῶν

Ζωνάρα 9, 15.

τῶν Ὁρμαίων ἐσ τι χωρίον δὲν ῥῶν ἣν αὐτῶς
ἐπιστίσασθαι, νομίσας ὁ Φίλιππος ὃς φοβου-
mένους αὐτῶν μεταστήναι, ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῶς ποιου-
mένους ἀρπαγὰς ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ τινὰς διέφθειρε.
cαὶ ὁ Γάλβας τούτο αἰσθόμενος ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ προσπεσῶν αὐτῷ πολλῷ
πλείοις ἀνταπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ γε Φίλιππος ἠττηθεῖς

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BOOK XVIII

cavalry. The Romans, for their part, were eager to join battle with all speed; for their force was a strong one and they had few provisions, and consequently they would often advance even to the foe's palisade. Philip, on the other hand, was weaker in point of armed followers, but his supply of provisions was better than theirs because his own country was close by; so he waited, expecting to wear them out without a conflict, and if he had possessed self-control, he certainly would have accomplished something. As it was, he became contemptuous of the Romans, thinking that they feared him, because they had transferred their camp to a certain place from which they could get food more readily; he thereupon attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and managed to kill a few. On perceiving this, Galba made a sortie from the camp, attacked him while off his guard and slew many more in his turn. Philip, defeated and also wounded, no longer held his ground, but after arranging a truce

Zonaras 9, 15.

and light-armed troops. But when the Romans transferred their camp to a certain place from which they could get food more easily, Philip thought they had shifted their position out of fear of him; therefore he attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and killed a few of them. Galba, on perceiving this, made a sortie from the camp, attacked him and slew many more in his turn. Philip, then, defeated and wounded, withdrew at
νεκρῶν σπεισάμενος ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τὴν πρῶτην νύκτα ἀπανέστη. οὐ μέντοι ο Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν αὐτὸν 
τῇ τε γὰρ ἀπορία τῶν τροφῶν καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν χωρίων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ 
τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δέει μὴ ἀπερισκέπτως 
ποι προχώρων σφαλῆ, οὐκ ἦθελησε περαιτέρω 
προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀνεκομί-
σθησαν. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀπούστιος μετὰ τῶν 
Ῥοδίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων συχνὰς 
μὲν νῆσους ἐχειρώσατο . . . (four or five lines 
wanting in Ms.)

. . . οἱ Ἰνσουμβροὶ ἐταράχθησαν. Ἀμίλκας 
γὰρ τις Καρχηδόνιος τῷ τε Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας 
καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείνας τέως μὲν 
ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ διαλάθοι, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ 
Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἑνέστη, τοὺς τε Γαλάτας 
ἀπέστησε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 

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καὶ τρωθεὶς ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπανέστη, οὐ μέντοι 
αὐτὸν ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Ἀπολ-
λωνίαν ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ Ἀπούστιος δὲ μετὰ τῶν 
Ῥοδίων καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων νῆσους 
συχνὰς ἐχειρώσατο.

Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ αὐτὸν χρόνου καὶ τις Ἀμίλκας 
Καρχηδόνιος, τῷ Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ 
κακεί ὑπομείνας, τέως μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ὥστε ὁ 
Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἑνέστη, τοὺς τε Γαλάτας 
tῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστησε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 

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of some days, ostensibly for the taking up and burial of the dead, he withdrew on the very first night. Galba, however, did not follow him up; for being short of provisions, ignorant of the country, and in particular not knowing his adversary's strength, he feared that if he advanced incautiously anywhere he might come to grief. For these reasons he was unwilling to proceed farther, but retired with his men to Apollonia. During this same time Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands ...

... the Insubres were stirred up. Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who had served with Mago and had remained unnoticed in those regions, had been keeping quiet for the time being, satisfied if only he might elude discovery; but as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, he caused the Gauls to revolt from the Romans. Then with the rebels he made an expedition

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nightfall. Galba, however, did not follow him up, but retired to Apollonia. Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands.

About the same time Hamilcar, a Carthaginian who had served with Mago in Italy and had remained there unnoticed, keeping quiet for the time being, caused the Gauls, as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, to revolt from the Romans; then with the rebels he made an expedition against the Ligu-
Δίγνας στρατεύσας καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν προσεποιήσατο. μᾶχης δὲ σφικτὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Δοῦκιον Φούριον στρατηγὸν γενομένης ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο σπονδῶν δεόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δίγνες ἔτυχον αὐτῶν... χ... ν... ρ... σιν... κ... σ... δεινὸν μὲν... η... συνε... ημ... δ... ν... ἐκυρίευεν... ταῖς ἐπὶ... φακ... εστ... δ... γεω... ν... οὐκ... ε... ε... ε... ν... ἐς τὴν... μν... μὴν... ἐγθείο
57,81... διη... η... τῶν ἐπινικίων τυχεὶ τῇ δύσι λόγων τε ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πολλῶν γενομένων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀυρήλιον κακοθείαν συνεσπούδαξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε νίκην ἐμεγάλυναν καὶ παραδείγμασι πολλοῖς ἐχρόντω. οἱ δὲ τῇ τε τοῦ ὑπάτου ἰσχύς ἠγωνίσθαι αὐτὸν ἔλεγον, μηδεμίαν ἰδίαν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λόγον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἁπῆτον ὅτι τὰ προσταχθέντα οὐκ ἐπεποίηκει) ὁμος ἔλαβεν αὐτὰ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνα 1 πρὶν τὸν... ε... θεσ... ν 2 ἐώρατασ. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐερμίνα... εστ... ε μὲν παρὰ τῶν... χ...—Ρ. 4 (pp. 464 sq.).

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Δίγνας στρατεύσας τινὰς κακεῖου προσεποιήσατο. Δοῦκιώ δὲ Φούριῳ στρατηγαύντες ἡττήθησαν καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δίγνες ἔτυχον αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδοθήσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντεστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀυρήλιον ὁ ὑπάτος, φθονήσας τῆς νίκης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.

1 ἐκεῖνα Βα., ἐκεῖνο (?) Μα.
2 πρὶν τὸν Ἀυρήλιον ἐπανελθείν suggested by Βα.
BOOK XVIII

against the Ligurians and won over some of them also; later they had a battle with the praetor Lucius Furius, were defeated, and sent envoys asking for peace. The Ligurians obtained this... he thought he ought to be granted a triumph, and many arguments were presented on both sides. Some, especially in view of the animosity shown by Aurelius, eagerly furthered his cause, magnifying his victory, and citing many precedents. Others declared he had contended with the consul’s troops and had no independent authority of his own; and furthermore they even demanded an explanation from him for his failure to carry out his instructions. However, he won his triumph, which he celebrated before [Aurelius returned (?)].

Vermina... from the...

Zonaras 9, 15.

rians and won over some of them also. They fought with Lucius Furius the praetor, were defeated, and sent envoys regarding peace. The Ligurians obtained this, but it was not granted to the others. Instead, Aurelius the consul, who was jealous of the praetor’s victory, conducted a retaliatory campaign against them.
Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει πρὸς τοῦ Ἀμίλκα καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν συννέχθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινά. Γναίον τε γὰρ Βαϊζιον στρατηγὸν ἐνίκησαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχία τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν κατέτρεχον, καὶ Πλακεντίας ἐπολιορκούν καὶ ἐλόντες κατέσκαψαν.

16. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ Πολυπλιος Οὐήλλιος ὁ ὕπατος ἀντεκάθητο τῷ Φίλιππῳ, τὰ τῆς Ἦπειρος προκαταλάβαντι στενά, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰσβολαί. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα Τίτος Φλαμίνιος ὑπατος, τοῦ Φίλιπποῦ πάν τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὅρων διατείχισαντο καὶ ὄντως ὑσπολεμήτου, διὰ τὸν ἐκπεριήλθη τοσοῦτον ἄραπον μετ' ὀλίγων τὸ περιτείχισμα. καὶ θανεῖς εξ ὑπερδεξίων αἰφνίδιον ἐφόβησε τὸν Φίλιππον, νομίζοντα πάν τὸ τοῦ Τίτον στρατεύσαντα εἰς ὅσον τῶν στενῶν παρελθεῖν ὤθεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπήγει εὐθὺς. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὕκ ἐδίωξε, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἦπειρῳ πόλεις προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν πολλὰ παρεστάσατο τοῦ Φίλιππου, καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τὴν Βοιωτίαν τε ἀνεχόρφησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐλάτειαν ἐπολιορκεῖ, Δούκιος δὲ Φλαμίνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτταλου καὶ τῶν Ῥωγίων τὰς νῆσους ἐχειροῦτο. καὶ τέλος Κεγχρείαν ἐλόντες, καὶ πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχία πεπέμβατι, ἀπέστειλαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι συνεπρεβεύσαντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐμερίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν μὲν τοῦ Φιλίππῳ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦται ἐξομένων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς, ὥσε δ' ὁν ποτὲ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν

1 Οὐήλλιος Pinder, οὐήλλιος BCD, οὐήλλιος C.
The following year a great deal of havoc was caused by Hamilcar and the Gauls. They conquered the praetor Gnaeus Baebius, overran the territory which was in alliance with the Romans, besieged Placentia, and after capturing it razed it to the ground.

16. To return to the campaign in Greece and Macedonia—Publius Villius the consul was encamped opposite Philip, who had previously occupied the passes of Epirus, through which are the approaches to Macedonia. Philip had extended a wall across the entire mountain region in between and held a formidable position, but the consul Titus Flamininus at the end of winter got around the wall with a few followers by a narrow path. And appearing suddenly on higher ground, he terrified Philip, who thought that the whole army of Titus had got inside the pass. Hence he fell back into Macedonia at once. The consul did not pursue him, but won over the cities in Epirus. He also went into Thessaly and detached a good part of it from Philip, and then retired into Phocius and Boeotia. While he was besieging Elatea his brother Lucius Flamininus in company with Attalus and the Rhodians was subjugating the islands. Finally, after the capture of Cenchreai, they learned that envoys had been sent to the Achaeans to see about an alliance, and they despatched some themselves in turn, the Athenians also joining the embassy. And at first the opinions of the Achaeans were divided, some wishing to vote an alliance with Philip and some with the Romans; eventually, however, they voted assistance to the latter. And they joined in an

1 Zonaras always writes Flamininus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 16.

Κόρινθουν συνεστράτευσαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τεῖχους κατηρρεύσαν τινα, πωνήσαντες δ' ἐπεκδρομαῖς ἀπανέστησαν.

Εἶτα δείσας ὁ Φίλιππος μὴ πολλαὶ πόλεις ἀλῶσεν, ύπὲρ εἰρήνης πρὸς τὸν ὑπατόν ἐπεκδρομικέσατο. καὶ ὃς ἐδὲξατο τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, ἐπράξῃ δ' οὖδὲν ἢ ὅτι πρέσβεις ἔστι Ῥώμην πέμψει τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐπετράπῃ. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ τι ἐγένετο τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀποστήματε αὐτῶν ἠξιώματος τῆς τε Κορινθοῦ καὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος τῆς τε Δημητρίαδος τῆς Θεσσαλίκης, οὖδὲν περὶ τούτων οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἐντετάλθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ ἀπρακτοὶ ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Φλαμνίῳ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑγεμονίᾳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπίον ψηφισάμενοι ἑτος, αὐτῷ ἀνέθετο καὶ τὰ κατὰ Φιλίππον. ὁ δὲ, ὅτι κατὰ χώραν ἐμελλὲ μένειν, πρὸς πόλεμον ἠτοιμαζότο, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ Νάβις ὁ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων τύραννος ἐσπεισάτο οἱ, καὶ τοιοῦ φιλος ὁν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὸ Ἀργος λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀδυνατῶν γὰρ ὁ Μακεδόν πολλὰ διεπειν όμοι, καὶ δείσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ πόλις ληφθῆ, τὸ Νάβιδι αὐτὴν, ἣν αὐθεὶς ἀποδοίη, παρακατέθετο.

Αἶλου δὲ Πέτου τοῦ ὑπάτου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, πολλοὶ ἀπ' ἀμφότερων ἀπόλυμνοι προσμεγίνετε ἄλληλοις, καὶ οἱ δ' ἐπράξῃ οὖδέν. οἱ δ' ὁμηροὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων οἱ τε δουλοὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τεσσεραμένοι
expedition against Corinth, where they succeeded in demolishing portions of the wall, but retired after losses suffered through sorties on the part of the citizens.

Then Philip, fearing that many cities might be taken, made overtures to the consul regarding peace. The latter accepted his proposals and they and their allies met together; but nothing was accomplished except that permission was granted Philip to send envoys to Rome. Nor was anything effected there either. For when the Greeks insisted that he depart from Corinth and Chalcis and from Demetrias in Thessaly, the envoys of Philip said they had received no instructions on this point; and they departed without accomplishing anything.

The people of Rome voted to Flamininus the command in Greece for another year and also committed to his charge the campaign against Philip. Accordingly, since he was to remain at his post, he set about preparing for war, the more readily because the Lacedemonian tyrant, Nabis, although a friend of Philip, from whom he had received Argos, had made peace with him. It was because Philip was unable to look after so many districts at once and because he feared the city might be seized by the Romans that he had entrusted Argos to Nabis, to be restored again.

In a campaign of the consul Aelius Paetus against the Gauls many perished on both sides in the conflicts, and no advantage was gained. Furthermore, the Carthaginian hostages, together with the slaves accompanying them and the captives who had been sold to various persons, had the hardihood to
αἰχμάλωτοι, κατασχεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐκαστοὶ
tὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο τολμῆσαντες, καὶ πολ-
λοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων φονεύσαντες, καθηρέθησαν
ὑπὸ Κορηλίου Δευτούλου στρατηγοῦ πρὶν μεῖζον
tι ἐξεργάσασθαι. οἱ μέντοι Γαλάται εὐτυχίας
tε ἐπαρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς Ὀρμαίους ἐν παρέργῳ
σφίζει πολεμοῦντας αἰσθόμενοι παρεσκευάσαντο
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσσοντες. δείσαντες οὖν
οἱ Ὀρμαῖοι ἀμφοὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορηλίου Κέθη-
γου καὶ Μινούκιου Ῥοῦφον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας
ἐπεμψαν; οἱ διαμεθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλην ἐπάγουν
χώραν. πρὸς οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι
dιήρεθασαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ μετὰ τοῦ
Ἀμίλκου συμβαλόντες ἤττήθησαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
tοῦτο γνώντες ἀπεδείλησαν καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ
Ῥοῦφῳ συνέβαλον, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς ἐκεῖνος τὴν χώραν
κατέτρεχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ πολεμῆσαντες
σπουδαῖς ἐποίησαντο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς
ἐτί έτύχανεν.
Τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Φλαμίνιοι μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου
tὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπασάν ὑπηγάγετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Ἀττάλος ἐν τῷ δημηγορείν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ γῆρως
ἀπέφυξεν, οἱ δὲ γε Φλαμίνιος ἐν τὴν Θησαλίαν
ἔλθων τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσέμιζε. καὶ ἰππομαχίαν
ἐποίησαντο' τὸ γαρ χωρίον οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς
μείζον μάχην ἤν διὸ καὶ ἀμφοὶ ἀπανέστησαν.
καὶ πρὸς τινα λόφον γενόμενοι, οὐ τὴν ἀκρων χώραν
Κυνός κεφαλὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔμεθεν οἱ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἦλισαντο. καὶ μαχεσάμενοι τοῖς στρα-
teύμασιν ἀπασίν ἱσοπαλεῖς ἀν ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰ
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BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 16.

take possession of the several cities in which they were living; but after slaughtering many of the native population they were overthrown by the praetor Cornelius Lentulus before they had done any more mischief. The Gauls, however, elated by their successes, and aware of the fact that the Romans were paying only slight heed to the war against them, prepared to march upon Rome itself. The Romans consequently became afraid and sent both the consuls, Cornelius Cethegus and Minucius Rufus, against the Gauls. The consuls parted company and each ravaged a different district; accordingly the enemy also divided forces to meet them. One band under Hamilcar encountered Cethegus and was defeated; the rest upon learning of this became faint-hearted and would no longer face Rufus, and he consequently overran the country at will. Those who had fought against Cethegus then made peace, while the remainder still continued under arms.

At this time Flamininus in company with Attalus reduced the whole of Boeotia. Attalus, however, expired of old age in the midst of a speech which he was making to the people there; and Flamininus went into Thessaly, where he came into collision with Philip. It was only a cavalry skirmish in which they engaged, for the ground was not suitable for a battle on a larger scale; hence both withdrew. And having reached a certain hill, the top ridge of which is called Dog's Head [Cynoscephalē], they encamped, one on one side, the other on the other. Here they fought with their entire armies, and would have separated with the contest undecided, had not the
"Оте ο Φιλίππος ἠττηθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ" καὶ οὐ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐγέλχετο καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐπεθύμει, ὡμοὶ ἐσπείρασατο. αὐτικὸν δὲ ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μη οἱ τῇ Ἑλληνεσκὶ ὑπεξαιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τῷ φρόνημα τὸ παλαιόν ἀναλάβωσι καὶ σφᾶς οὐκέτι θεραπεύσωσι, καὶ οἱ Λιτωλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ τότε αὐχήματι, ὅτι τὸ πλείστον τῆς νίκης κατειργάσαντο, ὡτε ἐπαχθέστεροί σφαι γένονται, ὅ τε Ἀντίοχος ἐς τῇ Ἐὐρώπῃ, ὃς περ ἠγγίσετο, ἐλθὲ καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχήσῃ.—U 11 (p. 381).

Ζοναρας 9, 16.

μη οἱ Λιτωλοὶ ἐπικρατεστέρους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν. ἠττηθεὶς οὐν ὁ Φιλίππος καὶ φυγὼν, εἶτα μαθὼν τὴν τῇ Δάρισσαν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν πόλεις τὰ τοῦ νικήσαντος ἠρμῆνες, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ. καὶ ὁς ἐσπείρασατο, χρήματά τε τοῦ Φιλίππου δόντος καὶ ὀμίρους ἄλλους τε καὶ τῶν οἰκείων υἱῶν Δημήτριον, καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκπέμψαντο.

Ἐν ὦ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης ἐνικήθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἀπέβαλε. καὶ ὁ Φλαμινίος ὁ Δουκίος ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὧν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπειθεὶς τοὺς Ἀκαρνανῶς μὴ συμμαχεῖν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, τὴν τῇ Λευκάδᾳ πολιορκία εἰλὲ κακεῖνος μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἤτταν τοῦ Φιλίππου γρόντας βάνοι συμπαρεστήσατο.

1 Φλαμινίῳ Uta., φλαμινίῳ Ms.
2 ἐπεξελθεῖν Leunel., ἐξελθεῖν Ms.
Philip after his defeat made overtures to Flamininus. And the latter, however eagerly he coveted Macedonia also and desired to follow up his present good fortune to the utmost, nevertheless made a truce. This was due to his fear that if Philip were out of the way, the Greeks might recover their ancient spirit and no longer pay court to the Romans, that the Aetolians, already filled with great boastfulness because they had contributed the largest share to the victory, might become more troublesome to them, and that Antiochus might, as was reported, come to Europe and form an alliance with Philip.

Zonaras 9, 16.

Aetolians caused the Romans to prevail. So Philip was defeated and fled, and afterward, learning that Larissa and the neighbouring cities had chosen the side of the victors, he made overtures to Flamininus. And the latter made a truce after Philip had given money and hostages, among them his own son Demetrius, and had sent out envoys to Rome in regard to peace.

During the period of these campaigns Androsthenes also had been vanquished by the Achaeans and had lost Corinth. And Lucius Flamininus, who was in charge of the fleet, when he could not persuade the Acarnanians to refrain from allying themselves with Philip, besieged and captured Leucas; later they learned of Philip's defeat, and he secured their submission with greater ease.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 16-17.

Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Μακεδονικὸς ἔλευθος πόλεμος, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἔτοιμοι συνηλλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τᾶς τε τριήμερως πλήρη πέντε καὶ τῆς στρατηγίδος αὐτῆς οὕσης ἐκκαίδεκηρος, καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν αὐτίκα δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τάξεις τισὶ, καὶ μόνης τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλείαν, μὴ πλείους τ᾽ ἔχειν στρατιώτας τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, μὴτε πόλεμον ἔξω τῆς ἕαυτοῦ χώρας ποιεῖσθαι τινὶ, τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς τε ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὰς πρὶν δουλευόντις αὐτῷ ἑλευθέρας ἁφίκαν.

Οἱ δὲ ὑπάτοι τοῖς Γαλάταις αἶθεις οὐκ ἀταλαι- πώρως ἐπολέμησαν, δόμως μέντοι καὶ τούτως ὑπέταξαν.

17. Πόρκιος δὲ Κάτων ὑπάτος αἱρεθεὶς τὴν Ἱβηρίαν μικροῦ πάσαν ἀλλοτριωθέσαν ἀνεκτήσατο, ἀνὴρ ἁρτῆ πάση τοὺς τότε νικῶν. νόμον δὲ τεθέντος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμβάσαν ὦνους μὴτε χρυσοφορεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας μὴτε δυρχοφορεῖσθαι μὴ τίθος ἐστὶν καταστίκτῳ κεχρῆσθαι, ὁ δῆμος, εἰ χρῆ καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον, βούλη ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ὁ Κάτων ἑδημηγήσε, δεῖν κατασκευάζων τὸν νόμον κρατεῖν, καὶ τέλος τούτα ἐπήγαγεν "κο-

σμείσθωσαν οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες μὴ χρυσῷ μὴ δὲ λίθοις ἢ τις ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἀμοργίνοις ἐσθήμασεν, ἄλλα σωφροσύνη, φιλανδρία, κιλικευνία, πειθοῖ, μετριότητη, τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις, τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τοῖς ἠμετέροις, ταῖς νίκαις, τοῖς τροπαίοις, 294
Thus was the Macedonian war terminated, and the people of Rome very readily became reconciled with Philip upon the following terms. He must restore the captives and deserters; give up all his elephants and triremes except five (including the flag-ship, a vessel of sixteen banks); pay an indemnity, part at once, the rest in definite instalments; be king of Macedonia alone; keep not more than five thousand soldiers, and not make war with anybody outside his own country. The rest of the cities situated in Asia and Europe which had previously been subject to him they set free.

The consuls waged once more with the Gauls a war not unfraught with difficulties, yet in spite of all they subdued this people too.

17. Porcius Cato, upon being chosen consul, gained back Spain, which had been almost entirely alienated. He was a man who surpassed those of his age in every virtue. Now after the defeat inflicted upon the Romans at Cannae a law had been passed to the effect that women should not wear gold nor be carried in chairs, nor make use at all of embroidered raiment; and the people were now deliberating as to whether they ought to abolish this law. And on this subject Cato delivered a speech in which he urged that the law ought to remain in force, and closed with these words: "Let the women, then, be adorned not with gold nor precious stones, nor with bright and transparent raiment, but with modesty, with love of husband, love of children, persuasion, moderation, with the established laws, with our arms, our victories, our trophies." Lucius
Δούκιος δὲ Ουαλλέριος δήμαρχος ἀντιλέγων τῷ Κάτωνι διειλέχθη, ἀποδοθῆναι συμβουλεύων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν πάτριων. καὶ πολλα περὶ τούτοις πρὸς τὸν δήμον εἰπών, εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν λόγον ἀπέτεινε καὶ ἔφη "σὺ δ', ο Ἐκάτων, εἰ ἀκριβή τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ βουλεῖ φιλοσοφοῦν τι ποιήσαι καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεις, ἀπόκειτον αὐτάς περιτρόχαλα, καὶ χιτωνίσκους καὶ ἐξωμίδιας ἔνδυσον, καὶ νὴ Δία σὺ καὶ ὁ πλήθους ἔφοιτος τε ἀναβίβασον, καὶ εἶ δοκεὶ σοι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀνάγαγε, ὅπως τε καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησίαν κοινωνῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὰς ἐισφόρωμεθα." 1 καὶ ὁ μὲν Ουαλλέριος ταῦτα ἐπίσκωπτων εἰπεν, ἀκούσασι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες (ἐγγὺς γὰρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολλαὶ διέτριβον πολυπραγμονοῦσαι τὸ γενησόμενον), εἰσεπήδησαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταβοῶσαι τοῦ νόμου, καὶ οὐτω σπονδὴ λυθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνεδήσαντο εὖθὺς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κόσμον τινὰ καὶ ἐξῆλθον χορεύοντας.

'Ο δὲ Κάτων ἀποπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθὼν πάντας τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ Ἰβηρίου οἰκούντας συνεστράφθη, ἵνα καθ' ἐν αὐτῷ πολεμήσωσι, συγκροτήσας τὸ στρατεύμα προσεμπλήσας, καὶ ἤτθησας αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς προσχωρῆσαι οἱ, φοβηθέντας ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοθεί ἀποβάλωσι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο, ἄστερον δὲ υπόπτων τινῶν γενομένων τὰ τε ὅπλα πάντων ἀφεὶλετο καὶ τὰ τείχη σφόν δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιθυμών κατεσκάψε. ὑγράμματα γὰρ ἐκασταχόσε διαπέμψας, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπασίν αὐτὰ ἀποδοθῆναι

296 1 εἰσφόρωμεθα v. Herw., εἰσφερόμεθα Mss.
Valerius, a tribune, spoke in opposition to Cato, urging that the old-time ornaments should be restored to the women. And after addressing the people at length on the subject he then directed his remarks to Cato, exclaiming: "As for you, Cato, if you are displeased at women's ornaments and wish to do something magnificent and befitting a philosopher, suppose you clip their hair close all around and put on them short frocks and tunics with one shoulder; yes, by Jove, and suppose you give them armour and mount them on horses and, if you like, take them to Spain; and let us bring them in here too, so that they may take part in our assemblies." Valerius said this in jest, but the women, hearing him,—for many of them were hanging about near the Forum, curious to know how the affair would come out,—rushed into the assembly, denouncing the law; and when, accordingly, it was speedily repealed, they straightway put on some ornaments there in the assembly, and went out dancing.

Cato sailed away and reached Spain, where he learned that all the inhabitants as far as the Iberus had united in order to wage war against him in a body. After organizing his army he attacked and defeated them and forced them to submit to him, since they feared that otherwise they might lose their cities at a single stroke. At the time he did them no harm, but later, when some of them incurred his suspicion, he deprived them all of their arms and caused the natives themselves to tear down their own walls. For he sent letters in all directions with orders that they should be delivered to everybody on the
κελεύσας, προσέταξε τοὺς περιβόλους αὐθημεροῦν καθελεῖν, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας τοὺς ἀπειθήσασιν. ἃ ἀναγνώστες οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οὕτως, καὶ νομίσατε ἐκαστοὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς γεγράφθαι, καὶ μηδὲ καιρὸν λαβόντες βουλῆς, κατέβαλον πάντες τὰ τείχη. Ὅ δέ Κάτων διέβη τὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβησι συμμαχοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος συμβαλεῖν μὴ θαρσῆσας, μετεχειρίσατο θαυμασίως αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν μεταπειθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστήναι δόσει μείζονος μισθοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ παραμύθον σφίξει ἐπανελθεῖν οἰκαδε, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ μάχην αὐτοῖς ἐς ἡμέραν ἐπαγγέλλων ῥητῆν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτοις ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ φοβηθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῷ πολεμήσαν ἐτόλμησαν.
BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 17.

same day; and in these he commanded the people to raze their walls immediately, threatening the disobedient with death. The officials upon reading the letters thought in each case that the message had been written to them alone, and without taking time for deliberation they all threw down their walls.

Cato now crossed the Iberus, and though he did not dare to contend with the Celtiberian allies of the enemy on account of their number, yet he handled them in marvellous fashion, now persuading them by a gift of larger pay to change front and join him, now admonishing them to return home, and sometimes even announcing a battle with them for a stated day. The result was that they broke up into separate factions and became so fearful that they no longer ventured to fight with him.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

18. Τότε δὲ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρχος ἐστράτευσε. τὸν γὰρ Νάβιν οὐτε σφίσιν πιστὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἕλλησι φοβερον ορόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολέμιοι ἐποίησαντο, προσγενομένων δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου αὐτῶ, ἔπι τὴν Σπάρτην ἠλασεν ὁ Φλαμίνιος, καὶ ἀπόνως τὰ Ταύγητὰ τε ὑπερέβη καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσῆλθε μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου. ὁ γὰρ Νάβις, τοὺς τῇ Ῥωμαίους δείσας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ὑποτεύσας, οὐκ ἐκινήθη ὅστε προσπαντήσαι τῷ Φλαμίνῳ πλησιάσαντι δὲ ἐπεξέδραμε, καταφρονήσας διὰ τὸν κάματον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὴν στρατοπέδευσιν ἀπησχόλητο, καὶ τινὰς συνετάραξε. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπεξήλθε τοῖς προσβάλλουσι, καὶ πόλλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν οὔκ ἔπεξῆλθε. καταλπῶν οὖν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐκεῖ ὁ Φλαμίνιος, ὅπως μηδαμοῦ κινηθεῖ, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐτράπετο· κάκεινος τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἱππάλου παῖς Εὐμένης ἐπόρθουν αὐτὴν. ἀπογροῦν οὖν διὰ ταύτα ὁ Νάβις κήρυκα τῷ Φλαμίνῳ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀπεστείλε. καὶ ὅσος τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτοῦ προσήκατο, οὔκ αὐτικὰ δὲ κατελύσατο. τὰς γὰρ ὁμολογίας, ἃς ἀπητέειτο ὁ Νάβις ποιήσασθαι, οὐτ' ἀπαγο-
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

18. At this time also Flamininus made a campaign against Argos, for the Romans, seeing that Nabis was not loyal to them and was a source of terror to the Greeks, regarded him as an enemy. With an accession of allies from Philip Flamininus marched upon Sparta, crossed Taygetus without difficulty, and advanced toward the city, meeting with no opposition. For Nabis, being afraid of the Romans and suspicious of the natives, did not rouse himself to the point of advancing to meet Flamininus; but when the latter drew near, he made a sortie, feeling contemptuous of his opponent while the latter was fatigued from the march and was busied, moreover, with the work of pitching camp; and he caused some confusion among them. The next day he came out to face the Romans when they assaulted, but as he lost large numbers, he did not try it again. So Flamininus left a portion of his army there to prevent Nabis from stirring anywhere, and with the rest turned his attention to the country, which he ravaged with the aid of his brother and the Rhodians and Eumenes, the son of Attalus. Nabis was consequently in despair and despatched a herald to Flamininus in regard to peace. The latter listened to his proposals, but did not immediately conclude peace. For the terms which Nabis was asked to make were such that
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προέμει ἔθάρρει οὔτε ποιήσαι συγκατετίθετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκώλυσαν αὐτὸν συμβήναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐσπεῖσατο, προσβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων αὐθικαὶ καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ὀλίγου πᾶσαν (καὶ
γὰρ ἄτειχιστος ἦν ἐν μέρει) ἐλόντων οὐκέτι
ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε τὸν Φλαμῖνον σπονδάς
ἐποίησατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευσάμενος
συνηλλάγη.

Ὀ δὲ Φλαμῖνος τότε μὲν πάντας τὸν Ἐλληνας
ἐλευθέρους ἄφηκεν, ὥστερον δὲ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς
καὶ ὑπομνήσας ὡς εὑρηγέτηντο, παρήμενεν εὐθυνά
τῇ Ῥώμῃ τηρεῖν, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπάσας
ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ἀπῆρε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ.

Ἀφικομένου δ’ ἐσ Ῥώμην τοῦ Φλαμίνιον ὁ
Νάβις ἐνεωτέρισε. κακὸς τούτον καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικόν
ἀπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐταράχθη, τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σφάς
ἐναγόντων παρεσκευάζοντό τε ὡς πολεμήσαντες,
cαὶ πρὸς τὸν Φιλίππων καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον
ἐπρεσβεῦσατο. καὶ ἐπεισαν αὐτὸν ἐκπολεμωθῆναι
Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς Ἰταλίας τε
βασιλεύσουσα. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων
tetaraghménwv oúkh perigenesthai toû Ἀντίοχου
ἐλπὶ ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἡγάπων εἰ γε τὰ ἑαυτῶν διασώ-
σαντο. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος μέγας μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει ἐδόκη ὧδ άλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν
Μηδίαν κατεστρέφατο, πολλῷ δ’ ἐτι μείζων
ἐγένετο ὅτι τὸν Πτολεμαίον τὸν τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου
βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριαράθην τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας
κηδεστὴν προσετέθησι.

Τοιοῦτον τὸν Ἀντίοχον νομιζόμενον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
Zonaras 9, 18.

he neither dared to refuse them, nor yet would he consent to make them; but the populace prevented him from coming to an agreement. So at this time Nabis did not make peace, but when the Romans attacked again and captured nearly the whole of Sparta (for it was without a wall in places), he held out no longer, but made a truce with Flamininus, and by sending an embassy to Rome effected a settlement.

Flamininus at this time set all the Greeks free, and later he summoned them together and after reminding them of the benefits they had received urged them to maintain friendship with Rome; he then withdrew all the garrisons and departed with his entire army.

Upon the arrival of Flamininus at Rome Nabis rebelled. Thereupon practically the whole Greek world became aroused, being encouraged by the Aetolians; and they were making ready for war and were sending embassies to Philip and Antiochus. The latter they succeeded in persuading to become an enemy of the Romans, promising him that he should be king of both Greece and Italy. With affairs in this disturbed state, the Romans had no hope of overcoming Antiochus, but were content if only they could preserve their former conquests. For he was regarded as a mighty ruler even by virtue of his own power, by which he had subjugated Media among other exploits; but he became far mightier still through having gained as sons-in-law Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.

In view of this estimate of Antiochus, the Romans,
μέχρι μὲν τὸν Φιλίππου ἐπολέμουν, ἐθεράπευον, φιλίως τε διὰ πρέσβεων ὁμιλοῦντες καὶ δῶρα πέμποντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τούτοι, ὃν πρόσθεν ἐδείξαν, κατεφρόνουν. ὦ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὁράκην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ ἄλλα τε παρεστήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἀυσιμαχίαν 1 ἀνεστηκύιαν συνφίκσεν, ὡς ὀρμητηρίῳ ταύτη χρησόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Φιλίππος καὶ ὁ Νάβις ἐπηγάγοντο. ὦ τε Ἀννίβας αὐτῷ συγγενόμενοι ἐλπίσαι πεποίηκεν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεύσας, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου ἐβην προσκαταστέφασθαι, καὶ μετʼ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμὴσαι. ἐφθη γοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ δις ἐς τὴν Ἑὐρώπην διαβὰς εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικόμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Πολεμαίον τεθηκέναι, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τῆς Λιγύπτου κρατῆσαι πολούμενοι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Σέλευκον ἐν τῇ Ἀυσιμαχίᾳ σὺν δυνάμει κατελιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας, καὶ ἑλὼν τὸν Πολεμαίον μαθὼν, τὴν μὲν Λιγύπτου ἀπέσχετο, ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ ἐς Κύπρον πλεῦσαι ἐπταικεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, καὶ οἰκαδε ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ πρέσβεις οἱ Ρωμαιοὶ κάκεινος ἀνταπέστελλον 2 ἀλλήλους ἀντεγκαλοῦντες, ὅπως πρὸφασίν τε τοῦ πολέμου λάβοσι καὶ ὅπως τὰ παρ’ ἄλληλοις προκατασκέψονται.

Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν παρὰ Καρχη-
δονίους ἄρχων εἰληφὼς, καὶ προσκρούσας ἀπ’
αὐτῆς τοῖς δυνατώτατοις, ἐμσῆθη τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίοις διεβλήθη ὅσ τὰ τε

1 Ἀυσιμαχίας Wolf, Ἀυσιμαχίας Μss.
2 ἀνταπέστελλον Be., ἀνταπέστελλον Μss.
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

so long as they were at war with Philip, were careful
to court his favour, keeping up friendly relations with
him through envoys and sending him gifts. But when
they had vanquished their other enemy, they
despised also this king whom they had formerly
feared. Antiochus crossed over into Thrace and
 gained control of many districts. He also helped
to colonize Lysimachia, which had been depopu-
lated, intending to use it as a base; for Philip
and Nabis had invited his assistance. Hannibal,
too, had been with him, and had caused him to hope
that he might sail to Carthage, and from there to
Italy, and further that he might subjugate the races
along the Ionian Gulf, and with them set out
against Rome. Antiochus did, at any rate, succeed in
crossing into Europe twice, and in reaching Greece.
But learning now that Ptolemy was dead, and
deeming it all-important to get possession of Egypt,
he left his son Seleucus with a force at Lysimachia,
and himself set out on the march. He found out,
however, that Ptolemy was alive, and so kept away
from Egypt, but made an attempt to sail to Cyprus;
however, he was baffled by a storm and returned
home. The Romans and he both now sent envoys
to each other submitting mutual complaints, in order
that they might find an excuse for war and also that
they might observe conditions on the other side
before the conflict began.

Hannibal had obtained the most important office
at Carthage and in his tenure of it had offended the
most powerful nobles and incurred their hatred.
Malicious reports about him were also conveyed to
τῶν Καρχηδονίων νεωτερίζων καὶ τῶν Ἀντίοχου κοινολογούμενος. καὶ μαθὼν τινας ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης παρόντας, καὶ δεῖσας μὴ συλληφθῆ, ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδονος. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἠλθὼν ἐαυτῷ τῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καθοδον καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐπραττεν, ὑπισχυούμενος ἐκεῖνον περιποίησεν τὸ τῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κράτος καὶ τῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρις ὅσιν οὐ σφίσιν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνεγένετο. οὗτοι γάρ δικαστὶς ἐς τὴν Διβόν πεμφθεῖς τῷ τῇ Μασινίσσα καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους περὶ ὅρων γῆς διαφερομένους, μετέωρα τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτῶν κατέληπεν, ὡς ἄλληλοις τὰ διαφέροντα καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν κρίσιν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁργίζοντο. ἔπευθεν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἄσίαν δίεβη, λόγῳ μὲν ὀς προσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἐργῷ δὲ ἵνα κακεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπιφανεῖς καταπλῆξη καὶ πράξῃ τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμφέροντα. ἀφικομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμοιός εἶτε προσεῖχεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος τῷ Ἀννίβα οὕτως τευχεῦσε γὰρ αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπορρητῶν ὁμιλήσαντα τῷ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ αὐτὸν ἐβαρύνετο, ὅτι ἅπαν βούλευμα τῷ Ἀννίβα πᾶς ἐτεγράφετο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατόρθωσιν ἐν τούτῳ παντες ἐπέθετον, διὰ γοῦν ταῦτα καὶ ἐφόνησε τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ ἔφθειθη αὐτῶν ὧν ὁ δυνηθεὶς μεταβάληται καὶ οὕτε στράτευμα παρέσχεν αὐτῷ οὕτ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμψεν οὔδ' ἐν ταῖς συνοισίαις αὐτῶ κατακόρως ἐκέχρητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπετήθεεν μηδὲν τῶν πραττομένων αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι.
the Romans, to the effect that he was rousing the Carthaginians to revolt and was taking counsel with Antiochus. Learning now that some men from Rome were present, and fearing arrest, he fled from Carthage by night. And coming to Antiochus, he undertook to pave the way for his own restoration to his native country and for war against the Romans by promising the king that he would secure for him the rule of both Greece and Italy. This was before Scipio Africanus joined them. Scipio had been sent to Africa as an arbitrator between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, who were at variance over some boundaries, and he had left their dispute still unsettled, in order that they might continue to quarrel and that neither of them might be angry at the Romans on account of their decision. From there he crossed into Asia, nominally as an envoy to Antiochus, but in reality to frighten both him and Hannibal by his coming and to accomplish what was for the advantage of the Romans. After his arrival Antiochus no longer paid the same deference to Hannibal. He suspected him because of his secret conversations with Scipio, and found him burdensome in any case, since everybody ascribed every plan to Hannibal, and all placed in him their hope for success in the war. For these reasons, then, he became both jealous and afraid of Hannibal, lest he might change his demeanour, in case he should get control of any power. So he neither supplied him with an army nor sent him to Carthage; furthermore, he did not favour him with any great intimacy, but even endeavoured to avoid all appearance of acting on his advice.
19. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φήμη πολλὴ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε καὶ ἐς φροντίδα τοὺς Ρωμαίους οὐκ ἐλαχίστην κατέστησε. συχνῶν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου θρυλλουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἢδη κατέχει, τῶν δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἐπείγεται λογοποιοῦντων, οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἄλλους τε καὶ Φλαμίνιον οἰκείος αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα ἐστειλαν, ὡς τὸν τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἐκείνους ἐπίσης μηδὲν νεοχωρῶσιν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Μάρκου μὲν Βαίβιον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, εἰ ταῦτῃ ἔς τὴν Ἱταλίαν περαιωθήσει τολμήσειν ὁ Ἀντίοχος, Ἀὐλον δὲ Ἀτίλιον ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβιν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπραξε (ἔφθη γὰρ ὁ Νάβις ὑπὸ τῶν Λιτωλῶν φθαρεις ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἢλω ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν), ὁ δὲ Βαίβιος καὶ ὁ Φιλίππος πολλὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐβεβαιώσαντο. ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ὁμολογίας ὁ Μακεδών ἐμμεμενεκε, διὰ τὸ ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος χωρία αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τινὰ ἐπεσπάσατο.

Ὁ δὲ γε Φλαμίνιος περιμένω τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς μὲν μηδ' ἀποστῆναι ἐπεισε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀποστάντας ἢδη μετέστησε, πλὴν Λιτωλῶν καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ προσεχώρησαν καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς μὲν ἐκόμισαν συνιστῶν, εὖν οὖς δὲ γε καὶ ἀκοντας. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, καίτω χειμώνοις οὗτος, ὅμως πρὸς τὰς τῶν Λιτωλῶν ἐλπίδας ἐσπευσε, διὸ οὔδε ἀξιόμαχον ἐπήγετο δύναμιν. τὴν μέντοι Χαλκίδα μετ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τὴν τε ἄλλην Εὔβοιαν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις Ῥωμαίους τινὰς εὐρών, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαλκίδαν.
19. The fame of Antiochus occupied a large share of Rome's attention and caused the Romans no small degree of uneasiness. Many rumours were rife regarding him; some reported that he already held the whole of Greece, others that he was hastening toward Italy. The Romans accordingly sent envoys to Greece, among them Flamininus, who was on intimate terms with the people there, in order that he might prevent both Philip and them from beginning a revolt; and of the praetors they sent Marcus Baebius to Apollonia, in case Antiochus should undertake to cross over into Italy by that route, and Aulus Atilius against Nabis. Now Aulus accomplished nothing, for Nabis had already perished, the victim of a plot on the part of the Aetolians, and Sparta had been captured by the Achaean; but Baebius and Philip strengthened the loyalty of many portions of Thessaly. For the Macedonian king had remained true to his agreement with the Romans, principally for the reason that Antiochus had annexed some settlements belonging to him in Thrace.

Flamininus went about Greece, persuading some not to revolt, and winning back others who had already revolted, with the exception of the Aetolians and a few others. The Aetolians had gone over to Antiochus and were forming a union out of various states with or without their consent. Antiochus, even though it was winter, hastened forward to fulfil the hopes of the Aetolians; and this is the reason why he did not bring a respectable force. With the troops he had, however, he took Chalcis and gained control of the rest of Euboea; and finding some Romans among the captives he released them all.
"Ότι ο Ἀντίοχος καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτοῦ προ-
dieφθάρησαν"¹ τῇ τε γὰρ ἅλλῃ ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ἔρωτι
κόρης τινὸς ἐς τε τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀπο-
λέμους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν.—V. 52 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 19.

dieχεῖμασεν ὅθεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ
τε στρατιώται αὐτοῦ τὰς γνώμας προδιεφθάρησαν.
tῇ τε γὰρ ἅλλῃ ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ἔρωτι κόρης τινὸς
ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ἐξώκειλε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀπολέμους ἐποίησεν,

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν
Ἐλλάδα παρόντα τὴν Χαλκίδα τε ἡρηκότα, τὸν
πόλεμον φανερὸς ἀνέλοντο· καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
Σκιτίωνα μὲν τῶν Νασικᾶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς
Ἰταλίας κατέσχον, Μάινον δὲ Γλαβρίωνα μετὰ
στρατοῦ πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα τεπόμφασι,
καὶ οἱ μὲν Νασικᾶς τοὺς Βοσσίους προσεπολεμῶ-
σατο, ὁ δὲ Γλαβρίων τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐκ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος ἐξῆλπασε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν
πολλὰ τῶν ταύτη μετὰ τοῦ Βαϊβίου καὶ τοῦ
Φιλίππου παρεστήσατο. τὸν τε γὰρ Μεγαλοπο-
λίτην Φιλίππου ἐλὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε,
καὶ τὸν Ἀμάνδρου ἐν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλὼν τῷ
Μακεδόνι αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν.

'Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐν τούτοις ἤσυχιαν ἄγων ἐν
τῇ Χαλκίδι διετριβεν' εἶτα εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν
ἐλήλυθε καὶ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπολίαις ἀντιπροσώποιτας
οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέμενεν· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν
στρατιώτων ὁλογότητα σύμμαχον τὴν τοῦ χωρίου
φύσιν ἐξειν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ ἦν μὴ τε καὶ αὐτὸς
πάθη ὅλου τοῦ "Ἑλληνες εἰ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον

¹ προδιεφθάρησαν Βκ., προσδιεφθάρησαν Μα.
Antiochus and his generals were ruined at the outset; for by his general indolence and by his passion for a certain girl he drifted into a life of luxury and at the same time rendered the rest unfit for warfare.

Zonaras 9, 19.

Then he took up his winter-quarters at Chalcis, with the result that he himself and his generals and his soldiers had their moral energy ruined at the outset; for by his general indolence and by his passion for a certain girl he drifted into a life of luxury and rendered the rest unfit for warfare.

The people at Rome, learning that he was in Greece and that he had captured Chalcis, took up the war openly. Of the consuls they retained Scipio Nasica to guard Italy and sent Manius Glabrio with a large army into Greece. Nasica conducted a war against the Boii, and Glabrio drove Antiochus out of Greece. He also went to Thessaly, and with the help of Baebius and Philip gained control of many of the towns there. He captured Philip of Megalopolis and sent him to Rome, and drove Amynander out of his domain, which he then gave to the Macedonian ruler.

Antiochus meanwhile was remaining at Chalcis and keeping quiet. Afterward he went into Boeotia and awaited the advance of the Romans at Thermopylae; for he believed, in view of his small numbers, that the natural advantages of the place would be of assistance to him. But in order to avoid repeating the experience of the Greeks who had been
ἀντιταξθέντες ἔκει, μέρος τι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων ἄνεβιβασεν, ὡςτε φισορρῆσαι αὐτά. ὁ δὲ Γλαβρίων βραχύ τε τῶν χωρίων ἐφόντισε καὶ τὴν μάχην οὐκ ἄνεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ Πόρκιον μὲν Κάτωνα καὶ Οὐαλλέριον Φλάκκον ὕποστρατήγους νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔως συνέμειξ. καὶ ἔως μὲν ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ ἐμάχετο, ἐπεκράτει, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντίοχου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἡλιττοῦτα, μέχρις ὁ Κάτων κατὰ νύκτων οἱ ἐγένετο. τοὺς γὰρ Αἰτωλοὺς καθεύδονσιν ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διεσκέδασε, κἀντείθεν καταδραμῶν καὶ τῆς κάτω μάχης μετέσχε. καὶ τὸν τῷ Ἀντίοχον ἐτρεφαί καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ εἶδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Χαλκίδα εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν ὑπατον προσιόντα, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη λαβὼν.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Βουωτίαν καὶ τὴν Ἐυβοίαν ὁ Γλαβρίων αὐτίκα κατέσχε, τῇ δ' Ἦρακλείᾳ, μὴ βουλθέκτων αὐτῷ προσχορήσαι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω πόλιν πολιορκία εἰλε, τοὺς δ' ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναφυγόντας ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε ὕπογρηθείς καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐγένετο, ὃς τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ποτὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἤρνησατο, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐκείνου αἰτησαντος, ἢς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψειν, "θάρρει," ἐφη, "ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ κομιῷ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσσομαι." τοῦ Φιλπποῦ δὲ τῇ Δάμαμαν πολιορκόντος ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Γλαβρίων, καὶ τὴν τε νίκην καὶ
arrayed there against the Persian he sent a division of the Aetolians up to the summit of the mountains to keep guard there. Glabrio was little concerned about the nature of the region, and did not postpone battle; but he sent the lieutenants Porcius Cato and Valerius Flaccus by night against the Aetolians on the summit, and himself engaged in conflict with Antiochus at dawn. Now as long as he fought on level ground he had the best of it, but when Antiochus withdrew to a higher position, he found himself at a disadvantage, until Cato arrived in the enemy’s rear. Cato had come upon the Aetolians while they were asleep and had killed most of them and scattered the rest; then he hurried down and participated also in the battle going on below. So they routed Antiochus and captured his camp. The king forthwith retired to Chalcis, but learning that the consul was approaching, he retired secretly to Asia.

Glabrio at once occupied Boeotia and Euboea, and proceeded to deliver assaults upon Heraclea, since the Aetolians were unwilling to yield to him. The lower city he captured by siege, and later he received the capitulation of those who had fled to the acropolis. Among the prisoners taken at this time was Democritus, the Aetolian general, who had once refused alliance with Flamininus, and when the latter had asked for a decree that he might send it to Rome, had said: “Don’t worry. I will carry it there with my army and read it to you all on the banks of the Tiber.” Philip was engaged in besieging Lamia when Glabrio came against it and appropriated both
Δίων ἐθ’ βιβλίῳ “περὶ ... τὰ δὲ ὑμετέρα ἐγὼ τε ἄει προστατῶ.”—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 1.

Sonatas 9, 19-20.

τὴν λείαν ἑσφετερίσατο. τῶν μέντοι Αἰτωλῶν οἱ λοιποὶ συναλλαγὴν μὲν ἤθελησαν, οὐκ ἐσπέσαντο δὲ, τοῦ Ἀντίόχου πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα πέμψαντο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοιμάζοντο. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντίόχου ἐφρονεί. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ναῦπτακτον ὁ Γλαβρίων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν οὐσάν ἐπολιόρκειν οὐδὲν οἵ Φλαμίνιος ἐπείσεσυσθαι, γνωρίμως αὐτοῖς ἔχον. καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰκεῖναι τε καὶ οἱ Ἡπειρῶται ἑστάλκησι. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος στέφανον νικηθῆρον τῷ Διῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πέμψας ἅλλα τε ἀντειλήφει κἀκεῖνον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν Ὁρώμῃ ὑμηρεύοντα. τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς σπονδαὶ οὐκ ἐγένοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔδιδον γνώρισθαι τι κατεδεχαντο.

20. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀντίόχου οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Σκηπτίσσαις ἔταξαν τὸν τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Διόκιον. οἱ τοῖς μὲν Αἰτωλοῖς ἀνοχὴν ἔδοσαν, ἵνα τῇ Ῥώμην αὖθις ὕπερ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσωνται, ἡπείγοντο δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντίόχου, καὶ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντες, συμμάχους τε λαβόντες ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλήσσων ἠλάσαν. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν παραθαλασσίων κατέλαβον προκατειλημμένα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεί προ- ἀπελθοῦντων Ῥωμαίοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων, οὶ καὶ τῶν Ἀννίβηλοι ναῖς τινὰς ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνάγοντα περὶ Παμφυλίαν.
BOOK XIX

Dio, Book XIX. "... but I always champion your interests." ¹


the victory and the booty. Although the remainder of the Aetolians were desirous of peace, still they made no truce, since Antiochus sent them envoys and money, but set themselves in readiness for war. Philip affected friendliness toward the Romans, but his heart was with Antiochus. Meantime Glabrio was besieging Naupactus, which belonged to the Aetolians, and Flamininus, coming to them, persuaded the inhabitants to make peace, for he was well known to them. So they, as well as the Epirots, despatched envoys to Rome. Philip sent a crown of victory to Capitoline Jupiter and received in return, among other presents, his son Demetrius, who had been living at Rome as a hostage. But with the Aetolians no truce was made, for they would not submit to any curtailment of privileges.

20. The Romans opposed to Antiochus the Scipios, Africanus and his brother Lucius. These generals granted the Aetolians an armistice for the purpose of once more sending an embassy to Rome regarding peace, and hurried on against Antiochus. On reaching Macedonia they secured allies from Philip, and marched on to the Hellespont. Then crossing into Asia, they found most of the coast districts already occupied by the Romans who had gone there first, as well as by Eumenes and the Rhodians; the latter had also conquered Hannibal near Pamphylia, as he was taking some ships up from

¹ v. Gutschmid places here, comparing Livy 36, 35, 4 (speech of Flamininus to the Naupactians).
"Οτι Σέλευκος ο του 'Αντιόχου του του Αφρικανού υιον διαπλέοντα εκ της 'Ελλάδος λαβών εν θεραπεία πολλή ἐπετοίητο. ἀπολυτρώσας μεν γὰρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δεχόντος, οὐκ ἤθελησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον ἱσχυρῶς περιείπε, καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπουδῶν ἀμαρτῶν, ἀφήκευ ἀνευ λύτρων.—V. 53 (p. 609).

Ζοναρας 9, 20.

ἐνίκησαν, καὶ Εὐμένης δὲ καὶ "Ατταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκουν τοῦ 'Αντιόχου, καὶ πόλεις αἱ μὲν βία, αἱ δὲ ἐκούσιαι πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους μεθίσταντο, ὡστε ἐκ τούτων ἀναγκασθήναι τὸν 'Αντιόχον τὴν Εὐρώπην τε παντελῶς ἐκλεπτεῖν καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σέλευκον ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσιμαχίας ἀπαγαγεῖν. ὡν ἐπανελθόντα σὺν δύναμι ἐπὶ τὴν Πέργαμον ἐπεμψεν, ὡς δὲ προσεδρύσας τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἐπῆλθον, εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεκτρουκεύσατο, προσδοκήσας τευξεῖσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅτι τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ υἱὸν συλλαβῶν εἰς θεραπεία εἰχε πολλή· καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπουδῶν ἀμαρτῶν, ἀνευ λύτρων ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη, τοῦ 'Αντιόχου ἃ οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἀπήτουν μὴ συνθεμένου ποιήσαι.

Τέως μέντοι ἐπὶ πολυ ἡσύχασαν, εἰτα καὶ ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ δὲ ἅγιον οὕτως ἐγένετο. πρῶτα τὰ ἁρματα, εἰτα τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ο 'Αντιόχος ἑταξε, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα τοὺς σφενδονῆτας καὶ τοὺς
Seleucus,¹ the son of Antiochus, had captured the son of Africanus, who was sailing across from Greece, and had given him the kindest treatment. Although his father many times requested the privilege of ransoming him, his captor refused, yet did him no harm; on the contrary, he showed him every honour, and finally, though he failed of securing a truce, released him without ransom.

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Phoenicia. Eumenes and his brother Attalus were injuring the country of Antiochus, and cities kept coming over to the Romans, some under compulsion, some voluntarily, with the result that Antiochus was obliged to abandon Europe entirely and to recall his son Seleucus from Lysimachia. When this son had returned, he sent him with troops against Pergamum. Inasmuch, however, as he accomplished nothing by his siege and the Scipios presently approached, Antiochus promptly made overtures to them; for he expected to obtain peace, since he had got possession of the son of Africanus and was according him the kindest treatment. In the end, though he failed of securing a truce, he released him without ransom. Now the reason why peace was not concluded was that Antiochus would not agree to the Roman demands.

For some time after this, however, the antagonists remained quiet; but finally they fell to fighting again. The nature of the struggle was as follows. Antiochus placed the chariots in front, with the elephants next, and behind these the slingers and

¹ An error of the excerptor for Antiochus himself. Compare Zonaras.
τοξότας. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐκδρομὴν τῶν ἁρμάτων προεδραμόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς σφίσι πολλῆς ἀντιμέτωποι προσπεσόντες ἀνέκοφαν, ὡστε τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τραπόμενα πάλιν τὸ οἰκεῖον συνετάραξαν (αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἐπλανώντο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκφοβησάντες διεπεκέδασαν), τὴν δὲ τοξείαν καὶ τὴν σφενδόνησιν ὁμβρὸς πολὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἀσθενὴ ἑποίησεν ὁμίχλη τε πλείστη καὶ βαθεία συμβασά τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀτε κρατοῦντας καὶ ἀγχεμάξος ἐκ χειρὸς μαχομένους οὐδὲν ἐνεπόδισε, τοὺς δὲ ἐναντίους, ὅλα περιβημένους ὑπερὶ τε καὶ τοξεία τῷ πλείστον χρωμένους, τὴν τε πρόοψιν εἰς τα τοξεύματα ἀφείλετο καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σκότῳ πλανομένους ἐσφήλευ. ὅμως δὲ οὖν ἑσχυσεν ὁ Ἀντίόχος, τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ τρεψάμενους, μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλθειν ἐπιδιώκοιν αὐτούς. καὶ γε ἐλέειν ἀν αὐτὸ, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Λιμίλιος Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φονείαν αὐτοῦ ἔχων τοὺς πρῶτον προσεῖσαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἑπείσειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φυγῇ ἐπισχέοι. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου ἐκείνων τε οἱ λοιποὶ ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκραιφνέσιν ἐπεκδραμόν τοῖς φονευροῖς ἀπεώσαντο τὸν Ἀντίόχον. ἐν οί δὲ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, Ζεῦς καθ᾽ ἐτερον μέρος τῶν ταφρεύματι προσβάλων εἰςω τε αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἐποιεῖτο, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λέπιδος ἔστη, τὸτε γὰρ κάκεινος τὸ σφέτερον ἔρρυσατο, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τὸ τοῦ Ἀντίόχου ἐλλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς 318
the archers. Now the Romans anticipated the charge of the chariots by a charge of their own, and with a mighty shout they rushed straight at them and repulsed them, so that most of the chariots turned back toward the elephants, and thus threw their own army into confusion; for in their wild flight they terrified and scattered the men marshalled beside them. Moreover, a heavy rain which now came up rendered the efforts of the archers and slingers of little effect. There followed a dense and heavy mist, which in no wise hindered the Romans, since they had the upper hand and were fighting at close range; but in the case of their opponents, who were terrified and who employed cavalry and archers for the most part, it made it impossible for them to see which way to shoot their arrows and caused them to stumble over one another as if they were wandering about in the dark. Nevertheless Antiochus was able with his mail-clad cavalry to rout those confronting him, and to advance in pursuit of them as far as their camp. Indeed, he would have taken it, had not Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was charged with guarding it, killed the first Romans who came up, after he had failed to persuade them to check their flight. Thereupon the rest of the fugitives faced about, and Lepidus himself also made a sortie with the garrison, which was fresh; and by their united efforts they repulsed Antiochus. While this action was taking place, Zeuxis had assailed the ramparts in another quarter, had succeeded in getting within them, and continued to pillage until Lepidus became aware of it and came to the rescue of his own camp. At the same time Scipio captured the camp of Antiochus,
μὲν ἀνθρώπους, πολλοὺς δ' ἵππους, ὑποξύμα, ἀργύριον, χρυσίον, ἐλέφαντας ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυτελῆ εὑρε. καὶ ο μὲν Ἀντίοχος ἦττηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεχόρησεν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέβησον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀνακοχὴ τις ἐπικηρυκευσάμενον τοῦ Ἀντίοχου ἐσπείσθη. Ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀφρικανὸς εὐνοίκως οἱ διὰ τὸν υἱὸν εἶχε, καὶ ο ὑπατὸς οὐκ ἦθελε τὴν νίκην τῷ διαδόχῳ πλησιάζοντι καταλευκέτειν. οὐκουν οὐδὲ ἐπέταξαν τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ ὅσα καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἤτοιν. διὸ καὶ Γναῖος Μάλλιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφόν διαδεξάμενος οὐκ ἤρκεσθ' τοῖς συγκεκιμένοις, ἀλλὰ πλείον αὐτὸν ἀπήτησε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὦμηρος δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ δοῦτο πάντας ἐκδοῦναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ο Ἀννίβας ἦν. καὶ ο Ἀντίοχος καὶ ἀκούν πρὸς ἄπαντα ἐπευθάρχησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκδοῦναι ἡμείσθη πρὸς γὰρ Προσιαν τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Βιθυνῶν προκατέφυγε. καὶ ο μὲν Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψας ἐσπείσατο, Σκιπίον δὲ Λούκιος ἐπηνείτο ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν δ' αὐτὴν ἐσχεν, ὡσπερ ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλῆθη, τῆς Καρχηδόνος κρατήσας μεγίστον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ δυνηθείσης.

Τοιοῦτοι δ' οὖν ἄνδρες οὕτως ἐκνοµεῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξας ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἀρετῆς, δικαστηρίῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον παρεδόθησαν καὶ ο μὲν Λούκιος κατεληφθή ὡς τάχα πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς λείας σφητερισάµενος, Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὡς
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where he found many people, many horses, baggage animals, silver and gold, elephants, and a number of precious objects besides. Antiochus after this defeat at once retired into Syria, and the Asiatic Greeks attached themselves to the Roman cause.

After this, upon overtures made by Antiochus, an armistice was arranged. Africanus was well disposed toward him for his son’s sake, and the consul, moreover, did not wish to have the victory left to his successor, who was now drawing near; consequently they laid upon Antiochus conditions no more severe than those they had originally made before the battle. Hence Gnaeus Manlius, who succeeded them in office, was not pleased with the terms agreed upon, and he made additional demands upon the king, besides requiring him to give hostages, one of whom should be his son Antiochus, and to deliver up all the deserters, among them Hannibal. Antiochus reluctantly yielded obedience on all the other points; to give up Hannibal, however, was out of his power, since the latter had already fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia. On these conditions Antiochus sent envoys to Rome and secured peace. Lucius Scipio was praised for his victory, and received the title of Asiaticus because of it, just as his brother had been called Africanus for conquering Carthage, the most powerful city in Africa.

These brothers, who had proved themselves men of such valour, and as a result of their excellence had attained such a great reputation were not long afterward brought to trial before the assembly. Lucius was condemned nominally for having appropriated a large share of the spoil, and Africanus...
"Οτι ἐφθόνουν τοῖς Σκιπίωσι πολλοί, ὅτι δῶ ἀδελφοὶ γένοις τε καὶ ἁρετής εὐ ἡκοντες τά τε ἀλλα κατέπραξαν ὅσπερ εἰρηται καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τοιαύτας ἔλαβον, ἐπεῖ ὅτι γε οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν δη- λοῦται μὲν καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἔτι μάλλον τῇ τε τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας, ἐν ἡ μηδὲν πλέον τῶν προϋπαρχόντων οἱ εὐρέθη, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐσ Λίτερνον ἀναχωρήσει κανταύθα μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτής ἀδείᾳ. τῆν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἀπήντησε νομίζων τῇ τῆς ἁρετής ἀληθεία περιέσεσθαι.—V. 54 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 20.

ἐπιεικεστέρας τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ποιησά- μενος, τὸ δ' ἄλθὲς διὰ φθόνον. ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν δηλοῦται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοθεν, οὐχ ἢκιστα ἐγὼ ἐτι καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημευθεῖσις οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν αὐτῶ προὑπαρχόντων εὐρέθη, ὅτι τής Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐσ τῆς Λίτερνον πρὸ ψήφου ἀναχωρήσαντος καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς εκεῖ καταμεί- ναντος οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐτι κατεψφίσατο.

'Ο δὲ γε Μάλλιος τότε Πισιδίαν Ἀυκαολίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς Ἀσιανής πολλὰ προσηγάγετο. ἦστι γὰρ τοῖς κανταύθα γένος αὐτῶν, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐρωπαίου ἀποδίσμον. Βρέννον γάρ ποτε βασιλέα σφῶν προστησάμενοι τήν τῆς Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῆς Ὀράκην ἐπεδραμον, κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν διαβάντες μέρη τινὰ

1 eō inserted by Val.  2 τοῦ Rk., γαῦν Ms.
Many were jealous of the Scipios because the two brothers, distinguished alike for birth and integrity, had accomplished all that has been related and had secured such titles. For that they were guilty of no wrong-doing is made plain even by my former statements, and was shown still more conclusively on the occasion of the confiscation of the property of Asiaticus—which was found to consist merely of his original inheritance—or again by the retirement of Africanus to Liternum and the security that he enjoyed there to the end of his life. At first, to be sure, he had appeared in court, thinking that the truth respecting his integrity would save him.

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for having made the terms of peace milder on account of his son; but the true cause of their conviction was jealousy. That they were guilty of no wrong-doing is made plain both by other evidence and in particular by the fact that when the property of Asiaticus was confiscated it was found to consist merely of his original inheritance, and that though Africanus retired to Liternum before a vote was taken and lived there to the end, no one ever again voted to condemn him.

Manlius at this time won over Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, and a large part of Asiatic Gaul [Galatia]. For there exists in that region too a race of Gauls, which broke off from the European stock. With their king, Brennus, at their head they once overran Greece and Thrace, and crossing thence to Bithynia, they detached certain portions
τῆς τε Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Παφλαγονίας τῆς τε Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὄλυμπῳ καὶ Καππάδοκίας ἀπετέμοντο καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικήσαν, καὶ νῦν ἔθνος ἵδιον εἰσὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Γαλατῶν φέροντες. οὕτω δὴ πράγματα τῷ Μαλλίῳ παρέσχων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησε, τὴν μὲν Ἁγκυραν τὴν πόλιν ἐλῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὁμολογίας παραστησάμενος. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ συχνῶν παρὰ Ἀριαράδους τοῦ Καππάδοκῶν βασιλέως ἀργύριων ἐπὶ εἰρήνη λαβὼν ἀπῆρεν οἴκαδε.

21. Οἱ δὲ Αἴτωλοι πρέσβεις τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐς τὴν Ρώμην πέμψαντες αὐτοὶ αὐθινῇ ἐνεστερίζον. διὸ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς τε πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψαντο καὶ Μάρκῳ Φουλοῦφῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέθεντο. ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ὁρμησε μεγάλην οὐσὰν (ἡν γὰρ ποτὲ τοῦ Πύρρου βασιλείαν, τότε δὲ κατείχετο πρὸς τῶν Αἴτωλῶν) καὶ ἐπολιόρκησε αὐτὴν οἱ οὕνευτεροὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διειλέχθησαν ὡς δ' ὅπερ ἠθέλησε σπείρασθαι, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν εἰσέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι δι᾽ ὑπονόμου τινὸς ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν πόλιν ἑλείν, καὶ διώρυσσον πόρρωθεν καὶ τέως μὲν ἐλάνθανον τοὺς πολιορκουμένους, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χων ἠθροίσθη, ὑπετόπησαν τὸ ὀμόμενον. ἄγνοοντες δ' ὅπη ὀρύσσοντο, χαλκῆν ἄσπίδα κατὰ τὸν περίβολον πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐτίθεν οὐδὲν οὔπως καὶ διὰ τῆς ἥχης τῶν τόπων γνώντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντώρυσσον ἐνοδοθεν, καὶ πελάσαντες τοῖς Ῥω-
of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Mysia adjacent to Olympus, and Cappadocia, and took up their residence in them; and they constitute to-day a separate nation bearing the name of Gauls [Galatians]. This people caused Manlius trouble, but he managed to overcome them also, capturing their city Ancyra by assault and gaining control of the rest of the towns by capitulation. After he had accomplished this and had received a large price for peace from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he set sail for home.

21. The Aetolians, after sending ambassadors to Rome the second time in regard to peace, were themselves once more beginning a rebellion. Hence the Romans immediately dismissed their envoys and assigned Greece to Marcus Fulvius. He set out first for the large city of Ambracia, once the royal residence of Pyrrhus and now occupied by the Aetolians, and proceeded to besiege it. The Aetolians, accordingly, held a conference with him in regard to peace, but since he was unwilling to make terms, they sent a part of their army into Ambracia. The Romans now undertook to capture the town by an underground passage, beginning their mine at a remote point, and so for a time eluding the notice of the besieged; but the latter suspected the true state of affairs when the excavated earth began to accumulate. Since, however, they were not aware in what direction the tunnel was being dug, they proceeded to apply a bronze shield to the surface of the ground along the circuit of the wall. And discovering the place by means of the resonance they went to work in their turn to dig a tunnel from inside, and so approached the Romans, with
"Ὅτι νεανίσκοι τινὲς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις ἐστὶν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντας 1 ὑβρίσαντες ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα καὶ ἐξεδόθησαν σφισιν, οὔκ ἔπαθον δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν δεινῶν οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀφείθησαν.—U° 12 (p. 381).

"Ὅτι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τῆς τροφῆς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς γευσάμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν λαφύρων περιουσίας τῆς τε παρὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐξουσίας ἐν τοῖς τῶν

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μαίοις ἔσαν εἰς μάχας κρυπτάς. τέλος δὲ τι τοιοῦτον ἀντεχεῖσαντο. πίθον μέγαν πτιλῶν πληρώσαντες πῦρ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνῆκαν, καὶ πῶμα χαλκοῦν αὐτῷ πολλαχῇ τετρημένων ἐνέθηκαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπόνομον τὸν πίθον κομίσαντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τρέφαντες τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀκροφύσιον οἱ κατὰ τὸν πυθέμενα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τούτῳ φύσας προσφέροντες πλεῖστον καὶ δυσχερῆ καπνὸν οἷα ἐκ πτιλῶν ἐκθορεῖν ἐποίουν, δὴν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ρωμαίων ὑπέμενεν. δὴν ἀπογυνόντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἔσπεισαντο καὶ τὴν πολυρκίαν κατέλυσαν. ὁμολογησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Λιτόλοι μετεβάλοντο καὶ διεπράζαντο ἀνοχήν, εἶτα καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, πολλὰ μὲν χρῆματα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὀμήρους δώτες. καὶ οἱ Φολούνοι τῆν Κεφαληνίαν ὁμολογία παρεστησατο καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στασιάζουσαν κατεστῆσατο.

Γαίον δὲ Φλαμινίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου Δεσπόδου ὑπατευόντων μετέπειτα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔθανε, καὶ

1 ἐλθόντας Wesseling, ἐλθόντες Mev.
Some youths who had insulted envoys of the Carthaginians when they came to Rome were sent to Carthage and delivered up to the people there; however, they received no injury at their hands, but were released.

The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time among the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils whom they battled in the darkness. Finally they devised the following sort of defence. Filling a huge jar with feathers, they put fire in it and attached a bronze cover perforated with numerous holes. Then, after carrying the jar into the mine and turning the mouth of it toward the enemy, they inserted a bellows in the bottom, and by blowing this bellows vigorously they caused a tremendous amount of disagreeable smoke, such as feathers would naturally create, to pour forth, so that none of the Romans could endure it. Hence the Romans, in despair of success, made a truce and raised the siege. When these had reached an agreement, the Aetolians also changed their course. They secured an armistice and subsequently obtained peace from the people [at Rome] by the gift of considerable money and many hostages. Fulvius gained Cephallenia by capitulation and established order in the Peloponnesus, which was torn by dissension.

Afterwards, in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Aemilius Lepidus, Antiochus died and his son
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ήττηθέντων κτήμασιν ἐγχρονίσαντες, τὴν 1 τε ἀσωτίαν αὐτῶν διὰ βραχέος ἐξῆλοσαν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη 2 οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κατεπάτησαν. οὕτω τὸ δεινὸν τούτ' ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐνέπεσε. 3—V. 55 (p. 609).

65 "Ὅτε ὁ Γράκχος ἄλλως μὲν ἐκ τε τοῦ πλῆθους ἦν καὶ ἐδημηγόρει δεινότατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοιώθη Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καίπερ παλαιῶν τινα πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἔχθραν ἔχων οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὸ γηγόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἀπελογήσατο ἐρήμῳ κατηγορηθέντος, ὡς τοὺς μηδεμίους κηλίδα λάβῃ διεσπούδαστο, 4 τὸν τε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐκώλυσεν ἐς τὸ οίκημα ἐμβλήθηται. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ οἱ Σκιπίωνες τὴν τε ἔχθραν κατέλυσαν καὶ κήδος συνήψαν τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνόφκισεν.—V. 56 (p. 610).

2 Διὸν ἦθι βιβλίῳ "ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ δις περὶ αὐτῶν τῆς σχολῆς, τὰς ὀδοὺς δι' αὐτῶν κατεσκευάσαντο."—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 14; cf. 166, 3.

Zonaras 9, 21.

αὐτὸν ὁ γίος ὁ Σέλευκος διεδέξατο· τελευτήσαντον δὲ κάκεινον πολλοὶ οὕστερον ὁ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ὀμηρεύων Ἀντίοχος ἐβασίλευσεν. ὁ δὲ γε Φίλιππος ἐτόλμησε μὲν νεωτέρισαι ὅτι πόλεων τινῶν ἐστερήθη ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ταύδε καὶ Λίυν καὶ Μαρωνείας, οὐκ ἠδυναθή δὲ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὰ περὶ τοὺς παιδας συνενεχθέντα αὐτῷ. καὶ Γαλάται τινὲς τὰς "Ἀλπεῖς

1 τὴν Rk., καὶ τὴν Ms.  2 ἦθο St., ἦθη Ms.  3 ἐνέπεσε Rk., ἐπέσε Ms.  4 διεσπούδαστο Val., διὰ ἐσπούδαστο Ms.

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and the licence granted by success in arms, rapidly came to emulate the prodigality of these peoples and ere long to trample under foot their own ancestral traditions. Thus this terrible influence, starting in that quarter, invaded the city as well.

Gracchus was thoroughly a man of the people and a very eloquent public speaker, yet his disposition was very different from Cato’s. For, although he had an enmity of long standing against the Scipios, he did not acquiesce in what was taking place, but spoke in defence of Africanus, who was accused while absent, and he exerted himself to prevent any stain from attaching to his name; he also prevented the imprisonment of Asiaticus. Consequently the Scipios gave up their enmity toward him and arranged a family alliance, Africanus bestowing upon him his own daughter.

Dio, Book XIX. “When even thus they [the troops] still had leisure, [the consuls] had the roads built by them.”

Zonaras 9, 21.

Seleucus succeeded him. Much later, at the demise of Seleucus, the Antiochus who was living as a hostage in Rome became king. And Philip undertook to revolt because he had been deprived of some towns in Thessaly and of Aenus and Maronea besides; but he was unable to do so because of his age and of what had happened to his sons. And some Gauls

1 Refers to the extension of the Via Flaminia from Ariminum to Placentia by the soldiers of Flamininus and Aemilius, consuls of 187 B.C. Cf. Livy 39, 2, 6, 10.
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ὑπερβάντες πόλιν ἐντὸς αὐτῶν κτίσαι ἥθελσαν. ὁν ὁ Μάρκος ὁ Μάρκελλος τὰ τε ὕππλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἑπεκομίζοντο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευσαμένοις σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρήσαι πάντα ἀπέδωκαν.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέθανε. πρέσβεων γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Προυσίαν τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας κρατοῦντα πεμφθέντων ἐκ Ῥώμης δὴ ἄλλα τε τινα καὶ ὅπως καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκδοιή παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντα, προμαθῶν τούτ’ ἐκεῖνος καὶ διαδρᾶναι μὴ οἶος τε ὃν ἐαυτὸν διεχορήσατο. χρησμοῦ δὲ ποτε αὐτῷ γενομένου ἐν γῇ Λιβύσσῃ τεθεῖσθαι, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ Λιβύῃ προσεδόκα θανεῖν, ἐτυχεὶ δὲ θυνήσκων ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ τυχάνων καλομένῳ Λιβύσσῃ. καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ Σκιπίων τότε μετήλλαξε.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798–805.

Αὐτὸς δὲ φάρμακον πιὸν θυνήσκει πρὸς Βιθυνίαν | πρὸς τι χωρίον Λιβύσσαν καλούμενον τῇ κλήσει | δοκών θανεῖν εἰς Λιβύσσαν πατρίδα τὴν οἰκείαν. | ἢν γὰρ Ἀννίβας τις χρησμὸς οὕτω ποῦ γεγραμμένος· | Λιβύσσα κρύψει βόδος Ἀννίβα δέμας. | ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δ' ύστερον Ῥωμαῖον | ὁ Σεβήρος· εἰκ γένους ὃν τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ λευκῆς | μαρμάρου τάφον τοῦ ἀνδρά τούτου τέθεικεν, τὸν | στρατηγὸν Ἀννίβαν.
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crossed the Alps and desired to found a city to the south of the mountains. Marcus Marcellus took away their arms and everything that they had brought along; but the people at Rome, upon receiving an embassy from them, restored everything on condition that they should at once retire.

At this time also occurred the death of Hannibal. Envoys had been sent from Rome to Prusias, monarch of Bithynia, a part of whose errand was to get him to give up Hannibal, who was at his court. But Hannibal learned of this beforehand, and being unable to escape, committed suicide. An oracle had once announced to him that he should die in the Libyssan\(^1\) [or Libyan] land, and he was expecting to die in Libya, his native country; but, as it happened, his death occurred while he was staying in a certain place called Libyssa. Scipio Africanus also died at this time.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798-805.

He himself [Hannibal] died by drinking poison near Bithynia in a place called Libyssa by name, though he expected to die in his own Libyan land. For an oracle had once been written out for Hannibal to the following effect: "A Libyssan\(^1\) [or Libyan] clod shall hide the form of Hannibal." Later the Roman Emperor Severus, being of Libyan birth, placed in a tomb of white marble this man, the general Hannibal.

\(^1\) Gr. Libyssa usually is the feminine adjective = Libyan, and Libya is Zonaras' usual word for Africa.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XX

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22. Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, τὸν υἱὸν Δημήτριον ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν ἔτερον υἱὸν τὸν Περσέα μελλήσας φονεύσειν, ἀπέθανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ προσφιλής τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρείας ἐγένετο ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠλπιζοῦν ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν βασιλείαν λήψεται, ἐφθάνησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Περσέας, ἀτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος αὐτοῦ ὄν, καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τῷ πατρὶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν φάρμακον πιεῖν ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τὸ ἀληθὲς γνων ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Περσέα ἠθέλησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε ἀπέδανε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Περσέας διεδέξατο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ταύτῃ τε αὐτῷ ἐβεβαιώσαν καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν φιλίαν ἀνενεώσαντο.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταύτα χρόνοις συνηνέχθησαν μὲν τινα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκαία πάνω ὡστε καὶ συγγραφῆς νομίζεσθαι ἄξια. ὕστερον δὲ ὁ Περσέας πολέμῳ ἐαυτὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ ἀναβολή τοῦ πολέμου σχοὶ μέχρις ἀν παρασκευάστηκα, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥωμήν ἐπεμψεν ἀπολογισμούς τάχα ψηφι ὁμ ἐνεκαλεῖτο. οὐς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι οὔτ' εἰςω τοῦ τείχους
22. Philip, king of Macedonia, had put to death his son Demetrius and was about to slay his other son Perseus, when death overtook him. For because Demetrius had gained the affection of the Roman people through his sojourn as hostage and hoped, along with the rest of the Macedonian people, that he should secure the kingdom after Philip's death, Perseus, who was his elder, had become jealous of him and falsely reported him to be plotting against his father. Thus Demetrius was forced to drink poison and died. Philip not long afterward ascertained the truth, and desired to take vengeance upon Perseus; but he did not possess sufficient strength, and not only did he die himself, but Perseus succeeded to the kingdom. The Romans confirmed his claims to it and renewed the compact of friendship made with his father.

In the period following this some events took place, to be sure, yet they were not of such great importance as to seem worthy of record. Still later Perseus became hostile to the Romans, and in order to delay actual warfare until he should have made his preparations, he sent envoys to Rome nominally to present his answer to the charges which were being brought against him. These messengers the Romans would not receive within the wall; and
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ἐδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεος αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαντες οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο ἔτερον ἢ ὅτι ὑπατόν πέμψουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὸ διαλεχθῆσεται. καὶ αὐθημεροῦς αὐτοὺς ἀπίναν ἐποίησαν, δόντες σφίζει καὶ ἁγώγους ὡστε μὴ τινι συγγένωνται καὶ τῷ Περσεί τῆς Ἑταλλας ἐπυβαίνειν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπειρήκασιν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἡρωμαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα Γναῖνον Σικίννιον στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως ὀλίγης ἐξεπέμψαν (οὐ γὰρ πιὸ τὴν μείζων παρεσκευάσαντο), καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς εἰς Θεσσαλίαν παρεμβάλλων τὰ γε πλείστα αὐτῆς ωκειώσατο ἐπει δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πέμποντες ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Δικιννίον Κράσσου, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Γαίου Λουκρήτιον. συμμέβας οὖν πρῶτον περὶ Δάρισαν τῷ Περσεὶ ἐν ὕπομολαχίᾳ ἔπτασεν ὦστερον μὲντοι περιεγένετο, ὡστε καὶ ἀναξόρηται τὸν Περσέα εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ὁ Κράσσος δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατεχομέναις προσέβαλε, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἀπεκρόοσθη, ἐστὶ δ' ἂς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τινᾶς κατασκάψας τοὺς ἀλόντας ἀπέδοτο. ἀπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη πυθόμενοι ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ τῶν τε Κράσσου ὦστερον ἐξημίωσαν χρήματι καὶ τὰς ἐαλωκυίας πόλεις ἠλευθέρωσαν καὶ τοὺς πραθέντας ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑταλλίᾳ εὑρεθέντας τότε παρὰ τῶν ἑωμημένων αὐτῶς ἐξεπράττο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὦτως ἐπράζαν οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἤτυχόσαν, καὶ πολλαχοῦ ἐπόνησε τὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου καὶ τῆς
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although they gave them a hearing in the space before the city, they returned no other answer than that they would send a consul with whom he might confer on whatever topics he pleased. They also caused them to depart the same day, after giving them guides to prevent their associating with anybody. And Perseus was forbidden for the future to set foot on the soil of Italy.

The Romans later sent out Gnaeus Sicinius, a praetor, with a small force, as they had not yet made ready their greater armament; and Perseus made an invasion of Thessaly, in which he won over the greater part of that country. When spring opened, they sent Licinius Crassus against him, as well as a praetor, Gaius Lucretius, in charge of the fleet. Crassus first encountered Perseus near Larissa and was worsted in a cavalry skirmish; later, however, he got the best of him, and Perseus accordingly retreated into Macedonia. Crassus meanwhile assailed the Greek cities which were held in subjection by Philip and was repulsed from the majority of them, although he got possession of a few and razed some of them to the ground, selling the captives. When the people in Rome learned of this, they became indignant, and later they imposed a fine on Crassus, liberated the captured cities, and bought back from the purchasers such of their inhabitants as had been sold and were then found in Italy.

Thus the Romans fared in these undertakings; but in the war against Perseus they suffered many severe reverses and their fortunes at many points were at a low ebb. Perseus occupied the greater
"Ότι ο Περσεύς παντελῶς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐκ

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Θεσσαλίας κατέσχε τὰ πλείονα. τὴν τε γὰρ ἄλλην συνεκρότησε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑλεφαντας τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φάλαγγα ὑπερτῶν ἦσκηκε, ὡς ἤλεγχ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀστίδας καὶ τὰ κράνη σιδηρώσας αὐτῶν, ὅπως δὲ μῆτε τοῖς ὕπποις φοβερὸι εἶεν, εἰδὼλα ἑλεφάντων σκευάσας ἐδείχνη μὲν ὑπὸ χρισματὸς τινος ὑσίμην ἔχοντα, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ ὠφθηναι καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι ἤστα (ᴮ𬭛喱.baidú γὰρ ἥφιε ἡχὴν τινα ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως), πρὸς ἐκείνα προσήχην αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς, μὲχρις οὖ καὶ ἐβάρσησαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσεύς μέγα ἐκ τούτων ἐκέκτητο φρόνημα καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεροίσειν ἐπηλπίσειν, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Ρώμη ταῦτα μαθόντες τὸν Μάρκιον Φιλιππόν ὑπατεύοντα σπουδὴ ἐξέπεμψαν, καὶ ὅς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε Ρωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἔξησκει, ὥστε δεῖσαντα τὸν Περσέα ἐν τῷ Διώκ ντῷ Μακεδονικῷ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Τέμπεσιν ἡσυχών ἀγειν καὶ τὰ στενὰ τηρεῖν. παρῆσατο δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Φιλιππὸς διὰ μέσων ὃρων ὑπερέβαλε καὶ τινα τοῦ Περσέως κατέσχε. προίων δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Πύδνης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνης, καὶ ἔπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ αὐθεὶς ὁ Περσεύς ἀνεθάρρησε καὶ ἄ κατέσχεν ὁ Φιλιππὸς ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ συγνὰ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐλύσει, συμμάχους τε προσηγάγετο καὶ πάντη τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλπίσειν εἰβάλειν.
Perseus hoped to eject the Romans from Greece

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part of Epirus and Thessaly, having gathered a large body of troops. As a special measure of defence against the Romans' elephants he had a trained phalanx of heavy-armed warriors whose shields and helmets he had had studded with sharp iron nails. Also, in order to make sure that the beasts should not prove a source of terror to the horses, he constructed images of elephants and smeared them with some kind of ointment to give them a dreadful odour. They were terrible both to see and to hear, since they were skilfully arranged to emit a roar resembling thunder; and he would repeatedly lead the horses up to these figures until they gained courage. Perseus, then, as a result of all this had acquired great confidence and even hoped to surpass Alexander in glory and in the size of his domain; and the people of Rome, when they learned this, speedily sent out Marcus Philippus, who was consul. He, on reaching the camp in Thessaly, went to drilling the Romans and the allies, so that Perseus became afraid, and remained quiet at Dium in Macedonia, near Tempe, and kept watch of the pass. Philippus, encouraged by this behaviour of his, crossed over the middle of the mountain range and occupied some possessions of Perseus. But as he was advancing toward Pydna he fell short of provisions and turned back to Thessaly. Perseus now gained courage anew, recovered the places that Philippus had occupied, and with his fleet caused the Romans numerous injuries. He also secured allies and hoped to eject the Romans from Greece alto-
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκβαλεῖν ἦλπισεν, τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτῆν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλυγορίᾳ ἀσθενής αὐθίς ἐγένετο. ἐπειδή γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπηύξετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν συμμαχικῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι καὶ προίκα οἱ αὐτῶν βοηθησόντων, ἢ καὶ καθ’ εαυτὸν κρατήσων, καὶ οὐτε τῷ Ἐυμενεῖ οὐτε τῷ Γεντίῳ τὰ χρήματα ἄ ὑπέσχητο ἀπέδωκε, νομίσας οἴκειαν αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἐχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. τούτων τε ὀν οὐ καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐκείνοι ἐντελὴ τῶν μισθῶν ἐλάμβανον) ἀπροθύμου ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοσοῦτο αὐθίς ἀπογρώσεως ἀφίκετο ὡστε καὶ σπουδῶν δεηθῆναι.—V. 57 (p. 610).

2 "Οτι ο Περσεύς σπουδῶν ἐδείχθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, κἂν ἐτυχεὶν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἱπνέωται τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτῆν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλυγορίᾳ ἀσθενῆς αὐθίς εὐμεθίνει. ὡς γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου, τὰ ἐκεῖνο ἐπηύξετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν συμμάχων δεόμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου χρήματα σφίσιν ἄ ἐπηγγείλατο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀμβλυνθέντων τὸ πρόθυμον, τῶν δὲ καὶ τέλεον αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντων, τοσοῦτον ἀπέγνω ὡστε καὶ σπουδῶν δεηθῆναι. καὶ κἂν ἐτυχεὶ τούτων διὰ τοῦ Ἐυμενους, εἰ μὴ καὶ Ῥόδιοι συνεπρέπεινεν ὑπερηφάνιοι γὰρ

1 ἐκείνου Reim., ἐκείνων Ms.
2 ὑπέσχητο Bk., ὑπέσχητο Ms.
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completely, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. For when the Roman influence was declining and his own was increasing, he became filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, but believed that either they would assist him free of cost or he could prevail by himself. Hence he paid neither Eumenes nor Gentius the money that he had promised, thinking that they had reasons of their own for enmity toward the Romans. These princes, therefore, and the Thracians, who also were not receiving their full pay, became indifferent; and Perseus fell into such depths of despair again that he even sued for peace.

Perseus sued for peace at the hands of the Romans, and would have obtained it but for the presence in

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gether, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. For as soon as the Roman influence was declining and his own was increasing, he became filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, and would not give them the money which he had offered. The zeal of some, accordingly, became damped and others abandoned him entirely, whereupon he was so overwhelmed by despair that he even sued for peace. And he would have obtained it through Eumenes but for the presence of Rhodians also in the embassy.
πρέσβευσαν αὐτῷ δέει τοῦ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἀντίπαλον ὑπεξαρεδήναι. μέτριον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, οἷα δεομένους εἰκὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, ἐλέξαν καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκ αἰτηταί μᾶλλον τῷ Περσεῖ ἦ δόται οὔτε, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ὑπερήφανα διελέχθησαν, καὶ τέλος ἤπειλήσαν τοῖς αἰτίοις τοῦ μὴ συμβηνᾷ σφας γενομένους μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων πολεμήσειν. κὰκ τούτον οὔδὲ τὸ πρὶν ἀνύποπτοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε μᾶλλον διεβλήθησαν, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τῶν σπουδῶν τυχεῖν ἑκόλυσαν.—


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οὕτωι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαλεξθέντες τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ἑκόλυσαν τῶν σπουδῶν.

23. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ κατ’ αὐτοῦ πόλεμος Παῦλος ἀνετέθη τῷ Λιμιλίῳ τῷ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντι. ὦς σπουδὴ κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαταστησάμενος, βιασύμενος διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν (ὁλγοί γὰρ ἐφρούρουν αὐτὰ), ἐπὶ τὸν Περσέα ὄρμησεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκείνος τὸν Ἑλπιὸν ποταμὸν προσαπέφραξεν ὅντα ἑν μέσῳ, προκαταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὰν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τὸ Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αἰμασίαις καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασι ἀπορν ἀπειρογάσατο, ἐθάρρει δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ τοῦ τόπου, ἐπέφρασε μὲν καὶ οὕτωι ὁ ὑπάτος διελθείν, καὶ

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his embassy of the Rhodians, who joined it through fear that the Romans’ rival might be destroyed. Their language had none of the moderation which it was fitting for petitioners to employ, and they talked as if they were not so much asking peace for Perseus as bestowing it, and adopted a very arrogant tone generally; finally they threatened those who should be responsible for their failing to come to an agreement, declaring that they would fight with the others against them. Even before this time they had not been free from suspicion on the part of the Romans, and by their present conduct they made themselves more hated than ever; thus they prevented Perseus from obtaining peace.

Zonaras 9, 22-23.

These, by adopting an arrogant tone with the Romans, prevented him from obtaining peace.

23. At this point the war against him was entrusted to Aemilius Paulus, now for the second time consul. He quickly reached Thessaly, and having first restored discipline among the soldiers, forced his way through Tempe, which was being guarded by only a few men, and marched against Perseus. The latter had erected breastworks along the river Elpeus, which lay between the armies, had occupied and rendered impassable by means of stone walls and palisades and buildings all the ground between Olympus and the sea, and was encouraged by the lack of water in the place. Yet even so the consul attempted to effect a passage, and he found a means of remedying
Ζωνάρας 9, 23.

tῆς ἀνυδρίας ἐπορίσατο ἐπικούρημα. διαμησά-
μενος γὰρ τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑπορείᾳ τοῦ Ὡλύμπου ἄμμον ὕδωρ εὑρε δαψιλές τε καὶ πότιμον. καὶ
tούτῳ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο πρὸς
cάτω ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς θρασύτητος ἄφθις καὶ
es τῆς Ῥώμης πρὶν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. ὦ δὲ ὦ
εἰπὼν πλέον αὐτοῖς ἢ ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγας ἡµέρας
ἀπόκρισιν δώσει, ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ
προσβάλλουν ὦδεν ἐπέραινεν, ἔµαθε δὲ θὰ ὄρη
οὐτα ποὺ πορεύσιµα, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ
ἐπὶ τὴν δυσπροσοδώτεραν αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὴν
ἐπεµψε, καταληψόµενον τὰ ταύτη ἐπίκαιρα (διὰ
γὰρ τὸ δυσπρόσιτον καὶ ἐλαχίστην εἰχε φρουράν)
cάτω δὲ τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ στρατεύµατος προσέµιξε
tὸ Περσεῖ, ἴνα µη τὶ ὑποτοπῆσας φυλακὴ
cῶν ὄρων ἀκριβεστέραν ποιῆσατο. καὶ µετὰ
tοῦτο καταληφθέντων τῶν ἀκρων νυκτὸς πρὸς
tὰ ὄρη ὀρµήσε, καὶ πῆ µὲν λαβὼν, πη δὲ βια-
σάµενος ὑπερέβαλεν αὐτά. ὦ µαθὼν ὦ Περσεῖς,
cαὶ δείχνας µὴ κατὰ νοτοῦ αὐτῶ προσπέσῃ ἢ
cαὶ τὴν Πύδναν προκατάσχη (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ναυτικὸν
ἀµα τὸ τῶν Ῥωµαιῶν παρέπλει), τὸ τε ἔρµνα
tὸ πρὸς τῷ ποταµῷ ἐξέλιψε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
Πύδναν ἐπευχεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
sατο. καὶ ἤλθε µὲν καὶ ὦ Παύλος ἑκεῖ, οὐ
µέντοι καὶ παραχρήµα προσέµιξας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
διέτριψαν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἡµέρας. προµαθῶν δὲ ὦ
Παύλος ὡς ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείψεις µέλλει, συνη-
θροίκει πρὸς ἐσπέραν τὸ στράτευµα, ὅτε τὴν
ἐκλείψεις γενέσθαι ἔχρην, καὶ προεῖπε τὸ συµβη-
σόµενον, καὶ µὴ τι διὰ τοῦτο ταραχθῆναι παρῆ-
the lack of water; for by piercing the sand bed at the foot of Olympus he found an abundant supply suitable for drinking. Meanwhile envoys of the Rhodians came to him, animated by the same boldness which they had displayed on their former embassy to Rome. But he made no statement to them beyond saying that he would return an answer in a few days, and dismissed them. Now when he could accomplish nothing by direct assault, but learned that the mountains were passable in places, he sent a portion of his army toward that pass across them which was the most difficult of approach, to seize opportune points along the route,—for on account of the difficulty of access it had an extremely small guard,—while he himself with the remainder of his army attacked Perseus, so that the latter might not become suspicious and guard the mountains with greater care. Afterwards, when the heights had been occupied, he set out by night for the mountains, and by passing unnoticed at some points and employing force at others he got across. Perseus on learning of this became afraid that the enemy might assail him from the rear, or even seize Pydna, since the Roman fleet was at the same time sailing along the coast; and he accordingly abandoned his fortification near the river, and hastening to Pydna, encamped in front of the town. Paulus, too, came there, but instead of beginning an engagement immediately they delayed for a good many days. Paulus had learned beforehand that the moon was going to be eclipsed, and so, assembling his army on the evening when the eclipse was due to occur, he gave the men notice of what would happen and warned them not to let it disturb
νεσεν. οι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι τὴν ἐκλείψιν θεασάμενοι οὐδὲν κακὸν εξ αὐτῆς ὑπετόπησαν, οἱ δὲ γε Μακεδόνες δέος ἐσχὼν ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἐς τὸν Περσέα τὸ τέρας τείνειν ἐνόμισαν. οὐτὼ δὲ ἐκατέρων ἔχοντων συμβάν τι κατὰ τύχην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνερρήξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην ἀκηρύκτων καὶ τέλος τὸ πολέμῳ ἐπέθηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑποζυγίων τι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ εἰσέπεσεν εξ οὖπερ ύδρεύοντο, καὶ οἱ τε Μακεδόνες αὐτοῖς ἐπελάβοντο καὶ οἱ ύδροφόροι ἀντείχοντο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς ἐμαχέσαντο, ἐπειτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἑπικουροῦντες τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ὀλίγους ἐκ τῶν στρατοπεδῶν ἐξῆσαν, καὶ πάντες συνέμειν ἀπὸ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ μάχης ἀσυντάκτων μὲν, ὅξειας δὲ γενομένης, οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κατανικέαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσπλεύσαντι ἀποκτείνασαν παρέδωσαν. οὐδ’ ἄν τις ὑπελεύθη αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ νυξ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησε. περὶ δὲιλην γὰρ ὄψιν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο.

Διαφυγὼν οὖν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ὁ Περσέας ὡς τοὺς τε περιλιπεῖς ἀναληψόμενος καὶ συστήσωρ αὖθις τὰ πράγματα, ἐπεὶ οὖτ’ ἤλθον τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν πλῆν μισθοφόρων Κριτῶν καὶ τὴν Πύναν ἄλλας τε πόλεις τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρνηθαι ἐμαθε, κάκειθεν μετέστη καὶ εἰς πλοῖα τὰ χρήματα ὡσα ἐπίγειον θέμενοι νυκτὸς ἐς Σαμοθράκην ἀπέπλευσε. καὶ πυθόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον τὸν Ὅκταούνιον, ὅς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πρώτοτα, προσπλέωσε, καὶ τὸν Παύλον ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν παρόντα, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δεόμενον.
them at all. Accordingly the Romans on beholding the eclipse looked for no evil to come from it; but the Macedonians were in fear because of it and thought that the prodigy referred to Perseus. While each side was in this frame of mind an accidental occurrence the next day forced them into an unpremeditated battle and put an end to the war. One of the Romans’ pack-animals fell into the water from which they were getting their supply, whereupon the Macedonians laid hold of him and the water-carriers offered resistance. At first they fought by themselves; then the other troops also gradually issued from their respective camps to the assistance of their own men, and everybody on both sides became engaged. A disordered but sharp conflict ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; and pursuing the Macedonians as far as the sea, they slaughtered numbers of them themselves and allowed the fleet, which was drawing inshore, to slay many more. Indeed, not one of them would have been left alive had not night come to their aid; for the battle occurred during the late afternoon.

Perseus consequently made his escape to Amphipolis, where he intended to rally the survivors and reorganize the campaign; but as nobody came to him but Cretan mercenaries and he learned that Pydna and other cities had chosen the Roman side, he moved on from there also, and after putting aboard some vessels all the money that he was carrying he sailed away by night to Samothrace. Before long he ascertained that Octavius was approaching at the head of his fleet and that Paulus had arrived at Amphipolis; so he sent him a letter expressing a
3 "Ὅτι ὁ Περσέως ἐν Σαμοθράκη ὄν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐξαιτηθεὶς Εὐανδρὸν τινα, γένος μὲν Κρήτηα, πιστότατον δὲ ὁντα καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπουργικότα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐυμενοῦς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς γενομένην συνεσκενακότα, οὐκ ἐξεδωκε μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ κατείπῃ ὡσα αὐτῷ συνήδει, λάθρα δὲ ἀποκτείνας διέδωκε λόγον ὅτι ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο. οἱ δὲ συνόντες οἱ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ

Zonaras 9, 23.

καὶ ἐπεὶ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὀνόμασε, οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως ἔτυχεν. ὦστερον δὲ ἀνευτιμὸς τοιαύτης προσφησεως ἐπιστειλαντος προσεδέξατο μὲν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν σπουδῶν λόγον, οὐκ ἀλλος μέντοι συμβησθαι ἐφη εἰ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐ συνέβησαν. μετά τούτο δὲ ἐξαιτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Εὐανδρόν τινα Κρήτηα πολλά κατ' αὐτῶν ὑπουργικότα καὶ πιστότατον αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἐξεδωκε μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ κατείπῃ ὡσα αὐτῷ συνήδει, λάθρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι ἐφημισε. τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπί-

1 δὲ Val., τε Ms. 2 μὲν inserted by Bk. 3 διέδωκε Val., δέδωκε Ms.
BOOK XX

When Perseus was in the temple at Samothrace, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of one Evander, of Cretan stock, a most faithful follower who had assisted him in many other schemes against the Romans and had helped to concoct the plot carried out at Delphi against Eumenes. Perseus, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him up, but secretly slew him and spread the report that he had made away with himself before he could be apprehended. The associates of Perseus, fearing his desire to come to terms. But since he styled himself king in the letter, he did not even get an answer. Subsequently he sent a letter without any such title in it; and Paulus entertained his plea for peace, but declared that he would make terms only on condition that Perseus entrusted himself and all his possessions to the Romans' keeping. Hence they failed to come to an agreement. After this a demand was made upon Perseus by the Romans for the surrender of one Evander, a Cretan, who had assisted him in many schemes against them and was most faithful to him. Perseus, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him up, but secretly slew him and spread the report that he had perished by his own hand. Then the associates of Perseus, fearing his treachery,
καὶ τὴν μαιφουνίαν μεθίστασθαι ἥρξαντο.—V. 58 (p. 610).

4 "Οτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἔθελοντις εὗρέθη, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀχθέντα ὁ Παῦλος οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔργῳ οὔτε λόγῳ δεινόν ἐδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσίωντι οἱ ὑπαναστάς τὰ τε ἅλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο, ἐν τε φυλακῇ ἄδεσμῳ καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἤγε.—V. 59 (p. 613).


στίαν αὐτοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἤγνωσαν τὸ γενόμενον), μεθίστασθαι ἥρξαντο. κακείνως δεῖσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραδοθῇ, ἐκδράναι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀν πρὸς Κότυν Θράκη δυνάστην κομισθείς, εἰ μὴ οἱ Κρῆτες αὐτὸν ἐγκατέλιπον· ἐνθέμενοι γὰρ τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰ πλοῖα οἰκάδε ἀπήραν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς αὐτοῦ μετὰ Φιλίππου ἐνὸς τῶν υἱῶν κρυπτόμενος ἔλαβεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους παῦδας καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐγὼ κατεσχήκοτα τῶν Ὀκταύμον, εὗρθη ἐθελοντὴς. καὶ ἀχθέντα εἰς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οὐδέν ὁ Παῦλος ἐκάκωσεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐν ἄδεσμῳ φυλακῇ ἐτήρει καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ ἤγε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου ἀνεκομίσθη. 1

24. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Δούκιος Ἀνίκιος στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Γέντιον τοὺς προσμίξαντας τε αὐτῷ ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸν Γέντιον φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας ἐς Σκόδραν 2 κατέ-

1 There follow in Zonaras several lines taken from Plutarch.
2 Σκόδραν Wolf, κόβραν Mss.
treachery and blood-guiltiness, then began to desert him.

Perseus allowed himself to be discovered, and he was brought to Amphipolis. Paulus accorded him no harsh treatment in deed or word, but on the contrary rose at his approach, welcomed him in other ways, and let him sit at his table; he kept him in honourable confinement and treated him with great consideration.


since they were not ignorant of what had occurred, began to desert him. Perseus, in dread of being delivered up to the Romans, tried to escape at night by flight, and would have gotten away unobserved to Cotys, a Thracian prince, but for the fact that the Cretans abandoned him; for after placing the money in boats they sailed off home. So he remained there for some days in concealment with Philip, one of his sons, but on ascertaining that the rest of his children and his retinue had fallen into the hands of Octavius, he allowed himself to be discovered. When he was brought to Amphipolis, Paulus did him no injury, but welcomed him and let him sit at his table; he kept him in honourable confinement and treated him with consideration. After this Paulus returned through Epirus to Italy.

24. At this same time Lucius Anicius, a praetor, sent to conduct operations against Gentius, not only conquered those who withstood him but also pursued Gentius, when he fled to Scodra, where his
κλείσεν, ὃποι ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ βασιλεία. καὶ διακενήσεις ἄν προσηθοῦσαν αὐτῇ (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἄκρωνυχίας ὅρους πεπόλισται καὶ φάραγξι βαθεῖαις ποταμοὺς ῥόοδεις ἐχοῦσαι περιείλεται, τείχει τε ὀχυροὶ περιβλέποιται), εἰ μή ὁ Γέντιος μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει ἐπίσθασε ἐκὼν εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησε. καὶ τούτου τοῦ τε ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Ἀνίκιος προσηγάγετο καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἡπείρου προελθὼν, πρὶν τὸν Παύλου ἔλθειν, κακείνην τάραττομένην ἦμέρωσεν.

Οἱ δ᾿ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἔμαθον μὲν τὴν τοῦ Παύλου νίκην τετάρτῃ μετά τὴν μάχην ἠμέρα ἐκ τινὸς φήμης, οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστευον. εἶτα γραμμάτων ὑπὲρ ταύτης κοιμηθέντων τοῦ Παύλου, ὑπερήφαναν, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τὸν Περσέα νευκηκότης καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν κτησάμενοι, ἄλλος τὸν Φιλιπποῦ ἐκείνου τὸν πάνω καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔκεινης ἡν ἐσχήκε γειωσάντες ἐσεμυνύντο. ἔλθοντι δ᾿ ἐς Ῥώμην τὸν Παύλον πολλὰ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν νικητήρων αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτη ἐγένετο. ἐπεμψε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰλλα ὡσα ἐσαλώκει πάντα, ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Βιθύν τὸν τοῦ Κότυνος νιὼν, τὸν τοῦ Περσέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε παιδας τρέις ὄντας ἐν τῷ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι. δεῖσας δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς εὐνυχίας ὑπερβολὴν μὴ τι νεμεσίης αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμονίου, ἤξιοτο καὶ ὁντος κατὰ τὸν Κάμιλλον μὴ τι κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτῷ, εἴ τι δέοι, γενήσεσθαι καὶ δύο νιείς, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου μικροῦ, τὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ἐπινικιών.
palace was, and shut him up there. The city was built on the summit of a mountain and had deep ravines with rushing torrents winding about it, besides being surrounded by a strong wall; and the siege would have come to naught, had not Gentius, presuming greatly upon his own power, voluntarily advanced to battle. In consequence Anicius gained control of his entire domain; he then proceeded to Epirus, before Paulus arrived, and quieted that disturbed district also.

The people of Rome by some rumour or other heard of the victory of Paulus on the fourth day after the battle, but they placed no sure confidence in it. Then letters were brought from Paulus regarding his success, and they were greatly pleased and plumed themselves not merely upon having vanquished Perseus and acquired Macedonia but upon having beaten the renowned Philip of old and Alexander himself, together with all that empire which he had held. When Paulus reached Rome, many decrees were passed in his honour and his triumphal procession was a most brilliant one. For in addition to all the booty which he had taken he also had in his procession Bithys, the son of Cotys, besides Perseus with his wife and three children in the garb of captives. But fearing that Heaven might become displeased with the Romans because of their excessive good fortune, he prayed, as Camillus had once done, that no ill to the state might result from it all, but rather to him, if it must come; and, indeed, he lost two sons, one a little before the celebration and the other during the
"Οτε ὁ Παύλος οὐ στρατηγήσαι μόνον ἢν ἁγαθὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων ἀδυρότατος. τεκμήριον δὲ δεύτερον τότε ύπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυνθητῶν κρατήσας ἐν τοσάυτῇ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὡστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ προῖκα τελευτήσατος ἀποδοθήμαι. τοιούτος μὲν σὺν 2 ἦν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔπραξεν τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ὡσπερ τινὰ κηλίδα τῷ 1 τούτου βίῳ προστρέφθαι νομίζουσι, τὸ διαρράσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ἐπιτρέψαι, 2 τάλα τὰ ἀμοιρον χαρίτων ἄνδρα γενόμενον, καὶ μέτριον μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, εὐτυχεστάτων δὲ ἄμα καὶ εὐβουλοτατον ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὀφθέντα. μαρτύριον δὲ τὸ μὴτε πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ὑπέροχον καὶ ἀλάξωνα δειχθῆναι, μὴτε τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον κακῶς καὶ ἀπροβούλως ἀγωνίσασθαι.—V. 60 (p. 613).

Zonaras 9, 24.

ἀπέβαλεν ἐορτή. ἦν δὲ οὐ στρατηγήσαι μόνον ἁγαθὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ύπεροπτῆς χρημάτων. τεκμήριον δὲ δεύτερον τότε ύπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυνθητῶν κρατήσας ἐν τοσάυτῇ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὡστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ προῖκα τελευτήσατος ἀποδοθήμαι.

Τὸν δ’ ἀλόντων τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὁ Βίθυς προῖκα ἐδόθη. Περσεῖς δὲ εἰς Ἀλβαν σὺν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ κατετέθη κακεῖ ἐως μὲν ἡλπίζῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ κομίσασθαι ἀντεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δ’

1 τῷ Ρκ., ἐν τῷ Μσ.
2 ἐπιτρέψαι added by Val.; still more seems to have been lost from the Ms.
BOOK XX

Paulus was not only good at generalship but most inaccessible to bribes. Of this the following is a proof. Though he had at that time entered upon the consulship for a second term and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in such great poverty that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife. Such was the nature of the man and such were his deeds. The only thing regarded as a blemish that attached to his character was his turning over the possessions [of the Epirots?] to his soldiers for pillage; for the rest, he showed himself a man not devoid of charm and temperate in good fortune, who was seen to be at once most fortunate and most shrewd in military affairs. For example, he did not assume a pompous or boastful attitude toward Perseus, nor had he been careless or incautious in his conduct of the war against him.

Zonaras 9, 24.

triumphal festival itself. He was not only good at generalship, but he scorned money. Of this the following is a proof. Though he had at that time entered upon the consulship for a second term and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in such great poverty that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife.

Of the captives Bithys was returned to his father without ransom, but Perseus with his children and attendants was settled in Alba. There he held out as long as he still hoped to recover his kingdom,
"Οτι οι 'Ρόδιοι φρόνημα πολὺ πρότερον σχόντες ως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν τε Φιλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον νενικήκοτες τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων κρείττους δύνες, ἐς τοσοῦτον δέους ἀφίκοντο ὅστε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν τῆς Συρίας βασιλέα σταλέντα Ποπίλιον ἡμαζεύονται καὶ παράγουσιν αὐτοῦ καταψυφόμετατα πάντων τῶν ἀναντίαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φρονησάντων, τοὺς τε συλληφθέντας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν πέμψαν μεταφέρει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνάνησάν τούτων ἕως τιμωρίαν πέμψαν μεταφέρει τοῖς Χρήσσανε τίς ἐκ οὗτω ὑποβιβασάν ποτε οὕτως λαβεῖν ἐπικύρων, μονὰ ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν γε πρόσ-

Zonaras 9, 24.

ἐπέγεν, ἐαυτὸν διεχειρίσατο, καὶ ὁ Φιλιππος ὁ νίστροι αὐτοῦ ἢ τε θυγατηρ αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακαρίαν ἀπέθανον· μόνος δὲ ὁ νέωτατος τοῖς τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἀρχοντισιν ὑπογραμματεύων ἐπὶ τινα χρόνων δήρεσιν ὑπό τῶν Περσευς ὁ διεκοσι βασιλείων αὐχῶν γεγονέναι, καὶ πολὺν μεν τὸν Φιλιππον, πλείω δὲ θρυλλῶν τὸν Ἀλεξανδρῶν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπόλεσε καὶ αἰχμαλωτος γέγονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐπόμπευσε, δεσμὰ μετά τοῦ διαδήματος περικέμενος.

Οἱ δὲ γε Ῥόδιοι, μετὰ φρονήματος πρόσφην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσφέρομενοι, τότε μὴ μυησικακεῖν

1 Ποπίλιον Reim., πόπλιον Mss. 2 ἄνπερ Bk., ἄνπερ Mss.
BOOK XX

The Rhodians, who formerly had possessed a great deal of self-esteem, thinking that they, too, were the conquerors of Philip and Antiochus and were superior to the Romans, became so alarmed that they sent for Popilius, who had been despatched as an ambassador to Antiochus, king of Syria, and in his presence to condemn all those who had been opposed to the Roman policy and to send such of them as were apprehended to punishment.

This same people, though they had frequently sent envoys to the Romans, as often as they wanted anything, now ceased to bring to their attention any of their former claims, but mentioned only the cases they could cite of services once rendered them which might be useful in diverting their ill-will.

Zonaras 9, 24.

but when he despaired of this, he made away with himself. His son Philip and his daughter also died a little later; only the youngest son survived for a time and served as under-secretary to the magistrates of Alba. Thus Perseus, who boasted of tracing his descent through twenty kings and often had on his lips the name of Philip and still oftener that of Alexander, lost his kingdom, became a captive, and marched in the triumphal procession wearing chains as well as his diadem.

The Rhodians, who in their earlier dealings with the Romans had shown a haughty spirit, now begged
ρησιν τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ προσ-
dεχόμενοι πρόσθεν, ἵνα ὡς καὶ μετατάξασθαι
ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἐνορκὸν ἀνάγκης
φιλίας ἔχειν δυνάμενοι φοβεροί τε αὐτοῖς ὅσι
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀεὶ πολεμοῦντων σφίσιν ἐπιθερα-
πεύονται, τότε καὶ πάνυ προσθέσθαι ἐσποῦδαξον,
tὴν τε παρὰ τῶν Ὀμαιῶν εὐνοιαν ἀμα βεβαιο-
μενοι καὶ τιμὴν ἐκ τοῦτου καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
θηρώμενοι.—U° 15 (p. 382).

69 "Οτε ὁ Προυσίας αὐτὸς ἐς τῇ Ὀμῆν καὶ ἐς
τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε οὐδὸν αὐτοῦ
κατεφίλησε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θεοὺς ἐπωνομάσε
καὶ προσκύνησεν. εξ' οὔπερ καὶ θλήσθη ὡτι
μᾶλλον, καίτοι καὶ τῷ Ἀττάλῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν

Zonaras 9, 24.

αὐτοῦς ἥξιον, καὶ σύμμαχοι πρόσθεν αὐτῶν
καλείσθαι μὴ προσδεχόμενοι, τότε καὶ πάνω
τοῦτον τυχεῖν ἐσποῦδαξον καὶ ἐτυχον τῆς
σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ὅψε. καὶ τοῖς Κρησίων ὀργίζοντο
μὲν οἱ Ὀμαιοί, ἰκετείας δὲ πολλὰς χρησαμένους
ἀφήκαν ποτε τὴν ὀργήν. καὶ ὁ Προυσίας δὲ
καὶ ὁ Εὔμενης, δὲ μὲν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἐλθὼν καὶ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν καὶ
tον οὐδὸν φιλήσας καὶ προσκυνήσας τοὺς βου-
λευτὰς θλήσθη τε καὶ ἠθόποτο, Εὔμενης δὲ δὲ

1 εἰς τὸ Βκ., τὸ εἰς Ματ.
They were especially anxious at this time to secure the title of Roman allies, which formerly they had refused to accept; for they had wished to inspire the Romans with fear through the fact that they were not bound to friendship by any oath and hence were free to transfer their allegiance at any time, and furthermore they had wished to be courted by such states as from time to time might be engaged in war with Rome. But now they were endeavouring to strengthen the good-will of the Romans, while at the same time seeking the honour that was sure to be accorded them in consequence by others.

Prusias himself came to Rome, and entering the senate-house, kissed the threshold; and he termed the senators gods, and did them obeisance. Thus he readily obtained mercy, though he had fought against Attalus contrary to the Romans' advice. It

Zonaras 9, 24.

the latter not to bear ill-will toward them; and whereas they had previously refused to be called their allies, they were now especially anxious to secure this privilege. They obtained the object of their striving, but only after long delay. The Romans harboured resentment against the Cretans, too, but in response to frequent entreaties on the part of this nation they eventually relaxed their anger. Their behaviour was similar in the case of Prusias and Eumenes. The former came personally to the city, and entering the senate-house, kissed the threshold and did obeisance to the senators, whereupon he obtained mercy and par-
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Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πολεμήσας. ἔλεγετο γὰρ καὶ ὁ ὅσκο τοῦ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν, ὅσακις ἄφικουσα τινας, προσκυνεῖν, ἀπελεύθερον τε ἐαυτὸν τοῦ δήμου ἐπεκάλει, καὶ πιλών πολλάκις ἐπετιθέτο.

—U. 16 (p. 383).

Zonaras 9, 24-25.

Ἄτταλος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸ μή τι μνησικακείν αὐτῷ εἴληφε.

Τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας οὕτω διωκόθησι. Ἀριαράδης ὁ ταύτης κρατῶν παίδα γνήσιον ἔσχεν Ἀριαράθην. πριν δὲ ἐσχηκέναι αὐτόν, ἔπειρον χρόνον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκύσκε, παίδα προσεποιήσατο Ὀροφέρνην καλέσασα. γεννηθέντος δὲ ἐπείτα τοῦ γνήσιου φωράθεις ἐκεῖνος ἐξηλάθη. ὃς μετὰ τὸν Ἀριαράθον θάνατον τῷ ἀδελφῷ δήθεν ἔπανέστη, καὶ συνεμάχον Ἀριαράθη μὲν Εὐμενής, Ὀροφέρνη δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς. ἐλαττωθεὶς δὲ Ἀριαράθης πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγε, καὶ κοινωνὸς τῷ Ὀροφέρνῃ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδέδεικτο, ὅτι δὲ ὁ Ἀριαράθης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος προσηγόρευτο, πᾶσαν ἐκείνος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦτου προσφηκείσατο. καὶ οὗ Ἀτταλὸς δὲ τοῦ Εὐμενῆ θανόντα διαδεξάμενος τὸν τε Ὀροφέρνην καὶ τοῦ Δημήτριον παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀπῆλθεν.

25. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῶν Πτολεμαῖος ἐπὶ δυσὶν νίεσε καὶ μιὰ ἐξέλυε ὑγατρὶ. ὡς δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλους οἱ ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστασίαςαν, Ἀντίοχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντίοχου

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was said that at home, too, whenever their envoys came to him, he did them obeisance, calling himself a freedman of the people, and often he would put on the cap of liberty.

Zonaras 9, 24–25.

Don; Eumenes, however, owed to his brother Attalus his security against further ill-will on their part.

At this time, too, the affairs of Cappadocia were settled in the following manner. The monarch of that country, Ariarathes, had a legitimate son Ariarathes. But since for a long time before she had this son his wife had failed to conceive, she had adopted a child whom she called Orophernes. When the true son was later born, the position of the other was detected and he was banished. But after the death of Ariarathes he headed an uprising against his alleged brother. Eumenes allied himself with Ariarathes, and Demetrius, the king of Syria, with Orophernes. Ariarathes, after sustaining a defeat, fled to the Romans and was appointed by them to share the kingdom with Orophernes. But the fact that Ariarathes had been termed a friend and ally by the Romans enabled him subsequently to make the entire domain his own. Then Attalus, who succeeded Eumenes upon the death of the latter, drove both Orophernes and Demetrius out of Cappadocia altogether.

25. Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, passed away leaving two sons and one daughter. When the brothers began to quarrel with each other about the sovereignty, Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the
υ irrational
о
προφάσει τού αυτοφ αμήνεως ες τα των Αγιαπτιών παρέλθοι και στρατεύσας ἑπὶ την Αγιαπτον της τη πλεύονος χώρας ἐκράτησε και ἔπολυρκει την Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καταφυγόντων δ' τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πεμφθεῖς πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντίοχον ὁ Ποπίλιος ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτῶν τῆς Αγιαπτον ἑκέλευσεν οἱ γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ συνέντευς την τοῦ Ἀντίοχον διάνοιαν κατηλλάγησαν. ὡς δ' ἐκείνοις ὑπερῆθεν την ἀπόκρισιν, κύκλου ράβδῳ περίει αὐτοῦ περιέγραψε, κάνταυθα αὐτοῦ ἐστηκότα ἀπῆτησε βουλεύσασθαι τε καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι. ἐνεύθεν δεῖσα ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκείαν κατέλυσεν. ἀπαλλαγέντες δὲ τοῦ ἐξωθεν φόβον οἱ Πολεμαῖοι (οὗτο γὰρ ἐκάλωυτο ἀμφότεροι) αὖθις ἐστασίασαν. εἶτα συνηλλάγησαν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ὦ τῶν μὲν πρεσβύτερον την Αγιαπτον καὶ τὴν Κύπρον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἔχειν τὸν ἐτερον καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ τότε τῶν Αγιαπτιών ἡν. ἀγανακτῶν δ' ὁ νεώτερος διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο καὶ εὐρατο παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος συμβάσεις ἐβεβέβαιος αὖθις πρὸς τῶν νεώτερον, πόλεις τε τινὰς ἄντι τῆς Κύπρου δοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ταξάμενοι συντελεῖν.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀντίοχον τελευτῶν ἡμέρας μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παῖδι ὅμως ἡ βασιλείαν καταλιπόντος, ταυτὴν τε αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσαν καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἑπιτρόπους δῆθεν, μικρὸς γὰρ ἤν, ἔπεμψαν. οἱ παρὰ τὰς συνθῆκας εὑρόντες ἐλέφαντας καὶ

1 νεώτερον Βς., νεώτατον Μθ. 
2 Ποπίλιος Wolf, τὸπλίο (τοπλίος Α) Μθ.
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

Great, sheltered the younger, who had been driven out, in order that under the pretext of defending him he might get his hands on Egyptian affairs. In a campaign directed against Egypt he conquered the greater part of the country and spent some time in besieging Alexandria. When the rest sought refuge with the Romans, Popilius was sent to Antiochus and bade him keep his hands off Egypt; for the brothers, comprehending the designs of Antiochus, had become reconciled. When the latter was for putting off his reply, Popilius drew a circle about him with his staff and demanded that he deliberate and answer standing where he was. Antiochus then in fear raised the siege. The Ptolemies (this was the name of both princes) on being relieved of their dread of danger from outside, quarrelled again. Then they were reconciled once more by the Romans, on the condition that the elder should have Egypt and Cyprus, and the other the country about Cyrene, which also belonged to Egypt at that time. But the younger brother, angry at receiving the inferior portion, came to Rome, where he secured from the people a grant of Cyprus in addition. Then his brother once more effected an arrangement with him by giving him some cities in exchange for Cyprus and agreeing to make fixed payments of money and grain.

Antiochus subsequently died, leaving the kingdom to a child of the same name, whom the Romans confirmed in possession of it and to whom they sent three men ostensibly to act as his guardians, as he was very young. The commissioners, on finding elephants and triremes contrary to the compact,
τριήρεις, τοῦς τε ἐλέφαντας σφαγῆναι πάντας ἐκέλευσαν καὶ τάλλα πρὸς τὸ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συμφέρον διόκουν. δὲ ἀπέρ Λυσίας ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν κηδεμονίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος παρὼξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς Ρωμαίους, τοὺς δὲ Γαίον τὸν Ὀκτάβιον καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ τούτων γενομένων ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος, Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Σελευκοῦς νῖος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντίοχον ὁμηρεύων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάτρος βανατον καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀντίοχον τοῦ θείου τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένος, ὡς τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντίοχον βανατον ἔγνω, ἢτε μὲν τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ οὐτε ταῦτην αὐτῶν συνέπραξαν οὐτ' ἀπάρα τῇ Ῥώμης ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὃ καὶ δυσχεραῖν ὤμως ἱσυγαζεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λυσίαν ἐγένετο, οὐκετέμελλον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδρα: καὶ ἐκ Δυκίας τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλε μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνεψίον τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Λυσίαν τὴν ὀρμηνέχειν, ὡς τῷ Ὀκτάβιῳ τιμωρῆσειν. ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπεισδέθης καὶ ταῦτην προσαναγομένους, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σταλέσ (τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδρασιν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνενοεῖ), καὶ Ἀπαμείας κρατήσας δύναμιν τε συναγαγών ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠλάσε, καὶ τὸ τε παιδίον καὶ τὸν Λυσίαν φιλικοῖς ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ (δεδιότες γὰρ τοὺς Ρωμαίους οὐκ ἀντήραν) διέφθειρε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκομίσατο, κἂν

1 There follow in the Mss. the words εἰς τὸν ἔξω τῶν ἐξαιλάνων ἐκάλουν, a manifest gloss in explanation of ἀνεψίον.
ordered the elephants all to be slain and administered everything else in the interest of Rome. Therefore Lysias, who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the king, incited the populace to expel the Romans and also to kill Gaius Octavius. When these plans had been carried out, Lysias straightway despatched envoys to Rome to offer a defence for what had been done. Now Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and grandson of Antiochus, who was staying in Rome as a hostage at the time of his father’s death and had been deprived of the kingdom by his uncle Antiochus, had asked for the domain of his father when he learned of the death of Antiochus, but the Romans would neither help him to get it nor permit him to depart from Rome; and he, in spite of his dissatisfaction, had remained quiet. But when this affair of Lysias occurred, he no longer delayed, but escaped by flight and sent a message to the senate from Lycia stating that it was not his cousin Antiochus, but Lysias that he was attacking, with the purpose of avenging Octavius. And hastening to Tripolis in Syria, he won over the town, representing that he had been sent out by the Romans to take charge of the kingdom; for no one had any idea of his flight. Then after conquering Apamea and gathering a body of troops he marched on Antioch; and when the boy and Lysias offered no opposition through fear of the Romans, but came to meet him as friends, he put them to death and recovered the kingdom. He then forwarded to
τη Ῥώμη στέφανον και τοὺς τοῦ Ὀκταβίου αὐθέντας ἀπέστειλεν. οἱ δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ οὐδέτερον ἔδεξαντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν. τὸ δ’ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Ἰλλυρίων τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπων, ὡν τινας Ταυλαντίους ὄνομαζον “Ελληνες, ἔχοντας δὲ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἐν μέρει. αὐτίον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου οὐ τινὰς τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς ἐν φιλίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντας ἡδίκουν, συμπροσβευσάμενοι τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεις συλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. τούτοις οὖν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ὑπετάξει, ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς στρατεύσας· τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλει καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐπίπρασκε. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ κατ’ ἐκεῖνος συνεβη τοῖς χρόνοις, οὐ μνήμης μέντοι οὐδ’ ἱστορίας ἐπάξια.
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

Rome a crown and the assassins of Octavius; but the citizens were angry with him and would accept neither.

Later the Romans made a campaign against the Dalmatians. This race is a branch of the Illyrians who dwell along the Ionian Gulf, some of whom the Greeks used to call Taulantii, and part of whom are close to Dyrrachium. The cause of the war was that they had been abusing some of their neighbours who enjoyed the friendship of the Romans, and when the Romans joined an embassy in their behalf, the Dalmatians returned no respectful answer, and even arrested and killed the envoys of the other nations. Scipio Nasica made a campaign against this race and brought them to submission; for he captured their towns and proceeded to sell the captives. Other events, too, took place in those days, yet not of a kind to deserve mention or record.
Ζωναράς 9, 26.

26. Ἐντεύθεν αὖθις ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους τὸ τρίτον ἀνερριπίζετο πόλεμος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔφερον ἐλαττούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Νομαδικοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἠτοίμαζον οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην ἔθεντο, οὐχ ἠσύχασαν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικάν ταῦτα τε αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύσατε ἐκέλευον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἦτιώντο ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἀπειρήκασι ποίησαι τὸ κελευόμενον, σύμβασιν τινα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπραζαν καὶ τινός αὐτοῖς ἀποστήματο χώρας αὐτὸν ἐπείσαν. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εἰσήκουν, μικρὸν ἔπισχότες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα μικηθέντας σφᾶς μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐπίθυμον, εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο. δ’ μαθόντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, οὐκ εὐ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντες, κατέδεικαν, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ συμμαχίαν ἐστάλκασι (καὶ ἄλλοι γὰρ τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθεντο), καὶ ἐς πᾶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείξειν ἐπιλάττοντο. μὴ γὰρ ταῖς σπονδαίς ἐμμένειν μέλλοντες, ρᾶον ἄπαντα ἐπηγγέλλοντο.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

26. Thereupon the strife with Carthage was again fanned into flame for the third time. For the Carthaginians could not endure being in an inferior position, and contrary to the treaty were gathering allies and getting their fleet ready in preparation for the war with the Numidians. And the Romans, having settled other questions to their satisfaction, did not remain at rest, but sending out Scipio Nasica, they reproached their rivals with this breach of faith and ordered them to disband their armament. When the Carthaginians put the blame upon Masinissa and because of the war with him declined to obey the order, the Romans arranged terms for them with Masinissa and prevailed upon him to retire from certain territory in their favour. But since they showed themselves no more tractable than before, the Romans waited a short time, and then as soon as they learned that the Carthaginians had been worsted in a great battle by Masinissa, they promptly declared war upon them. The Carthaginians, who were distressed over their defeat, became frightened on learning this, and since other neighbouring tribes were also beginning to attack them, they sent envoys to Rome to secure an alliance. They feigned a readiness to yield to the Romans on all points; for since they did not intend to abide by their agreements, they were all the more ready to promise anything.
Τῆς δὲ γερουσίας βουλήν περὶ τούτου συναγαγούσης, ὁ μὲν Σκυπίων ὁ Νασικάς δέξασθαι τήν τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρεσβείαν καὶ σπουδάς αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι συνεβούλευεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος μήτε σπείσασθαι τούτως δεῖν εἴπε μήτε λύσαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ψήφισμα. οἱ δὲ γε βουλευταὶ τήν τε τῶν πρέσβεων ἱκετείαν ἐδέχαντο καὶ σπουδάς αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο παρασκεύας καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ὁμήρους ἦτησαν, οὐς Δούκιος Μάρκιος καὶ Μάρκος Μανίλιος, εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖσε πεμφθέντας ἔλαβοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἦρωμην ἐπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σπουδὴ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κατειλήφασι, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκεῖ μετεπέμψαντο· καὶ ὡς ἀφίκοντο, οὐ πάντα ἀμα σφίσιν ὅσα ἦτουν ἔξεφηναν, δείσαντες μὴ ταύτα προμαθόντες ἀκεραίοις τοῖς πράγμασι σφῶν καταστὸσιν εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σίτου ἦτησαν καὶ ἔλαβοι, εἰτα τὰς τριήρεις καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰ μηχανῆματα, εἰτα τὰ ὑπλα προσήτησαν. λαβόντες οὖν πάντα (οἱ όρη Καρχηδονίων πολλὰν ἔτεραν παρασκευὴν κεκρυμμένην ἐξον), τέλος ἐκελεύον αὐτοὺς κατασχάσατί τὰς πόλις αὐτῶν, ἔτεραν δὲ ἐν μεσογείῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἀτείχιστον, ὁγδοῖκοντα σταδίους τῆς θαλάσσης διέχουσαν. πρὸς τούτο δὲ οἱ Καρχηδονίοι ἐς δάκρυα κατηνέχθησαν καὶ ὡς εἰλακτότες ἀνωλοφύροντο καὶ ἐδέσταν τῶν ὑπάτων μὴ καταναγκάσατι σφᾶς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτóχειρας. ὅς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἤμνου, ἀλλ' ἡ πράξας τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐκελεύοντο ἡ ἀναρ-
When the senate called a meeting to consider the matter, Scipio Nasica advised receiving the Carthaginian embassy and making a truce with them, but Marcus Cato declared that no truce ought to be made nor the declaration of war rescinded. Nevertheless, the senators listened to the entreaties of the envoys, promised to grant them a truce, and demanded hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions. These hostages were sent to Sicily, and Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manilius went there, took charge of them, and sent them on to Rome, while they themselves made haste to reach Africa. After encamping, they summoned the magistrates of Carthage to appear before them. Now upon the arrival of these officials they did not unmask all their demands at once, fearing that if the Carthaginians learned them in season they would enter upon war with their resources undiminished. So at first they demanded and received grain, next the triremes, and after that the engines; and then they required the arms besides. After receiving all these things—for the Carthaginians had a great deal of other equipment hidden away—they at length ordered them to raze their city and to build in its place an unwalled town inland, eighty stades distant from the sea. At that the Carthaginians gave way to tears, bewailed their fate, as if already conquered, and begged the consuls not to compel them to become the assassins of their country. They soon found that they could accomplish nothing and had to face the repeated command either

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1 About nine miles.
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ρήσασεν τὸν πόλεμον, συχνοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ παρά τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἡδὴ κεκρατηκὸςι κατέμειναν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπαναγωρήσαντες τῶν τε σφετέρων ἀρχῶντων ἑώρους ἀπέκτειναν, ὅτε μη καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ πόλεμου εἴλοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἑντὸς τοῦ τείχους εὑρεθέντας Ῥωμαίους διέφθειραν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμησαν. διὸ τοὺς τε δουλοὺς ἀπανταὶ ἥλευθέρωσαν καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας κατήγαγον, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν στρατηγὸν αὐτὸς εἴλοντο, καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανᾶς τρυήρεις τε ἡτοιμάσαντο. ὡς γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπικείμενον, καὶ περὶ ἀνδραπόδισμοι κινδυνεύοντες, δὲ ἐλαχίστου πάνθος ἡχωρίζων κατεσκεύαζον. ἐφείσοντο γὰρ οὐδενὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ συνεχώνευσαν καὶ ἐς τὰς σχοῖνους τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς κόμαις ἑχρήσαντο. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοί τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὡς ἁσπλοὺς ταχέως αἰρήσεως ἐπίσταντες μόνας ἡτοιμάσαντο κλίμακας, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβήσομενοι, ἐπειτα προσβαλόντες καὶ ὀπλισμένους

Planudean Excerpt.

"Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι πολεμούμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα τε καὶ τριήρεις δὲ ἐλαχίστου ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν χαλκοῦ χρήσιν συνεχῶνευσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἑωράσιν τῶν τε ιδίων καὶ δημοσίων ἐργῶν πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς μετενεκάμενοι, ἐς τὰ σχοινία ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν κόμαις ἀποκεκαρμέναις ἕχρησαμενοι."
to carry out the order or to accept the hazard of war. Many of them then remained there on the Roman side, recognizing them as already the victors; the remainder withdrew, and after killing some of their rulers for not having chosen war in the first place and after murdering such Romans as were discovered within the walls, they addressed themselves to the war. Under these circumstances they liberated all the slaves, restored the exiles, chose Hasdrubal once more as leader, and made ready arms, engines, and triremes. With war at their doors and the danger of slavery confronting them, they prepared in the briefest possible time everything that they needed. They spared nothing, but even melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them and used the hair of the women for ropes. The consuls at first, thinking them unarmed, hoped to overcome them speedily and merely prepared ladders, with which they expected to scale the wall at once; but when, upon making an assault, they saw that their enemies

Planudean Excerpt.¹

The Carthaginians, when war was made upon them by the Romans, constructed weapons and triremes in the briefest possible time. They melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them, and took the woodwork of buildings, private and public alike, for the triremes and the engines, while for ropes they used the hair of the women, which had been shorn off.

¹ See Introduction to vol. i, p. xx, note.
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σφάς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἔχοντας ἴδοντες πρὸς μηχανῶν ἐργασίαν ἔτραποντο, καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικινδύνως κατασκευάσαντες (ὁ γὰρ Ἀσδρούβας ὑλαγωγοῦντας ἐνεδρεύων ἔλυπε), προσέμισχον τῇ πόλει, καὶ Μάνιλιος μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρος αὐτῆς προσβαλὼν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐβλαβήσε, Μάρκιος δὲ ἐκ θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸ λιμνῶδες προσπεσὼν κατέσευσε μὲν τι τοῦ τείχους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰσῆλθεν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς τε βιαζομένους εἰσελθεῖν ἐξεκρούσαντο καὶ νῦκτωρ διὰ τῶν ἑρειπίων ἐπεξελθόντες ἀνθρώπους τε συχνοὺς ἐκτείναν καὶ μηχανήματα πλείστα κατέπρησαν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολύ τῆς χώρας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων εἶντο σκεδάνυσθαι, οὐτε μὴν ὁ Μασινίσσας αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄρχῃ τοῦ πολέμου προσεκέκλητο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸτε διαπολεμήσεις ὑποσχομένως οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν.

27. Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ διὰ τὰ συμβάντα καὶ ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ διατριβῆς ἐνόσησεν ἔλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν. καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας κατὰ θάλασσαν τι πράξαι ἦ τὴν παραλίαν κακώσαι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤμεν, ἀπέπλευσεν οἶκας καὶ ἀνθυποστρέφας Λιγίμουρον ἕξειρωσατο. Μάνιλιος δὲ ὄρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν μεσογείον, κακούμενος δ' ὑπὸ Ἰμιλκωνοῦ τῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἵππαρχου, ὥς καὶ Φαμέαν ἐκάλουν, πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπανελήλυθε. κακεὶ δὲ ἐξωθεὶς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, ἐνδοθεὶς δ' ἐπεξίωντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει
BOOK XXI

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were armed and possessed the means for a siege, they devoted themselves to manufacturing engines. The construction of these was fraught with danger, since Hasdrubal set ambuscades for those who were gathering the wood and annoyed them considerably; but in time they were able to assail the city. Now Manilius in his assault from the land side could not injure the Carthaginians at all, but Marcius, while making an attack from the side of the sea over marshy ground, managed to batter down a part of the wall, though he could not get inside. For the Carthaginians not only repulsed those who attempted to force their way in, but at night they made a sortie through the ruins and slew many men and burned up a very large number of engines. Furthermore, Hasdrubal and the cavalry did not allow the Romans to scatter far over the country, and Masinissa lent them no aid. For he had not been invited at the opening of the war, and, though he had offered at that time to fight the war out with Hasdrubal, they had not permitted him to do so.

27. The consuls, both in view of what had occurred and because their fleet had been damaged by its stay in the lake, raised the siege. Marcius endeavoured to accomplish something by sea or at least to injure the coast region, but not meeting with any success, he sailed for home, then turned back and subdued Aegimurus; and Manilius started for the interior, but upon sustaining injuries at the hands of Himileo, commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, who was also called Phameas, he returned to Carthage. There, while the forces of Hasdrubal on the outside troubled him, the people in the city harassed
"Ότι οὕτως ἄριστος μὲν ἢν ἐκ πλείονος τὸ δέον ἐκφροντίσαι, ἄριστος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τὸ κατεπείγον ἐρευνῆσαι, ἐν τῇ προσήκοντι καιρῷ ἐκατέρω αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, τὰ τε πρακτέα ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι διεσκόπει, καὶ τὴν διαχείρισιν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ δεδιώς ἐποιεῖτο. Ὁθενπερ τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἄδεεὶ διασκέψει πάντα ἀκριβῶς τὰ καθήκοντα ἐνενόει, καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀσταθμίτου φροντίδι ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὰ ἔπραττε. καὶ διὰ τούτ', εἰ ποτὲ καὶ ἐς ἀπροβολίας ἀνάγκην, οἷα ἐν τε

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καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἠμέραν αὐτῶν ἐκάκουν. καταφρουήσαντες οὐν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθον, καὶ συνχοῦσι ἀποβαλόντες (ἀσπλον γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν) εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐθίς συνεκλείσθησαν. ο δὲ Μανίλιος τῷ Ἀσδρούβα τοῖς Βαβυλονικοῖς διὰ νῦν νικήσει, ὅπως τοῖς λοιποῖς προσπολεμήσειν ἐνόμιζε. καὶ οἱ προσέμιζέν πρὸς δὲ τὶ φρούριον ἀναχωροῦντι ἐπακολουθήσας, ἔλαθεν εἰςω χώρας τραχεῖας καὶ στενοπόρου γενόμενος, καὶ δεινῶς ἐκακώθη. καὶ πανσυδεὶ ἄν διεφθάρη, εἰ μὴ Σκύπτιοι ο τοῦ Αφρικανοῦ χρησιμότατος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος μὲν νοῆσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι τὰ κράτιστα, ἄριστος δὲ χειρουργῆσαι.

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1 χρήσασθαι St., χρήσασθαι ἢν Ms.
This man [Scipio Africanus] excelled in planning out at leisure the requisite course, but excelled also in discovering the immediate need on the spur of the moment, and was able to employ either method on the proper occasion. The duties that lay before him he examined boldly, but performed them as if with timidity. Hence, by his fearless and deliberate examination of matters he understood exactly the proper thing to do, and would accomplish it safely as a result of the thought he gave to the element of uncertainty. Accordingly, if he was ever brought face to face with some crisis that admitted of no deliberation, such as is wont to him by sorties both night and day. In fact, the Carthaginians showed their contempt by advancing as far as the Roman camp, but, being for the most part unarmed, they lost a number of men and were shut up in their fortifications again. Manlius was particularly anxious to engage in combat with Hasdrubal, thinking that if he could vanquish him he should find it easier to wage war upon the others. And, in fact, he did have an encounter with him: he followed Hasdrubal to a small fort whither the latter was retiring, and before he knew it got into a rugged defile and there suffered a terrible reverse. In fact, his entire force would have been destroyed, had he not found a most valuable helper in Scipio, the descendant of Africanus, who excelled in apprehending and devising beforehand the most advantageous plans, and excelled also in executing them. For
τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου παραλόγους καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς τύχης ῥοπαίς συμβαίνειν εἴσοδε, προήχθη, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμᾶρτανεν. ὅπο γὰρ τοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ 1 τῇ τύχῃ 2 πρὸς μηδὲν ἀλογίστως κρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν 3 τοῦ ἔξαπωντο προσβολὴν 4 ἀπαράσκευος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰφνιδίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμίζειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτὰ
6 προνεονηκὸς ἔχρητο. τολμήτης τε ἐκ τούτων ἐν ὦισ ἐπεπιστεύκει ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, καὶ κινδυνεύτης ἐν ὦισ ἐθάρσει ἰσχυρῶς ἐγιγνετο. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἰσα τοῖς πάνω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔρρωσε καὶ διὰ τούτο, 5 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἂν τις αὐτοῦ ἑαυτής ἐνπροσβολὼν cνετο, προεβολεύετε τε τὰ κράτιστα ὡς καὶ ἐτέροις ἐπιτάξουν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ὑφ 6 ἐτέρων
7 κεκελευσμένα ἐχειρούργηε. τῇ τε ῶνι ἀλλη ἄρετῇ ἀσφαλῆς ἦν, καὶ τὴν πιστότητα οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς τοὺς πολέτας τοὺς τὲ κρατεῖτος οῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἴνην τὸ τῇ πολεμώτατον ἀκριβῆ ἐκέκτιτο, καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τούτο πολλοὶ μὲν ἰδιωταί πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις προσεχώρησαν.
8 ἀπὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀλογίστως μηδὲ ἐξ ὀργῆς ἂ καὶ νεανίσκων ἂ καὶ λέγων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βεβαιοῦ τῶν λογίσμων πρὸς πάντα τὰ καύρια ἐτοίμοι ὅων, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἰκανῶς ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ μήτε

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καὶ γὰρ τῷ σῶματι ἔρρωτο, ἐπιεικῆς τε καὶ μέ-

1 τοῦ Kuiper, τοῦ τε Ms. 2 τῆς Βk., ψυχῆ Ms. 3 τῆς Rk., τί Ms. 4 προσβολῆ Bk., προσκοπῆ Ms. 5 supplied by Bk. 6 υφ' Bk., ἀφ' Ms.
happen in the contradictions of warfare and the turns of fortune, not even then did he miss the proper course. For, thanks to his habit of never trusting recklessly to luck for anything, he was not unprepared for the assault of a sudden emergency, but through his incessant activity was able to meet even the unexpected as if he had long foreseen it. As a result he showed himself exceedingly bold in matters where he felt he was right, and likewise exceedingly venturesome where he felt bold; for in physique he was as powerful as the best of the soldiers. This led to one of his most remarkable characteristics: he would devise the most advantageous plans as if he were going to direct others, and at the time of action would execute them as if they had been ordered by others. Besides not swerving from the ordinary paths of rectitude, he kept faith scrupulously not only with the citizens and his associates, but even with foreigners and the bitterest enemies; and this brought many individuals as well as many cities to his side. He never acted or even spoke without due consideration, nor through anger or fear, but through the certainty of his calculations was ready for all occasions; he took sufficiently into account the instability of human plans,

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he was powerful in physique; and he was amiable
τι ἀνέλπιστον ποιούμενος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν
tῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν προδιασκοπῶν, ῥᾷστα τε
tὰ πρακτέα πρὶν καὶ δεισδῆμαι αὐτῶν ἔπενοεῖ,
καὶ ἐσ βεβαιότητα αὐτῶν ἔχρητο. τοιγαροῦν
μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἦ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τε ταύτα
cαὶ διὰ τὴν μετρίωτηθά τὴν τε ἐπεικείαν οὕτε
ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων οὐθ’ ὑπὸ τινὸς ἐφθονίθη. ἦσος
μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν
ὁμοίων, ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἡξίον ἐιναι,
κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῦ μόνου τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἀνδρὰς λυμαίνομενον ἐγένετο.—V. 61 (p. 613).

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τρισὶν ἦν δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἔξεφυγεν. ἦσος
μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν
ὁμοτίμων (ἐχιλιάρχης γὰρ), ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν
μειζόνων ἡξίον εἴναι. ὁ οὖν Μανίλιος καὶ εἶπε
τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέστειλε τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
μὴ τι ἀποκρυψάμενος, καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τὰ κατὰ
Μασινίσσαν καὶ τῶν Φαμέαν. ἐσχον οὕτως.

Οὐνήσκων ὁ Μασινίσσας ἦπορεί ὅτι τῆς
βασιλείας διάβηται, διὰ τὸ τῶν νιφῶν πλήθος
καὶ τὸ διάφορον τοῦ κατὰ τὰς μητέρας γένους
αὐτῶν. διὸ πρὸς συμβουλίαν τὸν Σκιπίωνα
μετεπέμψατο ὅν ὁ ὑπατός ἐστειλε. ἀλλ' ὁ
Μασινίσσας πρὶν ἔλθειν τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐκλέαπων
τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον τῷ Μικίψα τῷ νῦν ἔδωκε, τὰ
ὥ ἀλλα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα τῷ Σκι-
πίωνι ἀρτὶ ἐλθοῦντι παρέσχεν καὶ ἐνετειλατο. ὁ
BOOK XXI

and yet regarded nothing as impossible, but deliber-
ated every matter beforehand in the light of its real
nature. Thus he perceived very easily the right
course to follow even before there was any necessity,
and pursued it with firmness. Because of this, as
well as because of his moderation and amiability, he
alone of men, or at least more than others, escaped
the envy of his peers, as well as of everyone else.
For he chose to make himself the equal of his
inferiors, not better than his equals, and inferior to
greater men, and so passed beyond the reach of
jealousy, which is the one thing that injures the
noblest men.

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and moderate, as a result of which he escaped envy.
For he chose to make himself the equal of his
inferiors, not better than his equals (he was serving
as tribune), and inferior to greater men. Manilius not
only reported what Scipio had done but also sent a
letter to the people of Rome concealing nothing, but
including among other matters an account of the
conduct of Masinissa and Phameas. This was as
follows.

Masinissa on his death-bed was at a loss to know
how he should dispose of his kingdom, owing to the
number of his sons and the variety of their family
ties on their mothers' side. Therefore he sent for
Scipio to advise him, and the consul let Scipio go.
But Masinissa died before Scipio arrived, after
having given his ring to his son Micipsa and
delivered and committed all the other interests per-
taining to his kingdom to Scipio, as soon as the latter
οὐν Σκιτίων κατανοῆσας τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν νιέων αυτοῦ, οὔδενι μὲν αὐτῶν μόνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπένειμε, τρίῳ δὲ τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ὄντων, πρεσβυτάτου μὲν Μικήσου, νεωτάτου δὲ Γουλούσσου, μέσου δὲ Μαστανάβου, τοῦτοι τὰ πράγματα, μεμερισμένως μὲντοι, κατένειμε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρηματιστῇ τε ὄντι καὶ φιλοπλούτῳ τὴν διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς διαφορὰς κρίνειν ἐπέτρεψε δικαστικὴ ὀντὶ, τῷ δὲ Γουλούσσᾳ πολεμικόν τυγχάνοντι τὰς δυνάμεις παρέδωκε. τοῖς δὲ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς οὐσὶ πόλεις τινὰς καὶ χώρας ἐνείμε. καὶ τὸν Γουλούσσαν παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατόν ἠγαγεν. 

Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἑαροῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Καρχηδονίων συμμάχους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βία, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁμολογία, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιτίων, παρεστήσατο. ὡς δὲ οἱ Φαμέας ἀπογονοῦν τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε καὶ εἰς λόγους τῷ Σκιτίων ἠλθε, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρούβαν ἀπαντεὶ ὁμημησάν. καὶ προσεμιξάς μὲν τῷ φοινίκῳ συχναῖς ἡμέρας, ἐπιλυπότοις δὲ αὐτὸς αὐθις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀνεχόρησαν εὐπρεπῶς. προσέβαλε μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαμέας προσεδρέουσιν ἐτί ός πολεμίζων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μεθ' ἵππεων τινῶν ὕπομόλυσε. κατεύθυνε Μανίλιος μὲν εἰς τὴν Ὠσίτην ἐλθὼν ἐσύχηκε, Σκιτίων δὲ τῶν Φαμέαν
BOOK XXI

Dio, Book XXI. "Phameas, despairing of the Carthaginian cause."

Zonaras 9, 27.

should arrive. Now Scipio, being aware of the dispositions of Masinissa's sons, assigned the kingdom to no one of them singly; but since there were three most distinguished, the eldest Micipsa, the youngest Gulussa, and between them Mastanabal, he appointed these to have charge of affairs, though with distinct functions. To the eldest, who was versed in business and fond of wealth, he entrusted the management of the finances; to the second son, who possessed the judicial temperament, he granted the right to decide disputes; and to Gulussa, who was of a warlike disposition, he delivered the troops. To their brothers, who were numerous, he assigned certain cities and districts. And taking Gulussa along with him, he brought him to the consul.

Now at the beginning of spring they made a campaign against the allies of the Carthaginians and brought many of them to terms forcibly, while inducing many others to capitulate; in this work Scipio was especially active. And when Phameas, despairing of Carthaginian success, inclined to the Roman side and held a conference with Scipio, then they all set out against Hasdrubal. For several days they assailed his fortress, but as supplies again failed them they retired in good order. During the siege Phameas had attacked them and made a show of fighting, but in the progress of the action he had deserted together with some of the cavalry. Then Manilius went to Utica and remained quiet, while Scipio took Phameas
eis tìn 'Rómhn ãnýyaghe kai autòs te èpímeiòto kai ó 'Phiýneas tetýmpto òste kai en tà boulèstiríkìa sýnýkasíqhai tì geryousia.


Tìn ðè Makédonìan 'Andrískos tìs êx 'Atra- mptiôn fòs, tô Perse ðè 'émferhès tô éidos ènò- menos kai paìs eìnai èkeinòn plattòmenos kai Fílíppou ènaîton ònòmàzou, èptì pleìstou àptè- sthês. tô mèn ñàr pròton ês tìn Makédonìan ëlòwò tòpàttesè autìhn èpeiràto, ðò ðè ìnìdëis prosoðèxen autìh, pròs tòn Ðémìtrìon eìs tìn Òuðhìan ètràpêto, ðò êx èkeinòn dìa tô òhës ðò potìheias tevòmenos. svllhíthês ðè parì èkeinòn kai eìs tìn 'Rómhn pèmìthês, ðòi te ðè òhì òn tô Perse òiò ðèlèykhê kai ðòi inìdëi òti ìteron èxìh ðèiòv lòghòu, katèphronhê. kai àfèthês xèrìa te svvìgagag ìnthromòwv neòteropòiow kai póleis òlòla ëpìghagêto, kai tèlòs básièkà àstolòn ðìvàmenos kai ðìvàmen sýnkrosthêas.
back to Rome, where he himself received commendation and Phameas was honoured to the extent of being allowed to sit with the senate in the senate-house.

28. It was at this time, too, that the episode occurred in which Prusias figured. This monarch, being old and of an irritable disposition, became possessed by a fear that the Bithynians would expel him from his kingdom, choosing in his stead his son Nicomedes. So he sent him to Rome on some pretext, with orders to make that his home. But since he plotted against his son even during his sojourn in Rome and strove to kill him, some Bithynians visited Rome, took Nicomedes away secretly, and conveyed him to Bithynia; and after slaying his father they appointed him king. This act irritated the Romans, but not to the point of war.

A certain Andriscus, who was a native of Adramyttium and resembled Perseus in appearance, caused a large part of Macedonia to revolt by pretending to be his son and calling himself Philip. First he went to Macedonia and tried to stir up that country, but as no one would yield him allegiance, he betook himself to Demetrius in Syria to obtain from him the aid which relationship might afford. But Demetrius arrested him and sent him to Rome, where he met with general contempt, both because he stood convicted of not being the son of Perseus and because he had no other qualities worthy of mention. On being released he gathered a band of revolutionists, drew after him a number of cities, and finally, assuming the kingly garb and mustering an army, he
eis Θράκην ἀφίκετο, καὶ συγκοῦσι μὲν τῶν αὐτο
νόμων, συγκοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν δυναστῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἀχθομένους παραλαβῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐνέβαλε
καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν
ὄρμησας οὐκ ὄλγα ταύτης προσεποιήσατο.
Oi δὲ Ῥωμαίοι κατεφρόνουν μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ
Ἀνδρίσκου, εἰτὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικάν
ἐπεμψαν εἰρηνικῶς πως τά ἐκεῖ διοικήσαντα. ὅσ
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ γενόμενα,
τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις δηλῶν ταῦτα ἐπέστειλε, δύ
ναμιν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ συμμάχων ἄθροισας ἔργον
ἐίχετο, καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι Μακεδονίας. οἱ δὲ ἐν
tῇ Ῥώμη νυκτεῖται κατὰ τὸν Ἀνδρίσκου, στρα
tευμα ἐπεμψαν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πούπλιον Ἰου
βέντιον. ὁ περὶ Μακεδόναν γενομένῳ συμβαλὼν
ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος ἐκεῖνον τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλούς πάντας ἂν κατειργάσατο, εἰ μὴ τῆς νυ
cτος ἀπεχώρησαν. καὶ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ
tαῦτα εἰσέβαλε καὶ πλείστα αὐτὴς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ
tὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσηταιρίζετο. πάλιν οὖν διὰ
ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη Κύρινον Καυκίλιον Μέτελλον
στρατηγὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῆς ἑστείλαν. καὶ ὁ εἰς
tὴν Μακεδόναν ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ ὁ Ἀτταλοὶ προσήμυνε
ναυτικώ. διὸ δεῖσας ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος περὶ τῶν παρα
thalassιῶν οὐκ ἔτολμησε περαιτέρω προεξεῖν
ὀλγυν δὲ τῇ Πύδνης ἔξω προχωρήσας ἰππομαχία
μὲν ὑπερέσχε, φοβηθεις δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀνέστρεψε.
καὶ ἔπαρθεις διῆξ τῶν στρατῶν διεῖλε, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν προσήδρευε, τοὺς δὲ πορθῆσαι
τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀπέστειλε. καταφρονήσας οὖν ὁ
Μέτελλος τῶν παρὸντων συνέμιξε· καὶ τῶν πρῶ-
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reached Thrace. There he added to his army several of the independent states as well as several of the princes who disliked the Romans, invaded and occupied Macedonia, and setting out for Thessaly won over no small part of that country.

The Romans at first scorned Andricus, and then they sent Scipio Nasica to settle matters there in some peaceable manner. On reaching Greece and ascertaining what had occurred, he sent a letter to the Romans explaining the situation; then after collecting troops from the allies there he devoted himself to the business in hand and advanced as far as Macedonia. The people of Rome, when informed of the doings of Andricus, sent an army along with Publius Juventius, a praetor. Juventius had just reached the vicinity of Macedonia when Andricus gave battle, killed the praetor, and would have annihilated his entire force had they not withdrawn by night. Next he invaded Thessaly, harried a great many parts of it, and was ranging Thracian interests on his side. Consequently the people of Rome once more dispatched a praetor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, with a strong body of troops. He proceeded to Macedonia and received the assistance of the fleet of Attalus. Andricus in consequence became anxious about the coast districts, and so did not venture to advance farther, but moved up to a point slightly beyond Pydna. There he had the best of it in a cavalry encounter, but out of fear of the infantry turned back. He was so elated that he divided his army into two sections, with one of which he remained on the watch where he was, while he sent the other to ravage Thessaly. Metellus, contemptuous of the forces confronting him,
Τὸς γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὁρὸς ἡλικίας τοὺς γε ἀπαξ ἐκ μειρακίων ἐξελθοῦσι πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν ἐπεστὶ; τὸς ἀρθῆς ἐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν ἀποδεδεικται; οὐχ οὐσι μὲν ἀν τῇ τε

Ζωντανα 9, 28–29.

τὸν αὐτῷ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων περιγενόμενος ὑῶν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρεστήσατο ἐτοίμως γὰρ ὡς ἐξήμαρτον αὐτῷ ὠμολογησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρίσκος εἰς τὴν Ὄρακην ἀπέδρα, καὶ δύναμιν ἀδροίζας συνέβαλε τῷ Μετέλλῳ προϊόντι οὐ προεχόμεν. καὶ τῶν προμάχων αὐτοῦ τραπέτων τῷ τε συμμαχίας αὐτοῦ ἕσκεδάσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Βύζου Ὄρακος δυνάμου προδοθεῖς ἐδικαίωθη.

Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὰς Περσέως καὶ αὐτῶς λέγον εἶναι νῦς καὶ χεῖρα συναγαγών, κατέλαβε τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μέστου καλούμενον ποταμῷ χώραν. ὅν ὁ Μετέλλος ἐπεδίωξεν ὑποφυγόντα μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανίας.

29. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Πείσωνα τὸν ὑπατον ἐστείλαν. ὡς τῇ μὲν Καρχηδόνι καὶ τῷ Ἀσδροῦβα σὺ προσέμεξεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς παραλῖνος πόλεις ἐτράπετο καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσπίδος ἀπεκρουσθῆ, τὴν δὲ Νέαν πόλιν ἔλων κατέσκαψεν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰππῶνα πόλιν ὀρμήσας κατέτριψε τὸν κατοίκο μηδὲν περάνας. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀνεβάρσισαν διὰ ταύτα καὶ ὅτι καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶς προσεγένοντο σύμμαχοι. μαθόντες ὅτι ταύτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπὶ τῶν Σκυπίωνα ὀρμήσαν καὶ ὑπατον αὐτῶν ἐφησίσαντο, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ ἐφείσης αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν ἄλλα 386
BOOK XXI

What age, pray, has been fixed as the time for beginning to think sensibly,—assuming one has ceased to be a boy? What number of years has been determined upon as necessary for beginning to joined battle, and after overpowering those with whom he first came into conflict he very easily won over the others also; for they readily admitted to him the error of their ways. Andrisenus fled to Thrace and after assembling a force gave battle to Metellus as the latter was advancing on his way. His vanguard, however, was routed, whereupon his allied force was scattered; and Andrisenus himself was betrayed by Byzes, a Thracian prince, and punished.

One Alexander also had declared himself to be a son of Perseus, and collecting a band of warriors, had occupied the country round about the river which is called the Mestus: but he now took to flight, and Metellus pursued him as far as Dardania.

29. The Romans sent out Piso, the consul, against the Carthaginians. Piso did not try conclusions with Carthage and Hasdrubal, but devoted himself to the coast cities. He was repulsed from Aspis [Clupea], but captured and razed Neapolis; and in his expedi- tion against the town of Hippo he merely used up time without accomplishing anything. So the Carthaginians took heart both on this account and because some allies had joined them. Learning this, the Romans in the army and city alike had recourse to Scipio and created him consul, notwithstanding his age did not entitle him to hold the office. But

1 Presumably an error for the Nestus.
φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ χρηστῇ χρήσωνται, πάντα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἤ δει καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῇ ἡλίκίᾳ βραχών νοῦν ἔχουτε οὐδ’ ἄν αὐθίς ποτε, οὐδ’ εἰ πολλὰ ἐτῆς διέλθοι, φρονιμώτεροι γένοιτο; ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ ἄν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ προϊόνθης τῆς ἡλίκίας ὑπάρξειν, ἐννοοῦ ὡς ἐξ ἀνοητοῦ καὶ ἐμφρών εἶ ἀφρωνος οὐδ’ ἄν εἰς ἐκβαίνη.

3 Μὴ μέντοι τοὺς νέους ἐς ἀθυμίαν, ὡς καὶ κατεγνωσμένους τὸ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν δύνασθαι, ἐμβάλλετε πάν γὰρ τοῦντίν προ- τρέπεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅφειλετε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς προθύμως ποιεῖν ἀσκεῖν, ὡς καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γῆρως ληψομένους· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βελτίως ποιήσετε, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὰς πολλοὺς ἀποδείξαντες, ἐπειτ’ ἐνδειξάμενοι ὡς καὶ τάλλα πάντα καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας μάλιστα οὐκ ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ ἐτῶν ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου πάσι τοῖς πολιταῖς δῶσετε.—Μαξ. Κοντ. Φλορ. ι. 168v (Μ. p. 546) and Ιοανν. Δαμασκ. Σακρ. Παραλλ. κοδ. Μεδ. 8, 22 ι. 75 (2, 688 sq. Χαίσφ., 4, 148 sq. Μείν.).

Ζωογράφοι 9, 29.

τὰ τε ἐργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ πατρὸς Παύλου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἀφρικανοῦ ἑλπίδα παρεῖχον ἀπασί βεβαιάν καὶ τῶν πολεμών δι’ αὐτοῦ κρατῆσειν καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παντελῶς ἐξαιρήσειν.
do the fitting thing? Is it not true that all who enjoy an excellent nature and good fortune both think and do in all things what is right from the very beginning, whereas those who at this age of their life have little sense will never grow more prudent later, even with the lapse of many years? A man may continue to improve upon his former condition as he advances in age, but no fool will ever turn out wise nor any simpleton sensible.

Do not, however, discourage the young men through the idea that they are disqualified from performing any services. On the contrary, you ought to urge them to practise zealously the performance of all the duties that belong to them, and to look for both honours and offices even before they reach old age. For by this course you will render their elders better, too—first, by confronting them with many competitors, and next by making it clear that you are going to establish, not length of years, but innate excellence as the test in conferring honours, and particularly positions of command, upon any citizens.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) These words seem to be from a speech delivered before the senate with reference either to the consulship of Scipio Aemilianus (B.C. 148) or to the Spanish appointment of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 211), preferably the former.
'Εν φι ό Σκιπίων εἰς τὴν Διβύην ἐκομιζέτο, Μαγκίνος παραπλέων τὴν Καρχηδόνα χωρίου τι τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἐντὸς οὖν Μεγαλία ὄνομαζο-
μενον, καὶ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀποτόμου καθήκον πρὸς
θάλασσαν, πολὺ τε τῆς ἀλλης πόλεως ἀπηρτη-
μένον, καὶ μηδὲ πολλοὺς φρουροὺς ἔχου ὡς τῇ
φύσει ὃν ἔρυμνον κατανοήσας, κλίμακας ἐξα-
πιναίως προοδεύει ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐπανέβη. ήδη δὲ
ἀνελθότος συνέδραμον μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων
τινὲς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκκρούσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνηθήσαν.
ὁ δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Πείσωνα τά τε γεγονότα
ἐδήλωσε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαμίνα ἦξίωσε. πόρρω δὲ
ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρήσιμος ὁ Πείσων
ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων υπ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγγελίαν
νυκτὸς κατὰ τύχην ἠλθὼν εὑρίσκει ἐξομοίησεν.
εἶλον γὰρ ἐν τὸν Μαγκίνον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἢ καὶ
διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ παραπλεούσας εἶδον τὰς ναῦς
τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. τότε δ᾽ ἠθύμησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἀπε-
στησαν δὲ. αἰχμαλώτους οὐν τινας ἐπέμψειν ὁ
Σκιπίων ἔροντας ὅτι πάρεστι. καὶ τοῦτο γνώτες
οὐχ ὑπέμειναν ἔτι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ τὸν
Ἀσδρούβαν μετεπέμψαντο καὶ ταφρεύσατο καὶ
σταυρώμας τὸ πρὸ τῶν οἰκίων διατείχισμα διεφ-
λαξαν. ὁ μέντοι Σκιπίων τὰ μὲν Μεγαλία τῶν
Μαγκίνον φρουρεῖν κατέλθεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν
Πείσωνα καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπήρεν, ὡς ἄν
μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔρχουν ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐπανήλθε ταχέως
σὺν τῷ κονφοτάτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ κατέλαβε
τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπεσελθόντα
καὶ δεινὸς τῷ Μαγκίνῳ ἐπιτιθέμενον καὶ ἠλθὼν
ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐλυσεν. ἀφικομένου
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While Scipio was proceeding to Africa, Mancinus in sailing past Carthage noticed a place called Megalia which was inside the city wall on an abrupt cliff and extended down toward the sea; the place was a long distance away from the rest of the town and had but few guards because of the natural strength of its position. So Mancinus suddenly applied ladders to it from the ships and ascended. When he had already got up there, some of the Carthaginians hastily gathered, but they were unable to repulse him. He then sent to Piso an account of his exploit and a request for assistance. Piso, however, being far in the interior, was of no aid to Mancinus; but Scipio chanced to come along at night just after the receipt of the news and rendered prompt aid. For the Carthaginians would have either captured or destroyed Mancinus, if they had not seen Scipio's vessels sailing past; then they grew discouraged, but would not fall back. So Scipio sent them some captives to tell them that he was at hand; and upon learning this they no longer stood their ground, but retired and fortified with trenches and palisades the cross-wall in front of the houses, meanwhile sending for Hasdrubal. Scipio now left Mancinus to guard Megalia and set out himself to join Piso and the troops, so as to have their support in his operations. He quickly returned with the lightest-armed troops and found that Hasdrubal had entered Carthage and was attacking Mancinus fiercely. The arrival of Scipio put an end to the
Δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πείσωνος ἡ ὅθη, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξω τοῦ τείχους αὐλίσασθαι κατὰ τινὰς πύλας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ στρατιώτας ἑτέρους πρὸς πυλίδα τινὰ πολὺ ἀφʼ ἐαυτῶν ἀπέχουσαν περὶπεμψε, παραγγέλας αὐτοῖς ἀττα πράξειν ἔχρην, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ μέσας νύκτας λαβὼν ἐνδόν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, αὐτομόλοις χρησάμενος ἁγοῦσι, καὶ ἴπτὸ τὴν πυλίδα παραδραμὼν καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν διακόψας τοὺς τε ἔξωθεν ἐφεδρεύοντας εἰσῆγαγε καὶ τοὺς φυλακὰς ἐφθαρε. καὶ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἡπείρηθη καθʼ ἃς ὁ Πείσων προσήδρευε, τοὺς φρονούσ τοὺς τὰ μέσα φυλάττοντας ὀλύγους καθ᾽ ἐκάστους ὡς τὰ τρέπων, ὡστε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀμα τε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ὅραν τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων δύναμιν μικροῦ πάσαν οὕσαν ἐντός. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἀντέσχον, ἐπειτὰ τὴν μὲν ἅλλην πόλιν ἐξέλισσον, εἰς δὲ τὸν Κόθωνα τὴν τε Βύρσαν κατέφυγον. εἶτα ὁ Ἀσδρούβας πάντας τοὺς τῶν Ρωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅπως ἀπόγγυσεν συγγραφέως σχόντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προθυμότερον ἀντικαρπητοῦσιν πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγαρίων ὡς προδίδοντας ἐαυτοὺς διεχοῦσατο. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων περιεστάρωσε μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταχέως εἰλε. τά τε γὰρ τείχῃ καρτερὰ ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς πολλοὶ ὄντες ισχυρῶς ἐν ὀλύγῳ χώρῳ ἱμίνωντο καὶ σίτου ἄφθονος εἶχον. ὁ γὰρ Βιθίας ὀλκάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντικρυτῆς πόλεως ἤπειρον κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον, ὁσάκης σφόδρος ἐπνεῦ, ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτοῖς εἰσέπεμπε. πρὸς ὁπερ ὁ Σκιπίων μέγα ἐργον καὶ ἐπενόησε καὶ ἐπέτελεσε τον γὰρ εἰσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος.
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 29.

attack. When Piso too had now arrived, Scipio commanded him to encamp outside the wall opposite certain gates, and he sent other soldiers round to a little gate a long distance away from the main force, with orders as to what they must do. Then he himself about midnight took the strongest part of the army, got inside the wall, under the guidance of deserters, and hurrying round to a point inside the little gate, he hacked the bar in two, let in the men who were on the watch outside, and destroyed the guards. He then hastened to the gate opposite which Piso had his station, routing the intervening guards, who were only a few in each place, so that Hasdrubal by the time he found out what had happened saw that nearly the whole force of the Romans was inside. For a time, indeed, the Carthaginians withstood them; then they abandoned the remainder of the city and fled for refuge to Cutho and the Byrsa. Next Hasdrubal killed all the Roman captives, in order that the Carthaginians, in despair of pardon, might resist with greater zeal. He also made away with many of the natives on the charge that they were betraying their own cause. Scipio surrounded them with a palisade and walled them in, yet it was some time before he captured them. For their walls were strong, and the men inside, being many in number and confined in a small space, made a vigorous resistance. They were well off for food, too; for Bithias, taking advantage of wind and tide, whenever a heavy gale blew, would send merchantmen into the harbour to them from the mainland opposite the city. To overcome this opposition Scipio conceived and executed a remarkable undertaking, namely, the filling up of the narrow entrance
στενῶν ὄντα συνέχωσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπιπόνως, ὅμως μέντοι ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας τὸ ἔργον ἐξείργαστο. εἴργειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πολλαὶ μάχαι ἐν τούτῳ ἐγίνοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κωλύσαι τὸ χώσαι ἴδευσαν.

30. Οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι, τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος χωσθέντος, τῇ τοῦ σίτου σπάνει δεινῶς ἐπιέσθησαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦτορόλουν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρπερούντες ἐθυσκόν, οἱ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγενοντο. οὗτοι ἀθυμίως Ἀσδροῦβας πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ σπουδῶν ἐπεμψε· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἀν τῆς ἁδείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς λουποὺς ἀπασὶ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πράξαι ἰδέλησε. διαμαρτῶν οὖν αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γυναικα κατέκλεισεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ Σκιπίων ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διεκκρινεύσατο· καὶ τάλλα διώκει τολμηρότερος γενόμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν. αὐτὸς τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπωνοί κρατοῦμενοι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡττῶντο, τὰ δὲ ἐπεκράτουν, καὶ ἀντεμηχανώντο πρὸς τὰς Ρωμαίας μηχανὰς. καὶ ὁ Βιβίας δὲ φρούριον τὰ ἐρυμνών ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς ὑπείρου προιόντων, τοὺς τε Καρχηδονίους ὀφέλει καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐκάκου. δεδο καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τὸ στράτευμα διελόν, τὸ μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι προσεδρέεσσεν ἑταξε· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Βιβίαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐπιστήσας αὐτὸ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον τὸν Γάμον Δαίλιον· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκατέρωσε διεφοίτα ἀμφότερον· καὶ ἦλθο τὸ φρούριον· εἰταῦθις πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπολυρκεῖτο ἡ Καρχηδόν.
to the harbour. The work was difficult and toilsome, but was nevertheless brought to completion, thanks to the great number of men employed. The Carthaginians, to be sure, undertook to check them, and many battles took place during the course of the work, but they were unable to prevent the filling of the channel.

30. So, when the mouth of the harbour had been filled, the Carthaginians were terribly oppressed by the scarcity of food; and some of them deserted, while others held out and died, and still others ate the dead bodies. Hence Hasdrubal, in discouragement, sent envoys to Scipio with regard to a truce, and would have obtained immunity, had he not desired to secure both safety and freedom for all the rest as well. After he had failed for this reason to accomplish his purpose, he confined his wife in the citadel because she had made overtures to Scipio looking to the safety of herself and her children; and in other respects he grew bolder in his conduct of affairs as a result of despair. He, therefore, and some others, mastered by frenzy, fought both night and day, sometimes losing and sometimes winning; and they devised engines to oppose the Roman engines. Moreover, Bithias, who held a strong fortress and scourged wide stretches of the mainland, was helping the Carthaginians and injuring the Romans. Hence Scipio also divided his army, assigning one half of it to invest Carthage, while he sent the other half against Bithias, placing at the head of it his lieutenant, Gaius Laelius. He himself went back and forth from one division to the other on visits of inspection. Finally the fortress was taken, and the siege of Carthage was once more conducted by the whole army.
'Απογρόντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μηκέτι ἐκατέρτον τεῖχος διασώσασθαι δύνασθαι, εἰς τὸν τῆς Βύρσης περίβολον ἀτε καὶ ἔρυμνότερον ἀνεσκευάσαντο, καὶ μετακομίσαντες ὡς ἡδύναστο, κατέπρησαν νυκτὸς τὸ νεώριον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ πλείω ἦν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕφελείας τοὺς πολεμίους στερήσασιν. ὡς δὲ ἐγροῦ τὸ ἔργον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸν λιμένα κατέσχον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ὅρμησαν, καὶ κατασχόντες τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς οἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀεὶ ἐξομένας ἐβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς τοίχους διορύσσοντες κάτωθεν διήσαν, ἐως πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἀφίκοντο. ἕνταῦθα δὲ γενομένοις ὁμίλοις αὐτήραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, πλὴν τοῦ Άσσουρβου. ἐκείνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν αὐτομολῶν (ὁ γὰρ Σκηπίων οὐκ ἐσπεύσατο αὐτοῖς) εἰς τὸ Ἀ- σσιλπειεῖαν ἀνειλήθη μετὰ τῆς ἁμαικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων, καντεύθεν ἤμυνε ντος προσβάλλοντας, μέχρις οὗ ἐμπρήσαντες τὸν νεών οἱ αὐτόμολοι ἐπὶ τὸ τέγον αὐτοῦ ἀνέβησαν, τὴν ἐσχάτην τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀναμένοντες· τότε γὰρ ἠσθενεῖς πρὸς τὸν Σκηπίωνα ἠλθεν ἱκετηρίαν ἔχων. Ἰδου δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἀντιβολοῦσαν ὀνομαστι ἀνέκάλεσεν, καὶ ἐξονείδισασα ὅτι ἐκατῷ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ πράξας οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνη σπείσασθαι, τὰ τέκνα ἐνεβάλεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐαυτὴν προσεπέρρυψεν.

Ἐλὼν οὖν οὗτο τὴν Καρχηδόνα Σκηπίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλε τάδε "Καρχηδόν ἐάλω· τί οὖν κελεύετε;" ἀναγνωσθέντων οὖν τούτων βουλὴν ἐθεντο περὶ τού τί δέον ποιεῖν. καὶ ο μὲν Κάτω κατασκάψαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Καρχη-
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Zonaras 9, 30.

The Carthaginians, despairing, consequently, of being any longer able to save both walls, betook themselves to the enclosure of the Byrsa, since it was better fortified, at the same time transferring thither all the objects that they could. Then at night they burned the dockyard and most of the other structures, in order to deprive the enemy of any benefit from them. When the Romans became aware of their action, they occupied the harbour and hastened against the Byrsa. After occupying the houses on each side of it, some of the besiegers walked along on top of the roofs by successively stepping to those adjacent, and others by digging through the walls pushed onward below until they reached the very citadel. When they had got thus far, the Carthaginians offered no further opposition, but sued for peace—all except Hasdrubal. He, together with the deserters, to whom Scipio would grant no truce, crowded into the temple of Aesculapius along with his wife and children; and there he defended himself against the assailants until the deserters set fire to the temple and climbed to the roof to await the last extremity of the flames. Then, vanquished, he came to Scipio holding the suppliant branch. His wife witnessed his entreaties, and after calling him by name and reproaching him for securing safety for himself, when he had not allowed her to obtain terms, threw her children into the fire and then cast herself in.

Thus Scipio took Carthage; and he sent to the senate the following message: "Carthage is taken. What are your orders now?" When these words had been read, they took counsel as to what should be done. Cato expressed the opinion that they ought to
Δονίους ἐξαφανίσατο δεῖν ἐγνωμάτευσεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς φείσασθαι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ ἔτι συνεβούλευε. καντεύθεν εἰς ἀντιλογίαν πολλὴν προήχθη καὶ ἀμφισβήτησεν τὸ συνέδριον, ἡς ἐφη τις ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ δὶ οὐδὲν ἔτερον, ἄλλα γε ἐαυτῶν ἐνεκα φείσασθαι αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον νομίζοιτο ἂν, ἣ ἀνταγωνιστᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ἀρετὴν ἀσκώσι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὴν τράπωνται, τῶν δυναμένων αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν εἰς ἀσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν περιαρεθέντων, καὶ χείρος ἕπο ἀνασκεπσίας γένωται, ἄξιοχρόεος ἀντιπολέμους μὴ ἔχοντες. ἐκ τούτων οὐν τῶν λόγων πάντες κατασκάψαι τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμογενομένην, μὴ ποτὲ εὐρμηνεύειν ἑκείνους πιστεύσαντες ἀκριβῶς, καὶ πάσα ἄρθιν ἀνάστατος γέγονε, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐγκυρίζει τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν κατοικήσαι τινα. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀλόντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου ἐνεβλήθησαν κακεὶ διεφθάρησαν, δῶρον δὲ τινες πλήν τῶν πάνω πρῶτων ἐπράθησαν οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τε ὡμηροὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ ὁ Βιβίας ἄλλοι ἄλλη τῆς Ἱταλίας ἐν φρουραῖς ἀδέσμοις κατεβίωσαν. οὐ δὲ Σκυπίων δοξῆς τε ἑτνη καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου, ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπεκέκλητο πράξεων.

31. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἡ Κόρινθος κατεσκαφή. ἔπει γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν κορυφαίοτατοι ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Ἀιμιλίου μετρικῄσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσβείαις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπῆτον, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔτυχον, καὶ τινες ἑκείνου τῆς πολλὴ απογνώστες ἐπάνοδον ἐαυτοὺς διε-
raze the city and blot out the Carthaginians, whereas Scipio Nasica still advised sparing the Carthaginians. And thereupon the senate became involved in a great dispute and contention, until some one declared that for the Romans' own sake, if for no other reason, it must be considered necessary to spare them. With this nation for antagonists they would be sure to practise valour instead of turning aside to pleasures and luxury; whereas, if those who were able to compel them to practise warlike pursuits should be removed from the scene, they might deteriorate from want of practice, through a lack of worthy competitors. As a result of the discussion all became unanimous in favour of destroying Carthage, since they felt sure that its inhabitants would never remain entirely at peace. The whole city was therefore utterly blotted out of existence, and it was decreed that for any person to settle upon its site should be an accursed act. The majority of the men captured were thrown into prison and there perished, and some few were sold. But the very foremost men together with the hostages and Hasdrubal and Bithias spent the rest of their lives in different parts of Italy in honourable confinement. Scipio secured both glory and honour and was called Africanus, not after his grandfather, but because of his own achievements.

31. At this time also Corinth was destroyed. The chief men of the Greeks had been deported to Italy by Aemilius Paulus, whereupon their countrymen at first through embassies kept asking for the return of the men, and when their request was not granted, some of the exiles, in despair of ever
"Ότι ἦρξαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οί 'Αχαιοί, τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐγκαλοῦντες (διηνέχθησαν γὰρ ἄλληλοις) ὡς τῶν συμβεβηκότων σφίσιν αἰτίοις γεγονόσι, Διαίον ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοῦς ἐνάγοντος. καὶ τῶν γαί 'Ῥωμαίων καταλακτάς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις πεμψάντων οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ εἰκέινοι διασπάσαι πη τὸ 'Ελληνικόν, ὅπως ἀσθενέστεροι ὃσιν, ἐθελήσαντες ἐπεμψαν, πρόφασιν τὸ μὴ δεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου γενομένας, ὅν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦν ἐς τὰ τὰ ἀνθοῦσα καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κρατιστεύονσα, μετέχειν αὐτοῦ ποιησά-
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The Achaean began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians, with whom they were at variance, of having been the cause of their misfortunes; in this they were especially encouraged by Diaeus, the general. And although the Romans repeatedly sent mediators to them, they paid no heed; in fact they came very near slaying the envoys whom the Romans next sent to them. The ostensible mission of these envoys was to insist that the cities which had belonged to Philip, including Corinth,—in other respects a flourishing city and in addition the leader in the congress,—should not take part in that body; yet in reality it was their desire to disrupt the Greek alliance in some manner, so that the members might

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returning to their homes, made away with themselves. The Greeks were greatly distressed at this and made it a matter of public lamentation, besides showing anger toward any persons dwelling among them who favoured the Roman cause; yet they displayed no open signs of hostility until they got back the survivors among their hostages. Then those who had been wronged and those who had obtained a hold upon the goods of others fell into strife with one another and went to war. The Achaean began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians of being the cause of their misfortunes. And although the Romans sent mediators to them, they paid no heed, but rather set their faces toward war, appointing Critolus as their leader. Metellus was consequently afraid that
2 μενοι, παρ' ολίγον ἠλθον ἀποκτείνατ. φυγή 6 οὖν αυτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκόρινθου, ἐν ὃ ἦσαν, προαποχωρησάντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπολογούμενοι ύπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν δυνας ὀρμήσαι ἔφασκον. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν ὡκ ἐλεγξάντων (τοῖς τε γὰρ Καρχηδονίους ἐτὶ ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐδέπω καλῶς βέβαια εἶχον), ἀνδρὰς δὲ στειλάντων, 2 καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς, ἰν μηδὲν ἐτὶ νεοτερίσωσι, δόσειν ὑποσχομένων, τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῖς οὐ παρέσχον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐτερὸν σφαζ σύλλογον, ὅσ μὲθ' ἐκμηνοῦ 3 ἐμελλέν ἐσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλοντο.—U 8 (p. 384).

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καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἁψωταί (ἡδη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν παρῆλθον), προαπήντησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐτρέψατο.

Καὶ τοῦ Κριτολάου πεσόντος διχῇ διήρητο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἀπε-κλιναν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κατέβεντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐτὶ ἑστασίαξαν τῷ Διαῖο τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέψαντες. ἀ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Μόμμιον ἐπεμψαν, δὲ τῶν μὲν Μέτελλον ἀπῆλ-λαξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκετο. καὶ τίνα πληρὴν μέρει τῆς στρατιάς λαβὼν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, τοῦ Διαίου καταδιώξαντος μέχρι τοῦ σφῶν στρατοπέδου τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀντεπεξήλθε, καὶ

1 6 οὖν Bk., δεύτερα MS.  2 στειλάντων Leunol., στειλάντως MS.  
3 μέθ' ἐκμηνο Leunol., μεθ' ἐκμηνο MS.
be weaker. When the envoys had made their escape by flight from Acrocorinth, where they had been, the Greeks sent an embassy to Rome to offer explanations for what had occurred. It was not against Rome’s representatives, they claimed, but against the Lacedaemonians who were with them that the attack had been made. The Romans, still occupied as they were with the war against the Carthaginians, and not as yet in firm control of the Macedonian situation, did not refute their plea, but sent out men, and promised them pardon in case they would refrain from further disturbances. Yet these men were not given a hearing by the congress, but were put off until the next meeting, which was to occur six months later.

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they might lay hands also on Macedonia, since they had already appeared in Thessaly; and so he went to meet them and routed them.

At the fall of Critolaus the Greek world was split asunder. Some of them inclined to peace and laid down their weapons, whereas others committed their interests to Diaeus and continued their strife. On learning this the people at Rome sent against them Mummius, who relieved Metellus and himself took charge of the war. When part of his army sustained a slight reverse through an ambuscade and Diaeus pursued the fugitives up to their own camp, Mummius sallied forth against him, routed him,

1 It is possible that a numeral modifying “men” has dropped out; Reiske suggested ἀργας ὁδὲ δέκα (“ten men”).
τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦλθε χαράκωμα. ἄθροίσας δὲ δύναμιν ὁ Δίας πλείονα συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεγείρθησεν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀντι- ἐξώρμησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, κατεφρόνησαν αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων κοίλον ὄν προῆλθεν. ἦδον οὖν τοῦτθ' ὁ Μόμμιος, τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς λάθρα ἐπεμψεν, ἵνα ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτοῖς ἐπηγένωται. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσβα- λόντες αὐτοὺς συνετάραξαν, ἐπήγαγαν τὴν φάλαιρα κατὰ πρόσωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Δίας μὲν ἀπογρονος εαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δὲ τῆς μάχης περισσώτεροι οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἴκαδε ἐφυγον. οὐδὲν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει Κορίνθιοι πάντας ἀπολογέναι νομίσαντες ἐξέλυτον τὴν πόλιν καὶ κενὴν αὐτὴν ἄνδρῶν ὁ Μόμμιος ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κακεῖνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας ἀπόνως προσεπούμενα. καὶ τότε μὲν τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροῖς ἀνέκειντο καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τὰς τε γραφὰς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς κόσμον εἶχον παρείλητο, πεμφθεῖσας δὲ οἱ τοῦ τε πατρός καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἄλοντων, τείχη τε τινῶν περιέλθει καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας καὶ αὐτονόμους πλην τῶν Κορίνθιων ἄφηκε. τῆς δὲ Κορίνθου τούς τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέδωτο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδη- μοσίωσε, τὰ τε τείχη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα πάντα κατέσκαψε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐθῆς τινῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν οἷα μεγίστην συστάσιν. ἢν δὲ μὴτε τοῖς ἐκεῖνων λάθη μήτε τῶν λοιπῶν τις Ἐλλήνων πραθῇ ὡς Κορίνθιος, συνεκάλεσε, πρὶν ἐκφῆναι.
and followed to the Achaeans entrenchments. Diaeus
now gathered a larger force and undertook to give
battle to them, but, as the Romans did not come
out against them, he conceived a contempt for
them and advanced into the valley lying between
the camps. Mummius, seeing this, secretly sent
horsemen to assail them on the flank. After these
had attacked and thrown the enemy into confusion,
he brought up the phalanx in front and caused
considerable slaughter. Thereupon Diaeus killed
himself in despair, and of the survivors of the battle
the Corinthians were scattered over the country,
while the rest fled to their homes. Hence the
Corinthians within the wall, believing that all
their citizens had been lost, abandoned the
city, and it was empty of men when Mummius took
it. After that he won over without trouble both
that people and the rest of the Greeks. He now
took possession of their arms, all the offerings that
were consecrated in their temples, the statues, paint-
ings, and whatever other ornaments they had; and
as soon as his father and some other men were sent
out to arrange terms for the vanquished, he caused
the walls of some of the cities to be torn down
and declared them all to be free and independent
except the Corinthians. As for Corinth, he sold the
inhabitants, confiscated the land, and demolished
the walls and all the buildings, out of fear that
some states might again unite with it as the largest
city. To prevent any of them from remaining
concealed and any of the other Greeks from being
sold as Corinthians he assembled all those present
before disclosing his purpose, and after causing his
τὸ ποιητέον, πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφανὸς πως τοῖς στρατιώτασις ἐγκυκλωσάμενος ἐκήρυξε τὴν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Κόρινθων δουλωσιν. ἔπειτα προσέταξε πᾶσι τῶν παρεστηκότων σφίσι λαβέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω σαφῆ τὴν διάκρισιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Καὶ ἦ μὲν Κόρινθος οὗτος ἀνάστατος γέγονε, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν παραχρήμα μὲν καὶ σφαγαίς καὶ χρημάτων ἐκλογαῖς ἐκακώθη, ἔπειτα ἐν τε ἀδεια καὶ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τοσαύτῃ ἐγένετο ὡστε λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ θάττων ἐαλώκεισαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐσέσωντο.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Καρχηδῶν ἢ τε Κόρινθος αἱ ἀρχαῖαι ἐκείναι τοῦτο τέλος ἀμα ἔσχων, χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἀποκλεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων λαβοῦσαν ἤνθησαν αὕτως καὶ εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν ἐπανήλθον κατάστασιν.
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 31.
soldiers to surround them in such a way as not to attract notice, he proclaimed the freedom of all except the Corinthians and the enslavement of these; then, instructing them all to lay hold of those standing beside them he was able to make an accurate distinction between them.

Thus was Corinth overthrown. The rest of the Greek world suffered momentarily from massacres and levies of money, but afterward came to enjoy such immunity and prosperity that they used to say that if they had not been captured promptly, they could not have been saved.

So this end simultaneously befell Carthage and Corinth, those ancient cities; but at a much later date they received colonies of Romans, became again flourishing, and regained their original position.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

73 "Οτι Οὐρίαθος ἀνὴρ Δυσιτανός, ἀφανέστατος μὲν γένος ὡς γέ τις δοκεὶ ὅν, περιβοητότατα δὲ ταῖς πράξεις χρησάμενος, ληστής τε γέγονεν ἕκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. ἐπεφύκει γὰρ καὶ ἢσκητὸ τάχιστος μὲν διώξατε καὶ φυγεῖν, ἵσχυρότατος δὲ ἐν σταδία μάχη 2 εἶναι· καὶ τὴν τε τροφὴν τὴν ἀεὶ παροῦσαν καὶ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ προστυχὸν ἠδίστη ἐλάμβανεν, ὑπαιθρίος τε τὸν πλείω τοῦ βλου χρόνου διητάτο, καὶ ταῖς αὐτοφυέσι στρωμαίας ἥρκειτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παντὸς μὲν καύματος, παντὸς δὲ ψύχους κρείσσων ἦν, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ποτὲ ἐπένησεν οὐθ' ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀκηδίας ἑταλαπώρησεν, ἀτε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ὡς καὶ ἀριστῶν ἀπολαύσων 3 ἰκανώτατα. τοιοῦτον δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὄντως, πολὺ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερέφερε. ταχὺς μὲν γὰρ πάν τὸ δέον ἐπινοῆσαι 3 καὶ ποιῆσαι ἦν (τὸ τε γὰρ πρακτέων ἀμα ἐγνώσκον, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἡπίστατο), δεινῶς δὲ 4 τὰ τε ἐμφα-

1 γέγονεν Rk., γὰρ Ms. 2 ταῖς Val., εἰς cod. 3 ἐπινοῆσαι Be., ἐκνοῦσαι Ms. 4 δὲ Rk., γὰρ Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

VIRIATHUS was a Lusitanian, of very obscure origin, as some think, who gained great renown through his deeds, since from a shepherd he became a robber and later on also a general. He was naturally adapted and had also trained himself to be very swift both in pursuit and in flight, and of powerful endurance in a hand-to-hand conflict. He was glad enough to get any food that came to hand and whatever drink fell to his lot; most of his life he lived under the open sky and was satisfied with nature’s bedding. Consequently he was superior to any heat or cold, and was never either troubled by hunger or annoyed by any other privation; for he found full satisfaction for all his needs in whatever he had at hand, as if it were the very best. And yet, possessed of such a physique, as the result both of nature and training, he excelled still more in his mental powers. He was swift to plan and accomplish whatever was needful, for he not only knew what must be done, but also understood the proper occasion for it; and he was equally clever at
νέστατα ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀφανέστατα εἰδέναι
4 προσποιοῦσασθα. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ στρατηγὸς
καὶ υπηρέτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα ὀμοίως
γνωμόμενος, οὔτε ταπεινὸς οὔτε ἐπαχθῆς ἔωρατο,
ἀλλ' οὕτω πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ ἥνους ἀσθένειαν
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἀξίωσιν ἐκέκρατο ὡστε
μήτε χείρων τινος μήτε κρείσσων δοκεῖν εἶναι.
τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπτεῖν, οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε
δυναστείας ἢ καὶ ὅργης ἑνεκά τῶν πόλεμον,
ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, κἂν τοῦτο
τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ εὐπόλεμος
ἐλογίσθη.—V. 62 (p. 614).

74 "Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ συνάρχων Μετέλλου, πρὸς
τε τὸ γένος ὁ ὁγκωμένος καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ φθονῷ,
ἐτυχεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λαχὼν ἄρχειν, καὶ πολέμου
οὔδὲν ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰχε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε πάντως
τινὰ ἐπινικίων πρόφασιν λαβεῖν, καὶ Σαλάσσους
Γαλάτας μὴ ἐγκαλουμένους τι ἐξεπολέμωσε
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ ὡς συμβιβάσων
αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὀμοχώρους περὶ τοῦ ὑδατος τοῦ ἐς
τὰ χρυσεῖα ἀναγκαῖον διαφερομένους αὐτοὺς; kαὶ
τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν κατέδραμεν . . .
ἐπεμψαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἱερέων
δύο.—V. 63 (p. 617).

2 "Ὅτι Κλαύδιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς
ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνενικήκει, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τότε

1 γένος Val., γεγονός Mn.
2 διαφερομένου αὐτοῖς Κυρίος, διαφερομένου αὐτοῦς Mn.
BOOK XXII

feigning ignorance of the most obvious facts and knowledge of the most hidden secrets. Furthermore, he was not only general but his own assistant as well in every undertaking, and was seen to be neither humble nor overbearing; indeed, in him obscurity of family and reputation for strength were so combined that he seemed to be neither inferior nor superior to any one. And, in fine, he carried on the war not for the sake of personal gain or power nor through anger, but for the sake of warlike deeds in themselves; hence he was accounted at once a lover of war and a master of war.

Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, since he had chanced to draw Italy as his province, where no enemy was assigned to him, was eager to secure by any means some pretext for a triumph; hence he set the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans, although no complaints were being made against them. For he had been sent to reconcile them with their neighbours who were quarrelling with them about the water necessary for the gold mines, and he overran their entire country . . . the Romans sent him two of the ten priests.

Claudius, even though he realised perfectly well that he had won no victory, nevertheless even then
τοσαύτη ὑπερηφανία ἐχρήσατο ὡσθ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπινικίων μηδένα λόγον μήτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαί, καθάπερ δὲ ὑπαρχόντων οἱ πάντως αὐτῶν κἂν μηδεὶς ψηφίζωσι, τὰ ἐστὶ αὐτὰ ἀναλώματα αἰτήσατε.—V. 64 (p. 617).

76 Ὅτι Μόμμως ἔπειτα Ἀφρικανὸς παμπληθεὶς ἀλλήλων τοῖς τρόποις ἐστὶ πάντα διεφεροῦν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονιστάταν καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας, μηδενὸς μηδὲν προτιμῶν, ἥρξεν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππεῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστους εὐθυνεῖν ὃ δὲ δὴ Μόμμως πρὸς τὸ δημοτικότερον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρωπίνωτερον οὐτ’ αὐτὸς τινὶ κηλίδα προσέθηκε, καὶ συχνὰ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πρακτῶν,

2 ὡσα γε καὶ ἐνεδέχετο, κατέλυσεν. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπισκέψεις φύσει προήκων ἢν ὡστε καὶ τῷ Δουκοὺλλῳ χρῆσαι τε ἀγάλματα πρὸς τὴν του Τυχείου, δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρικοῦ πολέμου κατεσκέψεται, καθερωσιν, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ιερὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναθέσεως γεγονότα ἀποδοῦναι μηδεμίαν ὁρὴν ποιήσασθαι, ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ὑνόματι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λάφυρα περιμείναν ἀνακείμενα.

—V. 65 (p. 618).

77 Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἐσφάλη καὶ αἰσχύνην δεινῆν ὀφλεῖν: ποταμῶν γὰρ τινα διὰ τῆς τῶν Νομαντίων χώρας πέσεται βουληθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας

1 Μόμμως Val., κλαδίουs Ms.
displayed such arrogance as not to say a word in either the senate or the assembly about the triumph; but acting as if it belonged to him in any case, even if no one should vote to that effect, he asked for the necessary funds.

As regards their characters, Mummius and Africanus were utterly different from each other in every respect. The latter performed his official duties [as censor] with the strictest integrity and with impartiality, not esteeming one person above another; indeed, he called to account many of the senators and many of the knights, as well as other individuals. Mummius, on the other hand, was more popular in his sympathies and more charitable; he not only attached no stigma himself to any one, but he even undid many of the acts of Africanus, whenever it was possible. In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other’s name.

[Pompeius] also received many setbacks and incurred great disgrace. There was a river flowing through the country of the Numantines that he wished to


«Οἱ Καπίλων ἃ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὔδὲν ὁ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔδρασεν, ὡστε καὶ κινδυνεύσαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. χαλεπῶς τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχεῶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἵππεύσι χρωμένου, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα ταῖς νυξίν ὅτι μάλιστα διέσκοπτον καὶ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἕφ᾽ ὅσον γε ἐκεῖνος διὰ τούτ᾽ ἤγανάκτει, ἐπὶ πλείων ἐτῶν ἡμερών ὁ τὰς ὅπως ἐξοργίζοιτο. ὡς οὖν τὸ πραττόμενον ἐνδηλοῦν ἢν, ἐπεύθυνος δὲ οὔδεὶς εὐρίσκετο, ὑποτρήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππεῶν αὐτὸ γλυμνεῖται, καὶ ἐς οὔδενα τρέψαι δυνηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἔφερεν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐξακοσίους ὅτας τὸν ἀπατώμον, παρ᾽ ὁ ἐστρατευόμενον, μετὰ μόνων ἱπποκόμων διαβήματοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅρους ἕφ᾽ ὁ Ὀὐριάθος ἦλεσε ἀπολέσασθαι. προὔπτον δὲ δὴ τοῦ κινδύνου πᾶσιν ὑμέροις, οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι ἐδέοντο 3 αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι σφάς. οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς ὀλγὸν ἐπισχόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνων αὐτῶν ἀκούσσοντος, ἐπειδὴ μήδεν ἐνεδίδοι, ἱκετεύσαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπήξιωσαν, οὔπερ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκλήσετο, διολέσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἐπιεικὲς φθείρασθαι

1 παρατρέψα: Val., παραστρέψαμε Μs.
2 Καπίλων Val., καπίλων Ms.
BOOK XXII

turn aside from its ancient channel and let in upon their fields, and after tremendous exertions he accomplished this; but he lost many soldiers, and no advantage from turning it aside came to the Romans, nor yet any harm to the enemy...

Caepio accomplished nothing worthy of mention against the foe, but visited many injuries upon his own men, so that he even came near being killed by them. For he treated them all, and especially the cavalry, with such harshness and cruelty that a great number of unseemly jokes and stories were told about him during the nights; and the more he grew vexed at it, the more they jested in the endeavour to infuriate him. When it became known what was going on and no one could be found guilty,—though he suspected it was the doing of the cavalry,—since he could not fix the responsibility upon anybody, he turned his anger against them all, and he commanded them, six hundred in number, to cross the river beside which they were encamped, accompanied only by their grooms, and to bring wood from the mountain on which Viriathus was bivouacking. The danger was manifest to all, and the tribunes and lieutenants begged him not to destroy them. The cavalry waited for a little while, thinking he might listen to the others, and when he would not yield, they scorned to entreat him, as he was most eager for them to do, but choosing rather to perish utterly than to speak a respectful word to him, they
πρός αὐτὸν ἐλόμενοι ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τε τῶν συμμάχων ἱππικοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔθελον ταὐτόν κυνηγῆσαι, καὶ τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν ὄλην τεμόντας περὶ τὸ στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ παρείβαλον ὡς καὶ καταπρήσσοντες αὐτόν. καὶ κατεκαύθη, εἰ μὴ προεξεφυγε.—V. 67 (p. 618).

75 "Ὅτε Ποπίλιος οὐτὸς κατεφόβησε τὸν Οὐιρίαδον ὅστε καὶ ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν οἱ εὐθὺς, πρὶν καὶ μάχης τῶν πειραθήναι, προσπέμψισαι, τοὺς τε κορυφαίους τῶν ἄποστάντων1 ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιτηθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ κηδεσθῆς αὐτοῦ,2 καίτερ ἰδιαν δύναμιν ἔχων, ἐφονεύθη, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκδονε, ὁπνεὸν ὁ ὑπατος τὰς χειρὰς ἀπέκοψε. καὶ παντελῶς κατελύσατο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἥτηθη· τοῦτο γὰρ οὕτ' αὐτὸς οὕτε τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑπέμεινεν ποιῆσαι.—U° 17 (p. 383).

1 ἄποστάτων Leunel., ἄποστατῶν Mss.
2 αὐτοῦ Leunel., αὐτοῦ ἢ Mss.
3 ὑπέμεινεν ποιῆσαι Polak, ὑπομεῖναι ὑποίησεν Mss.
set out on the appointed mission. And the horse-
men of the allies and other volunteers accompanied
them. They crossed the river, cut the wood, and
piled it in all around the general’s quarters, intending
to burn him to death. And he would have perished
in the flames, if he had not fled away in time.

Popilius so terrified Viriathus that the latter im-
mediately sent to him in regard to peace before they
had made any trial of battle at all, killed some of the
leaders of the rebels whose surrender had been de-
manded by the Romans (among these his son-in-
law, though commanding his own force, was slain)
and delivered up the rest, all of whom had their
hands cut off by the consul’s order. And he would
have agreed to a complete truce, if their weapons had
not also been demanded; with this condition neither
he nor the rest of the soldiers would comply.
"Οτι ἐλθόντων Νουμαντίνων πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥώμαοι ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ἐκ τούτου τὰς σπονδὰς δόξωσι. ἡμείς μὲν τοῖς σφίσι καὶ ὡς ἐξέπεμψαν, μὴ βουληθέντες πω τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ συναλλαγή σομένων ἀφελέσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαγκινοῦ τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν ὁμολογημένων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σεσωσμένων, ὅτι τε πάνθεόνοσα καὶ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ 'Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκέκτηντο εἰχον ἥξιον τ' αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν σφων ἀδειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τότε περιστάντα τοὺς στρατιώτας κινδύνου ἐκλογίζοντας οὕτως ὡς ἔδει 3 γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνεδέχετο πραχθήναι. οἱ δὲ Νουμαντίνωι πολλαὶ μὲν περὶ τῆς προτέρας σφῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἔκεινων μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδικίας, ὡς ἦς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, τὴν τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ψευδορκίαν προέφερον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μαγκινοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας εὐναγεσίαν ἀπήτουν. καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν Μαγκινοῦ ἐκδοθήναι τοῖς Νουμαντίνοις ἔγρωσαν.—U° 18 (p. 383) and καὶ τοῦ Μάγκινο—ἔγρωσαν Suid. s.vv. ἔγρω and Μάγκινος.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

The Romans received the Numantine ambassadors, on their arrival, outside the walls, in order that their reception might not seem to imply a ratification of the truce. However, they sent gifts of friendship notwithstanding, since they did not wish to deprive them as yet of the hope of coming to terms. The associates of Mancinus told of the necessity of the compact made and the number of the saved, and stated that they still held all their former possessions in Spain; and they besought their countrymen to look at the matter not in the light of their present immunity, but with reference to the danger that had at the time encompassed the soldiers, and to consider not what ought to have been done, but what had been possible. The Numantines, for their part, had much to say about their previous good-will toward the Romans and much also about the subsequent injustice of the latter, by reason of which they had been forced into war, and about the perjury of Pompeius; and they asked for kindly treatment in return for the preservation of Mancinus and the rest. But the Romans terminated the truce and also decided that Mancinus should be given up to the Numantines.
81 "Οτι ὁ Κλαύδιος πολλὰ ἄν καὶ ἄτοπα ὑπὸ τραχύτητος εἰργάσατο, εἰ μήπερ ὁ συνάρχον ἀυτοῦ Κύντως ἐκώλυσεν. ἐπιεικὴς γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἐναντιωτάτην αὐτῷ φύσιν ἔχων ὅργῃ μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ ἀντεπραξέν, ἐνδιδοὺς δὲ πη καὶ πρᾶως πως αὐτῷ χρώμενος οὕτως αὐτὸν μετεχειρίσατο ὡστε ἔλαχιστα πικράνασθαι.—V. 68 (p. 621).

82 "Οτι ὁ Φούριος ἐξήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ὑποστρατίγων τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον, καίπερ καὶ ἕαυτῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἔχθροις ὄντας, ὅπως ὡς καὶ μέγα τι πράξων τὸν τε ἔλεγχον τῶν ἔργων ἀκριβῆ δι’ αὐτῶν ποιήσαται, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων σφῶν λάβῃ.—V. 69 (p. 621).
BOOK XXIII

Claudius by reason of his harshness would have done many outrageous deeds, had he not been restrained by his colleague Quintus. For the latter, who was amiable and possessed exactly the opposite temperament, did not oppose him with anger in any matter, but in fact occasionally yielded to him, and by gentle behaviour so managed him that he found very few opportunities for irritation.

Furius took out among his lieutenants both Pompeius and Metellus, though they were hostile both to him and to each other; for, expecting to achieve some great success, he wished to have in them sure witnesses to his deeds and to receive the evidence of his prowess from their unwilling lips.

1 Ap. Claudius Pulcher and Q. Fulvius Nobilior were censors in B.c. 136.
"Οτι ο Γράκχος ο Τιβέριος ετάραζε τα των Ρωμαίων, καίτερ καί γένους ες τα πρώτα προς τον πάππον τον Αφρικανὸν ἀνήκων, καί φύει ἀξία αὐτοῦ χρώμενος, τα τε τῆς παιδείας ἔργα εν τοῖς μάλιστα ἁσκήσας, καί φρόνημα μέγα ἔχων. ὅσο γὰρ πλείω καί ἰσχυρότερα ταῦτα ἐκέκτητο, μᾶλλον ες τε φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προῆχθη, καί ἐπειδὴ ἀπαξ ἔξω τοῦ βελτίστου παρετράπη, καί 2 ἀκών ες το κάκιστον ἐξώκειλε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ τα τῶν Νουμαντίνων ἐπινίκια ἀπεψηφίσθη, καί αὐτὸς, τιμηθῆσεθαι πρότερον ἀτε καί πρωτανεύ- σας αὐτὰ ἐλπίσας, οὐχ ὅπως τοιουτοί τινος ἐτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκινδύνευσεν ἐκδοθήναι, ἐγνω καί τα πράγματα οὐκ ἀπ' ἄρετής οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείας, 3 ἀλλ' ὦς που καί ἐτυχεν, ἐξεταζόμενα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δόξης ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ ἀφήκε,
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIV

Tiberius Gracchus caused an upheaval of the Roman state notwithstanding the fact that he belonged to one of the foremost families through his grandfather, Africanus, that he possessed a natural endowment worthy of the latter, had received a most thorough course of education, and had a proud spirit. For in direct proportion to the number and magnitude of the advantages he possessed was the allurement they offered him to follow his ambition; and when once he had turned aside from what was best, he drifted, quite in spite of himself, into what was worst. It began with his being refused a triumph over the Numantines; he had previously been hoping to be honoured inasmuch as he had conducted the negotiations, but so far from obtaining any such reward, he actually came near being delivered up. Then he decided that deeds were estimated not on the basis of worth or genuineness, but according to mere chance. So he abandoned this road to fame as

1 The excerctor is here guilty of carelessness, as the word προδιόξως shows. This word is used of "obtaining" a truce or peace on behalf of another, and has no connection with a triumph. In place of "triumph" we should probably read
τρόπον δέ τινα πρωτεύσαι πάντως ἐπιθυμησας, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ ὀμίλου μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐξεργάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, ἐκεῖνο προσέθετο.—
V. 70 (p. 621).

4 Ὅτι Μάρκος Ὁκτάοιος τῷ Γράκχῳ διὰ φιλονεικίαν συγγενικὴν ἐκὼν ἀντιγωνίζετο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔδεν μέτριον ἐπράττετο, ἀλλ' ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες περιγενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων ἢ τὸ κοινὸν ὄφελησα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ βίαια, ὡςπερ ἐν δυναστείᾳ τινὶ ἀλλ' οὐ δημοκρατία, ἐπραξαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὡςπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ'
5 οὕκ εἰρήνη, ἑπαθον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐλς πρὸς ἑνα, τούτῳ δὲ πολλοὶ κατὰ συστάσεις λοιδορίας τε ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ μάχας, οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀλλὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῇ τε ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν προφάσει τῇ τοῦ νόμου χρώμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διασπευδόμενοι, ὡστε ἐν μηδενὶ ἀλλήλων
6 ἑλπτούσθαι. κἀκε τούτου οὔτ' ἄλλο τε τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν κόσμῳ συνέβαινεν οὔθ' αἱ ἄρχαι τὰ νεομισμένα ἐπράσον, τὰ δὲ δικαστηρίᾳ ἐπέπαυντο καὶ συμβόλαιον οὔδεν ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλὰ τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἀκρισία 3 πανταχοῦ πολλή ἢν καὶ ὀνόμα πόλεως ἐφερον, στρατοπέδου δὲ οὔδεν ἀπείχον. 4

V. 71 (p. 622).

1 συστάσεις Rk., στάσεις Ms.
2 ἐποιοῦτο, τῇ μὲν Rk., ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν γὰρ Ms.  
3 ἀλλ' τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἀκρισία Kuiper, ἀλλ' ἢ τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἡ ἀκρισία Ms.  
4 ἀπείχον Val., ἐχον Ms.
unsafe, and since he desired by all means to become a leader in some way, and believed that he could accomplish this better with the aid of the populace than with that of the senate, he attached himself to the former.

Marcus Octavius, because of a family feud with Gracchus, willingly became his opponent. Thereafter there was no semblance of moderation; but zealously vying, as they did, each to prevail over the other rather than to benefit the state, they committed many acts of violence more appropriate in a despotism than in a democracy, and suffered many unusual calamities appropriate to war rather than to peace. For in addition to their individual conflicts there were many who banded together and indulged in bitter abuse and conflicts, not only throughout the city generally, but even in the very senate-house and the popular assembly. They made the [proposed] law\(^1\) their pretext, but were in reality putting forth every effort in all directions not to be surpassed by each other. The result was that none of the usual business was carried on in an orderly way: the magistrates could not perform their accustomed duties, courts came to a stop, no contract was entered into, and other sorts of confusion and disorder were rise everywhere. The place bore the name of city, but was no whit different from a camp.

therefore "treaty": "It began with the rejection of his treaty with the Numantines." Dio doubtless mentioned a triumph in connection with the honours expected.

\(^1\) The law proposed by Gracchus.
7 "Ωτι ο Γράκχος τοίς στρατευομένοις έκ τοῦ ὄμιλου νόμους τινὰς ἐπικουροῦντας ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππεας μετήγγε, φύρων καὶ ταράσσουν πάντα τὰ καθεστηκότα, ὅπως ἔκ γε τούτου ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐπιλάβη 

8 βηταί. καὶ ὁς οὐδὲν οὔδὲ ἑνταῦθα αὐτῷ προεχόρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ’ ἔξοδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν καὶ ἐμελλεν ἀπαλλαγεῖς αὐτῆς αὐτίκα τοῖς ἑχθροῖς ὑποβληθήσεται, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπίον ἔτος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχῆσαι καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν ὑπατον ἀποδείξει, μηδὲν μητ’ εἰπεῖν μηδ’ ὑποσχέσθαι τισὶν ὁχνῶν. καὶ πενθήμην ἐσθήτα πολλάκις ἐνέδυε τῆν μητέρα καὶ τὰ παιδία ἐς τὸ πλῆθος παρῆγγε συνδεόμενα.—V. 72 (p. 622).

84 "Ὅτι Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς φιλοτεμά πλείον παρὰ τὸ προσήκον τὸ τε ἀρμόζου τῇ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρετῇ ἔχοντο. οὐκόν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν τις αὐτῷ θανόντες ἐφήσεθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ βαρύτατον αὐτόν σφυγνοί νομίζοντες εἶναι, ἐπόθησαν χρήσιμον τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ εὕρων, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔδ’ ἁν σφείς παθεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσεδόκων. ὑπεξαιρέθεντος δὲ τούτου πάντα αὔθες τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἡλπίτωθη, ὡστε ἔτ’ ἅδειάς τοὺς γεωνόμους πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῆσαι. καὶ μοι ἐς τούτῳ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀποσκή -

1 ἀντιστασιωτῶν Dind., ἀντιστασιοῦν Ms.
Gracchus was proposing certain laws for the benefit of those of the populace serving in the army, and was transferring the courts from the senate to the knights, disturbing and overturning all established customs in order that he might be enabled to lay hold on safety in some wise. And when not even this proved of advantage to him, but his term of office was drawing to a close, when he would be immediately exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he attempted to secure the tribuneship for the following year also, in company with his brother, and to appoint his father-in-law consul; and to obtain this end he did not hesitate to make any statement or promise anything whatsoever to people. Often, too, he put on mourning and brought his mother and children into the presence of the populace to join their entreaties to his.

Scipio Africanus indulged his ambition more than was fitting or compatible with his general excellence. Consequently none of his rivals took pleasure in his death, but, although they thought him a great obstacle in their way, even they felt his loss. For they saw that he was valuable to the state and they never expected that he would cause any serious trouble even to them. But after he was out of the way the whole power of the nobles was again diminished, so that the land commissioners ravaged at will practically all Italy. And this in particular

1 Apparently this particle refers back to some eulogistic remark about Scipio omitted by the excerptor.
ψαί δοκεῖ ὅτι τοις πληθοῖς τῶν Λίθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων καὶ ἐς ναοὺς τε τινὰς ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀποκτεινόντων, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔκλαυσε γὰρ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ὡστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατακόψαι τὸ βρέτας καὶ καταποντῶσαι ἐκ συμβουλῆς μάντεων ψηφίσασθαι.—V. 73 (p. 625).

1 δοκεῖ inserted by Val. 2 το Bk., γάρ Ms. 3 ἔκλαυσε γάρ v. Herw., ἔκλαυσεν γὰρ ἔκλαυσεν Ms.
BOOK XXIV

seems to me to have been the meaning of the mass of stones that had poured down from heaven, falling upon some of the temples and killing men, and of the tears of Apollo. For the god had wept for three days, so that the Romans on the advice of the soothsayers voted to hew the statue in pieces and to sink it in the sea.
Γράκχος τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὁμολαίαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ εἶχεν, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἂπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐσ φιλοτιμῶν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσ κακίαν ἐξώκειλεν, οὕτος δὲ παραχώδης τε φύσει ἢν καὶ ἐκών ἐπονηρεύετο, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρασκευῇ τῶν λόγων πολὺ αὐτοῦ προέφερε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταῖς τε ἐπινοίαις κακοτροπωτέραις καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις προχειροτέραις τῇ τε αὐθαδείᾳ πλείον πρὸς 2 πάντας ὁμοίως ἔχρητο. πρῶτος τε ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τὸν βραχίονα πρῶτος ἄπεγκακεν, ὅστε μηδέτεροι αὐτῶν κακὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. καὶ ἔπειδή γε πολλὴ μὲν πυκνότητι ἐνθυμημάτων πολλὴ δὲ καὶ σφοδρότητι ὀνομάτων ἐπίπαν ἐδημηγόρει, καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὕτω κατέχειν ῥαδίως ἐαυτὸν ἐδυνατό καὶ 5 πολλάκις ἐς δὲ οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰπεῖν ἐξε- φέρετο, αὐλητὴν ἐπήγγετο, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου ὑπαυ- λούντος οἱ ἔρρυθμιζέτο καὶ ἐμετρίαζεν, ἢ καὶ εἰ 3 πῃ καὶ δις ἐξέπιπτεν καθίστατο. τοιοῦτοι οὖν

1 μὲν added by Val. 2 πάντας v. Herw., πάντα Ms. 3 δημηγορῶν Bk., δημηγορῶν Ms. 4 αὐτῶν κακὸν Salm. Salm. 5 καὶ Bk., καὶ ἔπειδὴ Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXV.

Gracchus had the same principles as his brother; only the latter had drifted from excellence into ambition and thence into baseness, whereas this man was naturally turbulent and played the rogue voluntarily; and he far surpassed the other in his gift of language. For these reasons his designs were more mischievous, his daring more spontaneous, and his arrogance greater toward all alike. He was the first to walk up and down in the assemblies while delivering a speech and the first to bare his arm; hence neither of these practices has been thought improper since his time. And because his speaking was generally characterised by great condensation of thought and vigour of language and he consequently was unable to restrain himself easily, but was often led to say more than he wished, he used to bring in a flute-player, and from him, as he played an accompaniment, he would gain moderation and self-control; or, if even then he managed to get out of bounds, he would stop. This was the sort of man
δή τις ὃν τῇ τε πολιτείᾳ ἐπέθετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ποιούμενος μέγιστος δι' ἐλαχίστον παρά τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐγένετο. τὸ τε γενναίον καὶ τὸ βουλεύον πάν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλείου ἐβεβίωκει, . . . ¹ νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς δυναστείας ἑπιφθονος καὶ τοῖς στασιώταις ἱενόμενος ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέχναις ἐσφάλη.—V. 74 (p. 625).

¹ Lacuna recognized by Val.
BOOK XXV

who attacked the constitution, and, by assuming no speech or act to be forbidden, in very brief time gained the greatest influence with the populace and the knights. All the nobility and the senatorial party, if he had lived longer, [would have been overthrown], but, as it was, his great power caused him to be hated even by his followers, and he was overthrown by his own methods.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

87 "Оσи аи иёреяи тο πλειστον αυταλ του тε δλέ-
θρου και тης аισχύνης αφλον, συχνοις δε δη και
αλλοις μεγαλων κακων аιτιαи еγένοντο, η τε
πόλις απασα απ' аυτων еταράχθη. εκλογιζο-
μενοι γαρ ότι тα υπο του νομου аχραντа και тα
υπο της θρησκειας аγια εκ тε тου фобου1 тης
tιμωριας κοσμα еλυμάνθη, ουδεν ο тι ουχ
υπετόπονтων тων аισχιστων και аνοσιωτατων ду-
2 νασθαι генεσθαι. και δια тουτο και тας колάσεις
ου μονων тων еλεγχθεντων аλла και тων аллων
παντων тων аитιαθεντων μησεи тου συμβεβηκοτος
επουλαντο. οθεν ουκ еκ γυναικειας еτι аσελ-
γειας,2 алл' ек δαιμονιας тинος οργης σύμπαντα
тα 3 кат' аυτας συμβηναι εδοξεν.—V. 75 (p. 626).
3 "Оσи тρεις ама ηνδρωθησαν, και аυτων Маркіа
μεν аυτη 4 тε καθ' аутην και прος ένα тινα
иппеа ησχύνθη, καν διελαθεν, ει μηпер η ξητησις
еп тων аллων еп' плеιον арћθεσα και еκεινη
προσκατελαβεν. Αйμιλία δε και Δικυνια πληθος

1 фобоу Val., φεδου Ms. 2 еτι аσελγειας Be., αιτια аλγευν Ms.
3 та added by Rk. 4 аутη Reim., τηι Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

The priestesses bore the chief punishment and shame themselves, but they proved the source of great evils to various others as well, while the entire city was agitated on their account. For the people, considering that what was immaculate by law and sacred by religion and decent through fear of punishment had been polluted, were ready to believe that anything most shameful and unholy might be done. For this reason they visited punishment, not only on the convicted, but also on all the rest who had been accused, to show their hatred of what had occurred. Hence the whole affair in which the women were concerned seemed now to have been due not so much to feminine incontinence as to the wrath of some god.

Three had known men at the same time. Of these Marcia had acted by herself, granting her favours to one single knight, and would never have been discovered, had not the investigation into the cases of the others extended and involved her also; Aemilia and Licinia, on the other hand, had a multitude of
ἐραστῶν ἔσχον καὶ δι’ ἄλληλων ὑβρίζοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ὀλέγοις τισὶν ἴδια καὶ δι’ ὑπορ-ρήτων ὡς καὶ μόνῳ ἐκάστῳ συνεγίγοντο: ἐπειτα αὐταί τε πάντα τὸν καὶ ὑποπτεύσαι μηνύσαι τέ τι δυνάμενον ἐς σιωπὴν ἀναγκαίαν μισθὸ τῆς ὀμιλίας προκατελάμβανον, καὶ οἱ προδιειλεγμένοι σφίσι ταῦθ’ ὀρῶντες ἐφερον ἵνα μὴ κατάφωροι τῇ ἀγανακτήσει γέωνται. ὡστε καὶ καθ’ ἕνα καὶ κατὰ πολλούς, τούτο μὲν ἴδια, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κοινή, τοῖς τε ἅλλοις ὀμιλεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὲν τῆς Λίμιλίας ἀδελφῆ τῆς Λικινίας, τῷ δὲ ταύτης τῇ Λίμιλίαν συνεῖναι. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτω γυνόμενα ἐπὶ πλείστων ἔλαβεν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων, συγγιγνωσκόντων ὅμως ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔλαβε, πρὶν δὴ Μάνιος τίς, ὁσπερ ποι καὶ τοῦ παντός κακοῦ πρώτος καὶ υπηρέτης καὶ συνεργὸς ἐγεγόνει, κατεμήνυσεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μήτε ἐλευθερίας μήτ’ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ὁν ἦλπίσεν ἐτυχεν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐ προσαγωγεύσαι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ διαβαλεῖν συγκρούσαι τε τινὰς δεινοτάτος . . . —V. 76 (p. 626).

88 "Οτι ἴν4 μὲν ποι καθ’ αὐτὰ ταύτα δόξαν αὐτῷ φέροντα, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος συμφοράν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖα πολλῆ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας

1 οὕτω Βυ., οὐ Μς.
2 ὃμως Dindl., ὃμως ὧτος Μς.
3 προσαγωγεύσαι Val., προσαγωγεύσαι Μς.
4 ὅτι ἴν St., ὅτι τῷ μάρημ ἕρουσαν ἤν Μς.
lovers and carried on their wanton behaviour with each other's help. At first they surrendered themselves to some few privately and secretly, telling each man that he was the only one favoured. Later they themselves bound every one who could suspect and inform against them to certain silence in advance by the price of intercourse with them, and those who had previously enjoyed their favours, though they saw this, yet had to put up with it in order not to be detected through a display of their vexation. So besides holding commerce with various others, now singly, now in groups, sometimes privately, sometimes all together, Licinia enjoyed the society of the brother of Aemilia, and Aemilia that of Licinia's brother. These doings were hidden for a very long time, and though many men and many women, both freemen and slaves, were in the secret, it was kept concealed for a very long period, until one Manius, who seems to have been the first to assist and cooperate in the whole evil, gave information of the matter, because he had not obtained freedom nor any of the other objects of his hope. And since he was very skilful not only at leading women into prostitution, but also in sowing slander and discord among them, ...

This was calculated to bring him [Marcus Drusus] glory, first of itself, and secondly in the light of Cato's disaster;¹ and because he also had shown great

¹ In his campaign against the Scordisci, a Thracian tribe, in b.c. 114.
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ἐχρήσατο, τὴν τε κατόρθωσιν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄληθείας πεποίησθαι ἐδοξέ, καὶ εὐκλειαν μεῖζω τῶν ἔργων ἐκτήσατο.—V. 77 (p. 629).

89 "Ὅτι τῷ Ἰουγούρθᾳ ὁ Μέτελλος προσπέμψαντι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καθ' ἐν ἐκαστοῦ ὡς καὶ μόνον ἐπέταξε, καὶ οὐτῶς ὀμήρους τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀπλα τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους ἔλαβε. καὶ τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατελύσατο δὲ, ὅτι ὁ ¹ Ἰουγούρθας οὐκ ἡβουλήθη πρὸς αὐτὸν, μὴ συλληφθῇ, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὁ Μάριος ὁ τε Γναῖος ἐνεπόδισαν.—U° 19 (p. 385).

2 "Ἡν ² μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἀλλως καὶ στασιώδης καὶ ταραχώδης, καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συρφετῶδους, ἀφ' ὑπνέκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καθαρέτης. καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ἑνίσχασθαι καὶ ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐν φ' πλεονεκτήσεως ἡλπιζεν, ἐτοιμώτατα ἐτόλμα, τὸ τε αὐθεντικῆσαι τινα τῶν ἁρίστων καὶ τὸ ἐπαινέσαι αὐ τῶν κακιστῶν ἐν παιδία ἐτίθετο. καὶ μοι μηδεις θαυμάσῃ εἰ συνούτος τις ὑν ἐπὶ πλείστων ἔλαβεν ἐν ³ οἷς ἐκακούργην ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς περιτεχνήσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἢ παράπαν τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθὴ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἐκτήσατο.—V. 78 (p. 629).

¹ ὁ added by Leuncl.
² In the Ma. ἢν is preceded by ἢτι ὁ μάριος, evidently added by the corrector; cf. Frg. 88, note 4.
³ ἐν St., ἐφ' Ma.
BOOK XXVI

leniency towards the soldiers and seemed to have made success of more importance than the truth, he likewise secured a renown greater than his deeds deserved.

When Jugurtha sent to Metellus in regard to peace, the latter made many demands upon him, one by one, as if each were to be the last, and in this way got from him hostages, arms, the elephants, the captives, and the deserters. All of these last he killed; but he did not conclude peace, since Jugurtha, fearing to be arrested, refused to come to him and since Marius and Gnaeus\(^1\) stood in the way.

For he [Marius] was in general seditious and turbulent, friendly to all the rabble, from which he had sprung, and ready to overthrow all the nobility. He ventured with perfect readiness any statement, promise, lie, or false oath wherever he hoped to profit by it. Blackmailing one of the best citizens or commending the veriest rascal he thought mere child's play. And let no one be surprised that such a man could conceal his villainies for so long a time; for, as a result of his exceeding cleverness and the good fortune which he uniformly enjoyed in the fullest measure, he actually acquired a reputation for virtue.

\(^{1}\) Perhaps an error for Guala.
3 "Ὅτι τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο ῥάον δια-
βαλεῖν ἕν Μάριος ἡδυνήθη, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐξητάζετο καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἂριστα διεχείριζεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀφανεστάτον καὶ ἀδηλοτάτου ἐστὶ τὸ μέσον παριέναι ἡχετο (οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐτοίμως τὸν μὲν ὕπο τοῦ φθόνου καθήρουν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἡξὺν), καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι ἐλογοποιήθη τὸν Μέτελλον παριεμένῳ τὸτε πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιεσθίας τῷ Μαρίῳ εἶπεν ὅτι "ἀγαπάν ὀφείλεις ἅν μετὰ τοῦ νίεός μου" (μειράκιον δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἴν) "ὑπατεύσης."—
V. 79 (p. 630).

4 "Ὅτι τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἡχετο ὁ Γαύδας, ὅτι μὴ
toὺς αὐτομόλους μὴ τε φρουράν στρατιώτῶν Ρω-
μαίων αἰτήσας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν, ἤ καὶ ὅτι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ οὖκ ἐκαθέζετο, ὅπερ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς τε βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδοτο.—V. 80 (p. 630).

5 "Ὅτι τῆς Κίρτας, καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἄλογης ὁ Βόκχος ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Μαρίῳ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν τοῦ Ἰουγούρθου ἀρχὴν μισθὸν τῆς 
μεταστάσεως ἢτε, ἔπειτα μὴ τυχῶν αὐτῆς ἀπλῶς ἥξιωσε συμβῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ἦρῳ ἐπεμψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουγούρθας τούτων οὕτως

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1 διαβαλεῖν Val., διαλαβεῖν Ms.
2 διεχειριζεῖν Val., διαχειρίζειν Ms.
3 δὲ Val., τε Ms.
4 Γαύδας Val., μάριος Ms.
5 Κίρτας Urs., σκίρτας Ms.
6 οὕτως Ba., οὐ Μss.
Marius was the more easily able to calumniate Metellus for the reason that the latter belonged to the patricians and was conducting the war in excellent fashion, whereas he himself was just beginning to come forward from a very obscure and humble origin into public notice. The multitude was of course readily inclined to overthrow Metellus through envy, and to advance Marius for his promises; but they were particularly influenced by the report that Metellus had said to Marius, when the latter was asking for his discharge on account of the elections: "You ought to be satisfied if you get to be consul along with my son." Now this son was a mere lad.

Gauda was angry at Metellus because in spite of his requests he had received from him neither the deserters nor a garrison of Roman soldiers, or else because he could not sit near him—a privilege ordinarily accorded by the consuls to kings and potentates.

After Cirta had capitulated, Bocchus made overtures to Marius; and first he demanded the empire of Jugurtha as the price of his defection, but later, failing to obtain this, simply asked for a truce. So he sent envoys to Rome; but Jugurtha, while
 occupies the stage and speaks to the audience. The dialogue unfolds through a series of exchanges between the characters, each one adding to the overall narrative. The setting is typically a public space, such as a agora or a theater, which facilitates the gathering of the audience. The actions and interactions are vividly described, making the scene come alive for the reader.
BOOK XXVI

this was taking place, retired to the most desolate portions of his own territory.

Marius received the envoys of Bocchus, but said he would make no compact with him unless he should receive Jugurtha as a prisoner at his hands; and this was actually brought about.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

90 "Oti Tólosan¹ próteron mēn ēνσπονδον οūsαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, στασιάζασαν δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Κίμβρων ἐλπίδας ὡς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς δεθήναι, προκατέσχον νυκτὸς ἐξαπίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαχθέντες, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἀλλὰ χορίς χρήματα πολλὰ ἔλαβον· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἄλλως τε παλαιόπλουτον ἦν, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀ ποτε οἱ Παλάται οἱ μετὰ Βρέννου στρατεύσαντες ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν ἐσῦλησαν εἰχεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογον τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τοῖς οἶκοι Ῥωμαίοις περιεγένετο, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ πλεῖον ἐσφετερίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ συχνοὶ εὐθύνθησαν.—V. 81 (p. 630).

91 "Oti ὁ Σερουίλλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φθόνου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ² ἀλλὰ ἔξ ἱσου οἱ ἐπετέτραπτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώματι οἰα ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτο) πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν αἵτιος τῶι στρατεύματι ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος³ μετὰ θάνατον Σκαύρου⁴ τοῦ Σερουίλλου μετεπέμψατο· ὁ

¹ Tólosan Val., τόλοσαν Ms.
² γὰρ added by Dind.
³ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος supplied by Rk.
⁴ Σκαύρου Val., σκάρου Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

Tolosa, which had formerly been in alliance with the Romans, but had revolted, as a result of the hopes placed in the Cimbri, even to the point of keeping the garrison in chains, was suddenly occupied at night by the Romans, after they had been admitted by their friends. They plundered the temples and obtained much money besides; for the place was wealthy from of old, containing among other things the offerings of which the Gauls under the leadership of Brennus had once despoiled Delphi. No treasure of importance, however, reached the Romans at home, but the soldiers themselves appropriated the most of it; and for this a number were called to account.

Servilius became the cause of many evils to the army by reason of his jealousy of his colleague; for, though he had in general equal authority, his rank was naturally diminished by the fact that the other was consul. After the death of Scaurus, Mallius had sent for Servilius; but the latter replied that each of
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dὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάτερον δεῖν φυλάτ-2
τειν. εἶτα ἐλπίσας τὸν Μάλλιον καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τι
cατορθώσειν, ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ, μὴ μόνος εὐδοκι-
μῆς, καὶ ἢλθε μὲν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν τῷ
αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ἡνίκαστο οὔτε τι βούλευμα κοινὸν
ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς
Κύμβροις συμμίξων, τὴν τε δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου
3 πᾶσαν ἀποισόμενος, ἐν μέσῳ ἱδρύθη, καὶ τὸ
μὲν1 πρῶτον φοβερῷ καὶ ὡς τοῖς πολεμίοις,
μέχρι οὗ ἡ διαφορὰ αὐτῶν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐγίγνοντο,
ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν σπουδὴν αὐτῶν προσαγαγεῖν:
𝙬ς δὲ πρὸς Μάλλιον ὑπατεύοντα διεκπροεύ-
ςαντο, ὁ Σερονίλιος ἤγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς
ἑαυτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τι συμβατικὸν
ἀπεκρίνατο, ὄλγου τε καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
dιεφθείρειν.—V. 82 (p. 630).
4 "Ὅτε οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Σερονίλιον ἦνάγκασαν
πρὸς Μάλλιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ βουλεύ-
σασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, τοσοῦτον δὲ ὀμο-
φρονῆσαι ἐδέσαν ὡστε καὶ ἐχθῖους ἡ πρόσθεν
ἡςαν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐγίγνοντο· ἔστε γὰρ
φιλονείκιαν καὶ λοιδορίας προαχθέντες2 αἰσχρός
dιελύθησαν.—V. 83 (p. 633).
92 "Ὅτι Γναῖος Δομήτιος δίκην τῷ Σκαύρῳ λαχῶν,
ἐπειτα ἐπείδη τῶν οἰκετῶν τις προσελθὼν αὐτῷ
πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου μηνύσειν

1 μὲν inserted by Val.
2 προαχθέντες St., προαχθέντες Ms.
them ought to guard his own province. Then, suspecting that Mallius might gain some success by himself, he grew jealous of him, fearing that he might secure the glory alone, and went to him; yet he neither encamped in the same place nor entered into any common plan, but took up a position between Mallius and the Cimbri, with the evident intention of being the first to join battle and so of winning all the glory of the war. Even thus they inspired their enemies with dread at the outset, as long as their quarrel was concealed, to such an extent that they were brought to desire peace; but when the Cimbri made overtures to Mallius, as consul, Servilius became indignant that they had not directed their embassy to him, gave them no conciliatory reply, and actually came near slaying the envoys.

The soldiers forced Servilius to go to Mallius and consult with him about the situation. But far from reaching an accord, they became as a result of the meeting even more hostile than before; for they fell into strife and abuse, and parted in a disgraceful fashion.

After Gnaeus Domitius had brought suit against Scaurus, one of the latter's slaves approached him and offered to give much damaging evidence against his
ὑπέσχετο, οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, καὶ προσέτησεν θυλαβθῶν αὐτὸν παρέδωκε τῷ Σκαύρῳ.—V. 84 (p. 633).

93 "Οτι Πούπλιος Δικίνινος Νέρονας στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δίκη τινὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους γίγνοιτο, ἢ καὶ λημμάτων ἀφορμᾶς ξητῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐκ ἄδωρος), περιήγηει λυκίνεισαι πρὸς ἐαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τι τοὺς δεσπότας σφῶν, ὡς καὶ 2 βοηθήσων αὐτοῖς. ἔξ ὁυν τούτου ἐκείνων τι πολλοὶ συνιστάμενοι οἱ μὲν ἀδικείσθαι τι ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοὺς δεσπότας ἑνεκὰλον, νομίζοντες καιρῶν 2 εἰληφέναι τοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἔβουλοντο πρὸς 3 αὐτοὺς ἀναιμωτὶ διαπράξασθαι καὶ οἱ ἑλεύθεροι συμφρονήσαντες ἀνθίσταντο 3 σφισι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑφίεντο. φοβηθεῖς οὖν ὁ Δικίνινος τὴν σύστασιν αὐτῶν ἐκατέρων, μὴ καὶ μέγα τι δεινόν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαττωθέντων γένηται, οὐδένα τῶν δούλων προσεδέξατο, ἄλλ' ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πεισομένους ἢ μηδέν γε ἐτι ταράζαι τῷ διασκεδασθῆναι δυνησομένους. οἱ δὲ δεῖσαντες τοὺς δεσπότας, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμησαν, συνε- στράφησαν καὶ κοινολογησάμενοι πρὸς θησείας ἐτράποντο.—V. 85 (p. 633).

94 "Οτι τῶν βαρβάρων ἵττημένων, καὶ συχνῶν ἐκείνων Ῥκ., καὶ ἐκείνων Ms. 2 καιρῶν supplied by Val. 3 πρὸς supplied by Bk.
master; but Domitius did not investigate the matter, and moreover arrested the fellow and handed him over to Scaurus.

Publius Licinius Nerva, who was praetor in the island, on learning that the slaves were not being justly treated in some respects, or else because he sought an occasion for profit,—for he was not inaccessible to bribes,—sent round a notice that all who had any charges to bring against their masters should come to him and he would assist them. Accordingly, many of them banded together, and some declared they were being wronged and others made known other grievances against their masters, thinking they had secured an opportunity for accomplishing all that they wished against them without bloodshed. The freemen, after consultation, resisted them and would not make any concessions. Therefore Licinius, inspired with fear by the united front of both sides and dreading that some great mischief might be done by the defeated party, would not receive any of the slaves, but sent them away, thinking that they would suffer no harm or that at any rate they would be scattered and so could cause no further disturbance. But the slaves, fearing their masters because they had dared to raise their voices at all against them, organized a band and by common consent turned to robbery.

After the defeat of the barbarians, though many ...
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ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων, ὅλιγοι διεσώθησαν. ἐφ' ὕπερ ὁ Μάριος τούτοις παραμυθούμενος τε ἀμα καὶ ἀμειβόμενος, πάσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν λείαν ἐπενεχνίσας ἀπέδωτο, ὅπως μηδὲν δόξη προϊκὰ τινε κεχαρίσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μάριος, καλπερ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνῳ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐὰν αὐτοῦ ἑγγονὸς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ηὔξητο, εὐφρόμενος, τότε καὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὕψη ὅν ἐμισείτο ἐξενίκησεν, ὡστε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοῖος καὶ ἑπαυνεῖσθαι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπίδιον ἔτος, ὅπως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσηται, παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῦντων αὐτῶν ἐλαβεῖν.—V. 86 (p. 633).

2 "Ὅτι ὁς ἀπαξ ἔπεσχον, πολὺ τοῦ θυμοῦ οἱ Κύμβροι παρελύθησαν, κάκ τούτοις καὶ ἀμβλύτεροι καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγένοτο. αἰτίων δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν υπαιθρίων διαίτης κατέλυνοι, καὶ λοιπὸς θερμός ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ψυχρολουσίας ἐχρόντο, καρυκείας τε καὶ ἡδυσμάτων ἐπιχωρίων διεπίμπλαντο, κρέα πρότερον ὁμα σιτούμενοι, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ τῇ τε μέθυ κατακορεῖσ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐγείροντο. ταῦτα γὰρ τὸ τε θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν πᾶν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐθήλυνεν, ὡστε μήτε τοὺς πόνους ἐτι μήτε τὰς ταλαιπωρίας, μὴ καθα, μὴ ψυχος, μὴ ἀγρυπνίαν, φέρειν.—V. 87 (p. 633).

93, 4 "Ὅτι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νομίσαντες μηδὲν δεινῶν πείσεσθαι, πάντα τὰ πλείστον ἄξια καὶ τιμιώτατα ἐκείσε ὑπεξέθεντο, μαθὼν δὲ τούτο Ἀθη—

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BOOK XXVII

had fallen in battle, some few were saved. Whereupon Marius, by way of encouraging and rewarding these [the soldiers], sold all the plunder to them at a nominal price, to prevent its being thought that he had bestowed favours outright upon any one. By this act Marius, who previously had enjoyed the favour of the populace alone, because sprung from that class and raised to power by it, now won over even the nobles by whom he had been hated, so that he was praised by all alike. He received from a willing and harmonious people a re-election for the following year, to enable him to complete his conquests.

The Cimbri, when once they had halted, lost much of their spirit and consequently became enfeebled and sluggish in both mind and body. The reason was that in place of their former outdoor life they lodged in houses, and instead of their former cold plunges they used warm baths; whereas they had been wont to eat raw meat, they now gorged themselves with richly spiced dishes and relishes of the country, and they steeped themselves, contrary to their custom, in wine and strong drink. These practices extinguished all their fiery spirit and enervated their bodies, so that they could no longer bear toils or hardships, whether heat or cold or loss of sleep.

The people of Messana, not expecting to meet with any harm, had deposited in that place for safe-keeping all their most valuable and precious possessions. Athenio, a Cilician who held the chief
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νίων, δόσπερ¹ ποι τὸ μέγιστον κράτος τῶν λη-
στευόντων Κλης ὦν εἶχεν, ἔπεθετο αὐτοῖς δημο-
tελῇ τινα ἔφορτὶν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἄγουσι, καὶ
ἐκεῖνου τε πολλοὺς σκεδασθέντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
tὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν. χωρίον
dὲ τὸ Μάκελλαν εὐερκεῖς τειχισάμενος ἱσχυρὸς
tὴν ὑπὸ ἐκακοῦργει.—V. 88 (p. 634).

¹ δόσπερ Val., δόσπερ Me.
BOOK XXVII

command of the robbers, on learning this, attacked them while they were celebrating a public festival in the suburbs, killed many of them as they were scattered about, and almost took the city by storm. After building a wall to fortify Macella, a strong position, he proceeded to do great injury to the country.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

95 "Οτι ο ουδες ο του Μετελλου ουτω και ιδια και δημοσια παντας υπερ του του πατερα κατελθειν ικετευν δοστε και Πιος, τουτ' έστιν Ευσεβης, επονουμασθηναι.—V. 92 (p. 638).

2 "Οτι ο Φουριος έχθραν τω Μετελλω ουτως έσχεν οτι τον ἵππον αυτού τιμητευων αφελετο. —V. 93 (p. 638).

3 "Οτι Πούπλιον Φούριον γραφεύτα έφ' οις δημαρχήσας ἐπεποιήκει ἀπεκτειναν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ 'Ρωμαιοί, ἀξιώτατον μὲν πον ἀπολέσθαι οντα (καὶ γὰρ ταραχώδης ἢν, καὶ τῷ Σατουρνίῳ τῷ τε Γλαυκίᾳ πρώτον1 συστάς μετεβάλετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αὐτῶν αὐτομολήσας σφίσει συνεπέθετο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσήκοντα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φθαρήναι. καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐν δίκῃ δὴ των γεγονονεναι ἔδοξεν... —V. 89 (p. 637).

97 "Οτι τοῦ Ρουτιλίου ἁγαθοῦ οντος ἀνδρὸς

1 πρώτον St., πρώτοι Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

The son of Metellus besought everybody to such an extent both in private and in public to let his father return from exile that he received the cognomen Pius, i. e. Dutiful.

Furius cherished such enmity against Metellus because the latter when censor had taken his horse away.

Publius Furius, under indictment for the acts he had performed while tribune, was slain by the Romans in the very assembly. He richly deserved to die, to be sure, for he was a seditious person, who after first joining Saturninus and Glaucia had veered about, deserted to the opposing faction, and joined them in attacking his former associates; yet it was not proper for him to perish in just this way. This deed, then, seemed to have a certain justification.

Rutilius, an upright man, they most unjustly con-
Προτί ο Ρουτιλιος ἀπελογησατο μὲν γεναιότατα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ εἶπεν ὅν ἀν ἄν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς συνοφαινοῦμενος καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον τὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ τὰ έαυτοῦ ὀδυρόμενος φθέγξαιτο, ἐὰν εἶ, καὶ τῆς γε οὐσίας εὐθὺς ἐξέστη. ἐξ οὔπερ οὖν ἦκιστα ἐφωράθη μηδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν καταδίκην ὀφλήσας: πολλῷ τε γὰρ σμικρότερα κεκτημένοι εὐρέθη ἢ οἱ κατηγοροῖ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν ἐσφετερίσθαι ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐς δικαίας καὶ νομίμους ἀρχὰς τῆς κτήσεως ἀνήγαγεν. οὔτω μὲν ἐπηρεάσθη, καὶ τινὰ οἱ Μάριος αἰτίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως αὐτοῦ ἐσχεν ἀρίστω γὰρ καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἐβαρύνετο. διόπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῶν τε πραττομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταγγέει, καὶ ἀπαξιῶσας τοιούτῳ ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ συζήσαε, ἐξεχώρησε μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἣ τῆς Ἀσίαν ἐλθὼν τέως μὲν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ διήγειν,

1 No indication of lacuna in Ms. Bs. suggests ὀφυροδοκησαί ὄποιστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Κύντρῳ, adopted in the translation.
2 ἐπέσχεν Val. (in translation), ἐπέσχεν Ms.
3 ἀν supplied by Bk.
BOOK XXVIII

denmed; for he was brought into court by a precon-
certed plan of the knights on the charge of having
received bribes [while serving in Asia as lieutenant
under] Quintus Mucius, and was fined by them.
They did this in their anger because he had ended
many of their irregularities in connection with the
collecting of taxes.

Rutilius made a very noble defence, saying every-
thing which an upright man would naturally say
who was being blackmailed and who grieved far more
for the condition of the state than for his own
fortunes; he was convicted, however, and immediately
stripped of his property. This process more than
anything else revealed the fact that he had in no
wise deserved the sentence passed upon him. For he
was found to possess much less than his accusers had
charged him with having appropriated from Asia, and
he could trace all that he had back to just and lawful
sources of acquisition. Such was his unworthy
treatment, and Marius was not without a hand in his
conviction; for a man so excellent and of such good
repute had been an annoyance to him. Therefore
Rutilius, indignant at the conduct of affairs in the city,
and disdaining to live longer in the company of such
a creature, withdrew, though under no compulsion,
and actually went back to Asia. There for a time
he dwelt in Mytilene; then, after that place had
4 ἐπειτα ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ κακωθείσης ἐς Σμύρναν μετωκισθη, κἀνταῦθα κατεβίω, οὔδε ἠθέλησεν ἐπανελθεῖν οἰκάδε. καὶ οὐδέν γε παρὰ τούτῳ ἦττον οὔτε ἐν εὐκλεία οὔτε ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἐγένετο· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Μούκιος, πλείστα δὲ καὶ δήμοι καὶ βασιλῆς ὁσοὶ ποτὲ ἐπεπέφαντο αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο, ὥστε πολὺ πλεῖω αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ὀυσίας ἔχειν.
—V. 91 (p. 637).

96 Ἡσαύ γὰρ καὶ ἀλλοι τινὲς στασίαρχοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον κράτος τῶν μὲν Μάρκος, τῶν δὲ Κόιντος εἶχον, δυναστείας τε ἐπιθυμηταί καὶ φιλοτιμίαι ἀπληστοὶ, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔς τὸ 2 φιλόνεικον προσπετέστατοι ὄντες. καὶ τἀῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὦμοιον ἐκέκτητο, προέφερον δὲ Δροῦσος μὲν τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ, τῇ τε ἐς τοὺς ἀεὶ δεομένους αὐτοῦ ἀφειδῶς ἀναλώσει, ὅ δὲ τῷ τε θράσει πολλῷ καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ, ταῖς τε προεπεβουλάζει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα κακοθείας. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὦμοιοι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων ἀντίρροποι τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔγειραν, ὥστε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποθανόντων αὐτῶν μεῖναι.—V. 94 (p. 638).

3 "Οτι ὁ Δροῦσος καὶ ὁ Καιπίων ίδιαν ἀλλήλοις ἐχθραν ἐκ φιλίας πολλῆς καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγῆς.
BOOK XXVIII

suffered injury in the Mithridatic war, he removed to Smyrna and there lived to the end of his life without any desire to return home. And yet in all this he suffered not a whit either in reputation or wealth. For he received many gifts from Mucius and a vast number from all the peoples and kings as well who had ever had dealings with him, until he possessed far more than his original wealth.

There were other factional leaders, but the greatest influence was possessed by Marcus in the one group, and by Quintus in the other; these men were eager for power, insatiate in their ambition, and consequently very prone to strife. These qualities they possessed in common; but Drusus had the advantage of birth, and also of wealth, which he lavishly expended upon those who at any time made demands upon him, while the other greatly surpassed him in audacity and daring, and by the timeliness of his plots, as well as his malignity in carrying them out. It was not strange, therefore, since they balanced each other in a way, partly by their likenesses and partly by their differences, that they brought the discord to such a high pitch that it continued even after the death of both.

Drusus and Caepio, formerly great friends and united by mutual ties of marriage, became personal

1 M. Livius Drusus. 2 Q. Servilius Caepio.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτὴν προήγαγον.
—V. 95 (p. 638).

4 Δίων κη βιβλίῳ "καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιβουλεύοντα."—Bekk. Anecd. 136, 30.

5 κη βιβλίῳ Δίων "οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἔπεισέ τινας καὶ περ τινὰ ἀληθῆ λέγων."—Ib. 166, 8.
BOOK XXVIII

enemies of each other and carried their feud even into politics.

Dio, Book XXVIII. "And plotting against the consuls." 1

Dio, Book XXVIII. "Not only did he fail to convince any, in spite of the fact that he spoke the truth in part."

1 Said of M. Livius Drusus, on trial before the senate.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

98 "Οτι ο Δούπος τούς εὐπατρίδας τούς συστρα-
τευομένους οί ὁς καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς
ἐναντίοις ἤξαγγέλλοντας υποπτεύσας, ἔπεστειλε
περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ βουλῇ πρὶν τι α... ¹ κὰκ τούτου
οὖθ᾽ ἄλλοις σφᾶς... ² ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἔχοντας
ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον συνέβαλεν. κὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον
ἐταράξθησαν, εἰ μὴ τινὲς τῶν Μαρσῶν ἐφωρά-
θησαν ἀναμνησμένοι τε τοῖς προνομεύοντι τῶν
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὡς καὶ σύμμαχοι
σφὼν συνεσίοντες, καὶ πολυτραγμονοῦντες τὰ
ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ δρόμενα, καὶ τοῖς
σφετέροις ἤξαγγέλλοντες. καὶ οὕτως ὄργιζόμενοι
τοῖς εὐπατρίδας ἐπαύσαντο.—V. 96 (p. 641).

2 "Οτι ο Μάριος υποπτεύσας τῶν Δούπου καὶ περ
συγγενὴ δυντα, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἐλπίδι τού καὶ
υπατον τὸ ἐβδομον, ὡς καὶ μόνον ἀν τὰ παρόντα
κατορθώσαντα, ἀποδειχθήναι, τρίβειν ἐκέλευν.

¹ Lacuna recognized by Val., who supplied ἀκριβῶς εἰδίνα;
("know accurately").

² Lacuna recognized by Rk., who suggested εὖνοικῶς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ("well disposed toward each other"); Bs. improves
to εὖνοικῶς ἄλληλους.

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FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

Lupus, suspecting that the patricians making the campaign with him were revealing his plans to the enemy, sent word about them to the senate before [he had any definite information], and in consequence, inasmuch as they were not [well disposed toward each other] to begin with, because of their strife, he set them still more at variance. And the disturbance would have been even more serious, had not some of the Marsians been detected mingling with the foraging parties of the Romans and entering the ramparts under the guise of allies, where they took note of what was said and done in the camp and reported it to their own men. Accordingly they ceased to be angry with the patricians.

Marius suspected Lupus,¹ although a relative, and through jealousy and the hope of being appointed consul for even the seventh time, as the only man who could bring success out of the existing situation, bade him delay; their men, he said, would have

¹ There is a deep-seated error here, due no doubt to the exceptor's carelessness. According to Orosius (5, 18, 11), it was Lupus, the consul, who was suspicious of the motives of his lieutenant Marius in advising him to postpone a conflict.

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σφάς μὲν γὰρ καὶ . . . 1 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξειν ἔλεγεν, εἰκεῖνος δὲ οὖ δυνήσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἀτε τοῦ πολέμου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἀνταρκέσαι.—V. 97 (p. 641).

3 "Οτι οἱ Πικένται τοὺς μὴ συναποστάντας σφέσι ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐποψεὶ τῶν φίλων ἐνύβριζον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς κόμας σὺν τῷ δέρματι ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπέσπασαν.—V. 98 (p. 641).

1 Lacuna recognized by Rk.; v. Herw. would supply ὡς ("even thus").
provisions [even though they delayed], whereas the other side would not be able to hold out for any considerable time, since the war was in their country.

The Picentes overcame those who had not joined their rebellion and abused them in the sight of their friends, while from the heads of their wives they tore out the hair along with the skin.
"Οτε ο Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεις ἥκοντων ἡμαίων οὐδὲν ἑκώνησεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνταίτισᾶμενός τινα, καὶ προσαποδείξας τοῖς πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ὃν τῷ τῷ τε κοινῷ καὶ ἱδίᾳ τισίν ἀναλώκει, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν. ο ἔ Νικομήδης τῇ συμμαχίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπαρθείς καὶ χρημάτων δεσθεὶς ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τῷ χώραν αὐτοῦ.—U 22 (p. 386).

Διόνυς λα’ βιβλίον "καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτη αὐτῶς πρὸς τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς προστετάχθαι."—Bekk. Aeneid. 166, 18.

"Οτε ο Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἄξιῶν, εἰ μὲν φίλον τῶν Νικομήδην νομίζουσι, πεῖσαι αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὰ δίκαια οἱ ποιήσαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτῷ γε ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν ἔχθρὸν ἀμόνασθαι. οἱ δὲ οὐχ οτι τε ἐπραξαν ὃν ἠθέλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηπείλησαν αὐτῷ, ἀν μὴ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλη τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποδῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδην εἰρήνην ἀγγ. τούς τε πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ αὐθημερῶν ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ

1 ἥκοντων Bk., ἐντῶν Mss. 2 προσαποδείξαι Rk., προσαποδείξας Mss. 3 αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτῶν Mss. 4 ἢ καὶ Bs., ἡ Mss.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXX–XXXV

Mithridates, when the Roman envoys arrived, did not create any disturbance, but after bringing some counter-charges and also exhibiting to the envoys the amount of the wealth which he had lavished on the state and on private individuals, he remained quiet. Nicomedes, however, elated by the Romans' alliance and being in need of money, invaded his territory.

Dio, Book XXXI. "And he had been appointed against Mithridates by both the people and the senate." ¹

Mithridates dispatched envoys to Rome requesting the people, if they deemed Nicomedes a friend, to persuade or else compel him to act justly toward him, or if not, to allow him [Mithridates] to take measures against his foe. But they, so far from doing anything he wished, even threatened him with punishment if he should not give back Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes and remain at peace with Nicomedes. They sent away his envoys the same day and further-

¹ According to Th. Reinaeh this has reference to Flaccus or Sulla.
 Dio's Roman History

προσαπηγόρευσαν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδένα ἄλλον, ἀν μὴ πειθαρχὴ σφισι, πέμψαι.—Uo 23 (p. 386).

2 a Δίωνος λα' βιβλίω "τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρίας τινὸς παρ' έαντον δεομένων ἐπι-


100 "Ὅτι Κάτων ἁστικῶν καὶ ἀφηλίκέστερον τὸ 1 πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἦττον ἔρρωτο, καὶ ποτε ἐπιτιμῆσαί σφισιν, ὅτι μήτε πονεῖν μήτε τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμως ποι-

εῖν 2 ἤθελον, ἐπιτολμῆσας ὅλγου κατεχὼσθη βληθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔτεθνηκε γ' ἄν εἰ λίθων εὐπορήκεσαν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὁ συνειλέχατο ἐγεναργεῖτο 3 καὶ δίνγρον κατὰ τήχην ἡν, οὔδεν ὕπο βῶλων ἐπαθεν. συνελήφθη δὲ ὁ τῆς στά-

σεως ἄρξαι Γάιως Τίτιος, ἀνήρ ἀγοραῖος καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων τὸν βίον ποιομένου, τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ μετὰ ἀναισχυνίας κατακορεί χρώμενος, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐς τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπέμφυθη, ὅπως ἐκο-

λάσθη δέ.—V. 99 (p. 641).

101 "Ὅτι πάντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφόνευον κελεύ-

σαντος Μιθριδάτον οἱ 'Ἀσιανοὶ, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον 

Τραλλιανὸι οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν, Θεόφιλοι δὲ τίνα 

Παφλαγόνα ἐμμοθώσαντο, ὡσπερ ποὺ ἦττον 

σφον ἀπόλλυσατε μελλόντων, ἡ καὶ διαφέρον 

αὐτῶς ὑφ' ὅπως σφαγήσουσιν.—V. 100 (p. 642).

2 "Ὅτι οἱ Θράκες ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθρι-

1 τὸ Val., τὸ το Ms.
2 τοις supplied by Rk.
3 ἐγεναργεῖτο Naber, ἐγεάργητο Ms.
more ordered him never to send anyone else, unless he should render them obedience.

Dio, Book XXXI. "But recalling the others as in need of some assistance from him." ¹

Cato, the greater part of whose army was from the city and rather too old for service, had little authority at best; and once, when he ventured to rebuke them because they were unwilling to work hard or obey orders readily, he came near being buried under the shower of missiles which they hurled at him. And he would certainly have been killed, if they had had plenty of stones; but since the site where they were assembled was under cultivation and happened to be very wet, he received no hurt from the clods of earth. The man who began the mutiny, Gaius Titius, ² was arrested; he had been a lounging about the Forum, making his living in the courts, and was excessively and shamelessly outspoken. He was now sent to the city to the tribunes, but escaped punishment.

All the Asiatics, at the bidding of Mithridates, massacred the Romans; only the people of Tralles did not personally kill anyone, but hired [for the purpose] a certain Theophilus, a Paphlagonian,—just as if they themselves were more likely thus to escape destruction, or as if it made any difference to the victims by whom they were to be slaughtered.

The Thracians, at the instigation of Mithridates,

¹ This refers to Mithridates and the people of Asia, according to von Gutschmid.
² Properly Gaius Titinius (Sisenna).
δάτον τήν τε "Ηπειρον καὶ τάλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Δωδώνης κατέδραμον, ὡστε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν συλήσαι.—V. 101 (p. 642).

102 "Οτι ὁ Κίννας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελάβεν, οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν πάντων ἐσπούδασεν ὡς καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρόφασιν μὲν τὸν Μιθριδάτην 1 ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαρτήσαει οί, ὡπως μὴ ἐγγύθεν εὐφεδρεύων ἐμπωδῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπραττε γένηται. καίτοι τῇ 2 τοῦ Σύλλου σπουδὴ ἀπεδέ δεικτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. 3 ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου ὅροι καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ γλισίμονος, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ οἴκου πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτη- δειότατον ἑαυτῷ πρὶν ἐξορμηθῆναι κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν Γραιόν 4 τε την Ὀκτάοοιν δια- δόχους ἀπεφηνεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα ἀν οὕτω καὶ 3 ἀπὸν ὦσχυσαι. τούτου μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἐπαινούμενον ἤστιστατο καὶ οὐδὲν παρακινήσειν ἐνόμιζεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ εὐ μὲν ἔδει κακῶν ἀνδρά δοντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ ἐκπολεμῶσαι δυνάμενον τε τι καὶ αὐτὸν ἱδη, καὶ ἐτοίμως, ὡς 5 καὶ ἐλεγε καὶ ὄμνυν, ἔχοντα πάν οἰ 6 οἴοιν ὑπουργῆσαι.

4 αὐτὸς τε οὕν, καίτοι δεινότατος ὃν τὰς τε γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμβείν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-

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1 Μιθριδάτην Val., μιθριδάτην Ms.
2 τῇ inserted by Rk.
3 ὑπέσχετο Bk., ὑπέσχετο Ms.
4 Γραιόν Val., γραιόν Ms.
5 ὡς τῇ Rk., ὡς τε Ms.
6 οἶ inserted by Kuiper.
overran Epirus and the rest of the country as far as Dodona, going even to the point of plundering the temple of Zeus.

Cinna, as soon as he took possession of the office, was anxious about no one thing so much as driving Sulla out of Italy. He made Mithridates his excuse, but in reality wanted Sulla to get out of his way so that he might not, by keeping watch close at hand, prove a hindrance to the objects he himself was trying to carry out. And yet he owed his election to the other's support and had promised to do everything according to his pleasure. For Sulla, who saw the necessity of the war and was eager for its glory, had before starting arranged everything at home for his own best interests. Among other things he appointed Cinna and one Gnaeus Octavius to be his successors, hoping in this way to retain the most power even while absent. For he understood that Octavius was commended for his amiability, and he thought he would cause no trouble; the other he well knew to be a base fellow, but he did not wish to make an enemy of him, because the man already had some influence of his own and was prepared, as he had repeatedly said and declared on oath, to assist him in every way whatsoever. Thus Sulla himself, adept as he was at seeing through the minds of men and reasoning out
μάτων συλλογήσασθαι, πάνυ ἐν τούτῳ διεσφάλη,
καὶ πόλεμον τῇ πόλει μέγαν κατέλυπεν.—
V. 102 (p. 642).
5 "Ὅτι Ὀκτάουιος φύσει βραδὺς ἦν πρὸς τὰ
πολιτικά.—V. 103 (p. 642).
6 "Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ἐνε-
στηκότος τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύ-
σαντες βοηθεῖν.—U" 24 (p. 386).
7 "Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους
τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύσαντες αὐτῷ
πρὸς τοὺς Σαυνίτας, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν δύνηται, συμ-
βῆναι οὕτω γὰρ ἔτη τότε μόνοι τὴν Καμπανίαν
καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα αὐτῆς ἐκακοῦργον. ο̊ δὲ τοὺ-
τοις οὐκ ἐσπείσατο τὴν τε γὰρ πολιτείαν ἡξίουν
οὐχ ἐαυτοῖς μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ηὐτομολήκοσι
πρὸς σφᾶς δοθῆναι, καὶ οὕτε τῇ τῆς λείας ἤν
ἐλχόν ἀποδοῦναι ἤθελον, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
toὺς τε αὐτομόλους σφῶν πάντας ἀπήτουν, ὡστε
μηδὲ τοὺς βουλεύτας τὴν εἰρήνην ἔτι τὴν πρὸς
αὐτούς ἐπὶ τούτους ἔλεοσαί.—U" 9 (p. 385).
8 "Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κίννας τὸν ρόμον τὸν περὶ τῆς
καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἀνενεώσατο, ὁ Μάριος οἱ
τε ἄλλοι οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπεσόντες ἐσεπήδησαν ἐς
τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ λυποῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ πάσας
ἀμα τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκεῖνας τε ἐκλείσαν ὡστε
μηδένα διαδρᾶναι, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχά-
νοντάς σφισι ἐξειργάσαντο, μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀπο-

1 ἀποδοῦναι Reim., ἀποδοθῆναι Mss.
the nature of things, made a grave mistake in the present instance and bequeathed a great war to the state.

Octavius was naturally slow in managing public business.

The Romans, when civil war broke out, sent for Metellus, urging him to help them.

The Romans, having become at odds with one another, sent for Metellus, bidding him come to terms with the Samnites as best he might; for at this time they alone were still ravaging Campania and the district beyond it. Nevertheless, he did not conclude a truce with them, since they demanded that citizenship be given not alone to themselves but also to those who had deserted to their side, refused to give up any of the booty which they had, and demanded back all the captives and deserters from their own ranks. As a result even the senators no longer chose to make peace with them on these terms.

When Cinna again brought forward the law regarding the return of the exiles, Marius and those who had been expelled with him rushed into the city with the rest of the army by all the gates at once; these they shut, so that no one could make his escape, and then slew every man they met, making no distinctions,
κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀμοίως ὡς πολέμιοις χρώμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ τούς τι ἐχόντας ἐπιθυμίας χρημάτων ἐφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς τε παιδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σφον οὕβριζον, δόσπερ τινὰ ἀλλοτρίαν πόλιν ἤδραποδισμένοι. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν τὸ ¹ θέαμα οὐδὲν τι τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν πραότερον τά τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀρόσι προσπαρίστη νομίζειν ὅτι, ὥσα πολεμίων ἀκροστολίως οἱ προπάτορές σφων ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, ταῦτα τότε ταῖς τῶν πολίτῶν κεφαλαῖς ἀπεκοσμείτο.

10 Τοσαύτη γὰρ ἐνι λόγῳ ἦ τε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀπληστία τῶν φῶν τὸν Μάριον κατέσχεν ὡστε, ἔπειδὴ τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἔχθρων ἀπεκτόνει καὶ ύπόκειται οὐδεὶς ὅν ἐξολέσαι ἐγλίχετο ἐπὶ τῶν νοῦν ἀτε ἐν τοσαύτῃ ταραχῇ ἐπήει, σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι σφάτειν πάντας ἔξης ὅπως ἐν τῶν προσιόντων μὴ ὅρεξῃ τὴν χείρα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀφίκετο ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἀκρίτως μηδ' ἀπ' ἐχθρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν οὐκ έκτασιν τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἀπόλυσθαι. καὶ (ὅν γὰρ, ὅσπερ εἰκός, ἐν τε ὅχλῳ καὶ ἐν θορύβῳ τοσοῦτον οὖν αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐπιμελέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δυνατὸν οὖν εἰ πάνω ἔβουλετο, κατὰ ἡμῶν τῇ χειρὶ χρησθαι) πολλοὶ κακὸ τοῦτο μάτην ἀπέθανον, ὅσα οὕδαμη οὐδαμῶς ἀποκτείναι ἐδείτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τῶν τότε ²

¹ τὸ Στ., τὸ τε Μα. ² τὸτε Ῥκ., τὸ γὰρ Μα.
but treating them all alike as enemies. They took especial pains to destroy those who possessed any property, because they coveted wealth; and they abused the children and wives of the victims as if they had enslaved some foreign city. The heads of the most eminent citizens they fastened to the rostra, and that sight was no less cruel than had been their destruction; for, aside from other considerations, the thought might occur to the spectators that what their ancestors had graced with the ships' beaks of the enemy was now being disgraced by the heads of the citizens.

For, in short, so great a desire and insatiable passion for slaughter possessed Marius that when he had killed most of his enemies and could no longer, because of the great confusion prevailing, think of anyone whom he wished to destroy, he gave the word to the soldiers to slay everyone in turn of the passers-by to whom he should not extend his hand. For Roman affairs had come to this, that a man had to die not only without trial and without having incurred enmity, but even for the mere reason that Marius did not stretch out his hand. Now naturally amid so great a throng and such confusion it was not only no object to Marius to make the gesture, but it was not even possible, however much he wished it, to use his hand as he pleased. Hence many died needlessly—men whose death he did not in the least desire. The total number of those who
Δίων λα' βιβλίῳ "κανταύθα ἀπογνως μηδέν οἶ τόν θεὸν ἐπαρκέσειν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο."—Bekk. Aneod. 140, 25.

"Ὅτι θυόντων τῶν Ἑρωμάιον ἱσταμένου τοῦ ἑτούς τὰ ἐστιν, καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἱκα τὰ πάτρια ποιομένων, ὁ νεός Μαρίου δήμαρχον τινα αὐθεντίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπεμψε, καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήσιμον, ὅπερ οὖδεις ἄλλος ἐπεπόθει, καὶ δύο στρατηγοὺς καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἴρξεν.—V. 105 (p. 645).

"Ὅτι ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Φλάκκον Φιμβρίας ἐσ Βυζάντιον ἑλθόντε αὐτῷ ἑστασίζειν. ἡν γαρ ἐς πάντα δὴ τολμηρότατοι καὶ προπετέστατος, δόξης τε ὑποιασοῦν ἐραστῆς καὶ παινός τοῦ ἀμείνονος ὥληγορος. ἔσ ὁν πον καὶ τότε, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρώμης, ἄρετήν τε ἐς χρήματα καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσποιησάμενος ἀνηρτήσατό τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ συνέκρουσεν. ἡδυνήθη δὲ τούτῳ ποιήσαι, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι χρημάτων τε ἀπληστος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἡγάτα τὰ περιγυμνόμενα σφετεριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφῆς, ἐκ

1 εὐχὰς Rk., ἀρχὰς Ms.
2 Φιμβρίας Val., φιμβρίας Ms. (and so elsewhere, except § 6).
perished at this time is beyond finding out; for the slaughter continued through five whole days and an equal number of nights.

Dio, Book XXXI. "And then, despairing of receiving any help from the god, he made away with himself."

While the Romans were offering the usual sacrifice at the beginning of the new year and making their vows for their magistrates according to ancestral rites, the son of Marius slew a tribune with his own hands and sent his head to the consuls, hurled another from the Capitol—a fate which had never befallen such an official—and forbade two praetors the use of fire and water.

Fimbria, the lieutenant of Flaccus, revolted against his superior when the latter reached Byzantium. For he was in all matters very bold and headstrong, passionately fond of any notoriety whatsoever and contemptuous of all his superiors. This led him at that time, after his departure from Rome, to feign an incorruptibility in respect to money and a zeal for the soldiers, which bound them to him and set them at variance with Flaccus. He was able to accomplish this for the reason that Flaccus was insatiable in regard to money, not being content to appropriate what was left over, but enriching himself even from the soldiers' allowance for food and from the

1 Perhaps L. Cornelius Merula, the flamen Dialis.
ΤΕ ΤΗΣ ΧΕΙΑΣ, ΗΝ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΤΕ ΕΝΟΜΙΖΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΤΕΤΟ.—Ι. 112 (p. 650).

3 "ΟΤΙ ΕΠΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΆΦΙΚΕΝΤΟ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΜΒΡΙΑΣ; ΚΑΙ Ο ΦΛΑΚΚΟΣ ΕΞΩ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΙΧΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΛΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΣΗΛΘΕ, ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΘΟΝ ἕτο ο ΦΙΜΒΡΙΑΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΛΗΦΕΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΗΓΙΑΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΒΑΛΛΕ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΌΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΔΟΥΝ ΤΡΥΦΗΝ, τσφεισ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναίς ἐν χειμῶνι ταλαιπωροῦντο. οι δὲ στρατιῶται ἔσ το ἀστυ θυμῷ ἔπεσον, καὶ τινας τῶν ἐμπεσόντων σφίσω ἀποκτείναντες ἐσ τὰς οἰκίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.—Ι. 113 (p. 650).

4 "ΟΤΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑΣ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΜΒΡΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΜΙΑΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΗΠΕΙΛΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ Ο ΦΛΑΚΚΟΣ ΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ ἈΠΟΣΕΙΣΕΝ, ΛΟΙΔΟΡΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΕ ΤΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΑΦΕΙΛΕΤΟ. ο δὲ ΦΙΜΒΡΙΑΣ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ἈΠΟΠΟΡΕΙΑΝ ΔΗΘΕΝ ΕΠΑΧΘΕΣΤΑΤΑ ΣΤΕΙΛΆΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ ΆΦΙΚΕΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ὩΣ ἘΠΙ Τῼ ΆΦΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ἩΣΠΑΖΕΤΟ, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΤΕ ἩΤΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝΤΟΝ ὩΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΑΞΙΑ ΠΕΠΟΝΘΟΣ ΨΩΡΥΣΤΟ ΜΕΜΠΗΘΑΙ ΤΕ ΣΦΙΣΙ ὩΝ ὩΠΟΥΡΓΗΚΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΦΥΛΑΚΗΝ ΣΦΩΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΘΑΙ, ΑΙΝΙΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ ὩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΥΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ, ΠΑΡΗΝΕΙ. ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΟΝ ΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝΤΟΙ ἘΥΝΟΙΑΝ ἘΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ὩΠΟΠΤΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ, ἈΝΕΒΗ ἘΠΙ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΑΡΩΞΩΝΕ ΣΦΑΣ, ἈΛΛΑ ΤΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΥ

1 παραλαβόν Βα., παραλαβόν δὲ Μι.
2 τρυφήν Θρ., τρυφών Μι.
booty, which he invariably considered as belonging to him.

When Flaccus and Fimbria had arrived at Byzantium and Flaccus, after commanding them to encamp outside the wall, had gone into the city, Fimbria seized the occasion to accuse him of having taken money, and denounced him, declaring that he was living in luxury within, whereas they were enduring hardships under the shelter of tents, in storm and cold. The soldiers then angrily rushed into the city, killed some of those that fell upon them, and scattered to the various houses.

On the occasion of some dispute between Fimbria and the quaestor, Flaccus threatened to send him back to Rome, willing or not, and when the other consequently made some abusive reply, he deprived him of his command. Fimbria set out ostensibly upon his return to Rome with the worst possible will and upon reaching the soldiers at Byzantium greeted them as if he were on the point of departure, asked for letters, and lamented his fate, claiming to have suffered undeservedly. He urged them to remember the services he had done them and to be on their guard; this was a hidden reference to Flaccus, implying that he had designs upon them. And finding that they accepted his story and were well disposed toward him and suspicious of the general, he mounted an eminence and went on to arouse their anger by
Φλάκκου κατηγορήσας, καὶ ὅτι προδώσει αὐτοὺς ὕπο χρημάτων ὡστε τοὺς στρατιωτὰς Θέρμου τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσιν ἀπελάσαι.—V. 114 (p. 650).

6 Ὅτι οἱ Φιμβρίας ἀνδρας πολλοὺς οὐ πρὸς τὸ δικαιότατον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἩΡώμη συμφορώτατον, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ φόνων ἀπώλλυεν. τεκμήριον δὲ, σταυροὺς ποτὲ πολλοὺς, οἷς προσδέων αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰκιζόμενος διεχρήτῳ, γενέσθαι προστάξας, ἔπειτ' ἐπεδῆ πολὺ πλέοντι τῶν θανατωθησομένων εὐρέθησαν ὀντες, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν περιεστηκότων τινὰς ψυχήθηναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς προσδεθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ μάτην δόξωσι γεγονέναι.—V. 115 (p. 653).

7 Ὅτι οὗ αὐτοὺς τὸ Ἰλιον λαβὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀσοὺς ἠδυνήθη μηδενὸς φεισάμενος κατεχρήσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ὅλην κατέπρησεν. εἴλε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν, ἀλλ' ἀπαρήσας ἐπαινοῦν γάρ τινα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ προσβείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Σύκλαν πεμφθείσῃ ποιησάμενος, καὶ διαφέρει μηδὲν ὀποτέρφ 2 σπείσονται (ἀμφοτέρους γάρ σφας Ῥωμαίους εἶναι) εἰπὼν, ἐπειτὰ ὡς παρὰ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα.—V. 116 (p. 653).

8 Ἔν δὲ λέγει βιβλεῖο (Διόν) "δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐκείνος τοῦ μὲν ἄλλου χρόνου οὔτε τι προσεποιεῖτο αὐτῶν . . . ."—Bekk. Anecd. 165, 15.

1 φόνων Val., φθόνων Μs. 2 ὀποτέρφ Rk., εἰ ὀποτέρφ Ms.
accusing Flaccus of various other faults, and finally charging that he was going to betray them for money; hence the soldiers drove away Thermus, who had been assigned to take charge of them.

Fimbria destroyed many men, not to serve the best ends of justice nor to secure the greatest benefit to Rome, but out of anger and lust of slaughter. Here is a proof. On one occasion he had ordered a large number of stakes to be prepared, to which he would then bind the condemned and flog them to death; and when these were found to be far in excess of the number who were to be put to death, he commanded some of the bystanders to be seized and bound to the extra stakes, that they might not seem to have been prepared in vain.

The same man on capturing Ilium slaughtered as many persons as he could, sparing none, and all but burned the whole city to the ground. And yet he had taken the place not by storm, but by guile. For after bestowing some praise on them for the embassy sent to Sulla and stating that it made no difference with which one of the two they came to terms, since he and Sulla were both Romans, he thereupon went in among them as among friends and did these deeds.

[Dio], Book XXXIII. "For this reason, then, he [Sulla?] had up to this time neither been laying claim to any of those . . ."
"Οτι ο Μέτελλος υπό Κίννου ήττηθείς εσ τον Σύλλαν ήκε και πλείστα αυτῷ συνήρατο πρός γάρ τοι την δόξαν τής τε δικαιοσύνης αυτού και τής ευσεβείας ούκ άλιγοι και τῶν τάναντων τῷ Σύλλα πραττόντων, νομίσαντες αυτῶν ούκ ἀκρίτως οι συνείναι ἀλλὰ τά τε δικαιότερα καὶ τά τῇ πατρίδι συμφορώτερα οντως αἱρεῖσθαι, προσεχώρησαν σφίαν.—V. 117 (p. 653).

"Οτι ο Πομπήιος νιός ήν τοῦ Στράβωνος, συνεκρίθη δὲ υπὸ Πλούταρχου Ἀγγελάρῳ τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ. ἀχθόμενος δὲ τοὺς την πόλειν ἔχουσι εξωρμηθή έσ τὸ Πικηνόν αὐτός ἐφ' έαυτοῦ, οὕδε ἐς ἀνδρᾶς πω πάνιν τελῶν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων χειράτινα διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱγεμονίαν ἀθρόίσας δυναστείαν ἰδίαι συνίστη, καὶ φήθη ἐλλόγιμον τι πράξαι καθ' έαυτόν καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ προσεχώρησε. καὶ ο μὲν ύπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος οὐδέν μείων ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ποῦ καὶ ἡ ἐπικλησὶς αὐτῷ προσετέθη, μέγας ηὔξηθη.—V. 118 (p. 653).

Δίων λόγος δημιουργίας καὶ γὰρ γελοιών έστιν, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ δυναμένου διὰ ταχέων ὄντως ἀϊτιῶν ἔχει λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐμὲ ὑπερδικεῖν."—Bekk. Anecd. 177, 30.

Δίων λόγος "πῶς δ' ἂν τις πιστεύσεις αὐτῷ;"—Ib. 162, 19.

1 διὰ Rk., παρὰ Ms.
2 ἀπὸ supplied by Rk.
Metellus after being defeated by Cinna came to B.C. 83 Sulla, and was of the greatest assistance to him. For in view of his reputation for justice and filial devotion not a few of those even who were opposed to Sulla's policy decided that it was not without reason that Metellus was associating with him but that he was choosing what was really juster and more advantageous for the country, and hence they went over to that side.

Pompey was the son of Strabo, and has been compared by Plutarch with Agesilaus, the Lacedaemonian. Being angry with those who held the city, he proceeded on his own account to Picenum before he had quite yet come to man's estate, and thanks to his father's former rule there he gathered from the inhabitants a small band and set up a sovereignty of his own, thinking to perform some famous exploit by himself; then he joined Sulla. And from this beginning he became no less a man than his chief, but, even as his title indicates, grew to be Great.

Dio, Book XXXIII. "For it is ridiculous when he [Scipio?] is in Campania and able quickly to give his answer to the charges brought against him, for me to plead in his behalf."  

Dio, Book XXXIII. "But how could anyone believe him [Sulla?]."  

1 The reference to Plutarch is hardly by Dio, as he is not in the habit of naming his authorities. Cf. Fr. 40, 5.

2 von Gutschmid believes §§ 2 and 3 are from the speech of Sertorius to his troops in defence of Scipio. Cf. Appian, B.C. 1, 85.
"Οτι ο Σύλλας το στράτευμα παρέδωκεν άνδρι μήτ' ἄλλως ἐπαινούμενον, 1 καίτερ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συγγενομένων οἱ ἔχων καὶ ἐμπειρία καὶ πράξει προφεροντας, οἷς 2 ποὺ καὶ ὑς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὡς καὶ πιστοτάτους ἐκέχρητο. καὶ πρὶν μὲν νικῆσαι ἐδείτο τε αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελίαις ἀπεχρήτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγυτέρω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ παντελῶς κρατήσειν ἐγένετο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔτι λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ κακίστους καὶ μήτε ἐν περιφανείᾳ γένους μήτε ἐν δόξῃ ἁρετῆς οὔσι 2 μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσεν. αἰτιον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτῶ καὶ τὰ χείριστα ἐτοίμους ὄντας ὑπουργεῖν ἑώρα, καὶ χάριν τε ἑαυτῷ πλείστην καὶ ἑλαχίστον τινὸς τύχωσιν ὀφειλήσειν, καὶ μὴθ' ὑπερφρονήσειν ποτὲ μήτε τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἀντιποιήσεσθαι 3 ἐνόμιζεν, τὸ δ' ἁρετὴν ἔχων οὔτε συγκακουργεῖν οἱ ἐθελήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτιμήσειν, καὶ τὰ γέρα τῶν εὐρεθημάτων καὶ ἄξιαν ἀπαιτήσειν, καὶ μηδεμίαν χάριν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἅτε καὶ οἰκειόμενα σφιστὶ ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔξειν, τὰς τε πράξεις καὶ τὰς συμβουλίας ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῶν οὕσας προσποιήσεσθαι.—V. 119 (p. 654).

1 The sentence is obviously incomplete. Reiske supplied μήτ' ἐν στρατηγίᾳ ("neither in generalship") before μήτ', while Bs. assumes the loss of several words after ἐπαινούμενως.
2 οὗ Val., ὧς Ms.
3 ἀντιποιήσεσθαι Val., ἀντιποιήσοντως Ms.
Sulla handed over the army to a man [Ofella] B.C. 82
commended [neither for his generalship nor] otherwise, in spite of the fact that he had many who had been with him from the beginning, superior in skill and experience, whom up to that time he had employed in all emergencies as being thoroughly reliable. Before his victory he had been accustomed to make requests of them and to avail himself freely of their services; but as he drew nearer to his dream of absolute power, he no longer took any account of them, but reposed his trust rather in the basest men, and in those who were neither conspicuous for their family nor possessed of a reputation for uprightness. The reason was that he saw that such persons were ready to assist him in all his projects, even the basest; and he thought they would be most grateful to him if they should obtain even the smallest favours, and moreover would never feel themselves his superiors nor lay claim to either his deeds or his plans. The virtuous element, on the other hand, would not be willing to help him in his evil-doing but would even rebuke him; they would demand rewards for benefits conferred, according to merit, would feel no gratitude for them but accept them as their due, and would claim his deeds and plans as their own.
"Οτι ο Σύλλας νικήσας τους Σαυνίτας μέχρι μὲν δὴ σὺν τῆς ἡμέρας εκείνης διαπρεπῆς ἦν, καλὸν ὁνομα ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευμάτων μέγιστον ἔσχε, φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ εὐσεβεία πολὺ προέχειν ἐνομίζετο, ὡστε καὶ τὴν τύχην σύμμαχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντας ἐξειν αὐτὸν ἤγείσθαι: μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ὡστε μηδ' ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινα φάναι ταύτα τε καὶ τὰ ἐπείτα εἶναι. οὕτως, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ὁνὸς ἤνεγκεν εὐτυχῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἄ ἔως ἀσθενῆς ἦν ἄλλοις ἑπεκάλει, καὶ ἐτερα πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἐπραξε, βουλόμενος μὲν που καὶ ἀεὶ αὐτά, ἑλεγχθεῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. ἀφ' ὁπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐδοξεῖ τις ἡ κακοπραγία μέρος ὡς ἐλάχιστον ἐξειν τῆς ἀρετῆς."

3 ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας ὡς τάχιστα τῶν Σαυνίτων ἐκράτησε καὶ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιτεθεικέναι ἐνόμισε (τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐν οὐδείν λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο), μετεβάλετο, καὶ ἐαυτὸν μὲν ἔξω τῶν τεῖχων τρῶτον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέλιπεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίνναν καὶ τὸν Μάριον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν γενομένους πάντας ἄμα ὑπερέβαλεν. ὡσα γὰρ μηδένα τῶν δήμων τῶν ὅθεν πρότερον ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἔδρασε, ταῦτα τότε τὴν πατρίδα καθάπερ καὶ ἐκείνην νικήσας εξειργάσατο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐθη-

1 μηδ' ἂν Bk., μηδὲ Ms.
2 ὡς supplied by Val.
3 τῆς ἀρετῆς supplied by Cary, τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ Bs.
4 ὡς τάχιστα Dindl., τάχιστα ὡς Ms.
5 τοὺς τε supplied by Bs., space of some six letters in Ms.
Sulla up to the day that he conquered the Samnites had been a conspicuous figure, possessing the greatest renown for his generalship and his plans, and was believed to be a very superior man both in humaneness and piety, so that all believed he had Fortune as an ally because of his excellence. But after this event he changed so much that one would not say his earlier and his later deeds were those of the same person. Thus it would appear that he could not endure good fortune. For he now committed acts which he had censured in other persons while he was still weak, and a great many others still more outrageous. He had doubtless always desired to act thus, but revealed himself only in the day of his power. This fact produced a strong conviction in the minds of some that adversity has not a little to do with virtue. Thus Sulla, as soon as he had conquered the Samnites and thought he had put an end to the war,—for he considered the rest as of no account,—changed his course, and leaving behind his former self, as it were, outside the wall on the field of battle, proceeded to outdo Cinna and Marius and all their successors combined. Treatment that he had accorded to none of the foreign peoples who had opposed him he bestowed upon his native land, as if he had actually subdued that also. In the first place,
μερον τασ κεφαλας του τε Δαμασιππου και των συνεξετασθεντων αυτω προς το Πραινεστε πεμψας άνεσκολοπισε, και των παραδοντων σφας έθελοντας συχνον ως και άκοντας ελων απεκτεινεν.

και τη υστεραλα τοις τε θουλευταις ες το 'Εννειον, ως και ἀπολογιούμενος1 τι αυτοις, και τως ξωγρηθεισι ες των άγρων των δημοσιων καλομενων ως και εσ των καταλογου αυτων εσχατων συνελθειν κελευσας, τουτους άμα δι ετερων εφονευσε (και πολλων των αρ τως πολεως ανθρωπων αναμιχθεντες σφισι παραπόλουτο), και ήκεινοις αυτως2 πικρότατα διελεξατο.—V. 120 (p. 654).

6 "Οτε ο φονος των έαλωκότων και τοτε ουδεν ήττων υπο του Σύλλου εγινετο, και αυτων ατε εγχυς του ναου θυσκοντων πολυς μεν θορυβος πολυς δε και θρηνος οιμωγαι τε και οδυρμοι εσ το συνεδριων εσεππουτον,3 ώστε την γερουσιαν άμφο-

7 τερωθεν έκταράττεσθαι και γαρ ουδε πορρον ετι του τι και αυτοι δεινων πεισθαι προσδοκαν ήσαν, ουτως ανως αυτοι και λεγοντος άμα και πράττοντος και δια τουτο πολλοι, ατε επι άμφοτεροις εν ταυτω περιαλαγοντες, επεθυμουν των εξω και αυτοι των ήδη άπολλυμενων ειναι, ένα

8 παισονται ποτε φοβουμενοι. ήλι αυτοι μεν

1 ἀπολογιούμενος Bk., ἀπολογούμενοι Ms.
2 αυτως Rk., αυτοι Μs. 3 εσεππουτον Bk., συνεππουτον Ms.
he promptly sent the heads of Damasippus and his followers to Praeneste and had them stuck on poles; and many of those who voluntarily surrendered he killed as if he had captured them without their consent. The next day he ordered the senators to assemble at the temple of Bellona, as if he were going to make some defence of his conduct, and ordered the captives to meet at the so-called "public field,"¹ as if he would enroll them in the lists; and while these were slain by others at his command (and there perished along with them many persons from the city who were mixed in among them), he himself addressed a very bitter speech to the senators.

The massacre of the prisoners was going on just the same even then under Sulla's direction, and as they were being killed near the temple, the great uproar and lamentation that they made, their cries and wails, invaded the senate-house. Thus the senators were doubly alarmed; for they had now about come to the point of expecting that they themselves, too, would suffer some terrible fate, so unholy were both his words and his deeds. Therefore many, tortured by this two-fold anguish, were wishing that they themselves belonged to the number of men already perishing outside, in order that they might gain respite at last from fear. Their fate, however, was postponed,  

¹ The villa publica.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνεβέβλητο, οί δ' ἄλλοι κατεσφάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφησαν, ὡστε τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολὺ δεινὸν νομισθέν, ὅτι ποτὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν βραχεῖ πρὸς τὸ 1 πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον τῶν τότε φονευθέντων νομισθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐν- ταῦθα τὸ δεινὸν ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀπὸ φρυ- κτωρίας τινὸς ἐκείθεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσαις ἐγένοντο. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐργῶν ὁμοίωτητος τὸ τε ὁμόθετας οἱ ἐνδείκνυοντες καὶ τὴν φίλιαν βεβαιώντες, μὴ 2 ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτοῦ 2 ὑποπτευ- θῶσι τε 4 καταγγυώσκειν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τούτο κινδυνεύσωσιν. ἐσφαξόν δὲ καὶ ὅσους πλου- τοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλους πως ὑπερέχοντάς σφιν ἐναῖρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνορ, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰ χρήματα- πλείοντο γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, κἀν μηδετέρωσε συναίρωνται . . . . 5 ἱδιόν τι ἐγκλῆμα τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ γένει πλοῦτῳ τὲ τίνως προέχειν λαμβάνοντες. καὶ ἀσφάλεια οὐδεμιά οὐδὲνι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κράτει τινὶ ἀδικεῖν βουλο- μένους εὐφρίσκετο.—V. 121 (p. 657).

1 τὸ supplied by Rk. 2 μὴ supplied by Val. 3 αὐτὸ Rk., αὐτῶν Ms. 4 τὲ Rk., τὲ καὶ Ms. 5 μηδετέρωσε συναίρωνται . . . Bs., μὴ δετέρας εἰ συναίρωντηθαί Μs.
while the rest were slaughtered and thrown into the river, so that the deed of Mithridates, deemed so terrible, in slaughtering all the Romans in Asia in one day, was regarded as of slight importance in comparison with the number now massacred and their manner of death. Nor did the horror stop here, but the massacres which began at this point, as if by a kind of signal, occurred in the country and in all the cities of Italy, as well as in the capital. Many, of course, were objects of Sulla’s hatred, many also of that of his followers; but, while with some this hatred was genuine, with others it was a mere pretence. They wished to show that they were like him by doing like deeds, and so strengthen their place in his friendship; thus they would not, by reason of any dissimilarity, be suspected of disapproving some of his deeds, and so incur danger. They proceeded to murder all whom they saw to surpass them either in wealth or in any other respect, some out of envy and others on account of their possessions. For under such conditions many neutral persons even, though they may take neither side, become the objects of some private complaint, as surpassing someone in excellence or wealth and family, [and so perish?]. No safety was to be found for any one against those possessing any power who wished to commit injustice.
ἀνεβέβληντο, οί δ' ἄλλοι κατεσφάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριψαν, ὅστε τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολὺ δεινὸν νομισθέν, ὅτι ποτὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἄσίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν βραχεὶ πρὸς τε τὸ 1 πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον τῶν τότε φονευθέντων νομισθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐν- ταῦθα τὸ δεινὸν ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἀπὸ φρυ- κτωρίας τινὸς ἐκείθεν αἰ σφαγαὶ ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσαις ἐγένοντο. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἄλθεῖσας, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐργῶν ὁμοίωτητος τὸ τε ὁμόθες οἱ ἐνδεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν πελαίαν βεβαιοῦντες, μὴ 2 ἕκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτῶ 3 ὑποπεν- θὼσι τε 4 καταγιγνόσκειν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνεύσωσιν. ἔσφαξον δὲ καὶ ὁσίως πλου- τοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πὼς ὑπερέχοντας σφων ἐώρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνῳ, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰ χρήματα: πλειστοὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, κἂν μὴ δετέρωσε συναιρόντας . . . . , 5 ἢδιὸν τι ἐγκλήμα τὸ κατ' ἄρετήν ἢ καὶ γένει πλούτῳ τὲ τινὸς προέχειν λαμβάνοντες. καὶ ἀσφάλεια οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κράτει τὴν ἅδικεῖν βουλο- μένους εὑρίσκετο.—V. 121 (p. 657).

1 τὸ supplied by Rk. 2 μὴ supplied by Val. 3 αὐτῶ Rk., αὐτῶν Ms. 4 το Rk., τε καὶ Ms. 5 μηδετέρωσε συναιρόντας . . . Bs., μὴδε ἐτέρας εἰς συναιρῷτεσ Ms.
while the rest were slaughtered and thrown into the river, so that the deed of Mithridates, deemed so terrible, in slaughtering all the Romans in Asia in one day, was regarded as of slight importance in comparison with the number now massacred and their manner of death. Nor did the horror stop here, but the massacres which began at this point, as if by a kind of signal, occurred in the country and in all the cities of Italy, as well as in the capital. Many, of course, were objects of Sulla's hatred, many also of that of his followers; but, while with some this hatred was genuine, with others it was a mere pretence. They wished to show that they were like him by doing like deeds, and so strengthen their place in his friendship; thus they would not, by reason of any dissimilarity, be suspected of disapproving some of his deeds, and so incur danger. They proceeded to murder all whom they saw to surpass them either in wealth or in any other respect, some out of envy and others on account of their possessions. For under such conditions many neutral persons even, though they may take neither side, become the objects of some private complaint, as surpassing someone in excellence or wealth and family, [and so perish?]. No safety was to be found for any one against those possessing any power who wished to commit injustice.
"Οτι τοιαύτας συμφοραί την Ῥώμην περιέσχον, τι γὰρ ἀν τις τὰς τῶν ζώντων ὦβρεις λέγοι, αἱ πολλαὶ μὲν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτους καθάπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἐγίγνοντο; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ περὶ χαλεπώτατα ὄντα, τῷ γοῦν ὀροιστρόπῳ τῶν ἡδὲ σφίσει συμβεβηκότων οἰστὰ τοῖς γε ἐκτὸς τούτων οὐσιν ἔδοκει εἶναι. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔξηρκει τῷ Σύλλα, οὐδ’ ἤγάπα τὰ αὐτὰ ἔτεροις δρῶν, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ πόθος ἔσχει καὶ ἐν τῇ πολυτροπίᾳ τῶν φόνων πολὺ πάντων περιείναι, ὡσπερ τινὰ ἁρετὴν οὕσαν τὸ μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς μαφιονίαις τινὸς ἡττάσθαι, τινὰ καυνότητα ἐξεθηκε λελευκωμένον πίνακα, ἐς ὀν ἐνέγραφε τὰ ὀνόματα. οὐ μέντοι γε ἤττον πάντα ὅσα καὶ πρὶν ἐγίγνετο, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ μὴ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ζώντες οἱ δὲ καὶ τεθηκότες ἐπ’ ἅδεια τῶν ἀποκτεινάτων σφᾶς προσενεγράφῳ, ὡστε ἐν τούτῳ μηδὲν διενεχεῖν τὸ πράγμα, τῇ τε δεινότητι τῇ τε ἀτοπίᾳ αὐτοῦ πάνυ πάντας χαλεπανθήναι.

11 τά τε γὰρ πινάκια ὡσπερ τῖς ἀναγραφῇ Βούλευτών ἡ κατάλογος στρατιωτῶν νομιζομένων ἐξετῆθετο, καὶ συνέδθην ἐπ’ αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι παρίόντες σπουδῇ, καθάπερ τινὰ χρηστήν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουτα· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν συγγενεῖς, ἡδὲ δὲ τινὲς καὶ

1 ἐγίγνετο Val., γίγνεται Ms. 2 παρίόντες Bk., παρόντες Ms.
Such calamities encompassed Rome. But why narrate the outrages offered to the living, in many cases to women, and in many to the noblest and most distinguished boys, as if they were captives taken in war? Nevertheless, these deeds, though most distressing, still by reason of their similarity to others previously experienced seemed endurable to such persons at least as were not involved in them. But Sulla was not satisfied, nor was he content to do the same as others; a certain longing came over him to go far beyond all others in the variety also of his murders, as if there were some virtue in being excelled by none even in blood-guiltiness. Accordingly he brought forward a new device, a whitened tablet, on which he inscribed the names. Nevertheless everything went on as before, and not even those whose names were not inscribed on the tablets were safe. For the names of many, some living and others actually dead, were added to the lists so that the slayers might gain immunity; thus in this respect the procedure marked no new departure, yet equally by its terror and by its strangeness it angered absolutely everyone. The tablets were exposed like some register of senators or list of approved soldiers, and all those passing by from time to time would rush up eagerly to it in crowds, just as if it contained some favourable announcement; then many would find
μὲν ὡς ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο τὸν προστυχόντα ἀνομαζόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄρνομένων μὴ οὕτω καλείσθαι, γείγνεσθαι. ἐφονεύοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες ὃτι τελευτήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ προειδότες, πανταχοῦ ὀπούπερ ἐτύγχανον ὄντες· καὶ οἵδεν ἢν αὐτοῖς χωρίον, οὐχ οὖσιν, οὐχ ἰερόν, οὔτ' ἀσφαλές οὔτ' ἀσυλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔξαιφνης, πρὶν μαθεῖν τὴν ἐπικρεμαμένην συμφοράν, ἦ καὶ ἀμα τῇ πύστει αὐτῆς, διαφθείρομενοι τῇ γούνῃ εὐτυχία.  

19 τῆς μὴ προεκφοβήσεως ἐπεκουφίζοντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ προαισθόμενοι τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ κατακρυπτόμενοι χαλεπώτατα ἀπῆλλασσον οὔτε γὰρ ἀποχωρήσαι μὴ φωράθεται ἐτὸλμων, οὔτ' αὐτὰ κατὰ χώραν μένειν μὴ καὶ προδοθεῖν ὑπέμενον. πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων καὶ φιλτάτων σφίκι προεδόθησαν καὶ ἀπόλοντο. κἂν τούτω τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀεὶ τῶν θάνατον προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ οἷς ὅτι εἰς τὰ πινάκια ἐγγεγραμμένοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοίως ἔπασχον. — V. 122 (p. 658).

21 "Ὅτι πάντων τῶν σφαξομένων ὁποιῶν οἱ κεφαλαὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶν ἐκομίζοντο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἐξετίθεντο, ὡστ' ὅσα περὶ τᾶς προγραφῆς συνέβαινεν, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἐκείνας γίγνεσθαι. — V. 123 (p. 662).

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1 τῶν προστυχόντα Rk., τῶν προστυχόντων Ms.
2 ὀπούπερ ἐτύγχανον Val., ὀποῦ παρετύχανον Ms.
3 εὐτυχία Val., ἐτύχεια Ms.
4 οὖτε Bk., οὐ Ms.
5 μὴ καὶ Val., καὶ μὴ Ms.
6 τοῦ Bk., τὰ Ms.
7 οὖχ ὅτι Bk., ὅτι οὐχ Μs.
great confusion, since some would apply to any
thay met whatever names they pleased, and the
others would deny that these were their names.
Some were murdered while still ignorant of the fact
that they were to die; and others, who knew it in
advance, were slain anywhere that they happened
to be; no place, either profane or sacred, was
safe or inviolate for them. Some, to be sure,
by perishing suddenly before learning of the
catastrophe hanging over them, or indeed at the very
moment of receiving the news, were fortunate in
being relieved of the terror preceding death; but
those who learned of their danger in advance and hid
themselves were in a wretcheded plight. They neither
dared to withdraw, for fear of being detected, nor
could they endure to remain where they were for
fear of betrayal. Very many of them were actually
betrayed by their associates and those dearest to
them, and so perished. Consequently, as a result of
this state of constant expectation of death, not
only those whose names were inscribed suffered, but
the rest also in equal measure.

The heads of all those slaughtered in whatever
place were brought to the Roman Forum and exposed
on the rostra, so that the same scenes were being
enacted around them as around the proscription lists.
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Δίων εν Ἡρωμαίκῃ ἱστορίᾳ 1 "ὁλίγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ κουφότατα τῶν πλοίων πρὸς τὴ γῆ δρμεν· τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖω καὶ μείζω μετέωρα διὰ τὰ τενάγη ὀπεσάλευεν."—Etym. Magn., Photius and Suidas s.v. ἐσάλευε, Suidas s.v. τενάγη, Apostol.

Tzetzes in Lyco phr. Alex. 44.2

Αὐσονία δὲ κυρίως, ὡς Δίων γράφει ὁ Κοκκελανός, ἢ τῶν Αὐρούγκων γῆ μόνη λέγεται, μέσον Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐόλκων παρὰ θάλασσαν κειμένη, συχνοὶ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Λατίου Αὐσονίαν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν, ὡστε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς...

Tzetzes in Lyco phr. Alex. 615.3

Αὐσονίας γὰρ κυρίως, ὡσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶπον, οἱ Αὐρούγκοι λέγονται μέσον Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐόλκων κείμενοι· οἱ δὲ μέχρι Λατίου Αὐσονίαν ἐνόμισαν εἶναι, ὡστε ἐκ τούτου τινὲς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν φασίν.

2 The text is that of Scheer in his edition of the scholia (1908).
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Dio, *Roman History*. "A few of the lightest boats were moored inshore; but most of them, being larger, rode at anchor in the open sea because of the shoals."

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 44.

The name Ausonia, according to Dio Cocceianus, is properly applied only to the land of the Aurunci, situated on the coast between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet many have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from it all Italy [was called Ausonia].

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 615.

The name Ausonians, as I wrote near the beginning, is properly applied to the Aurunci situated between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet some have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from this circumstance some say that [it was] the whole of Italy.
(1) Δίων "εὐεργεσίαιν\(^1\) ύμῖν\(^2\) ὀφειλήσει."—Bekk. Anecd. 160, 17.

(2) Παρὰ Δίωνι "οὐκοιν οὐδ' ἀρχοντες πρὶν διανομοθετήθηναι περὶ\(^3\) αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντο."—Ibid. p. 164, 11.

(3) Δίων "οὐχ ὅπως ἐπείσθησαν αὐτοῦ."—Ibid. p. 164, 23.

(4) Δίωνος ὦθ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τοὺς τε ἀντεπεξελθόντας οἱ ἀνέκοψαν."—Ibid. p. 124, 7.

(5) Δίων ὦθ' βιβλίῳ "Ταραντῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὔδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνου προτιμήσαντες."—Ibid. p. 165, 21.

(6) Δίων ὦθ' βιβλίῳ "ράον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσασθαι."—Ibid. p. 166, 11.

(7) Δίων κἀ' βιβλίῳ "ὅν τὰ μὲν βία ἔρει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρίστατο."—Ibid. p. 166, 5.

(8) Δίων ὃν' βιβλίῳ "ἐφ' ὃ καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφὸν παντελῶς ἐκλίπωσιν."—Ibid. p. 140, 17.

(9) Δίων ἕμε' βιβλίῳ "καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπούργησαν."—Ibid. p. 117, 32.

110, 1 Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστι τὰναντία τινὰ τοῖς\(^4\) ὀρθῶς ἔχουσι πράττοντα καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσας.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 7r = M. p. 562.

2 Οὐ γὰρ ᾧ ἐπικλῆσεις καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἢν τις τὰ

\(^1\) εὐεργεσίαιν Dind., εὐεργεσιῶν Ms. \(^2\) ύμῖν Bk., ὑμῖν Ms. \(^3\) περὶ supplied by Cary. \(^4\) τοῖς Mai, τοῖς οὖν Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

(1) Dio: "He will owe you kindness."

(2) In Dio: "Hence they were not even styled magistrates until the law had been passed concerning them (?) ."

(3) Dio: "Not only did they fail to obey him."

(4) Dio, Book XIX. "And they drove back those who made a sortie against him."

(5) Dio, Book XIX. "The Tarentines, accordingly, paying no heed even to him (?) ."

(6) Dio, Book XIX. "Easier to accomplish (?) the rest also."

(7) Dio, Book XXII. "Of which he took some by force, and gained others by capitulation."

(8) Dio, Book L. "On condition that they quit their country entirely."

(9) Dio, Book XLVI. "And the horses were of service to the soldiers."

It is impossible for any one who acts contrary to right principles to derive any benefit from them.

For titles do not change the characters of men, but one makes titles take on new meanings according

1 The lex curiata de imperio.
2 These numbers are certainly corrupt.
πράγματα μεταχειρίζεται, τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκείνας
δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μοναρ-
χοῦντες ἀναθῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις γίγνονται,
διὸ καὶ βασιλεία τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομάζεται, πολλοὶ
δὲ δημοκρατούμενοι μυρία κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐρ-
γάζονται.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 50vir=M. p. 556.

3 Πέφυκεν γὰρ ὡς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν
ἀρχόντων τυπούσθαι καὶ τὸ ύποχείριον.—Max.
Conf. Flor. f. 51vir=M. p. 560.

4 Οὐδὲν γὰρ καὶ στράτευμα καὶ τάλλα πάντα
ὅσα ἀρχῆς τίνος δεῖται οὕτως οὕτε ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον
οὐτε ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον προῶμει ὡς ὁ τε πρὸς καὶ
ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιστατούντος αὐτῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς
γυναῖκας τὰς τὰ πράξεις τῶν ἤγουμενον σφίσσων
οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξομοίουσιν, καὶ ὡστάκαν ἐκεῖνος
dρόστας ἓδωσι, τοιαύτα καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ὡς
ἀληθῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, πράττουσιν.—
Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51vir=M. p. 556.

5 Ψελεῖ πως λυπεῖν μᾶλλον τινας τῶν μὴ προσ-
dοκηθέντων ἀρχῆς ὅσα ἀν ἐν ἑλπίδι γενόμενα
dιαπέσῃ τὰ μὲν γὰρ πόρρω σφῶν νομίζοντες
εἶναι ἤττον αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐφείναι,
tῶν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐλθόντες ἀχθοῦνται ὡς καὶ οἰκείων

6 Πολλοὶ κρεῖττον ἐστὶ κατορθώσαντάς τι σχι-
tυπηθήναι καὶ πταίσαντας ἐλεηθήναι.—M. p. 558.

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1 τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκείνας Bk., τοιαύτα καὶ ἐκείνα Mss.
2 αὐτοῖς Dind., αὐτοῖς and αὐτοῖς Mss.
3 oútes inserted by Bs.
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

to one's management of affairs. Many monarchs are
the source of blessings to their subjects, whence
such a state is called a kingdom; whereas many who
live under a democracy work innumerable evils to
themselves.

The subject class is wont ever to shape itself
according to the opinions of its rulers.

For nothing leads on an army, or anything else
requiring some control, to better or worse like the
character and habits of the person presiding over it.
The majority naturally imitate the opinions and deeds
of their leaders, and do whatever they see them
doing, some from real inclination and others as a
mere pretence.

Hopes that come to nothing are somehow wont
to grieve some people more than the loss of things
never expected at all. For they regard the latter
objects as remote and so covet them less, as if
they belonged to others; whereas, after coming
very near to the former, they are grieved as if
deprived of their rightful possessions.

It is much better to win some success and be
envied than to fail and be pitied.
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